

“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”

Study Report

I

English Translation

2011

**World Heritage Promotion Committee of
“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”**

Foreword

“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region” are our heritage consisting of Okinoshima Island, where state-related rituals were held from the late 4th century to the end of the 9th century, a group of mounded tombs associated with an ancient clan that engaged in these rituals, and the Munakata Shrine, which has inherited the religious tradition up to the present. In January 2009, this property was inscribed on the Tentative List of the UNESCO World Heritage in recognition of its value. Fukuoka Prefecture, Munakata City, and Fukutsu City took this opportunity and jointly launched the World Heritage Promotion Committee of “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region” later in the month as an organization to support the joint efforts of the public and private sectors toward World Heritage List inscription. As part of this initiative, the Committee has set up experts’ committee, which has been carefully discussing the value of the heritage and the preservation and management of this precious property.

To this end, the committee commissioned 17 researchers to write papers relating to the outstanding universal value of the property from the perspectives of archaeology, history, and traditionology. In addition to this project, a research group headed by Emeritus Professor SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu at Kokugakuin University, who has been dedicatedly working for the reconstruction of Japanese rituals, reviewed objects excavated at the Okinoshima ritual sites. Furthermore, international experts also contributed to the comparative studies with the Chungmak-dong remains in South Korea, and the re-examination from the viewpoint of ritual archaeology. The researchers’ tremendous dedication, despite the time constraints, has culminated in a report full of new insights. This report successfully validates the value of this property. At the same time, it points out new issues that need further research. I sincerely hope that this report will stimulate interest among a wider range of fields and generations, help broaden the research base, and provide the opportunity for more people to recognize the value of this heritage.

The Committee hopes to engage more people in the effort to have Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region inscribed on the World Heritage List. Your understanding and support are most appreciated.

March 31, 2011

ASŌ Wataru
Chairman,
World Heritage Promotion Committee of
“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”

Note

1. This report is a compilation of the achievements of the research that was conducted in the fiscal year 2010 by the World Heritage Promotion Committee of Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region.
2. The Committee identified the research themes based on the recommendation by the Experts' Committee on Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region, with input from the Office for World Cultural Heritage, Monuments and Sites Division, Cultural Properties Department of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, as well as Mr. NEGITA Yoshio, Cultural Properties Chief Senior Specialist of the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

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3. The names of the authors are given at the top of respective papers.
4. The sources of the illustrations, plates, and photographs are given separately.
5. Ms. SHIGEZUMI Makiko at the office of cultural property management office of Munakata Taisha contributed to the researchers' investigations into the objects unearthed from Okinoshima Island.
6. The editing and compilation were done by the secretariat of the World Heritage Promotion Committee of Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region, which was jointly set up by the World Heritage Registration Promotion Division of Fukuoka Prefecture, the World Heritage Registration Promotion Office of Munakata City, and the World Heritage Registration Promotion Section of Fukutsu City. The publication of the original report (in Japanese) and the English translation was assigned to PREC Institute Inc.

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Led by SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu, Emeritus Professor, Kokugakuin University

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Individual Papers

Prehistory of Okinoshima Rituals

TAKESUE Junichi
Professor, Fukuoka University

Abstract: This paper focuses on the prehistory of the rituals that the polity that governed a large area of the Japanese archipelago (the Yamato polity) began to perform on Okinoshima Island in the Early Kofun period to pray for successful foreign relations. First, the paper delves into the development of the people whose descendants later became the Munakata clan (the local ruling elite) as well as the formation of local polities (states) by examining archaeological finds of around the initial stage of the Early Yayoi period in the Munakata region on Japan's main island of Kyūshū. These finds include ditch encircling settlements and tomb groups, as well as clusters of bronze-yielding tombs--tombs in which bronze implements were buried as grave goods in graves--at the Taguma-ishihatake site. Second, the paper analyzes the socketed bronze spear that is believed to have been excavated on Okinoshima Island ("socketed bronze spear attributed to Okinoshima") and infers that local rituals for maritime safety already existed in prehistoric times (the existence of local beliefs in Okinoshima). Finally, the paper examines the pottery of a foreign origin and weapon-shaped bronze implements for rituals that have been excavated from the ground in front of the Okinoshima shrine office--a site that has been covered by the latest round of archeological survey. From this examination, the paper infers that people in the Munakata region played an important role in managing foreign relations back then and even resided in fishing settlements and that they strengthened relations with areas to the east of their own accord in the late Yayoi period.

Keywords: Taguma-ishihatake site, ritual deposition of bronze weapons, Japan-Korea relations in the Yayoi period, the elite of a dominant group, trade network involving fishing settlements

1. Introduction

This paper reviews the situation in the Munakata region¹⁾ from the Yayoi period to the initial stage of the Kofun period by examining archaeological finds, including artifacts as well as the remains of settlements and burial grounds. The question is how the foundations for Okinoshima rituals were developed. To find the answer to this question, special focus is placed on three major issues: (i) the relations between the Munakata region and the Korean Peninsula back then; (ii) the situation of the Taguma-ishihatake site, where group graves with bronze weapons buried as grave goods have been found; and (iii) the issue of whether the socketed bronze spears believed to have been unearthed in Okinoshima suggests the beginning of the subsequent national rituals on the island.

Due to the time and space restraints as well as slow progress in archeological survey to date, however, the paper fails to shed substantial light on many of the aspects of the Munakata region on the main island of Kyūshū from the late Middle Yayoi period to the Late Yayoi period; it does no more than surmise some of the aspects of sea people groups in the Munakata region in this period of time based two factors. One is new evidence that has been obtained from the latest round of survey of the pottery unearthed at the Shamuscho-mae [in front of the shrine office] site of Okinoshima. The other is the then state of fishing settlements in northern Kyūshū.

The author divides the Yayoi period into four sub-periods: Initial, Early, Middle, and Late. To reconstruct the social and historical aspects of the Yayoi period, the author considers it more practical to roughly divide the Yayoi period into early and late stages, with the former extending from the Initial Yayoi period to the early Middle Yayoi period, and the latter spanning from the late Middle Yayoi period to the Late Yayoi period. In terms of pottery phase, the early stage of the Yayoi period corresponds to the period from Yananotera to the Sugu I. Likewise, the late stage of the Yayoi period corresponds to the period from Sugu II to Nishijin. For the purpose of discussion in this paper, the early stage of the Yayoi period is further subdivided into the old phase (the pottery phases from Yananotera to Itazuke II-B) and the new phase (the pottery phases from Itazuke II-B to Sugu I). Some aspects of the late stage of the Yayoi period are discussed later.

The Yayoi period corresponds broadly to the Plain Pottery period and the Proto–Three Kingdoms period in the Korean Peninsula.²⁾ Chronological parallels in pottery phase between the two regions are shown in Figure 1. The author believes that the boundary between the early and late stages of the Yayoi period in northern Kyūshū corresponds to the boundary between the Plain Pottery period and the Proto–Three Kingdoms period in the southern Korean Peninsula.

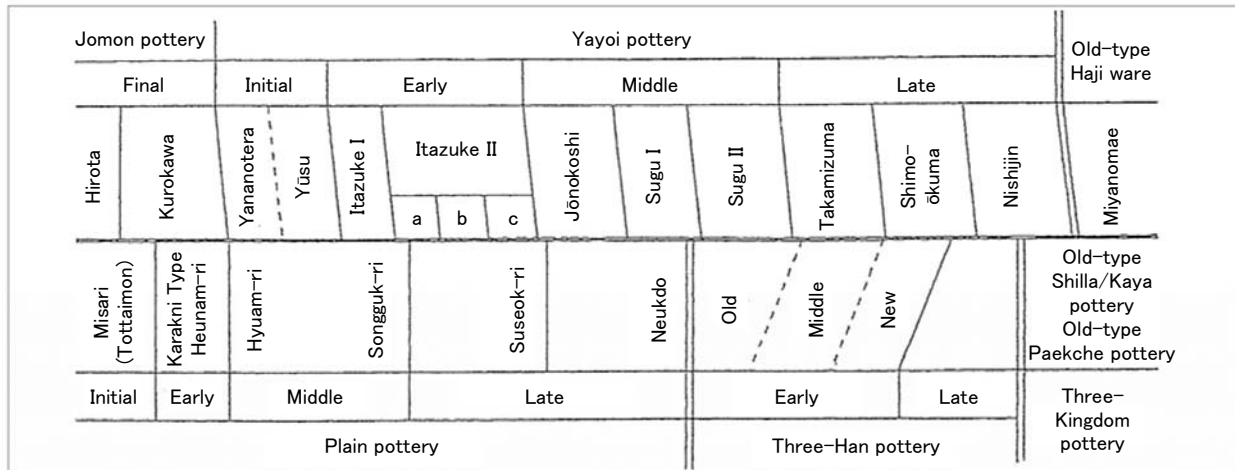


Figure 1 Chronological parallels in pottery phase between the northern Kyūshū (upper row) and the southern Korean Peninsula (lower row)
Source: Created by TAKESUE

2. Clusters of Bronze-Yielding Tombs at the Taguma-ishihatake Site

(1) Premise for discussion

Before examining specific archaeological finds, the approach to handling settlements and tombs is described below.

The author takes the structural settlement approach (TAKESUE, 2002a). In this approach, archaeologists, by mobilizing all kinds of artifacts and features, define the layout arrangement of settlement facilities and their relative relationships at a given point in a period and deduce the latent structure therein. From the changes in these defined parameters over that period, they read changes in the settlement structure. The layout arrangement and scales of settlement facilities were not decided in a haphazard manner; on the contrary, they were well-planned and systematic. The quality particular to that period and the region in which the settlement was located, as well as the then social structure, are engraved in these parameters. Archaeologists can assess the significance of artifacts by putting them in a proper context within framework of “settlement.”

Demarcating a hub settlement or a village requires demarcating the missing spaces (TAKESUE 2004b, 2009b). In Figures 2-4, the square boundary denotes the excavation survey area and small circles in it signify the remains of pit dwellings found in the survey. In Figure 2, we do not recognize two groups of pit dwelling (A and B) as assemblages by themselves alone; we recognize Groups A and B as assemblages by missing spaces around them. In Figure 3, the missing spaces have yet to be confirmed as gaps, which means no assemblages have been confirmed--not at least within the framework of this survey area alone. I call such a missing space that makes other objects stand out “gap.” Likewise, I call a yet-to-be confirmed space “presumed gap.” Transforming a presumed gap into a confirmed gap is a major achievement for an excavation survey.

A missing space may stand on its own. For example, a missing space that defies dwellings as shown in Figure 4 has a special significance as a public square. A public square can accommodate important meetings and social functions that concern all the dwelling clusters, as well as receiving guests. I call such a missing space “stand-alone gap.”

By extension, a dwelling cluster and a burial ground alone do not usually constitute a settlement. It is more often the case that several of these components--including gaps--are combined to form a single assemblage (settlement) and that between such assemblages (settlements) are gaps far larger than those between the groups of these components whining a single assemblage (settlement). Consideration of such gaps should be given a priority in identifying groups of graves in a burial ground as well.

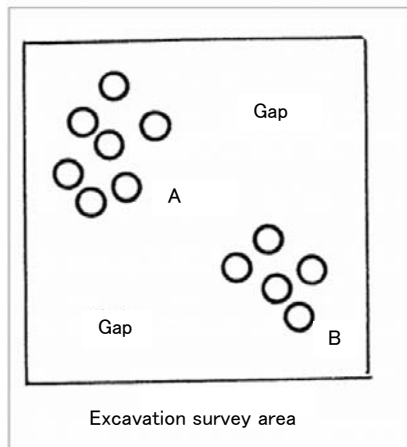


Figure 2 Assemblages--Group A and Group B--and gaps
Source: Created by TAKESUE

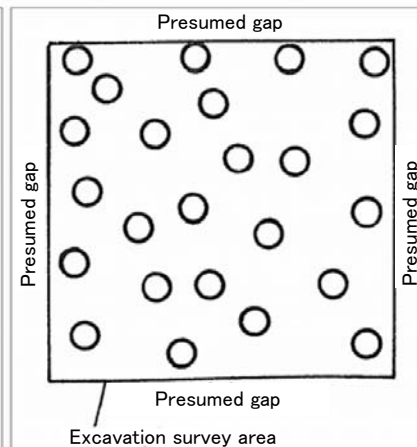


Figure 3 No recognizable assemblages and presumed gaps outside of the excavation survey area
Source: Created by TAKESUE

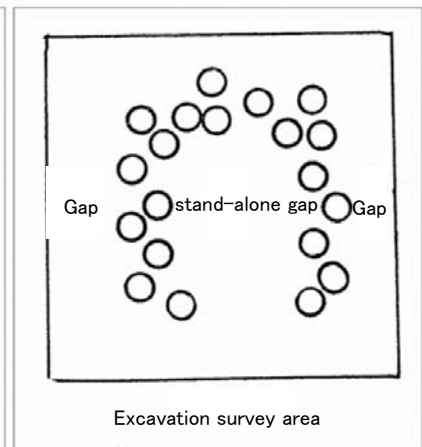


Figure 4 An example of a stand-alone gap
Source: Created by TAKESUE

(2) Ditch encircling settlements and tomb groups in the old phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period

a) Ditch encircling settlements

Before examining some of the aspects of the Taguma-ishihatake site, the Munakata region in the old phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period is overviewed. Literature has accumulated more on the initial stage of the Early Yayoi than on other periods of the old phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period ("Old Phase"), including (HARA Shunichi, SHIRAKI Hidetoshi, and AKINARI Masahiro, 2000; and Munakata City Board of Education, 1999).

According to such literature, the Old Phase saw several ditch encircling settlements³⁾ in the Munakata region (Figure 5). Such encircling ditches have been found in the artifact-containing layer at the Imagawa site in Fukutsu City (Tsuyazaki Town Board of Education, 1981). They have also been found at the Tōgō-noboritate site (Munakata City Board of Education, 2001). On this site, a circular ditch that was almost equal in size to the one that has been excavated at the Itazuke site (SD01 in Figure 5, No. 1). The layer in which SD01 was found belongs to the new stage of the Itazuke I phase as Dwelling Site No. 3 does. This suggests that SD01 is the first encircling ditch that was dug at the Tōgō-noboritate site.

At this site, another encircling ditch was discovered in a newer layer that belongs up to the Itazuke II-A phase (SD02). This crescent-shaped ditch is similar to the one found at the Itazuke site. It is unclear whether SD02 served to divide the storage facilities and pit dwellings as in the case of the Itazuke site, because the inside features have been degraded. During the period to which Tōgō-noboritate SD02 belongs, ditch encircling settlements were formed at the Imagawa site as well as at the Ōi-mikura site in Munakata City (Figure 5, No. 3). The inside structure of ditch encircling settlements until the Old Phase is mostly unknown. It is likely, however, that pit dwellings existed inside in light of two similar ditches at separate sites. One ditch is the arc-shaped ditch of the Initial Yayoi period that surrounds the remains of dwellings of a Songguk-ri type at the Etsuji site in Kasuya Town, Fukuoka Prefecture (SHINTAKU Nobuhisa, 1994). The other is the circular ditch of the Itazuke II-A phase that surrounds the remains of dwellings of a Songguk-ri type at the Bingo-no-kamiyashiki site in Kitakyūshū City (*Maizo Bunkazai Chosashitsu*

[cultural deposits research office], Kitakyūshū City Foundation for Promoting Arts and Culture, 2008).

Then came a more recent circular ditch at the Mitsuoka-nagao site. Belonging to the Itazuke II-B phase, this ditch was found surrounding storage pits alone (Figure 5, No. 2). The ditch is located on the highest land on the local hills, 30 meters above sea level. The flat part of the land is nearly circular, 42 meters in diameter east to west, and 46 meters north to south. Only pouch-like pits--totaling 52--have been found in the inside area.

b) Tomb groups

Among the well-organized reports in the literature on tombs in the Old Phase is a study on the Taku-matsugaura site and area II of the Kubara site, both in Munakata City (Munakata City Board of Education, 1999). Many aspects of the funerary pottery unearthed at these two sites suggest that the Taku-matsugaura site predates Kubara area II, with the former extending mostly from the last stage of the Initial Yayoi period to the old stage of the Itazuke I phase, and the latter spanning largely from the new stage of the Itazuke I phase to the Itazuke II-A phase.

At the Taku-matsugaura site (Figure 7), a total of 15 tombs belonging to the Old Phase have been unearthed. They are largely classified into three Groups A-C⁴⁾ in terms of distribution phase. Group A comprises eight tombs on the upper slope: SK203, SK206, SK207, SK208, SK209, SK210, SK211, and SK215. Group B, located below Group A, is made up of five tombs: SK201, ST204, SK216, SK217, and SK218. Group C, located below B to the northeast, consists of two tombs: SK226 and SK230. Group C is inferior to the other two. Both Group A and Group B, though the former outnumbers the latter, include top-ranking tombs with three types of grave goods--polished stone swords with handles, polished stone axes, and small mortuary jars; the second-ranking tombs with two types grave goods--polished stone axes and small mortuary jars; and third rankers with small mortuary jars only. Therefore, Group A and Group B are almost on the same level, except that the former is slightly superior in location. By contrast, Group C is clearly lower in social class than these two groups, suggesting social stratification in the region. A tomb with a set of three kinds of grave goods--polished stone swords with handles, polished stone axes, and small mortuary jars--are unusual even in northern Kyūshū. Moreover, the Taku-matsugaura site as a whole rivals a grave group of a dominant group in terms of the amount of polished stone swords with handles and polished stone axes yielded. A good example of such tomb groups is the spot covered by the 15th survey at the Zasshonokuma site in Fukuoka City (Fukuoka City Board of Education, et. al, 2005). It is therefore safe to say that people buried at the Taku-matsugaura site were members of a dominant group.

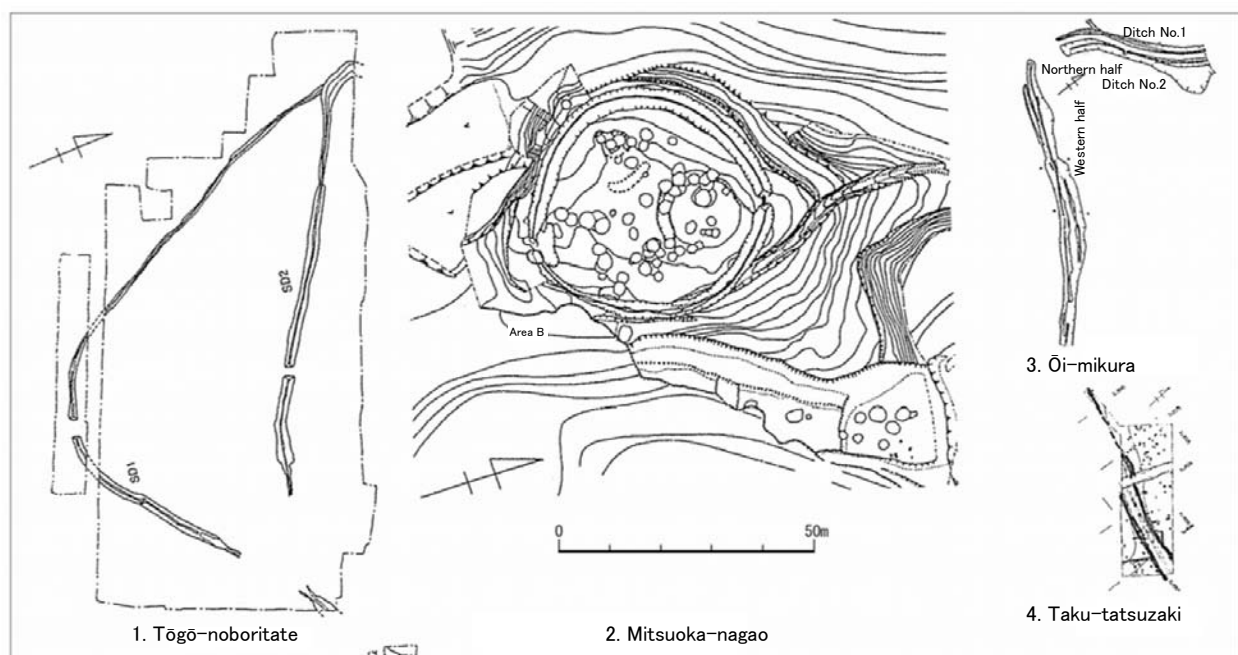


Figure 5 Early encircling ditches in the Munakata region
Source: Compiled from KAWAGUCHI Yōko, 2010.

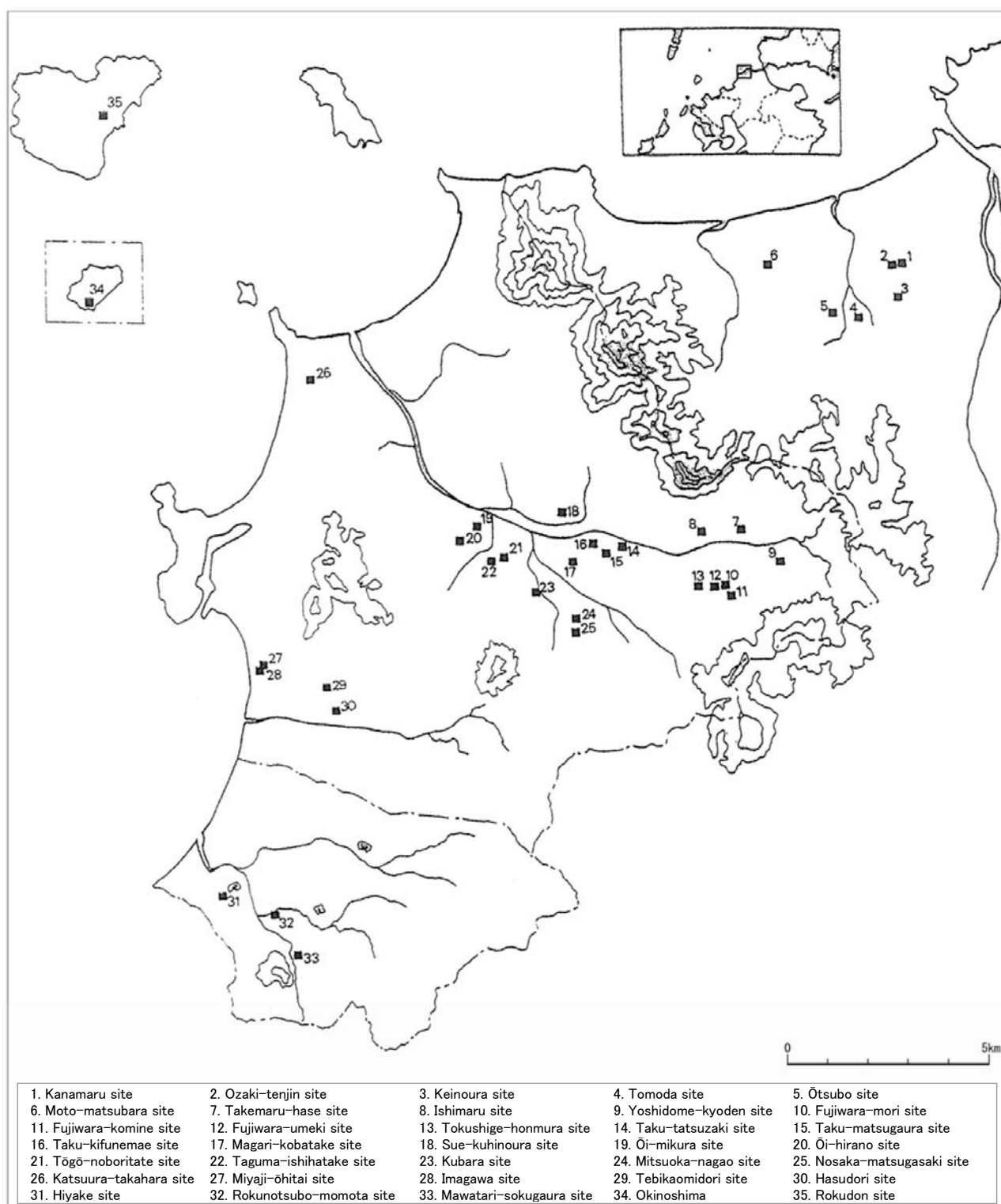


Figure 6 Distribution map of sites of the Early Yayoi period
Source: The original chart contributed by KAWAGUCHI Yōko

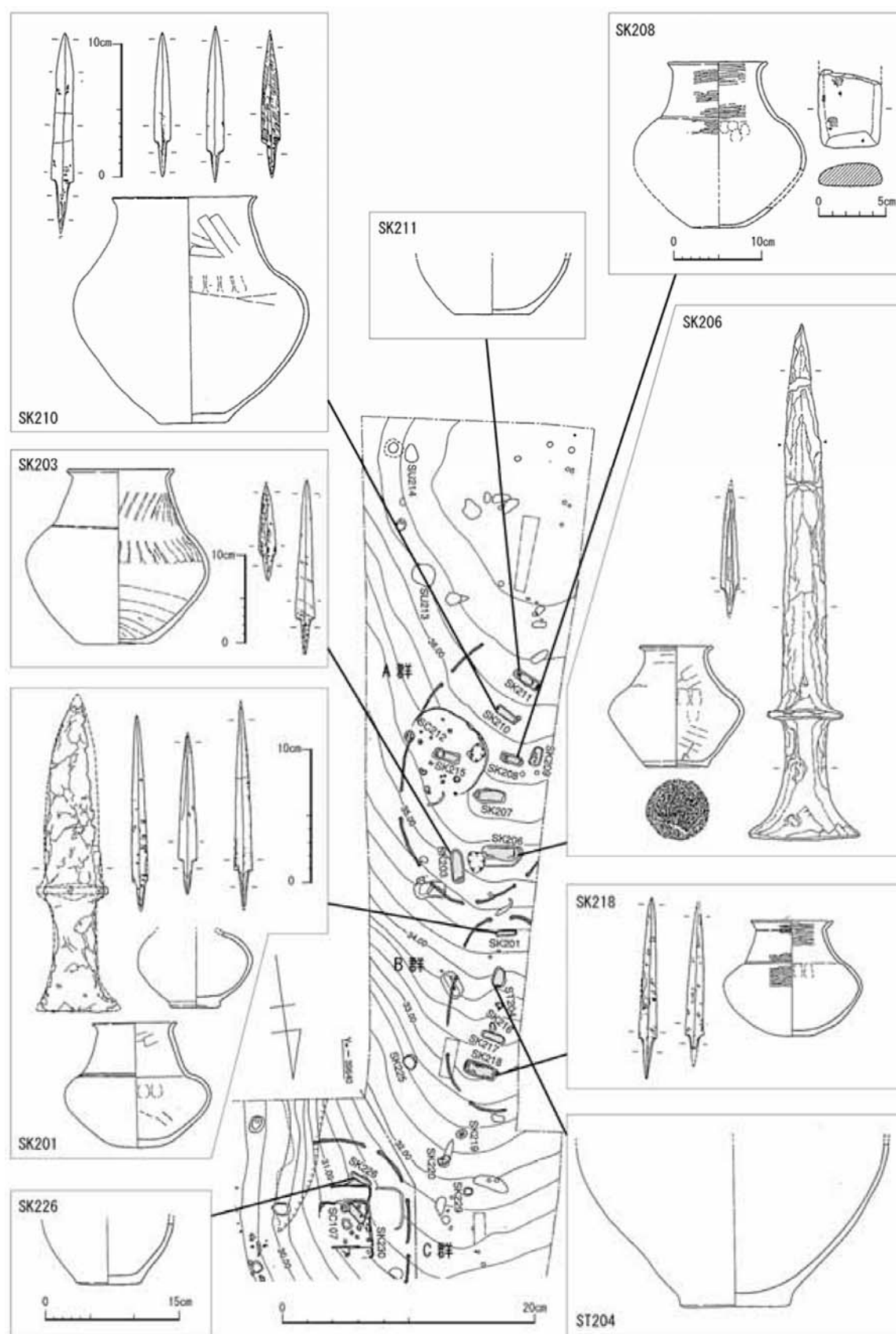


Figure 7 Tomb groups and artifacts at the Taku-matsugaura site
Source: Compiled from Munakata City Board of Education. *Taku-matsugaura: Fukuokaken Munakata-shi Taku Shozai Iseki no Hakkutsu Chōsa Hōkoku* [Report on the excavation survey at sites in Taku, Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture], 1999.

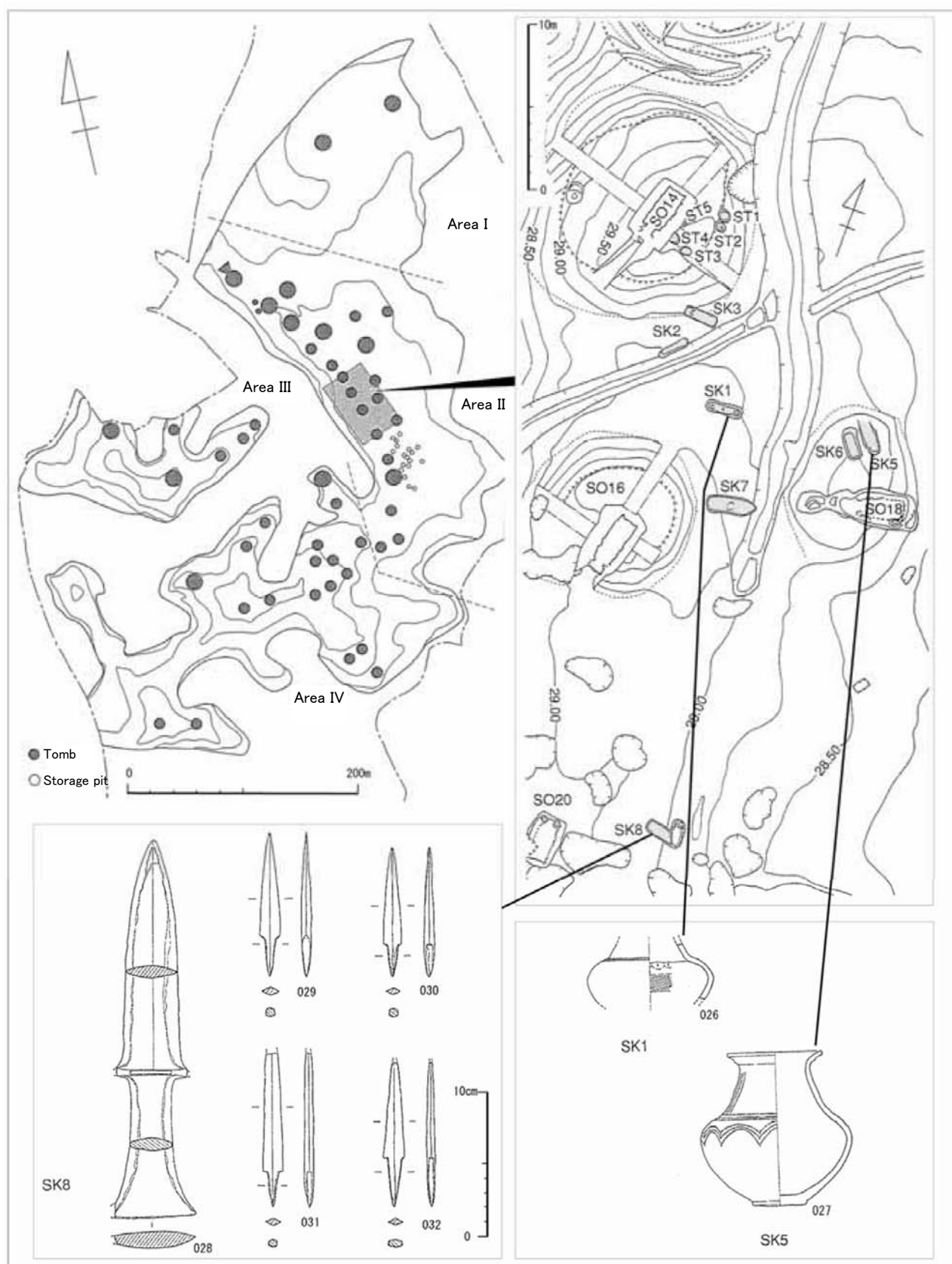


Figure 8 Tomb groups and artifacts at Area II of the Kubara site in Munakata City
 Source: Compiled from Munakata City Board of Education. *Taku-matsugaura: Fukuokaken Munakata-shi Taku Shozai Iseki no Hakkutsu Chōsa Hōkoku* [Report on the excavation survey at sites in Taku, Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture], 1999.

The tomb group at area II of the Kubara site (Figure 8) is made up of five burial jars for children and seven pit burials or wooden coffin tombs for adults. Unlike the tomb groups at the Taku-matsugaura site, which consist largely of adult tombs, this tomb group seems, at a glance, like a burial ground for the general members of the community, as child tombs account for 40 percent of the total. Yet the solitary tomb (SK8) in the southern tip of the excavation area, located some 20 meters away from an apparent assemblage of the remaining five burial jars for children and six pit burials or wooden coffin tombs for adults (SK1-3, 5-7) points to social stratification in this area as well. SK8 is the only tomb that yielded the top two of the three types of grave goods: one polished stone sword with a handle and four polished stone axes. The person buried at SK8 clearly dominated others in the community.

Seen as a whole, however, the tomb group at Kubara area II was apparently designed for the general members of the community, suggesting that these people were lower in social class than the dominant group in Taku-matsugaura. The question is how we should understand that, as the available evidence suggests, the clan in Taku-matsugaura was the highest in social class in the region although Tōgō-noboritate, a settlement that is judged to be a discrete entity separate from Taku-matsugaura from the major aspects of the tombs, was greater in settlement scale. A plausible hypothesis is that there was a transition in the regional hub from Taku-matsugaura to Tōgō-noboritate as the former slightly predates the latter. At the Taku-tatsuzaki site, which belonged to the same settlement as the tomb group at Taku-matsugaura, a contemporary encircling ditch has been discovered (Munakata City Board of Education, 2007). There was an apparent gap in social class between settlements that had encircling ditches and those that did not. For these reasons, this hypothesis will be confirmed when, at Tōgō-noboritate, a tomb group with grave goods that is contemporaneous with the encircling ditch is found.

All the evidence above suggests that a certain level of social stratification already existed the Munakata region in the Old Phase. Of noteworthy is not only that fact that the grave goods excavated at Taku-matsugaura and area II of the Kubara site include polished stone swords with handles, polished stone axes, and small mortuary jars, all of which are of direct lineage to the Middle Plain Pottery culture in the southern Korean Peninsula. Attention should also be paid to the evidence that suggests a direct link between the tomb group at Taku-matsugaura and the stone chamber tombs of the Middle Plain Pottery culture in the southern Korean Peninsula. Settlement remains in the Munakata region yielded artifacts with a direct link to the Middle Plain Pottery culture in the southern Korean Peninsula. They include bronze arrowheads and chisels made by reprocessing Liaoning-style bronze swords, as well as small, half-moon shaped beads of amazonite and thick cylindrical beads of jasper, all of which have been unearthed at the Imagawa site (Tsuyazaki Town Board of Education, 1981). This suggests that a big wave of this particular Korean culture came ashore in the Munakata region at this period of time.

This wave was the second of its kind, following the wave of the Plain Pottery culture in the early Middle Plain Pottery period (the Hyuam-ri phase), which corresponds to the dawn of the Yayoi period, that is, the initial stage of the Initial Yayoi period. The second wave belongs to the late Middle Plain Pottery period (the Songguk-ri phase). Despite the fact that this was the second wave, an important fact remains; this wave, which may have arrived indirectly, if not directly, was accepted by the Munakata region in a systematic manner. This is important because by this period of time, some parts of the southern Korean Peninsula had already seen significant social stratification and taken a steady step toward the formation of states.

c) Societies in the southern Korean Peninsula during the Middle Plain Pottery period

The notable sites of this period of time in the southern Korean Peninsula include the Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok site in Yeosu City, located in the Yeosu Peninsula, Southern Jeolla Province (Chonnam National University Museum, Yecheon City, 1993). The site has yielded 14 top stone-slabs of dolmen burials (of which four top stone-slabs have been confirmed to have its main part and the rest had been removed) and 26 stone chamber/coffin tombs with the top stone-slab missing. Of noteworthy is the bronze-yielding phase. The tombs at the site are divided into seven groups (Figure 9, No. 1). Each of Groups 1-7 has one tomb that has yielded a Liaoning-style bronze sword (Dolmen No. 7 and Tomb Nos. 2, 4, 9, 13, 21, 22). Only Tomb No. 2 has yielded a Liaoning-style bronze socketed spearhead as well as a Liaoning-style bronze sword (Chonnam National University Museum, Yecheon City, 1993). It is reasonable to assume that Liaoning-style bronze swords were considered sacred implements for the local ruling elite. Liaoning-style bronze swords, as in the case of narrow-bladed bronze swords that derived from them, have not been

unearthed from the remains of everyday life in the Korean Peninsula; they have been excavated often from tombs, and sometimes from depots. In fact, a silver seal inscribed “Fuzuhuojun” (the prince of Pujo Yegun) has been excavated from Tomb No.1 in Chongbaek-dong, Pyongyang City, together with narrow-bladed bronze swords and Chinese halberd (OKAZAKI Takashi, 1968). Therefore, tomb groups in which Liaoning-style bronze swords had been buried as grave goods are thought to include tombs of the ruling elite. The fact that Groups 1-7 at the Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok site yielded one Liaoning-style bronze sword apiece points to equal relationship among these seven groups of tombs. In the Yeosu Peninsula as a whole (Figure 9, No. 2), however, a three-tier structure was formed. At the upper tier was the Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok site, in which Liaoning-style bronze swords were concentrated. At the middle tier were Bongik-dong, Orim-dong, Hwajang-dong, and Pyeongyeo-dong sites, each of which yielded one or two Liaoning-style bronze swords. At the lower tier, there are many sites without Liaoning-style bronze swords. This three-tier structure indicates that in the Yeosu Peninsula, the formation of a state had already begun by the Middle Plain Pottery period, with the dominant group of Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok playing the pivotal role (TAKESUE Junichi, 2002b)⁵⁾.

Evidence suggests that social stratification was more advanced at the Songguk-ri site in Southern Chungcheong Province (Figure 9, No. 3). The evidence comes from Area 52, which includes a tomb with Liaoning-style bronze swords (Tomb No. 1) that was discovered in 1974. This area was located on a protruding hill just outside of the remains of a settlement surrounded by a wooden fence. These remains, the details of which were discovered in a subsequent survey, cover an area of at least 30 hectares, possibly up to 61 hectares). Surveys conducted in 1975 and 1993 discovered three stone coffin (Tomb Nos. 4, 5, 6), two burial pits with a stone-slab cover (Tomb Nos. 2, 3), and two jar burials (Tomb Nos. 8, 9). It was now learned that the site was the graveyard for the local ruling elite, accommodating eight tombs in total (KIM Gil-sik, 1998).

Of noteworthy here is the Namsan-ri site on hilly land, about 2.5 kilometers distant from the Songguk-ri site in a straight line (YOUN Moo-byong, 1987). An excavation survey at this site in 1971 yielded two stone coffin, 22 pit burials (including those with a stone-slab cover), and three jar burials, all of which have been found concentrated in areas A, B, and C. The pottery used for burial jars there indicates that tombs in area 52 of the Songguk-ri site and those at the Namsan-ri site were contemporary with each other. Yet the latter failed to yield bronze implements for grave goods. The spaces between tombs were larger at the Songguk-ri site. There are structural differences in stone coffin and pit burial between the two sites. At Songguk-ri, the tombs are all double-tiered. At Namsan-ri, only eight of the 24 tombs are double-tiered; the rest are single-tiered. The bottom area of the single- and double-tiered is larger at Songguk-ri. All these aspects suggest that the Namsan-ri site was home to the tombs of the general members of the community at Songguk-ri, as has already been noted in KIM Gil-sik, 1998. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the percentage of tombs for infants and children is higher at Namsan-ri.⁶⁾ The number of people buried in Songguk-ri area 52 is largely the same as the number of people buried in one of the seven groups of tombs at the Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok area. This suggests that those buried in Songguk-ri area 52 were the particular elite of a dominant group, which in turn indicates that the separation of social stratification was more advanced than in the Yeosu Peninsula.

Given all these circumstances, it is not unreasonable at all to assume that by the Early Yayoi period, a certain level of social stratification was already seen in the Munakata region, which had experienced the wave of the late Middle Plain Pottery culture of the southern Korean Peninsula in a systematic manner. It is safe to say that a measure of social stratification seen among or within the tomb groups in Taku-matsugaura and Kubara area II,⁷⁾ though not so advanced as in the Middle Plain Pottery period in the southern Korean Peninsula, laid the groundwork for the subsequent emergence of the clusters of bronze-yielding tombs of the local ruling elite at the Taguma-ishihatake site.

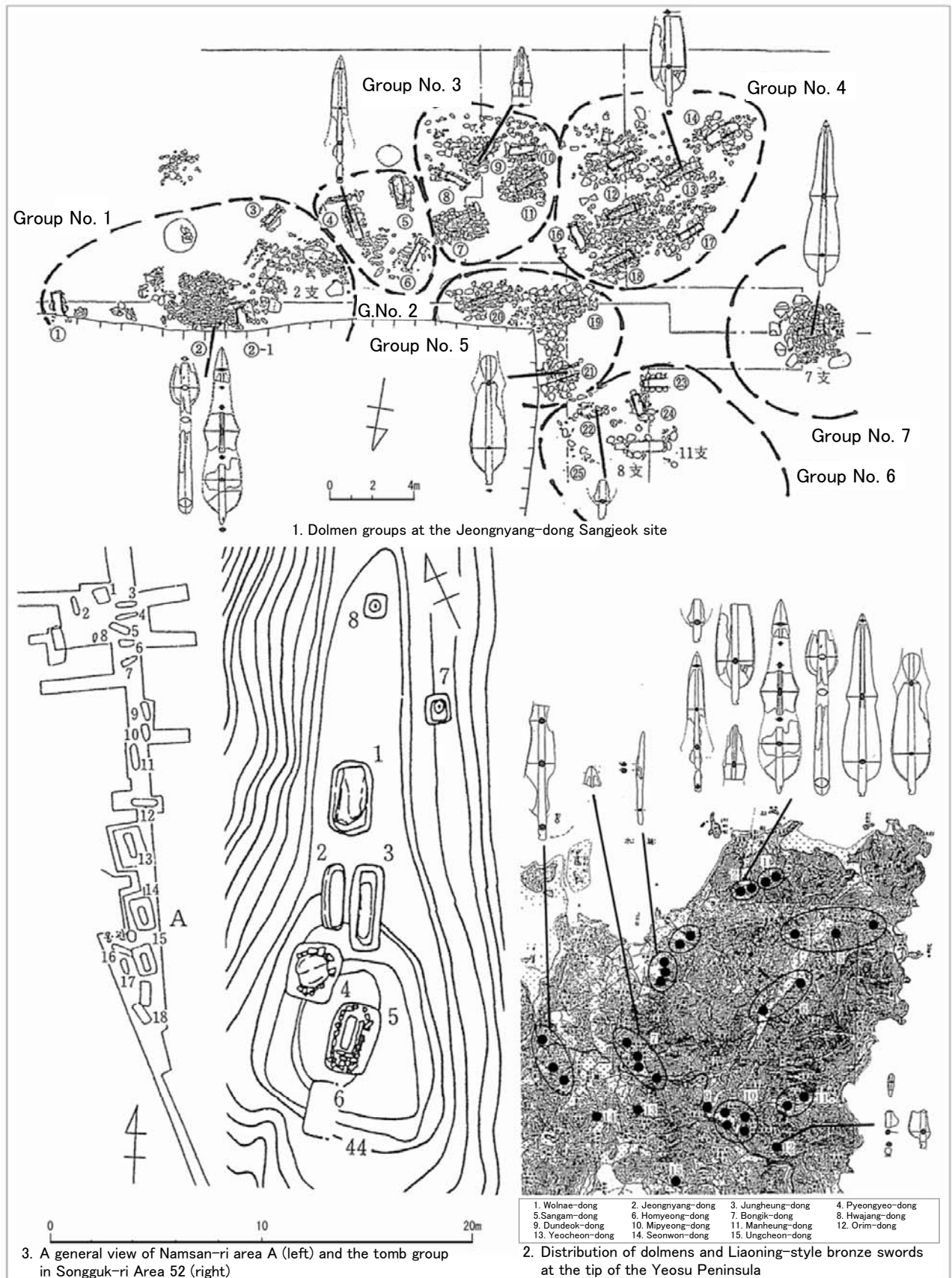


Figure 9 Hierarchical structure as represented by the type of tombs in Korea

Source: Created by TAKESUE

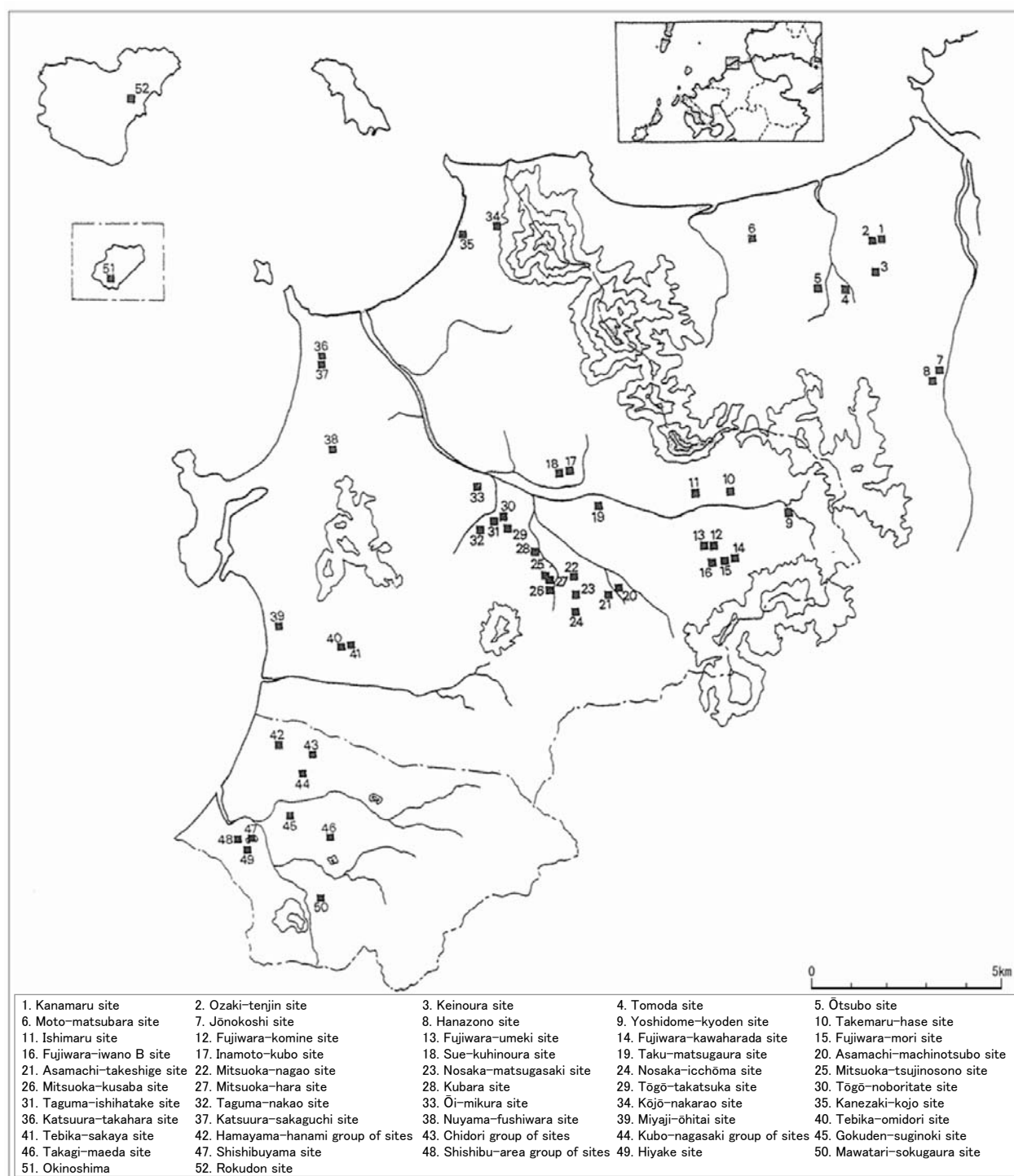


Figure 10 Distribution map of sites of the Middle Yayoi period
 Source: The original chart contributed by KAWAGUCHI Yōko

(3) Taguma-ishihatake site

The Taguma-ishihatake site is located on an isolated, low-lying plateau (measuring 150 meters east to west, 300 meters north to south with an altitude of 12 meters) on the left side of the middle reaches of the Tsuru River. The plateau is flanked by a tributary and a subtributary of this river. The features of the Yayoi period in the excavation survey area on the site include one encircling ditch of the late Early Yayoi period and nine tombs of the early Middle Yayoi period, as well as 170 storage pits (including circular earthen pits), six circular pit dwellings, and ditch-like features of the Middle Yayoi period (Figure 11, No. 1).

The excavated tomb group discussed in this paper (Figure 11, No. 2) represents the northeastern portion of the graveyard, which is thought to be square or rectangular in shape. Although the scale of the whole graveyard has yet to be confirmed, a summary survey report states: “If the key-shaped bend of the south road, which was originally a footpath between rice fields, bears relevance, it is possible to assume the existence of a demarcated tomb group the southernmost part of which largely borders with this road and which measures about 15 meters south to north. In view of the case of the Yoshitake-takagi site, the graveyard might be home to over 30 tombs, including wooden-coffin tombs and pit burials (Munakata City Board of Education, 2009: p. 35). A total of nine tombs have been detected. Of the nine, six have been excavated and found to have a wooden slit-log coffin. All these six tombs yielded bronze implements. Tombs Nos. 1, 2, and 4 had more than one such implement: five, four, and three of them, respectively. In addition, all these three tombs had a bronze halberd as well as bronze swords. Furthermore, Tombs Nos. 2 and 3 yielded bronze socketed spearhead. The other excavated tombs, i.e. Nos. 3, 6, and 7, yielded only one bronze implement apiece--a bronze sword. All these factors suggest that people back then had a system of ranking bronze weapons. Under the system, bronze swords were at the lowest rank. One rank above were bronze halberds. Socketed bronze spears were at the top rank.

Of the three tombs that have been detected but have not been excavated (Tombs Nos. 5, 8, 9), Tomb No. 5 apparently had a wooden plank coffin with clear traces of clay; the type of coffin the remaining two is unclear. Of noteworthy is that metal detector testing suggested that all the three tombs had bronze implements. This indicates that all the tombs in this group had bronze implements, as the excavated six tombs all had bronze weapons.

It is important to note that according to the idea of settlement assemblage that takes missing spaces into account as discussed earlier, the Taguma-ishihatake site did not stand alone; this site, together with the Tōgō-noboritate site, the Tōgō-takatsuka site, and the Taguma-nakao site, constituted a single settlement or village, which covered the area of what is now known as the Tōgō group of sites. What is more, since no other settlement in the region had such a large amount of bronze implements, this settlement seems to have been the leading one back then. This notion raises the possibility that it was a hub settlement of a state--a possibility that needs to be examined in the larger context of northern Kyūshū as a whole.

(4) Establishment of states in northern Kyūshū

A milestone event in northern Kyūshū from the last stage of the Early Yayoi period to the early Middle Yayoi period was the surging emergence of broad-based hub settlements that placed narrow-based hub settlements under their control and became the leading settlements in the entire plains or basins in which they were located. This event signifies the beginning of local polities or states as history books of ancient China describe them.

Social stratification appeared with a pecking order emerging among villages within a state, and community members being divided into dominant people (the ruling elite) and general people (commoners) at the village level. Social stratification in a local area serves as an indicator of state formation because it was linked to it. The discovery of bronze implements of a Korean Peninsula origin that emerged during this period of time provide a clue to whether states were being formed in northern Kyūshū. These items include narrow-bladed swords, spears and halberds, as well as *tachūsaimonkyō*, a geometric mirror with multiple knobs and decorated with finely ridged line patterns. In the Korean Peninsula, these types of bronze implements were solely buried in tombs of the top echelons of the community as grave goods. These types were considered sacred implements that should be normally put under careful management and, when a member of local ruling elite died, buried as grave goods; they have not been unearthed from the remains of

daily life. As if to support this observation, a silver seal inscribed “Fuzuhuojun” has been excavated together with narrow-bladed bronze swords and bronze socketed spearhead from Tomb No.1 in Chongbaek-dong, Pyongyang City as mentioned earlier. This practice in the Korean Peninsula was followed as it was in northern Kyūshū as well. Therefore, the tombs in which such items were buried as grave goods in northern Kyūshū are judged to be those of the local ruling elite.

In the Sawara Plain in Fukuoka City (Figure 11, No. 3), bronze implements of a Korean Peninsula origin that belong to the last stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the early Middle Yayoi period were predominantly concentrated in the Yoshitake site (Fukuoka City, 1995), which yielded one *tachūsaimonkyo*, three socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade, four bronze halberds, and 14 bronze swords. Other hub settlements (in Higashi-irube, Iikura, Arita, Nokata, and elsewhere) had essentially one or two swords or halberds (SHIMOJYŌ, ed. 1989).⁸⁾ The Yoshitake site is thus thought to have been home to a leading village that ruled other settlements in the Sawara Plain. Second in the hierarchy were other hub settlements, below which small peripheral settlements were placed. The Yoshitake site dominated in terms of settlement scale as well. Its daily life area exceeded 100,000 sq. meters, as against 20,000 sq. meters for the Higashi-irube site.

In northern Kyūshū, from the last stage of the Early Yayoi to the early Middle Yayoi period, each local area had one village where bronze implements of a Korean Peninsula origin were concentrated, just like a nucleus in each cell. Mount burials and demarcated tomb group bear relevance in this respect. Examples of such villages include the Uki-kunden site in the Karatsu Plain (Matsurakoku state), located in Karatsu City, Saga Prefecture; the Itazuke site in the Fukuoka Plain (Nakoku state), located in Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture; the Haru-no-tsuji site on the Iki Island (Ikikoku state), located in Iki City, Nagasaki Prefecture; as well as the Yoshinogari site in the eastern part of the Saga Plain in Saga Prefecture.

At the famous Yoshinogari site, an encircling ditch of the early Early Yayoi period surrounds an area of 30,000 sq. meters in the southern part of the local hilly land. By the last stage of the Early Yayoi period, residential areas for small unit groups, made up of several dwellings and storage pits each, were distributed in this hilly land. By the early Middle Yayoi period, such residential areas were concentrated in a ditch-enclosed area of 20,000 sq. meters in the southern part of the hilly area (SHICHIDA Tadaaki, 2005). At the Haru-no-tsuji site, two encircling ditches were constructed around a low-lying plateau by the early Middle Yayoi period, forming an oval-shaped area with a total area of some 240,000 sq. meters (Nagasaki Prefecture Board of Education, 2005). Such a process of enlargement was part of the state formation process. The typical encircling ditch back then formed a complete loop; the loop may have meandered according to the topographical features. In this way, the central settlement of a state greatly increased its scale during this period of time.

There were no significant differences among these central settlements in terms of their scale and the phase yielding bronze implements of a Korean Peninsula origin, suggesting that they were nearly equal in their power as well. The history book of ancient China called *The Treatise on Geography* in *The Book of Han* described this situation, stating that there were more than one hundred states in Japan.

The hierarchy within a state manifested itself in large buildings in hub settlements. The largest building in the Takagi area of the Yoshitake site, which was constructed in front of a tomb in the initial stage of the Middle Yayoi period and reconstructed in a number of occasions since then, was so large that by the time it was abolished in the late Middle Yayoi period, the extra-large building had a floor area of 115.2 sq. meters. The largest building at the Higashi-irube site, which was under the umbrella of the Yoshitake site, was much smaller with a floor area of about 50 sq. meters and lower in quality. The Honmura area of the Yubi site also boasted an extra-large building with a floor area of up to 167 sq. meters, which was built in the late Middle Yayoi period or later and rebuilt many times thereafter. It stood in front of a tomb group of the early Middle Yayoi period, which yielded seven narrow-bladed bronze swords.

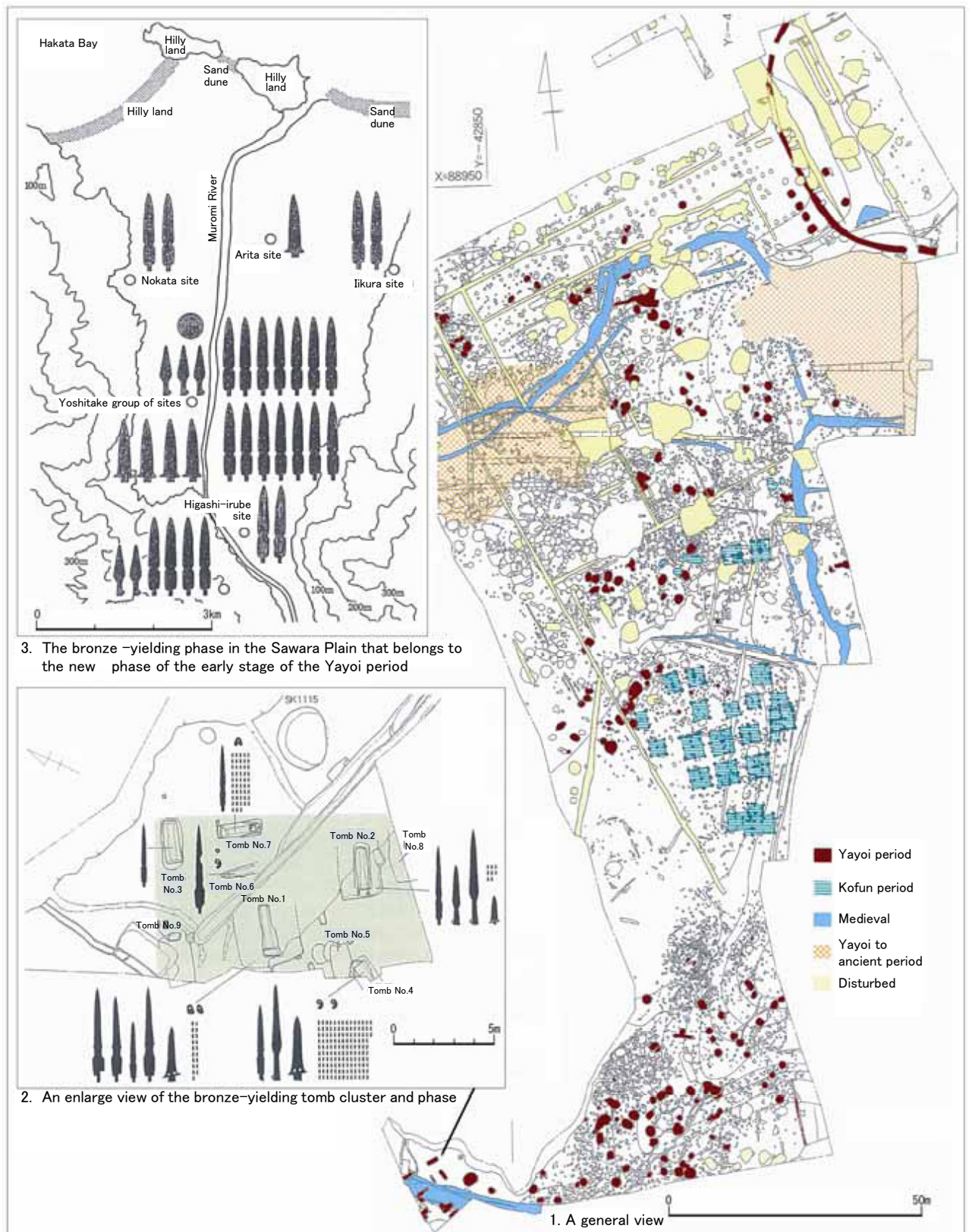


Figure 11 Distribution map (scale: 1/1,000) of features at the Taguma-ishihatake site and the bronze-yielding phase in the Sawara Plain
 Sources: 1-2: Compiled from Munakata City Board of Education. *Gaihō Taguma-ishihatake Iseki: Fukuoka-ken Munakata-shi Taguma Shozai Iseki no Hakkutsu Chōsa Gaiyō* [Interim survey report--Taguma-ishihatake site: an overview of the excavation survey of the site located in Taguma, Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture], 2009 3: SHIMOJYŌ Nobuyuki, ed. 1989, *Kodaishi Fukugen* [Reconstructing the ancient history] (modified).

All these pieces of evidence suggest that northern Kyūshū was undergoing social stratification as a whole, and the Munakata region was likely no exception, although it is unclear that the region had a large building. In the Munakata region, bronze implements of the new phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period were concentrated in the Taguma-ishihatake site. It is also worth noting that hub settlements in the surrounding areas had a few bronze implements as yielded at the Kubara site and the Asamachi-takeshige site. In the Tōgō group of sites as well, the Tōgō-takatsuka area and the Taguma-nakao area yielded a few bronze weapons, suggesting that social stratification was underway in this particular area. Predating the Taguma-ishihatake case, the Tōgō-takatsuka case and the Asamachi-takeshige case likely laid the groundwork for the intensive burial of grave goods in the early Middle Yayoi period. The Kubara case is thought of as being contemporary with these two cases, suggesting a similar structure to the one in the Sawara Plain. In short, the state formation process began in this particular region, though slightly lagging behind the Sawara Plain. It is worth noting, however, that this region differs from northern Kyūshū in some respects regarding tombs for local ruling elite of this period of time. In the case of northern Kyūshū, bronze weapons generally had a narrow blade and they were mostly found in burial jars. Essentially, one tomb yielded one bronze implement. There were no significant disparities among bronze-yielding tombs. Many other tombs did not bear even a single bronze implement. By contrast, this region has three major features as shown below:

- 1) Tombs yielded long bronze swords with a slightly narrow blade, rather than narrow-bladed ones.
- 2) Tombs used wooden coffins rather than burial jars, and such wooden coffins were of a split-log type.
- 3) As mentioned earlier, all tombs for the local ruling elite yielded bronze implements, and the intensive burial of grave goods is seen in many of them, as in the case of Tombs Nos. 1, 2 and 4.

The first feature is due to the fact that the time was the early Middle Yayoi period, rather later in time in the context of northern Kyūshū. Many of them were likely made in Japan. The second feature results from the fact that this region was outside the zone of large jar burials for adults. The fact of the matter is that four tombs in the Yoshitake-takagi area held bronze implements in wooden split-log coffins. It has been reported that Point No. 5 at the Etsuji site yielded the wooden split-log coffins of the Initial Yayoi period up to the initial stage of the Early Yayoi period. Their lineage should be studied in the future. The third feature is most important of all. It provides much-needed evidence that this region was more advanced than the Yoshitake-takagi area, which had only one tomb that involved the intensive burial of bronze implements as grave goods and than the contemporary Yubi-Honmura area, which had no such tombs. This evidence makes it possible to clearly define the phase that will fill the gap between tombs at this time of period and king tombs in the late Middle Yayoi period. It also clearly shows that the ruling elite of a state emerged in the Munakata region as well. The fact that no tomb in the bronze-yielding tomb group at the Taguma-ishihatake site has so far failed to yield one or more bronze implements may well indicate the emergence of the elite of a dominant group there.

One of the major duties of such a ruling elite included managing foreign relations. Among the archaeological finds relevant to this duty is a socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade believed to have been unearthed from Okinoshima Island (“socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade attributed to Okinoshima”).

3. Socketed Bronze Spears with a Narrow Blade of Okinoshima

(1) Characteristics of socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade

The socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade said to have been taken from Okinoshima Island (Figure 12, No. 1) is described in the report on the third round of archaeological survey on the island by AKUI Naganori and SATA Shigeru (AKUI Naganori, and SATA Shigeru, 1979; p. 51). According to the 1979 report, this bronze spear was already deposited and displayed in the Chidō Museum in Tsuruoka City, Yamagata Prefecture in 1968. Earlier, Mr. HASEBE Kōji, then residing in Asuka, Hirata Town, Akumi District, Yamagata Prefecture, found the instrument when he was constructing a military road in Okinoshima Island, where he was stationed as a soldier during WWII. Mr. HASEBE then brought it home. The report quotes him as saying, “I gathered it along with many other iron products.” It states: “Archaeological researchers meticulously searched the place where the socketed bronze spear with a

narrow blade was said to have been found and the surrounding areas, but they could not find what appeared to be an archaeological features or even any trace of it.” Mr. HASEBE is quoted as saying that he found the instrument “somewhere between the ruins of the former barracks and the former shrine office.”

This particular socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade is broken in half at the tip of the blade; these two pieces do not fit together perfectly as they are. If rebuilt, the instrument would measure 28.7 centimeters in length and 4.5 centimeters in width at *machi* (the part between the blade and the socket). The overall shape shows that it is a socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade. Because part of the socket opening is missing, it is unclear whether it originally had a loop on the side of its socket. A drawing of this bronze spear is available also in a book on the history of Munakata City, compiled by the Munakata municipal government (the Compilation Committee of *the History of Munakata City (Munakata-shishi)*, 1997: p. 646, Figure 81, No. 5). Unlike the drawing carried in the 1979 report, this drawing illustrates the back of the spear; it provides no entry for *settai* [a band-like part] near the socket opening. With no photos provided, it is rather difficult to determine whether the bronze spear had *settai*.⁹⁾ Still, for the reason discussed later, it is assumed that the spear had one. The following description is thus based on the drawing in the 1979 report.

One of the salient features of this socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade is that it has two projections on both the left and right sides near the joint between the socket and the blade body. Although the tips of all these four projections are missing, the 1979 report assumes that they were originally looped. However, two socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade found in South Korea, illustrated in Figure 12, both have two projections on either side on the point corresponding to that of the socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade attributed to Okinoshima. One of these two spears has been excavated in the Ipsil-ri site, located in Wolseong County, Northern Chungcheong Province, South Korea (UMEHARA Sujie, FUJITA Ryōsaku, and KOIZUMI Akio, 1925). The other is attributed to the Jukdong-ri site, located in the same county (Gyeongju National Museum, 1987). Both the Ipsil-ri spear (Figure 12, No. 6) and the Jukdong-ri spear (Figure 12, No. 3) have *settai* near the socket opening, although the shape is different; the former has three-line *settai* and the latter one-line *settai*. It is thus reasonable to assume that the Okinoshima spear also had *settai*.

Both the Ipsil-ri and the Jukdong-ri come with a narrow-bladed bronze halberd with decoration (Figure 12, Nos. 4 and 5). By the phase in which socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade and narrow-bladed bronze halberds emerged in addition to narrow-bladed bronze swords in the Korean Peninsula—a period corresponding to the old stage of the Third period according to the author’s chronology,¹⁰⁾ Suseok-ri pottery as represented by pots with a round clay band of the early Late Plain Pottery period appeared as well. During this phase, narrow-bladed bronze halberds were not decorated, and socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade were short in size. The new stage of the Third period saw the emergence of Neukdo pottery as typified by earthen pots with a triangular clay band of the late Late Plain Pottery period. By this stage, narrow-bladed bronze halberds became decorated with a smaller *uchi* in relation to *machi*, while socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade became longer at their blade tips. The narrow-bladed bronze halberds from the Ipsil-ri and Jukdong-ri sites generally belong to the new stage of the Third period. The chronological parallel between Plain pottery and Yayoi pottery suggests that Ipsil-ri and the Jukdong-ri correspond to the Sugu I phase in northern Kyūshū, where narrow-bladed bronze halberds of the last stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the initial stage of the Middle Yayoi period were largely undecorated in design, and by the early Middle Yayoi period (Sugu I phase), decorated bronze halberds dominated the scene.

The socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade from the Jukdong-ri site (Figure 12, No. 3), which is comparable to the Okinoshima counterpart in that they have a single *settai*, has a *settai* 6.5-7.5 millimeters wide in the upper part and 10 millimeters wide in the lower part. The Okinoshima spear, on the other hand, has a *settai* slightly wider, measuring 10 millimeters in the upper part, if the *settai* continues to the end of the socket. The *settai* of the Jukdong-ri spear starts at 3.5-4 millimeters away from the socket end. Observed in this light, the *settai* seems to start at 3 millimeters away from the socket end on the left side as seen in the drawing in the 1979 report, as the socket was relatively thinner near its end. If that is the case, the width of the *settai* is about 7 millimeters in the upper part, almost matching the Jukdong-ri spear.

The Ipsil-ri and Jukdong-ri spears have multiple raised lines in a vertical direction on the body and socket parts. The Okinoshima spear, on the other hand, does not have such multiple raised lines; instead, it typically has a horizontal ridge (raised line), 1-1.5 millimeters in width on either side of the *machi* part.

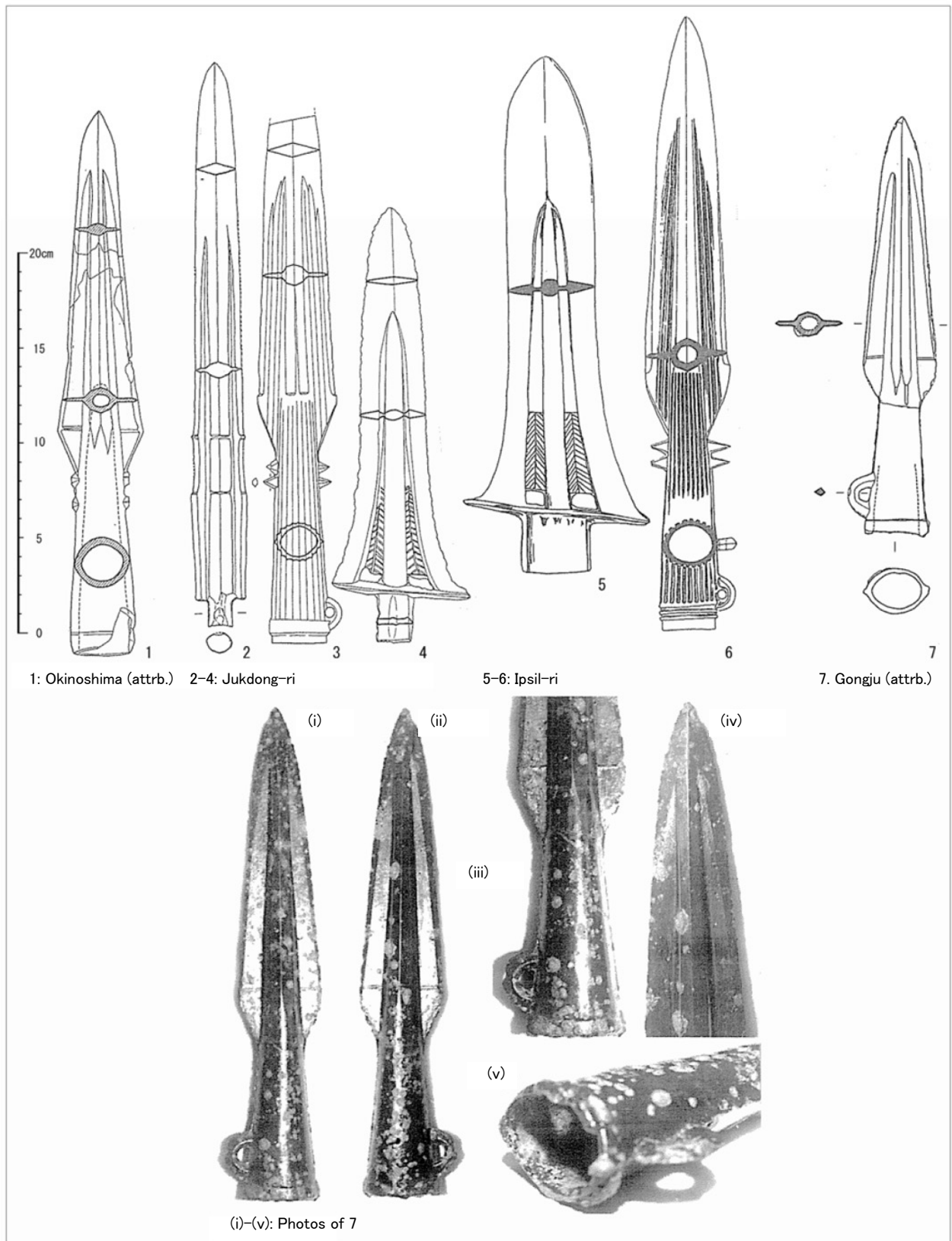


Figure 12 Socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade attributed to Okinoshima and related archaeological finds
 Sources: 1: AKUI Naganori, and SATA Shigeru. *Munakata Okinoshima Hombun* [*Munakata Okinoshima: main text*], 1979. 2-4: Gyeongju National Museum, 1987. 5-6: UMEHARA Sueji, FUJITA Ryōsaku, and KOIZUMI Akio. *Minami Chōsen ni okeru Kandai no Iseki* [*archaeological sites of the Han period in South Korea*], 1925. 7: Created and photos taken by TAKESUE

It is more reasonable to assume that such raised lines did exist because they are described in the drawing in the 1979 report, which is more reliable than the 1997 book on the history of Munakata City, although this book does not include these ridges in its drawing.

Socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade with such raised lines in South Korea include the one that is attributed to Gongju and possessed by the Soongsil University Museum (KIM Jeong Hak, ed., 1972). Measuring 22.1 millimeters in length and 3.9 millimeters in width at *machi*, the Gongju spear is slightly shorter and thinner than the Okinoshima spear. It likely predates the Okinoshima counterpart as the looped on the side of its socket fails to reach the *settai*. This may explain why the raised line is 3 millimeters above the *machi* part of the Gongju spear, while the raised line is largely located in the *machi* in the case of the Okinoshima spear. In the Korean Peninsula, socketed bronze spears with only rivet holes predate and outnumber those with a loop on the side of the socket. With its *settai* measuring 5 millimeters in width in the upper part, the Gongju spear is thought to be more or less contemporary with the socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade that is attributed to Hikawa and possessed by Dong-A University (SIM Bong-gun, and CHONG Song-hui, 1982). It likely corresponds to the late old stage of the Third period according to the author's chronology (the closing stage of the Suseok-ri phase). It may be worth adding that, in the case of this socketed bronze spear, one side of the socket is partly reversed and that the core print part has two core runners (TAKESUE Junichi, 2001).

All these pieces of evidence suggest that the Okinoshima spear largely belongs to the Sugu I phase and that it is predated by the Gongju spear by one archaeological period and nearly contemporary with the Ipsil-ri and Jukdong-ri spears.

The question is: "Was the Okinoshima spear part of the grave goods or a ritual deposit?" In the context of northern Kyūshū, such narrow-bladed bronze weapons were not discovered from the remains of daily life as mentioned earlier. They were considered sacred implements that should be buried in tombs for the local ruling elite. Evidence from the Sawara Plain clearly shows that the ruling elite developed in hub settlements. Okinoshima Island, however, did not have such hub settlements or tombs that have been confirmed to belong to the Yayoi period. No such archaeological features as dwelling remains have been unearthed, although fragments of Jomon and Yayoi pottery and Haji ware have been excavated or gathered from the Shamusho-mae site on the island. Therefore, the bronze socketed spearhead attributed to Okinoshima was clearly not part of the waste discarded in the remains of daily life. It was likely not part of the grave goods, either. Therefore, there is a high possibility that the Okinoshima spear was part of a ritual deposit.

All the narrow-bladed bronze weapons of a Korean origin that have been unearthed so far in northern Kyūshū are thought to have been buried as grave goods. In the Korean Peninsula, however, recent studies have confirmed some cases in which such bronze implements were certainly buried for ritual purposes, allowing archaeologists to perform comparative studies concerning Okinoshima Island.

(2) Deposited bronze weapons in the Gapo-dong site in South Korea

The Sangnim-ri site in Wanju County, Northern Jeolla Province provides the first confirmed example of deposition of bronze weapons in the Korean Peninsula. A total of 26 Chinese-type bronze swords believed to have been produced in Korea have been found on the southern slope of a hill at the site. Tied up in a bundle, the swords lay in an orderly manner, with their blade tips facing east (CHUM Young-rae, 1976).

The subsequent examples were raised by KIM Chong-chol. They included two Liaoning-style bronze swords apiece from Yejeon-dong and Chojeon-myeon, both in Northern Gyeongsang Province. (The bronze swords from the latter site had been attributed to Sangju or Muju.) Other examples were narrow-bladed bronze swords, socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade, and bronze spear-like planes from Paeg'un-ri in Southern Gyeongsang Province (KIM Chong-chol, 1987).

The two Liaoning-style bronze swords from Yejeon-dong have been found in a naturally-formed pile of rocks, 10 meters in width and 20 meters in length on a slope of a hill at the back of Yonjon hamlet. The two Liaoning-style bronze swords from Chojeon-myeon (KIM Won-yong, 1974), which are now among the collection of the Ho-Am Art Museum, are said to have been associated with other Liaoning-style bronze swords, now in the possession of the Soongsil University Museum (or the Soongsil University Museum

when KIM Chong-chol raised these examples in 1987). According to the account by AHN Choon-bae as described by KIM Chong-chol, the exact location where these two swords have been unearthed was Chojeon-myeon, Seongju County, Northern Gyeongsang Province. They were discovered from a naturally-formed pile of rocks at the bottom of a mountain (KIM Chong-chol, 1987: p. 392). The bronze implements from Paeg'un-ri, on the other hand, have been found stacked up in gravel at the foot of Jiri Mountain by workers when they were working on a local road as part of the Saemaeul Movement. The surrounding areas are dotted with prehistoric archaeological sites that yielded dolmen burials among other artifacts. SIM Bong-gun, the original reporter, said: "It [the pile of rocks that seems to have been formed naturally] may have originally been a coffin made of flagstone in the gravel, which was later destroyed. I say this because the amount scattered flagstone fragments was estimated to be enough to have been used for the coffin. But I'm not 100 percent sure." (SIM Bong-gun, 1981, the translated version: p. 139). For this reason, this paper does not confirm or deny that the bronze implements from Paeg'un-ri is a deposit; it regards only the cases of Yejeon-dong and Chojeon-myeon as cases of deposition. These two cases suggest that the ritual deposition of bronze weapons was practiced as early as the period of Liaoning-style bronze swords, which predates the period of narrow-bladed bronze swords. Since such rituals were practiced on a mountain slope in a remote area, it is likely that their scope exceeded the boundary of the settlement or village concerned and covered a wider area of which the deposition point commanded a view. They are thought to have been rituals for a subregion or even a state.

Be that as it may, ritual deposition of bronze weapons already existed before the last stage of the Early Yayoi period.¹¹⁾ This helps confirm the significant development of the local ruling elite by the phase of Liaoning-style bronze swords.

The Gapo-dong¹²⁾ site in Masan City, Southern Gyeongsang Province, which yielded bronze swords in 1998 provides one confirmed case of deposition of bronze implements during the period in which narrow-bladed bronze swords, socketed spears, and halberds co-occurred, that is, the Third period according to TAKESUE chronology. In reporting on the 1998 survey, Lee sang-gil reviewed cases of bronze implements of the Third period or later and reclassified some cases that had been regarded as those of grave goods as those of deposition (LEE Sang-gil, 2000; Kyungnam University Museum, 2006).

Around that time, GOTŌ Tadashi reviewed cases of deposition of bronze implements in the Korean Peninsula (GOTŌ Tadashi, 2000). After that, a case in which narrow-bladed bronze swords had been buried within the settlement for ritual purposes was confirmed at the Yeongchang-ri site in Hapcheon County, Southern Gyeongsang Province (KIM Hyun-sik, 2000; and Kyungnam Archaeological Research Institute, 2002a). More recently, MIYAZATO Osamu gathered a comprehensive range of cases--including latest ones--in which bronze implements had been buried for ritual purposes in the Korean Peninsula. Among them are a case in which Liaoning-style socketed bronze spears that belongs to the early stage of the First period had been buried within a dwelling (MIYAZATO Osamu, 2010).

Of all these cases in which bronze implements had been deposited in the Korean Peninsula, the one most comparable to the Okinoshima case is found at the Gapo-dong site.

The deposit of bronze implements at the Gapo-dong site was discovered by construction workers who were working on the construction of a gymnastic park in the campus of Kyungnam University. It was made up of one narrow-bladed bronze sword, one socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade, one narrow-bladed bronze halberd, and one bronze spear-like plane (Figure 13, below). This plane is now unaccounted for.

The Gapo-dong site is located on the sharp, eastern slope of Mt. Karuma (200 meters above sea level) west of Yulgu Bay at the entrance of Masan Bay, at an altitude of 23 meters (Figure 13, above). Masses of rock that have fallen from the peak are distributed here and there on the slope, which is inclined by 25 degrees. Regarding the location where the bronze implements were unearthed, the report (Kyungnam University Museum, 2006) quoted the workers as saying that two giant rocks, each measuring two meters tall and two meters thick, stood in contact with each other, and the space below them was covered with earth that had slid down the mountain. Archaeologists first removed the rock on the west. Then they removed the soil that had been between the two rocks. In the process, a narrow-bladed bronze halberd and the blade tip part of a socketed bronze spear with a narrow blade began to appear next to the lower part of the western side of the rock on the east.

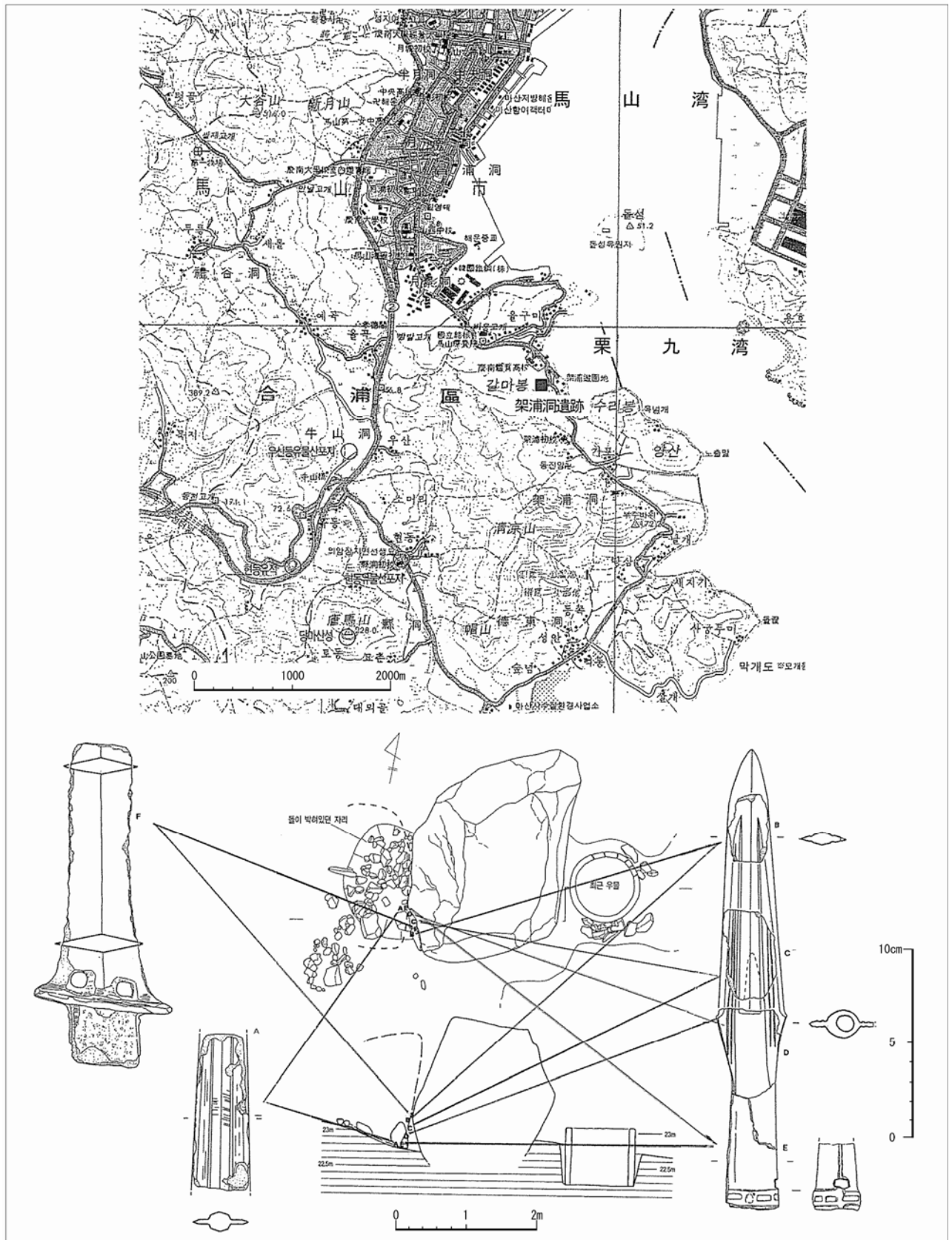


Figure 13 The location of the Gapo-dong site (above) and the excavation of bronze implements deposited there (below)
Source: Compiled from Kyungnam University Museum, 2006.

In this way, they worked to confirm this archaeological find with the west rock already removed and the east rock and its surroundings left as they had been earlier. In consideration of the possibility that the east rock was a top stone-slab of a dolmen, the archaeologists initially adopted the survey technique designed for dolmens.

First, the archaeologists removed the humus soil around the rock so that a cross-shaped ridge would appear on the ground and the rock would remain on its crossing point. They searched for archaeological features while identifying the natural ground. The natural ground was weathered bedrock. The dark purple soil of weathered rock was accumulated on yellow granite soil along the slope. The upper soil was blackish with the organic matter combined with the water that flew along the local valley.

At the first glance, the place from where the west rock that had been removed looked like a pit with an indeterminate form. It later turned out, however, that the rock had not been embedded artificially. The lower part of the rock was directly stuck into the natural ground. No facilities or features were confirmed underneath. Specifically, the rock had apparently crumbled down the slope and stuck into the natural ground layer and the humus layer over it. The archaeologists decided that the hole that had looked like a pit of an indeterminate form was formed with the soil under and around the rock being humified with tree roots and other matters. They therefore concluded that the west rock had not been a top stone-slab of a dolmen or placed artificially but it had been originally there and left as it was.

The archaeologists removed the soil stuck in the hole that had held the west rock. They also laid bare the ground surface under the gap between the now-removed west rock and the existing east rock. Below the west side of the existing east rock appeared one piece of bronze sword and three pieces of socketed bronze spear. All these artifacts were unearthed from the gap between the two rocks. They have been found at different positions and levels. Specifically, the bronze sword piece was found at the same level as the bottom surface of the hole in which the west rock had been stuck. The three pieces of socketed bronze spear were discovered at different levels at an interval of 10 to 15 centimeters. Based on these observations, the archaeologists concluded that the bronze implements had been stuck in the gap between the two rocks. Above all, they concluded that the previously-cut four pieces of a socketed bronze spear had been inserted into the gap between the rocks at different levels. In addition, a chipped digging instrument believed to be a hoe blade was recovered from the edge of the hole in which the west rock had placed. Pieces of Plain Pottery and charcoal have been also unearthed at some points in the vicinity. There was a well--which had been used until recently--in a low land west of the existing rock. Distributed around the well were pieces of pottery of the Three Kingdoms period and porcelain pieces, as well as charcoal pieces and modern artifacts such as copper coins.

The archaeologists concluded the two giant rocks were natural masses of rock, not part of artificial facilities. They could not find any trace of archaeological remains. They also concluded that the bronze implements had been inserted into the gap between the rocks on the mountain slope, not buried as grave goods. In their report, the archaeologists state: “we concluded that the bronze implements were deposited for some special purpose.

The socketed bronze spear thus discovered is characterized by six dented decorations of a rectangular shape on its *settai*. Similar dented decorations are seen in socketed bronze spears yielded from the Mado-dong site in Sacheon City, Southern Gyeongsang Province, which is said to have been associated with a double-necked tube-like bronze item (SIM Bong-gun, and Chong SONG hui, 1982). The Mado-dong case, which belongs to the Fourth period of TAKESUE’s chronology, is marked with square-shaped dented decorations, which are placed at a smaller interval. This suggests that the Gapo-dong case predates the Mado-dong case.

The bronze halberd excavated at the Gapo-dong site is characterized by a round hole and the lack of a coulisse. After examining similar bronze halberds at the Ewha Womans University Museum, LEE Kun-moo concluded that because of this large and thick *uchi*, this particular bronze halberd is contemporaneous with those unearthed at the Soso-ri and Hapsong-ri sites in Southern Jeolla Province and the Chopo-ri site in Southern Chungcheong Province (LEE Kun-moo, 2000). The bronze halberd belongs to the old stage of the Third period according to TAKESUE’s chronology. Being contemporaneous with socketed bronze spears, the bronze implements at the Gapo-dong site are thought to have been deposited

during and around the new stage of the Third period (corresponding to the early Middle Yayoi period), meaning that they are largely contemporaneous with the Okinoshima case as well.

Given its location on a steep slope overlooking Masan Bay and the lack of settlement remains nearby, the practice of depositing bronze implements at the Gapo-dong site was most likely aimed at praying for maritime safety. Its association with giant rocks is of significance as well. The socketed bronze spear attributed to Okinoshima was also found near giant rocks in an area overlooking the sea, that is, on the solitary island in distant seas. All these observations suggest that as in the Gapo-dong case, this particular spear was used for rituals that prayed for safe sea voyages. By extension, the spear points to the practice of local rituals for successful foreign relations as well as the existence of a local belief system concerning Okinoshima.

(3) Relations between the Korean Peninsula and northern Kyūshū in the new phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period

The next question is: What were the relations between northern Kyūshū and the Korean Peninsula like in the new phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period, to which both the socketed bronze spear attributed to Okinoshima and the bronze-yielding tomb group at the Taguma-ishihatake site belong, especially during the Sugu I phase?

The period between the last stage of the Early Yayoi period and the early Middle Yayoi period is marked by the existence in Japan of settlements of the late Plain Pottery people from the southern Korean Peninsula. Most of these settlements constituted a small part of a limited number of villages, chiefly in northern Kyūshū. The remains of these settlements have yielded a large amount of late Plain Pottery and pottery of its lineage--pottery completely different in design from Yayoi Pottery. Recent studies show that such settlements also existed in central Kyūshū and present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture (KATAOKA, 2008).

The late Plain Pottery is best characterized by pots with their rim decorated with a clay roll. They are subdivided into pots with a circular cross-section in the early stage (Suseok-ri type) and those with a triangular cross-section in the late stage (Neukdo type). An archaeological survey conducted in 1974 at the Morooka site in Fukuoka City in northern Kyūshū yielded over 50 Plain Pottery vessels of a Suseok-ri type from 12 out of the 18 earthen pits of the last stage of the Early Yayoi period (Fukuoka City, 1975). These vessels were imported or faithfully reproduced products. They came in a range of shape categories of Plain Pottery. Most of them were pots for cooking. Some earthen pits produced burnt earth. In contrast, only 30 Yayoi vessels have been excavated in this area. All these observations clearly indicate that the area constituted a residential area mostly for the Plain Pottery people from the Korean Peninsula. It seems, however, that their residence was temporary. First of all, no false Plain Pottery--pottery with Yayoi flavor--has been found. The unearthened vessels were chronologically concentrated in one period. Furthermore, stoneware was rarely discovered. Given that this area was located on the periphery of the Itazuke site, a hub settlement back then, it is highly likely that the Plain Pottery people contact and even interact with the Yayoi people but stopped short of becoming assimilated into them. This may be because they did not live there long enough. The author calls this kind of settlement a Morooka-type settlement. Morooka-type settlements are also known to have existed in a group of archaeological sites on the Mikuni hills in Ogori City, Fukuoka Prefecture, including the Yokoguma-nabekura site, the Mikuni-no-Hana site, and Yokogumayama site (KATAOKA, 1999).

At the Habu site in neighboring Saga Prefecture (KATAOKA, 1999), archaeologists have unearthed a small amount of Suseok-ri-type Plain Pottery and a large amount of false Plain Pottery, along with Yayoi Pottery of the last stage of the Early Yayoi up to the early Middle Yayoi period. The unearthened Plain Pottery and false Plain Pottery came in major shape categories, among which pots dominated. They are chronologically classified into the old stage--corresponding to the last stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the initial stage of the Middle Yayoi period--and the new stage--corresponding to the initial and early stages of the Middle Yayoi period. False Plain Pottery in the old stage retained many features of Plain Pottery; in the new stage, however, they adopted many features of Yayoi Pottery, crowding out many of the Plain Pottery features. This represents the assimilating process whereby the Plain Pottery people settled down and committed themselves to the local community. The author calls this kind of settlement a Habu-type settlement. Habu-type settlements are also known to have existed in the Haru-no-tsuji site (Nagasaki Prefecture, 2005),

the Nabeshima-honson-minami site (Saga City, 1991), and the Gondo group of sites in Kumamoto Prefecture (the Compilation Committee of *the History of Kumamoto City (Kumamoto-shishi)*, 1996). The Habu type can be described as a long-term settlement version of the Morooka type.

The false Plain Pottery at the Haru-no-tsuji site included the Neukdo-type as well as the Suseok-ri type in large proportions. Proper Plain Pottery was also excavated in no small quantity. Both false pottery and proper plain pottery have been unearthed in the northeastern part of the periphery of a low-lying plateau. It is not located at the center of the area surrounded by the encircling ditch; in fact, it is outside of the area. The remains of a seaport that was built in the early Middle Yayoi period (Nagasaki Prefecture, 2007) suggests that in the period of Plain Pottery of a Korean origin--from the last stage of the Early Yayoi period to the Middle Yayoi period, the Plain Pottery people often came and settled, controlling the settlement center from the periphery. In this way, they likely taught local people how to build a port and thus arranged international trade.

In this period of time onward, *Wa* people or inhabitants of ancient Japan seem to have moved to the southern Korean Peninsula. Both proper pottery and false Yayoi pottery of the Middle Yayoi and other periods have been unearthed in no small quantities at a number of locations. Among them were the Naesung site in Busan City (Busan Municipal Museum, 1990), the Neukdo site in Sacheon City, Southern Gyeongsang Province (TAKESUE Junichi, 2008a), and the Gusan-dong site in Gimhae City (Kyungnam Archaeological Research Institute, 2002a). Yayoi-type pottery unearthed at the Naesung site had been imported or faithfully reproduced products of the initial and early stages of the Middle Yayoi period. They accounted for as much as 90 percent of the contemporary pottery yielded from this small site, and most of them were pots. It is thus likely that the Naesung site was a residential area for a *Wa* people group, who cooked using these vessels.

The Neukdo site, covering the whole island of Neukdo in the southern Korean Peninsula, has yielded a large amount of Yayoi-type pottery as well as Korean pottery and thus has an important role to play in understanding the group immigration of Yayoi people and their transformation process, as well as exchanges between Japan and Korea back then. Although the site has yielded pottery of the initial and early stages of the Middle Yayoi period, recent excavation surveys produced a large amount of pottery of the late Middle Yayoi period as well. The Yayoi-type pottery found at the Neukdo site belongs to the last stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the early Late Yayoi period (TAKESUE, 2008a). The period during which the Yayoi-type pottery co-existed with Korean pottery can be divided into two phases: (i) Neukdo I coexistence phase, from the last stage of the Early Yayoi period to the early Middle Yayoi period; and (ii) Neukdo II coexistence phase, from the late Middle Yayoi period to early Late Yayoi period. Although the Yayoi-type pottery accounts for less than 10 percent of the whole pottery found at this site, false Yayoi Pottery have been also unearthed. This indicates that some Yayoi people moved in groups to this island and lived there for a long time. The false Yayoi Pottery is made up of Type A, which shows some features of Plain Pottery; and Type B, which looks almost like Plain Pottery. In addition, there is the type of Plain Pottery that has incorporated some features of Yayoi-type pottery. The author tentatively calls this type “false Plain Pottery.” It is more likely that the false Plain Pottery was made by the Plain Pottery people. All these observations illustrate close interaction between the Yayoi people and the Plain Pottery people.

Not surprisingly, these Yayoi-type vessels originate in northern Kyūshū, especially areas west of the Onga River. Some of them, however, may come from the Suō and Nagato areas, as in the case of inflexed-rim jars of the Neukdo I phase that are peculiar to these two areas. Others originate in the western Inland Sea region, areas east of the Onga River, and the Chikugo and Higo areas. These finds suggests that the intermingling with Neukdo involved not only northern Kyūshū's coastal region facing the Sea of Genkai but also areas east of the Onga River, the western Inland Sea region, and the Higo area. It is worth adding that at the Gusan-dong site in Gimhae City, there existed a settlement where Yayoi-type pottery of the Jōnokoshi to Sugu I phases dominated, suggesting that there were several hubs (nodes) for international exchanges, including Neukdo, on the southern coast of Korea (TAKESUE Junichi, 2010).

The Neukdo site has also yielded not only fishing implements of a Korean origin but also--though in smaller quantity--those of a northern Kyūshū origin, including abalone scrapers made of whale bone and antler for fishing divers (Figure 14), and two-piece hooks of a northwestern Kyūshū origin. Although the classification of these abalone scrapers into the Neukdo I phase and the Neukdo II phase has been

inadequate, there was a clear distinction in material between northern Kyūshū--where they were all made of whale bone--and Neukdo, where they were dominantly made of antler. Furthermore, the unique design feature that was seen only in northern Kyūshū--projections on the side of the basal part--was reproduced or modeled after using antler in Neukdo. This indicates that the Yayoi people who had migrated to Neukdo included a significant number of fishers from northern Kyūshū (“the water-men of Wa”) and stayed long enough to induce acculturation (TAKESUE Junichi, 2008c).

The Gusan-dong site is located on the long, colluvial slope on the south side of Mr. Gyeongun. It is situated on the periphery of the zone of the Gimhae Hoehyeon-ri site to the northwest. The Gimhae Hoehyeon-ri site is thought to be the central settlement in the Late Plain Pottery period. The Gusan-dong site is divided into four excavation areas: A1, A2, B, and C. The features of the Plain Pottery period include the remains of dwellings, pits, raised-floor buildings, and tombs.

The features of the Late Plain Pottery period are concentrated in area A1, except for Dwelling Site No. 3 in area A2. The remaining features belong to the Middle Plain Pottery period. Of the features of the Plain Pottery period in areas A1 and A2, those that produced Yayoi-type pottery have been unearthed in area A1 only (Figure 15). These Yayoi vessels were only of a northern Kyūshū origin. More important, the features that produced Yayoi-type pottery yielded Yayoi-type pottery more than Late Plain Pottery in number, with the former accounting for about 70 percent of the total.

The features at area A1 are divided into Group I on the west and Group II on the east. Generally, Group I covers the last stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the initial stage of the Middle Yayoi period, while Group II spans the initial and early stages of the Middle Yayoi period. This suggests that the community moved from Group I to Group II.¹³⁾ In both Group I and Group II, a cluster of features that yielded two or more Yayoi-type vessels was surrounded by features that yielded only one Yayoi vessel or none. These Yayoi-type vessels were associated with Late Plain Pottery vessels that largely look like Neukdo-type pottery. False Plain Pottery that had some features of Yayoi Pottery was also yielded. Conversely, the Gusan-dong site also yielded false Yayoi Pottery that bore some features of Neukdo-type pottery.

All these observations indicate that the Yayoi people who immigrated to the Gusan-dong site and that their descendents resided in some corners of this village in groups, lived with the Plain Pottery people, and gradually moved from Group I to Group II. Yayoi Pottery apparently increased in number as the time progressed, and not the other way around; it is not that Yayoi Pottery was large in number at first and it was gradually replaced by false Yayoi Pottery. This suggests that Yayoi people immigrated to the site in a number of occasions, not in a single one.

Area A1 has yielded double-mold cast iron axes in pieces or almost complete form, as well as pieces that might have been be part of ingots. It is well known that pieces of such cased iron axes of the last stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the early Middle Yayoi period have been unearthed in northern Kyūshū.¹⁴⁾ This implies that Yayoi people migrated to the Korean Peninsula in order to obtain ironware and its raw materials as well as the technology to produce such articles.

In this way, by the early Middle Yayoi period, “water-men of Wa” in the coastal region of northern Kyūshū played a major role in international exchanges. Their geographical scope of these activities extended as far as the western Inland Sea region and central Kyūshū, as indicated by the Yayoi-type pottery excavated at the Neukdo site. It is quite reasonable to assume that those people include “water-men” in the coastal area of the Munakata region. Unfortunately, archaeological sites in this particular area have yet to produce archaeological remains to confirm this assumption. It may be worth adding, however, that pottery with a triangular clay band that had been yielded from a trench in the valley area of the Taguma-ishihatake site is thought to belong to the Neukdo phase, which corresponds to the second half of the late Plain Pottery period. This suggests that the ruling elite in Taguma-ishihatake played a part in such international exchanges.

As has already noted, the area extending from the coastal area of the Munakata region to the coastal area of the San-in region has produced earthenware bowl flutes that belong to the middle stage of the Early Yayoi period up to the early stage of the Middle Yayoi period.

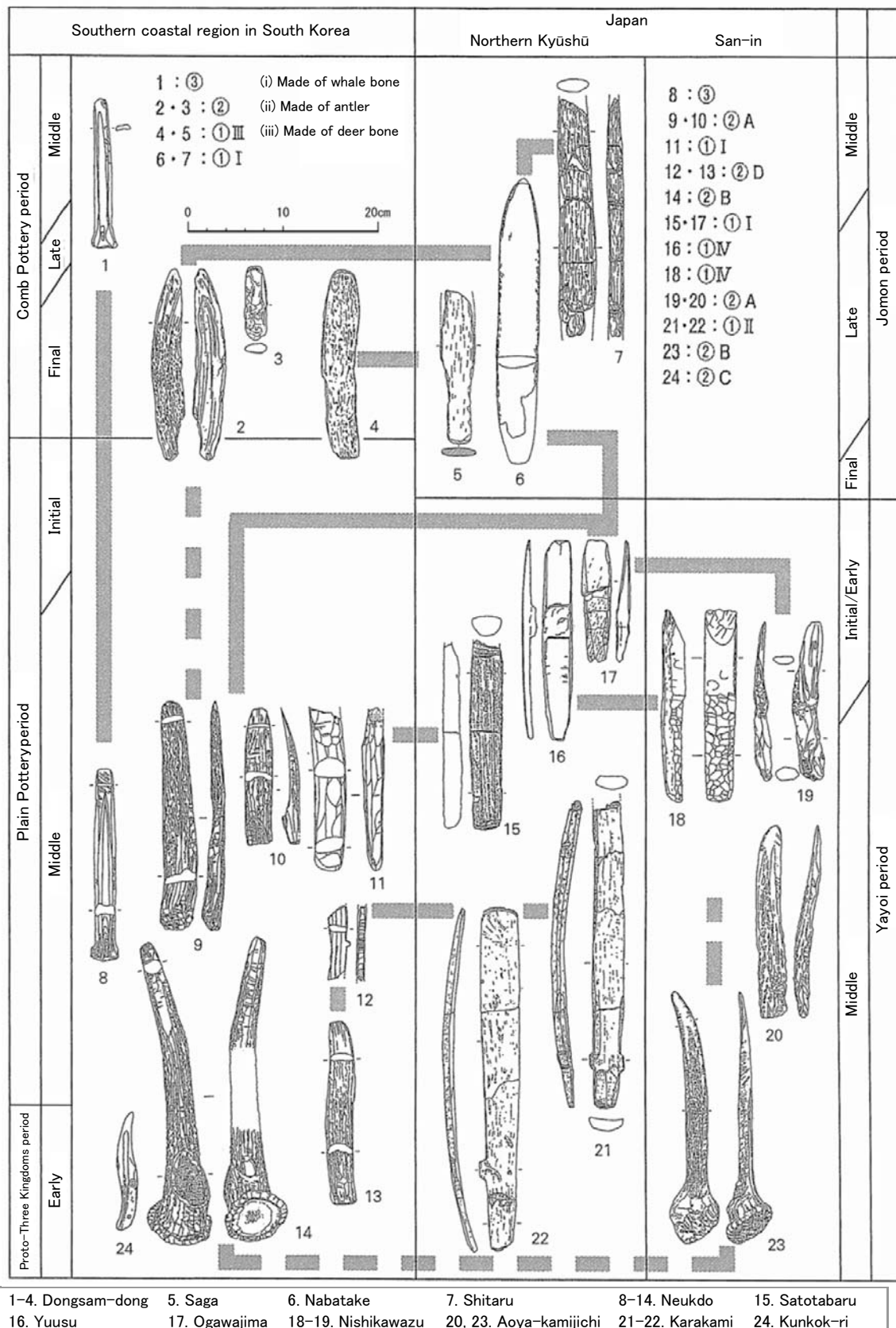


Figure 14 Draft chronological chart of abalone scrapers

Source: TAKESUE Junichi. *Archaeologies of Kyūshū and East Asia: for the 50th anniversary of the archaeological division, Kyūshū University [in Japanese]*, 2008 (modified)

This area is thus considered to constitute a distinct cultural sphere. The San-in region experienced the inflow of two-piece hooks of a northwestern Kyūshū origin and abalone scrapers made of whale bone (Figure 14, No. 18) from northern Kyūshū during the early stage of the Yayoi period, or more precisely, from the late Early Yayoi period to the early Middle Yayoi period. The evidence of this flow has been found in, for example, the Nishi-kawazu site in Shimane Prefecture. Abalone scrapers came to be made of antler (Figure 14, Nos. 20-23) and used extensively, as shown by such artifacts found at the Aoya-kamijichi site in Tottori Prefecture (TAKESUE Junichi, 2008c). These observations suggest that “water-men” from the southern Korean Peninsula to the coastal area of northern Kyūshū and the San-in region facing the Sea of Japan engaged in maritime activity and trade while regaining their local characteristics. Indications are that water-men in northern Kyūshū, in particular, served as an intermediary in such activity.

More recently, a new hypothesis has been proposed on trade involving northeastern China and the Japanese archipelago during this period of time. Prof. JUNG In-seung, South Korean archaeologist, focuses on four types of contemporary artifacts: (i) talc-tempered pottery with an upright rim and post-firing punched-out holes, unearthed in Area A at the Neukdo site; (ii) bowls with horizontal marks of paddling with a cord-wrapped paddle at the bottom, unearthed in area A at the Neukdo site; (iii) talc-tempered pottery with a thick, inwardly-curved rim, unearthed at Dwelling Site No. 136 in Group II, area B at the Neukdo site; and (iv) short-necked jars, unearthed at Tomb No. 3 at the Yesan-ri site, Seongju County, Northern Gyeongsang Province. He concludes that these four types of artifacts show similarity to those from the Yan Capital Ruins, the Gaolizhai site, or the Muyangcheng site, rather than to Lelang Pottery (JUNG In-seung, 2008). Attributing the technical origin of the Three-Han tile-clay pottery¹⁵⁾ to the Hui-tao pottery of a Warring States type, JUNG says: “The period in which people in the Nagdong River basin zone first encountered the Hui-tao pottery of a Chinese origin for the first time could date back to the end of the 3 century BCE, when this basin zone was integrated into an international exchange network encompassing the Liaodong Peninsula and the northwestern region in the Korean Peninsula, as well as the Japanese archipelago and Okinawa.”

As two of the artifacts unearthed in Japan that support his hypothesis, JUNG points to (i) a jar with horizontal marks of paddling with a cord-wrapped paddle on its lower part of the body, which has been unearthed in Former Channel No. 1 in the Fujō area on the Haru-no-tsuji site; and (ii) a talc-tempered jar with a thick, inwardly-curved rim, which has been unearthed in Okinawa Prefecture (Figure 16, No. 28). The period to which these two artifacts belong has yet to be confirmed; no tile-clay pottery confirmed to belong to the initial or early stage of the Middle Yayoi period has not been found to date.

However, other archaeological finds in Japan do support the hypothesis of Prof. JUNG In-seung. Among them are eye beads that have been found in Jar Burials No. 2 and No. 3 of the Jōnokoshi phase in the Ōbaru area on the Haru-no-tsuji site (Figure 16, Nos. 9-11, and 18), and a triple-winged bronze arrowheads of the Jōnokoshi phase (Figure 16, No. 7) that has been excavated from Earthen Pit E-16 in the Fujo area in FY1998 (Nagasaki Prefecture Board of Education, 1999). These finds could date back up to the Warring States period in China.

A comparison of these finds with those in the Munakata region sheds a new light on the pottery of the early stage of the Yayoi period that have been unearthed in the Shamusho-mae [“in front of the shrine office”] site on Okinoshima Island. The Yayoi pottery unearthed at the Shamusho-mae site has already been overviewed in the report of the third round of archaeological survey on the island (TACHIBANA Masanobu, and KURONO Hajime, 1979). The latest round of survey has come up with some new finds of archaeological value (Figure 17). These finds date back up to the Early Yayoi period. The latest survey found eight pottery pieces, including those with an axonic, feather cord-mark pattern, and pieces of a vessel with decorated shoulders (Figure 17, No. 1).

Lines on these pieces are drawn more densely than on the Itazuke I type. The practice of decorating pottery after grinding it suggests that they date back up to the Itazuke II-A phase.

Another feature that deserves attention is that the new finds include a few items of the Late Plain Pottery period. The survey report describes two pots with a triangular clay band [Figure 17, Nos. 5 and 6]. These two pots, along with another two pots, are displayed at the Shimpō-kan (Divine Treasure Museum) of the Munakata Grand Shrine (Figure 17, Nos. 3, 5, 6, and 8).

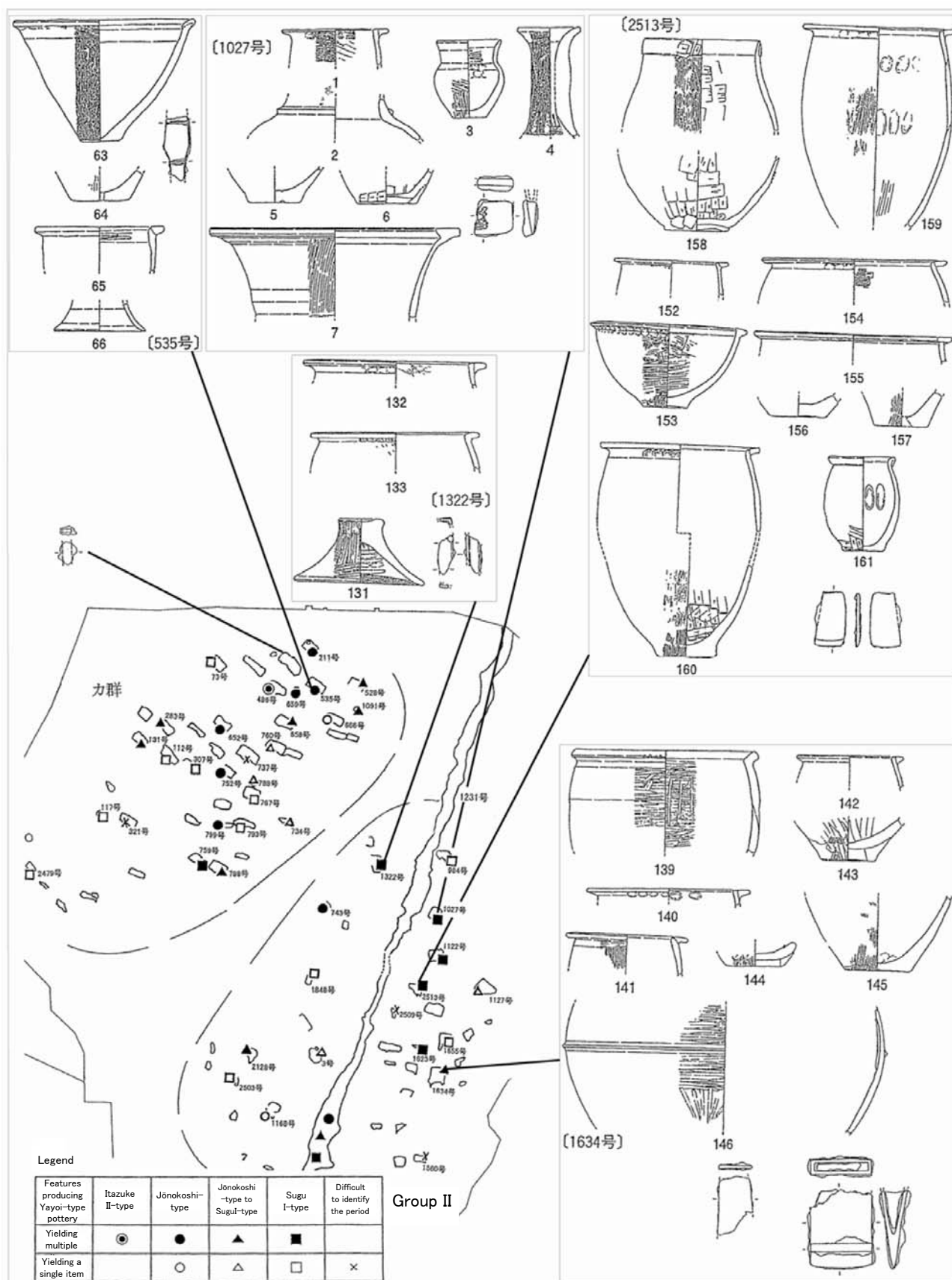


Figure 15 Distribution map of features that yielded Yayoi-type pottery at the Gusan-dong site
Source: Created by TAKESUE

The collection of this museum also include pieces of pots of the Suseok-ri type up to the Neukdo type--three pieces from the rim part (Figure 17, Nos. 2, 4, and 7) as well as pieces from the body and base parts--and a relatively large pot with a coarse brush finishing and an upright rim (Figure 17, No. 9). Apart from the items that existed up to the late stage of the Yayoi period, including the two above-mentioned pots that are illustrated in the report, only one pot can be classified as the Suseok-ri type (Figure 17, No. 4). This is outnumbered by the Neukdo type (Figure 17, Nos. 2, 3, and 7)--a fact that deserves attention because except for the Haru-no-tsuji site, the Neukdo type is more extensively distributed in the San-in region.

The Neukdo-type pot with a clay band with a flat elliptic cross section (Figure 17, No. 3) has marks of paddling with a lattice-incised paddle. Such marks are seen not only on the body part but also on the clay band of this particular pot, whose lip has notches on its upper part and whose inside surface is finished with coarse horizontal grinding.

With no associated archaeological finds available, the chronology of these vessels is somewhat elusive. Judging from their shapes, however, it is reasonable to assume that items Nos. 2, 3, and 7 in Figure 17 largely belong to the initial or early stage of the Middle Yayoi period. No. 4 in Figure 17 might date back up to the last stage of the Early Yayoi period. Excluded from the archaeological finds that help define the period of No. 3 in Figure 17 is a jar with bull-horn handles (Figure 16, No. 6), which has been unearthed in Earthen Pit No. 16 in area E in the Fujo area in combination with a Neukdo-type Plain Pottery vessel (Nagasaki Prefecture Board of Education, 1999) along with above-mentioned Yayoi Pottery of the initial or early stage of the Middle Yayoi period (Figure 14, Nos. 1-5). The author initially thought of the marks near the handles as those of paddling with a slanted-lattice-incised paddle (TAKESUE, 2011), but more recent evidence indicates that they were more likely made when the handle were joined with the body. More studies are needed on these marks.

The Rokudon site on Oshima Island, Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture has yielded pieces of a tile-clay earthenware jar with horizontal marks of paddling with a cord-wrapped paddle on its lower part of the body (six of which can be illustrated). These pieces are not part of the ordinary Lelang Pottery. The author put them together to rebuild a single entity (Figure 17, No. 16). Judging from the shape of its rim (Figure 17, No. 16a), the rebuilt jar could date back up to the Early Han period rather than the Warring States period in China. It is more likely, however, that the jar largely belongs to the second century BCE. What kind of Yayoi Pottery is associated with such pottery will be a focus of attention for archaeological studies in this field.

Be that as it may, the pottery from Okinoshima and Oshima islands suggests that Okinoshima was not just a refuge for the Yayoi people; it served as an important node for a sea trade route (a port of call) that linked the Korean Peninsula with northern Kyūshū and the coastal region facing the Sea of Japan to the east.

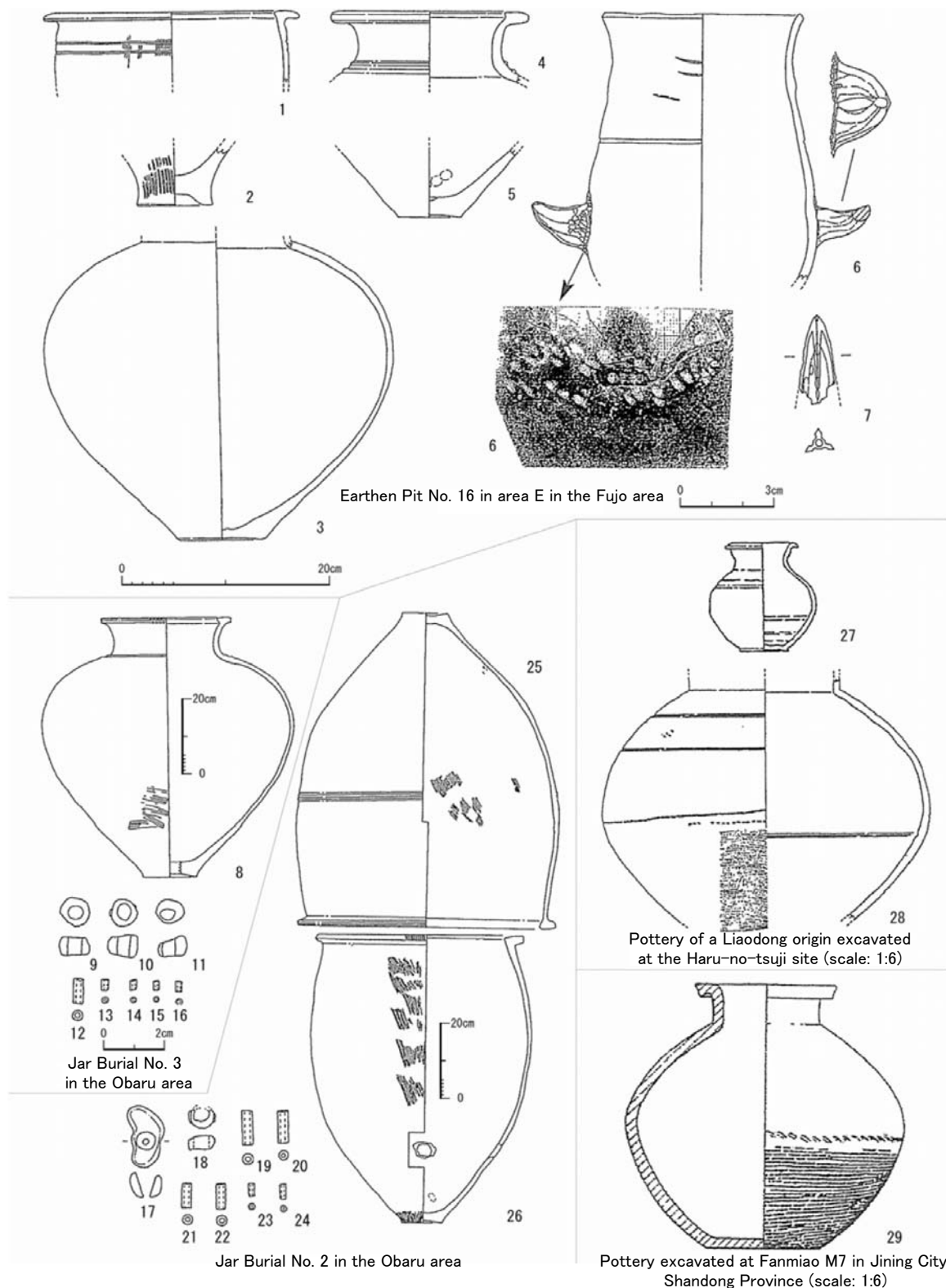
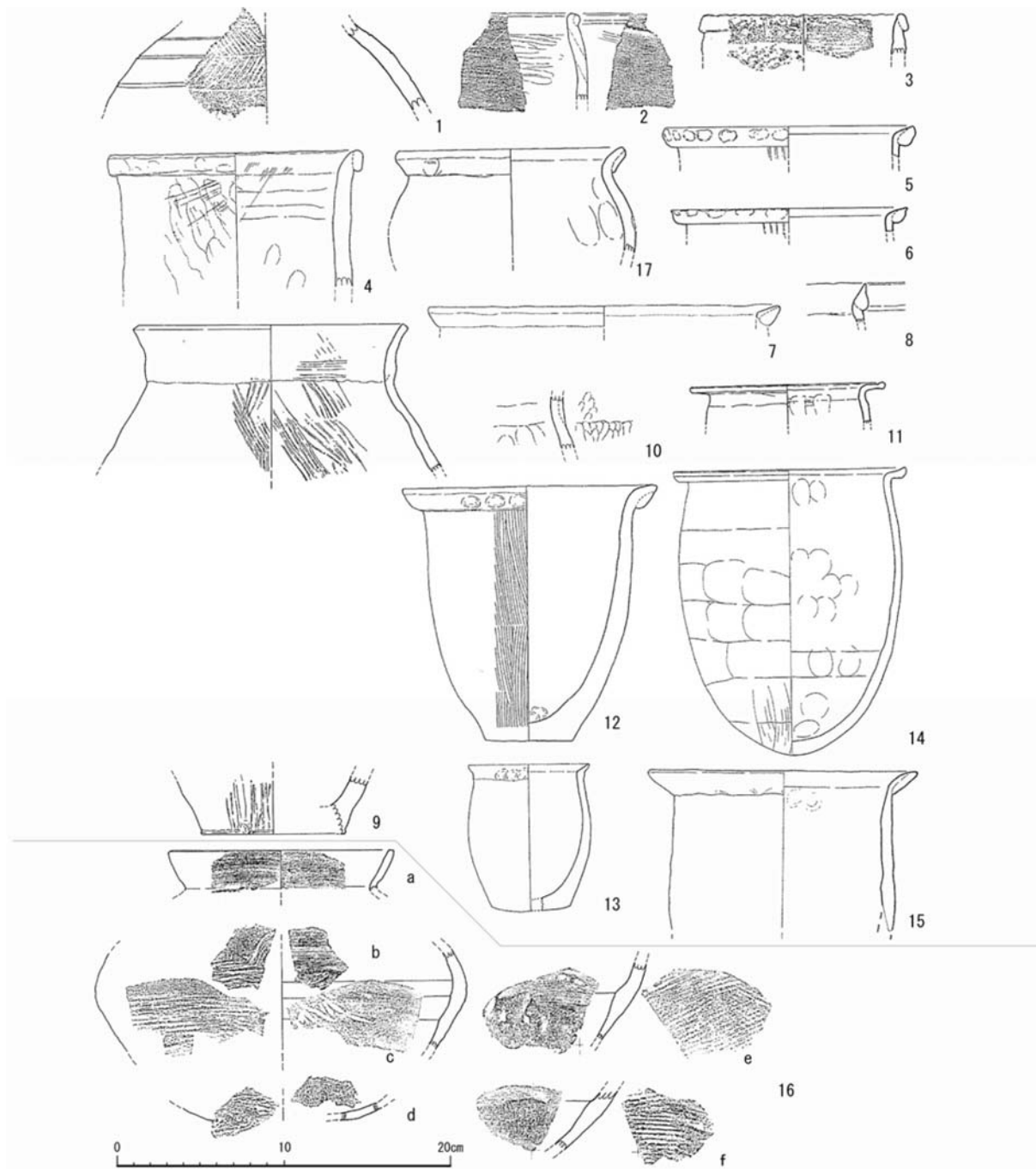


Figure 16 Archaeological finds that indicate Japan's external relations in the early stage of the Yayoi period, unearthed at the Haru-no-tsuji site [1-28], and a related archaeological find [29].

Sources: 1-7: Nagasaki Prefecture Board of Education. *Haru-no-tsuji Iseki* [Haru-no-tsuji site], 1999; and the rubbed copy by TAKESUE

8-26: Nagasaki Prefecture Board of Education, *Haru-no-tsuji Iseki: Ishida Ōbaru Chiku Kinkyū Chōsa Hōkokusho* [Haru-no-tsuji site: report on the emergency survey of the Ishida Ōbaru area], 2007

27-29: FURUSAWA Yoshihisa. *Dai 59 Kai Maizo Bunkazai Kenkyū Shūkai: Nihon Shutsudo no Chōsen Hantō-kei Doki no Saikentō: Yayoi Jidai wo Chūshin ni* [the 59 study meeting of cultural deposits: a review of pottery of a Korean Peninsula origin that has been unearthed in Japan, with focus on the Yayoi period], 2010.



- 1-11. Shamusho-mae site
 12. Yoshigaura Cave No. 1
 13. Chigonohana Tomb No. 3
 14. Wooden Coffin Tomb No. 31 at Sinda-ri, Gyeongsan City, South Korea
 15. Kiln No. 2 at Bonggye-ri, Sacheon City, South Korea
 16. Rokudon site
 17. Taguma-ishihatake site

Figure 17 Pottery of the Early Yayoi period and a Korean origin unearthed at the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island, as well as related archaeological finds

Sources: 1-4 and 7-11: Created by KAWAGUCHI Yōko, FUJISAWA Motonari, INOUE Aoi, and TANAKA Yūta
 12-13: Nagasaki Prefecture Board of Education. *Tsushima: Asō-wan to Sono Shūhen no Kōkogaku Chōsa* [Tsushima Island: an archaeological survey of Asō Bay and adjacent areas], 1974.

14: Yongnam Institute of Cultural Properties. *Gyeongsan Sinda-ri site I* [in Korean], 2010
 15: Kyungnam Archaeological Research Institute. *Settlements of the Three Kingdoms period at the Bonggye-ri site in Sacheon* [in Korean], 2002

16: Created and photos taken by TAKESUE
 17: Munakata City Board of Education. *Gaihō Taguma-ishihatake Iseki: Fukuoka-ken Munakata-shi Taguma Shozai Iseki no Hakkutsu Chōsa Gaiyō* [Summary survey report--Taguma-ishihatake site: an overview of the excavation survey of the site located in Taguma, Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture], 2009

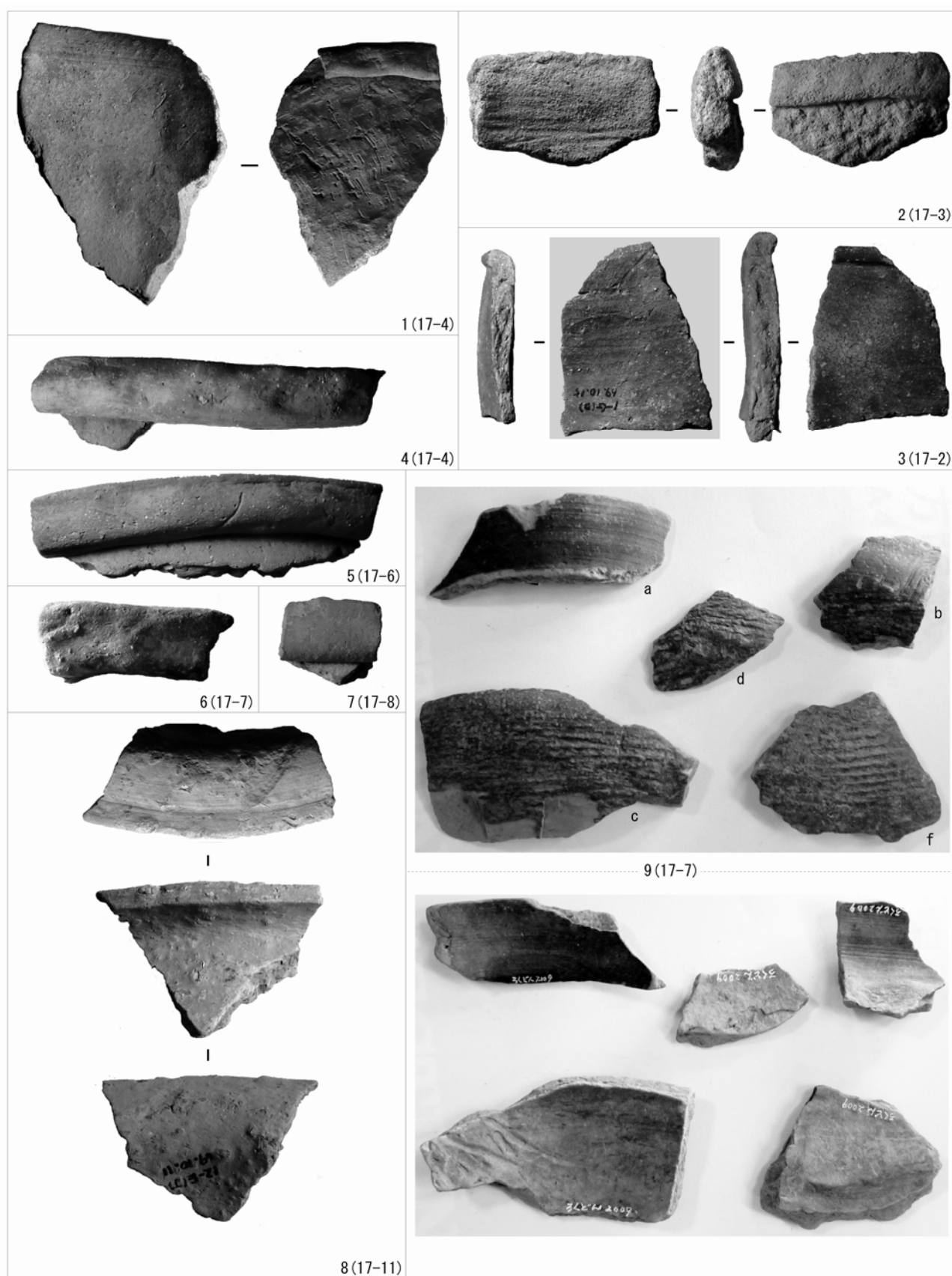


Figure 17 (photos) Pottery of a Korean origin from the Shamuscho-mae site on Okinoshima Island (1-8) and the Rokudon site
Source: Photos taken by TAKESUE

4. The Munakata Region and Okinoshima Island in the Late Stage of the Yayoi Period

(1) The Munakata region in the late stage of the Yayoi period

In northern Kyūshū, the principal grave goods for the local ruling elite changed from those of a Korea origin to those of a Chinese origin by the late stage of the Yayoi period. These include Early Han bronze mirrors, Later Han bronze mirrors, glass beads, and swords with a simple ring pommel. King tombs appeared by this period as well.

Although the tomb of the king of Nakoku upon whom a golden seal was bestowed by the Han Dynasty in 57 CE has not been discovered, two king tombs that date back over half a century to the late Middle Yayoi period (the late first century BCE) are known: the tomb of one of his predecessors and the tombs of kings of Itokoku. The former is a jar burial located in the place popularly known as Point D in Sugu okamoto, Kasuga City, Fukuoka Prefecture, while the latter are two jar burials located in Mikumo minami-shōji, Maebaru City, also in Fukuoka Prefecture (Fukuoka Prefecture, 1985). Many grave goods, including about 30 Early Han mirrors of China, and glass beads, which symbolized the heaven, were dominantly concentrated in these tombs. The late stage of the Yayoi period was marked by the new practice of burying the bodies of the powerful members of the community in individual tombs, if not king tombs, rather than in group graves as had been the case earlier. This transition was seen in many parts of Japan back then. By this period, settlements became even larger and experienced major changes in internal structure. Built within the area surrounded by the circular ditch was a square area for the top echelons of the community (square demarcated area), which was demarcated by four straight lines (encircling ditch) that defied local topographical features.

At the Mikumo-iwara site, residential areas that had been scattered became concentrated in the central area to form a giant settlement with a total area of 600,000 square meters by the late Middle Yayoi period. Between the settlement district and the tomb group to the south ran two large ditches three to four meters in width. They ran in parallel at an interval of 20 to 100 meters from the Teraguchi district in the southeast and the Hachiryū district. Their cross-section was an inverted trapezoid in shape. Yet another large ditch ran in parallel, from Sakizono to Ifu districts. Indications are that this ditch, together with two rivers along both sides of the local low-lying plateau, served to demarcate the settlement district. The then situation on the west side is unknown, but it is likely that another demarcated area existed between the king tombs in Mikumo Minami-shōji and the settlement district. And there was a square ditch, with each side measuring 45 meters in length, in the Shimonishi district, a settlement district 200 meters to the north from the king tomb. The ditch was constructed in the late Middle Yayoi period (Maebaru City, 2006). These features point to the emergence of a clearly demarcated area for the local ruling elite in the then hub moated settlement. I call it Type A (the square inside the circle). The Yoshinogari site provides an overall picture of Type A.

The inner area demarcated by the square ditch became home to various important facilities for the community. These facilities included watchtowers. At the Yoshinogari site, for example, watchtowers existed only in such square areas, namely the south and north inner settlements. Earlier, watchtowers were designed for use by every member of the community, as in the case of the Ichinokuchi site, which belongs to the initial stage of the Middle Yayoi period. At Yoshinogari, warehouses were also in the hands of the few. People in the south inner settlement effectively controlled them, which were largely located near, but onside, the south inner settlement. This subtle location was ostensibly designed for use for every member of the community, though. At the Hiratsuka kawazoe site, a group of large raised-floor warehouses, a public square, and the giant building that served to unite the entire community were all concentrated in the central district surrounded by the inner circular ditch.

Over time, the square ditch went beyond the boundary of the area inside the circular ditch, leaving behind embedded-pillar buildings within (Type B: the square outside the circle). This is exemplified by the Nokata-nakabaru site (Fukuoka City, 1992). Then over a rather short time span, the circular ditch disappeared, leaving behind the square circle only (C type: the square without the circle), as typified by the Sendoyama site in Saga Prefecture (Kiyama Town, 1978). The square demarcated area of Type C became the residence for the local ruling elite in the Kofun period. The author calls it the “residence for the ruling elite in the Yayoi period” when such residence is confirmed.

The transition toward burying the bodies of the powerful members of the community in separate tombs was also seen in the Munakata region in the late stage of the Yayoi period, in line with these socioeconomic developments in northern Kyūshū as a whole (Munakata Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 1997). What is unfortunate, however, even a single Chinese bronze mirror has not been found in complete form in tombs of this period in the region. Nor have square ditches been found in archaeological settlement surveys. Whether these gaps can be filled depends much on future research.

Still, now that the latest round of survey on the pottery unearthed from the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island has provided a clue to assuming water-men of Munakata in this period of time, the following paragraphs try to draw a rough picture of the state of affair, with reference made to the state of bronze implements in the late stage of the Yayoi period.

(2) Pottery of a Korean Peninsula origin of the late stage of the Yayoi period from Okinoshima

As far as the pottery of a Korean Peninsula origin unearthed on Okinoshima Island in the late stage of the Yayoi period is concerned, the report of the third round of archaeological survey on the island recorded fragments of two vessels with a triangular clay band that had been excavated in the Shamusho-mae site. Because of a pointed rim, these two vessels (Figure 17, Nos. 5 and 6) could date back up to the Sugu I coexistence phase, along with the ones in Figure 17, No. 8. It is likely that this type of pottery existed until the old stage of the early Proto-Three Kingdoms period (Korea), or in the Japanese chronology, until the late Middle Yayoi period at the latest. This is because it had a pointed rim just like the pottery with a triangular clay band that has been excavated at Dwelling Site No. 2, Point No. 1 at the Karakami site on Iki Island--along with Sugu II-type pottery--in a recent study (Kyūshū University, 2011: p. 21, Figure 17, No. 88). This study also revealed the discovery of small pieces of a pot with a thin triangular clay band (Figure 17, No. 10) and those of a small pot of the Three-Han tile-clay pottery (Figure 17, No. 11).

Pots with a thin triangular clay band in the Korean Peninsula are thought to belong to a more recent stage than the two vessels found on Okinoshima Island. More precisely, they likely belong to the middle or new stage of the early Proto-Three Kingdoms period. This is because pots of this type were associated with pottery of the initial stage of the Late Yayoi period at the Neukdo site (LEE Chang-hee, 2004). The pot with a thin triangular clay band (op. cit., Figure 17, No. 13) likely belongs to the early to middle Late Yayoi period, in light of the dating of this type found in Japan. The pot of this type found in Tomb No. 3 at the Chizonohana site in Tsushima City [Tsushima Island], Nagasaki Prefecture, Japan is thought to belong to the early Late Yayoi period.¹⁶⁾ The more recent pots of this type in Japan include a pot with a thin triangular clay band found in Cave No. 1 in Yoshigaura, Tsushima City (Figure 17, No. 12). This pot is associated with double-rimmed jars that belong to the new stage of the Takamizuma phase up to the old stage of the Shimo-ōkuma phase. This suggests that pots with a thin triangular clay band survived in Japan until the old stage of the Shimo-ōkuma phase.

Pots with a thin triangular clay band have been also unearthed from a cluster of kiln remains at the Bonggye-ri site, Sacheon City, Southern Gyeongsang Province (Kyungnam Archaeological Research Institute, 2002b) and elsewhere. Because they were associated with tile-clay pottery of the middle or new stage of the Early Yayoi period, they were likely produced until then in the southern coastal area of the Korean Peninsula. For reference, pottery unearthed from Kiln No. 2 is illustrated (Figure 17, No. 15).

The small pot of the Three-Han tile-clay pottery (Figure 17, No. 11) is grayish in color and includes much sand. The inner and outer surface is finished with *yokonade* and *nade*. On the outer surface are slight traces of what look like vertical paddle marks. The opening is 11.8 centimeters in diameter. The top surface of the rim end slightly projects roundly upwards. The existence of a step below the rim is yet another feature of this pottery. With all these aspects, the pottery is likely imported Three-Han Pottery from the Yongnam region. Figure 17, No. 14 provides an example of pottery unearthed in complete form in the southern Korean Peninsula. Figure 17, No. 11 belongs to the middle to new stage of the early Proto-Three Kingdoms period (Korea), corresponding to the early to middle stage of the Late Yayoi period in the Japanese chronology.

Pots with a thin triangular clay band have also been excavated in large quantity in SR03 (natural river

channel) in Area III at the Zanmochi site in Izumo City, Shimane Prefecture, Japan. IKEBUCHI Shunichi says: “Archaeological finds for which the excavation point is known have been found near the lowest layer of the river channel, raising the possibility that they date further back, before the middle stage of the Late [Yayoi] period” (IKEBUCHI, 2010). This site has also yielded pieces of Three-Han tile-clay vases and Lelang vases, as well as long-necked jars. Lelang vases and long-necked jars of these kinds have also been unearthed at the Haru-no-tsuji site, Iki City, Nagasaki Prefecture. This suggests that the sea trade route linking Iki and Tsushima islands with northern Kyūshū and the Japan Sea coastal region to the east was still in place and possibly even strengthened in the late stage of the Yayoi period.

Therefore, the pottery of a Korean Peninsula origin excavated from Okinoshima Island suggests that Okinoshima played an important role in this sea route in the late stage of the Yayoi period--more specifically, from the late Middle Yayoi period to the middle Late Yayoi period--as in the new phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period.

Unfortunately, even the latest round of survey of the pottery unearthed in front of the shrine office on Okinoshima Island failed to find Lelang Pottery or Three-Han Pottery of the late Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea). This may be because of extremely limited excavation activity in the survey; it does not mean that such pottery did not exist back then. Rather, the confirmation of pots with a triangular clay band, those with a thin triangular clay band, and small pots of the Three-Han tile-clay pottery should be appreciated. The following section tries to fill this gap by examining the development of fishing settlements in northern Kyūshū.

(3) The development of fishing settlements in northern Kyūshū

Farming settlements that emerged in the Yayoi period made inroads into the coastal and mountainous regions which had been inseparable for the Jomon people. This resulted in the emergence of settlements that depended on livelihoods involving either marine or mountainous resources. Farming villages also used marine and mountain resources for their livelihoods, but the relative importance of such resources was low. A useful criterion for identifying fishing and mountain settlements out of the remains of all kinds of settlements is the number of unearthed stone knives for reaping.

The Mitoko matsubara site in Itoshima City, Fukuoka Prefecture provides a typical example of fishing settlement. This site and the neighboring Shinmachi site constituted a single settlement (Shima Town, 1983, 1987, 1988). These two sites have yielded an extraordinary large number of stone weights that belong to the Yayoi period up to the Kofun period, as well as fish-hooks and abalone scrapers made of iron. Net fishing dominated but diving fishing was also practiced. The Mitoko matsubara site has yielded 12 stone reaping knives, about one-fifth of the number (63) of stone reaping knives that have been found at the comparable Yasunagata site in Tosu City, Saga Prefecture. These two sites--both the remains of a farming settlement--had the same number of contemporary pit dwellings. This ratio also represented the relative amount of farm work for both settlements. It is safe to regard as a fishing settlement a coastal settlement with a larger proportion of fishing implements than neighboring sites, just like the Mitoko matsubara site. The Tsushima Island, which is thought to have depended heavily on maritime activity in light of the geographical environment and the description of “*nan bei shi di* [going north and south for trade]” in “Account of the Wa” in *The History of the Wei Dynasty*, has yielded few stone reaping knives. In fact, the whole island was dotted with fishing settlements. Such fishing settlements abounded also on Iki Island, as indicated by the Haru-no-tsuji site and the Karakami site. The Neukdo site in the Korean Peninsula, which is noted for artifacts of a Wei origin and has yielded many fishing implements and few stone reaping knives, was home to a typical fishing settlement of the Late Plain Pottery period up to the Early Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea).

It is clear that many of fishing settlements like these engaged in external relations in the late stage of the Yayoi period (from the late Middle Yayoi period to the Late Yayoi period). Spearheading this move was the fishing settlement at the Haru-no-tsuji. This settlement was actively involved in external relations already in the early stage of the Yayoi period. It was, in fact, the central settlement of the state of Ikikoku.

By the late stage of the Yayoi period, these fishing settlements were integrated into the trade network involving Lelang Commandery as nodes, strengthening the network. On Tsushima Island, many fishing

settlements along the shore participated in trade with Lelang Commandery while maintaining regular trade with the Three Hans. As a result, articles derived from Wei, the Three Hans, and Lelang came to be buried as grave goods. Fishing settlements in the coastal areas of northern Kyūshū, San-in and Sanyō—including the Mitoko matsubara site in Itoshima City, Fukuoka Prefecture, as well as the Motooka site and the Imajuku gorōe site, both in Fukuoka City in the same prefecture (Fukuoka City, 2007)--were significantly smaller in scale than hub settlements of a state. Yet special artifacts that were rare for farming villages have been found in these settlements, notably in their daily life areas. Among such artifacts were pottery of a Three Hans or Lelang origin, as well as Chinese coins, including Ban-liang Qian, Wu-zhu-qian, and Huo-guan. Chinese coins of the Yayoi period have been found in the remains of daily life areas of fishing settlements along the sea route from the Kinki region all the way to the Korean Peninsula. For example, 15 Chinese coins have been found at Haru-no-tsuji, six at Mitoko matsubara, nine at Motooka, five at Imajuku gorōe, four at Aoya-kamijichi in Tottori Prefecture, 25 at Takatsuka in Okayama Prefecture, four at Kamei in Ōsaka Prefecture, and 116 at Okinoyama in Yamaguchi Prefecture. They have been found inland as well, though much less often. Chinese coins, if any, have been unearthed from graves as grave goods and from daily life areas. What deserves special attention here is that no contemporary Chinese bronze mirrors that served as grave implements have been found in complete form in fishing settlements except the Haru-no-tsuji site (Nagasaki Prefecture, 2005). By contrast, the Sugu site, the Mikumo site and other giant farming settlements have yielded very few Chinese coins. No Chinese coins have been found at Mikumo, one at Sugu, one at Yoshinogari, and one at Hiratsuka kawazoe. This tendency is also seen in the southern Korean Peninsula. The Neukdo site, home to a typical fishing settlement, has yielded five Wu-zhu-qian and Ban-liang Qian in total but no Chinese mirrors in complete form.

This phenomenon suggests that fishing settlements in Japan and Korea formed a discrete network distinct from farming villages, and Chinese coins were distributed and used in that network. It is likely that fishing settlements set up a close-knit network to create their own sphere. They may have been controlled by the central settlement of a state, but they may also have controlled it with their trade involving Chinese coins. By logical extension, such fishing settlements must have existed in the Munakata region as well, a hypothesis that needs to be confirmed in the future.

(4) Weapon-shaped bronze implements for rituals in the Munakata region

Narrow-bladed bronze weapons of a Korean origin that emerged in the new phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period--bronze swords, socketed bronze spears, and bronze halberd--gradually lost their features as weapons and underwent successive changes in shape and size (becoming larger): a slightly narrow blade, a slightly wide blade, and a wide blade in that order. In northern Kyūshū, bronze swords were no longer used by the late stage of the Yayoi period. In particular, socketed bronze spears and bronze halberds with a slightly wide blade or a wide blade became weapon-shaped ritual implements, and many of them were deposited for ritual purposes. Such rituals were essentially designed for an entity that transcended villages, that is, a subregion, a state or even a group of states, although a growing body of evidence suggests that they were also performed within individual villages to observe the separation of the local ruling elite from the general members of the community. What is more, such weapon-shaped bronze implements for rituals were produced mainly in the central settlement of Nakoku, that is, the Sugu site in Kasuga City, Fukuoka Prefecture. These products were spread to Tsushima Island and farther to the southern Korean Peninsula. The hierarchy of bronze ritual implements in the Late Yayoi period (Figure 18, No. 6) places socketed bronze spears at the top, followed by bronze halberds. The practice of depositing multiple bronze spears on Tsushima Island indicates that such spears were used for rituals in the states that constituted the Tsukushi polity headed by Nakoku and Itokoku.

What deserves special attention here is that the deposition of bronze socketed spears and halberds seems non-existent in the Munakata region in the late stage of the Yayoi period. Of course, it is possible to assume that archaeological finds have yet to be discovered that will prove otherwise. It is more likely, however, that the deposition of bronze socketed spears or halberds with a slightly wide or wide blade was non-existent in the first place in the Munakata region. The bronze swords with a slightly narrow blade found in a stone coffin tomb at Kōjō-nakaraō (Figure 18, Nos. 2 and 3) and another found in a stone coffin tomb at Kanezaki (Figure 18, No. 4) both have short coulissses that do not reach the blade tip. This type of socketed bronze spear is closely associated with the Chugoku and Shikoku regions. In this context, the flat bronze sword that is tentatively attributed to Katsuura should be reexamined.

The pieces of a socketed bronze spear with a wide blade that have been recovered from the bed of the Tsuru River (Figure 18, No. 5) are believed by some archaeologists to be part of a bronze halberd with a wide blade. The author has examined the actual pieces and found that, unlike the widely distributed drawing of them, they are from the part where the coulisses taper and almost reach the blade tip. If this bronze implement were a halberd, the back part would taper as well. This is not the case, however. It is thus safe to assume that this implement is a socketed bronze spear with a wide blade. This assumption is also substantiated by the traces of a midrib on the back, although it is in bad repair. This feature indicates that the implement is a Type A socketed bronze spear with a wide blade. There are a few signs of a tiny hollow in the socket. It was likely made when the tip of the inner model (core) was pressed against the inner bottom of the socket. Yet this socketed bronze spear had been bent after being struck forcibly against a solid object. It may have been discarded because it had lost its value as a ritual implement. Otherwise, it may have been distributed as the raw material of bronze implements. This does not support the assumption that there are deposits of socketed bronze spears to be unearthed in the Munakata region.

All these observations suggest that the deposition of socketed bronze spears or halberds, a practice embraced by the Tsukushi polity, was not well accepted in the Munakata region. Rather, they raise the possibility that the region is more associated with the Chūgoku and Shikoku regions.

(5) Pottery of Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kinki origins that has been unearthed at the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island

The reexamination of the pottery unearthed in front of the shrine office on Okinoshima Island in the latest round of archaeological survey has shown that it includes pottery of a foreign origin that was hardly illustrated in the reports of the preceding surveys. Specifically, it is pottery of Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kinki--three of the regions to the east from Kyūshū--that belongs to late stage of the Yayoi period up to the initial stage of the Kofun period (Figure 19, Nos. 1-16).

What attracts attention first of all are earthen pots with concave line decorations (Figure 19, Nos. 1-3). Figure 19, No. 1 is recorded in the report with a drawing. The decorations at the end of the rim are described as incised lines, but they are actually concave lines. Figure 19, No. 2, which is not recorded in the report, is also a pot with the end of the rim decorated with concave lines. It is a discrete entity separate from Figure 19, No. 1 because of the differences in the tilt and length of the rim. These two pots are different from Figure 19, No. 3--which is thought to be a pot native to northern Kyūshū with the rim end decorated with concave lines--in that their rim end significantly extended vertically. They are thus likely imported products. Figure 19, No. 1 could be identified as Type IV of the Kibi region, and Figure 19, No. 2 as Type V of the western Inland Sea region. More studies are needed to verify this assumption.

The next items of interest are pottery of the Shōnai type and the oldest Furu type, which comes in pots and jars (Figure 19, Nos. 4-15). Pots of the Shōnai type (Nos. 4-8) are largely divided into those whose rim end is upright (No. 7) and those whose rim end is bent inwardly (Nos. 4-6, 8). The latter are subdivided into those whose rim end is clearly lifted up (Nos. 4-5), those whose rim end is slightly lifted up (No. 6), those whose rim end is not lifted up at all, and those whose rim end is decorated with an incised line (No. 8). They are regarded as separate entities. They are similar, however, in that they have finely paddled marks of vertical parallel lines with their right side slanted upward and that their body is scraped inside up to the root of the neck. Figure 19, No. 6 could be made in Kawachi. Figure 19, Nos. 3, and 6-8 have traces of joining in the middle of the rim. Other pottery includes doubled-rimmed jars (Nos. 10-11), long-necked vases (No. 12), and small jars (No. 13). These vessels might date back up to the period to which Shōnai-type pots belong. Pots of the oldest Furu type (No. 19) and pots of a typical Furu type with a horizontal rim end (No. 15) have been found only in a small quantity. Figure 19, No. 14 is a pot of Type V with a raised flat bottom. It has slight traces of finely paddled marks of vertical parallel lines with their right side slanted upward. It is safe to conclude that this pot is contemporary with the Shōnai-type pottery.

A Shōnai-type pot that was made in Kawachi has been found at the Imagawa site (Figure 19, No. 19). This pot has finely paddled marks of vertical parallel lines with their right side slanted upward, as well as a dark-brown clay body. The discovery of this pot suggests that the Munakata region was quick to accept the Shōnai-type pottery.

For reference, Figure 19, No. 16 is a stoneware vessel of the 5th century with paddle marks of a bird footprint pattern. Although this artifact is outside of the chronological scope of this paper, it is worth mentioning here for two reasons. First, it is the first discovery of its kind in Okinoshima. Second, pottery of a Korean Peninsula origin with paddle marks of a bird footprint pattern was concentrated in the Munakata region, as well as in the Itoshima region on the main island of Kyūshū, in the middle to late Kofun period.

Unfortunately, the latest round of survey was quite inadequate due to time restraints and other factors. Its findings, however, suggest that in the late stage of the Yayoi period, the Munakata region was integrated into the international sea route that extended as far as to the Inland Sea region and the San-in region. They also raised the important question of whether full-fledged rituals or national rituals can be directly traced back to the period of the Shōnai-type pottery.

A recent survey at the Gimhae shell midden excavated an Ōmi-type earthen pot (Figure 19, No. 18) and a tile-clay vessel with decorations peculiar to Ōmi-type earthen pots (Figure 19, No. 17) (TAKESUE, et. al, 2010). No. 18 is likely a product made in northern Ōmi or the Wakasa region or somewhere between the two regions. No. 17 suggests that there were people who could copy Ōmi-type decorations onto tile-clay pottery. This in turn indicates that a trade route was extended as far as to the Kinki region. At the Imagawa site, archaeologists have picked up an Ōmi-type pot by way of surface collection (Figure 19, No. 20). This discovery suggests that the Munakata region played an active role in the expansion and change of such trade routes.

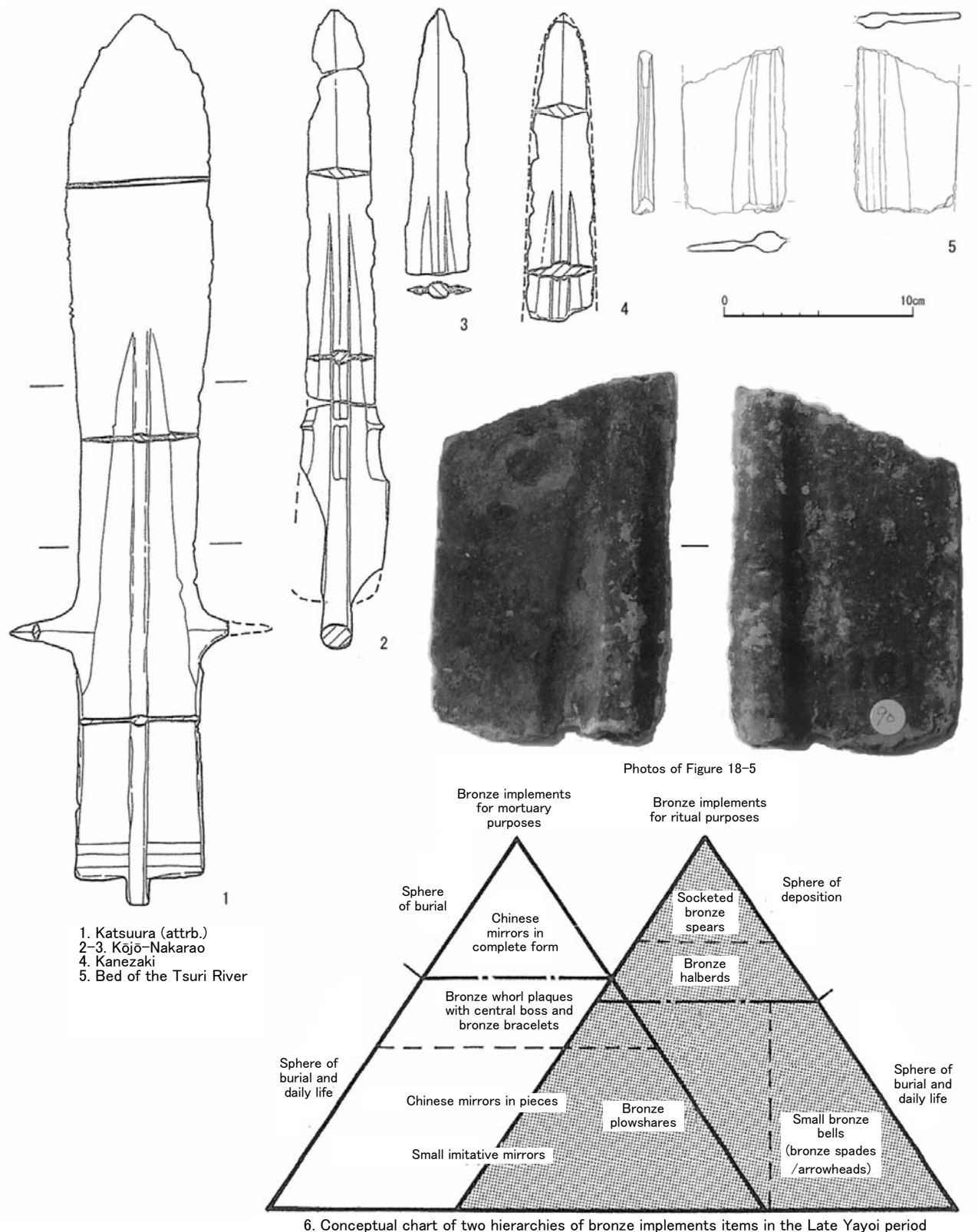
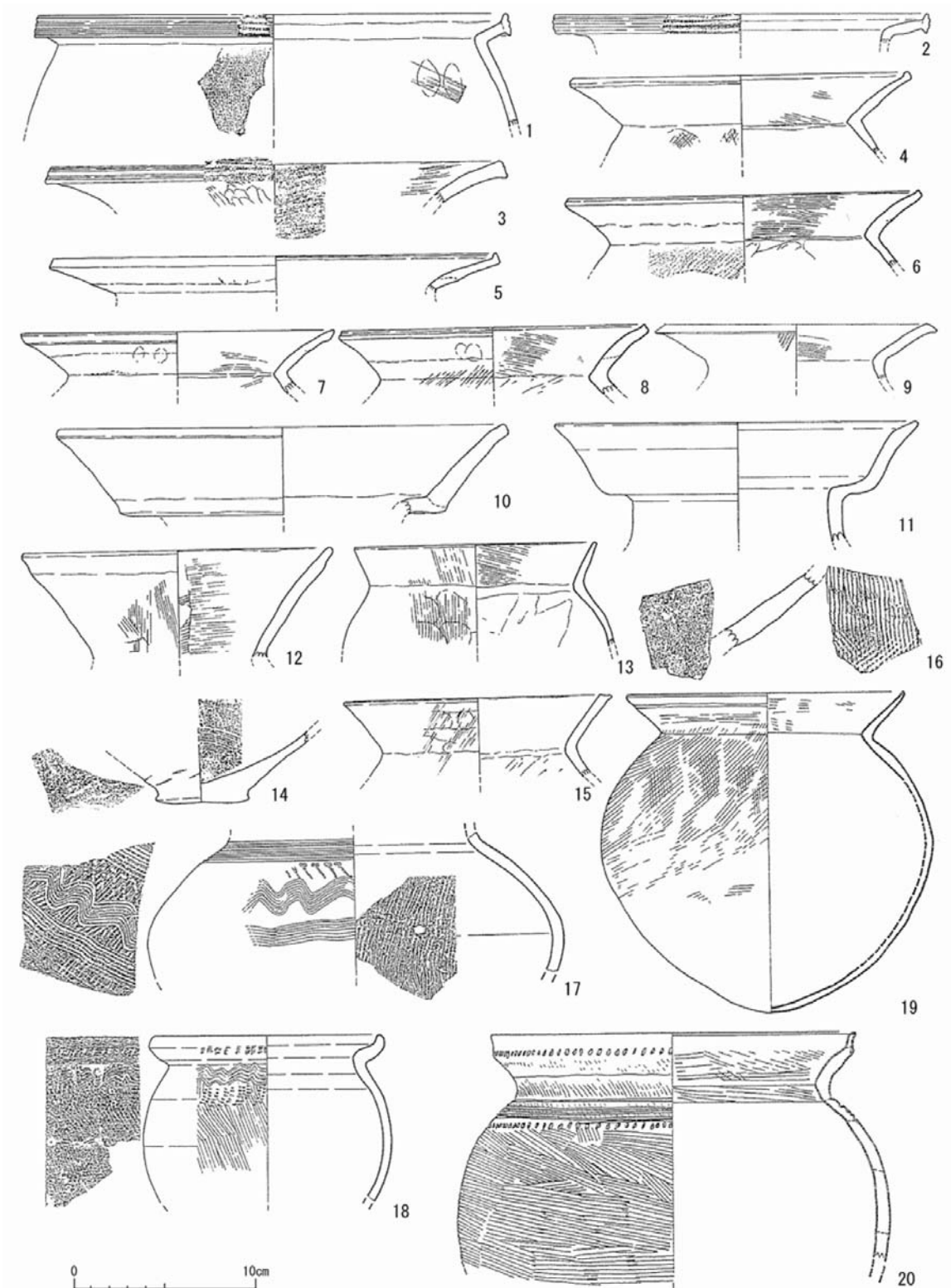


Figure 18 Bronze implements in the Munakata region in the late stage of the Yayoi period and the hierarchy of bronze implements in the Late Yayoi period

Sources: 1-4: Munakata Shishi Hensan Iinkai. *Munakata Shishi: Tsūshi-hen [the history of Munakata City: overview]*, 1997

5: Created and photos taken by TAKESUE

6: TAKESUE Junichi. *Kobunka dansō: journal of the Society of Kyūshū Prehistoric and Ancient Cultural studies [in Japanese]*, 1990



1-16: Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island 17-18: Gimhae Hoehyeon-ri shell midden, South Korea 19-20: Imagawa site
 Figure 19 Pottery of Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kinki origins that has been unearthed at the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island and related archaeological finds

Sources: 1-16: Created by KAWAGUCHI Yōko, FUJISHIMA Motonari, INOUE Aoi, and TANAKA Yūta

17-18: Samgang Munhwajae Yŏn'guwŏn. *Kimhae Hoehyŏn-ni p'aech'ong*, 2009

19-20: Tsuyazaki Town Board of Education. *Imagawa Iseki [Imagawa site]*, 1981

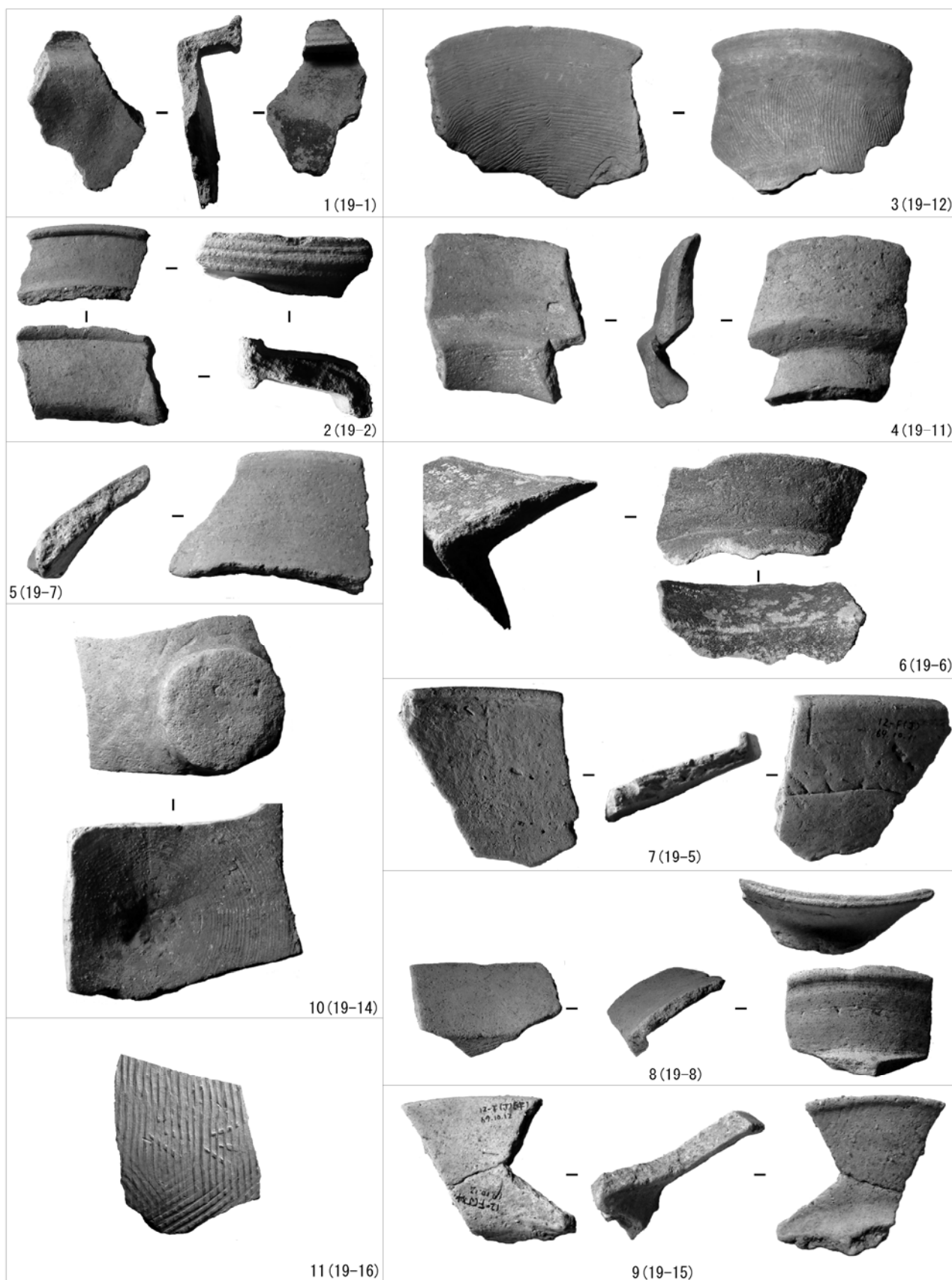


Figure 19 (photos) Pottery of a Chūgoku or Shikoku origin (1-2) and pottery of a Kinki origin (3-10), including stoneware (11), both unearthed at the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island
Source: Photos taken by TAKESUE

5. Conclusion

As has been discussed above, many aspects of ditch encircling settlements and tombs during the old phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period showed signs of social stratification. By the new phase of the early stage of the Yayoi period, the process of state formation went into full swing and the local ruling elite began to grow in this particular region. This is highlighted by the tomb group in which bronze implements were buried as grave goods at the Taguma-ishihatake site. Behind these developments was a trade network that was managed by “water-men of Wa” and extended from the southern Korean Peninsula to northern Kyūshū and farther to the San-in region. The contemporary Neukdo-type pottery excavated at the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island indicates that water-men along the coastal area of the Munakata region also had an important role to play for such a trade route. Likewise, the socketed bronze spear attributed to Okinoshima suggests that the island provided a place for regional rituals for safe sea voyages in this period of time.

By the late stage of the Yayoi period, the dynamism of fishing settlements became evident in northern Kyūshū. They formed their own world that ranges in geographical scope from the southern Korean Peninsula to the San-in region. This world was distinct from the existing world of farming villages. With the backing of Lelang Commandery, the trade network was further strengthened. The discovery of pottery with a triangular clay band and tile-clay pottery of the Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea) at the Shamusho-mae site on Okinoshima Island suggests that the Munakata region had an important role to play as it did in the early stage of the Yayoi period. These finds also suggest that fishing villages probably existed in the coastal area. Also, three pieces of evidence--(i) the nonexistence of ritual deposition of bronze swords or halberds with a slightly wide or wide blade in the Munakata region, (ii) the discovery of pottery with concave line decorations and Shōnai-type pottery at the Shamusho-mae site, and (iii) the discovery of the Shōnai-type pottery and pottery of a Ōmi origin at the Imagawa site--all point to the dynamism of the Munakata region, which was not assimilated into the moves by the elite of the Tsukushi polity. This region instead sought for close relationships with regions to the east, toward the Early Kofun period, in the context of a trade network reaching as far as the Kinki region. It must be this dynamism that characterizes the prehistory of Okinoshima rituals that began in the Early Kofun period.

Still, important questions remain unanswered. What were the fishing settlements in the coastal area in the region like? What were the ruling elite and the central settlements of states there like in the late stage of the Yayoi period? These are only two of the issues that remain unaddressed. And the reexamination of the pottery discovered at the Shamusho-mae site is quite inadequate. Due to time constraints, there is a huge gap between what should be done and what has been done. The author concludes this paper by expressing hope that more time will be available for further research and writing on this subject.

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Supplementary notes:

- 1) The Munakata region roughly matches the former Munakata area.
- 2) The traditional terminology and periodization of the said period for the Korean Peninsula has been challenged in recent years by an increasingly number of archaeologists. These archaeologists use the term “Late Bronze Age” to refer to the middle Plain Pottery period, arguing that the Bronze Age ended with the middle Plain Pottery period. Then some of them use the term “Sam-Han (Three Hans) period” to refer to the following period that started with the late Plain Pottery period. Others use the traditional terminology of “Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea)” to refer to the period in and after which tile-clay pottery appeared and regard the late Plain Pottery period alone as belonging to the Early Iron Age. TAKESUE, however, sticks to the traditional terminology and periodization: the “Plain Pottery period” and the “Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea)” to follow. He considers “Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea)” appropriate naming because the Korean Peninsula of this particular period was not yet dominated by the Three Hans. The territories of these three kingdoms were limited to the southern part of the peninsula; in the north, there also were Goguryeo as well as Lelang and other provinces/commanderies of the Han Dynasty. He also believes that the spread of forged ironware and the emergence of tile-clay pottery should be two of the major milestones for the periodization of the ancient history in the region.
- 3) Because the common term “moated circular settlement” implies the settlement is designed to defense itself from external enemies, TAKESUE uses this term instead.
- 4) The 1999 report divides the tombs into five groups according to the combination of grave goods. In this report, they are classified into three groups according to the extent of gaps between tombs. Such gaps are discussed in Section 1-(1).
- 5) A recent archaeological survey of the area lying between the Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok site and the Wolnae-dong site--a site that had not yielded Liaoning-style bronze swords--has shown that the two sites constitute a single archaeological site. From the intermediate area, which was found to be part of the wider site, the survey excavated three Liaoning-style bronze swords, each from Tomb No. 18 in Sang-chon II area, and Tomb Nos. 92 and 116 in the Sang-chon III area (Research Centre of Dolmens in Northeast Asia, 2010). This survey is not something that challenges the notion that the Jeongnyang-dong Sangjeok area was home to a dominant group because the amount of the Liaoning-style bronze swords yielded there was smaller. Rather, the survey suggests that the community at this extended archaeological site was divided into three groups: (i) the group that possessed a large amount of Liaoning-style bronze swords; (ii) the one with a small amount of such swords; and (iii) the one with no such swords.
- 6) The percentage is 44 percent (12 out of the 27 tombs) for Namsan-ri, and 25 percent (2 out of the 8 tombs) for Songguk-ri, when tombs for infants and children are defined as jar burials or as stone coffin or pit burials whose space for the dead body measures up to 100 centimeters deep.
- 7) Not surprisingly, the level of social stratification was low in the Munakata region, which had not had bronze-yielding tombs as seen at the Songguk-ri site. Tombs that bore stone swords in the tomb groups in Taku-matsugaura and Kubara area II do not have much superiority, given that tombs at the Namsan-ri site yielded polished stone swords.
- 8) A recent survey unearthed four bronze swords with a narrow blade and two socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade from four jar burials and wooden-coffin tombs of the initial and early stages of the Middle Yayoi period at the Kishida site, located deep inland in the Sawara Plain. The author hopes to evaluate these archaeological finds once a formal report on this survey is published. It is clear, however, that they do not match those at the Yoshitake group of sites in their intensity.
- 9) Unfortunately, the author was unable to investigate this particular item.
- 10) The author’s chronology in relation to bronze implements in the Korean Peninsula is made up of five periods. The First period is defined as the age of Liaoning-style bronze swords, the Second period as the age of narrow-bladed bronze swords only, and the Third period as the age in which existing narrow-bladed bronze swords coexisted with socketed bronze spears with a narrow blade and narrow-bladed bronze halberds. The Fourth and Fifth periods belong to the Proto–Three Kingdoms period (Korea). For details, see TAKESUE, 2004.
- 11) Chinese-type bronze swords in the Korean Peninsula come slightly after Liaoning-style bronze swords, as they were associated with a new type of Liaoning-style bronze swords (at Kosan-ri) and with bronze implements of the late old stage of the Third period (at Chopo-ri, Southern Jeolla Province). In the context of the Japanese chronology, they come before the last stage of the Early Yayoi period. LEE Kun-moo concluded that the Haep’yong-ri site in Gaepung County, Kaesong City, which yielded Liaoning-style bronze swords, was a depot (National Museum of Korea, and Gwangju National Museum, 1992: p. 127).
- 12) Regarding the writing of “Gapo-dong”, the author adopts the notation in “Kyungnam University Museum, 2006” report, but not the one in “LEE Sang-gil, 2000”.

- 13) Among them, Nos. 117, 659, 733, 743, 788, 984, and 1091 are pits and the rest are dwelling sites. In Area A1, there are a total of 27 pits and the pits that have been confirmed to belong to the Late Plain Pottery period, apart from these pits, are Nos. 316, 322, and 469. Of the 89 features (sites) of dwelling remains in area A1, Nos. 751, 1791, 2128 and 2512 belong to the Middle Plain Pottery period with the rest attributed to the Late Plain Pottery period, according to a site distribution map of the Plain Pottery period attached to the paper by CHOI Jong-gyu in Kyungnam Archaeological Research Institute, 2010b. Dwelling Site No. 2128 yielded Yayoi-type pottery. The author suspects that it might belong to the Late Plain Pottery period. Be that as it may, area A1 has about 85 dwelling sites of the Late Plain Pottery period, more than double the number of dwelling sites--totaling 38--that yielded Yayoi-type pottery. Dwelling sites that failed to produce Yayoi-type pottery yielded few artifacts. CHOI Jong-gyu concluded that the community moved from Group I to Group II. Before reaching this conclusion, he divided dwelling sites of the Late Plain Pottery period into square and rectangular ones. The state of overlapping of these two types suggested that rectangular sites come before square ones. He also found that the former are concentrated in Group I and the latter in Group II. This conclusion concurs with that of the author, who confirmed the community transfer from Group I to Group II by focusing his attention on Yayoi-type pottery.
- 14) However, the double-mold cast iron axes of this period of time found in the southern Korean Peninsula, including the Gusan-dong site, rarely have horizontal ridges on the socket opening part. This implies the Yayoi people traded with people in northern Korean Peninsula as well.
- 15) TAKESUE calls the pottery of the Proto-Three Kingdoms period (Korea) as Three-Han Potter that he believes is made up of tile-clay pottery and Akayaki (red) pottery, which includes soft pottery and pots with a clay band).
- 16) Chizonohana Tomb No. 3 itself belongs to the late Early Kofun period. Apart from pottery of the Kofun period, however, this tomb also yielded pots with a thin triangular clay band and Yayoi pots of the initial stage of the Late Yayoi period.

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【補記】

2011年6月4日に韓国の全州国立博物館で特別展「錦江流域の新たな力—2100年前の完州の人々—」を見学し、その際に忠清南道公州市水村里遺跡出土細形銅矛と全羅北道完州郡葛洞遺跡8号墓出土細形銅矛の関部に(伝)沖ノ島や(伝)公州の細形銅矛と同様な左右1条ずつの横突線を確認した。この2点の細形銅矛はいずれも袋部に環耳をもつため、(伝)沖ノ島の細形銅矛も環耳をもつ可能性が高くなった。葛洞8号墓の報告書では横突線は図示されていないが、図版の細部写真には明瞭に表れている(湖南文化財研究院2009の図面42、写真57)。葛洞8号墓の小形甕は直口縁のため時期が細かく限定できないが、水村里の細形銅矛には最末期の円形粘土帯甕が共伴する。この円形粘土帯甕は、初期三角形粘土帯甕

の時期までの存続が考えられるため、弥生時代中期初頭～前半が併行する中心時期である。こうした水村里例や葛洞 8 号墓例は(伝)沖ノ島の細形銅矛よりも先行するとみられるから、(伝)沖ノ島の細形銅矛は中期前半が中心年代となろう

Re-examination of the Okinoshima ritual sites

Their relation in the 4th/5th century to the Munakata Region

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*Proofread by Mr Werner STEINHAUS

Abstract: The research excavations of the Okinoshima site that were conducted in three series in a period from 1954 to 1971 brought to light ancient rituals associated with the huge rock group aggregated in the vicinity of the Okitsu-Miya Shrine. Beginning in the second half of the 4th century the rituals of the discovered sites shifted from “on top of rocks”, “in the shade of a rock”, “partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air”, and finally coming to an end in the 8th/9th century, to such “in the open air”. Forty years have passed since the publication of the reports of the scientific investigations; it is opportune to make a re-examination, incorporating the advancement in Shintō archaeology that has been made since then. This paper first summarizes the results of the published research excavation reports, reviews them critically from the latest academic point of view and looks for future tasks. Then, the local rituals in the Munakata region around the time of the beginning of the state-related ritual type on Okinoshima Island are studied in light of the archaeological knowledge that has been obtained after the publication of the reports in order to discuss the emergence of the chiefly stratum and interactions with the Yamato polity. Finally, the significance in the 4th/5th-century society of the rituals of dedicating ironware raw material in the form of flat iron ingots to the goddess, which were performed in the first phase of rituals on Okinoshima Island (on top of rocks), is discussed based on the cases of their use as tomb grave goods, in forge, in rituals etc...

Keywords: Okinoshima ritual site, rituals on top of rocks, Yamato polity, Munakata clan, Munakata sea people tribes, first phase of (mounded) tombs (*kofun*), rituals, flat iron ingots rituals, forging rituals, rituals in settlements, state-related ritual type

1. Results and Evaluation of the Scientific Investigations of Series 1 and 2

Investigations of Okinoshima ritual sites were conducted in a total of ten campaigns in three series between 1954 and 1971. This paper will deal with the Series 1 and Series 2 investigations that have seen a tentative conclusion.

Series 1 investigation: 1954 - 1955

Campaign 1: May 30, 1954 - June 4, 1954 (archaeological team)

KAGAMIYAMA Takeshi (site director), ODA Fujio, MATSUOKA Hitoshi (assistant staff members)

Archaeological sites No.1 through 9 and No.13 were identified in the vicinity of Okitsu-Miya Shrine, which were grouped into ritual sites in the open air (*roten saishi*) (No.1) and ritual sites in the shade of rocks (*iwakage saishi*) involving huge rocks. Among them, the archaeological Site No.4 called *okanagura* adjacent to the northern border of Okitsu-Miya Shrine presented a kind of structure similar to a cave (*gankutsu*; *dōkutsu*) consisting of a number of huge rocks and housed a number of offerings including those of Early Modern period.

North-south trenches were dug at sites No.7 and No.8 to make a preliminary investigation of the sites and prepare for the subsequent rounds of investigations. And pottery and stone implements of the Jōmon period and the Yayoi period were collected on the surface near the shrine office building.

Campaign 2: August 5, 1954 - August 20, 1954

KAGAMIYAMA (site director), SAKAMOTO Tsunetaka, WATANABE Seiki, HARADA Dairoku (excavation staff members), ODA, MATSUOKA, SUWA Akichiyo, TANAKA Tadashi (assistant staff)

The areas of sites No.7 and No.8, whose investigation was started in campaign 1, were fully investigated and the newly-discovered Site No.16 (rituals on top of a rock *ganjō saishi*) was investigated.

Campaign 3: June 5, 1955 - June 12, 1955

HARADA, HATAE Kazutoshi (excavation staff members)

Investigated the site with occupation features in front of the shrine office building (Jōmon and Yayoi period, Haji ware)

Campaign 4: October 17, 1955 - November 3, 1955

HARADA, WATANABE (excavation staff member), HISAMITSU Yoshiki (KATAYAMA Photo Studio)

Correction of the current topographical map and site measurement plans, photographing

Series 2 investigation: 1957 - 1958

Campaign 1: August 16, 1957 - August 26, 1957

KAGAMIYAMA (Head of the investigation), OTOMASU Shigetaka, KAGAWA Mitsuo, HARADA Dairoku, WATANABE Seiki, ODA Fujio (excavation staff member), KIHARA Tadashi (assistant staff)

Sites No. 8, 16 and 19 were investigated by WATANABE/ODA, OTOMASU and KAGAWA/HARADA, respectively. In addition one exposed mirror of Site No.19 was examined. A full-scale investigation of the site was postponed to the next campaign.

Campaign 2: August 23, 1958 - September 7, 1958

KAGAMIYAMA (Head of the investigation), OTOMASU, HARADA, ODA

The investigation was focused on Site No.17, where a preliminary investigation was conducted in the preceding campaign. Surplus resources were directed to the collection of remnant artifacts in the spoil heap of Site No.8. In addition, a topographical map of Site No.19 and its surroundings was prepared (Figure 1).

The results of the Series 1 and 2 research excavations were summarized in the following two publications under the editorship of the Munakata Shrine Revival Association:

Okinoshima: Ritual Sites of Okitsu-Miya, Munakata Shrine, March 1958

Okinoshima: Ritual Sites of Okitsu-Miya, Munakata Shrine - Part II, March 1961.

The presence of objects from ritual offerings on the isolated island of Okinoshima in the Genkai Sea was noted in the early modern literature of “Divine Treasures of Okitsu-Miya” in *Zoku Shosha Engi* (The History of Shrines - Part II) by KAIBARA Ekiken. More recently, ETŌ Masazumi (Priest of Dazaifu Tenmangu Shrine) traveled to the island in June 1881 and toured the site calling it “Treasure house tour.”¹⁾ The term “treasure house” is explained as “ritual objects (*shingū*) offered in places beneath huge rocks, sheltered from rain and dewdrops, near the main building of the shrine.” In today’s terminology, it most likely refers to sites in the shade of a rock (*iwakage iseki*) and sites partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air (*han iwakage han roten iseki*). ETŌ went on to depict his tour of the sites. This travel book, though far from perfect, was given a renewed attention in the Series 1 scientific investigation as the first record of the sites. In the Showa period, TANAKA Yukio and TOYO Motokuni visited the island separately for investigation purposes. But religious taboos and military fortifications there prevented them from performing full-scale investigations except for the observation of what is commonly called *okanagura* (Site No.4) and studies on some soft stone imitations of objects (*sekisei mozōhin*), ancient mirrors and metal objects that were stored in Munakata Shrine.²⁾

It was with such prior archaeological knowledge that the author of this paper participated in the Series 1 investigation, but admittedly, visualization of the sites was not possible before landing on the island. Okitsu-Miya was located, as the travel book of ETŌ Masazumi depicted, in the midst of virgin forests, surrounded by huge rocks that stand close to ten meters high. At a higher elevation of Okitsu-Miya huge rocks sat one after another, creating a solemn air. The main shrine lied on a plain at the edge of a valley-like topography about 80 meters above sea level. Further up in a relatively stabilized part were found an aggregation of huge rocks that apparently had fallen from above, with an extension of 70 meters in the north-south direction and 40 meters in the east-west direction. The group of huge rocks numbered from Rock A at the south of main building to Rock I uphill; on top or in the shade of these rocks relicts were found in a scattered state. And on a flat space near the entrance path about 50 meters south of the main building Sue ware (*sueki rui*) in large quantities was found scattered over an area in the open (Site No.1). Thus, the Series 1 investigation successfully confirmed the presence of ritual sites on top of rocks, in the

shade of rocks and in the open air and areas with Jōmon and Yayoi pottery and stone implements (*sekki*) in the surroundings of the shrine office building through surface collection, bringing to light the ritual sites in detail for the first time. The Series 1 investigation identified 16 ritual sites (No.1 through No.16) and the Series 2 investigation added three more (No.17 through No.19). It was revealed that individual rocks represented *iwakura*, the “rock-abode” (dwelling place) to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily, and the group of these rocks formed *iwasaka*, (concept of an area that has been encircled by piles of stones) where a god is thought to have descended.

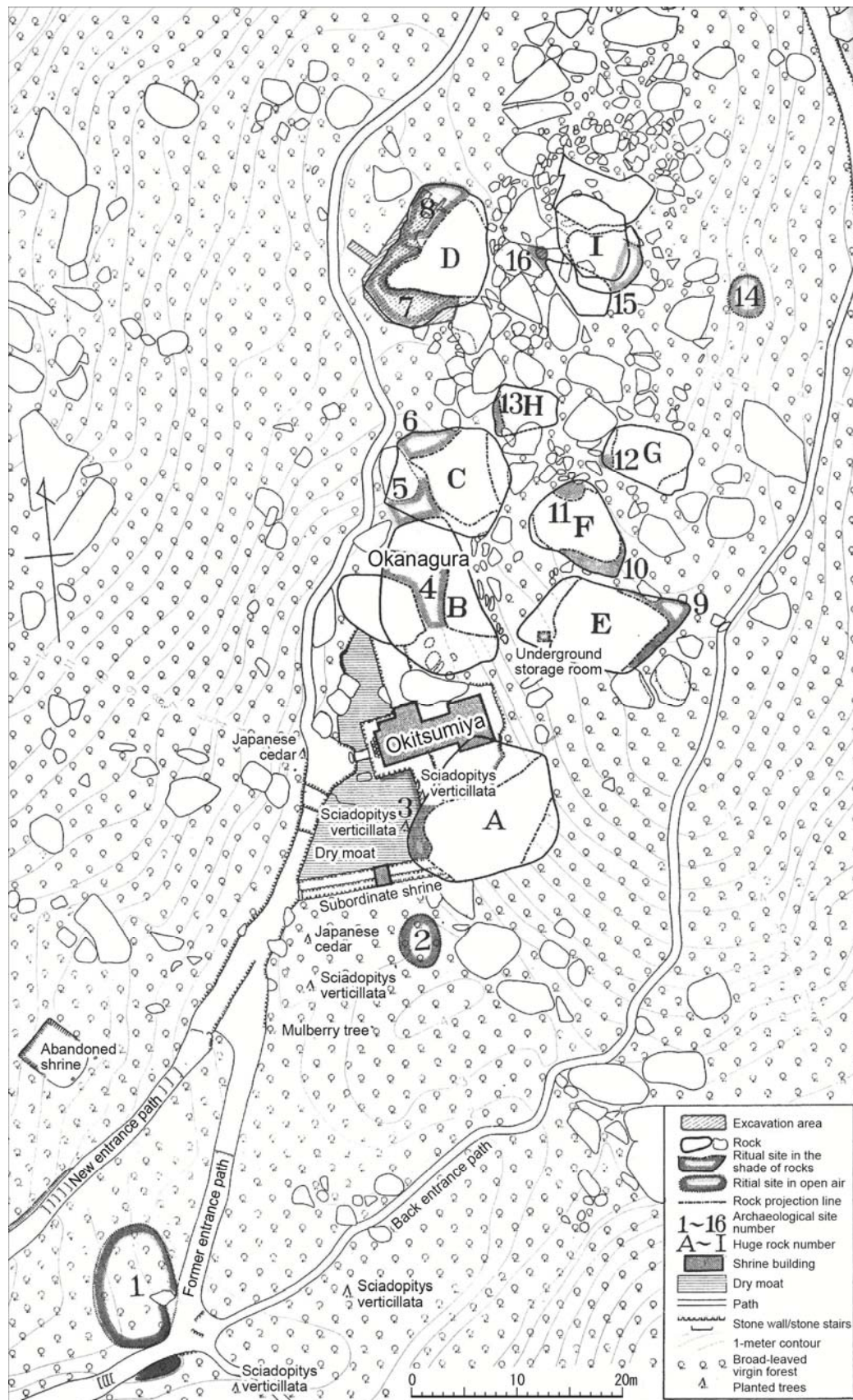
Excavations began in the Series 1 investigation with sites No.7 and No.8. A walk uphill of about 50 meters on the path from the shrine main building along the western periphery of huge rocks in the direction to the hilltop lighthouse led to a flat open space, to the right of which there was the huge rock “D”. The two sites (No.7 on the south and No.8 on the north) that represent typical ritual sites in the shade of a rock were found beneath the overhanging huge rock deep in the background. Under the shade of the extensive overhanging part within a wide area on both sites artifacts could be unearthed; accordingly trial trenches were dug as a preparatory step for subsequent full-scale investigations (Figures 2 and 3).

At Site No.7 towards the west end close to the path a trench of 1 meter by 9 meters was dug in southward direction, which luckily resulted in the discovery of gold finger rings (*kinsei yubiwa*), gold and silver bracelets (*kinsei, ginsei kushiro*) and other accessories (*sōshingu*) as well as horse trappings made of gilded bronze (heart-shaped *shinyōgata* and prickly-leaf-shaped *kyokuyōgata* flat pendant harness ornaments *gyōyō*; crupper strap dividers with spangle decorations *hoyō kazari uzu*; saddle fittings *kura kanagu*, metal belt fittings decorated with jewel beetle wings *tamamushi hane kazari obi kanagu*, etc.). At that point, the excitement and the tension of the team members increased significantly, with the anticipation that these objects were the predictable evidence of exchange for their resemblance to unearthed objects of Silla tombs in Gyeongju. Beforehand a stratigraphic structure with layers containing artifacts had been assumed, but relicts in scattered condition emerged as soon as the fallen leaves and a thin layer of leaf mulch were removed from the ground surface. Originally, it was learned, that the ground was leveled to some extent and the articles were placed in rows for the ritual. The seabird species, Streaked Shearwater (*Calonectris leucomelas*), that inhabits the island today nests in the shade of the rocks every night and they must have caused the disturbances. When the team brought back the objects to the shrine office, shrine priest MAEDA, who took a look at the artifacts, surprised the team by bringing a bucketful of similar horse trappings from a corner of the office building. One of them caught a particular attention because it was an crupper strap divider (*uzu*) combined with a heart-shaped pendant harness ornament (Okinoshima illustration 80, Figure 52-1). According to priest MAEDA, the objects were found exposed during his patrols after heavy rains and collected by officials of the lighthouse on the way to or back from work. All were collected from the surface at the west end of Site No.7. The foregoing, coupled with the results of Series 2 investigation, suggests that Silla-related metal accessories and horse trappings were offered on the west end of Site No.7.

Site No.8 that was constituted in the northern shade of the same huge rock “D” is, like Site No.7, a ritual site deep back in the shade of a rock. There is a small rock about halfway of the rock shade projection line that extends in the east-west direction, and on the east of the small rock two cross section trenches were dug, one (0.3 meters by 4 meters) parallel to the projection line and the other (0.3 meters by 2 meters) crosswise. (Figure 4)

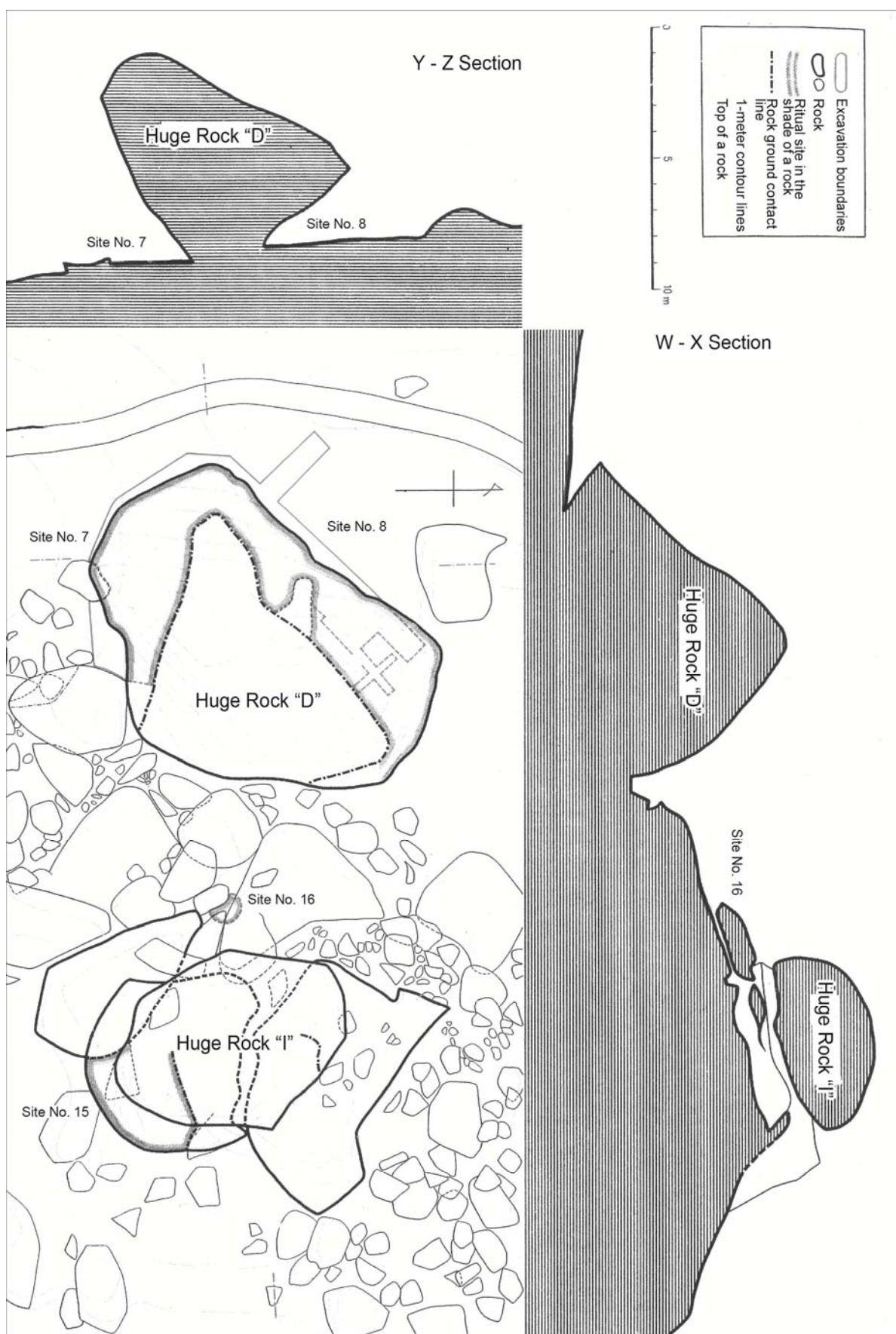
The conditions of the soil from the surface to the natural ground resembled the observations of the trench of Site No.7; the discoveries included iron sword pieces and attached metal fittings, large-size faceted glass beads (*kirikodama*), comma-shaped beads made from jasper (*hekigyokusei magatama*), glass cup pieces (*wan*), small mortar-shaped beads made from steatite (soapstone) (*kassekisei usudama*) and small beads etc..

On the basis of the results of the Series 1 investigation, a full-fledged Series 2 investigation was performed in 1957 and 1958. Investigations were continued with respect to sites No.8 and No.16, and investigation of sites Nos.17, 18 and 19 around huge rock “I” was newly conducted. It is worth noting that the phase of rituals performed on top of rocks was concentrated in the vicinity of huge rock “I” (as many as 21 bronze mirrors were found offered, a number matched by no tomb (*kofun*) in Kyūshū) and that the discovered objects were mainly bronze mirrors, iron weapons and personal ornaments that are common for tomb grave goods from the Early Kofun period to the first half of the Middle Kofun period. (Table 1)



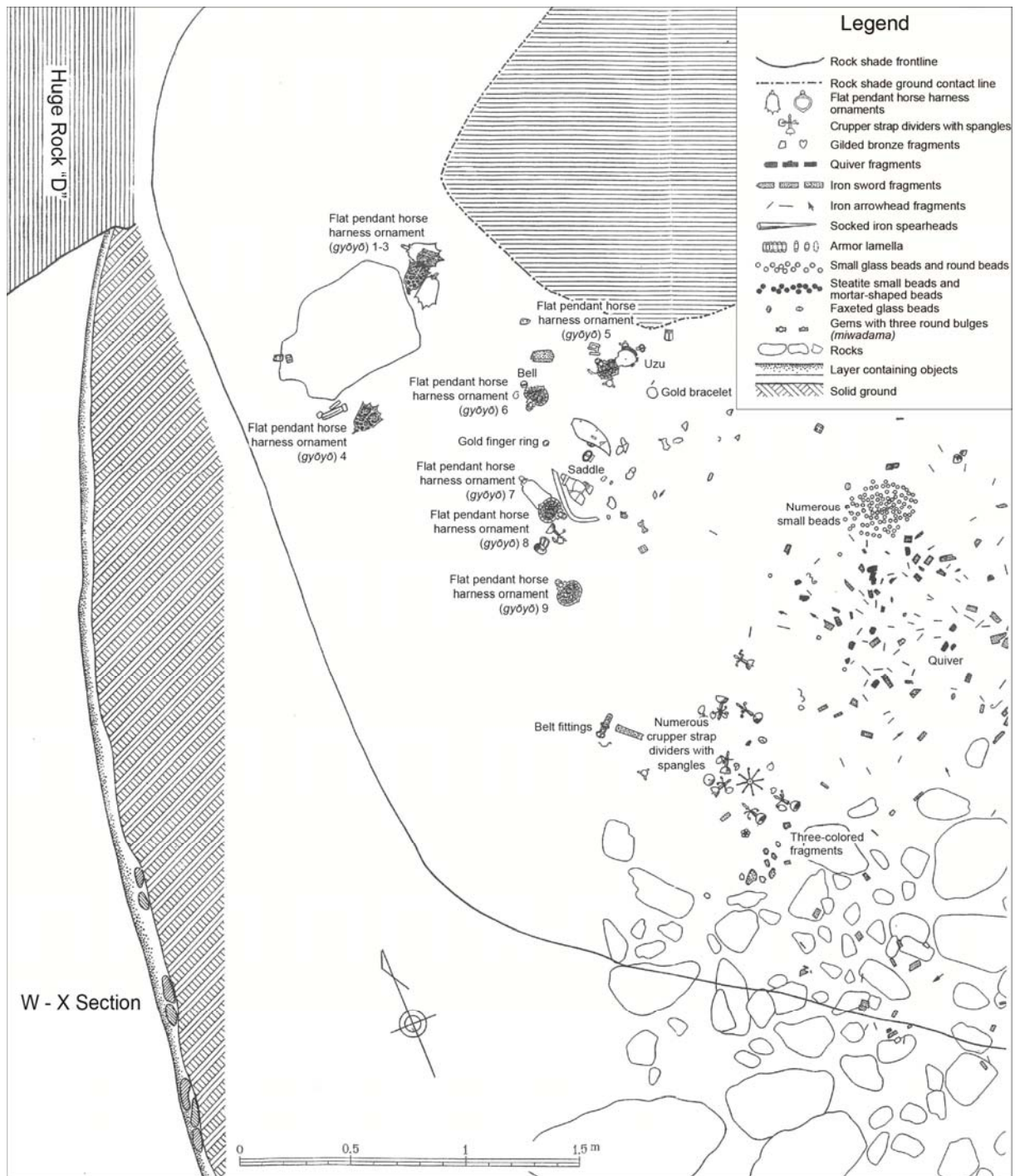
Taken from Figure12 of *Okinoshima*

Figure 1 Ritual sites around Okitsu-Miya (at the stage of Series 1 research investigation)



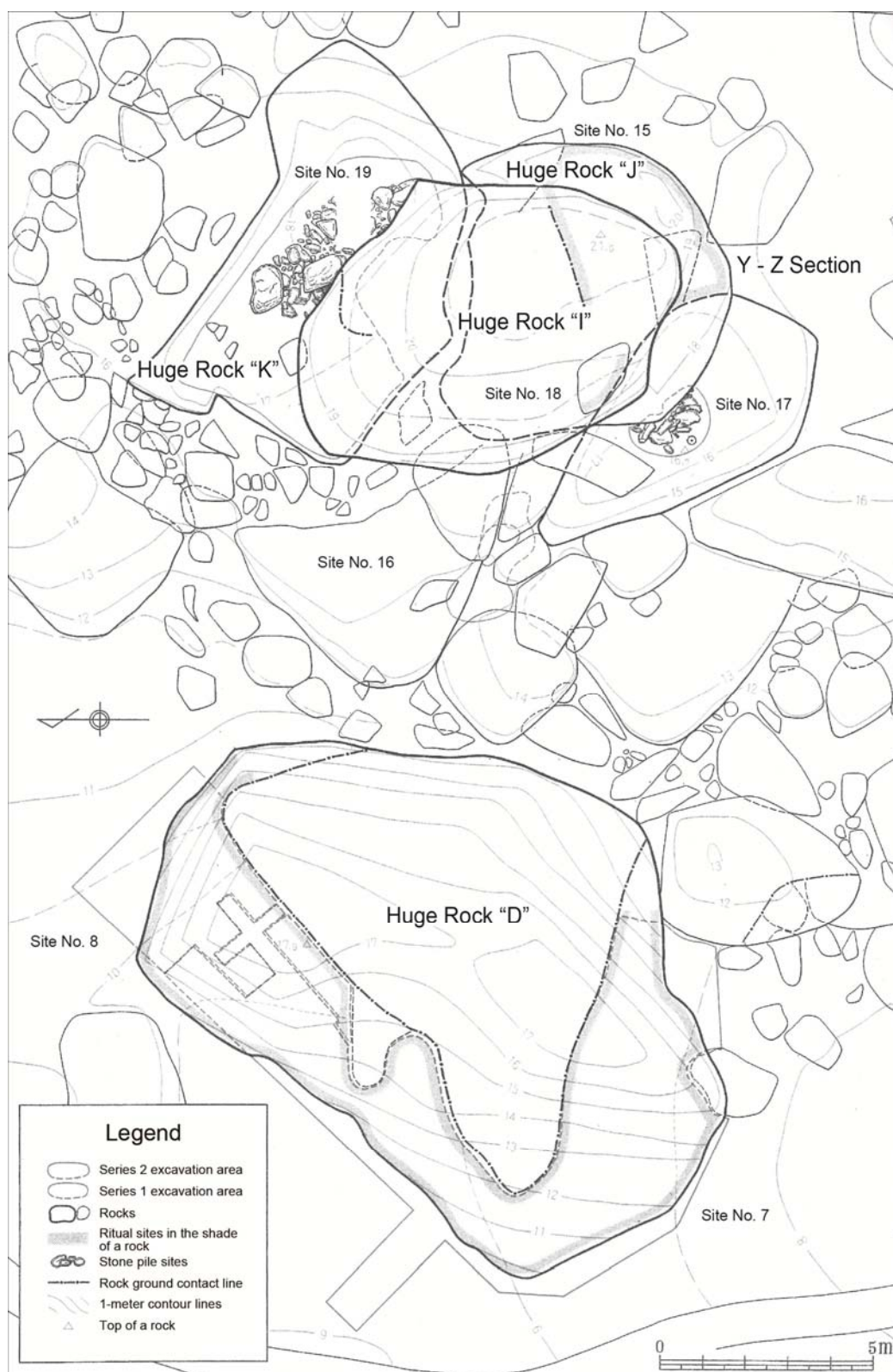
Taken from Figure13 of *Okinoshima*

Figure 2 Topographical map of the vicinity of huge rocks "D" and "I"



Taken from Figure17 of *Okinoshima*, 1958 (partial)

Figure 3 Distribution of objects at the west end of Site No.7



Taken from Figure1 of *Okinoshima Part II*

Figure 4 Topographical map of the vicinity of huge rocks "I" and "D"

Table 1 List of artifacts unearthed by Series 1 and 2 investigations

(Taken from Item 279 of *Okinoshima Part II*)

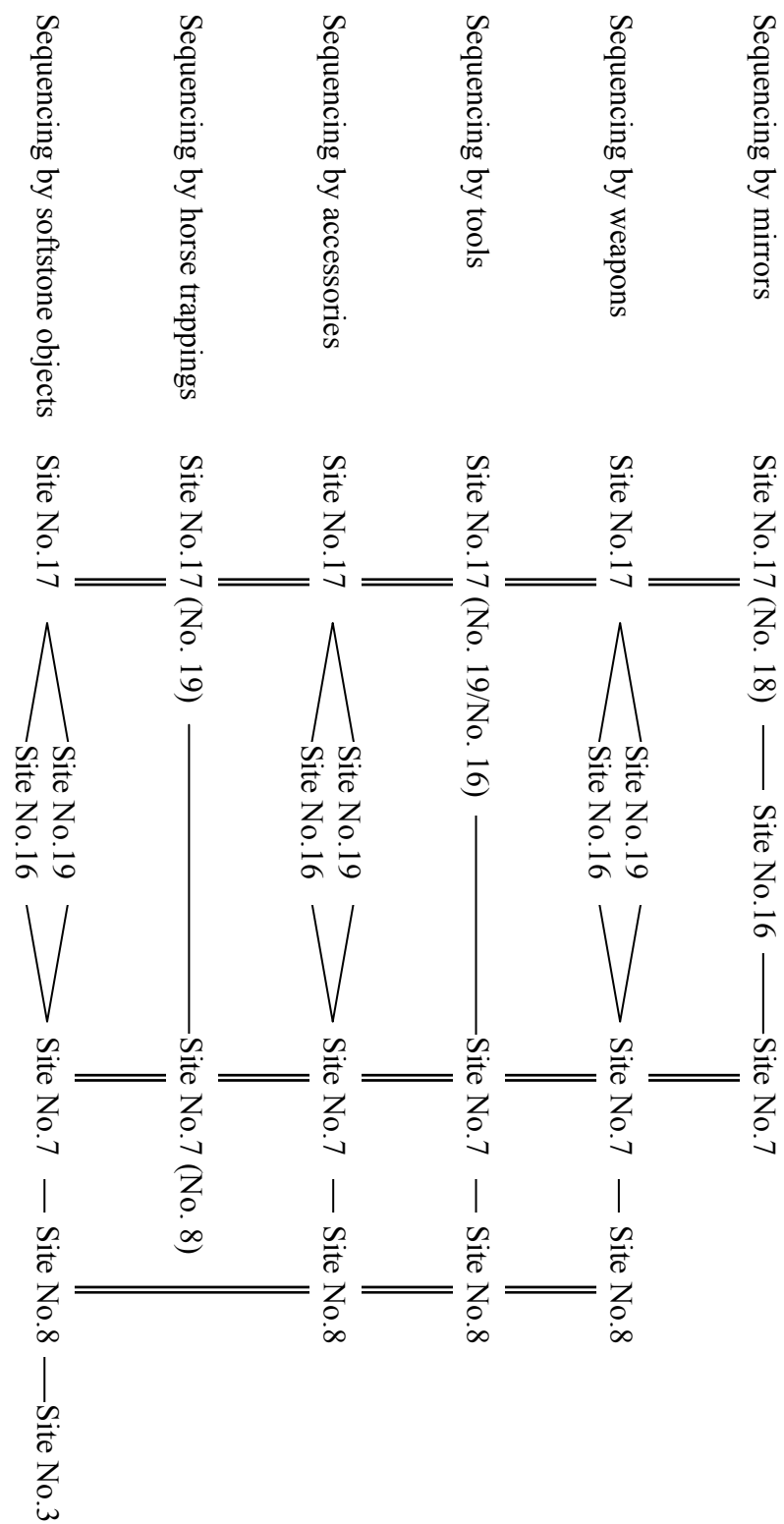
List of artifacts unearthed from the ritual sites of Okinoshima Island	Artifacts	Archaeological site excavated						
	Site 17	Site 19	Site 16	Site 7	Site 8			
Mirrors	modified TLV mirrors (<i>henkei hōkakukiku kyō</i>)	7	modified mirror with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei renkomon kyō</i>)	1	mirror with an inner field of pearl relief design (<i>shumon kyō</i>)	1		
	modified mirror with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei renkomon kyō</i>)	3	mirror (type unidentifiable)	1	modified TLV mirror (<i>henkei hōkakukiku kyō</i>)	1		
	turtle-dragon mirrors (<i>daryō kyō</i>)	2		modified triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror (<i>henkei sankakubuchi shinjūkyō</i>)	1	modified mirror with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei renkomon kyō</i>)	1	
	modified mirror with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei renkomon kyō</i>)	1		(plain) mirror (<i>somon kyō</i>)	1			
	modified pictorial mirrors (<i>henkei gazō kyō</i>)	2						
	modified triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror (<i>henkei sankakubuchi shinjūkyō</i>)	3						
	modified K'uei-bird-mirror (<i>kihō kyō</i>)	1						
	modified beast-band mirrors (<i>henkei jūtai kyō</i>)	2						
	Weapons	Iron double-edged swords	7	Iron double-edged swords	5	Iron double-edged swords	7	Iron double-edged swords
Iron single-edged swords		5	Iron single-edged swords	10	Iron single-edged swords	6	Iron single-edged swords	9
			Socketed iron spearhead	1	Socketed iron spearhead	4	Miniatures of iron single-edged swords	158
			Iron arrowheads	21	Socketed iron spearhead	26	Socketed iron spearhead	6
			Iron spearheads with tang (<i>tessō</i>)	2	Iron spearheads with tang (<i>tessō</i>)	2	Socketed spearhead sheath	1
			Miniatures of iron single-edged swords	1	Iron arrowheads	235	Iron spearheads with tang (<i>tessō</i>)	4
					Lamellar armor (<i>keikō</i>)	1		
					Shield	1		
Tools		Small knives	3	Small knives	10	Iron adzes	11	Iron adzes
			Iron needles	3	Iron adzes	5	Miniatures of iron adzes	58
Accessories							Miniatures of small knives	72
	Comma-shaped bead (jadeite)	1	Comma-shaped beads (jadeite)	2	Comma-shaped beads (jadeite)	3	Flat disc-shaped bead (pearl?)	1
	Cylindrical beads (jasper <i>hekigyoku</i>)	10	Comma-shaped beads (jasper)	9	Comma-shaped beads (jasper)	3	Round stones (crystal, glass)	16
	Small beads (glass)	75	Comma-shaped bead (rock crystal)	1	Cylindrical beads (jasper)	93	Small beads (glass)	535
	Wheel-shaped bracelet (jasper)	2	Cylindrical beads (jasper)	76	Small beads (glass)	287	Faceted glass beads (rock crystal)	15
	Ring-shaped bracelet (jasper)	1	Small beads (glass)	300	Ring-shaped bracelets (jasper)	2	Gold finger ring	1
	Iron bracelets	4	Iron bracelets	3	Iron bracelets	6	Gold bracelet	1
					Bronze bracelets	2	Silver bracelets	2
							Strap ends	3
							Belt buckles (<i>kako</i>)	5
							Belt fittings	11

List of artifacts unearthed from the ritual sites of Okinoshima Island	Horse trappings			Crupper boss (<i>uzu</i>)?	1	Saddles	2	Saddle	1
						Crupper boss (<i>uzu</i>)	58	Crupper bosses (<i>uzu</i>)	19
						Flat pendant horse harness ornament (<i>gyōyō</i>)	21	Flat pendant horse harness ornament (<i>gyōyō</i>)	4
						Snaffle bit	1		
						Bells	1		
	Other metal objects			Iron plates	2	Bent rod-like object	1	Unidentified objects	several
				Gilded bronze square plates	2	Unidentified objects	several	Small iron rings	many
				Small iron plates	3	Sung Dynasty coin	1	Unidentified small ironware	several
								Sung Dynasty coins	3
	Stearite objects	Comma-shaped beads	2	Comma-shaped beads (mica schist 1)	16	Comma-shaped beads (mica schist 1)	22	Comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted	2
		Cylindrical beads	11	Cylindrical beads	24	Cylindrical beads	135	Mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	39
		Small beads	298	Small beads	67	Small beads	220		
		Barrel-shaped beads (<i>natsumedama</i>)	4	Barrel-shaped bead (<i>natsumedama</i>)	1	Barrel-shaped beads (<i>natsumedama</i>)	23	Mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	15118
				Ring-shaped stone bracelet	1	Ring-shaped stone bracelets	5	Large mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	237
	Shell objects							Disk-shaped object with hole (<i>yūkō enban</i>)	1
	Vessels			Haji ware fragments	1				
						Three-colored glazed stone ware	2	Crystal glass cup	1
						Vessel stand (<i>kidai</i>)	1	Jar (<i>tsubo</i>)	1
						Pot (<i>kame</i>)	1		

Staff member HARADA Dairoku reviewed the sequences of the objects by categories, compared them and presented an comprehensive site chronology shown in Table 2. He used site Nos.17 and 7 as the basis for his sequencing; the former was assumed to belong to the beginning of the Middle Kofun period and the latter to be of the first half of the Late Kofun period. And this chronology is considered to represent the order of the formation of the ritual sites. HARADA assumed that Site No.18 should be positioned between sites No 17 and 19 (16), though the whole picture of the site is still incomplete.

According to distinctive features the ritual objects, that are outstanding in terms of quality and quantity, were assembled within the following ten categories (*Okinoshima Part II*, pp.277 - 285): (1) the relative weight of objects, (2) inclusion of high quality objects, (3) diversity of objects, (4) abundance of objects, (5) similarities with tomb (*kofun*) grave goods, (6) luxurious objects, (7) one ritual one ritual site, (8) absence of agricultural tools or fishing implements, (9) objects characteristic of Okinoshima, (10) rituals at their peak.

Table 2 Proposed site chronology
 according to Series 1 and 2 investigations of Okinoshima
 (Taken from Item 276 of *Okinoshima Part II*)



With respect to category (1), the sites are ranked from “heavy” to “light” according to the mass in descending order as No 17, 7, 8 to 16 to 19. The differences were seen as not of “status distinctions of rituals” but of “distinctions in relative weight of the divine rituals per se.” Category (2) was concluded from the presence of bronze mirrors, Silla lineage horse trappings and glass cups etc.. Category (4) was concluded in regard to the abundance of objects with similarities to tomb grave goods like bronze mirrors, iron weapons, miniatures of weapons (*hinagata buki*), horse trappings, different kinds of soft stone beads etc.. With respect to category (5), HARADA pointed out that sets of tomb grave goods of the Early to the Late Kofun period were used directly as ritual utensils and “treasures themselves turned into ritual objects,” and went on one step further to describe his understanding that “the interred persons of the huge tombs were priests in his/her lifetime and the treasures had been all used as ritual implements for political purposes” (p.284). For category (6), he cited the 21 bronze mirrors unearthed (from Site No.17) to point out that “the rituals performed in Okinoshima with the direct use of Early Kofun period style grave goods of huge tombs as ritual implements can be regarded nothing else but rituals of the Yamato Court” and for that very reason, “the rationale behind the term ‘*matsurigoto*’ meaning both political administration and ritual service in the Kofun culture may be understood” (p.284). As evidences of category (9), HARADA cited soft stone representations of objects, used in rites of purification (*katashiro*) (objects representing the human figure *hitogata*, horses *umagata*, boats *funagata*), small jars with small holes in the body (*kogata yūkō tsubo*) and dishes also with holes (*yūkō tsuki*), and wrote “the fact that these objects emerged for the first time toward the end of Kofun culture suggests that folk beliefs spread out rapidly throughout the country and as a result ritual objects unique to Okinoshima began to materialize based on such folk beliefs” (p.285). With respect to category (10), the rituals on Okinoshima Island were considered to have peaked “between the beginning of the Middle Kofun culture period and the terminal stage of the culture” and, even though the rituals were those of Yamato Court, “in the last stage of the Kofun culture, from the middle third of the 7th century (A.D. 663) on when the Yamato Court withdrew from military affairs on the Korean Peninsula, the rituals were probably performed mostly by the Munakata clan on behalf of the Court. That ritual objects after that time became by far humble and no objects were found other than those connected to folk beliefs speaks for itself” (p.285).

Site director KAGAMIYAMA Takeshi who oversaw the entire investigation grouped the sites roughly into following types: (1) ritual sites on top of rocks (sites Nos.16 through 19), (2) ritual sites in the shade of rocks (sites Nos.7 and 8), and (3) ritual sites in the open air (Site No.1), and positioned Groups (1) and (2) into the Early to Middle Kofun period and Group (3) into the Late Kofun period (pp.286 - 288). He pointed out that Groups (1) and (2) should be separated from Group (3) that was characterized as a Late Kofun period site dominated by Sue ware. With attention to Site No.17 that had 21 bronze mirrors and the sheer amounts of objects found in sites No.7 and No.8 far exceeding the amount of grave goods found in a tomb of the Late Kofun period, he noted the big scale of the ritual sites and wrote that “the rituals for the Munakata deities were likely not developed with the backing of local independent powers alone but as for the state deities of the Yamato Court” (p.288). In addition, KAGAMIYAMA touched upon the comparison of the ritual objects to grave goods and argued that “the ritual nature of tombs (*kofun*)” may need to be “reflected” – perhaps he meant ‘reconsidered’ – but that if the worshippers regarded “the departed soul (*shinryō*) as being identical to divine spirit (*shinrei*), then the result might be the same” (p.288). This and other penetrating insights of KAGAMIYAMA and his suggestions for future elucidation were indeed full of foresight and constructive opinions, given the development of Shintō archaeology in the subsequent years.

In the meantime, categories (9) and (10) of HARADA’s summary (out of the ten categories) above need to be revisited in no small part, in light of the advances in archaeology achieved in the course of the 40 years after the publication of the report. The period division of the archeological community at the time was based on “Japanese Archaeology, Vols.IV and V, Early and Late Kofun period”, KONDŌ Yoshirō and FUJISAWA Chōji, ed., KAWADE Shobō, 1966. Namely, the Kofun period was divided into two: Early and Late. The Early Kofun period was further divided into four phases (I through IV) and the Late Kofun into three (I through III). The Early Kofun period of the conventional division of the Kofun period in three stages corresponds to Early I and II and the Middle Kofun period to Early III and IV. And since the 1970s, triggered by the investigation of Takamatsuzuka tomb in Nara, Late III has been separated and called terminal stage (*shūmatsuki*). What HARADA referred to as “the last stage (*makki*) of Kofun culture” corresponds to Late Kofun period phase III (7th century) and in today’s terminology to the terminal (final) stage. In terms of the evolution of rituals in Okinoshima, this was contemporary to rituals in the open air

(Site No.1). HARADA's interpretation in category (9) relied too heavily on the qualitative difference between the objects found for rituals on top of rocks and in the shade of rocks characterized by categories (2) and (6) and the objects found for rituals in the open air. He translated the difference into status differences on the part of the priests; he gave a historical assessment saying the latter "became by far humble concerning the class differences and no artifacts were found other than those of folk beliefs" and ascribed the turning point to the retreat of Yamato polity following the defeat at the Battle of Baekgang (jap. *hakusenkō*) on the Korean Peninsula in 663 A.D. In different words, he viewed that since the middle part of the 7th century, the priests changed from the hands of Yamato polity to those of the local Munakata clan. However, this interpretation of HARADA was erroneous in the sense that the image of Kofun period state rituals characterized by diverse and gorgeous offerings was simply extended to the rituals of the historical period in Okinoshima. HARADA drew too quickly a conclusion from the small portion of the objects collected from the surface at Site No.1 (items cited in category (9)), even though this ritual site in the open air had been hardly fully investigated. KAGAMIYAMA also pointed out the need to consider the phase of rituals in the open air from the phases of rituals on top of rocks and in the shade of rocks, but he prudently did not go any further. It should be recalled that, at the time of the investigation, the stage of Shintō archaeology research hadn't yet arrived to reach clear verdicts about these issues. Concerning conclusions, thoughts should have been given to the change in the nature of the rituals of the Kofun period and the historical period. That is, the question should have been addressed from the perspective of the shift from the beginning stage of Shintō to the stage of historical Shintō, or what is today called the change to rituals under the code of laws and ethics (*Ritsuryō*).⁷ This point will be discussed in detail later.

2. Results and Evaluation of Series 3 Investigations

Over a decade passed since the completion of the Series 2 investigation and the maintenance work of the shrine premises by the Munakata Shrine Revival Association was completed in 1971. Against this background, scientific investigations of the ritual sites in Okinoshima were proposed and the project began in September 1969, as outlined below.

Series 3 investigation: 1969 (Shōwa 44) - 1971 (Shōwa 46)

OKAZAKI Takashi (leader), MATSUMI Morimichi, ODA Fujio (deputy leaders), SADA Shigeru, MATSUMOTO Hajime, YUBA Tomonori, TSUJI Kazuki, INOUE Danpei, AKUI Naganori, TACHIBANA Masanobu, MAEKAWA Takehiro, KURONO Hajime, ITŌ Keiji, YANAGIDA Yasuo, SAWA Kimio, HASHIGUCHI Tatsuya, MANO Kazuo, TAKESUE Junichi, IWASAKI Jirō, HINOKUMA Tōru, YOSHIMURA Masayoshi (staff members)

First preliminary investigation: April 2, 1969 - April 7, 1969

Touring around the island. At Site No.5 the metal detector the team brought in was activated and intense signals were picked up. The spot was excavated and two dragon heads made of gilded bronze were unearthed. Photographs of the feature were taken and they were brought back.

Second preliminary investigation: May 8, 1969 - May 28, 1969.

Because a large majority of the members of the investigation were younger than those of previous investigations and were visiting the island for the first time, they were instructed to tour around the island, to hammer in measuring pegs in an aggregate total area of 25,000 *tsubo* (1 *tsubo* = 3.3 m³) covering sites of former barracks, hemp fields and the vicinity of shrine office buildings etc., and complete the surveying work.

First scientific investigation: September 28, 1969 - October 20, 1969

Sites No.5 and No.6, a site in front of the shōsanmi shrine building and a site (Jōmon – Yayoi) in front of the shrine office building were investigated. Site No.5 lies to the south of Huge Rock "C" and No.6 to the north. Site No.5 is a ritual place on a flat spot, protected by the mother rock Huge Rock "C" and cut off to the south by Huge Rock "B", thus open only to the west. The rock measures almost 10 meters in height and the inclination to the edge of overhanging part is rather upright. Thereby, the ritual place was defined as belonging to the typ "partly in the shade of the rock and partly in the open air". Furthermore, the ritual

objects are mostly gilt-bronze dragon heads, Tang-Dynasty style three-colored glazed ware (*to sansai*), gilt-bronze miniatures of objects (*hinagata hin*; human figures, spinning and weaving tools), miniatures of iron swords (*hinagata tekken*), Sue ware, Haji ware etc. in stark contrast to those found at the phase of rituals in the shade of rocks. From the above, this phase was understood as a unique phase positioned in the process from rituals on top and in the shade of rocks to rituals in the open air. The ritual objects also support this view, representing an important transition step toward the shift to the historical stage of Shintō in the 7th century. It should be added that some investigated features, where some flat iron ingots (*tettei*) and Haji ware had been found, on the slope in front of the Shōsanmi shrine building near the southern cliff at the edge of the shrine office building had afterwards subsequently disappeared by weathering and erosion.

Second 2 scientific investigation: May 5, 1970 - May 25, 1970

The focus of the investigation was on sites Nos.4, 21, 20 (+14) and 1. The Site No.21 consisted of an altar structure (*saidan ikō*), a square of about 2.5 m² marked by small quarry stones on a gentle slope on top of a huge rock of about 5 meters in height. The objects found suggest that the site was used in about the middle of the 5th century, signaling the lower limit of the phase of ritual sites on top of rocks. Site No.4 had been well known for quite some time by the common name of *Okanagura* for the presence of ritual objects. Up until the modern times, offerings had been kept there. As it was described as a “rock cave” (*gankutsu*) in the Series 1 and Series 2 investigations, the site presented itself as a cave-like one. This time, it was decided to include it in the group of ritual sites in the shade of rocks, because the “cave” had been formed by the fall of two huge rocks one over the other and the site is on an L-shaped lot with openings to the south and to the west. In the lower layer occupation features with pottery and stone implements from the Jōmon period were found. This layer was left for subsequent investigations. No.20 was a small partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air ritual site, steeply inclined in the front. The during the series 1 and series 2 investigations discovered pottery groups on the slope were defined as belonging to Site No.14, but it was determined this time that the pottery had slipped down from the open air part of Site No.20. Accordingly, the pottery groups of Site No.14 were annexed into Site No.20, and the site number 14 was eliminated. The open air Site No.1 that is located in the southwest of Okitsu-Miya Shrine and is the largest of all in size had an extraordinary agglomeration of Sue ware. The surface was cleaned to expose the former surface and in between the pottery a section was dug down. The discoveries included Nara period three-colored small jars (*tō sansai kogata tsubo*) and a coin from the imperial court (*fūju Shimpō*). The importance of this site was recognized anew, and a subsequent fully investigation was decided. Thus, a clue for the chronology of Site No.1, which could be placed between the 8th century and the first half of 9th century, was obtained.

Third 3 scientific investigation: September 26, 1970 - October 20, 1970

Investigation continued on site Nos.1 and 4. In addition, Site No.22, which was discovered in the course of the topographical survey of the surrounding area, was investigated. This last site lied at the remotest point and was a ritual site in the shade of a rock about 60 meters to the northeast of Huge Rock “D” and 85 meters above sea level.

Site No.1 was a ritual site in the open air, inclined to the east (to the sea). On the surface various kinds of pottery were scattered in an area of 10 meters in north-south direction and 9 meters in east-west. A 2-meter grid was put in place and a cross-trenching section of 8 meters in north-south direction and 6 meters in east-west was defined. An extraordinarily large number of Sue ware had accumulated, with the Nara period three-colored small jars (17), metal objects and soft stone objects etc. in between. Even though excavation of the entire site was not possible, it is believed that enough was learned to understand most of the site. The discovery of coins from the imperial court (*fūju Shimpō*) was particularly important because they were first minted in 818 A.D., a proof that the rituals continued into the 9th century. Site No.22 may well be described as a typical ritual site in the shade of a rock. The altar, an arrangement of stones, with Sue ware and Haji ware lined up around it, the discovery of gilt bronze miniatures of objects (*hinagata*) and different kinds of soft stone beads, all this is suggesting an age close to that of Site No.5. Of great significance is, that ritual sites in the shade of rocks seemed to have continued into the 7th century.

Fourth investigation: May 9, 1971 - May 18, 1971

At this campaign, no scientific investigations were performed. Rather, the sites were finally examined and clearance work was done. No-entry zones were set up for protection from future maintenance activities.

The Series 3 investigation was started with strong expectations, encouraged by the unexpected discovery of a pair of gilt bronze dragon heads (at Site No.5) in the course of the preliminary investigation. Until the Series 3 investigation, three stages of ritual sites on top of rocks, in the shade of rocks and in the open air had been established, but the discovery led to the addition of a new stage of ritual sites partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air, before sites in the open air. And the newly-added investigations of Site No.21 (ritual on top of a rock) and Site No.22 (ritual in the shade of a rock) provided bases for positioning of the lower limit of rituals on top of a rock to about the middle of the 5th century and that of rituals in the shade of a rock to around the first half of the 7th century. Further, Site No.5 showed a remarkable replacement phenomenon concerning the objects of foreign lineage with the regression of Korean Peninsula (Silla) lineage metal objects that characterized the phase of the rituals in the shade of rocks and the appearance of China (Southern Dynasties through Tang Dynasty) lineage artifacts. Another major outcome was that the gilt bronze miniatures of objects, that were found to have increased rapidly in sites No.22 and No.5, were linked in content with ritual objects of Ise Kōtai Jingū Shrine and because of their embryonic stage, this led us to the view that they deserve to be regarded as having a pioneering position ahead of the “*Ritsuryō* ritual.” Shortly after the Series 3 investigation, a large number of objects, that had been purchased by a private arts collector more than ten years before as allegedly unearthed from Okinoshima Island, were disclosed to the public. Among them, a ring-shaped bracelet (*ishikushiro*) and a wheel-shaped bracelet (*sharinseki*), both made of tuffaceous shale and three bronze mirrors were considered to be from Site No.18 and two comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (*komochi magatama*) and nine bronze mirrors to be from Site No.21 (of which three mirrors were confirmed to be so). Accordingly, the number of bronze mirrors found on Okinoshima Island climbed to a total of 54 as detailed in Table 3.

Site No.1 was determined by HARADA Dairoku as a result of the Series 2 investigation to be a ritual site degraded into one of folk beliefs, based only on the excavated part of the objects and not on a full-scale investigation. The re-examination during the Series 3 investigation ended with discoveries of twelve Nara period three-colored small jars, a Tang Dynasty-style mirror, a coin from the imperial court (*fūju Shimpō*) etc., which serve as proof, that until the end of the rituals sites they maintained their nature of state-related rituals. It was particularly important that the lineage of the metal miniature objects, with striking presence at sites No.22, No.5 and No.1, was succeeded by the kind of “divine treasures” (*Shimpō*) of Ise Kōtai Jingū Shrine as recorded in *Kōtai Jingū Gishikichō* and *Engi-shiki* and that these Okinoshima rituals may well be considered an archetype of *Ritsuryō* rituals. It was very significant that the starting point of the shift from beginning stage of Shintō to historical (shrine) Shintō was identified. INOUE Mitsusada subsequently described it as “a *Ritsuryō*-like ritual or its precursor form.”³⁾

Table 3 List of mirrors unearthed from the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island

(Taken from *Munakata/Okinoshima*, Item 524 of body text)

	Site No.	Total	Imported mirrors (<i>hakusai kyō</i>)	Mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (<i>bōsei kyō</i>)				
				Triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors (<i>sankakubuchi shinjūkyō</i>)	TLV mirrors (<i>hōkakukiku kyō</i>)	Mirrors with interconnected arcs (<i>renkomon kyō</i>)	Turtle-dragon mirrors (<i>daryō kyō</i>)	Others
Sites on top of a rock	16	4	0	1	1	1		1
	17	21		7	7	3	2	6
	18	9+3	2	4+2	+1			3
	19	2				1		1
	21	4+2	1+2				1	2
Sites in the shade of a rock	8	3	1		1			1
	7	2						2
	15	1						1
	23	1						1
	4	2						2

As discussed above, the results of Series 3 investigation not only supplemented those of Series 1 and Series 2 investigations but also in some cases exceeded them. With those results, the investigation of Okinoshima ritual sites in three series was brought to an end. Its scientific report in three volumes was published in 1979.

Munakata/Okinoshima, Series 3 Investigation Team ed., body text, illustrations and references

The report in its body text details the ritual sites investigation of sites in front of the Shōsanmi shrine building, No.1, No.4, No.6, No.18, No.20, No.21, No.22 and other sites (Sites No.3, No.15 and No.23). The four stages of the rituals as well as the shift from from “on top of rocks”, “in the shade of a rock,” “partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air” and finally to “in the open air” were confirmed. In the study section, mirrors, gilt bronze dragon heads, flat iron ingots (*tettei*), trapezoid cast iron adzes (*chūzō teikei teppu*), glazed stoneware (*seyū tōki*) (Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck *tōsansai chōkei hei*, Nara period three-colored small jar *nara tōsansai kogata tsubo*), metal miniature and soft stone ritual implements (comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted and representations of objects, used in rites of purification *katashiro*) and Site No.1 pottery were taken up, but no reference was made to weapons, armor, Silla lineage gilt bronze objects (gold finger ring, gilt bronze horse trappings etc.) or iron miniatures of objects (weapons, tools etc.). The glass cup (Site No.8) was mentioned only as a topic of a column article. In short, the focus was generally on objects of foreign lineage that drew attention at the time and on miniatures and soft stone comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted and representations of objects, used in rites of purification (*katashiro*) (humans, horses, boats) that were rather little known then. This may well be due to the fact that investigation leader OKAZAKI Takashi was specialized in East Asian archaeology mainly covering China and the Korean Peninsula. In hindsight, it would have been quite possible to deepen understandings on the changes of the appearance of the rituals and other important themes if those unmentioned ritual objects, especially the iron miniature ritual implements, had been examined in conjunction with the metal miniature and soft stone ritual implements. Granted the Series 3 investigation report dealt with a wide variety of topics, but as being a member of the investigation team, it is regrettable that, the attempt to reconstruct and depict the realities of ancient rituals was left undone.

3. The Beginning of the Okinoshima Rituals and Munakata

It may be said that the rituals began on Okinoshima in the second half of 4th century in the form of state-related rituals with deep involvement of the Yamato polity. The turning point and the hereafter circumstances were closely linked to the conflict of the three countries on the Korean Peninsula. These notions are commonly shared today. Meanwhile, it is the majority view, that the Okinoshima rituals originally stemmed from the beliefs of sea people tribes (*kaijin zoku*), who were active in the area and the Munakata clan, who commanded these people, told them to serve as priests. And the Yamato polity, that began to intervene in the conflict on the Korean Peninsula in the second half of the 4th century, is understood to have become involved in Okinoshima rituals and elevated them to the status of a state-related ritual type. This, then, gives rise to the question, that it would perhaps be incumbent to make an analysis from a archaeological point of view of regional rituals in the Munakata area around the time of the beginning of state-related ritual type on Okinoshima. This question is briefly mentioned in the Series 3 Scientific Investigation Report (Summary Section, Chapter II-2), but Katsuhiro HANADA elaborated on it.⁴⁾

HANADA (Reference 4. paper ‘a’) described Haji ware, that was collected at a water reservoir (Point “A”) and at a field (Point “B”) before 1970 when Shimotakamiya Hill was a field as well as Sue ware, that was collected at the eastern side of the Shimotakamiya ritual place (Point “C”). Point “A” was “a field 30 meters south of the Shimotakamiya ritual place, and at a section of the water reservoir jars with composite rim (*fukugō kōen tsubo*) (Figure 5, 1 and 2) in upside down position and a pot (*kame*) (5) in normal position were found side by side. No. 3 and 4 were found slipped into the reservoir (Figure 5). At Point “B” a jar with composite rim (7), dishes with pedestal (*takatsuki*) (8 through 11), a pedestal foot (12) and the base of a pot (*kame*) (13) were discovered. Point “C” was in a scrub brush on the eastern side of the Shimotakamiya ritual place, and a vessel stand (*kidai*) with oval holes (14) and a pot (*kame*) (15) were collected. The pottery of Point “A” was determined to belong to the old phase of Furu-type pottery, and those of Point “B” almost as old; especially Item 7 was determined to be of San’in Kagiyo-type. The discoveries of Point “C” were

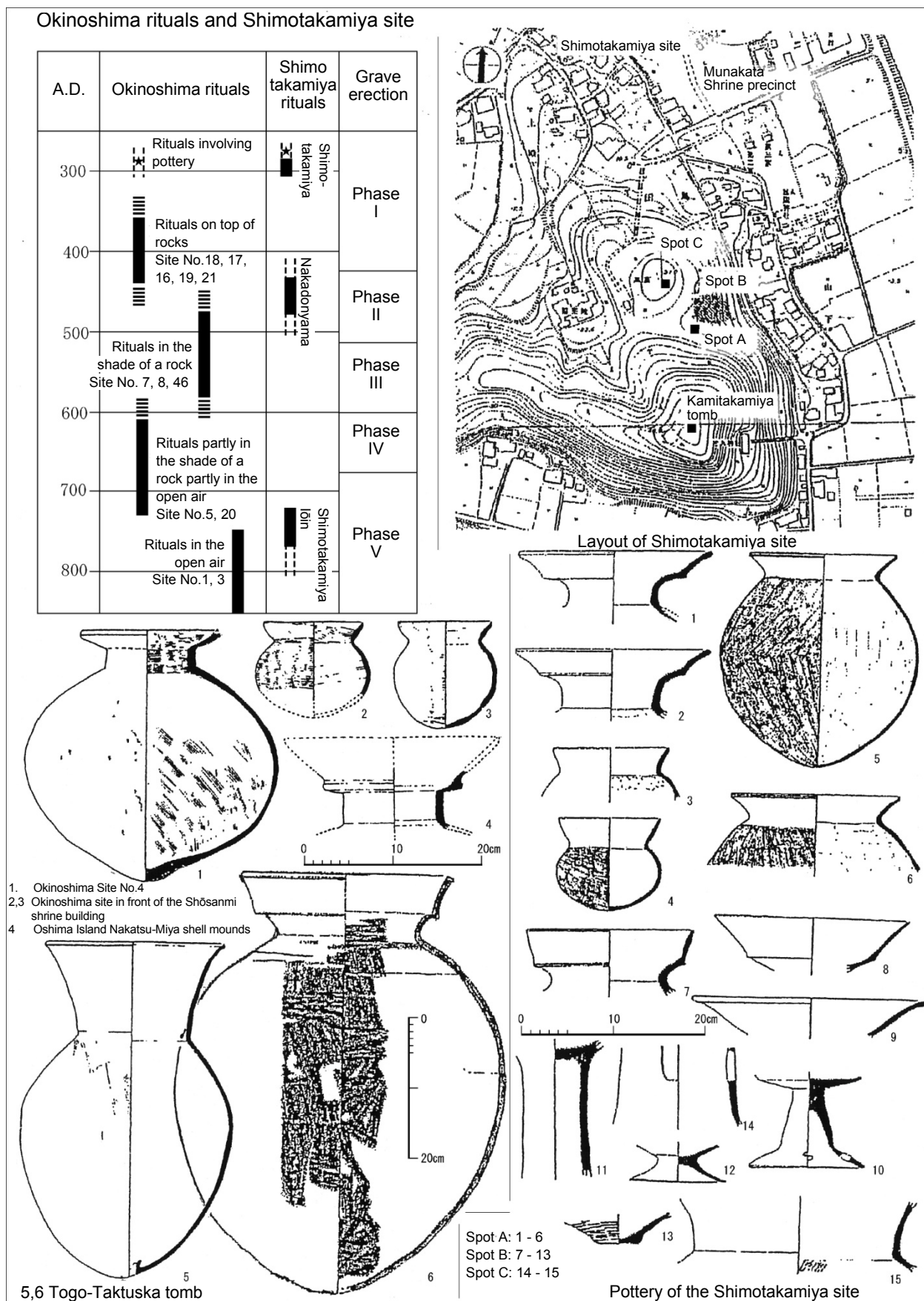
determined to be ritual implements of the 8th-century Shimotakamiya ritual site. HANADA alluded to possible association of the beginning of Early Kofun period Haji ware of Points “A” and “B” with settlement, grave sites and rituals etc.. The Haji ware jars (5 and 6) of Tōgō-takatsuka tomb⁵⁾ (a keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound – *zenpō kōen fun* – with a total length of 64 meters) in Munakata region, which are considered to be roughly contemporary to the starting phase of Okinoshima rituals, are positioned to be successors of the Point “A” Haji ware groups.

From **Shimotakanomiya ritual site** were found small mortar-shaped steatite (soapstone) beads (*kassekisei usudama*), round clay beads (*dosei marudama*), two steatite objects representing the human figure (*hitogata*), one representing a horse, Haji ware, Sue ware etc.. The discovery suggests rituals corresponding to the phase of Okinoshima rituals in the open air were performed. And from the southwestern slope on the back of **Iōin temple** (commonly known as ‘*terashita*’ or ‘under the temple’) were discovered a steatite mortar-shaped and a flat disc-shaped (*hiradama*) bead and three steatite boat-shaped objects (*funagata*). Rituals of similar nature and stage to those of the Shimotakamiya ritual site are assumed. The **Teisangū site** is situated at the tip of a plateau extending northeast from Shimotakamiya. From a small hill called **Nakadonyama** near the site two mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (*bōsei kyō*), a steatite-made chest armour (*tankō*), Haji ware and Sue ware were discovered in 1935 during soil removal activities. The mirrors and the preserved steatite-made chest armour suggest the existence of a ritual site likely comparable to those of the 5th century.⁶⁾ On the top of Munakata Mountain to the south of Shimotakamiya the **Kamitakamiya tomb** is situated, which has been dated to the first half of the 5th century.⁷⁾ Considering these archaeological sites near the Shimonomiya site comprehensively, HANADA proposed following progressive order: areas with Shimotakamiya pottery unearthed → Kamitakamiya tomb → Nakadonyama ritual place → Shimotakamiya/Iōin ritual place” (Reference 4, HANADA paper ‘b’ p.143). Meanwhile, the jar⁸⁾ (Figure 5, 1) which reportedly was discovered at Okinoshima ritual Site No.4 and the old-type Haji ware unearthed from the shell mounds in the precinct of Ōshima Nakatsu-Miya⁹⁾ (Figure 5, 4) merit attention. All these considered, the probability is extremely high that rituals which highlighted ceramic vessels were performed in Shimotakamiya, Ōshima and Okinoshima before rituals on top of rocks started in Okinoshima. That is to say, they apparently pertain to the stage before the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb, a large key hole-shaped with round rear mound, was erected in the Munakata region; local types of rituals dedicated to deities related to sea travel performed by local powerful chiefs (believed to be ancestors of the local Munakata clan) are conceived.

These lines of thoughts lead to the need to better understand tombs of the Early Kofun period in the Munakata region before the erection of the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb, which is identified as a Kinai-type tomb (Kinai region: the five *kuni* in the vicinity of Kyōto). Fortunately, there are two recent published excavation reports in this regard. One relates to Taku-Urigasaka site¹⁰⁾ (surveyed in 1997) and the other to Tokushige Honmura site¹¹⁾ (surveyed in 1999) both located in Munakata City.

Taku-urigasaka site extends in a complexly intersecting valley and to the surrounding hills (forest), and a total of 39 graves (*funbo*) in seven sections were investigated. Here we review zone No.1 though No.7. On the hilltop (elevation 50.04 meters) were found a keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound (the square part in front of the rear mound facing north) (1-gofun) and a circular-shaped mounded tomb (*enpun*) (2-gofun). Excavation led to further discovery of two circular-shaped mounded tombs, burial pit with a stone-slab cover (*sekigai dokō bo*), five pit burials (*dokō bo*) and one grave with a wooden coffin (Figures 6 and 7).

The keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound and distinctive features of the old type (*koshiki*) is 30.7 meters in total length and is situated on a scenic spot commanding to the north and east a good view of the plain formed by the Turi River, despite topographical limitations. Table 4 is a summary of the dimensions and main burial facilities of the tombs in section No.1 (one keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound and three circular-shaped mounded tombs).



Excerpted from Reference 4 (2003)

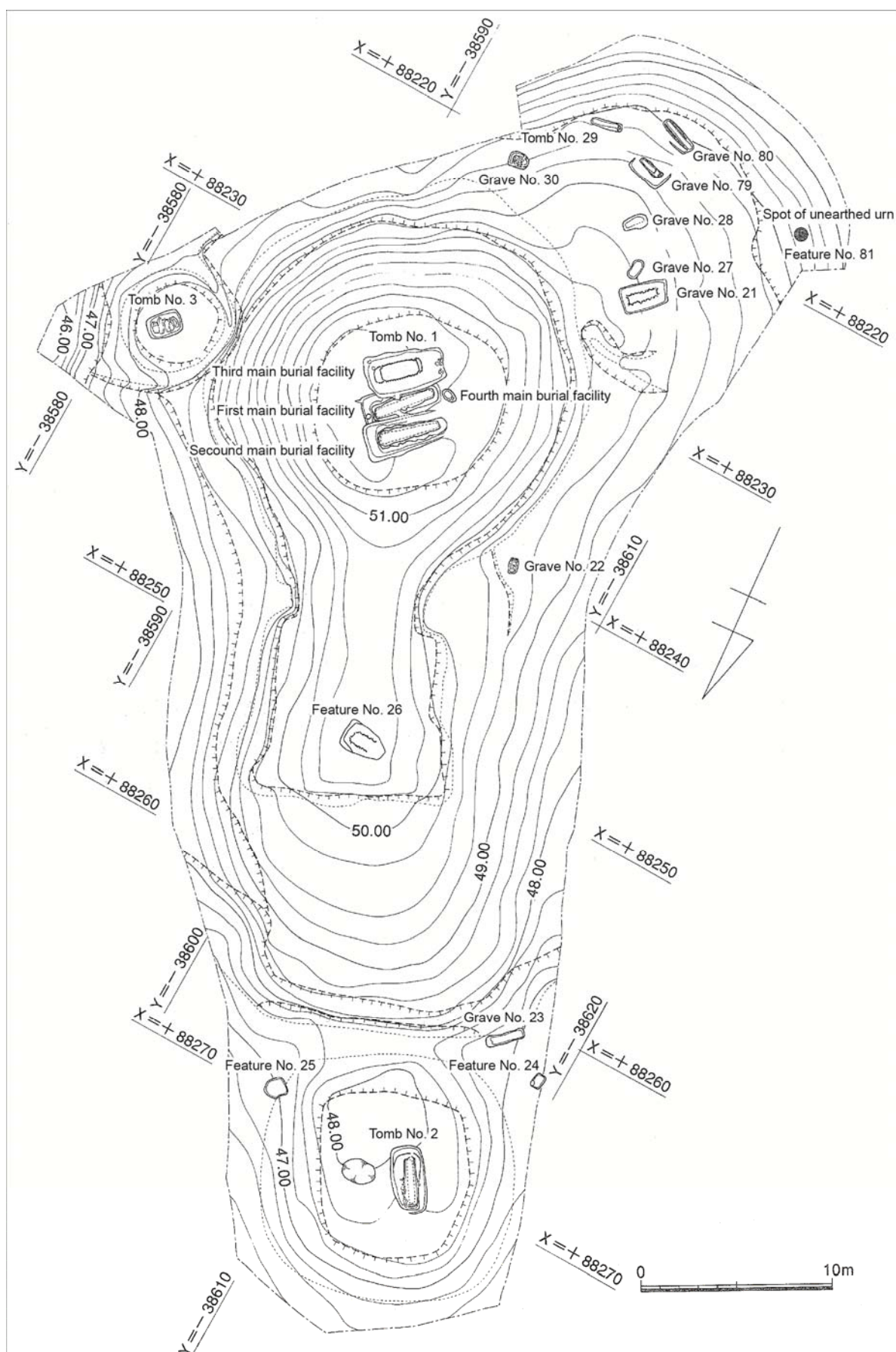
Figure 5 Okinoshima rituals and Shimotakamiya site

Table 4 Tombs and main burial facilities of the Taku-Urigasaka Site

(Excerpted from Table 3, *Taku-Urigasaka*, 1999)

Unit: meters

Tomb No.	Section No.	External form of the mound	Mound size		Main burial facility	Burial form	Grave hole size			Buried hole		Interior dimensions of the wood coffin		Main axis
			Total length	Mound height			Longi-tudinal axis	Minor axis	Depth	Longi-tudinal axis	Minor axis	Longi-tudinal axis	Minor axis	
1-gōfun (tomb)	1	Keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound	See Figure 7		First main burial facility	Wooden split-log coffin with clay coating	Estimate 4.40	Estimate 2.14	0.45	3.8	0.75	Estimate 3.25	Estimate 0.70	N58□E
1-gōfun (tomb)	1	Keyhole-shaped tomb rear mound			Second main burial facility	Wooden split-log coffin with clay coating	Estimate 4.85	1.95	0.58	3.76	0.83	Estimate 3.49	Estimate 0.83	N52□E
1-gōfun (tomb)	1	Keyhole-shaped tomb rear mound			Third main burial facility	Cylindrical ceramic coffin	4.17	2.21	0.8	3.07	0.79	-	-	N55□E
1-gōfun (tomb)	1	Keyhole-shaped tomb rear mound			Fourth main feature	Jar used for burial	0.78	0.52	0.52	-	-	-	-	N75□E
2-gōfun (tomb)	1	Circular-shaped mounded tomb	13-11	2.2	First main burial facility	Burial with a wooden split-log coffin directly placed in the pit	3.42	1.77	0.66	2.79	0.65	Estimate 2.40	Estimate 0.50	N26□E
21-gōfun (tomb)	1	Circular-shaped mounded tomb	6	1	First main burial facility	Pit-style stone chamber in the style of a stone coffin	2.45	1.4	0.45	-	-	1.52	0.4	N52□E
31-gōfun	1	Circular-shaped mounded tomb	5.5	1	First main burial facility	Burial pit with a stone-slab cover	1.82	1.3	0.6	1.07	0.2	-	-	N60□E



(Taken from *Taku-Urigasaka*, 1999)

Figure 6 Taku-Urigasaka Site (distribution of features in section 1)

Re-examination of the Okinoshima ritual sites
-Their relation in the 4th/5th century to the Munakata Region

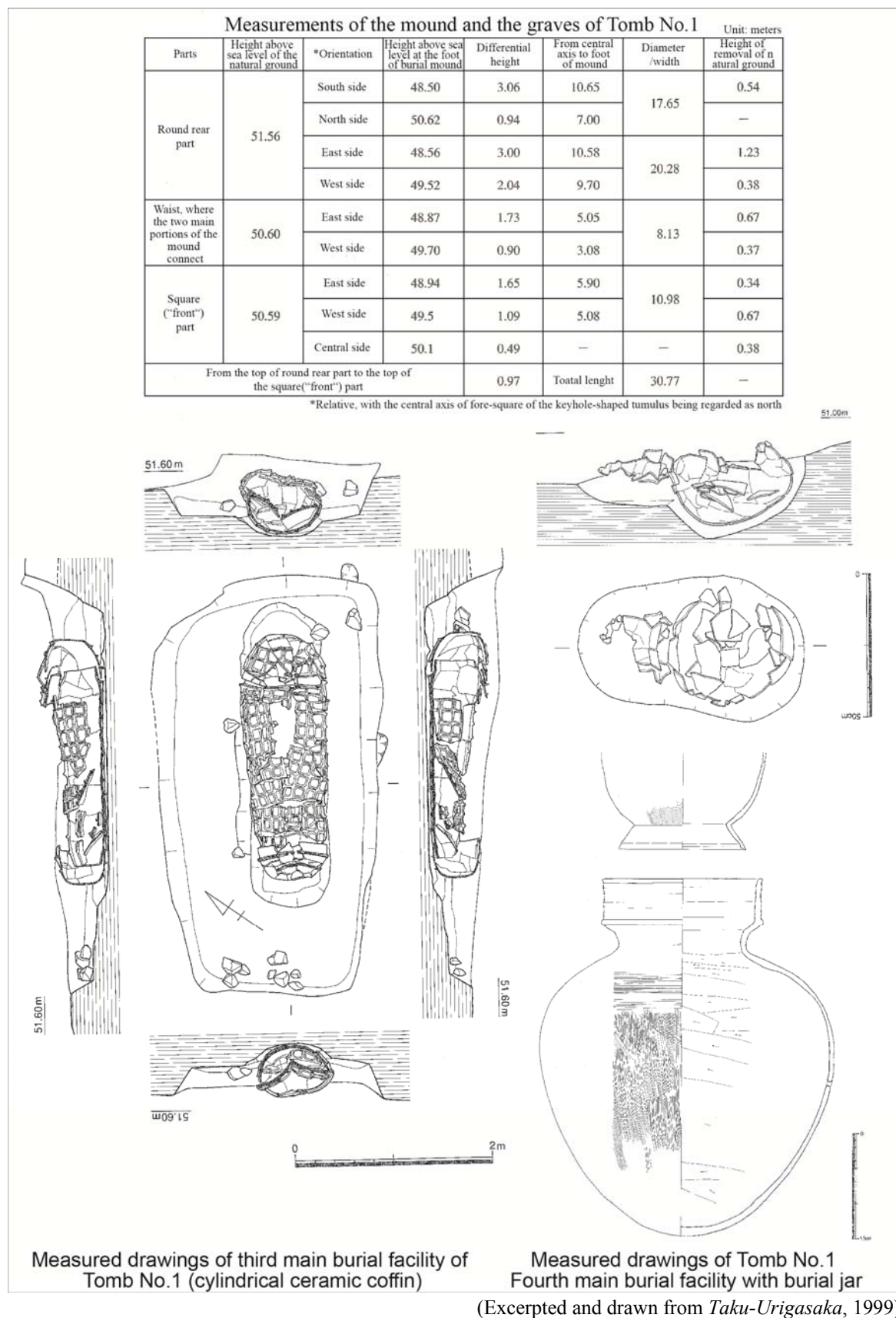


Figure 7 Measured drawings of Taku-Urigasaka Site, Tomb No.1, third and fourth main features (Zone No.1 structures distribution)

The main burial facilities of the keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound consisted of three graves with coffins (two wooden split-log coffins and one ceramic cylindrical coffin) that were slightly more diagonal than perpendicular to the tomb's central axis and one jar with burial that was almost perpendicular to the three coffins. Judging from the overlapping of the coffin's burial pits, the first main burial facility was considered to be the oldest. Unearthed objects included:

First main burial facility: one spear-like plane (*variganna*), one iron adze (*teppu*), one knife (*tōsu*)

Second burial facility: one spear-like plane, two iron adze, one spade blade tip (*sukisaki*), four knives

Third burial facility: five knives

Fourth burial facility: one knife

The first and second main burial facilities are wooden split-log coffins (with clay coating) and their inside lengths are 3.25 meters (first main burial facility) and 3.49 meters (second main burial facility). The third main burial facility is a ceramic cylindrical coffin (total length: 192.5 centimeters) with a grid of clay bands attached on the surface and is covered on the top and at the bottom with cup-shaped (*wannari*) lids. The fourth main burial facility is a jar with a composite rim (*fukugō kōen tsubo*) used as the body of the coffin and a pot (*kame*) inserted as a lid, a so-called burial jar with a pot functioning as a lid (*kabusebutashiki tsubo kan*).

Altogether, 39 burial facilities were found for the entire site (section No.1 through No.7) that comprised: three wooden split-log coffins (with clay coating), one ceramic cylindrical coffin, one jar with burial, three wooden split-log coffins (directly placed in the pit), one grave with a wooden plank coffin (*kumiawaseshiki mokkan bo*), one stone coffin grave, twelve burial pits with a stone-slab cover, ten pit burials, one grave with a pit-style stone chamber in the style of a stone coffin and three corridor-style stone chambers (*yokoanashiki sekishitsu*). The three wooden split-log coffins (with clay coating) were the first and second main burial facility of Tomb No.1 (in section No.1) and of Tomb No.38 (in section No.7 with an inner dimension of 4.81 meters). The former is a keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound and the latter is a large circular-shaped mounded tomb (25.5 meters in diameter). All the burial facilities from the viewpoint of class divisions is shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Classes of tombs and graves

(Taken from Table 16, *Taku-Urigasaka*, 1999)

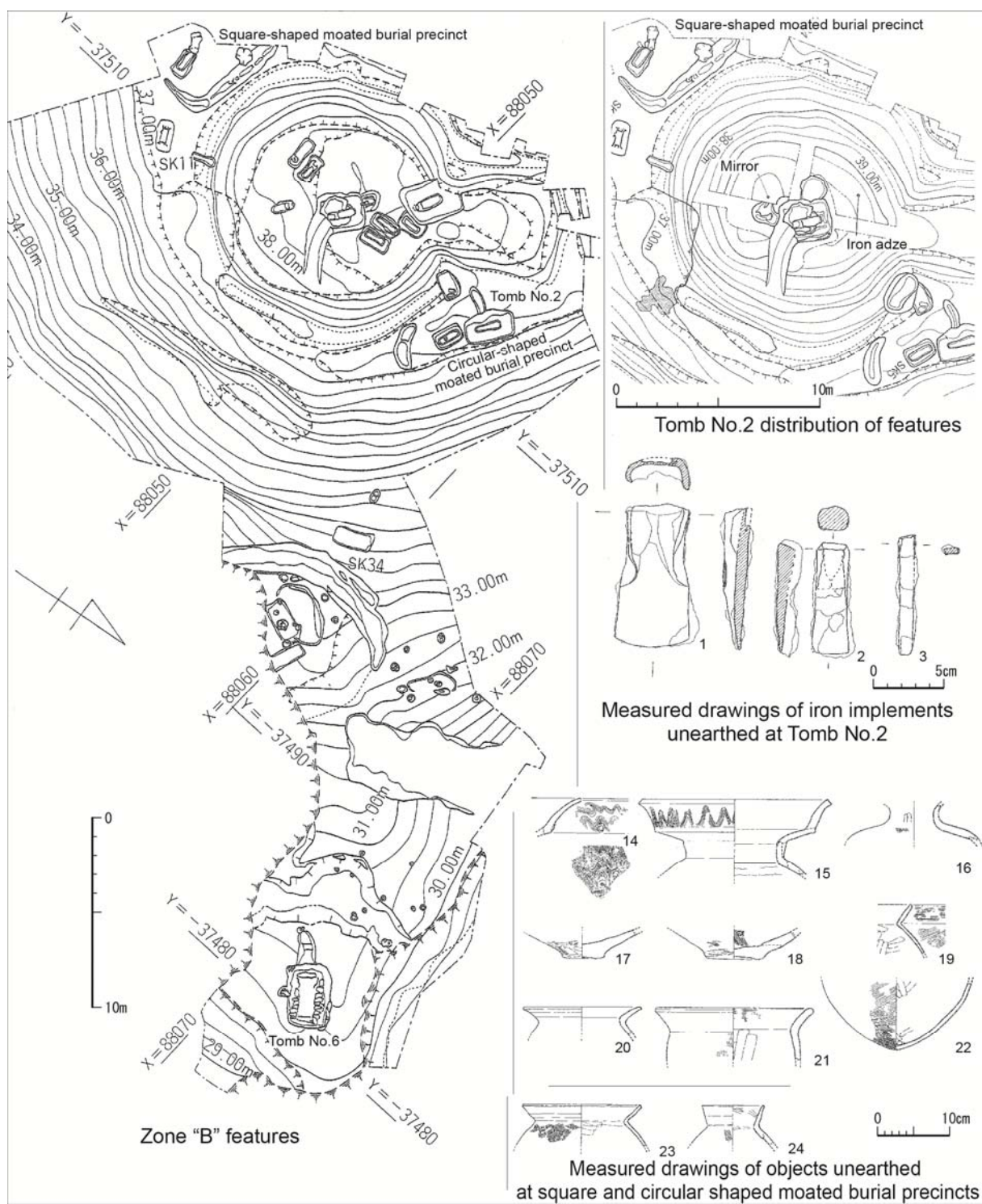
A.D.	Graves of local chieftains	Graves of specific individuals		Group graves	
300			M. Tombs No.7, 13, 73, 74, 76, 77	M. Tombs No. 9, 11, 34, 78	M. Tombs No. 5, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20
400	Mounded ┐ Tomb No.38 Mounded Tomb No.1 └	Grave No.31 Grave No.21	Grave No.12, 33 Grave No.72, 80	Grave No.10	
500	Mounded Tomb No.4		Grave No.3, 14		

So, the wooden split-log coffins (with clay coating) were for representative chiefs of the region. For mounded tomb No.1 in particular, a ranking in following descending order: first main burial facility → second main burial facility → third main burial facility (cylindrical ceramic coffin) → fourth main burial facility (jar with burial) – can be assumed. The third and fourth main burial facilities are considered to belong between the second half and around the end of the 4th century, contemporary to the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb that has been determined to be a Kinai-type tomb. Therefore, the first and second main burial facilities of tomb No.1 are believed to be before this time and mounded tomb No.38 is believed to be of about the same phase. The wooden split-log coffins (directly placed in the pit) are divided into two types: one with burial mound *funkyū* (tomb No.2) and those without (graves Nos.72 and 80). The former is situated in a high location only next to tomb No.1 and is equipped with weapons as grave goods. Association with an individual nearly as powerful as the one buried in tomb No.1 is assumed. And from a similar perspective, the groups of graves like the one's with a burial pit with a stone-slab cover etc. were divided into those with a burial mound for specific individuals and group graves (*shūdan bo*) without a mound. While there may be arguments about the evaluation of individual graves, in general a division in three classes is assumed. Such a trend in North Kyūshū is as local tendency noticeable already in the Late Yayoi period. But before the second half of the 4th century the local chieftain stratum was using wooden split-log coffins (with clay coating) and, though small in size, the keyhole-shape for the burial mounds, which indicates, that the region can be positioned in line with the oldest phase of mounded tombs (*kofun*), the time, which is accepted as the advent of the Yamato polity.

Tokushige Hommura site finds itself on the eastern tip of the central-eastern range of hills of Munakata City and is located between 21 and 40 meters above sea level from the hill top to the eastern foot. The excavation took place at a designated road construction site of the City 'Tokushige-Asamachi' Road Project. It is an area, where the distribution of mounded tomb groups (*kofun gun*) is concentrated. The designated road stretches in the north-south direction and excavation zones were termed "A" through "E" from north to south. Every zone is on a separate hill, and the graves were found from the hill top to the foot. The investigated mounded tombs in each zone are the seven graves summarized in Table 6.

I will pick up here Zone "B" that includes Tomb No.2 (keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound). In Zone "B" were found three mounded tombs (Nos. 2, 6 and 7), one square-shaped moated burial precinct (*hōkei shūkō bo*), one circular-shaped moated burial precinct (*enkei shūkō bo*), one grave with a stone coffin, ten pit burial graves and a large number of pits.

No.2 (No.1 in Zone "B") is a keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound with a total length of 18.7 meters, situated on a hilltop and the square ("front") part pointing in northwest direction. The square part measured 6.3 meters, the round rear part 12.4 meters in diameter, 6 meters at the front of the square part, 4.5 meters at the waist (where the two main portions of the mound connect). The height of the mound at the square part was 1.4 meters and 2.7 meters at the round rear part. The square part extends in a linear fashion and the round rear part is surrounded by a ditch of 1.4 meters in width and 0.2 meters in depth up to the waist part (Figure 8). The tomb was formed through removal of natural ground and filling (ca. 1.1 meters at the round rear part and ca. 0.4 meters at the square part), and the square part was almost carved to the exposure of the natural ground. The main burial facility, a burial pit with wood cover (*mokugai dokō bo*) (1.35 meters long and 0.41 meters wide), was situated in the center of the round rear part slightly diagonal to the main axis of the tomb. Objects discovered in the mound filling included a fragment of a beast-band mirror (*jūtai kyō*), two iron adze (Figure 8 -1, 2), and the base of a spear-like plane (*yariganna*) (Figure 8 -3). They are considered to have been used in the burial ritual. In addition, Haji ware was found in the slope of the mound and the foot (Figure 8 -14 through 21). Some of the jars with composite rim had wave pattern (*hajōmon*) or relief design (*enkei fumon*) on the outer rim, which led to the determination to identify it as Furu-type pottery of the old phase and so consequently this mounded tomb was from a time before the mid-4th century.



(Excerpted and drawn from *Tokushige Hommura*, 2002)

Figure 8 Features and objects of Tokushige Hommura Zone "B"

Table 6 List of tombs and graves of Tokushige Hommura Site

(Taken from Table 1, *Tokushige Hommura*, 2002)

Mounded tomb No.	Zone	Mound shape	Grave dimensions (total length x pit depth)	Main burial facility	Main axis orientation	Burial space (longitudinal axis x minor axis x depth)	Burial pit/ chamber (longitudinal axis x minor axis x depth)	Wooden coffin, burial pit; dimensions (longitudinal axis x minor axis)	Phase	Notes
1	C	Square-shaped mounded tomb with causeway	15 x 12.5 x 2.2	Wooden split-log coffin	N63°-W	3.39 x 1.56 x 0.32	-	2.82 x 0.5	Furu-type pottery old phase	
2	B	Keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound	18.8 x 2.7	Burial pit with wood cover	N44°-W	2.5 x 2.2 x 0.5	1.38 x 0.39 x 0.49	1.35 x 0.41	Furu-type pottery old phase	
3	D	Circular-shaped mounded tomb	13 x 2.8	Wooden split-log coffin?	N85°-E	4.60 x 2	-	3.65 x (0.67~0.44)	End of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century	
4	D	Unclear	Unclear	Corridor-style stone chamber	Unclear	2.46 x (1.5 + a) x 0.38	1.13 x (0.6 + a) x 0.38	-	6th century	
5	E	Unclear	Unclear	Wooden plank coffin	N56°-W	4.97 x 2.53 x 0.9	-	4.36 x 0.7	End of the 4th century to to the beginning of the 5th century	Gravel bed
6	B	Circular-shaped mounded tomb?	Ca. 10 meters	Pit-style stone chamber with horizontal entrance	N58°-W	3.27 x 2.25 x 0.46	1.95 x 0.87 x 0.46	-	First half 6th century	
7	B	Circular-shaped mounded tomb	Ca. 10 meters	First main burial facility: grave with wooden coffin?	N68°-W	(1.90 + a) x 0.88 x 0.52	-	(1.82 + a) x 0.72	Second half 5th century TK208	
				Second main burial facility: grave with wooden coffin?	N26°-W	2.23 x 1.16 x 0.62	-	1.5 x 0.52	Second half 5th century TK208	

The square-shaped moated burial precinct is adjacent to tomb No.2 at its southwest. The circular-shaped moated burial precinct was found next to the eastern side of the waist of tomb No.2., and has an uneven circular mound of about 5 meters in diameter. The stone coffin grave (SK11) was near the south foot of the square part of tomb No.2, and pit burial (SK7) cuts across the northern moat of the circular-shaped moated burial precinct. A pot (*kame*) (Figure 8-23) was unearthed from the moat of the square-shaped moated burial precinct. Distinctive features of the Furu-type pottery of the old phase are the finishing of the interior surface by cutting with a spatula and of the exterior surface by paddling. And amongst other things the rim is slightly curved to the inside. From the southern moat of the circular-shaped moated burial precinct a jar with a straight rim (*hitaguchi tsubo*) was discovered (Figure 8 -24). An iron arrowhead was unearthed inside the burial pit (SK7).

Under the mound fill of tomb No.2 were discovered eight pit burials from the Yayoi period (SK14 through 21). Apart from this, tomb No.6 (Zone “B” tomb No.2, pit-style stone chamber with horizontal entrance, perhaps a circular-shaped mounded tomb with a diameter of about 10 meters) was situated at the hill foot to the east of tomb No.2. The Sue ware and Haji ware unearthed from the surrounding moat suggest a date around the mid-6th century.

The investigation results as outlined above enable us to assign the keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound No.2 and the two moated burial precincts (one square-shaped, the other circular-shaped) to the old phase of the Furu-type pottery (the second half of the 3rd century), heralding in the Munakata region the emergence of the oldest keyhole-shaped tomb belonging to the initial phase of the keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound. The two moated burial precincts belong to somewhat later dates, but judging from the pottery not very far apart. The stone coffin grave was positioned to a subsequent phase.

As referred to above the two the keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound, both surveyed in recent years, namely, Taku-Urigasaka tomb No.1 and Tokushige-Hommura tomb No.2, the previously-held common belief that the oldest keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound was the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb (total length 64 meters) dating from the second half of the 4th century to around the end of the 4th century (Early Kofun period phase 4) needs to be reconsidered. There are the following five keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound, that were discovered in recent years in the middle stream basin of the Tsuru River.¹²⁾

1. Taku-Urigasaka tomb No.1 – total length 30.7 meters; main burial facilities are four graves in the round rear part (two clay coatings *nendokaku*, one cylindrical ceramic coffin, one ceramic coffin *doki kan*); investigated in 1997, Early Kofun period phase 3 ~ 4
2. Tokushige Hommura tomb No.2 – total length 18.7 meters; main burial facility is one in the round rear part (burial pit with wood cover); investigated in 1999, Early Kofun period phase 1
3. Katō-Yamazaki tomb – Total length ca.30 meters; main burial facility uninvestigated, Early Kofun period phase 3 ~ 4
4. Taku-Kifunemae tomb No.1 (tentative name) – total length ca.50 – 60 meters; main burial facility uninvestigated; Early Kofun period phase 4 to Middle Kofun period phase 5
5. Taku-Kifunemae tomb No.2 (tentative name) – total length ca.30 meters; main burial facility uninvestigated; Middle Kofun period around phase 5 ~ 6?

The third one on the above list, Katō-Yamazaki tomb, lies on the right bank of Tsuru River and all the others on the left bank. With respect to the three graves that are yet to be investigated, No. 3 above is situated on top of a hill and there is not much of a mound fill. The shape shows resemblance to Taku-Urigasaka tomb No.1, and it is assumed to be of more or less that same phase. The tombs 4 and 5 above are located on top of a hill that stretches towards the Tsuru River and belong to a mounded tomb group comprising two keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound and about ten circular-shaped mounded tombs. Observation of the tomb form puts tomb No.1 to a time (phase 3 ~ 5) just before or after the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb and tomb No.2 to a later phase (about 5 ~ 6). Accordingly, the sequence of the investigated tombs becomes: 2 → 1 → Tōgō-takatsuka tomb.

In the neighboring town of Onga, by the way, investigations in recent years yielded new results concerning 4th century keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound. On a low hill between Onga River and Nishi River close to the mouth and the lower reaches of the Onga River the **Shimazu-Maruyama mounded tomb group** is found.¹³⁾ The northernmost tomb No.1 is a keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound with a total length of 57 meters. The square part faces north and is 31 meters long, 15 meters wide at the front edge and 1.5 meters high. The waist is 10 meters wide and the round rear part is 29 meters in diameter and is 4 meters high. “The tomb shape, though partly deteriorated on the west side, has distinctive features: the square part being narrow and having plectrum-shaped traces (*bachigata*) and the round rear part being tall” (Reference 13, p.4) and for that reason is believed to be the “first appearance of a keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound in the Onga River basin” (*ibid*) and “erected sometime between the first half of and the mid-4th century”¹⁴⁾ Adjacent to tomb No.1 is Shimazu-Maruyama tomb No.2 with a length of 17 meters and a height of 2.5 meters. This square-shaped mounded tomb (*hōfun*) might be older than tomb No.1, because it is “situated on the central part of the hill, and the Maruyama tomb (*referring to tomb No.1; note by Oda*) is on a steep slope” (Reference 13, p.4). The group has in addition three low circular-shaped mounded tombs having diameters of 10 - 17 meters (Maruyama tombs No.3 through No.5). At present, tombs No.1 through No.3 are preserved in a Historical and Nature Public Park. (*ibid*)

On the northern top of an isolated small hill (about 1 kilometer in north-south direction, 0.5 kilometers in east-west direction and 70 meters above sea level) at Aza Takaya, Oaza Kamibeppu, 4.5 kilometers south of Shimazu-Maruyama mounded tomb group are three tombs known as **Buzenbō mounded tomb group**.¹³⁾ Tomb No.1 is at the center (keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound and 73.5 meters long), to its northeast is

tomb No.3 (keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound and 30+ meters long) with its round rear part being overlaid by the front edge of the square part of tomb No.1, and about 13 meters southwest of tomb No.1 is tomb No.2 (circular-shaped mounded tomb with an average diameter of 16.7 meters).

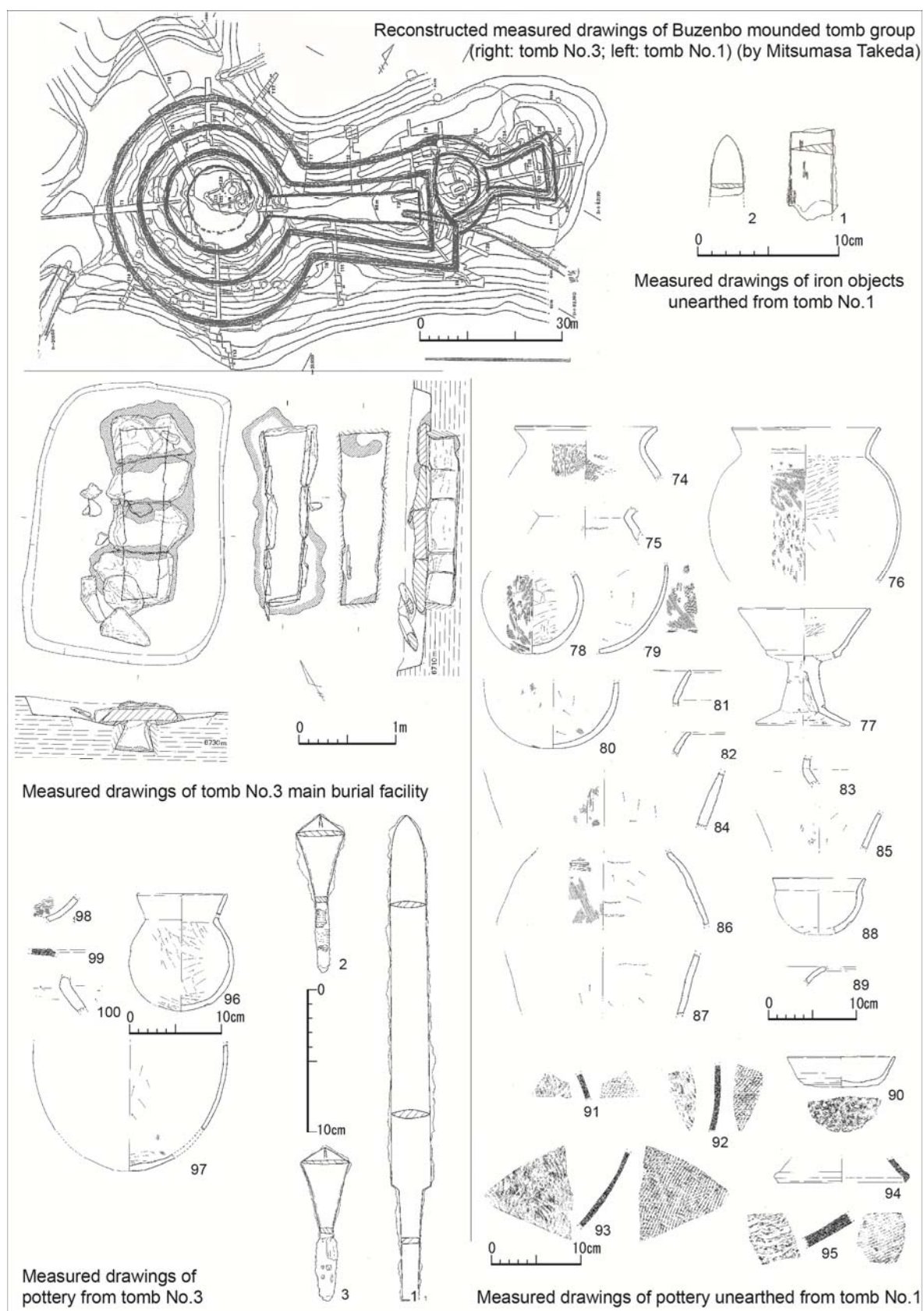
The square part of tomb No.1 faces northeast and the round rear part is 40.5 ~ 44 meters in diameter and 5.8 ~ 8 meters in height. The square part is 24.6 meters wide at the front edge, 29 ~ 30.5 meters long and 3 ~ 4.9 meters high. The waist is 17 meters wide. The tomb has a terrace of 1 ~ 1.5 meters at the edge (Figure 9). The round rear part is partially surrounded by a moat on the north and west sides. The tomb has three-step terracing with stone paving (*fukuishi*) at the round rear part and two-step terracing with stone paving at the square part. At the top of the tomb a sutra mound (*kyōzuka*) was erected in the first half of the 12th century and Toyohiwake (commonly called 'Buzenbō') Shrine was installed. Main burial facility is unidentifiable, but a trail trench investigation has unearthed jar-shaped (*tsubogata*) *Haniwa* (ceramic clay figures placed on the surface of mounded tombs), Haji ware, iron sword (*tekken*) fragments and iron arrowheads from the mound and the its foot.

Tomb 2 is 1.6 ~ 2.5 meters high at the round rear part and its main burial facility is a stone slab coffin (*hakoshiki sekkan*). Inside the coffin were found an iron double-edged sword (*tekken*) and an iron knife. Outside the coffin were unearthed an iron sickle (*kama*) and an iron adze.

Tomb No.3 is a small keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound, facing the same direction as the main axis of tomb No.1. About half of its round rear part, it is overlaid by the front edge of the square part of tomb No.1 as if it is protecting tomb No.3. What even more interesting was the extremely uncommon way of arranging the paving stones at the overlapping part: the rows of paving stones surrounded the indented front edge of the square part of tomb No.1 in adjustment to the slope of the round rear part of tomb No.3. This is suggesting a very close kinship between the interred persons of the two tombs. The round rear part is 19 meters in diameter and 2.1 ~ 2.8 meters high. The square part is 13.5 meters wide at the front edge, 13.5 meters long and 1 ~ 1.5 meters high. The waist is 7.6 meters wide. The main burial facility is a stone slab coffin placed slightly diagonal to the tomb's main axis. An iron double-edged sword, two iron arrowheads were found inside the coffin, and a small jar with round base and wide mouth (*kogata maruzoko tsubo*) and a large jar were found in the burial mound (*funkyū*) in addition to fragments of Haji ware and Sue ware.

From the results above, the chronological order from "tomb No.3 → tomb No.1 → tomb No.2" was concluded. Tomb No.1 is believed to be from the end of the 4th century, tomb No.3, that precedes it, to be from the second half of the 4th century to around the end of the 4th century, and tomb No.2 to be from the end of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.

A comparison of the keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound of the initial phase of the Onga region described above and assigned to the 4th century with the situation of Munakata region presents certain commonalities. Between the beginning and the second half of the 4th century, keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound of 20 ~ 30 meters in length appeared at Buzenbō mounded tomb group, Taku-Urigasaka mounded tomb group and Tokushige-Hommura mounded tomb group. Their main burial facilities included wooden split-log coffins (with clay coatings), burial pits covered with wood, stone slab coffins etc. and some represent traditions from the Yayoi period. The grave goods are iron double-edged swords, iron arrowheads etc. and altogether only small numbers of iron weapons were found. The Haji ware used in the rituals on the burial mound were in large part of from Shōnai- to Furu-type pottery old phase. By applying the latest chronological sequences etc., the lower limit could go as far back as the second half of the 3rd century and the upper limit could be than around the middle to the second half of the 4th century. With the Buzenbō tomb No.1 and Tōgō-takatsuka tomb that follows them with 50 ~ 60 meters in length the enlargement in size is completed. Of particular interest are the relations of tomb No.3 and tomb No.1 at Buzenbō mounded tomb group, expressed through the protective overlapping that suggests a close kinship, if not parental. It is apparent that during the middle into the second half of the 4th century, there was a rapid development from small size tombs to big ones. In this context, attention should be paid to the keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound No.1 of the Shimazu-Maruyama mounded tomb group in the Onga region. While it is thought to be of a different group from the Buzenbō mounded tomb group, it would not mesh well with the transition pattern from small to large size in the Onga/Munakata region if judging from the external observations of the shape correctly holds it to be the earliest phase of large-sized tombs in the region.



(Excerpted and drawn from Buzenbō mounded tomb group and sutra Mound, 1996)

Figure 9 Measured drawings of objects of Buzenbō mounded tomb group

The tomb has not been fully investigated and no objects have been unearthed. It is undeniable that there is a certain degree of uncertainty in the current knowledge of chronological sequences. In terms of relationship between local chieftains of Onga region and Yamato polity, the tale of subjugation ceremony (*fukuzoku girei*) is recalled. On the fourth day of January in the eighth year of Emperor Chūai, it is written in *Nihonshoki*, Kumawani, the ancestor of Oka Agata (province) came to *Suha no Saba* (the present-day Saba, Hōfu City, Yamaguchi Prefecture) to welcome the emperor. The local chieftain had a *sakaki* tree (*Cleyera japonica*) tied to the bow of his boat and had the so-called “the three kinds of treasure *sanshu no shinki*” (jewel, mirror, sword) hung to it. Such a legend shows a pattern of local chieftains being integrated into the Yamato polity. While some may associate this directly to Shimazu-Maruyama tomb No.1, it would be more correct to understand it as a background story of the emergence of keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound in the Onga and Munakata regions. It has been confirmed at any rate that strong local chieftains in each of the regions began to erect small keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound on a local basis in the first half of the 4th century, and they moved forward in erecting large keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound in the second half to around the end of the 4th century. Let us term them as “emergence phase” and “growth phase” of keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound in the region.

When considering the rituals at Munakata Shrine against the developments in the Munakata region as reviewed above, it is extremely probable that the rituals in the areas of the three shrines date back to the emergence phase of keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound. The rituals must have been indigenous in nature based mainly on different kinds of ceramic vessels. Rituals were practiced by and among sea people (*kaijin*) of the Munakata region. Along with the formation of the society of the Yamato polity, the Munakata clan ascended to the position of strong local chieftain and acquired the position of priest. This process is believed to be reflected in the archaeological evidences of small regional chieftains (small keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound) being agglomerated into a general political control (large keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound; for example the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb).

The Okinoshima rituals on top of rocks that started in the second half of the 4th century beginning with rituals involving groups of mirrors at sites No.18 and No.17 to rituals of Site No.21 around the middle of the 5th century. The rituals can be hardly compared with the kind of local rituals before the second half of the 4th century; they are of the class well deserving to be called “state-related ritual types.” This view on the process is echoed by Masaaki UEDA who wrote:

“It would be more appropriate to consider that the Okinoshima rituals were originally dedicated to the island deity of the local group of sea people *kaijin*, then the deity became the family god of the strong local chieftain, the Munakata Clan, and eventually became a state-related sea deity as a result, in part, of the consolidation with the polity of the Wa kings.”¹⁵⁾ (p.20)

One more issue to be addressed is the emergence of large tombs in the second half to the end of the 4th century such as the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb and Buzenbō tomb No.1. As we have reviewed, they represent a remarkable leap from the previous tombs. It has been pointed out that this phase coincides with the beginning phase of state-related ritual types in Okinoshima and in addition the leap to large tombs of the Kinai-type is a big factor. The military intervention of Yamato polity into the Korean Peninsula began in the second half of the 4th century and repeated battles were fought in support of the ancient Korean kingdoms of Paekche and Kaya against Gogureyo (Koguryō) at some time and against Silla at others. The role of the Munakata clan as a pilot of the sea route “*Umi-no-kita-no-michi-no-naka*” became increasingly important and indispensable, and the state-related rituals of the Yamato polity continued on Okinoshima Island; the status of Munakata Clan that was deeply involved went up.¹⁶⁾ At the same time, the opportunities of joining the forces of the Yamato polity and cross the sea, increased for other major chieftains in the coastal areas of the Northern part of Kyūshū and under the auspices of the Yamato polity they were allowed to grow in their local area. The emergence of large keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound in the coastal areas of the Northern part of Kyūshū in the second half of the 4th century to around the first half of the 5th century can be understood against the background of these internal and external circumstances. The emergence of the large keyhole-shaped tombs with rear mound in Onga and Munakata that we reviewed in this paper also reflects this situation. Coincided by the start of rituals on top of rocks on the Island of Okinoshima, this well supports conventional views.

4. Flat Iron Ingot Offered in Rituals

Historical records tell that plate-like flat iron ingots (*tettei*) were presented from Paekche and Silla as iron raw material. It is well known today that flat iron ingots can be discovered as grave goods from tombs (*kofun*) throughout the country. Cases in Japan and Korea in this respect are reviewed and discussed in detail by AZUMA Ushio.¹⁷⁾ Prior to that, this topic is discussed in *Munakata Okinoshima*.¹⁸⁾ Through these and other prior arts, cases of flat iron ingot discoveries at tombs, forge, dwelling and ritual sites are well documented in a vast area extending from North Kyūshū, Chūgoku, Shikoku, Kinki, Tōkai and Kantō regions. The previously-held view that no flat iron ingots were offered in rituals in Japan with the sole exception of Okinoshima ritual site¹⁹⁾ has come to be abandoned.

At the Okinoshima ritual site, flat iron ingots were found in four sites of Site No.6 (in the shade of a rock), Site No.16 and Site No.21 (on top of rocks) and in front of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank Shrine building (buried in the ground) (Figure 10). Table 7 is a summary of the flat iron ingots found there.

The flat iron ingots found at Site No.6 had been broken into small pieces and they were suspected of having tumbled down from above. The ones at Site No.21 were assigned to the time before the middle of the 5th century because they were found in the context of a imported beast-band mirror (*hakusai jūtai kyō*), steatite (soft stone) comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (*komochi magatama*), steatite objects representing a double-edged sword and an adze, an iron knife with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt and a trapezoid cast iron adze (*chūzō teikei teppu*). At the site in front of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank Shrine building which lies along the southern cliff, eight flat iron ingots were found piled up exposed in an round pit (70 centimeters in diameter and 30 centimeters deep) and the ninth was found buried about 20 centimeters away. And inside the pit were an iron knife and three Haji ware jars (Figure 5-2 and -3); above the pit were found two rod-like iron objects. This site disappeared by weathering (confirmed by visual inspection in September 2010). It is believed to have been a feature of rituals with depot of flat iron ingots.

Cases of sites in the Munakata region, where flat iron ingots were unearthed include the following:²⁰⁾

Table 7 List of flat iron ingots found on Okinoshima Island

(Taken from Reference 18, Table 14, p.336)

		Length cm	Maximum width cm	Minimum width cm	Weight g
Site No.6	(1)	(Broken) Unclear	Unclear	4.8	
	(2)	(Broken) Unclear	5.7	(Broken) Unclear	
Site No.16	(1)	Present length 43.7	10.0	9.0	Present weight 826
	(2)	Present length 32.0	(Broken) Unclear	8.8	Present weight 416
Site No.21	(1)	(Broken) Unclear	7.0	(Broken) Unclear	
	(2)	(Broken) Unclear	5.2	(Broken) Unclear	
Site in front of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank Shrine building	(1)	Mostly complete 22.3	5.7	4.0	112
	(2)	Present length 19.0 (Estimated) 20.5	Estimated 5.8	4.1	

Kubara-Takigashita site²¹⁾ (Tōgō and Kubara, Munakata City)

This site is situated at the tip of Kuhara hill range that stretched to the north into a plain on the left bank of the middle reaches of the Tsuru River. In 1982, remains of 11 dwellings of the Kofun period were investigated in the course of a farmland reallocation project. The settlement extended further to the east. Among them, dwelling Site No.3 was able to be reconstructed to a rectangle of 5 meters by 3.5 meters even though a portion had been cut off. Alongside the walls ditches were running and a pit of 1.4 meters by 0.7 meters beside the western wall was excavated. The unearthed objects included: a complete jar (*tsubo*) from the floor level near the wall, a plate-like iron adze (*itajō teppu*) from the shallow dent in the center of the floor and fragments of a dish with pedestal (*takatsuki*) and a pot (*kame*) from the earthen pit near the wall

(Figure 11). The plate-like iron adze, the object of our immediate interest, is a complete one, though heavily rusted. It is rectangular and is 31.8 centimeters long, 5 centimeters wide at the butt and 7 centimeters wide at the cutting edge. One of the long sides is slightly bent inwards. Other finds were jar-shaped pottery (*tsubogata doki*) with distinctive features of the Kinai lineage (Shōnai-type) pottery (with wave design *hajōmon* and relief design *enkei fumon* at the rim and many parallel running ink lines going upward and downward at the middle part of the body) and a pot (*kame*) with paddling pattern. The clay used is apparently locally produced. There was also a local type of pots (*kame*) (what used to be called ‘Tōgō-type’ in the history of archaeological research). According to the Shōnai-type pottery a date around the second half of the 3rd century can be presumed. This is an interesting site concerning blacksmith activities in a dwelling of the incipient phase of the Kofun period.

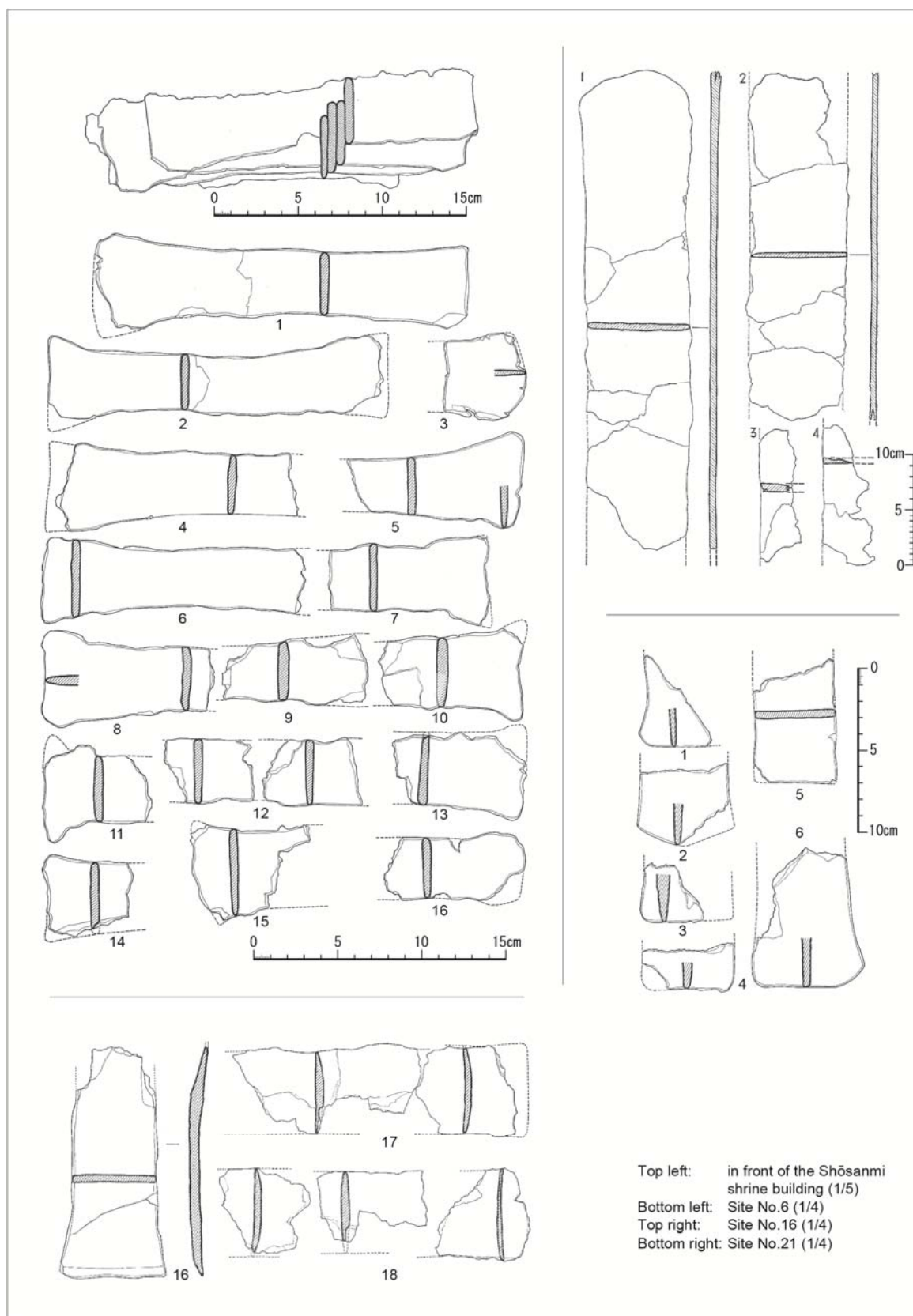
Fukuma-Waribatake site²²⁾ (Waribatake, Fukutsu City)

This site on a hilltop has been reconstructed to a circular-shaped mounded tomb of about 10 meters in diameter. The main feature is a wooden split-log coffin directly placed in the burial pit (remaining length 12.2 meters and width 0.37 meters) with the assumed head position in the southeast. The southwestern side has been lost (Figure 12). The unearthed objects included: one small (*bōsei kyō*) with images of four beasts, eleven flat iron ingots, three single-edged long swords (*tachi*), one single-edge sword (*katana*), three iron cold chisel (*tetsu tagane*), two iron spear-like planes, one iron adze, one iron arrowhead, one tweezers-shaped iron object (*kenukigata tekki*), two knives, one unidentifiable iron object and 20 combs with long narrow body and long teeth (*tategushi*) (nine large and eleven small). The eleven flat iron ingots were discovered at the southeastern corner of the main burial facility, piled up together with weapons and tools. The flat iron ingots are the usual plate-like and plectrum-shaped articles with total lengths ranging between 18 and 23 centimeters. There were no traces of rope tying or the like. The flat iron ingots are numbered from 01 through 11 from top to bottom according to feature situation (Table 8). The case of placing flat iron ingots by the head or foot of the buried corpse in the coffin is also known in Korea at the Hwangnam-dong site (tombs 82 and 83), the Oryun-dae site (tomb No.3), the Boekcheon-dong mounded tomb group (tomb No.4) and the Yean-ri site (tomb No.52), in other words, tombs in the Gyeongju and Pusan regions that were in ancient times belonged to the Silla and Kaya.¹⁷⁾ The tomb is dated to the first half of the 5th century.

Table 8 Measurement of flat iron ingots
(Taken from Table 1, Item 14 of *Fukuma-Waribatake Site*)

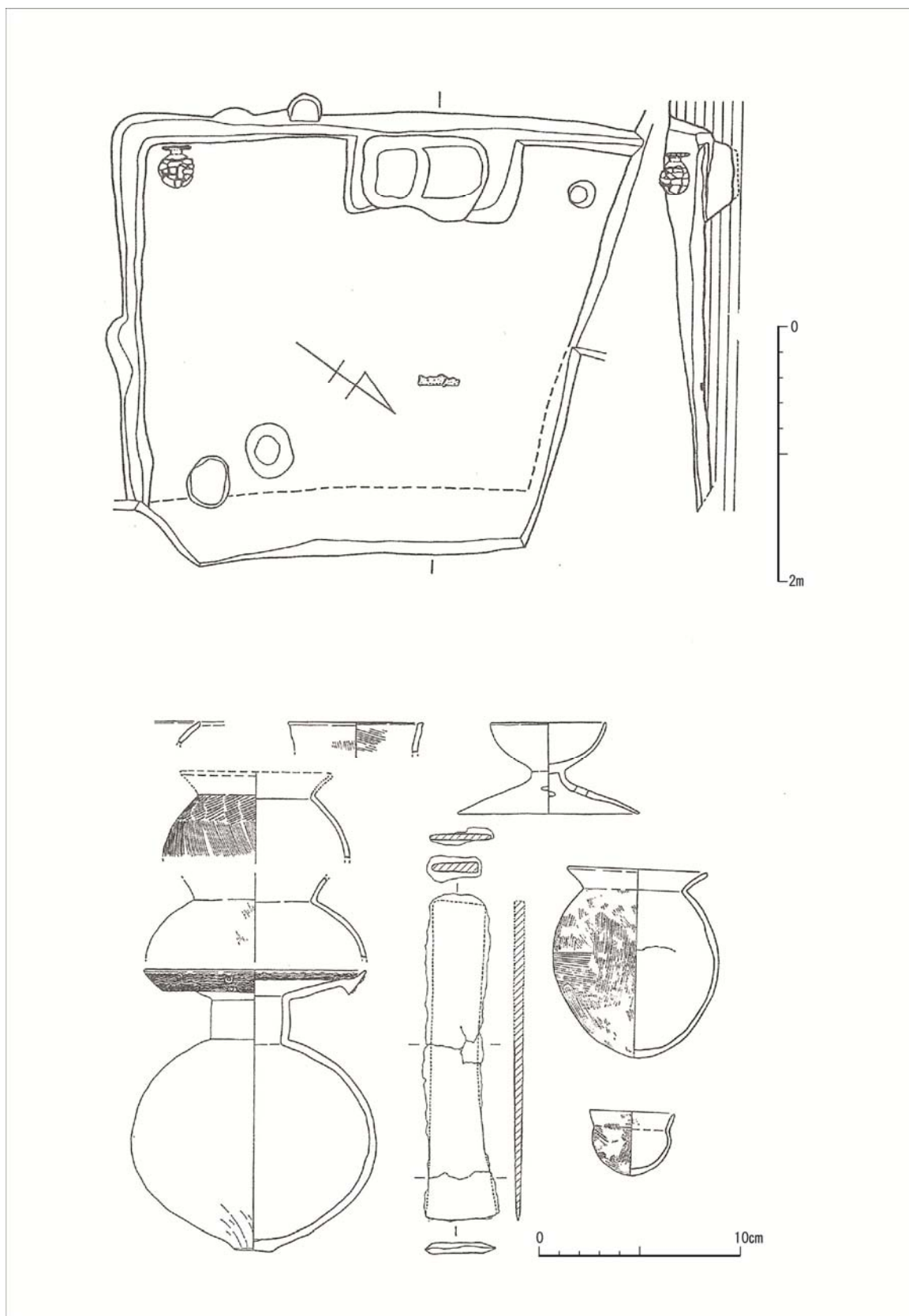
No.	Total length	Upper width	Minimum width	Lower width
01	23.1	6.2	3.6	5.8
02	21.6	5.9+ α (6.4)	3.5	6.4+ α (6.7)
03	23.7	6.8+ α (7.4)	3.9	6.4
04	20.7	5.2+ α (5.4)	3.2	5.5
05	21.6	6.1+ α (6.3)	3.2	6.5
06	21.6	5.4+ α (5.6)	3.2	6.2
07	22.5	7.0	3.6	6.5+ α (6.6)
08	22.6	6.5	3.4	5.5
09	22.9	6.3	3.3	6.2+ α (6.7)
10	21.6	5.4	3.2	5.8+ α (6.2)
11	18.4	5.7+ α (5.9)	2.8	5.3

* Measurements in parenthesis represent reconstructions



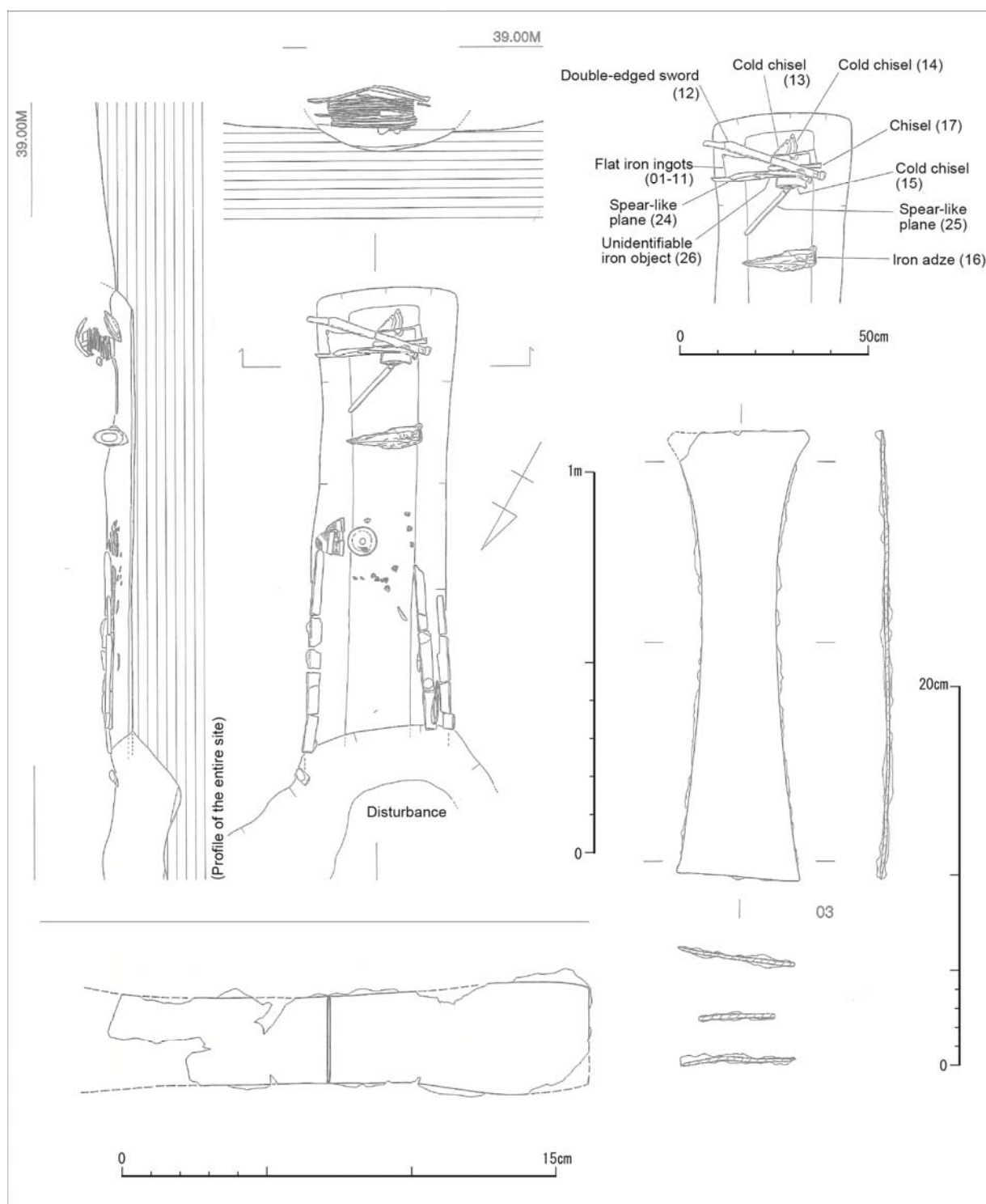
(Taken and drawn from *Munakata Okinoshima*, 1979)

Figure 10 Compilation of illustrations of flat iron ingots found at Okinoshima ritual site



(Taken from Figures 101 and 102 of *History of Munakata City; A Complete History* Vo.1, p.689)

Figure 11 Dwelling site and unearthed objects of Site No.3 of Kuhara-Takigashita site



(Excerpted and drawn from References 22 and 23)

Figure 12 Flat iron ingots of Fukuma-Waribatake Tumulus (top) and Miyaji-Idenoue Tumulus (bottom)

Miyaji-Idenoue tomb²³⁾ (Miyaji, Fukutsu City)

This is a circular-shaped mounded tomb of about 26 meters in diameter and 52.1 meters in height. The main burial facilities consisted of a pit-style stone chamber placed in the burial pit with east-west main axis (main burial facility No.1), a stone slab coffin (main burial facility 2) that was placed at right angles to it. To the northern side a burial pit with a stone-slab cover (main burial facility 3) was found. This burial pit had got an east-west direction and according to the skeleton the adult male was buried the head in the east. On the eastern slab of the three stone slabs grave goods were found, including: a cylindrical jasper bead (*hekigyokusei kudatama*), a single-edged type of an arrowhead with a long base (*kataba senshiki tetsu zoku*), a flat iron ingot, an iron sickle, a socketed iron spearhead (*tetsuhoko*), a knife with a grip made of deer antler (Figure 12) The flat iron ingot was plectrum-shaped with one side lost and was very thin with a present length of 8.5 centimeters, front edge width 4 centimeters, minimum width 3 centimeters and thickness between 0.8 - 0.9 centimeters. The excavator believes it looked like miniature object (*hinagata*) of a flat iron ingot. The tomb is estimated to date to the first half of the 5th century.

It is interesting to note that the flat iron ingots found in Munakata region were used in rituals (Okinoshima), presumably for a forge in a settlement (Kubara-Takigashita) and as grave goods (Fukuma-Waribatake and Miyaji-Idenoue) and that these objects are generally all dated to before the middle of the 5th century. With respect to the forge in the settlement, in particular, it is suggested to date as far as to the initial phase of the Kofun period. Taking into consideration also the forge feature in the settlement site at Nosaka-Itchōma, Munakata City (dwelling Site No.1)²⁴⁾ that is dated before the middle of the 5th century, it is extremely probable that techniques of foreign lineage for the production of ironware were introduced to this region before others.

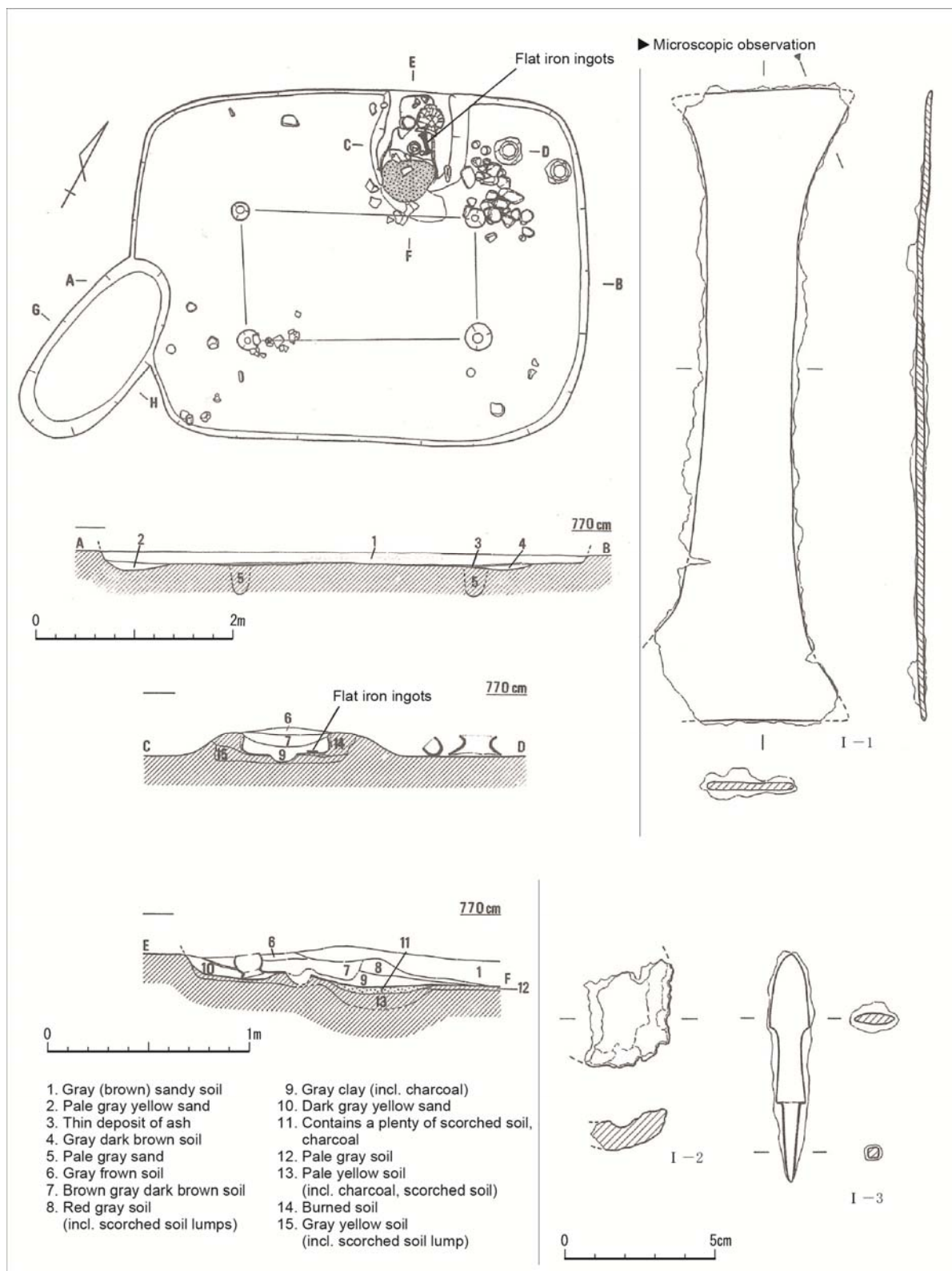
A good example for unearthed flat iron ingots, which indicate forging workshops in settlements, for the first half of the Kofun period is given by the pit dwelling house No.13 in section 2 of **Kubokiyakushi site²⁵⁾** in Sōja City, Okayama Prefecture that is worth attention. The dwelling site is a rectangle of 4.65 meters by 3.60 meters with rounded corners. Slightly east from the center of the north wall a built-in stove (*kamado*) was located (Figure 13). On the bottom level of the stove was found a flat iron ingot (total length 21 centimeters, width at both ends 6 centimeters, minimum width 3 centimeters; I-1). Objects from the dwelling floor included: Haji ware (jar *tsubo*, dish with pedestal *takatsuki*, pot *kame*, vessels made by hand-forming *tezukune doki*), stoneware jar *tōshitsu tsubo*, initial phase Sue ware jar, iron arrowhead (I-3), whetstone iron slag (slag from the workshop; I-2) etc.. And the presence of a small lump containing iron slag was confirmed in the course of dismantling the of the stove's earthen structure. On the corner east of the stove was a concentration of river stones of sizes ranging between 10 and 20 centimeters. Some of them had traces of exposure to heat or 2 – 3-centimeter diameter impact marks. "Possible use as anvil stone for the forging process" (p.70) is considered. The above mentioned unearthed vessels etc. allow the assumption to date the site to the first half of the 5th century.

At the **Ogizuru site²⁶⁾** in Tajima, Hita City, Ōita Prefecture, a pit (forge) feature was found below a rice paddy as well as a ritual site (No.5 ditch-like feature) about 8 meters east of the forge remains. The pit feature is a rectangle of about 4.1 meters in the east-west direction and about 3.4 meters north-south with rounded corners. Out of the northwestern corner stretches out a projection of about 1.5 meters. A study of the section soil layers revealed that the forging furnace (*kajiro*) was constructed anew on top of an old hearth site (a circle of about 50 centimeters in diameter) and "only the hearth floor that formed a hard vitreous surface remained, and its size measured about 20 centimeters wide in the east-west and about 40 centimeters in north-south, forming in the plane an oval in the north-south direction" (p.26). Charcoal ash was present all around and it is believed to have been demolished when abandoned (Figure 14). Anvil stones (andesite), which had impact marks of forging iron, were placed on both sides of the forging furnace. Near the area was a 2 to 3-centimeter thick deposit of forging fragments. On the north side of the hearth feature were found two river stones used as whetstones. Also feet of Haji ware dishes with pedestal (*takatsuki*) were found that apparently were used as tuyeres of a bellow. "The pointed end parts had turned to bluish dark brown from exposure to heat." (p.26) They must have been equipped to the forging furnace. "Inside the hearth etc., they were unearthed in groups of two to three in a way that one is stacked into another." (p.26) A large amount of iron slag was discovered at the projection area in the north. Since it is on a higher level than the bottom of the pit, the space is believed to have been the slag disposal site. Out of the pit was found Haji ware including pots (*kame*), small spherical jar (*kan*), dishes with pedestal, ceramic vessels made by hand-forming (*tezukune doki*) etc.. The vessels made by hand etc. were buried into the

ground with the rim up and then covered by the clay that covered the floor. Some kind of groundbreaking ritual (to tame the spirit of the earth deities) is believed to have been performed upon construction of the feature. The distinctive features of the pottery have close resemblance to those of ritual sites described later in this paper and are believed to belong generally to the same phase. The iron slag unearthed from the pit is classified into: forging fragments, granular slag, cup-shaped slag and vitreous slag (according to ŌSAWA Masami).

The ritual remains were discovered on the No.5 ditch-like feature that stretches in the east-west direction and is about 1 meter on a higher level than the forge feature. In the space recognized as a ritual feature, many objects were found in a sphere of about 2 meters. Most of them was hand formed miniature pottery, which were discovered “all upright with the rim up.” (p.33) They were mingled with disc-shaped stone objects (made of steatite), flat iron ingots etc.. (Figure 15) Because of the proximity to the aforesaid forge feature, soil flotation was used to discover possibly objects related to forging. But nothing was found. The objects included: Haji ware (two pots *tsubo*, two dishes with pedestal, five small small spherical jars *kan* and two small bowls *hachi*), 27 hand formed ceramic vessels, two small steatite discs and iron objects (one plate-like flat iron ingot, four small iron plate fragments, one flat iron ingot fragment?). The plate-like flat iron ingot, though lacking one of the front tips, has a present length of 14.5 centimeters, maximum width of 3.5 centimeters and minimum width of 2.3 centimeters; it is a standard plectrum-shaped flat iron ingot. Some of the small iron plate fractions may be those of flat iron ingots. The distinctive features of the pottery date the site to the first half to about the middle of 5th century. An association with the forge feature on the neighboring west is quite probable. Rituals including prayers for the multiple flat iron ingots, which were used as raw material, have been probably performed during the forging work. Chemical analysis identified ore-related raw material. The material was most probably imported. It is conceivable to characterize this site as a forge inside a settlement.

We have so far reviewed that flat iron ingots were offered in the ritual phase of the 4th to the 5th century in Okinoshima. It is today a generally-shared view that the flat iron ingots produced on the Korean Peninsula were brought in as ironware raw material. That Yamato polity had a serious interest in the possession of flat iron ingots can be seen also, for example, in the 872 flat iron ingots accumulated and discovered in Yamato No.6 tomb.²⁷⁾ Given the situation that the procurement of ironware raw materials was almost entirely dependent on Korean Peninsula around the 4th and the 5th century, the unearthed cases of plate-like flat iron ingots and plate-like shaped iron adzes are worth greater attention. The plate-like shaped iron adze discovered in the pit feature of Takigashita site, Munakata City and dated to the initial phase of the Kofun period needs particular attention, even from a nationwide perspective. Considering the phase and its nature of being from a settlement site the adze was acquired directly from the Korean Peninsula more probably than through the Kinki region, because of the historical and geographical environment. Even the possibility that that forging activities were performed by immigrated artisans is not excluded. This paper alluded to the first half of the 5th century Kubokiyakushi site and Ogizuru site, as good examples of manufacturing ironware by forges inside settlements; a plate-like flat iron ingot was discovered in the Kubokiyakushi site. At the Ogizuru site the forge was in the neighboring area accompanied by a flat iron ingot offering ritual site from which more than one contemporary plate-like flat iron ingot and two steatite discs were unearthed. Among the flat iron ingots offered in Okinoshima rituals, Site No.16 that had the largest-sized flat iron ingots is believed to be the earliest at the beginning to the first half of the 5th century and Site No.21 that is no older than the middle of the 5th century is believed to be the latest. At the site in front of the Shōsanmi shrine building, eight flat iron ingots were found piled up in a depot pit. In the same fashion, eleven flat iron ingots were found piled up by the head of the buried corpse at the Fukuma-Waribatake tomb. It is also known that, as a result of close examination and reconstruction, a total of 26 flat iron ingots and 17 fragments, which couldn't be assembled, were placed in a pile as grave goods outside the short wall of house-style stone coffin (*iegata sekkan*), who was directly placed in the burial pit, at the Usuzuka tomb in Usuki City, Ōita Prefecture. Every flat iron ingot had thin rusted up ropes at the center and left and right. The author of this paper had an opportunity to observe a case of ten flat iron ingots tied together by a rope and laid out on the floor of a pit-style stone chamber at a site in the former Kaya region of Korea. It was assumed that three sets of ten flat iron ingots each were placed one over another in Usuzuka tomb. It was recalled that in the *Hitachi-no-kuni Fudoki* (History and Land of Hitachi Province) the term ‘*ichiren*’ (a set of) was used for counting iron materials, and the assumption was made that three sets of probable ten flat iron ingots each were placed.²⁸⁾



(Excerpted and drawn from Figures 65 and 67 of *Kubokiyakushi site*, 1993)

Figure 13 Unearthed objects of pit dwelling house No.13 of the Kubokiyakushi site

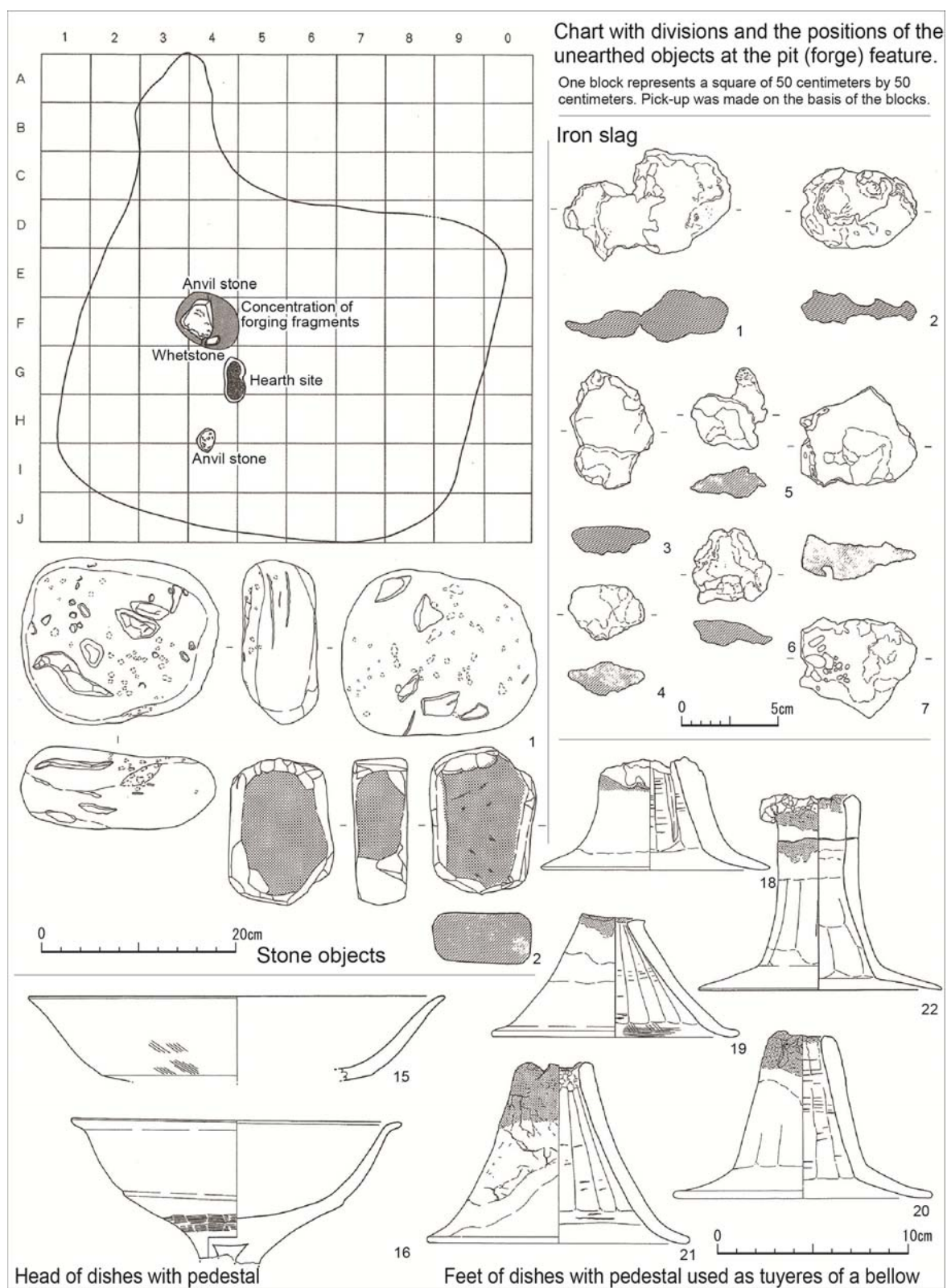
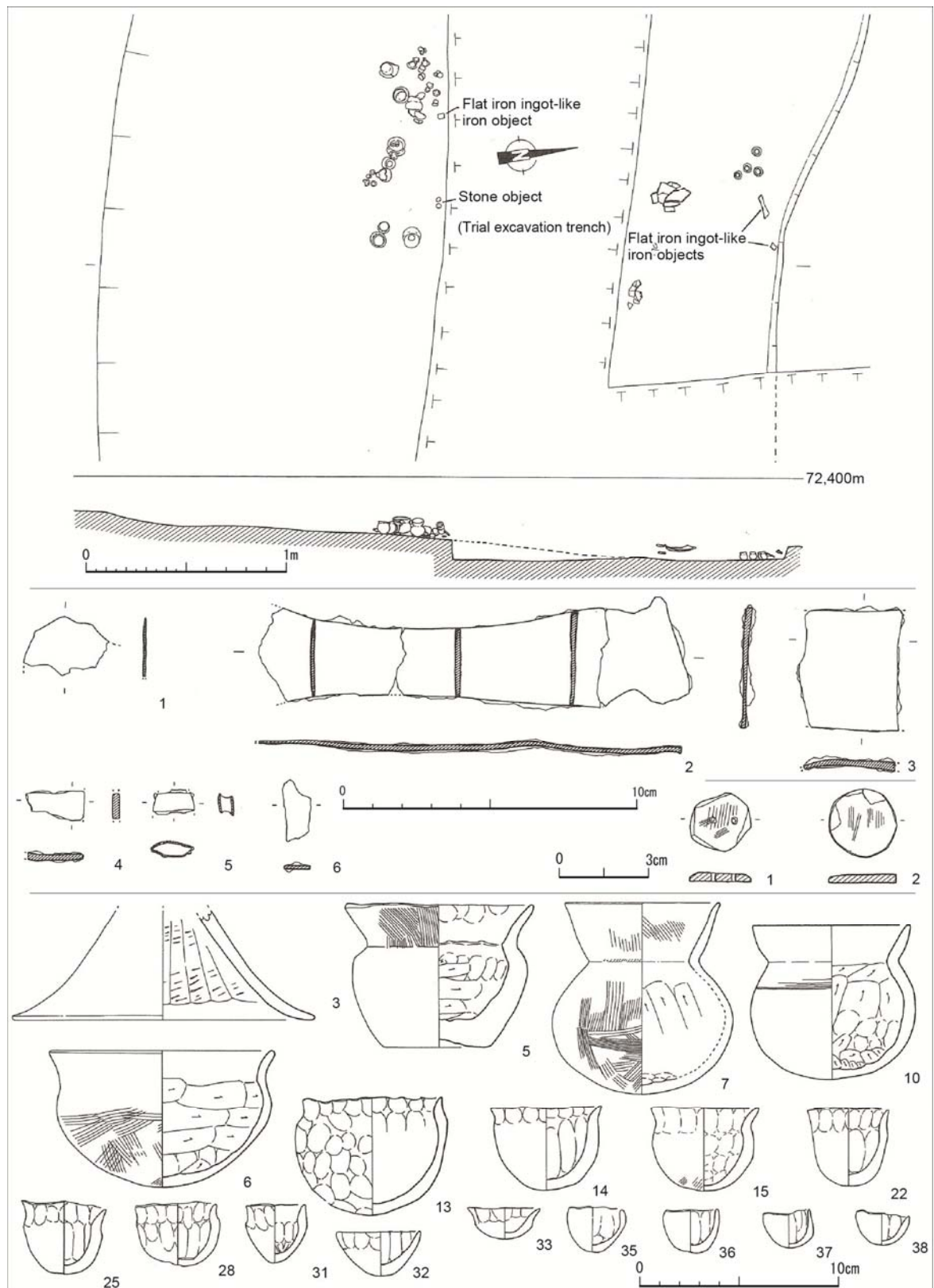


Figure 14 Features of forge and objects of the Ogizuru Site (iron slag, stone objects, pottery used as tuyere of a bellow)



(Excerpted and drawn from Figures 28 - 31 of *Ogizuru Site*, 1995)

Figure 15 Ritual site features and objects of the Ogizuru site (iron objects, stone objects, pottery)

The numbers of flat iron ingots found at the site in front of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank Shrine building in Okinoshima and Fukuma-Waribatake tomb were eight and eleven, respectively, and there were no traces of being tied together by a rope or cord. Presumably, they were redistributions of flat iron ingots originally acquired in sets. In the case of Miyaji-Idenoue tomb, one single flat iron ingot was placed outside the coffin on top of the stone slabs covering the burial pit together with other iron objects.

More recently, plate-like flat iron ingots have been discovered in a number of ritual sites in other regions ranging from Seto Inland Sea prefectures all the way to the Kantō region. SASŌ Mamoru has re-examined this issue in conjunction with other iron objects unearthed in accompaniment.²⁹⁾ All were ritual offerings practiced up to the middle of the 5th century and “a set of offerings to deities comprising iron weapons, arms, farming and other tools, and fabrics was established, building upon the lineage of tomb grave goods up to the Early Kofun period.” They, he concludes, “represented the latest and most highly valued items of the time that were produced on the basis of the iron materials and the state-of-the-art techniques of forging, weaving and ceramics brought into from the Korean Peninsula around the first half of the 5th century.” (p.109) Precious items such as these pertain only to Yamato polity and the nobles in the center and powerful and strong local clans affiliated to the polity, who used them in their practice of state-related rituals and similar rituals. However, it should be noted that not all of such state-of-the-art items were dedicated in the rituals on top of rocks in Okinoshima. Depending on the phase and nature of the rituals, flat iron ingots or the like seem to have been not included in the offerings.

The Kubokiyakushi site and Ogizuru site show cases of flat iron ingot offering was practiced alongside with forging inside settlements other than for state-related rituals elsewhere. In the latter case it was learned that moreover, rituals involving the offering of flat iron ingots apparently for successfully manufacturing ironware were practised. Rituals pertaining to production activities are known also for salt-making and manufacturing of ceramics. Rituals with offering flat iron ingots were on one hand one of such production-related rituals and at the same time a state-related ritual on the other.

As was discussed in the studies mentioned earlier of MORI Kōichi²⁷⁾, OKAZAKI Takashi¹⁸⁾ and AZUMA Ushio¹⁷⁾, cases of flat iron ingots buried as grave goods in tombs are well known in both Korea and Japan. The tombs range from those of highest rank to local medium- to small ones, and the purposes of flat iron ingot grave goods are varied. It would be correct to believe that a large number of flat iron ingots were placed in big tombs for the purpose of symbolizing the political power and prestige and in a medium- to small tombs in remembrance of the honor of having been endowed with a precious gift of foreign origin from the grantor. Other interpretations are known to exist such as the argument that flat iron ingots were used as a means of exchange like money. This paper attempted to clarify the diverse character of flat iron ingots, in particular, those that pertain to offering rituals.

5. Conclusion

The task assigned to this paper was to re-examine the findings of the research excavations conducted four decades ago in the light of the subsequent advances made in the field of archaeology. The given time, however, was simply limited to review all the changes that occurred in the long time span from the 4th to the 9th century. Accordingly, as one who took part in all of the three series of investigations, I made an overall review of the Series 1 and Series 2 reports as well as the Series 3 investigation report, evaluating the results and identifying challenges for the future from the present-day perspective. An attempt was made also to clarify local traditions of rituals of Munakata region around the time when Okinoshima rituals were moved up in rank to state-related in nature began to be performed. In this connection, clarification of the process in which the local powerful Munakata clan emerged and grew was also attempted through a study of tombs of the incipient phase of the Kofun period in the region. In continuation, the practice of offering flat iron ingots in phase I of the Okinoshima ritual (on top of a rock) was revisited in connection with the advances achieved in archaeology since the publication of the Series 3 Okinoshima report in the research of cases of flat iron ingot use as tomb grave goods, in sites with remains of forges and as ritual offering in Munakata region and other nearby regions. Thus, already with the coverage of only the 4th to 5th century phase of Okinoshima rituals, the allotted pages have been exhausted. A plenty has to be studied further to address phase II (ritual site in the shade of a rock) through phase IV (rituals in the open air) to cover all the

phases. Allow me to put my pen down here with the hope that an opportunity will soon arise to do the remaining tasks.

In writing this paper, it was necessary to review and verify recent materials. IURA Hajime of Fukutsu City Board of Education and ABE Hirohisa and KAWAGUCHI Yōko of Munakata City Board of Education provided great assistances and useful advice. Their cooperation is gratefully acknowledged. (February 12, 2011)

Supplementary notes (not translated):

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「同上(其二)」;『考古学雑誌』30 卷 2 号、p.52~76
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- 4) 花田勝広(2003): (a)「遺跡の踏査とその遺物」(第 2 章第 3 節、p.55~72)、(b)「古墳の造墓と首
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244
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- 7) 岡崎敬(1979):「上高宮古墳」;『宗像沖ノ島』本文(総括編第 1 章 4)、p.457~460
- 8) 『沖ノ島』(1958)第 93 図-3(p.226~227)
- 9) 『宗像沖ノ島』(1979)FIG151 の 5(p.479)
- 10) 岡 崇(1999):「田久瓜ヶ坂—福岡県宗像市田久所在遺跡の発掘調査報告—」;『宗像市文化財調査報
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- 19) 弓場紀知(1988):「沖ノ島の祭祀遺跡」p.112;『住吉と宗像の神—海人の軌跡—』p.91~120
- 20) 鉄鋌および板状鉄斧ともに鉄製品の原料として扱われている現行の研究方針に従って、本稿でも
板状鉄斧は鉄鋌と鉄斧両様の使用に供される立場である。
- 21) 原俊一(1997):「人々のくらし」p.688~691;『宗像市史・通史編第 1 巻』第 4 章第 3 節宗像の古墳
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- 22) 井浦一(1999):『福岡割畑遺跡』(福岡町文化財調査報告書 第 14 集)
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International exchange of Kofun period chieftains of Munakata Region and Okinoshima rituals

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Abstract: Recent advancement in the study of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and other sites has enhanced our understanding on the tombs of the chieftains in the Munakata Region. And archeological investigations of dwelling sites have resulted in accumulated evidence that tells of the life and activities of immigrants from the Korean Peninsula. Comparison of these two makes it possible to depict the rise of chieftains in the Munakata Region based on international exchange. Okinoshima Island is situated at a pivotal location of maritime transportation and it should be possible to discuss the role played by Munakata chieftains in the Okinoshima rituals by linking the rise of chieftains with the international exchange with the Korean Peninsula. It should be noted, however, that the formation of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and the increase in archeological evidence of immigrant activities took place in the second half of the Middle Kofun Period, while the maturation of Okinoshima rituals occurred at the end of the Early Kofun Period. There is an apparent time gap. A major task for the future is to look at the intervention of chieftains in the Okinoshima rituals and the life and activities of immigrants in the period from the end of the Early Kofun Period to the first half of the Middle Kofun Period from a broad perspective of the post-Yayoi periods.

Keywords: International exchange, Chieftain tomb, Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, Mahan-based earthenware, immigrants

1. Introduction

The Okinoshima ritual site in the city of Munakata, Fukuoka Prefecture, is an extremely important archeological site in the evolution of ritual sites in Japan. The presence of Munakata Shrine dating back to the ancient times and the strong public belief in the Three Goddesses of Munakata make it a ritual of national importance. Meanwhile, the island of Okinoshima occupies a pivotal location in the traffic with Korean Peninsula that had a major influence on the formation of Japanese society in the Kofun Period. Not only its ritual artifacts but also the formation of ritual sites should be understood with attention to the relationship with the dynasties on the Korean Peninsula as a given.

The dates and evolution of ritual sites in Okinoshima have been elucidated through scholarly investigations that were conducted in three series. Correspondence between the Okinoshima ritual sites and the tombs of Kofun Period chieftains who led the rituals is discussed in a study by SADA Shigeru (*SADA 1991*) and studies by HANADA Katsuhiro and IKENOUE Hiroshi (*HANADA 1999, IKENOUE/HANADA 2000*) that are based on basic research of tombs of chieftains with focuses on Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb and other mounded tomb groups in the Tsuru River Basin and on Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group on the coastal area of the Genkai Sea. More recently, the education boards of Fukutsu City and Munakata City made progress in the determination of dates and scales of mounded tombs in their respective cities.

In the meantime, excavation investigation of Jungmank-dong Archeological Site in Jeollabuk-do, Korea revealed ritual artifacts that are comparable to those found in Okinoshima. In addition, an increasing number of artifacts of foreign origin and finds that suggest involvement of immigrants have been discovered in the vicinity of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and other parts of Munakata Region, in pace with the progress of investigations of village dwelling archeological sites.

This paper will first review the development of chieftain tombs in Munakata Region in light of the deepened knowledge acquired through the investigation and research of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, and position them in the context of North Kyūshū. In addition, the activities of immigrants will be discussed based on the artifacts of Korean Peninsula origin that have been found in dwelling sites in North Kyūshū, and the role of Munakata Region therein will be discussed. And based on these discussions, an

assessment will be made on the evolutionary process of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and other chieftain tombs and on their involvement in international exchange. Relationship of the buried of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and other chieftains of Munakata Region with Okinoshima rituals will be discussed as well.

In this paper archeological periods will be often mentioned with respect to Okinoshima rituals and large mounded tombs of chieftain tombs as well as to earthenware. For the large mounded tombs of chieftain tombs, the ten-period division used in *Zenpō-kōenfun Shūsei* (Compilation of Keyhole-shaped Tombs with Round Rear Mound and their Chronology) (*KONDŌ ed.1992*) (hereinafter “Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology”) will be used to express the time period.

For the analysis of village dwelling sites and the like, dating of earthenware needs to be used as the base. The Sue ware divisions based on the finds of Suemura, Ōsaka Prefecture (*TANABE 1981*) will be used for Sue earthenware, and the author’s division (*SHIGEFUJI 2009, SHIGEFUJI 2010a*) will be used for Haji ware (hereinafter “Haji Ware Chronology”). Table 1 is a comparative summary of the archeological divisions.

Table 1 Time divisions pertinent to this paper

AD	Time period		North Kyūshū Haji ware dating (<i>Shigefuji 2009, Shigefuji 2010a</i>)	Suemura Sue ware dating (<i>Tanabe 1981</i>)	<i>Zenpō-kōenfun Shūsei</i> (<i>KONDŌ</i>)	Evolution of Okinoshima ritual sites
200	Yayoi	Late	Nishijin style (Nishijinmachi I-II styles)			
300		Early	Haji ware-I (Nishijinmachi III style)		Period 1	
			Haji ware-II (Nishijinmachi IV style)		Period 2	
					Period 3	
400	Kofun	Mid	Haji ware-III A		Period 4	
			Haji ware-III B		Period 5	
			Haji ware-IV	TK73 TK216 TK208	Period 6	
			Haji ware-V	TK23 TK47	Period 7	
500		Late	Haji ware-VI	MT15 TK10 MT85	Period 8	
			Haji ware-VII	TK43 TK209	Period 9	
600	Asuka			TK217	Period 10	
700						
	Nara					
800	Heian					

The author is of the view that the power base of ancient Munakata chieftains who were involved with the Okinoshima ritual sites was wide and extended over the former County of Munakata which today encompasses Munakata City and Fukutsu City. It is considered necessary to capture the region in its entirety. Accordingly, the term “Munakata Region” will be used throughout this paper referring to the former County of Munakata.

2. Development of chieftain tombs in Munakata Region

(1) Sequencing of chieftain tombs in Munakata Region and its surroundings

Kofun Period chieftain tombs in Munakata Region are detailed in the studies by HANADA Katsuhiro, IKENOUE Hiroshi and others. Guided by these studies, let us review the development of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and other chieftain tombs in Munakata Region using the Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology as the base.¹⁾

On the terraced hillside of Tsuyazaki district, Fukutsu City facing the Genkai Sea there are four agglomerations of chieftain tombs, named from north to south, Katsuura, Shinbaru-nuyama, Yukue-ōishi and Sudata. They are also known by a collective name of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group. Here in this paper they are grouped into Groups 13 through 16 in terms of geographical distribution and will be sequenced by adding chronological orders. (Figs.1 and 2, <13> – <16>)

The northernmost Katsuura agglomeration (Group <13>) begins with Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb (Tsuyazaki mounded tomb No.41) (*KAWANOBE 1977*) and Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb (Tsuyazaki mounded tomb No.10) (*KAWANOBE 1977*) of Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Periods 7 and 8. Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb is dated to the late Period 8 because a flat pendant harness ornament of the Kenbishi-type, a cup-shaped stirrup and other horse equipment and a lamellar armor that generally correspond to TK208 – TK23 types were unearthed. Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb, meanwhile, is believed to precede Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb, belonging to Period 7 because a wooden core iron sheet-covered ring stirrup and a dipper-shaped wooden core iron sheet-covered jar-shaped stirrup were unearthed as will be detailed later. To the north of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb is a mounded tombs cluster called Katsuura-takahara mounded tomb group, which includes Katsuura-takahara mounded tomb No.11, a keyhole-shaped tumulus believed to belong to Periods 9 – 10 (*IKENOUE 2002b*). There is, however, a significant time difference between Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb and Katsuura-takahara mounded tomb No.11. In between, Ueno mounded tomb No.3 in Munakata City is believed to be in line because the unearthing of a short armor with riveted iron siding and other finds dates the tumulus to around Period 8 (*KONDŌ ed. 1992*). Sakurakyō mounded tomb in Munakata City, a decorated tumulus (*SHIRAKI ed. 2007*) and Mutajiri-suira mounded tomb, a keyhole-shaped tumulus in a mounded-tomb cluster (*KONDŌ ed. 2000*) are considered to be chieftain tombs in line following Katsuura-takahara mounded tomb No.11. Kamitakamiya mounded tomb, though on the west bank of the Tsuru River, has commonality to the Katsuura sequence across the river. It is believed to be a round burial site of some 20 meters in diameter. A short armor of leather-laced rectangular plates was unearthed and the tumulus is dated to Period 4, being at a chronological distance from Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb (the size of the tumulus by *HANADA 1999*).

The Shinbaru-nuyama agglomeration (Group <14>) comprises keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.1 (*KAWANOBE 1977*), Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.22, Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.24, Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.12 and Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.30 (all the above, *HASHIGUCHI ed. 1989*). Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.1 is dated to Period 7 because Sue ware of generally TK208 type was unearthed. Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.22 had few finds, but earthenware of Haji Ware Period V was found from the adjacent and chronologically-preceding mounded tomb No.21. Accordingly, mounded tomb No.22 is dated to Period 8 or later. Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tombs Nos.12, 24 and 30 have not been excavated and no exact dating has been made. However, mounded tomb No.12 can be dated to Period 9 – 10 by its tomb shape. Mounded tomb No.30 may be dated to Period 10 because Sue ware of TK43 – TK209 types was surface-collected and the main feature is estimated to be a high-ceiling horizontal stone chamber. In addition, there is a large

round burial mound called Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb (Nuyama mounded tomb No.5) in the adjacent area of Shinbaru-nuyama keyhole-shaped tumulus complex (SASAKI 1978). It is dated to Period 6 because of a piece of short armor of leather-laced triangular plates and Haji ware of Division IV and stoneware that have been unearthed.

Yukue-ōtsuka mounded tomb that lies to the south of Shinbaru-nuyama tumulus complex is a large keyhole-shaped tumulus of over 70 meters and Sue ware of the 6th century was unearthed there (IKENOUE *ed.* 2004). It should be considered to have been erected at a time contemporary to the Shinbaru-nuyama agglomeration. Apart from this, there are two keyhole-shaped mounded tombs by the name of Ōishi-okanotani mounded tombs Nos. 1 and 2 at the piedmont east of Sudata mounded tomb group (IKENOUE *ed.* 2004). They are smaller in size than the keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of Sudata mounded tomb group, and the collected Sue ware put them to Periods 9 – 10 suggesting erection in parallel to the Sudata agglomeration. As HANADA pointed out (HANADA 1999), they are regarded as belonging to the same agglomeration (Group <15>) as Yukue-ōtsuka mounded tomb.

The Sudata agglomeration (Group <16>) comprises a large round burial mound of Sudata-nitazuka mounded tomb, a keyhole-shaped Sudata-kaminokuchi mounded tomb, Sudata-amafurijinja mounded tomb, Sudata-misozuka mounded tomb, Sudata-shimonokuchi mounded tomb (all the above by IKENOUE *et al.* 1996a) and Arai-tsurugizuka mounded tomb (IKENOUE *ed.* 2004). The Sue ware that was surface-collected at Sudata-amafurijinja is of types MT15 – TK10, and Sudata-shimonokuchi mounded tomb accompanied MT85 type Sue ware. Arai-tsurugizuka mounded tomb, the largest in size of the three chieftain tombs of Tsuyazaki, is considered to be the last keyhole-shaped tumulus in the agglomeration because it had no clay figures and the unearthed Sue ware was of type TK43.

Idenokami mounded tomb, a large round burial mound that is dated to Period 5 because of the unearthed short armor of leather-laced triangular plates and ceramic ware (HASHIGUCHI *ed.* 1991), is at some geographical distance from these agglomerations and there is some reservation in viewing it as the precursor of the continual erection of chieftain tombs. Miyajidake mounded tomb (IKENOUE, HANADA 2000) and Tebika-namikirifudo mounded tomb are considered to be chieftain tombs of the 7th century in succession of the Sudata agglomeration because of their geographical locations. However, there are no clear contemporary continuations of Katsuura and Shinbaru-nuyama agglomerations, and accordingly these two mounded tombs may also be interpreted as tombs of chieftains who consolidated the agglomerations of Periods 9 – 10 Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group. Tebika-ōhito mounded tomb No.4 is a keyhole-shaped tumulus of 43 meters in total length and its main features is a multiple chamber corridor-style stone chamber. It is therefore dated to Period 10 (KONDŌ *ed.* 2000). It is understood to be of a chieftain class that emerged in the Saigo River basin, separate from the agglomerations of Sudata mounded tomb group.

The part of the Tsuru River Basin that today belongs to Munakata City had been investigated in a rather sporadic manner, but recent studies including one by HANADA Katsuhiro (HANADA 1999) and the Munakata City Board of Education reports on Tokushige-honmura archeological site and Taku-urigasaka archeological site (OKA 1999; KUMASHIRO *ed.* 2002) have made it possible to reconstruct chieftain tomb agglomerations in a concrete manner. Here, using these studies as reference, let us review the large mounded tombs of chieftain class there by dividing them into four groups of: South Bank of Midstream of the Tsuru River Basin (Group <17>), Upstream of the Tsuru River Basin (Group <18>), North Bank of Midstream of the Tsuru River (Group <19>) and East Bank of Downstream of the Tsuru River (Group <20>).

On the South Bank of Midstream of the Tsuru River Basin (Group <17>), Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb, a keyhole-shaped tumulus with a total length of 64 meters (Hara 1989) was erected in Early Kofun Period. Its jar-shaped Haniwa and its main feature with wooden coffin in clay chamber date it to Period 3. No large-sized mounded tombs of the Middle Kofun Period are known, but in the Late Kofun Period Kubaru Tomb No. II-3 (Shimizu *ed.* 1988) and Subettō mounded tomb (Hatano and Harunari 1967) were erected.

In the Upstream of the Tsuru River Basin (Group <18>), Tokushige-honmura mounded tomb No.2 is the oldest (KUMASHIRO *ed.* 2002). It is a very small keyhole-shaped tumulus with a total length of 17 meters and a main feature of wood-covered grave with a wooden base. Haji ware of ancient phase Haji ware-I was unearthed and so it is worth attention as one of the oldest keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in the entire Chikuzen region.

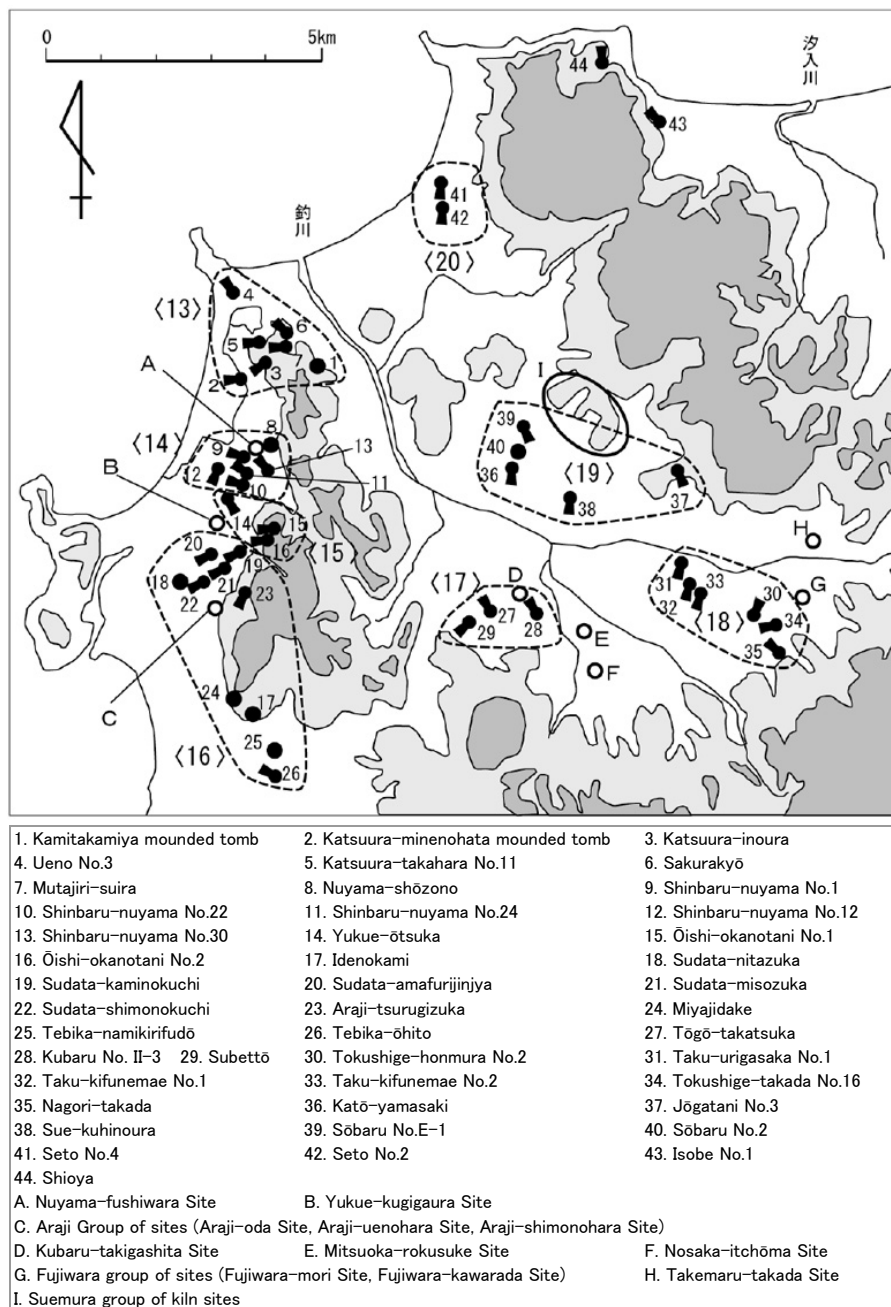


Figure 1 Locations of relevant large mounded tombs (black dots) and Kofun Period village dwelling sites (white dots) in Munakata Region

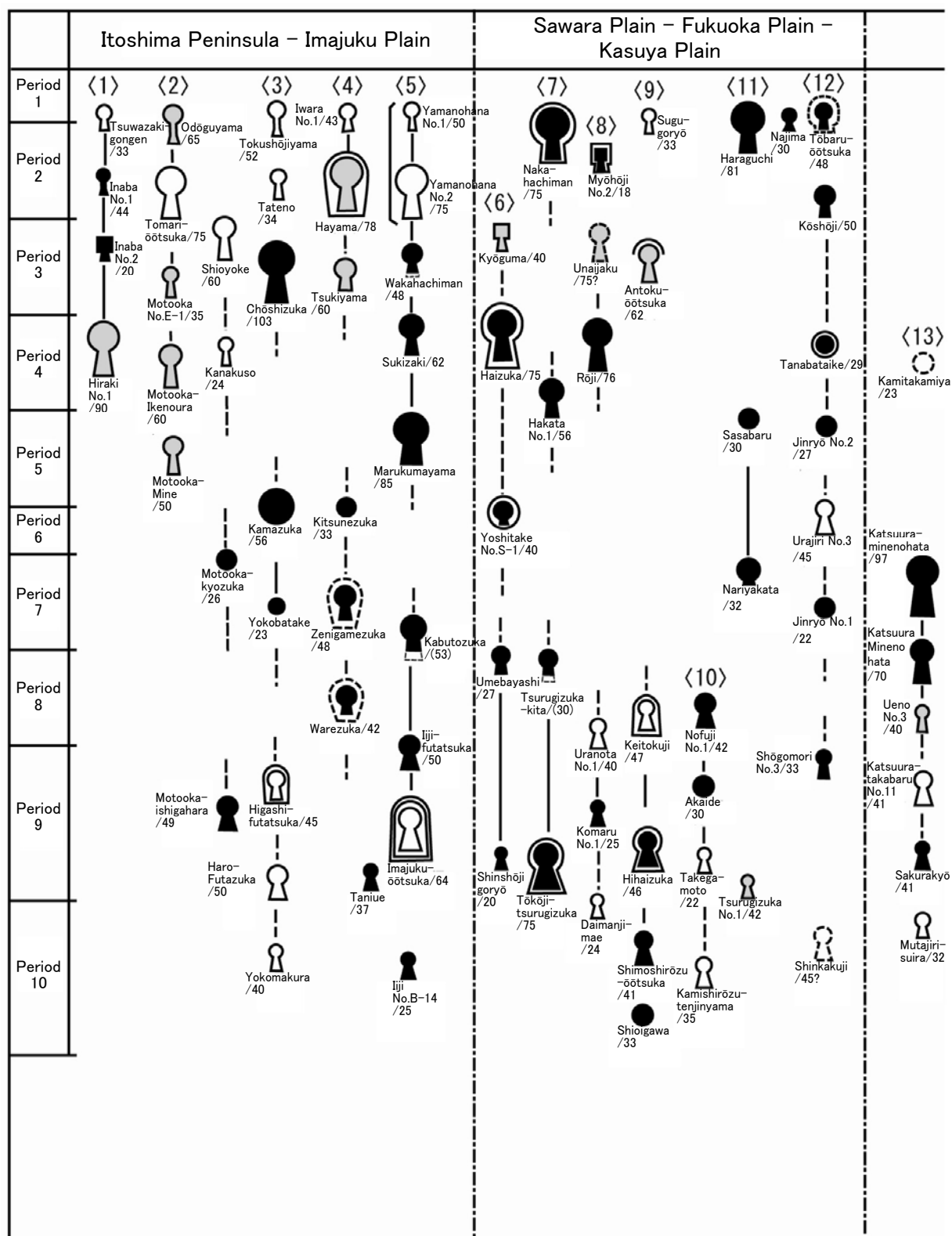
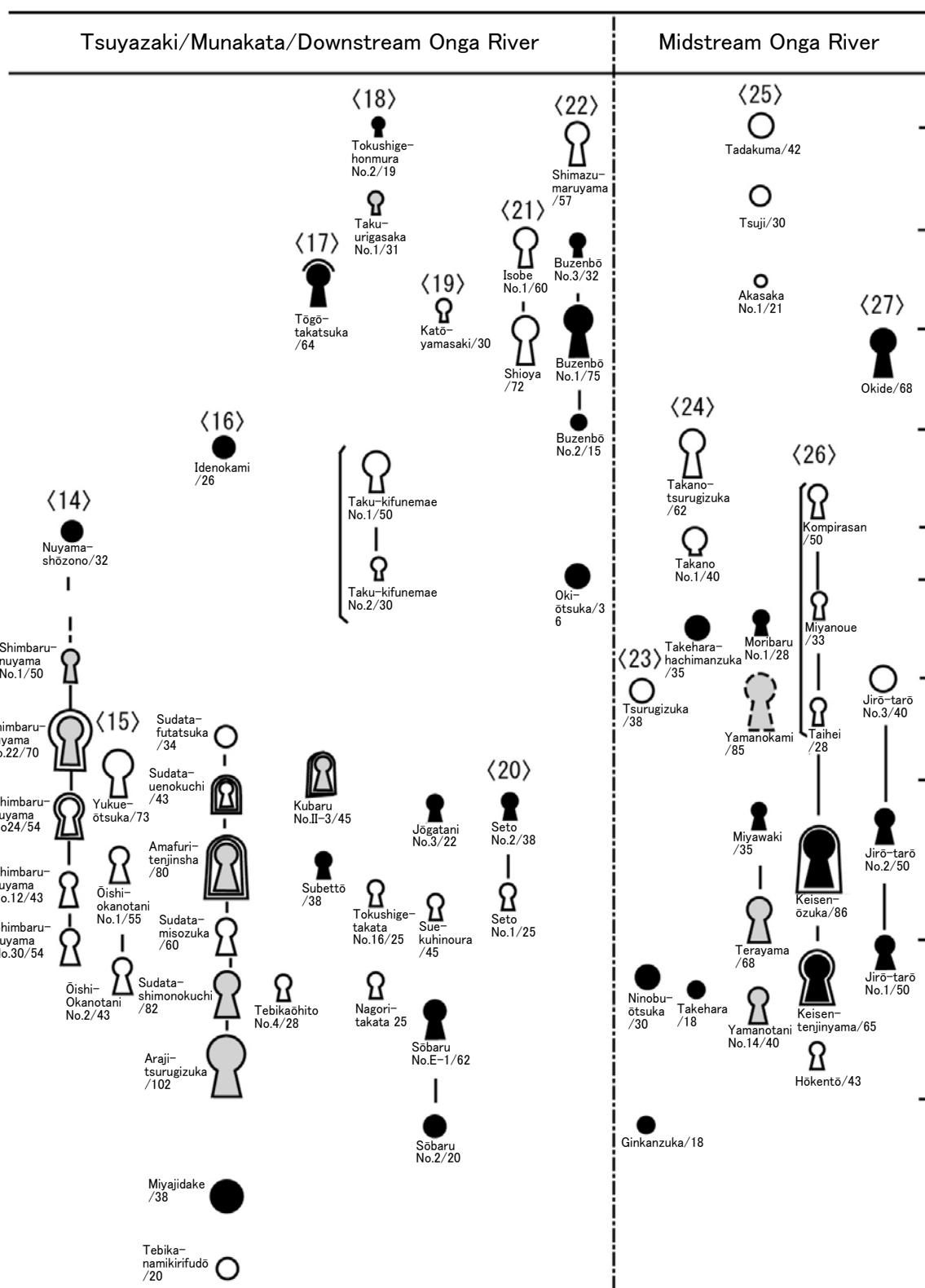


Figure 2 Sequences of Kofun Period chieftain tombs in North Chikuzen Region (SHIGEFUJI 1998 and SHIGEFUJI 2008 as amended)



Prefixed numbers correspond to those in Figs. 3 & 4. Black tombs denote reliable dating. Gray tombs denote approximate dating. White tombs denote weakly-reasoned dating. Mark “[” denotes a group of tombs with no definitive sequencing among them. Mark “|” denotes sequential relationship. Affixed numbers represent total length or diameter (in meters) of the tomb base.

Taku-urigasaka mounded tomb No.1 (*OKA 1999*) is a relatively small keyhole-shaped tumulus with a total length of 31 meters. Its main feature consists of two wooden split-log coffin and one unique clay coffin and it is dated to Periods 2 – 3. Taku-kifunemae mounded tombs No. 1 and No.2 are yet to be investigated and no definitive dating has been made. But their tomb shapes put them to no later than Late Kofun Period, and their relative position makes it possible to consider them as Periods 3 – 5 successors of Taku-urigasaka mounded tomb No.1 (*KUMASHIRO ed. 2002*). Full investigation of these mounded tombs is hoped for, because no definitive keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of that period have been confirmed in the agglomerations of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group or on the South Bank of Midstream of the Tsuru River Basin. With respect to Periods 9 – 10, two small keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of Tokushige-takada Tomb No.16 (*KONDŌ ed. 1992*) and Nagori-takada mounded tomb No.16 (*KONDŌ ed. 1992*) have been confirmed.

On the North Bank of Midstream of the Tsuru River Basin (Group <19>), three keyhole-shaped mounded tombs were erected one after another during Periods 9 -10, namely, Jōgatani No.3 (*Jōgatani mounded tomb group Investigation Team 1974*), Sue-kuhinoura mounded tomb (*KONDŌ ed. 1992*) and Sōbaru No.E-1 (*SAKAI 1979*). Sōbaru No.E-1, in particular, is a large tumulus with a total length of over 60 meters; it is only next in size to the keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in Sudata as far as Periods 9 – 10 are concerned. In the 7th century, the large-sized round burial mound Sōbaru Tomb No.2 (*SAKAI 1979*) was erected, which is believed to be a chieftain tomb in succession of Sōbaru mounded tomb No.E-1. This agglomeration is considered to include Katō-yamazaki mounded tomb (*KUMASHIRO ed. 2002*), about which the possibility of dating back even to Early Kofun Period has been suggested.

Among the agglomerations on the East Bank of Downstream of the Tsuru River close to the mouth of the river (Group <20>) is Seto mounded tomb No.4 (*OKA and SAKAMOTO ed. 2007*) in Tano, Munakata City, a keyhole-shaped tumulus with a total length of 38 meters. Tano-seto mounded tomb No.4 is dated to early Period 9 because of the type of the flat pendant harness ornament of the Kenbishi-type unearthed out of the approach passage and the shape of the corridor-style stone chamber. Adjacent to Tano-seto mounded tomb No.4 is a keyhole-shaped tumulus called Tano-seto mounded tomb No.1. Though no details are available, it should be dated more or less to the same period as Tano-seto mounded tomb No.4.

In summary, large-sized chieftain tombs in Munakata Region can be largely grouped into the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group on the coastal area of Fukutsu City and the four chieftain tomb agglomerations in the Tsuru River Basin. At the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, erection of major keyhole-shaped mounded tombs is not believed to have begun until Period 7, even though there are Kamitakamiya mounded tomb and Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb that are dated to Periods 4 – 5. In the Tsuru River Basin, in contrast, Tokushige-honmura mounded tomb No. 2, Taku-urigasaka mounded tomb No.1 and Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb were erected already in Periods 1 – 3 and Taku-kifunemae mounded tombs Nos.1 and 2 are believed to belong to Periods 3 – 5. It appears fair to conclude that chieftain tombs were concentrated in the Tsuru River Basin until the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group began to be erected. It is also worth noting that during Periods 7 – 8 when full-scale erection of chieftain tombs began in Agglomerations <13> and <14> in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, there was a “vacuum” of large-sized chieftain tombs in the Tsuru River Basin.

With respect to Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, two large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb and Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb each exceeding 70 meters were erected during Periods 7 – 8 in the Katsuura agglomeration (<13>). But Ueno mounded tomb No.3 that succeeds them is only about 40 meters in total length, and the position of the largest tumulus in the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group in the second half of Period 8 and onward is taken over by the Shinbaru-nuyama agglomeration tumulus (<14>) of Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.22 or Yukue-ōtsuka mounded tomb. And in and after the middle of Period 9, keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of over 80 meters were erected only in the Sudata agglomeration (<16>) as represented by Amafuri-jinjya mounded tomb, Sudata-shimonokuchi mounded tomb and Arai-tsurugizuka mounded tomb. This evolution matches well with the 7th century erection of large-sized round burial mounds, namely Miyajidake mounded tomb and Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb that are considered as strong candidates of the tomb of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, a powerful chieftain.

Meanwhile, erection of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs regains momentum in Periods 9 – 10 in the Tsuru

River Basin agglomerations. Even though one of them, namely, Sōbaru mound tomb No.E-1 is a keyhole-shaped tumulus of over 60 meters in total length, all others are no larger than 50 meters in total length and many are small keyhole-shaped mound tombs of around 30 meters in total length. As HANADA Katsuhiro pointed out (HANADA 1999), there is a large divide in Tsuyazaki mound tomb group between the large keyhole-shaped mound tombs of Sudata agglomerations and the chieftain tombs on the Tsuru River Basin. Viewed comprehensively as Munakata Region comprising Tsuyazaki mound tomb group and the Tsuru River Basin, the emergence of a complex hierarchy among chieftains in Periods 9 – 10 may be described as the most important characteristic of the region.

(2) Munakata Region in the evolution of chieftain tombs in North Chikuzen

Figure 2 illustrates the sequences of chieftain tombs in North Chikuzen Region, which includes Munakata Region and others but excludes South Chikuzen Region that already belongs to Tsukushi Plain. Figs.3 & 4 show the geographical locations of large-sized chieftain tombs by different time periods based on the Keyhole-shaped Mound Tomb Chronology. The expanse of each agglomeration of large mound tombs is marked by dotted lines with numbers from <1> through <27>. According to Figure 3 and Figure 4, large mound tombs of chieftain tombs in Munakata Region and other parts of North Chikuzen are grouped, based on what has been known to this date, into 27 agglomerations²⁾, and eight of them are concentrated in Munakata Region. Looking at the entire Kofun Period throughout, one can note some agglomerations of chieftain tombs in the Itoshima region and Fukuoka plain, but it is most impressive that Munakata Region is home to agglomerations of large mound tombs of chieftain tombs with a much higher density.

It should be added however that large mound tombs of chieftain class tombs are few during Periods 1 – 5 and no indications exist in the studies to this date that would suggest a continual process of tumulus erection. During this time span, large mound tombs were erected continually in the area from Itoshima Peninsula to Imajuku plain (<1> through <5>) as shown in Figs. 2 & 3, in stark contrast to the contemporary situation in Munakata Region. Put in different words, keyhole-shaped mound tombs of over 80 meters in total length were erected at one agglomeration to another in turns in the area stretching from Itoshima Peninsula to Imajuku plain until Period 5. But come Period 6, no large keyhole-shaped mound tombs were erected in the area with the sole exception of Imajuku-ōtsuka mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City that is over 60 meters in total length. This again is in stark contrast to the large-sized mound tombs of the time in Munakata Region.

Chronologically, the geographical distribution of large mound tombs in North Chikuzen Region at the time of Period 1 or Early Kofun Period is characterized by the predominance in size of: Odoguyama mound tomb of Agglomeration Itoshima Peninsula East (<2>), Naka-Hachiman mound tomb in Hakata Ward, Fukuoka City of Agglomeration Fukuoka Plain (<7>) and Haraguchi mound tomb in Chikushino City of Agglomeration Upstream of the Mikasa River (<11>). Munakata Region had Tokushige-honmura mound tomb No.2 only, and it shies away in the tumulus size.

In Period 3 which corresponds to the second half of Early Kofun Period, Ikisan-chōshizuka mound tomb in Itoshima City belonging to Agglomeration of the Nagano River Basin (<3>) boasts the largest size throughout the North Chikuzen Region. Tōgō-takatsuka mound tomb belongs to this time period but is by far smaller in scale than Ikisan-chōshizuka mound tomb. In the area stretching from Itoshima Peninsula to Fukuoka plain, there is a concentration of keyhole-shaped mound tombs of over 60 meters in total length by Shioyoke mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City (<2>), Tsukiyama mound tomb in Itoshima City (<4>), Unaijaku mound tomb in Minami Ward, Fukuoka City (<8>) and Antoku-ōtsuka mound tomb in Nakagawa Town (<9>).

In Period 4 corresponding to the early part of Middle Kofun Period, Hiraki mound tomb No.1 in the western part of Itoshima Peninsula (<1>) measures 90 meters in total length and is believed to be the largest in North Chikuzen. And in the area stretching from Itoshima Peninsula to Fukuoka plain, many keyhole-shaped mound tombs of over 60 meters in total length spread out, including Motooka-Ikenoura mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City (<2>), Sukizaki mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City (<5>), Haizuka mound tomb in Sawara Ward, Fukuoka City (<6>) and Rōji mound tomb in Minami Ward, Fukuoka City (<8>). In Munakata Region of this time period, only Kamitakamiya mound tomb is known, demonstrating a stark contrast to the situation in Fukuoka plain and further west.

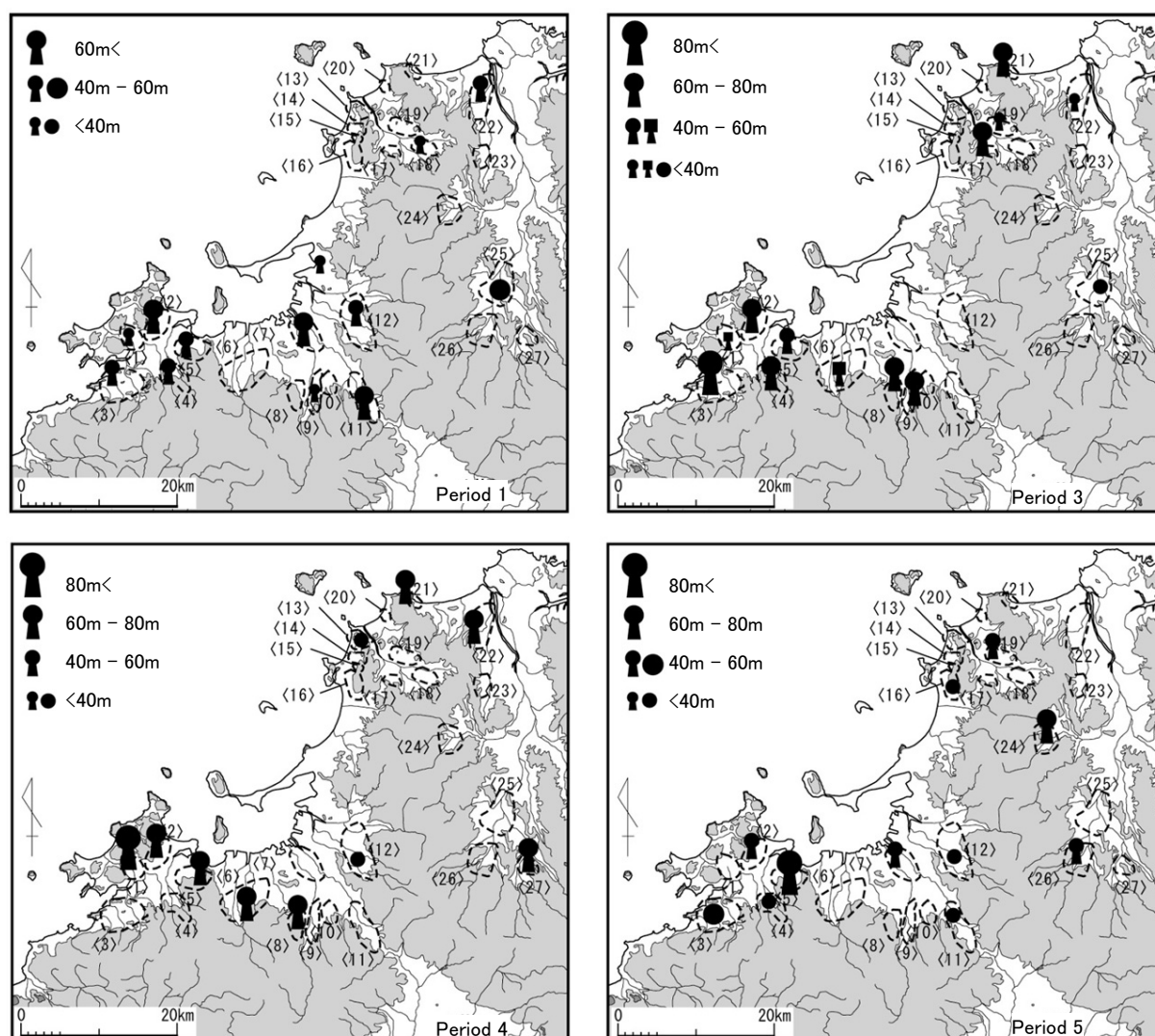


Figure 3 Distribution of chieftain class large mound tombs in North Chikuzen in Periods 1 – 5

It should not be forgotten however that there were successive erections of keyhole-shaped mound tombs of over 60 meters in total length in the Onga River Basin, including Shioya mound tomb in Okagaki Town and Buzenbō mound tomb in Onga Town in the downstream agglomerations <21> and <22> and Okide mound tomb in midstream agglomeration <27>.

With respect to Period 5 corresponding to the first half of Middle Kofun Period, not many large mound tombs have been determined to belong to this time period in the entire North Chikuzen region. Marukumayama mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City that belongs to Agglomeration Imajuku Plain (<5>) and can be reconstructed to a total length of about 85 meters is the largest. In the Onga River Basin, Takano-tsurugizuka mound tomb (<26>) in Miyawaka City is estimated to belong to this time period more or less and has a total length of over 60 meters. In Munakata Region, meanwhile, only Idenokami mound tomb and Taku-kifunemae mound tomb No.1, which is estimated to belong to this time period more or less, can be mentioned and they fall far short of Marukumayama mound tomb in scale. In short, the largest keyhole-shaped mound tombs in entire North Chikuzen in each of the time periods up to Period 5 were erected in the area stretching from Itoshima Peninsula to Fukuoka plain.

In contrast, Period 7 corresponding to the second half of Middle Kofun Period is characterized by Katsuura-minenohata mound tomb of nearly 100 meters in total length, the largest in entire North Chikuzen.

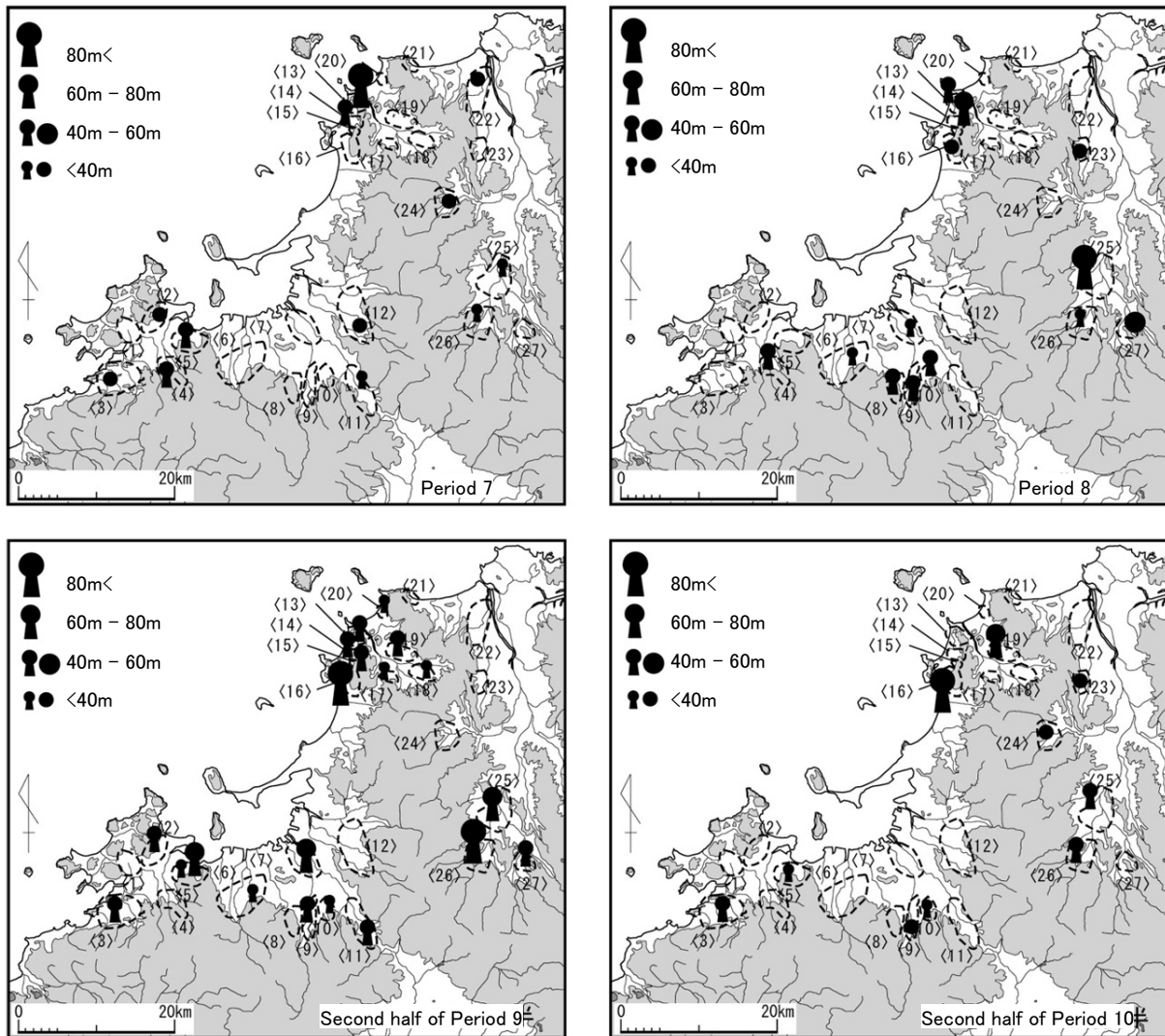


Figure 4 Distribution of chieftain class large mound tombs in North Chikuzen in Periods 7 – 10

In the area of Fukuoka plain and further west (<1> through <12>) that was characterized by active erection of large keyhole-shaped mound tombs of over 60 meters in total length up to Period 5, the largest in Period 7 is Kabutozuka mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City that is believed to have had a total length a little less than 60 meters. There is an apparent difference from Katsuura-minenohata mound tomb.

The largest tumulus in North Chikuzen during Period 8 corresponding to the end of Middle Kofun Period is considered to be Yamanokami mound tomb in Iizuka City in Agglomeration Midstream of the Onga River (<25>) that has an estimated total length of about 85 meters, even though no exact measurement is possible because the tumulus mound has degraded. Though not the largest, Katsuura-inoura mound tomb and Shinbaru-nuyama mound tomb No.22 in Tsuyazaki mound tomb group have total lengths of over 70 meters and can be understood as in line of succession of Katsuura-minenohata. Conversely, the keyhole-shaped mound tombs that were erected in this period in Fukuoka plain and further west are of total lengths no greater than 50 meters.

In the second half of Period 9 corresponding to the first half of Late Kofun Period, keyhole-shaped mound tombs of more than 60 meters in total length came to be erected in many parts of North Chikuzen. They include: Imajuku-ōtsuka mound tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City belonging to Agglomeration Imajuku Plain (<5>), Tōkōji-tsurugizuka mound tomb in Hakata Ward, Fukuoka City belonging to Agglomeration Fukuoka Plain (<7>), Ōzuka mound tomb in Keisen Town belonging to Agglomeration Midstream of the Onga River (<26>) and Amafuri-jinja in Tsuyazaki mound tomb group. The largest of the four is Ōzuka mound tomb that can be reconstructed to a total length of about 86 meters, but it is

closely followed by Amafuri-jinja mounded tomb with about 80 meters in total length. And around the time when Amafuri-jinja mounded tomb was erected, Yukue-ōtsuka mounded tomb, Sudata-shimonokuchi mounded tomb and other keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of about 80 meters in length were erected in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group one after another. In contrast, chieftain tombs erected around the time of Imajuku-ōtsuka mounded tomb and Tokoji-tsurugizuka mounded tomb are small in size and were likely for one generation only. Keisen-tenjinyama mounded tomb, the likely successor tomb to Ōzuka mounded tomb, has a total length of 65 meters which is worth noting among the mounded tombs of same time period in North Chikuzen, but there is no denying that the scale went down from Ōzuka mounded tomb.

The second half of Period 10 which is already close to the end of 6th century represents the end of an era of keyhole-shaped tumulus erection; only few large mounded tombs were erected. Arai-tsurugizuka mounded tomb with its total length of over 100 meters is the largest in North Chikuzen and stands out as one of the largest keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in all North Kyūshū at the time together with Tanushimaru-ōtsuka mounded tomb in Kurume City that has a total length of 103 meters.

As discussed above, the largest mounded tombs in North Chikuzen in each time period in and after Period 7 were erected in either Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group or in the Midstream of the Onga River Basin. This represents a clear departure from the situation up to Period 5 when the largest mounded tombs of the time in North Chikuzen were erected and keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of over 60 meters were concentrated in the area stretching from Itoshima Peninsula to Fukuoka plain. Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group is worth particular attention because of the successive erection of some 80-meter-long mounded tombs that were among the largest in North Chikuzen. This evolutionary process of large tumulus erection at Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group ran parallel to the flourishing of Okinoshima rituals. One can picture a strong chieftain clan presiding the Okinoshima rituals and taking advantage of that office to make interchanges with both the Korean Peninsula and the Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Nara or Kyōto), thereby increasing its influence and authority.

It should be recalled that no active erection of large mounded tombs took place in Munakata Region before the first half of Middle Kofun Period. The rituals on the island of Okinoshima had reached maturity already by the end of Early Kofun Period or Period 3. As an indication of possible main actors of the Okinoshima rituals, the existence of Period 3 Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb in Munakata City comes to one's mind immediately. But then it should also be remembered that two large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of over 60 meters in total length, namely, Isobe mounded tomb No.1 and Shioya mounded tomb were erected in Periods 3 – 4 on the terraced hills in the northern part of today's Okazaki Town, Onga County (<21>) facing the Genkai Sea. Furthermore, there are three keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in Onga Town, Onga County (<22>) on the western bank of the Onga River a little up the river from its mouth: Shimazu-maruyama mounded tomb, Buzenbō mounded tomb No.1 and Buzenbō mounded tomb No.2 that are dated to Periods 1 – 4. Shimazu-maruyama mounded tomb has not been investigated but its shape tells it is one of the oldest keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in entire Chikuzen region, probably dating to Periods 1 – 2. Out of Buzenbō mounded tomb No.1 was unearthed a jar-shaped Haniwa that is a little newer than that of Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb, putting the tumulus to Periods 3 – 4. There is no confirmed erection of large mounded tombs in these areas in and after Period 7 when there was an aggressive erection of large mounded tombs at Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group. Even a possible inter-regional relationship or continuity is conceivable. A major task for future studies is the link, if any, of Okinoshima rituals with not only Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb, Taku-kifunemae mounded tombs No.1 and No.2 but also with the large mounded tombs in Downstream of the Onga River Basin.

Even in the context of entire Chikuzen region, Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group has a salient feature of heavy concentration of large mounded tombs in multiple agglomerations in a very small area. The economic foundation of the buried in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group must have extended to a much wider area than the vicinity of the complex. In this connection, it is important to note the discontinuation of large tumulus erection in Period 7 and afterward in the agglomerations of the area from the Onga River Mouth to Okagaki Town as well as the “void” of large mounded tombs in Periods 7 – 8 in the Tsuru River Basin. And in the area between Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and Kasuya plain there are no continual erections of large mounded tombs throughout Kofun Period. When considering the economic base of chieftains buried at Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and furthermore of Munakata Clan, it is believed necessary to take a broader view, in addition to the evolution of chieftain tombs agglomerations, over the wide expanse of the

Tsuri River Basin as well as from the Onga River Mouth to northern part of Kasuya District.

(3) Comparison between Yame mounded tomb group and chieftain tomb agglomerations in Munakata Region

In the preceding paragraphs, we saw that large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of around 80 meters in length were erected one generation after another in Periods 9 – 10 in Agglomeration Sudata in Munakata Region. The active erection was accompanied by similarly active erection of small- to medium-sized keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and other chieftain tombs in other agglomerations. This development was unparalleled in any other parts of North Chikuzen. One must turn to entire North Kyūshū to look for a parallel erection of chieftain tombs; one such example is Yame mounded tomb group in Fukuoka prefecture (Figs. 5 & 6 <10> through <13>) which by common belief is attributed to the chief of Tsukushi Clan.³⁾

In the region of Yame, many keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and large round burial mounds are found on the hills on the right bank of the Yabe River. Representative mounded tombs are Sekijinsan mounded tomb in Hirokawa Town, Yame County and Iwatoyama mounded tomb in Yame City. Sekijinsan mounded tomb is dated to Periods 6 – 7 because the surface-collected Sue ware generally corresponds to the Ikenoue III style (HASHIGUCHI 1983). Iwatoyama mounded tomb is commonly accepted to be the grave of Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai (Chieftain of Tsukushi Clan) because of the tumulus size and the configuration of stone ornaments (MORI 1956). Incidentally, the position of Iwatoyama mounded tomb in Figure 5 may appear to indicate its erection in Early Period 9, but this is only due to the graphic layout reason. Iwatoyama mounded tomb had to be moved up a little in the chart because it is very large in size and is immediately followed by the succeeding tumulus. It can be reasonably attributed to Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai who lived in the middle of Period 9.

Between these two mounded tombs, which are representative of Yame mounded tomb group, there is some time difference. Some argue that Jinnamuta mounded tomb in Hirokawa Town, which is a keyhole-shaped tumulus adjacent to Sekijinsan mounded tomb and has disappeared by destruction, is in the lineage between the two (SADA 1981, etc.). However, on the West Hill (<10>) on which Sekijinsan mounded tomb holds the center position are found not only Jinnamuta mounded tomb but also Kakezuka mounded tomb in Chikugo City that can be dated to Period 8 because of the unearthened TK23–TK47 style Sue ware, as well as Kokadani mounded tomb in Hirokawa Town, a round burial mound that is dated to Period 9 and featuring a corridor-style stone chamber with colored decorative wall paintings. It is believed more correct to understand all these mounded tombs put together as one chieftain tomb agglomeration. Let us then regard Agglomeration West Hill separate from Agglomeration Central Hill (<11>) that includes Iwatoyama mounded tomb and from Agglomeration East Hill (<12>, <13>).

The formation of Yame mounded tomb group in its clear form is believed to have taken place only after the Period 6 erection of Sekijinsan mounded tomb; chieftain tombs before that time have been an issue. Some argue that the *Hongan* (place of origin) of Tsukushi Clan was somewhere in today's Tsukushino City and the locations of chieftain tombs moved from Ogōri City or Tsukushino City area to Yame. The author does not contemplate so wide an extension of tomb area. At Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb is the oldest large keyhole-shaped tumulus. It is preceded by round burial mounds of about 20 meters in diameter including Kamitakamiya mounded tomb, Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb and Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb. It is believed necessary to revisit round burial mounds of about 20 meters in diameter and the like in the area of Yame Hills and the Yabe River Basin and possibly bring to light the presence of Periods 1 – 5 chieftain tombs that precede Sekijinsan mounded tomb.

ODA Fujio argues that a huge keyhole-shaped tumulus of Iwatoyama mounded tomb and a strong Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai emerged out of the Clan's aspirations to reign over other chieftains in North Kyūshū through marital relationship and subordination to establish a despotic regime in Kyūshū (ODA 1970). YOSHIDA Akira, with attention to archeological facts, believes that, as in the case of Kibi and Kenu, chieftains of Chiku, Toyo and Hi formed a union with the Tsukushi Clan at the center and Iwai was the supreme leader of the chieftains union (YOSHIDA 1975).

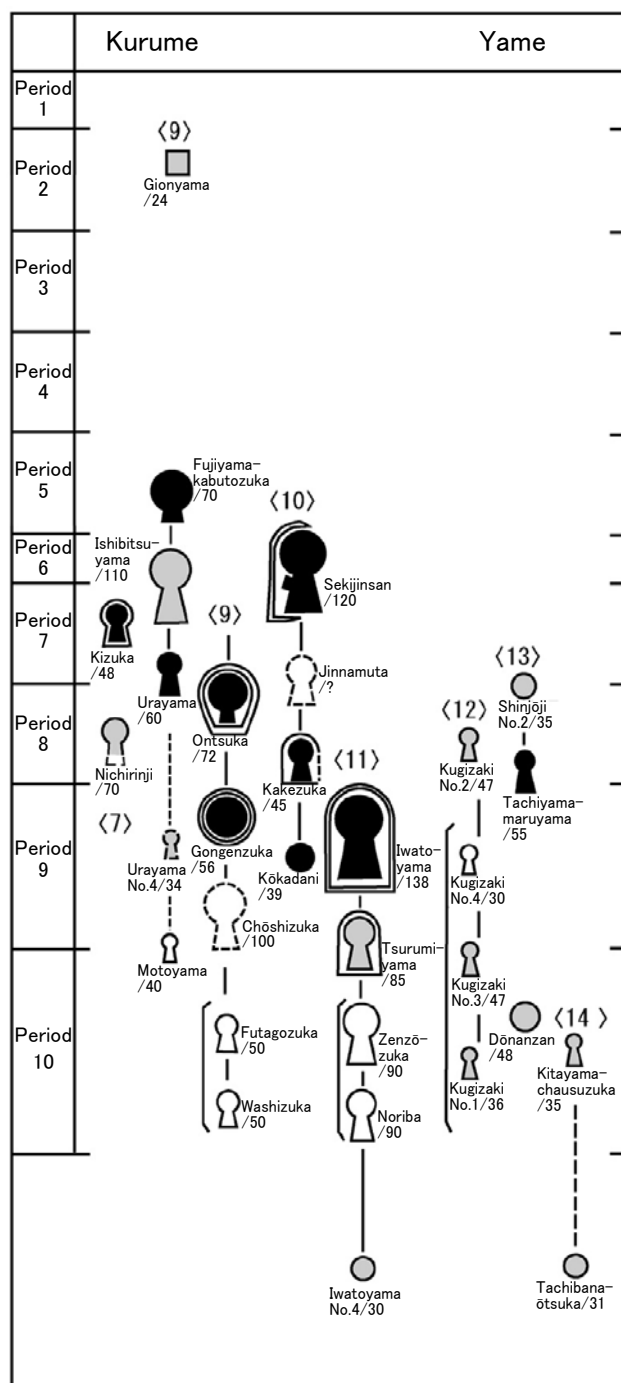


Figure 5 Chieftain tomb agglomerations in Kurume/Yame region (SHIGEFUJI 2010c modified)

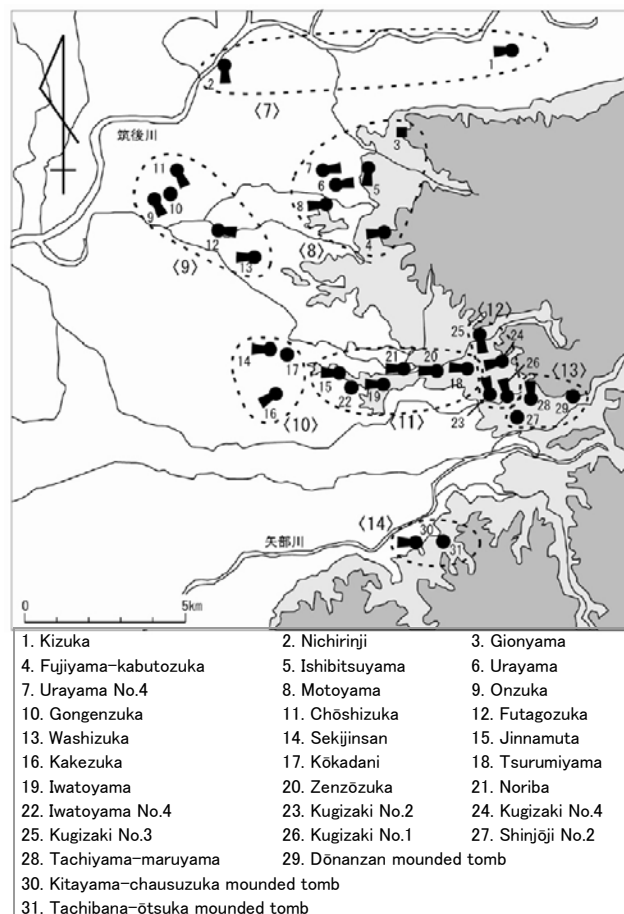


Figure 6 Distribution of chieftain-class large mounded tombs in Kurume/Yame region (transcript from SHIGEFUJI 2010c)

Numbers in < > correspond to those in Figs. 6. Black tombs denote reliable dating. Gray tombs denote approximate dating. White tombs denote weakly-reasoned dating. Mark “[” denotes a group of tombs with no definitive sequencing among them. Mark “|” denotes sequential relationship. Affixed numbers represent total length or diameter (in meters) of the tomb base.

YANAGISAWA Kazuo (*YANAGISAWA 1987, YANAGISAWA 1991*) and KAMOHARA Hiroyuki (*KAMOHARA 1995*) propose the coastal region of Ariake Sea as the area covered by the chieftains union, based on the finds of stone-made surface ornaments, ship-shaped stone coffin made of Mt. Aso welded tuff and side-entrance house-shaped stone coffin.

The hierarchy of large mounded tombs of and after Period 9 in Munakata suggests a very complex relationship among the chieftains, though Munakata lacks the stone-made ornaments, stone coffins and other archeological artifacts that were found in Yame mounded tomb group and the Ariake Sea coastal region suggesting association among local chieftains. And it is believed necessary to contemplate an extensive area encompassing the northern part of Kasuya District through the mouth of the Onga River as the productive base for the economic foundation of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group. Drawing on a parallel with Yame mounded tomb group, it is reasonable to understand that Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group was formed on the basis of a union of chieftains in the region. And it is believed that atop this agglomeration is the large keyhole-shaped tumulus of over 80 meters.

Iwatoyama mounded tomb, though its main feature has not been identified, is the largest keyhole-shaped tumulus in entire North Kyūshū and can be considered as corresponding well to the power of Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai who reigned over local chieftains of not only Ariake Sea coastal region but the entire North Kyūshū. And the successive erection of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of over 80 meters --- Tsurumiyama mounded tomb in Yame City, Zenzozuka mounded tomb in Hirokawa Town and Noriba mounded tomb in Yame City --- suggests the continued leadership position of Tsukushi Clan as the representative of the chieftains union even after the so-called “Iwai Rebellion.” The successive erection of large mounded tombs in and after Period 9 is another point of resemblance between Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and Yame mounded tomb group.

Thus, the evolutionary process of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group is quite comparable to that of Yame mounded tomb group; in terms of complex hierarchy among mounded tombs, Tsuyazaki even surpasses Yame. The Iwai Rebellion is often said to have been an incident that involved all parts of North Kyūshū, but it is quite likely that Munakata Region that produced the tumulus complex equal or even greater in scale to Yame mounded tomb group did not belong to the chieftains union that provided the basis for the rebellion. Though still a speculation, it is conceivable that Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and Munakata Clan emerged in rivalry to Tsukushi Clan or with a role of holding Tsukushi Clan in check.

3. International exchange of North Kyūshū in the Early to the First Half of the Middle Kofun Period

(1) International trade at Nishijinmachi Archeological Site

a) Outline of the archeological site

As will be detailed in later paragraphs, it is believed that a large number of immigrants stayed in Munakata Region starting in the second half of Middle Kofun Period and that their chieftains were deeply involved in international exchange with Korean Peninsula. It has been pointed out that during the preceding Early Kofun Period, the archeological site at Nishijinmachi, Fukuoka City, was a major trading post between the northern part of Kyūshū and Korean Peninsula (*KUSUMI 2007*, etc.). Let us review the site as a precursor to the history of international exchange of Munakata Region.⁴⁾

Nishijinmachi Archeological Site is situated in Sawara Ward, Fukuoka City in the northeastern part of Sawara plain that extends in the western part of Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture (Figure 7-1). The site was formed at a slightly high elevation of a dune of beach sand; the site when formed was close to the shore of Hakata Bay.

Nishijinmachi Archeological Site has drawn attention as the type site of “Nishijin-style” earthenware typical of North Kyūshū and dated to the end of Late Yayoi Period. Recent investigations have discovered sites of many pit dwellings dated from the end of Late Yayoi Period to Early Kofun Period as well as various Korean Peninsula-based earthenware and hearth-like remains of pit dwelling sites. Presence of

many immigrants from Korean Peninsula has come to be considered.

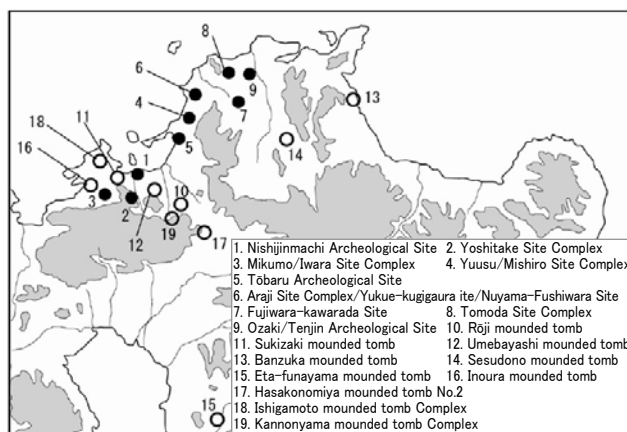


Figure 7 Location of archeological sites related to North Kyūshū-Mahan exchange

b) Sequencing and dating of Korean Peninsula-based earthenware

A variety of Korean Peninsula-based earthenware was unearthed out of Nishijinmachi Site. Figure 8 shows some of them that permit estimation of the original kiln location by the comparison of outer appearance.

Item 1 is a small porcelain round-bottom jar and many similar jars have been found in the western part of Gyeongsangnam-do including Samdong-dong, Kimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do site (Item 2) (*Busan Women's University Museum* 1984) and Hyeon-dong, Mahan, Gyeongsangnam-do site (*Changwon National University Museum* 1990). Item 3 is a middle-sized coarse porcelain round-bottom jar. Many similar jars have been unearthed in Gyeongsangnam-do such as Item 4 that was found at Yean-ri, Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do mounded tomb group (*Busan National University* 1993). It should however be noted that similar hard coarse earthenware was unearthed out of Pit Grave No.4, mounded tomb No.13 of Yedeok-ri, Hampyeong, Jeollanam-do mounded tomb group that is estimated to date between the middle of the 3rd century and the first half of the 4th century (*Chonnam National University* 2004) as well as at Proto-Three Kingdom Period Dwelling Site No.3 of Jungin-dong, Jeonju, Jeollabuk-do Archeological Site (*Chonbuk National Cultural Institute* 2008). Item 5 is a flat-bottom jar with double vertical perforated ears. This shape is uniquely characteristic of Chungcheong-do and Jeolla-do and the item is believed to have been imported. Item 6 is a find of Namsan-ri, Gochang, Jeollabuk-do mounded tomb group (*Chonbuk National Cultural Institute* 2007). Item 7 is a flat-bottom double-eared double-rim jar. To show similarity, a find from Man-dong, Gochang, Jeollabuk-do Archeological Site (*Honan Cultural Property Research Center* 2004) is listed as Item 8. This vessel shape was prevalent in the Jeolla-do region until the 4th century. Item 9 is a jar calcined to almost like a roof tile. The coarse body and the obovate body shape are its characteristics. As represented by Item 10, similar earthenware has been unearthed out of Buan Jungmank-dong, Jeollabuk-do ritual site (*Jeonju National Museum* 1994). Item 11 is a red-brown soft-touch pedestal bowl. The bowl is of the shape of a brandy glass and the pedestal is solid. It resembles the find from Yesu Hwajang-dong, Jeollanam-do Archeological Site shown as Item 12 (*Sunchon National University Museum* 2002). Item 13 is a flat-bottom steam cooker with many concentrically placed steam holes of no larger than 1 centimeter each. Handles are attached in the middle of the body. There is an engraved line around the outer surface of the body apparently for the purpose of aligning the handles. This is a characteristic very much resembling that of a find from Haenam Shingeum, Jeollanam-do Archeological Site (*Honan Cultural Property Research Center* 2005) shown as Item 14 and a find from Gungok-ri, Haenam, Jeollanam-do Shell Mound (*Mokpo National University Museum* 1989). It is believed to have been brought from Jeollanam-do.

The foregoing are just some examples of a large number of Korean Peninsula-derived earthenware that have been unearthed. As was reviewed above, some have origins in Gyeongsangnam-do Gaya Region, while others are from the Mahan Region that extended over Jeolla-do and part of Chungcheongnam-do. Overall, the latter are in the majority and it is considered that the earthenware originated on the west coast of Korean Peninsula, passed through the south coast and reached North Kyūshū and arrived at Nishijinmachi Archeological Site.

In terms of the Haji Ware Chronology used in this paper (Table 1), the oldest Korean Peninsula-based earthenware includes: the soft-touch double-eared jar found at the Round 2, Zone D, No.1 Dwelling Site, the double-eared double-rim jar found at the Round 12, No.93 Dwelling Site (Figure 8-7) and the rim part of a porcelain earthenware found at the Round 17, No.38 Dwelling Site. They possibly date as far back as Haji ware-I. Meanwhile, the double-rim jar found at the Round 12, No.93 Dwelling Site and the double-eared jar found at the Round 12, No.63 Dwelling Site (Figure 8-5) among the Korean Peninsula-based earthenware are uniquely characteristic of Jeolla-do. By applying the dating division for earthenware of the Yeongsan River Basin in Jeollanam-do proposed by SEO Hyun-Ju (*SEO Hyun-Ju 2006*), they mainly belong to Periods I-1 and I-2. Period I-1 corresponds to the Middle to Late 3rd century and Period I-2 to Early to Middle 4th century. And the flat-bottom double-rim jar found at the Round 12, No.93 Dwelling Site, as mentioned earlier, resembles the find from the wooden coffin grave No.12 of Man-dong, Gochang, Jeollabuk-do Archeological Site (Figure 8-8). Seo Hyun-Ju dates it to Period 2 as an accompaniment of finds from the 3rd to 5th century tumulus burial sites in the Yeongsan River Basin and believes it to be from the second half of the 3rd century (*SEO Hyun-Ju 2008*). This does not contradict the dating of Nishijinmachi Archeological Site as discussed above, and it would not be unreasonable to consider that Nishijinmachi Site functioned as the window of international trade between North Kyūshū and Korean Peninsula generally in Early Kofun Period.

c) Remains of pit dwelling with hearth

Another characteristic of Nishijinmachi Archeological Site is the detection of many remains of pit dwellings with hearth which is hardly found in any other Early Kofun Period archeological sites in Japan. The 22 rounds of investigation have determined remains of as many as 106 dwellings with hearth, accounting for about 205 of the 525 pit dwellings of the end of Late Yayoi Period to Early Kofun Period. There are an almost equal number of dwellings (103) with furnace. Presence (or absence) of either hearth or furnace is not known for the remaining some 300 dwellings because of destruction by newer archeological constructions and other reasons.

In the Korean Peninsula contemporary to Nishijinmachi, the cooking style of Mainland China and Northeastern China was introduced through Lelang Commandery and the use of hearth became widespread. Investigation of Proto-Three Kingdom to Three Kingdom Period dwelling remains is advancing in recent years in Korea. The type of hearth that has long smoke passages on the wall is called “Ondol-like remains.” Some of the hearths discovered at Nishijinmachi Site are quite similar to the Korean Ondol-like remains. It is almost certain that the hearths of Nishijinmachi were constructed with the knowledge brought by immigrants from Korean Peninsula.

The hearths of Nishijinmachi Site are grouped largely into four types of I through IV according to the hearth location inside the dwelling and the length of smoke passage. Types I and II are further divided into “a” and “b” each. Among the groups, Types I-b, II-b and III that are marked as 1, 2 and 3, respectively, in Figure 9 are many in number. Type II b that is characterized by the L-shape of the hearth’s plan view corresponds to the Ondol-like remains.

The pit dwellings of this time period in Korean Peninsula are basically round in shape in Gyeongsangnam-do region; more recent investigations have revealed an increasing number of dwellings with long smoke passage hearth (Figure 9-5, Hwasan-ri, Hamyang Archeological Site, *Center of History & Culture, Gyeongnam Development Institute 2007* and others). According to KIM Nayoung (*KIM Nayoung 2007*), dwellings in the late 3rd century to the 4th century in Gyeongsangbuk-do region in large part had a square floor plan and equipped with an Ondol-like remains, whilst those in Gyeongsangnam-do region had a round floor plan. In Jeolla-do region, in contrast to Gyeongsangnam-do, dwellings had a rectangular or square floor plan. This comparison of cases in Korean Peninsula and in Nishijinmachi Archeological Site suggests that, as far as the floor plan form of pit dwelling is concerned, there was little influence of Gyeongsangnam-do region.

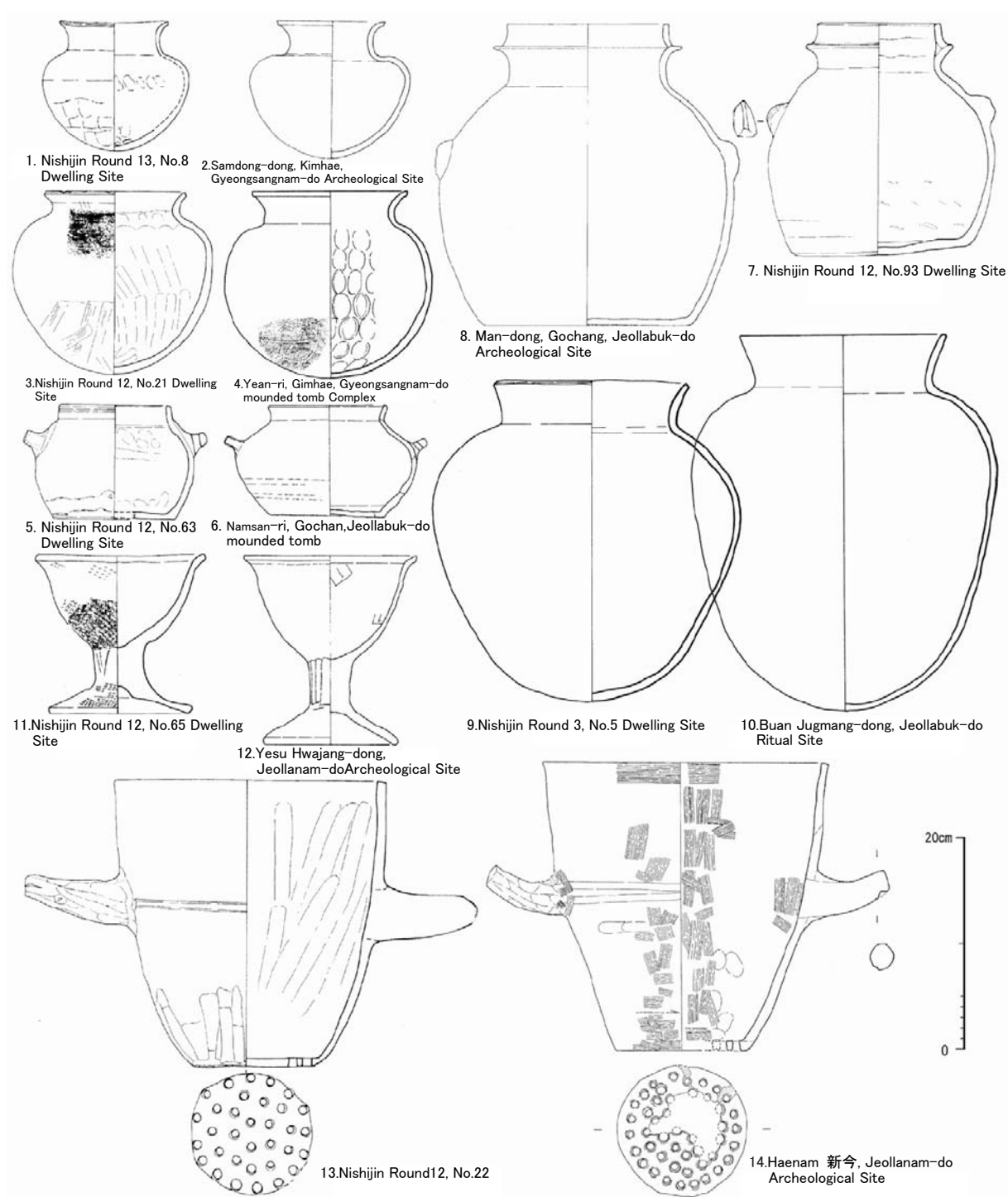


Figure 8 Korean Peninsula-based earthenware unearthed from Nishijinmachi Archeological Site and similar examples (1/6; prepared from SHIMOHARA ed. 2009)

In Jeolla-do and Chungcheong-do, the styles of hearths found at an archeological site are varied and complex. At Haenam Shingeum, Jeollanam-do Archeological Site (*Honan Cultural Property Research Center 2005*), dwelling remains that are dated to Phase I (corresponding to about the middle of 3rd century) have hearths similar to Type III of Nishijinmachi Site, but in Phase II (corresponding to the second half of the 3rd century) a shift is observed to Ondol-like remains (Figure 9-9) that resemble Type II-b of Nishijinmachi Site. At Iksan 射德, Jeollabuk-do Archeological Site (*Honan Cultural Property Research Center 2007a*) that is dated to no earlier than the 4th century, the constructed hearths are similar to Type III of Nishijinmachi Site. And at Ibam, Gyeryong, Chungcheongnam-do Archeological Site dated to the 4th to 5th century, only five hearths of a type resembling Type II-b have been discovered whilst twelve hearths resembling Type III have been found (*Chungnam Institute of History and Culture 2008a*). It is estimated that the difference is not in time; the former type is believed to have been used in small- and medium-sized dwellings and the latter in large dwellings. It is likely therefore that a variety of hearths were built in small communities in the southwestern part of Korean Peninsula.

At the Pungnap-toseong Archeological Site in Seoul, an earthen rampart from the Baekje era contemporary to Nishijinmachi Site (*National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2001*), a hearth was found in a hexagonal dwelling with the smoke passage installed at some distance away from the wall (Figure 9-4). Putting aside the shape of dwelling floor plan, the hearth structure is similar to Type I-b hearth of Nishijinmachi Site. Even though it is considered very unlikely that the hearth of Pungnap-toseong had a direct influence on Nishijinmachi Site, inflow of a large variety of hearths into Nishijinmachi Site through exchanges along the west and south coast of Korean Peninsula resulted in the remains of Type I-b hearth in Nishijinmachi Site.

The construction of hearths at Nishijinmachi Site would not have been possible without the knowledge and expertise of immigrants; the sheer number of hearths makes it reasonable to believe that quite a large number of immigrants stayed in the area. And many of them must have come from the western and southern coastal areas of Korean Peninsula because the places of origin of the Korean Peninsula-based earthenware described earlier match those of the hearths.

The kind of dwelling equipped with hearth found in Nishijinmachi Site, however, apparently did not spread to other parts of the country (*TAKESUE 2010*, etc.). And at Nishijinmachi site, Kinki-based Haji ware as well as earthenware of San'in, Kibi and other regions of western Japan was discovered with dates at Early Kofun Period and onward. Accordingly, there is high probability that people who migrated from many parts of western Japan lived there together with immigrants from Korean Peninsula. One can indeed visualize a lively trading post serving as window of traffic with Korean Peninsula.

(2) Emergence of *bird footprint pattern* earthenware and Mahan immigrants

Nishijinmachi Archeological Site was a traffic and trade post with the western and southern coastal regions of Korean Peninsula and the immigrants were believed to be from mainly Mahan on the southwestern part of the peninsula. Nishijinmachi Site became inactive at the end of Early Kofun Period or the end of Haji Ware Chronology Period II. It is a major question what city in North Kyūshū became the key trading post with Korean Peninsula.

Bird footprint pattern earthenware was established in central Baekje in the first half of the 4th century and spread mainly in Mahan (*KIM Jong-man 2010*). There are several finds of *bird footprint pattern* earthen ware in North Kyūshū and they are easily identifiable. Also, there are other finds that demonstrate the process of assimilation with indigenous earthenware. Here, then, let us use *bird footprint pattern* earthenware as a tool to consider the footprints of immigrants from Mahan from the end of the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century.⁵⁾

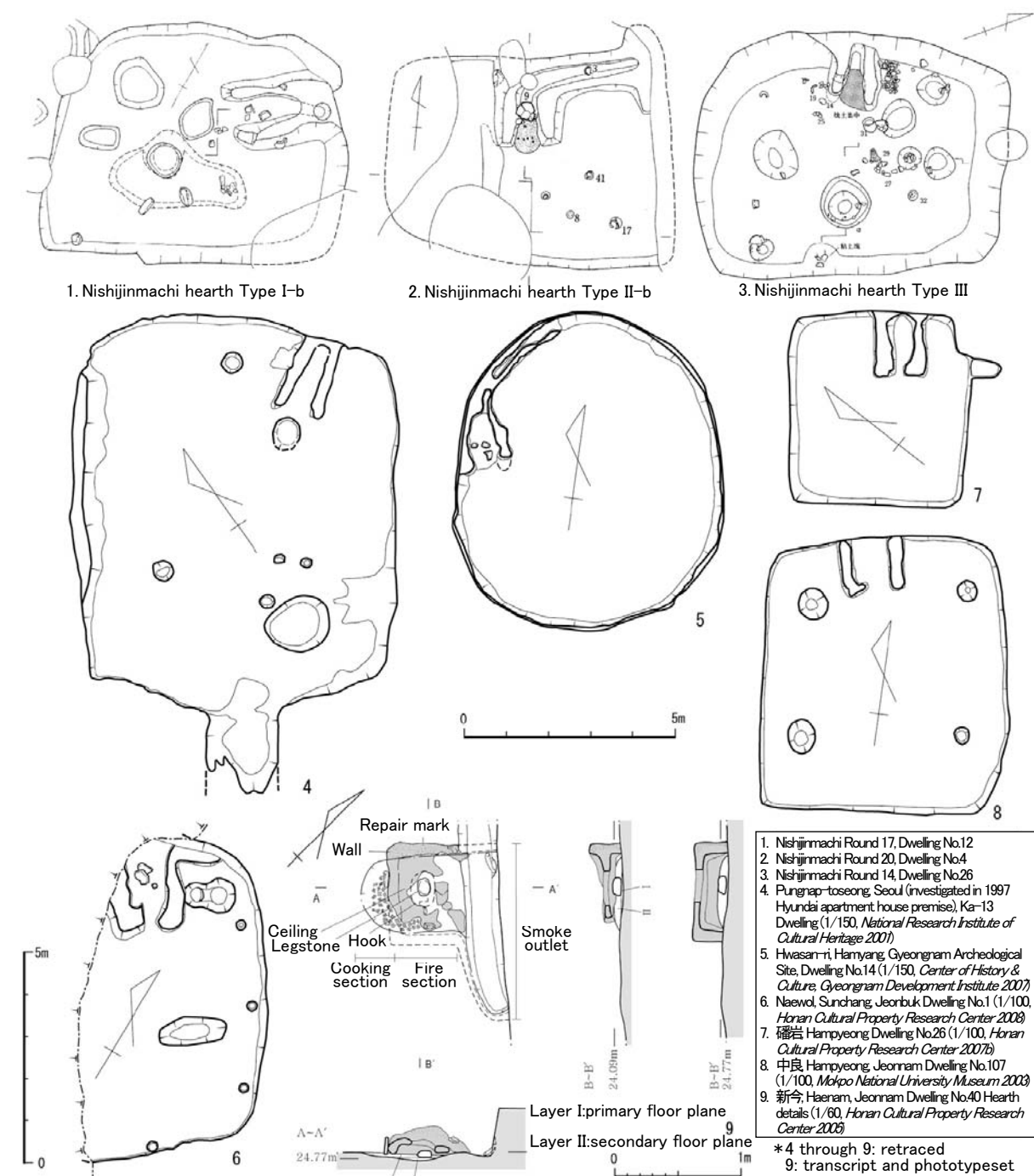


Figure 9 Pit dwellings with hearth unearthed from Nishijinmachi Archeological Site and similar examples in Korean Peninsula (prepared by modifying SHIMOHARA ed. 2009)

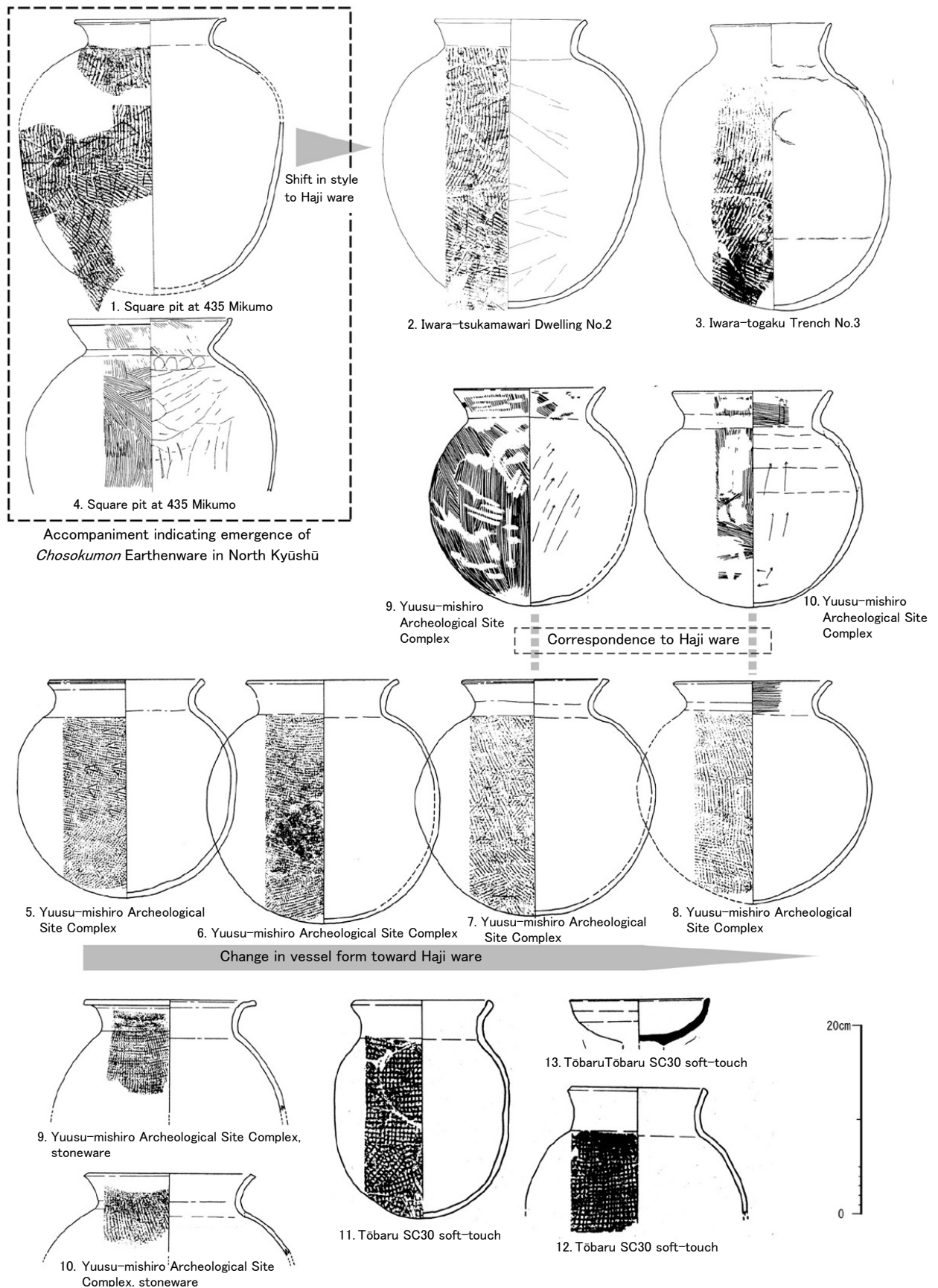


Figure 10 Korean Peninsula-based earthenware discovered at Mikumo-iwara Archeological Site Complex in Itoshima City, Yuusu-mishiro Archeological Site Complex in Shingu Town and Tōbaru Archeological Site in Fukuoka City as well as some related artifacts (1/6, prepared by transcribing from the respective investigation reports)

Korean Peninsula-based earthenware of Kofun Period have been unearthed at many excavation spots in Mikumo-iwara Archeological Site Complex in Itoshima City, Fukuoka Prefecture (Figure 7-3), which is commonly believed to be the central village of “Ito-koku” mentioned in “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” (*Gishi-wajinden*). Of worthy attention are the soft-touch earthenware with *bird footprint pattern*-like paddle marks that were found at the square pit at 435 Mikumo (Figure 10-1; *MUTA and OKABE ed. 2002*), Iwara-tsukamawari Dwelling No.2 (Figure 10-2, *HAYASHI 1992*) and Iwara-jōgagu Archeological Site Trench No.3 (Figure 10-3, *OKABE 1987*). Close examination of these three pieces of earthenware reveals that the piece found at Mikumo 435 preserves the original Mahan earthenware at the rim and body whilst those found at Iwara-tsukamawari Dwelling No.2 and at Iwara-jōgagu Trench No.3 have more resemblance to Haji ware pot in form even though the surface was paddled with *bird footprint pattern* design. The piece from 435 Mikumo is dated to Haji Ware Chronology Period III-A, the one from Iwara-tsukamawari to III-B and the one from Iwara-jōgagu to IV. The evolution in style to Haji ware is consistent with time passage.

If this evolution reflects the change in the manufacturing standards of pottery artisans who immigrated to Japan, it will serve as an evidence of the presence of Mahan immigrants in Mikumo-iwara Archeological Site Complex and their settlement there. It should be recalled however that a short-neck jar with handle and legs as well as a large pot were unearthed from Mikumo-iwara Archeological Site Complex Sakai Zone I-4 Dwelling No.6 (*Koike ed. 1983*). They should be regarded as of Gaya origin. It suggests the possibility that immigrants from Gaya came over to Mikumo-iwara Site. Immigration of people of different origins suggests the possibility that Mikumo-iwara Archeological Site Complex may have taken over the role that had previously been played by Nishijinmachi Site.

And at Omori Section of Yuusu-mishiro Archeological Site Complex in Shingū Town, Fukuoka Prefecture (Figure 7-4), large soft-touch earthenware jars and soft-touch earthenware paddled with a bird footprint pattern-like design were unearthed en masse along with Haji ware mainly of Period III-B (Figure 10-5 to Figure 10-8) (*NISHIDA 1994*). Some of the earthenware resembles the vessel shape of Mahan bird footprint pattern-paddle earthenware (Figure 10-5); some others resemble the vessel shape of North Kyūshū Haji ware pots (Figure 10-7, -8). It is believed that, like in Mikumo-iwara Site Complex, immigrants from Mahan made these potteries by emulating Haji ware (*SHIGEFUJI 1998, Shirai 2001*). Together with the soft-touch earthenware, stoneware jars (Figure -10-9, -10) were discovered. They too must be Mahan-based.

Other finds of interest include the soft-touch earthen pots (Figure 10-11, -12) that were unearthed from Tōbaru Archeological Site SC30 in Higashi Ward, Fukuoka City (Figure 7-5) not far from Yuusu-mishiro Site Complex (*KOBAYASHI ed. 1989*). The accompanied Haji ware dates to Period III-A. The soft-touch earthen pot has a finish of coarse lattice design paddling and its rim form and body form are also unique. Even though no specific sequences or similar examples in Korean Peninsula are available yet, they do not appear to be from Gyeongsang-do region. By eliminating the impossible, they are probably from Chungcheong-do or Joella-do region. From this archeological site were unearthed, in addition of course to Haji ware of North Kyūshū, a number of Haji ware from different places including: a stoneware pedestal bowl (Figure 10-13) that is estimated to be of Haman, Gyeongsangnam-do origin, fragments of a Tokai-style pot with base and a pedestal bowl that is estimated to be from Kinai. Therefore, if the manufacturing sites of the soft-touch earthen pots are determined, they will provide an excellent clue to the extensive movement of earthenware and furthermore the extent of trade at the time.

Also, it will be possible to regard the developments of Yuusu-mishiro Archeological Site Complex and Tōbaru Archeological Site Complex as an evidence that Mahan people who inhabited on the shore of Hakata Bay and only as far inland as Nishijinmachi Archeological Site during the Early Kofun Period expanded their activity area eastward at the beginning of Middle Kofun Period.

(3) Emergence of corridor-style stone chamber

In North Kyūshū, corridor-style stone chambers began to emerge in Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 4 or the beginning of Middle Kofun Period that goes as far as to the last third of the 4th century, and widely spread out through the 5th century. This early type of corridor-style stone chamber that emerged and spread out in North Kyūshū ahead of other regions in Japan in Middle Kofun Period is

called “North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber.” The author of this paper has termed the large ones that are mainly used as chieftain tombs having the burial chamber of at least 1.5 meters in width and 2.5 meters in length “Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type A” and the rest “Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type B.”⁶⁾

The origin of the North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber is undoubtedly in Korean Peninsula. But corridor-style stone chambers were inexistent in Gyeongju, the 5th century capital of Silla. And even though “pit-type corridor-style stone chamber”--- a traditional pit-type stone chamber to which a horizontal entrance is installed by the influence of corridor-style stone chambers --- did exist in Gaya Confederacy including the territorial polities that subsequently came to be ruled by Silla, they became widespread only after the middle of the 5th century. Therefore, while no specific prototype archeological finds can be named, the origin of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber is believed to be in the Hanseong-period Baekje or Leland Commandery that built corridor-style stone chambers then.

At Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb and Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb can be described as typical Early Corridor-style stone chambers. It has been pointed out that in Munakata Region there are many mounded tombs that have burial chambers in the style of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type B. These North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers can be regarded as important archeological evidence that supports the activities of immigrants and the international exchange between North Kyūshū and the southern part of Korean Peninsula in the first half of Middle Kofun Period. In this connection, a list of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber and pertinent corridor-style stone chambers up to Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 5 is shown as Table 2 and their geographical distribution is mapped in Figure 11.⁷⁾ As the list and the map show, North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers are confined to the Genkai Sea coastal area west of Fukuoka plain as well as the Ariake Sea coastal area. And though not mentioned in Table 2 or Figure 11, Higo-type Early Corridor-style stone chambers that are found in Kumamoto Prefecture and characterized by their square plan burial chambers with stone-laid floor are likely to have emerged about this time. In contrast, no corridor-style stone chambers have been found in Munakata Region, even though the possibility of a new discovery cannot be excluded.

With respect to Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb and Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb, both in Fukutsu City, which are tombs of chieftains in Munakata Region in the Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Periods 5 – 6, the burial facility is “Pit-style stone chamber in the style of a stone coffin,” a small pit-type stone chamber without the use of stone slab coffin or wooden coffin. Wide spread of corridor-style stone chambers is believed to have occurred later. And even though many North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers Type B are found in Munakata Region, there are no cases dated to before Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 5 except for Rōji mounded tomb in Fukuoka City (YOSHITOME *et al* 1989) and Sōzui-Shibayama mounded tomb No.2 in Karatsu City (NAKAJIMA *ed.* 1987). It is therefore believed that North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type B that was established in the Genkai Sea coastal area west of Fukuoka plain spread to Munakata Region in and after Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 6.

As was discussed earlier in this paper, the distribution of *bird footprint pattern* earthenware suggests the presence of Mahan immigrants at Mikumo-iwara mounded tomb group in Itoshima City in the first half of Middle Kofun Period. Since the origin of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber is generally considered to be in Baekje, it is quite conceivable that the exchanges with Mahan since the time of Nishijinmachi Archeological Site played a basic role in the introduction of the corridor-style stone chamber.

Table 2 North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers during the Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Periods 4 – 5 (*SHIGEFUJI 1999* modified)

No.	mounded tomb	Location	Shape/Size	Mounded Tomb Chronology	Stone chamber type	Sleeves	Horizontal -entrance structure	Remarks
1	Taniguchi mounded tomb East Stone Chamber	Karatsu City, Saga Pref.	Keyhole/77	Period 4	(Special)	No sleeves	---	Stone coffin assembled from stone slabs, resembling a large oblong chest
2	Taniguchi mounded tomb West Stone Chamber	Karatsu City, Saga Pref.	Keyhole/77	Period 4	(Special)	No sleeves	---	Stone coffin assembled from stone slabs, resembling a large oblong chest
3	Sukizaki mounded tomb	Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City	Keyhole/62	Period 4	Type A	Double sleeves	Small split stones rubblework	Stone slab coffin, place, where the body is laid down; bottom of the coffin, clay coffin
4	Rōji mounded tomb No.1 Stone Chamber	Minami Ward, Fukuoka City	Keyhole/76	Period 4	Type B	No sleeves	---	
5	Rōji mounded tomb No.2 Stone Chamber	Minami Ward, Fukuoka City	Keyhole/76	Period 4	Type B	No sleeves	---	
6	Rōji mounded tomb No.3 Stone Chamber	Minami Ward, Fukuoka City	Keyhole/76	Period 4	Type A	Double sleeves-like	Small split stones rubblework	
7	Rōji mounded tomb No.4 Stone Chamber	Minami Ward, Fukuoka City	Keyhole/76	Period 4	Type B	No sleeves	---	
8	Bettōzuka -higashi mounded tomb	Arao City, Kumamoto Pref.	Round	Period 4	Type A	Double sleeves-like	Small split stones rubblework	Place, where the body is laid down; bottom of the coffin
9	Koganeyama mounded tomb	Ōmura City, Nagasaki Pref.	Unknown	Period 5	Type B	Double sleeves	Small split stones rubblework	
10	Sōzui-Shibayama mounded tomb No.2	Karatsu City, Saga Pref.	Round/23.5	Period 5	Type B	Single sleeve	Small split stones rubblework	
11	Yokotashimo mounded tomb	Karatsu City, Saga Pref.	Round/25	Period 5	Type A	Double sleeves with intended single sleeve	Small split stones rubblework	Stone slab coffin, place, where the body is laid down; bottom of the coffin
12	Marukumayama mounded tomb	Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City	Keyhole/85	Period 5	Type A	Double sleeves?	Flat stones?	Stone slab coffin
13	Kuboizumi-Maruyama mounded tomb No.2	Saga City, Saga Pref.	Round/12.6	Period 5	Combined with Higo-type	Double sleeves	Flat stones + rubblework	Place, where the body is laid down; bottom of the coffin
14	Gohonkuroki-Maruyama mounded tomb	Saga City, Saga Pref.	Round/34	Period 5	Combined with Higo-type	Double sleeves	Flat stones + rubblework	
15	Fujiyama-Kabutozuka mounded tomb	Kurume City, Fukuoka Pref.	Keyhole/70	Period 5	Combined with Higo-type	Double sleeves	Small split stones rubblework	Stone-laid floor
16	Jō mounded tomb No.2	Uto City, Kumamoto Pref.	Round/25	Period 5	Type A	Double sleeves	Small split stones rubblework	Place, where the body is laid down; bottom of the coffin
17	Kamazuka mounded tomb	Maebaru City, Fukuoka Pref.	Round/56	Periods 5 – 6	Type A	Double sleeves	Flat stones	
18	Kitsunezuka mounded tomb No.1 Stone Chamber	Maebaru City, Fukuoka Pref.	Round/33	Periods 5 – 6	Type A	Double sleeves	Flat stones	Place, where the body is laid down; bottom of the coffin

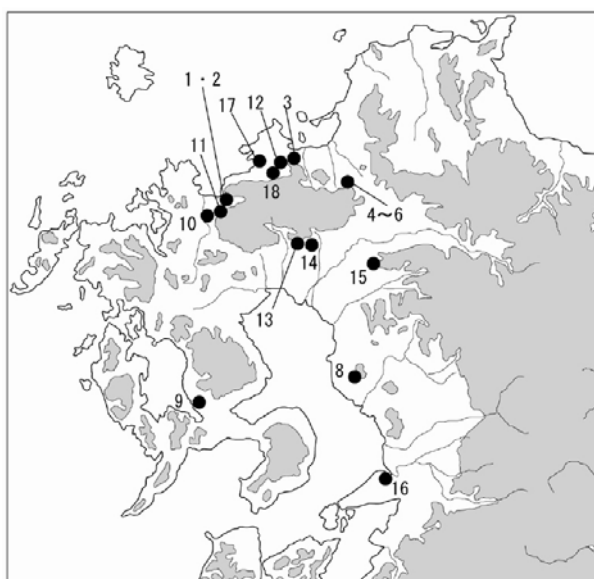


Figure 11 Distribution of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers in Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Periods 4 – 5. (*SHIGEFUJI 1999* modified)

4. Artifacts of people who immigrated to Munanaka Region

(1) Munakata Region and Korean Peninsula in the first half of Middle Kofun Period

Munakata Region in the first half of Middle Kofun Period had no corridor-style stone chambers and not much Mahan-based earthenware. Coupled with the paucity of investigations on sizeable dwelling sites of that period, this undeniably makes it difficult to bring to light the life and activities of immigrants from Korean Peninsula in villages. Given that constraints in reference artifacts, it is worth noting that certain pieces of stoneware of unique characteristics have been unearthed from Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb and Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb, both in Fukutsu City, that are dated to Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Periods 5 -- 6 (Figure 12).

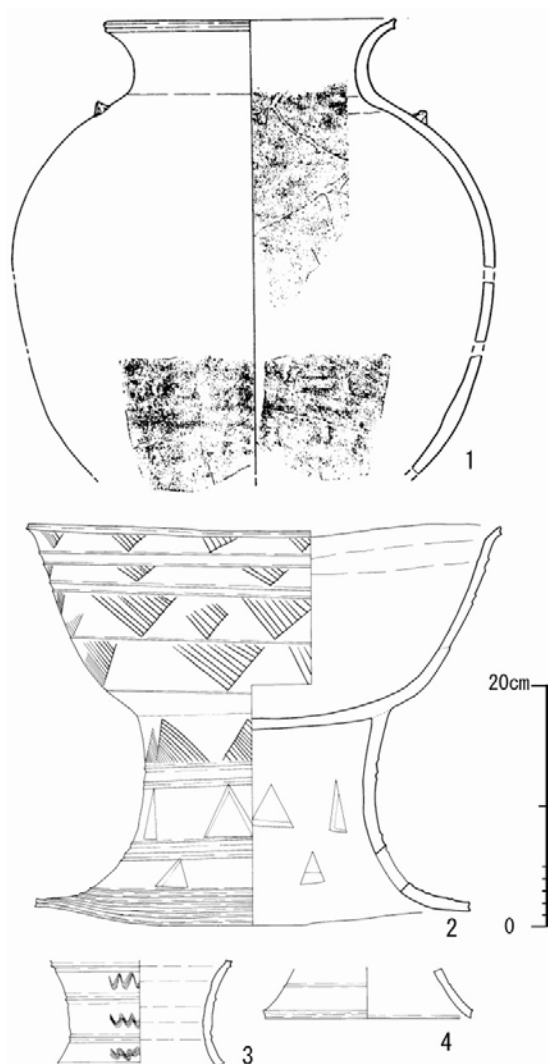


Figure 12 Stoneware unearthed at Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb and Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb
(1/6, Fig12-1 is of Miyaji-idenokami and others of Nuyama-shōzono, transcript from relevant investigation reports)

Figure 12-1 shows a stoneware jar from Idenokami mounded tomb that is dated to Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 5. Ear-like protrusions on the shoulder are characteristic. There are few similar examples in Mahan region while there are more in Gaya. Accordingly, the piece may have been imported. Figs. 12-2 through -4 pertain to stoneware found at Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb dated to around Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 6. Figure 12-2 shows a pedestal-type vessel and the coarse *saw-tooth pattern* on the bowl portion is worth attention. The pedestal vessel has a form

characteristic of early Sue ware and Gaya stoneware, but such a coarse *saw-tooth pattern* is not found among the early Sue ware unearthed in Suemura or among stoneware of Gaya. In light of this, it is quite likely that the piece was locally manufactured based on a technique introduced from Gaya. Figure 3 is believed to be the neck of a vase. In its present form, there are three sections divided by *wavy pattern*. In Gaya, pieces like this one are popular in Daegaya centering on Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do, and it is possible that the particular piece was imported.

Earlier we saw that the Genkai Sea coastal area west of Fukuoka plain and the Ariake Sea coastal area were the first to introduce corridor-style stone chambers in the first half of Middle Kofun Period. And it was believed that the introduction of corridor-style stone chambers was a product of the international exchange of Genkai Sea coastal area west of Fukuoka plain with Korean Peninsula since the time of Early Kofun Period, and that Mahan immigrants who lived in Itoshima Peninsula and nearby areas were involved in the introduction. Munakata Region has no early corridor-style stone chambers dated to the first half of Middle Kofun Period, but looking at it from a different angle, one may be able to regard it as archeological evidence that suggests a route for the inflow of above-mentioned stoneware and for the manufacture of Sue ware that is different from the Mahan route. In other words, it is possible that Munakata Region succeeded in establishing its own traffic channel with Gaya. It is hoped that future studies on dwelling sites and production sites will unveil the life and activities of immigrants at the time.

(2) Immigrants in Munakata Region in the second half of Middle Kofun Period and after

a) Unearthed Korean Peninsula-based earthenware and immigrants

In the dwelling sites situated within Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group (Figure 1-A, -B and -C), namely, Arajii Group of sites in Fukutsu City (Araji-oda Site, Araji-uenohara Site, Araji-shimonohara Site; IKENOUE *et al ed.* 1994, IKENOUE *et al ed.* 1995, IKENOUE *et al ed.* 1996b), Yukue-kugigaura Site in Fukutsu City (IKENOUE *et al ed.* 1998) and Nuyama-fushiwara Site in Fukutsu City (IKENOUE 2002a), intensive finds of Korean Peninsula-based archeological objects and structures have been confirmed including materials related to Mahan of the second half of Middle Kofun Period and after.⁸⁾

Mahan-based *bird footprint pattern* earthenware was unearthed in fragments (Figure 13-1 through -7) at Arajii Group of sites. The *bird footprint pattern* earthenware fragments shown as Figure 13-1 through -3 were found at Araji-oda Site SB01, a large pillared construction with eaves in all four directions and without foundation stones. Next to it is Ritual Pit SK04 from which a talc-made spindle, *usudama* beads and earthenware were discovered (Figure 14). Out of SK04 were unearthed TK208-type Sue ware and the second half of Period IV Haji ware. SB01 which has its main axis running almost parallel to SK04 is believed to be of the same time period. SB01 is a building of a scale and structure unmatched by any ordinary dwellings and it is estimated to have been the building where the chieftain performed rituals. While there is no conclusive evidence for the use of Mahan-based earthenware in the rituals there, it would not be totally erroneous to assume existence of a close relationship between the chieftain class and Mahan immigrants. It should be added however that Daegaya-based stoneware vessel (Figure 13-11) was also unearthed from Araji-oda Site. The relationship the chieftains had with Korean Peninsula may not have been only with Mahan.

The *bird footprint pattern* earthenware unearthed from Araji-uenohara Site SK03 (Figure 13-4 through -6) were accompanied by Haji ware of the second half of Period IV. The *bird footprint pattern* earthenware unearthed from Araji-shimonohara Site SC015 (Figure 13-7) was accompanied by a Sue ware generally contemporary to MT85-style.

Furthermore, the stoneware pot found in the earthenware deposit of Araji-shimonohara Site (Figure 13-8) and the soft-touch pot unearthed at Nuyama-fushiwara Dwelling Site SC057 (Figure 8-12) are likely Mahan-based, judging from their vessel shape. The former accompanied TK23-style Sue ware and the latter MT15-style Sue ware. The portable hearth with external paddle pattern that was unearthed at Yukue-kugigaura Dwelling Site SC188 (Figure 13-9) is also unique, suggesting some link with Korean Peninsula.

With respect to the Tsuru River Basin (Figure 1-D through -H), an earthenware (Figure 13-13) was

unearthed from Pit Dwelling Site SB14 of Fujiwara-kawaharada Archeological Site in Munakata City (SHIRAKI 1994) with accompaniment of MT15-style Sue ware. At Pit Dwelling Site SB27 of the same archeological site dated to Haji Ware Chronology Period IV, soft-touch earthenware pot and a stoneware vessel with wheel-like pattern paddling (Figure 13-14, -15) were also discovered. Because the archeological site includes early pit dwellings with hearth, it is highly likely that immigrants lived in the village. And Find SB16 of Fujiwara-mori Site in Munakata City and the somewhat flat-bottom vessel that was, though not accompanied by an archeological structure, unearthed at Mitsuoka-rokusuke Site in Munakata City (Figure 15-1, SHIRAKI 1995) have resemblance to an earthenware found at Dwelling Site No.2 of Hampyeong- Somyeongdong, Jeollanam-do Archeological Site (*Chonnam National University Museum 2003*) and are likely Mahan-based earthenware. A similar example is the earthenware found at SC01 of Round 125 of Arita Archeological Site in Sawara Ward, Fukuoka City that is dated to early part of Haji Ware Chronology Period IV (Figure 15-2, Yamazaki ed. 1993). This is indicative of the date.

b) Pit dwelling with outside drain ditch

In Munakata Region it is possible to extract more indications of relationship with Mahan immigrants with respect to pit dwellings. At Nuyama-fushiwara Archeological Site, a number of pit dwelling sites were detected en masse that have a unique structure of a long ditch stretching out of the pit. The ditch is considered to be for drainage and the structure was very rare in Kofun Period (Figure 16-1, -2).

A pit dwelling site with similar drain ditch is known at Gyeseong-ri, Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Archeological Site (*The Woori Research Institute for Cultural Properties 2008*). More recently an increasing number of similar discoveries are reportedly made at Mahan dwelling sites in Jeolla-do and elsewhere including Iksan Sadeok, Jeollabuk-do Archeological Site (*Honan Cultural Property Research Center 2007a*), Hanam-dong, Gwangju City Archeological Site (Figure 16-3, *Honan Cultural Property Research Center 2008b*) and Osan, Damyang, Jeollanam-do Archeological Site (*Honan Cultural Property Research Center 2007c*).

Dwelling sites in the Tsuru River Basin dated to Haji Ware Chronology Period IV and after abound in this type of pit dwellings, which suggests that a large number of Mahan immigrants lived in this area. Furthermore, similar pit dwellings are also found further east of Fukutsu City including Tomoda Archeological Site in Okagaki Town, Onga County (*Nakagawa ed. 1989, Ōtsubo et al 2008*, Figure 7-8) and Ozaki-Tenjin Archeological Site in Onga Town, Onga County (*TAKEDA 1991*, Figure 7-9).). It seems necessary to consider spreading out to nearby areas of Mahan immigrants who initially gathered together with chieftains closely related to Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group.

c) Production of Sue ware and ironware in Munakata Region

More than 50 Sue kiln sites have been confirmed in Munakata Region. One of them is Suemura group of kiln sites (Munakata Kiln Complex, Figure 1-I) that has been partially investigated (*HANADA 2002*). It consists of Sue-Sugawara group of kiln sites, Inamoto-hiyakibaru group of kiln sites and other sub-complexes. According to the studies of HANADA and OKADA Hiroyuki (*Okada 2003*), the complex is understood as a kiln complex that started production at the time of MT15-style and was active mainly in the 6th century. The largest Sue ware kiln site in North Kyūshū is Ushikubi Old group of kiln sites in Ōnojo City, Fukuoka Prefecture, and another large kiln site in the 6th century is Yame Old group of kiln sites which is adjacent to Yame mounded tomb group. Sue Old Kiln Complex is estimated to have had a larger production capacity than these complexes in the 6th century and it is also believed to have been built before Ushikubo and Yame. As was discussed earlier in this paper, the scale of large-size mounded tombs in Munakata Region overwhelms that of Yame mounded tomb group. This is indeed believed to be reflected in the production scale. And it is not difficult to assume that immigrants from Korean Peninsula were deeply involved in the formation of Suemura group of kiln sites. Suemura group of kiln sites overlaps the chieftain tomb agglomerations of north bank of midstream of the Tsuru River (<19>), but it must have supplied to a much larger area. It is quite conceivable that the chieftains who were buried in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group were involved in the production.

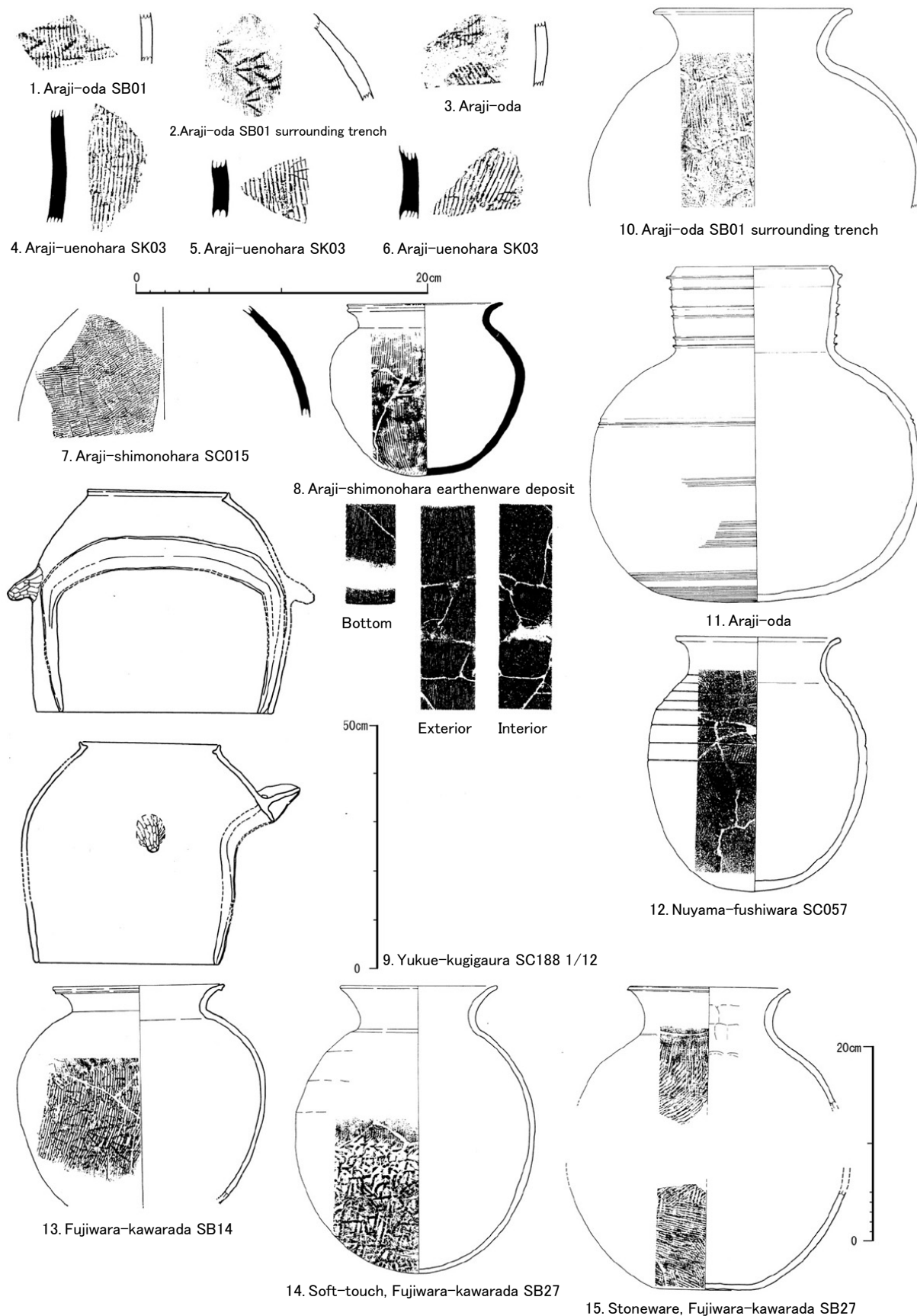
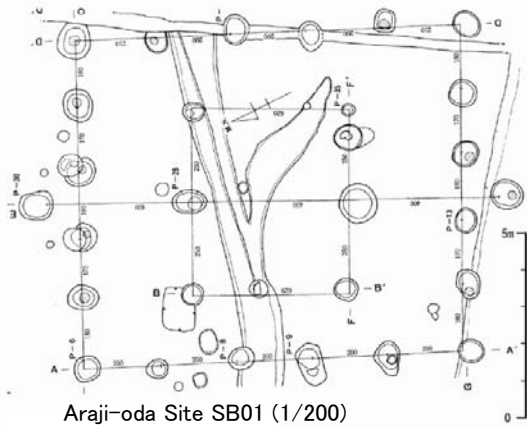


Figure 13 Korean Peninsula-based earthenware unearthed at dwelling sites in Munakata Region
(9=1/12, 1 through 6=1/4, all others=1/6, transcript from the respective investigation reports)



Arai-oda Site: Layout of structures (1/800)



Arai-oda Site SB01 (1/200)

Figure 14 Arai-oda Site: Layout of structures and SB01 plan drawing (transcript from IKENOUE ed. 1994)

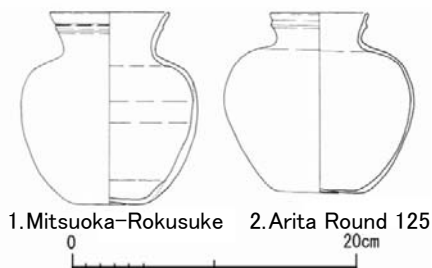
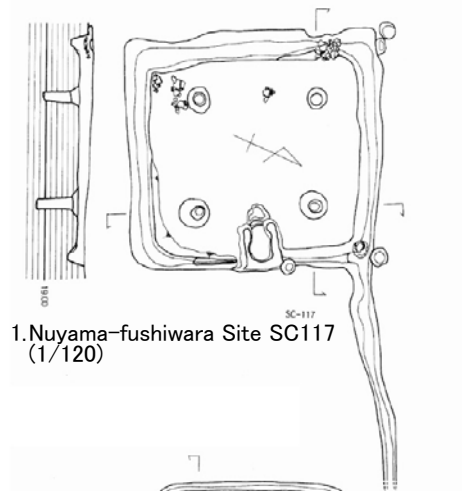
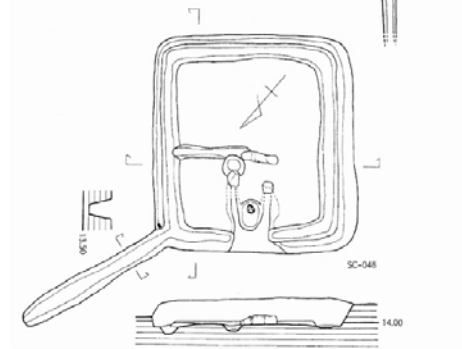


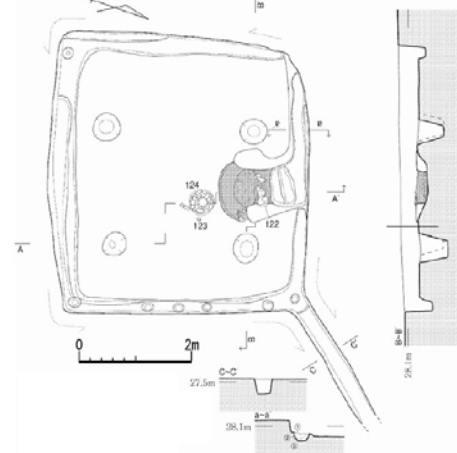
Figure 15 Porcelain-like earthenware unearthed at Mitsuoka-rokusuke Site and a like example (1/6, transcript from the respective reports)



1. Nuyama-fushiwara Site SC117 (1/120)



2. Nuyama-fushiwara Site SC117 (1/120)



3. Reference: Hanam-dong, Jeollanam-do Dwelling Site No.40 (1/120)

Figure 16 Pit dwellings with outside drain ditch (transcript from the respective investigation reports)

In addition, a tuyere was unearthed from Kubaru-takigashita Site (the second half of the 5th century), two forges from NŌsaka-itchōma Site (the second half of the 5th century) and a forge from Takemaru-takata Site (the second half of the 6th century), presenting a question as to any linkage with immigrants (HANADA 2002). At Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No.1 was unearthed some smithy tools, a piece of evidence that the chieftain class controlled smithies. It is quite likely that their productive facilities extended to the Tsuru River Basin. And at Ozaki-tenjin Site in Onga Town in the Onga River Basin was found a forge site dated to the second half of the 6th century, and at Seto Site in the neighboring town of Okagaki (NAKAGAWA1990) was found a blast furnace dated to the same period.

Earlier, the need was pointed out to consider the economic production base of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group chieftains in the expanse to the Tsuru River Basin and even beyond. The productive archeological sites described above are understood to support the need.

d) Tombs of immigrants

A well-known site of tombs of immigrants from Korean Peninsula in North Kyūshū during the Middle Kofun Period is Ikenoue/Furudera Tomb group in Asakura City, Fukuoka Prefecture. At Ikenoue/Furudera Tomb group has been unearthed early Sue ware that is different from Suemura-based earthenware and very much resembling stoneware of Gaya as well as early horse equipment that has few similar finds in other places. The complex has a concentration of mounded tombs that are characterized by the placement of earthenware burial accessories in the main feature, a practice not popular in the Middle Kofun Period Japan. This is a direct reproduction of burial ritual in the contemporary Korean Peninsula to place earthenware burial accessories into the main feature of wooden or stone burial chamber. Earthenware burial accessory per se is interpreted to be a burial practice closely associated with immigrants.

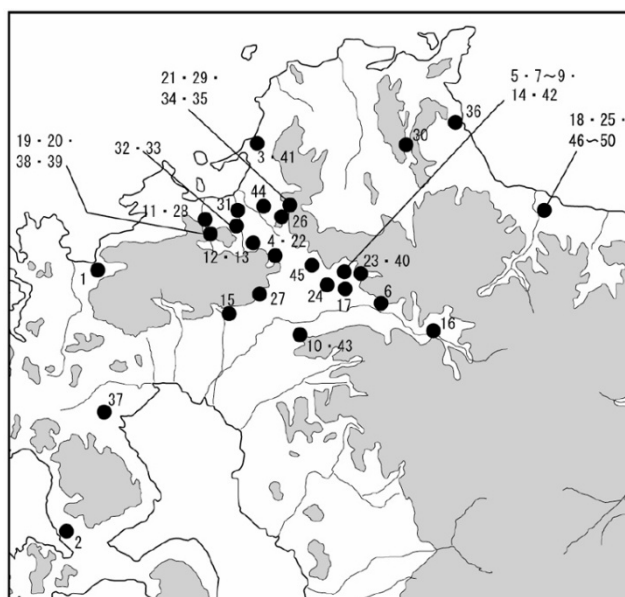


Figure 17 Distribution of mounded tombs with earthenware buried as accessory inside the main feature in Middle Kofun Period North Kyūshū (modified and transcript from SHIGEFUJI 2010b)

There are several cases of other Middle Kofun Period mounded tombs that, like Ikenoue/Furudera Tomb Complex, have earthenware buried as accessory in the main feature (Figure 17) (SHIGEFUJI 2010b). A particular attention should be given, however, to the absence of mounded tombs in Munakata Region with earthenware buries as accessory in the main feature, despite that the Region is rich in footprints of immigrants from Mahan and other parts of Korean Peninsula. It is possible that tombs of immigrants be discovered en masse in the future, but the fact remains no such discovery has been made to date whilst a good number of investigations have been made on Middle Kofun Period mounded tombs in the region. It would be correct not to exclude the possibility that the immigrants “melted into” the indigenous group of

people in Munakata Region and were buried in the same way as in other local mounded tombs.⁹⁾

(3) Section conclusions

The archeological artifacts and structures that we have seen above generally increased in number in the second half of Middle Kofun Period. The epoch is found around the time of Arai-Oda Archeological Site SB01 or Fujiwara-kawaharada Dwelling Site SB27. Expressed in earthenware and tumulus dating, it occurred during Haji Ware Chronology Period IV, Suemura Sue Chronology TK216 – TK208, and Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 7.

In this evolutionary process, immigrants from Mahan played the central role. As we have reviewed, Nishijinmachi Archeological Site in Fukuoka City served as the trading post with the Early Kofun Period Mahan. In the first half of Middle Kofun Period, corridor-style stone chambers were introduced to the Genkai Sea coastal area west of Fukuoka plain and to the Ariake Sea coastal area; Mahan immigrants are believed to have been involved in the introduction. Eastward expansion of these Mahan immigrants is believed to have progressed in the first half of Middle Kofun Period, and it is consistent with the observed increase of immigrants in Munakata Region in the second half of Middle Kofun Period.

We should also note that international exchange with Gaya in the first half of Middle Kofun Period is suspected because of the stoneware unearthed at Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb and Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb. Whether there were any trade and exchange relationship between Munakata Region and Korean Peninsula in or before the first half of Middle Kofun Period without intervention of Mahan people and if there are archeological sites that would suggest or provide evidence of activities of immigrants involved are questions to be clarified by future studies. And Daegaya-based stoneware was unearthed from Arai-Oda Archeological Site that most prospered in the second half of Middle Kofun Period. Accordingly, it is fair to believe that immigrants in Munakata Region were not all from Mahan and the international exchange of chieftains was not only with Mahan.

5. International exchange as seen through Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb and Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb

(1) Horse equipment and ornaments of Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb

Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb is a keyhole-shaped tumulus that triggered the erection of large-sized mounded tombs in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group. The 1976 excavation investigation of the corridor-style stone chamber in the hinter-round unearthed a large number of important burial accessories although found disturbed. Of the finds, ornaments and horse equipment, gild bronze-made or otherwise, are key objects that speak about the international exchange of the buried. Let us here make a brief review and consider their significance.¹⁰⁾

a) Ornaments

Gild bronze-made ornaments were found mostly in thin pieces, but they included some gild bronze metal pieces of about 0.8 centimeters in width and height each with sectional U-shape. Some of them, though small, had thin gild bronze flakes left on the internal surface. From the size and these characteristics, it is believed to be the rim metalwork of a pointed-rim crown hat (*MORIMITSU 1995*). And many fragments of gild bronze-made openwork metal with swinging pieces were found. They may have been combined with the gild bronze crown hat rim metals. If so, the crown hat would have been similar to the gild bronze crown hat with dragon-pattern openwork unearthed from Eta-funayama mounded tomb in Kumamoto Prefecture (*MOTOMURA 1990*), Juzen-no-mori mounded tomb in Fukui Prefecture and Minegazuka mounded tomb in Ōsaka Prefecture (for Jūzen-no-mori and Minegazuka, *Morimitsu 1995* was referenced). Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb very likely precedes Eta-funayama mounded tomb by a small margin, and the crown hat can be considered to be the oldest crown ever unearthed in Japan.

The crown hats of Eta-funayama mounded tomb and others mentioned above are considered to have been

made in Baekje (*MOMOSAKI 2008, Yi Han-sang 2008*), and the piece in question should be regarded as no exception. A dragon-pattern gild bronze openwork crown hat was unearthed from Gongju Suchon-ri mound tomb No.4 in Chungcheongnam-do (*LEE, hoon 2007, Yi Han-sang 2008*) and a tortoiseshell/dragon/phoenix-pattern gild bronze openwork crown hat was unearthed from Seosan Bujang-ri mound tomb No.5 Pit Grave No.1 in Chungcheongnam-do (*Chungcheongnam-do Institute of History and Culture 2008b*). These crown hats are thought to have been made in the Hanseong-period Baekje and possible dating of Eta-funayama mound tomb to that period has been proposed (*MOMOSAKI 2008*). The crown of Katsuura-minenohata is believed to have been likewise imported from Baekje and date back to Hanseong period.

Also found was a very small pedestal-like iron which had a dark blue glass bead of about 5 millimeters in diameter attached to the bowl-shaped part. The base part is like a sheet and the bottom end appears to have been attached to some other object by perforation. The gild bronze crown hats of Juzen-no-mori mound tomb and Minegazuka mound tomb have the surface adorned by glass beads, too, but the method of attaching the glass beads differs. The method rather has more resemblance to the glass beads attached to the rising top part of the gild bronze crown that comes in a set with the gild bronze crown hat unearthed from Naju Sincheon-ri mound tomb No.9 Coffin “B” in Jeollanam-do (exhibition galleries of Gwangju National Museum referenced). The possibility that a crown similar to the one unearthed at Sincheon-ri mound tomb No.9 Coffin “B” accompanies the abovementioned crown should not be excluded.

And apart from the gild bronze swinging plates mentioned above, a gold swinging plate of about 5 millimeters in diameter was found. It is clearly different from the gild bronze swinging plates that are believed to be associated with the crown hat; one possibility is that it was part of an earring with hanging ornaments. In addition, there were fragments that appeared to have been a horseshoe-shaped metal buckle. If this assumption is correct, it would be close to a gild bronze belt buckle with dragon-pattern openwork. Other finds included fragments of a ring-shaped engraved bronze bracelet.

The gild bronze ornaments unearthed from Katsuura-minenohata mound tomb were fragmented into small pieces and there are few objects that could be reconstructed entirely. However, as we saw above, the presence of a dragon-pattern gild bronze crown hat with openwork and a gild bronze bracelet is almost certain and possible presence of a gild bronze crown, an earring with hanging ornaments and a gild bronze belt buckle was conceived. One can visualize a composition of burial accessories comparable to that of Eta-funayama mound tomb in Kumamoto Prefecture and commensurate with the scale of the tumulus. And the gild bronze crown and the gild bronze crown are comparable to the counterparts unearthed from Mahan archeological sites of the time period contemporary to Hanseong-period Baekje. These artifacts provide a window to get a glimpse of the international exchange the buried had and the role he played in relation to Okinoshima rituals.

b) Horse equipment

Finds worth special attention include a wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrup and a dipper-type wood-core iron sheet-clad jar stirrup. The wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrup was buried in a pair for sure because two pieces corresponding to the upper member of the stirrup were unearthed. They have been so much fragmented that reconstruction to the whole was extremely difficult. Some of the fragments of ring edge showed no traces of contact with iron sheet on either side. Apparently the lower member of the ring was not iron sheet-clad on either face at the front and back edges and the wood core of that part was exposed.

These characteristics resemble those of the finds from Okjeon mound tomb Complex No.70 mound tomb and No. 82 mound tomb in Hapcheon-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do, Korea and the outer forms nearly match.¹¹⁾ In its entirety, the stirrup is 28 centimeters in total height, 12 centimeters in bar height, 16 centimeters in ring height and 18 centimeters in ring width. And wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrups found at mound tomb No.70, No. 82 and other mound tombs in Okjeon Complex are characterized by the edged center of the front iron sheet and the pentagonal cross-sectional view of the ring (*ISAHAYA 2006*). Whilst no clear edge was noticeable in the stirrup in question, it is concluded that the iron sheet with a slightly pointed cross-sectional view is the front and the flat iron sheet is the back. Similar stirrups in Fukuoka Prefecture include the find of Tsukinooka mound tomb in Ukiha City, Fukuoka Prefecture dated to Keyhole-shaped Mound Tomb Chronology Periods 6 – 7 (*KODAMA ed. 2005*) and the find of Zuiōji mound tomb in Chikugo City, Fukuoka Prefecture (*ISAHAYA 2006*).

The dipper-type wood-core iron sheet-clad jar stirrup was found heavily fragmented. All the fragments put together, they are not enough for a pair. But the wood grains of the bar member and the jar member run in parallel and it is for certain that a dipper-type wood-core iron sheet-clad jar stirrup with its bar and jar made of one wood piece was buried as burial accessory. It would be reconstructed to a total height of 25 centimeters, bar height 9 centimeters, jar height 16 centimeters and jar width 17 centimeters. It is quite different from the dipper-type wood-core iron sheet-clad jar stirrup unearthed from the neighboring Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb in that the chicken breast pins end at the upper part and that no pinheads are visible except for those of the chicken breast pins. The object in question is believed to be a precedent. It should be given attention to as one of the oldest jar stirrups unearthed in Japan. But it has some characteristics different from other jar stirrups unearthed in Japan and Korea such as the hidden pinheads, and it is difficult to determine its chronological position and the place of manufacture. The characteristic of non-visible pinheads is common to wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrups; the positioning of the jar stirrup will need to be examined from a broader perspective with attention also to ring stirrups.

Other finds included: fragments estimated to be of gild bronze-plated iron leaf-shape horse ornament or of a piece of mirror, iron leaf-shape horse ornament or mirror fragments, square leather fitting and buckle fragments.

In summary, the wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrup has been found to have similarities with the find from Okjeon mounded tomb group. The dipper-type wood-core iron sheet-clad jar stirrup has been found to belong to the oldest group unearthed in Japan with its chicken breast pins ending at the top part. Its feature of hidden pinheads is unique among the counterparts unearthed in Japan. From these points, it is believed to have a close link with the early jar stirrups that have been unearthed in Korean Peninsula. Accordingly, the pieces of horse equipment can be regarded as archeological references that suggest a link between the buried of Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb and Korean Peninsula.

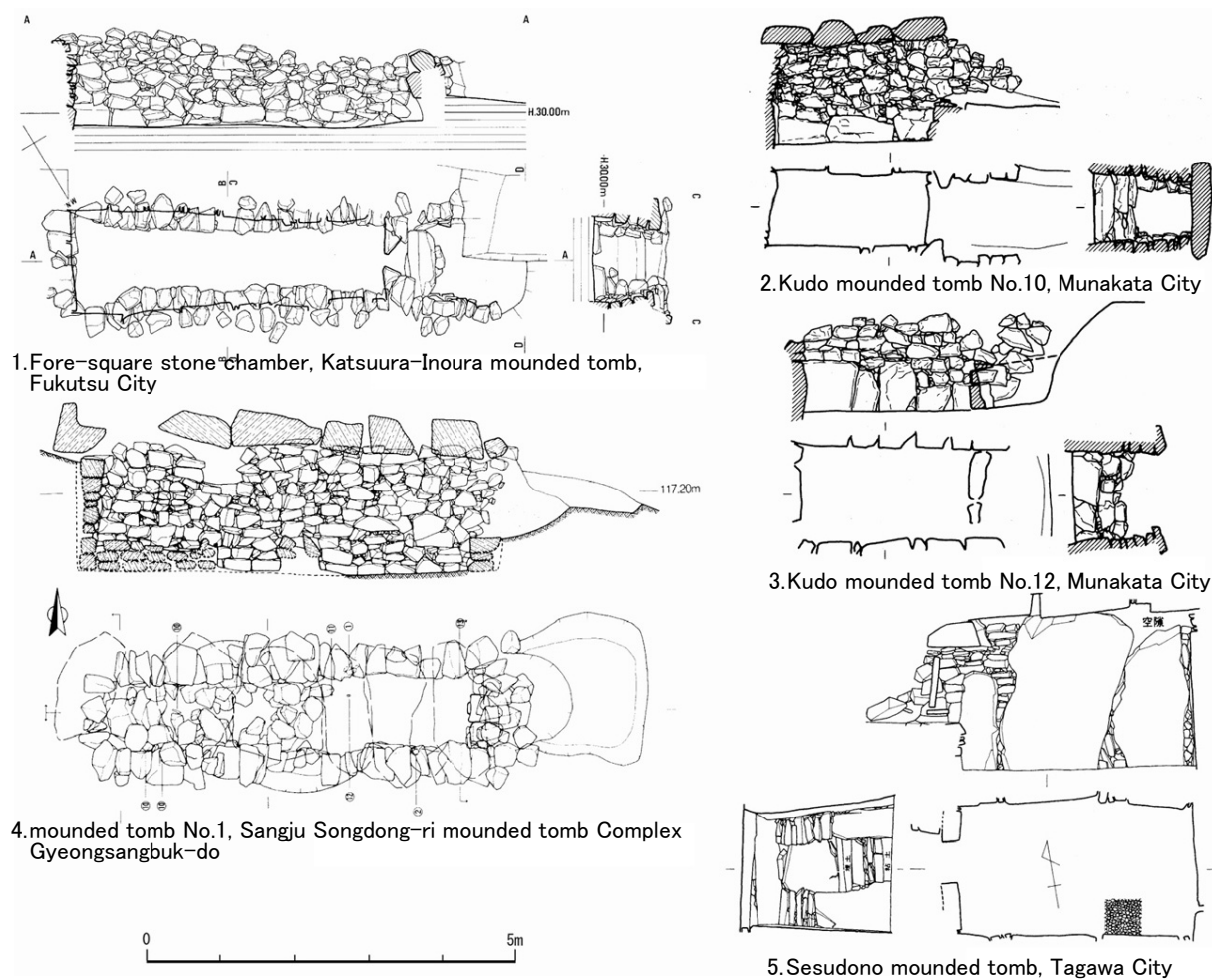


Figure 18 Corridor-style stone chamber in the fore-square of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb and related structures
(1/100, transcript from the respective investigation reports)

(2) Early corridor-style stone chamber of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb

Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb is a keyhole-shaped tumulus with a total length of 70 meters and it was investigated in 1976 on the occasion of construction of a prefectural road. In the stone chamber were unearthed a rich variety of burial accessories including weapons, armor lames, a flat pendant harness ornament of the Kenbishi-type, a cup-shaped stirrup and other pieces of horse equipment (KAWANOBE ed. 1977, HASHIGUCHI ed. 1989)

The interesting point about Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb is the fore-square corridor-style stone chamber itself that is without sleeves and a burial chamber measuring 4.2 meters in length and 1.3 meters in width (Figure 18-1). The North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers of Type “A” are mostly double-sleeved and none is sleeveless. Some of the North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers of Type “B”, meanwhile, are without sleeves but most of such sleeveless stone chambers have a burial chamber no longer than 2.5 meters, as illustrated by the example of Kudo mounded tomb Complex in Munakata City shown as Figure 18-2, and -3 (SAKAI ed. 1979, illustration from SHIGEFUJI 1992). The plan of burial chamber of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb fore-square stone chamber is too long to classify the chamber as an Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type B; it should not be considered as a North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber.

Corridor-style stone chambers of such planar form and erection planning can be compared only to the “Pit-type Corridor-style stone chamber” of Gaya, Korean Peninsula and it is reasonable to assume the direct origin lies there. By way of example, Figure 18-4 shows an illustration of mounded tomb No.1, Sangju Songdong-ri mounded tomb Complex in Gyeongsangbuk-do (*Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation* 1999). The long burial chamber plan is similar to that of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb and the unique planar form of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb fore-square stone chamber can be explained as an introduction of Gaya pit-type corridor-style stone chamber.

The corridor-style stone chamber of Sesudono mounded tomb in Tagawa City which is dated to Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 8 (Figure 7-14, Figure 18-5, SADA ed. 1984) is unique in its erection technique of placing large stones as side wall up to the ceiling. Nekosako mounded tomb in Tagawa City, a chieftain tomb dated to Period 7 preceding Sesudono mounded tomb (FUKUMOTO ed. 2004) has a similar corridor-style stone chamber as its main feature. This erection technique has hardly any examples among other North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chambers; MORISHITA Hiroyuki (MORISHITA 1987) revealed that it is similar to a pit-type corridor-style stone chamber in Daiseo mounded tomb Complex of Gaya times in Daegu City.

It should be added however that Sesudono mounded tomb also has characteristics that are absent in Gaya pit-type corridor-style stone chamber but are present in North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type A, such as the protruded double sleeves made of column-like or sheet stones and the use of lintel. And whilst the fore-square stone chamber of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb can be correctly described as sleeveless as a matter of principle, there are protruded stones at the lowest layers of the wall where sleeve stone could have been placed. It is suspected that double sleeves were intended in the original plan design but the design of the horizontal entrance was altered in the course of erection. Protruded double sleeves are inexistent in Gaya pit-style stone chamber with horizontal entrance, and they are considered to have been influenced by the North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber.

Thus, these stone chambers are interpreted to have been erected by combining the technique introduced from Gaya with the erection technique of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type “A” already established in North Kyūshū west of Fukuoka plain. Accordingly, it would be too naïve to assume that these corridor-style stone chambers were erected by and for immigrants. It would be more correct to assume that chieftains that had networks with the traditional North Kyūshū communities erected them by mobilizing corridor-style stone chamber engineers, both immigrant and local.

(3) Section conclusions

The crown hat that was confirmed at Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb is understood to be similar to those distributed during Baekje’s Hanseong period to the Mahan chieftains buried at Suchon-ri mounded tomb in Chungcheongnam-do, at Bujang-ri tumulus in Chungcheongnam-do and at Sincheon-ri tumulus in Jeollanam-do. In Japan it appears to have resemblance to the finds of Eta-funayama mounded tomb in Kumamoto Prefecture. The presence of such a crown hat suggests that the buried at Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb was an individual who had diplomatic relations with the Gaya leadership of Hanseong period, while maintaining a strong exchange channel with Mahan. The composition of ornaments shows a high commonality with those of Eta-funayama mounded tomb. And there is a good degree of correspondence with the life and practices of Mahan immigrant in the second half of Middle Kofun Period as estimated from dwelling sites.

But the wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrup unearthed from Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb has similarity to that of Daiseo mounded tomb Complex in Gyeongsangnam-do and may have been acquired through exchange with Daegaya region. The corridor-style stone chamber of fore-square of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb was erected possibly through introduction of the design and planning of Gaya pit-type corridor-style stone chamber. It is necessary to consider the relationship not just with Mahan but also with Gaya. Unearthing of Daegaya-based stoneware along with Mahan-based earthenware at Araj-oda mounded tomb is considered relevant in this regard.

In this way, the chieftains involved with Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group in the second half of the 5th century are believed to have had political relationship not only with Mahan but also Daegaya and other Gaya polities, even though the presence of Mahan immigrants in Munakata Region usually attracts attention. It should not be forgotten that such relationship with Korean Peninsula may have been influenced not only by the autonomous decision of the chieftains in Munakata Region but also by the intervention or political will of the Kinai power. UNO Masatoshi (UNO 2010) develops his interpretations of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group formation and Okinoshima ritual practices, based on the view that Kinai power attached a military strategic importance on North Kyūshū. In the next section, let us review these issues from a somewhat broader perspective with a focus on the international exchange of Kofun-Period North Kyūshū chieftains.

6. International exchange of Munakata Region and Okinoshima in Kofun Period

(1) Mahan-based earthen ware in North Kyūshū mounded tombs

In Section 3, the relationship of North Kyūshū with Korean Peninsula, in particular with Mahan region was reviewed in terms of dwelling sites. Here, let us consider how the 5th – 6th century North Kyūshū chieftains interacted with Mahan, in terms of Mahan-based earthenware unearthed from mounded tombs.

At the Early Kofun Period archeological graveyard site of Fujisaki that corresponds to Nishijinmachi Site that was rich in the finds of Mahan-based earthenware and a large number of immigrants are believed to have lived in, burial of earthenware accessories in the main feature and other characteristics associated with immigrants graves were inexistent and very few Korean Peninsula-based earthenware was unearthed.

In the early part of Middle Kofun Period or Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 4, early corridor-style stone chambers begin to be adopted in chieftain tombs in North Kyūshū. Typical examples of corridor-style stone chamber in the emerging stage are Rōji mounded tomb in Minami Ward, Fukuoka City

and Sukizaki mounded tomb in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City. Interestingly enough, small Haji jars with double ears emulating Mahan-based double-eared jars were unearthed from both mounded tombs (SUGIYAMA *ed.* 2002, Figure 19-1, -2). It is believed that North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber has its origin in the corridor-style stone chamber of Hanseong-period Baekje. The jars unearthed at the two mounded tombs may well suggest that Mahan chieftains and Mahan immigrants were involved in the introduction.

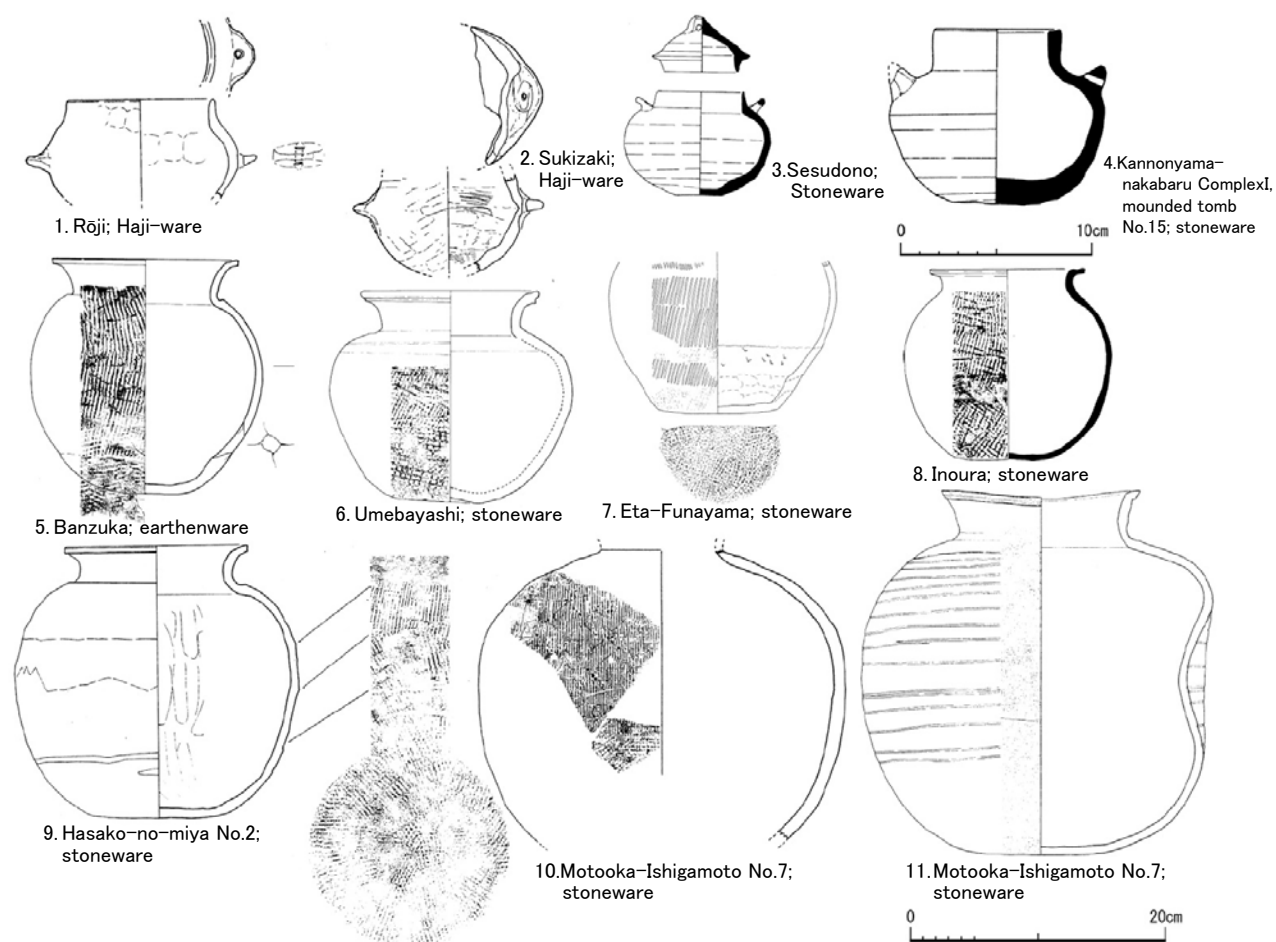


Figure 19 Mahan-based earthenware unearthed from mounded tombs in North Kyūshū
(1/6, transcript from the respective investigation reports)

Bird footprint pattern earthenware (Figure 19-5, -6) has been unearthed from Umebayashi mounded tomb in Jonan Ward, Fukuoka City (HAMAISHI *et al. ed.* 1991; Figure 7-12) and Banzuka mounded tomb in Kanda Town, Fukuoka Prefecture (OKAMURA *et al. ed.* 1993; Figure 7-13) both dated to the end of Middle Kofun Period or Period 8. And stoneware double-eared jar which is believed to be Mahan-based has been unearthed from Sesudono mounded tomb referred to above (Figure 19-3). These mounded tombs represent the tombs of chieftains in the respective areas and it can be said that Mahan-based earthenware was used in the funeral ritual in their honor. It has been pointed out that corridor-style stone chambers that emerged in the second half of the 5th century in the Yeongsan River Basin, Jeollanam-do embody certain features introduced from North Kyūshū. Banzuka mounded tomb and Umebayashi mounded tomb are some of the mounded tombs that are commonly mentioned as counterpart mounded tombs. Taking into consideration the use of Mahan-based earthenware as described above, the relationship between the two regions was not unilateral but rather truly bilateral.

The corridor-style stone chamber of Sesudono mounded tomb, as was discussed above, incorporates the erection technique of Gaya pit-type corridor-style stone chamber. If the Mahan-based earthenware buried as burial accessory was imported, the buried individual must have had exchanges with more than one part of Korean Peninsula. The simultaneous burial of a crown hat made in Hanseong-period Baekje and a wood-core iron sheet-clad ring stirrup of Daegaya influence can be understood in the same manner.

Banzuka mounded tomb and Eta-funayama mounded tomb present vivid evidence of exchanges between Korean Peninsula and North Kyūshū chieftains.¹²⁾ Burial on two different occasions is estimated for Banzuka mounded tomb; the first burial in Chronology TK47 style and the second in Chronology MT15 style. The coffins for the first burial and the second are wooden coffins assembled with nails and iron cramps and adorned with a true toad-design metal ornament (Figure 20). Wooden coffins assembled with nails and iron cramps were inexistent in North Kyūshū at the time and the true toad-design metal ornament has never been unearthed in Japan. The true toad-design was found in belt attachments unearthed from decorative mounded tombs of Goguryeo and the tomb of King Muryeong of Baekje. Because the ornament was attached to the coffins, the very coffins themselves could well have been imported from the Korean Peninsula, possible from Baekje. The wooden coffin of King Muryeong of Ungjin-period Baekje is reportedly made of *Kōyamaki* (*Sciadopitys verticillata*) brought from Japan. The opposite flow is estimated for Banzuka mounded tomb.

The stoneware cup with lid that was unearthed from Eta-funayama mounded tomb with estimated erection in the first half of Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Chronology Period 8 is estimated to be an import from Baekje to Jeollanam-do (SHIRAI 2001). In addition, the stoneware flat bottom jar (Figure 19-7, *Editorial Committee for Kikusui Town History Book ed.* 2007) is likely Mahan-based earthenware because it has the same vessel form as the *bird footprint pattern* earthenware of Banzuka mounded tomb and Umebayashi mounded tomb, though this find has no *bird footprint pattern* and the rim is missing. And the long sword unearthed from Banzuka mounded tomb and the long sword with inscription unearthed from Eta-funayama mounded tomb both have fish pattern inlaid onto the blade. The fish pattern resembles that on a gild bronze bowl unearthed from the tomb of King Muryeong.

The long sword unearthed from Banzuka mounded tomb was accompanied by traditional Japanese wooden sword attachments and the long sword unearthed from Eta-funayama mounded tomb had eleven Kanji characters inscribed: “治天下獲□□□鹵大王世”. As such, the long swords themselves must be made in Japan, but nonetheless they symbolize an era in which there were frequent and active exchanges between Baekje and *Wa*. Adding to it, the unearthing of Mahan-based earthenware at both mounded tombs, one is led to believe that those who were buried in Banzuka mounded tomb and Eta-funayama mounded tomb were involved in the international relations between Baekje and *Wa* leadership together with people of Mahan.

There is a view that keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and Kyūshū-type corridor-style stone chambers emerged in Jeollanam-do that corresponds to Mahan territory at that time period and the people who were buried there were from *Wa*. But more recent mainstream view is that Mahan people who had maintained relations with North Kyūshū since Early Kofun Period accommodated these practices and designs voluntarily and through the continuing exchanges with Kyūshū, as a response to the southward expansion of Baekje (KIM Nak-choong 2008, PARK Young Hun 2009).

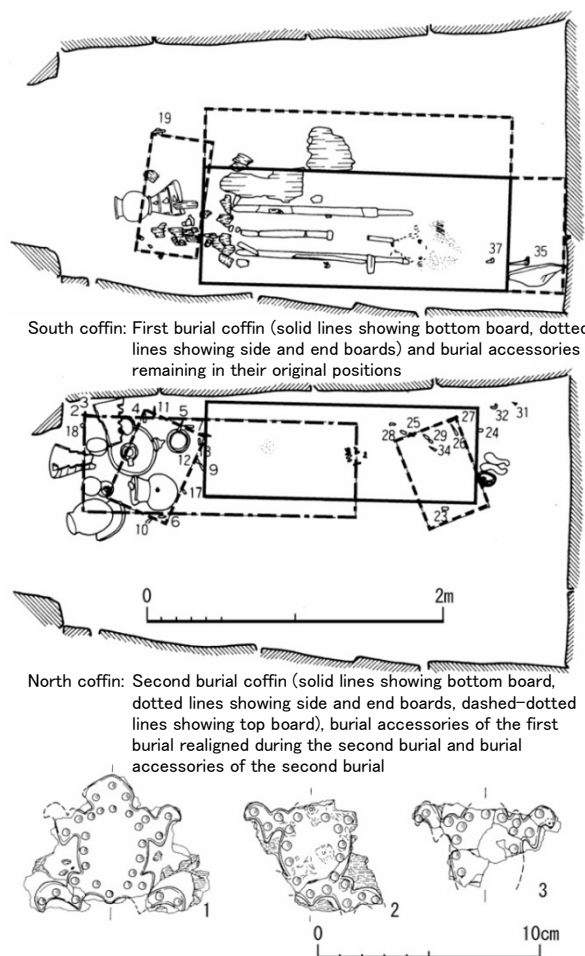


Figure 20 Wooden coffin layout and true toad-design metal piece (1/60, 1/4, transcript from *SHIGEFUJI 2010c*)

Even though no Mahan-based earthenware has been unearthed from any of the mounded tombs in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, the burial accessories of Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb suggest a close relationship with Baekje and Mahan. It is estimated that their international exchanges were not much different from those related to Banzuka mounded tomb and Eta-funayama mounded tomb. It is also necessary to look at them as counterpart to the emergence of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and Kyūshū-type corridor-style stone chambers in Mahan. More specifically, those chieftains played an intermediary role in many aspects of international exchange with Korean Peninsula, capitalizing on the traffic networks they had earned with Mahan and southern Gaya since the time of the first half of Middle Kofun Period or even before. The author is of the view that the leadership in Kinai used this connection to traffic with Korean Peninsula and as a result the chieftains in Munakata Region increased their authority and the importance of Okinoshima rituals heightened further.

With respect to Period 9 and thereafter, Mahan-based earthenware of North Kyūshū mounded tombs is found not from large-sized chieftain tombs but from mounded-tomb clusters. From both inoura mounded tomb in Itoshima City, Fukuoka Prefecture dated to the first half of Period 9 (Figure 7-16, HAYASHI 1994) and from Hasako-no-miya mounded tomb No.2 in Ogori City, Fukuoka Prefecture dated to the second half of Period 9 (Figure 7-17, MADA *et al* 1979), stoneware with paddling pattern close to *bird footprint pattern* has been unearthed (Figure 19-8, -9). From Ishigamoto mounded tomb Complex in Nishi Ward, Fukuoka City dated to Period 10 (Figure 7-19), a *bird footprint pattern* earthenware was unearthed from mounded tomb No. 7 and a Mahan-based jar from mounded tomb No.9 (Figure 19-10, -11, MATSUURA ed. 2003). And from Kannonyama-Nakabaru Complex I, mounded tomb No.15 dated to the end of Period 10 or the end of the 6th century (Figure 7-18), a stoneware double-eared jar was unearthed (Figure 20-4, Satō *et al* ed. 1988).

This change occurred possibly because the immigrants came to be fully settled down and began to erect small and medium-sized mounded tombs. Or it is possibly because the archeological artifacts and structures of chieftain tombs indicative of exchanges with Korean Peninsula shifted to ornaments, weapons, horse equipment and other goods of prestige. Discussion on these questions is not possible in this paper; they merit future examination in relation to Munakata Region.

(2) International exchange with Korean Peninsula and chieftains of Munakata Region

Presence of Mahan immigrants in Munakata Region in the second half of Middle Kofun Period is now confirmed from the finds at dwelling sites and other evidence. In addition to relations with Baekje and Mahan, those with Daegaya and other Gaya polities are contemplated from the archeological artifacts of Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb and the fore-square corridor-style stone chamber of Katsuura-inoura mounded tomb. In North Kyūshū in Early Kofun Period, groups in Nishijinmachi Archeological Site and in other Hakata Bay coastal locations are believed to have been in charge of trade with Mahan and Gaya. And in the first half of Middle Kofun Period, traffics between the western part of North Kyūshū and Baekje or Mahan are believed to have been already established, as indicated by the emergence of early corridor-style stone chambers. Figs. 21 – 23 show schematic illustrations of exchange routes between North Kyūshū locations and Korean Peninsula at different time periods.

As illustrated in Figure 21, Nishijinmachi Archeological Site and other locations in the coastal area of Hakata Bay are believed to have played a major role in the trade with Korean Peninsula in Early Kofun Period. Some term it “Hakata Bay trading” (KUSUMI 2007). Indeed, few Korean Peninsula-based earthenware of this period has been unearthed except on the islands of Tsushima and Iki, and in Karatsu plain, Itoshima Peninsula and Fukuoka plain. The presence of Nishijinmachi Archeological Site held a most prominent position among them and it must have served as the nucleus of trade with Korean Peninsula. And as we saw in Figure 3, large-sized mounded tombs of chieftain tomb class were erected in this period in the area of Chikuzen North extending from Itoshima Peninsula to Fukuoka plain. Growth of chieftains in power and authority is understood in connection with their role in international trade.

It should be recalled that earthenware of various other regions such as Kinai, San’in and Seto Inland Sea coast has been unearthed at Nishijinmachi Archeological Site, along with earthenware imported from Korean Peninsula and pit dwelling sites with hearth in which immigrants are believed to have lived.

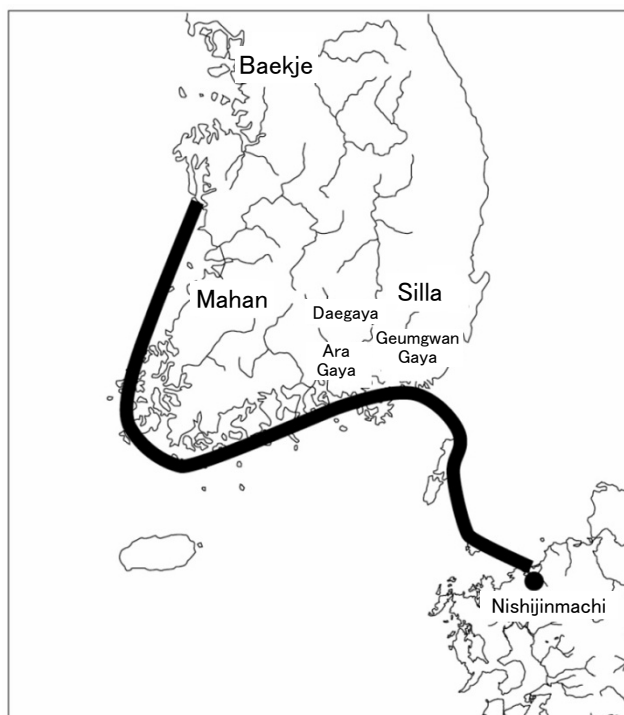


Figure 21 International exchange route in Early Kofun Period

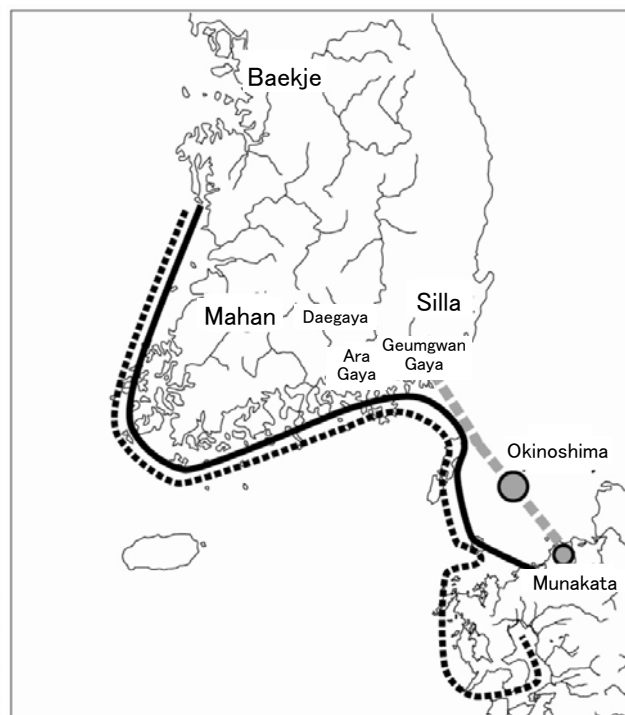


Figure 22 International exchange route in the first half of Middle Kofun Period



Figure 23 International exchange route in the second half of Middle Kofun Period

At Fujisaki Archeological Site which is regarded as the graveyard of Nishijinmachi Archeological Site, some interesting burial accessories have been unearthed such as a ring-pommel sword, an imported triangular edge mirror with figures of two deities and two cart horses and an imported triangular edge dragon mirror. But the Site consists generally of small- to medium-sized square burial mounds and they can be hardly viewed as tombs of chieftains who commanded the entire Sawara plain. Accordingly, the trading at Nishijinmachi Archeological Site can well have been of the nature that Renfrew and Bahn termed as “port of trade” (*Renfrew & Bahn* 2000).

The ensuing situation during the first half of Middle Kofun Period is illustrated in Figure 22. The dwellings at Nishijinmachi Archeological Site had been abandoned by then, but seen macroscopically the trade relations from the previous time period are considered to have been maintained, as indicated by the Mahan-based and Gaya-based earthenware unearthed from, for example, Mikumo-iwara Site Complex. It should however be noted also that already by the first half of Middle Kofun Period corridor-style stone chambers were introduced to the Ariake Sea coastal area. It would be correct to assume that the exchange between the chieftains of Ariake Sea coastal area and Korean Peninsula, especially Baekje and Mahan began to thrive at this time period.

In contrast, there are few archeological objects in Munakata Region that would suggest activities of immigrants, and there are no early corridor-style stone chambers. Apparently there was a difference between Munakata Region on one hand and Itoshima Peninsula/Fukuoka plain area and the Ariake Sea coastal area on the other in the degree of involvement in international exchanges. It is nonetheless for certain that Okinoshima rituals had reached to a high level and Munakata Region was gaining importance as one of the traffic routes to Korean Peninsula. Gaya-based stoneware unearthed from Miyaji-idenokami mounded tomb and Nuyama-shōzono mounded tomb may be interpreted as an indication of established traffic route between Munakata Region and Gaya, which presumably was slightly different in nature from the traffic routes through Hakata Bay and westward. Verification of these assumptions requires understanding of dwelling sites in Munakata Region and analysis of small to medium tumulus complexes. Also, Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb and other chieftain tombs on the Tsuru River Basin as well as the chieftain tombs at the mouth of the Onga River will have to be addressed.

Figure 23 shows the relations between Korean Peninsula and North Kyūshū in the second half of Middle Kofun Period. Distribution of Mahan-based earthenware and other indications suggest the area stretching from Itoshima Peninsula to Fukuoka plain as well as the Ariake Sea coastal area maintained their relations with Baekje and Mahan. And in various parts of North Kyūshū have been found Daegaya-based horse equipment and not a few other archeological materials that suggest relationship with Gaya.

This time period is a major epoch for Munakata Region because the presence of Mahan immigrants in the region is believed and the relations of Munakata with Baekje and Mahan became solid. In addition, Daegaya-based earthenware and horse equipment as well as Gaya “pit-type corridor-style stone chamber” came into existence in Munakata Region. It is believed to have reached the stage of making international exchanges with more than one or two regions of Korean Peninsula. The author has the view that the Period 7 development of multi-agglomeration chieftain tombs which today are called Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group in an area poor in arable land was motivated by the need associated with such vibrant international exchanges, that is, the chieftains of Munakata Region and its vicinity chose to locate their tombs not far from the seashore.

With the solid settlement of immigrants, Munakata Region is considered to have earned the position of trading post with the Korea Peninsula. Judging from the Mahan-based earthenware associated with the ritual site-like building in Arai-Oda Archeological Site and the smithy tools of Shinbaru-nuyama No.1 mounded tomb, it is fair to say that the chieftains exercised control over the composition of immigrants and even the trade itself. This is distinct from the function that Nishijinmachi Archeological Site performed during Early Kofun Period. Again borrowing from Renfrew and Bahn, the nature of the role Munakata Region played can be understood as that of “central place redistribution” (*Renfrew & Bahn* 2000).

Starting with this period in time, Munakata Region and Midstream of the Tsuru River Basin erected some of the largest mounded tombs in north Chikuzen. As the erection of large mounded tombs before the first half of Middle Kofun Period reflected the rise in international exchange, the erection of such large-sized

mounded tombs in the second half of Middle Kofun Period must have been linked to the growth and deepening of international exchange between Munakata Region and Korean Peninsula. It is also believed that the erection of Yamanokami mounded tomb, Ōzuka mounded tomb and other large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in the Midstream of the Onga River Basin, Mahan-based earthenware buried in Sesudono mounded tomb and Banzuka mounded tomb and the introduction of corridor-style stone chamber erection technique from Gaya are all believed to have been triggered by the evolution of international exchange that developed around Munakata Region.

7. Conclusions

This paper made a sequential review of large-sized chieftain mounded tombs in Munakata Region and compared them with their counterparts in other regions of north Chikuzen. As a result, it has been confirmed that after the beginning of the second half of Middle Kofun Period, Munakata Region consistently continued to produce the leading mounded tombs in the entire Chikuzen North region. This can be described as running in parallel to the flourishing of Okinoshima rituals. Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group that stands at the top of all mounded tombs in Munakata Region overwhelms Yame mounded tomb Complex in Yame City, Fukuoka Prefecture in its composition. It could well be described as the largest and most complex consolidation of mounded tombs in North Kyūshū and even in all Western Japan.

This development of tumulus complex is consistent with the evolution of immigrants from Mahan and other parts of Korean Peninsula. It is possible to understand that Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and Munakata Region as a whole played an extremely important role in the international exchange with Korean Peninsula in the second half of Middle Kofun Period. The archeological ritual site of Okinoshima is important because it is one of the large ancient ritual sites in Japan. At the same time, it is important to grasp its foundation in the context of maritime traffic and international exchange. The deep involvement of Munakata Region chieftains who erected and were buried in Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and other mounded tombs in the international exchange with Korean Peninsula indicates that the chieftains in practice led the Okinoshima rituals. It is possible to understand that the development of these large chieftain mounded tombs was closely linked to the formation process of ritual sites and the elevation of the rituals to national status.

It should be acknowledged that full-scale development of Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group lagged a little behind the flourishing of Okinoshima rituals. A question left for future study in this connection is: how the buried in Tōgō-takatsuka mounded tomb and Taku-kifunemae No.1 and No.2 mounded tombs in the Tsuru River Basin dated to the end of Early Kofun Period were involved, if any, in the rituals and ritual sites in Okinoshima. It will also be necessary to advance studies on the movement of people and flow of goods from Korean Peninsula to Munakata Region before the first half of Middle Kofun Period.

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Supplementary notes:

- 1) The author made references to chieftain tombs in Munakata Region in the discussion of chieftain tombs in overall Chikuzen Region (*SHIGEFUJI 1998, SHIGEFUJI 2008*). The discussions on chieftain tombs in Munakata Region in the present paper are an update of the author's previous articles with attention to the studies by HANADA Katsuhiko and IKENOUE Hiroshi.
- 2) KUSUMI Takeo et al divided Agglomeration <5> into two agglomerations and alluded to the possibility of a chieftain tomb agglomeration in Chuo Ward, Fukuoka City on the western Fukuoka plain that does not appear in any of Figs. 2 – 5 (*KUSUMI and MIYAMOTO 2010*). It is also possible to divide Agglomeration

- <3> into two. Necessary amendments will be made with the future progress of investigations and studies of these mounded tombs. With respect to mounded tombs in North Chikuzen region other than those of Munakata region discussed in this paper, the constraints of allotted page space prevent listing of the reference materials. The readers are kindly requested to refer to pertinent KUSUMI papers and the author's previous paper (*SHIGEFUJI 2008*).
- 3) The discussions on Yame Mounded Tomb Complex to follow are based on the author's previous paper (*SHIGEFUJI 2010c*) that reviewed the agglomerations of chieftain tombs in Chikugo Region. Agglomerations <1> through <9> are largely omitted from Figs. 5 & 6 of this paper; they represent agglomerations of chieftain tombs in South Chikuzen and Ukiha city areas. The readers are kindly requested to refer to this previous paper as well as to other reference materials mentioned for the mounded tombs discussed in this paper.
 - 4) This section is based on the descriptions made in the Nishijinmachi Archeological Site Excavation Investigation Report (*SHIMOHARA ed. 2009*) that the author of this paper co-authored with YOSHIDA Tōmei and YOSHIMURA Yasunori. Mention of the reference materials for Nishijinmachi site is omitted in this paper; the readers are kindly requested to refer to the above report.
 - 5) The descriptions in this paragraph are based on a portion of the author's presentation titled "Immigration of Mahan and Baekje People to Japanese Archipelago and Their Exchanges (original title in Korean language)" made at the November 2010 International Academic Symposium in Gongju National Museum in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage. The subject was briefly mentioned in a previous paper (*SHIGEFUJI 1998*).
 - 6) Based on *MORISHITA 1987*, *SHIGEFUJI 1992* and *SHIGEFUJI 1999*. Small corridor-style stone chambers having a burial chamber of less than 1.5 meters in width and less than 2.5 meters in length that are popular in the Munakata to Tsuyazaki regions are often referred to as "pit-style stone chamber with horizontal entrance." But they hardly have any relevance to the "pit-style stone chamber with horizontal entrance" of southern part of Korean Peninsula; they are corridor-style stone chambers, though influenced by the North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type "A", that were built essentially by the technique for "pit-style stone chamber in the style of a stone coffin." A pit-style stone chamber in the style of a stone coffin is a small-sized pit-type stone chamber unique to North Kyūshū characterized by the non-use of wooden coffin. To avoid confusion and misunderstanding, the term "North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber Type "B"" is used in this paper.
 - 7) Descriptions about Figure 11 and Table 2 are based on the author's previous article (*SHIGEFUJI 1999*). The map and the list include "Chikuhi-type corridor-style stone chambers" that have combined elements of North Kyūshū Early Corridor-style stone chamber and Higo-type Corridor-style stone chamber (*YANAGISAWA 1993*). The Higo-type was another type of corridor-style stone chamber of the time that prevailed mainly in today's Kumamoto Prefecture. It has a square plan and the floor of burial chamber is stone-covered. No Higo-type is included in the map or the list.
 - 8) Descriptions here about Korean Peninsula-based earthenware in Munakata Region were mentioned in the part written by the present author of a previous article (*SHIGEFUJI et al 2005*) that was co-authored with SUGIMOTO Takefumi and JINBO Kimihisa. The topic was also discussed in like manner in the presentation referred to in above Note 5.
 - 9) Possible interpretations include: (a) the graveyard of immigrants will be discovered in the future, (b) the graves are concentrated to a specific site, and (c) the immigrants were buried in the same way as in other mounded tombs without the practice of hometown burial rituals in Korean Peninsula. Full discussion on this question is not possible in this paper, but it should be mentioned that Ainoshima Island Stone-gathered Mound Complex in Shingu Town on the Ainoshima Island in the Genkai Sea should be looked at from such a perspective.
 - 10) The burial accessories found in the corridor-style stone chamber in the hinter-round of Katsuura-minenohata mounded tomb are detailed in an investigation report published by the Fukutsu City Board of Education at the end of 2010. Here in this section, the author's observation is described about a portion of the ornaments and horse equipment for which the author was involved in the analysis. Figures and photographs are not included here; please refer to the investigation report.
 - 11) *RYU Chanhwan 1994* was referenced for the search of similar artifacts.
 - 12) Discussions on Banzuka mounded tomb are based on a previous article of the author's (*SHIGEFUJI 2010b*).

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The Munakata Clan and the Munakata Faith in Ancient Japan

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Abstract: The Munakata goddesses are a group of marine goddesses headed by the island goddess of Okinoshima, a landmark island in “Kaihoku.” These local goddesses are worshiped by the Munakata clan, who was based in the Munakata district of the former Chikuzen Province [the western part of present Fukuoka Prefecture]. The clan and goddesses had close relations with the Yamato kingly power, especially with the Emperor Jomei lineage under the international climate surrounding East Asia during the 7th century. This observation is supported by a number of pieces of evidence. These include (i) legends in *Kojiki* (the Records of Ancient Matters) and *Nihonshoki* (the Chronicles of Japan) about the birth of the Three Goddesses, (ii) the tales of the reigns of the Emperor Ōjin lineage in *Nihonshoki*, and (iii) the transfer of the divided spirits of the Munakata goddesses to the Kinai region [Kinai kanjō]. Even under the Ritsuryō System, the Munakata district remained the only Shingun (a land for deities) in Kyūshū and the Munakata clan served as both Gunji (the district administrator) and Kannushi (the Shintō priest)--an ancient form of rituals that embraced the unity of religion and politics that remained for centuries that followed. With its close association with the Sea of Japan route and its resemblance to Izumo-no-Omi [the Izumo clan, with “no-Omi” meaning the clan had a title “Omi,” one of the honorary titles for a clan] who served as both Kuni-no-Miyatsuko (provincial administrator with ritual duties) and Gunji, the Munakata clan even came to assert that they shared the same ancestor with the Izumo clan. The role of the Munakata clan as Kannushi changed in nature after the establishment of Gūji (the chief priest of a Shintō shrine) and Daigūji (the senior priest of Shintō shrine; the highest position of the Munakata Shrine), putting an end to the internal succession rite for the Kannushi on Okinoshima Island as performed in ancient times.

Keywords: Munakata-no-Kimi, Kannushi of Munakata, Okinoshima, Ukei legend, Ichikishimahime, Takashina-no-Mahito, Izumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko

1. Introduction

The Munakata clan is the powerful clan who, from ancient times to the late Medieval period, worshiped the Munakata goddesses and maintained and even expanded its power based in the Munakata district of Chikuzen Province. The land of Munakata shared borders with the Onga district to the east; along the district border stand the four mountains called Yotsuzuka: Mt. Tsutagatake, Mt. Kana, Mt. Yugawa, and Mt. Kōdaiji. To the south is a mountain mass--including the Akagi Pass--which borders with the Kurate district. To the north lies the Genkai Sea. To the west is the Kasuya district. The district border with the Kasuya district has continued to coincide with a climatic division even today. In short, the Munakata district is a distinct entity from the geological and historical perspectives. Flowing through this region to the northwest is the Tsuru River (Class-B river). In the land of Munakata, the coastline was situated deep inland during the Jōmon period. The area from the present-day Tōgōbashi to Tsuchiana constituted an inlet, which is now the Tsuru River¹⁾, along which the wind blows. On the extension of the Tsuru River lie Ōshima and Okinoshima islands.

Okinoshima is a small island measuring one kilometer east to west and 0.5 kilometers north to south, and about four kilometers in circumference. The highest crest is Mt. Ichinotake, 243 meters above sea level. The island is home to Okitsu-miya of the Munakata Grand Shrine. Okinoshima is often described as a “solitary desert island in distant seas”²⁾ or a “solitary island in the Genkai Sea”³⁾. The author fears that the phrases like “in distant seas” and “solitary island,” together with the Genkai Sea, may have created a stereotype about the island and Munakata goddesses among the public and that they fail to grasp the true nature of Okinoshima and the faith in Munakata goddesses. If people automatically think of Okinoshima as an island that is most distant both physically and psychologically, inhibited by deities, and outside the realm of everyday life, they are wrong. Okinoshima Island is visible with the unaided eye not only from Munakata, Hakata Bay and its vicinity but also from Iki and Tsushima island.⁴⁾ Residents in Munakata know from their daily experience that they can view Okinoshima not only from Ōshima and Jinoshima

islands but also from some parts of the main island of Kyūshū, including Mt. Tsutagatake (a mountain with an altitude of 369 meters popularly known as Jōyama) and the coastal areas facing the Genkai Sea except those from which the view of Okinoshima Island is blocked by either of these two islands.⁵⁾ In short, Okinoshima is a divine but familiar island visible from Munakata in the main land Kyūshū.

Okinoshima Island came to attract the interest and attention of the public as well as the academia due to the three rounds of archaeological surveys, which were conducted intermittently from May 1954 to May 1971 as well as their outcomes.⁶⁾ These surveys were not something the public regard as excavation projects. The dating activity was based on the artifacts rather than archaeological features that had been found. The surveys have found that Okinoshima rituals evolved through four phases: (i) ritual(s) on top (atop) of a rock(s); (ii) ritual(s) in the shade of a rock (in the shade of a overhanging rock; beneath a overhanging rock); (iii) ritual(s) partly in rock shadows and partly in the open air; and (iv) ritual(s) in the open air (under the open sky).⁷⁾ The surveys have also found that Okinoshima rituals continued for over 500 years from the late 4th century to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century.⁸⁾

A wide variety of objects have been found. Among them are high-quality artifacts of a Chinese or Korean origin and nearly 60 mirrors and small jars of Nara three-colored (trichrome) glazed ware, including triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors (including those made abroad and their imitations). As a result, Okinoshima came to be called the “Shōsōin of the Sea,” after the Imperial treasure house in Nara.⁹⁾ The national nature of ancient rituals in Okinoshima is strongly suggested¹⁰⁾ as their discontinuation almost corresponded with the end of the national project of sending envoys to Tang China. The actual picture remains hazy, however, as there are virtually no contemporary historical material that describes the ancient rituals for the Munakata goddesses, especially those in Okinoshima.

2. The Notation and Etymology of *Munakata*

The term *Munakata*, used as the name of deity, clan, or place, is known to be expressed in three forms: (i) 胸肩, 胸形, or 胸方, (ii) 宗形, and (iii) 宗像. It is undoubtedly safe to say that the second form “宗形” was used chiefly in Nara period (710-794), as seen in Syōsō-in-monjyo, ancient documents of Shōsō-in of Tōdai-ji Temple, and Nagaya-ō-ke mokkan, a set of recently unearthed wooden plates on which records of the Prince Nagaya family are written, while the third form “宗像” has been in common use since Heian period (794-1192). The first form is seen in the two oldest extant historical records of Japan: Kojiki (the Records of Ancient Matters) and Nihonshoki (the Chronicles of Japan). The form “胸形” appears in the first section of Kojiki, known as 神代卷 (book on the age of deities), while Nihonshoki uses “胸肩” in 神代下 (the second of the two volumes on the age of deities), “胸形” (in the articles of the 41st year of the reign of Emperor Ōjin and the second year of the reign of Emperor Temmu), and “胸方” (in the articles of the ninth year of the reign of Emperor Yūryaku and the 13th year of the reign of Emperor Temmu). What is notable is the use of “胸” in both chronicles. Nihonshoki’s article of February of the second year of the Temmu reign (673) includes a sentence: “次納胸形君德善女尼子娘、生_二高市皇子命_一.” Nihonshoki’s article of November of the 13th year of his reign enumerates 52 clans who were granted the title “朝臣 [ason],” one of the eight honorary titles known as “八色の姓[Yakusa-no-kabane]”. Among the 52 clans is “胸方君” [the Munakata clan, with “no-Kimi” showing the clan had a title “Kimi,” one of the honorary titles for a clan]. Nihonshoki uses the term *Munakata* as the name of a deity as well. For example, its article of February of the 41st year of the reign of Emperor Ōjin includes the term “胸形大神”. Likewise, Nihonshoki’s article of February of the ninth year of the Yūryaku reign includes the term “胸方神”. These articles suggest that *Munakata* and “胸” were closely related to each other over the years.

Nihonshoki often added embellishments or amendments to the original historical material in the process of compilation based on the latest knowledge at that time. For example, it used the term “郡” in place of the term “評”. Likewise, it was presumably possible to replace “胸” in *Munakata* with “宗.” Clearly, the possibility that “宗” was used in the original and changed to “胸” in the editing process is extremely low compared with the possibility of the other way around. It is thus reasonable to conclude that the use of “胸” reflects the notation in the original; editorial amendments were unlikely.¹¹⁾ This is associated with the etymology or the origin of the term *Munakata*; it also concerns the attributes of the Munakata goddesses

and the Munakata clan.

For the etymology of *Munakata*, four major theories have been proposed: (i) the “身形” theory; (ii) the “放光” theory; (iii) the “沼無潟・空潟” theory; and (iv) the “文身（入墨）” theory.

The first theory is based on Saikaidō Fudoki in Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi¹²⁾, which states that the Munakata Grand Goddesses descended from heaven and deposited Aoninotama, Murasakidama, and a mirror in the three shrine as “神體之形” (images of objects in which a deity resides) and that the region accordingly came to be called the “身形郡”, which was later changed to the “宗像” district. The note to Saikaidō Fudoki states that another story says that the region came to be called “身像郡” because, of the four gods, the three elders had their younger brother Ōamano Mikoto reside as the embodiment of the three “三柱御身之像” in the region. It would be illogical to regard either of these two stories as being belonging to ancient times because Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi itself was compiled in the Medieval period and because Munakata Daibosatsu, a term indicating Buddhist influence, is used. Saikaidō Fudoki is unique in at least two aspects. First, it regards Ōamano Mikoto as the ancestor of Munakata-no-Ason [the Munakata clan, with “no-Ason” meaning that the clan had a title “Ason,” one of the hereditary titles that represent a high political and social status]. Second, it states that he sacrificed his life for the three Munakata gods (rather than goddesses). These descriptions are contradictory to the old legends such as Kojiki and Nihonshoki. It is more reasonable to conclude that this theory is based on the misinterpretation of *Kata* as image. The second theory is based largely on the old chronicle quoted in Chikuyōki by YASUMI Arisada¹³⁾ (Volume 12: Munakata Gun [district]), which includes a story that when the Three Goddesses of Munakata appeared, they gave off a light from their shoulders [肩] and chests [胸]. This interpretation is likely derived from a radiant halo around a Buddhist image. It is a story redolent of Buddhism. In that sense, this theory resonates with the first theory. The third theory is based on *Chikuzen Shi* by FUKUMOTO Makoto¹⁴⁾, which argues that *Munakata* derives from the assumption that the Tajima River (the present-day Tsuru River) was once an inlet deep inland with much of the region being tidal flats. This assumption has already been substantiated by AOYAGI Tanenobu¹⁵⁾ as well as by recent surveys. This theory should be interpreted as reflecting the forced analogy between the geological history and Munakata. The first and third theories fail to mention the term “胸” as used in Kojiki and Nihonshoki. The second theory reflects the forced analogy between 胸/肩 and Munakata--an analogy redolent of Buddhist influence.

Compared with these three theories, the fourth theory of 文身（入墨） espoused by KANASEKI Takeo¹⁶⁾ deserves attention. Kanaseki argues that the character “×” in “胸” was originally written as “文.” He maintains that the character “文” meaning “pattern” is derived from a tattoo [入墨] character on the chest according to studies on ancient inscriptions of Chinese characters on oracle bones and carapaces. The scale-like pattern featuring triangular figures in a later period represent the scales of a serpent that are associated with the dragon and serpent faith believed in the coastal area facing the China Sea. KANASEKI says: “Munakata in northern Kyūshū was originally written as ‘Munakata’ (expressed by the Chinese character made up of 匈 in the upper half and 月 in the lower half plus another character 形). The descendants of amabe [who served the Yamato kingly power with their marine products and navigation skills] with scale-like patterned tattoos on their chests constituted the Munakata clan in northern Kyūshū.” The text on Wa in the Biographies of the Wuhuan, Xianbei, and Dongyi of the Records of Three Kingdoms (Sanguo Zhi) includes a sentence: “*Water-men of Wa are good at diving and catching fish and clams; they wear tattoos to ward off large fish and waterfowls.*” Even haniwas or ancient Japanese clay figurines have tattoos of a scale pattern.¹⁷⁾ Nihonshoki’s article of April of the first year of Emperor Richū reign states that face tattoos associated with Azumi-no-Muraji [the Azumi clan, with “no-Muraji” meaning the clan had a title “Muraji,” one of the honorary titles for a clan] was called “Azumi-me.” The Azumi clan was a family who worshiped the marine deities called Azumi-no-Kami (the deities of Watatsumi) and gathered marine products for the Emperor. Relics of such incantational practices were seen as late as the early 1960s in the Munakata region. In those days, women divers in the Kanezaki area inscribed the character “大” on their belongings and stitched a asterisk (starfish) pattern onto their clothes. The assumption that the term Munakata derives from a tattoo of a scale pattern distinct from Azumi-me is quite consistent with the profuse use of “胸” in Kojiki and Nihonshoki.

3. The Trinity of Marine Goddesses

The Munakata goddesses, worshiped by the Munakata clan, constitutes a trinity, as shown by articles in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* as well as Volume 10 of *Engi-Shiki*, a set of Japanese governmental regulations compiled in the Engi era (901-923), all of which include the expression “the three Munakata shrines.” The Azumi gods and the Sumiyoshi gods are also known as a trinity of deities. Both have features characteristic of marine deities.

Kojiki and *Nihonshoki* both describe the Azumi and Sumiyoshi gods as having appeared in a simultaneous and integrated manner in their respective chapters on the birth of four deities of their respective volume on the age of the gods. According to *Nihonshoki* (Volume 1, the first of the two volumes on the age of the gods),¹⁸⁾ the Azumi and Sumiyoshi gods were born when 伊奘諾尊 [Izanagi-no-mikoto], after returning from Yomotsukuni where he had visited in pursuit of 伊奘冉尊 [Izanami-no-mikoto], performed ablutions and ritual purification (misogiharae) in *Tsukushi no Himuka no Odo no Tachibana no Awakihara*. First, he “went to the bottom of the sea and washed himself” and bore Sokotsuwatsumi-no-Mikoto and Sokotsutsunoo-no-Mikoto in that order. Second, he “washed himself in the seawater” and bore Nakatsuwatsumi-no-Mikoto and Nakatsutsunoo-no-Mikoto in that order. Then he “floated on the seawater and washed himself” and bore Uwatsumi-no-Mikoto and Uwatsumunoo-no-Mikoto. Sokotsutsunoo-no-Mikoto, Nakatsutsunoo-no-Mikoto, and Uwatsumunoo-no-Mikoto represent the trinity of Sumiyoshi gods, as explained in *Kojiki* (“三柱神者、墨江之三前大神也”) and *Nihonshoki* (“是即住吉大神矣”). Likewise, Sokotsuwatsumi-no-Mikoto, Nakatsuwatsumi-no-Mikoto, and Uwatsumi-no-Mikoto represent the trinity of Azumi gods or Watatsumi gods,¹⁹⁾ as explained in *Kojiki* (“此三柱綿津見神者、阿曇連等之祖神以伊都久神也。故阿曇連等者、其綿津見神之子、宇都志日金析命之子孫也”) and *Nihonshoki* (“是阿曇連等所祭神矣”). The birth of the two trinities of gods due to the ablutions and ritual purification occurred at the bottom of the sea, in the middle of the seawater, and on the seawater. And their names bear the characters that reflect where they were born: Soko (bottom), Naka (middle), and Uwa (on)--three vertical positions in the seawater. All these aspects clearly show that the Azumi and Sumiyoshi trinities are inseparable from the sea. And their names themselves clearly show that they are gods, not goddesses.

The Azumi gods or the Watatsumi no kami were worshiped by Azumi-no-Muraji (the Azumi clan). The use of the terms “祖神” and “所祭神” clearly shows that the Azumi gods are their ancestral deities.²⁰⁾ Three major pieces of evidence show that Azumi-no-Muraji and their gods were chiefly characterized by fishing or by the status of fishermen (amabe). First, the Azumi clan subjugated fishermen of several places who had defied orders and *thus served as their leader* (as reported by *Nihonshoki*’s article of November of the third year of Emperor Ōjin reign). Second, the clan wore Geimen called “Azumi-me” as mentioned earlier (as reported by *Nihonshoki*’s article of April of the first year of Emperor Richū reign). Third, the Azumi clan was traditionally ordered to serve as Tomo-no-miyatsuko-kei-shizoku tasked with overall management of cooking for the Emperor under the Ritsuryō system. Azumi-no-Muraji was a traditional trade-specific clan who gathered fish, shellfish, and seaweeds, and serve meals to the Emperor.

The Sumiyoshi gods are not specified by the name of Tsutsunoo-no-Mikoto in *Kojiki* or *Nihonshoki*, which simply call them “Suminoe-no-Mimae-no-Ōkami” or “Sumiyoshi-no-Ōkami.” Neither *Kojiki* nor *Nihonshoki* specifies which clan worshiped these gods. These two chronicles make the subsequent reference to the Three Gods of Sumiyoshi when they tell a story in which Emperor Chūai and Empress Jingū tried to subjugate the Kumaso people and Silla. Emperor Chūai defied the oracle he received as he tried to defeat the Kumaso and consequently died in Kashii-no-miya in Tsukushi. Empress Jingū wanted to know which deity(ies) gave the oracle. That deity(ies) turned out to be the Sumiyoshi gods. According to *Nihonshoki*, these gods said to Empress Jingū before she embarked on her endeavor to conquer Silla: “和魂 [nigimitama] (their peaceful and calming aspect) shall stand by the Empress and protect her life. 荒魂 [aramitama] (their harsh and raging aspect) shall lead the van of the war vessels” (*Nihonshoki*’s article of September of the ninth year of the Chūai reign, the pre-Jingu era). 荒魂は「軍に従ひし神表筒男・中筒男・底筒男、三の神、皇后に誨へて曰はく、我が荒魂をば、穴門の山田邑に祭はしめよ。時に穴門直の祖踐立・津守連の祖田裳見宿祢、皇后に啓して曰さく、神の居しまさ欲しくしたまふ地をば、必ず定め奉るべし。則ち踐立を以て、荒魂を祭ひたてまつる神主とす。仍りて祠を穴門の山

田邑に立」(同9年12月条)てられ、和魂は麿坂・忍熊王の反乱平定に際し「亦表筒男・中筒男・底筒男、三の神、誨へまつりて曰はく、吾が和魂をば大津の淳中倉の長峽に居さしむべし。便ち因りて往来ふ船を看さむ」(神功撰政1年2月条)こととなった。The involvement of Tamomi-no-Sukune, the ancestor of Tsumori-no-Muraji (the Tsumori clan), in determining 荒魂=穴門山田邑=穴門直祖踐立 and where and who would enshrine it, as well as the fact that aramitama was enshrined in Ōtsu-no-unakuro-no-Nagao, suggests that the Tsumori clan held the office of Kannushi for nigimitama.²¹⁾

Engishiki (Volume 10, the second of the two volumes on the names of deities) includes an interlinear note that states 元名津守氏人神 for the two deities enshrined at the Owatatsumi Shrine in Sumiyoshi district, Settsu Province. This reflects the addition of “名”, as well as the change from “安” to “氏”, made to the original term “元津守安人神” by the editor of Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikēi. However, the deity name “津守安必登神” (two deities described as marine deities) appears in Sumiyoshi Taisha Jindai Ki. There is no need to dwell on the fact that 津守安必登神 is 津守安人神.²²⁾ The above-mentioned story about Empress Jingū indicated that Tsumori-no-Muraji’s involvement in the Sumiyoshi gods was the result of the kingly power’s order. In other words, the clan performed the rituals as a duty.²³⁾ The fact that the name of the clan does not correspond to that of the deities suggests that the deities are not the ancestral deities of the clan. By contrast, the inclusion of “津守” in “津守安必登神=津守安人神” indicates that these deities are those originally worshiped by Azumi-no-Muraji; they are likely the clan’s ancestral deities. The term “Tsumori” literally derives from “protecting [mori] the port [tsu].” The port in this case refers to the port of Sumiyoshi (Suminoe), an outport of Yamato kingly power.²⁴⁾ It would thus be safe to say that the Sumiyoshi gods were the gods of Sumiyoshi port. Engishiki shows that the Sumiyoshi gods were not enshrined in the Kantō region; they were worshiped in places along the most important route connecting the Kinai region and Korea via the Inland Sea, northern Kyūshū and Iki and Tsushima islands (摂津・住吉郡[Sumiyoshi-gun (ancient district), Settsu province]→播磨・賀茂郡[Kamo-gun, Harima province]→長門・豊浦郡[Toyoura-gun, Nagato province]→筑前・那珂郡[Naka-gun, Chikuzen province]→壱岐・壱岐郡[Iki-gun, Iki province]→対馬・下県郡[Shimoagata-gun, Tsushima province]). This is also reflected in the Empress Jingū legend, which represents the results of the kingly power having gained control over the external sea routes and the ports essential for navigation along these routes.

The trinities of the Azumi and Sumiyoshi gods were marine gods based in and around Ōsaka Bay; the former and the latter were the fishing gods and the port gods, respectively, of Yamato kingly power, which ruled the Kinai region. The Sumiyoshi gods also had attributes as navigation deities because they were basically port gods. What about the trinity of the Munakata goddesses then? This is the question the next section tries to answer.

4. The Legend of the Birth of the Three Goddesses of Munakata (Ukei Legend)

A total of six accounts (or versions of the legend) are known regarding the birth of the Munakata goddesses; one in the first section of Kojiki, the main account and three alternative accounts in Chapter 6: “瑞珠盟約章” in the first of the two volumes on the age of deities of Nihonshoki, and one in Chapter 7: “宝鏡開始章” of the same volume. It is safe to say that these accounts are as politically motivated as the Tenson Kōrin legend in which Ninigi-no-Mikoto, a grandchild of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, descended from Takamagahara. The following paragraph summarized the account that the editors of Nihonshoki adopted as the main text:

One day, Susanowo-no-Mikoto was ordered by his father Izanagi-no-Mikoto to go to Nenokuni [the land of the dead]. Susanowo-no-Mikoto first headed for Takamagahara [High Heavenly Plain] where his sister Amaterasu-Ōmikami [the Sun Goddess] to make his farewell to her. His trip rocked both the sea and the mountains. Suspicious that her brother was coming up to seize her territory, Amaterasu-Ōmikami tied her hair atop the head to look like a man and armed herself with a sword and a bow and arrow. To prove his sincerity, Susanowo-no-Mikoto suggested giving birth to children in ukei [trial by pledge]. He told his sister to believe his sincerity if he gives birth to male children; if the children turn out to be female, then he is insincere. Amaterasu-Ōmikami broke her brother’s sword into

three pieces, rinsed them in the water from the well called 天真名井[Ame-no-manai], chewed them, and spewed them out from her mouth in a mist form. From the mist appeared the three goddesses: 田心姫 [Tagorihime], 湍津姫 [Tagitsuhime], and 市杵嶋姫 [Ichikishimahime]. Likewise, Susanowo-no-Mikoto spewed his sister's ornaments out in a mist form. From the mist appeared five gods, including 天忍穗耳尊[Ame-no-oshihomimi-no-mikoto]. Amaterasu-Ōmikami said that the gods were her children because they were born out of her ornaments. Likewise, she said that the goddesses were her brother's children because they were born out of his sword and gave the goddesses to Susanowo-no-Mikoto. The three goddesses were those worshiped by Munakata-no-Kimi in Tsukushi.

The six accounts about the birth of the Munakata goddesses revolve around 誓約[ukehi; vow]between Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the supreme goddess in Takamagahara, and Susanowo-no-Mikoto, 国津神 [Kunitsu-kami; a deity of earth]. The accounts differ, however, in a number of aspects. These different aspects are summarized in Table 1.²⁵⁾ Major differences lie in Aspect 1 (Amaterasu-Ōmikami or 日神), Aspect 3 (whether monozane [things from which the deities were born] were exchanged, Aspect 10 (whether 所生神 were exchanged), and Aspect 11 (whether 天降り took place). Based on these differences, the six accounts can largely be classified into A and B as shown in the 18th row. Of the accounts classified as A, the second alternative account in Table 1 is tentatively reclassified as A' because it is opposite to other accounts classified as A in four aspects: it mentions the exchange of the monozane in Aspect 3, fails to mention the exchange of the offspring deities in Aspect 10, describes the monozane of the three goddesses as gems in Aspect 4, and describes the monozane of the gods as a sword. Of the accounts classified as B, the third account in Chapter 7 omits the details of the birth of the three goddesses by Hinokami and focuses its attention rather on the birth of the gods by Susanowo-no-Mikoto. It bears resemblance to the third account in Chapter 6 in stating that six--not five--gods were born (the five gods plus Hinohayahi-no-Mikoto). Because of its slight differences from other accounts classified as B, however, the third account in Chapter 7 is tentatively reclassified as B'. In term of Aspect 12 (which clan worshiped the offspring deities), it would be safe to regard the Class-A accounts as being of an origin of Munakata-no-Kimi and the Class-B accounts as being of an origin of Minuma-no-Kimi [the Minuma clan, with "no-Kimi" showing the clan had a title "Kimi," one of the honorary titles for a clan]. Table 2 is a revised version of Table 1 with its focus placed on the birth of the Three Goddesses of Munakata. The following paragraphs delve deeper into the accounts with reference made to Table 2.

Ukei in Aspects (a) serves as the criterion for verifying which is right: Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity (the unfairness of Amaterasu-Ōmikami's suspicion) or his insincerity (the fairness of Amaterasu-Ōmikami's suspicion). As to who proposed this criterion, Class-A accounts cite Susanowo-no-Mikoto and Class-B accounts name Amaterasu-Ōmikami, except that the account in Kojiki fails to specify who proposed it. However, this account may suggest that Susanowo-no-Mikoto might have proposed the criterion as it states that after the birth of the offspring deities, Susanowo-no-Mikoto said: “我心清明⇒手弱女⇒自我勝.”

The difference in the criterion for proving Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity--whether the offspring deities are gods or goddesses--corresponds to the difference between Kojiki (which specifies goddesses) and Nihonshoki (which specify gods), not to the difference between Class-A accounts and Class-B accounts. In the act of ukei, Amaterasu-Ōmikami or Hinokami used a 剣 whether it belonged to her or Susanowo-no-Mikoto, and Susanowo-no-Mikoto used 玉 whether they belong to him or Amaterasu-Ōmikami (or Hinokami) except in the second alternative account in Table 1, in which a 剣 and 玉 are reversed. It is generally believed that a sword represents a man and a gem symbolizes a woman. If this belief is relevant to this particular act, either performer in ukei used the monozane representing the opposite sex to give birth. That would be a humanistic and realistic story although it belongs to the legendary world.

Class-A accounts and Class-B accounts differ on how the offspring deities were born. The former states that they were born out of the mist of the chewed monozane that had been spewed from the mouth. The latter says that they were born as the result of eating the monozane, except in the account in Chapter 7, in which the offspring deities were born out of the chewed monozane placed on the palm of the hand. The ways in which the offspring deities were born differ greatly from those in the case of the Azumi gods or the Sumiyoshi gods, which appeared at successive vertical positions. The Munakata goddesses, by contrast,

appeared from the mist horizontally spewed, according to Class-A accounts. This difference deserved attention from the viewpoint of mythology as well.²⁶⁾

The Kojiki and the Nihonshoki concur in stating that the offspring deities were of the same sex as the performer. According to these two historical records of Japan, the three goddesses were born between Amaterasu-Ōmikami or Hinokami and the sword, while the five (or six) gods were born between Susanowo-no-Mikoto and the gems in aspects (e) (except in the second alternative account in Chapter 6).

Table 1 The legend of the birth of the Three Goddesses of Munakata

要素	出典	古事記	日本書紀			
			第6段			第7段
			本文	第1の一書	第2の一書	第3の一書
1	誓約者	天照大御神 建速須佐之男命	天照大神 素戔鳴尊	日神 素戔鳴尊	天照大神 素戔鳴尊	日神 素戔鳴尊
2	誓約基準 設定者	(建速須佐之男 命)?	素戔鳴尊	日神	素戔鳴尊	日神
3	物実の交換	○	○		○	
4	三女神誕生の 物実	須佐之男命の 十拳劍	素戔鳴尊の 十握劍	日神の十握劍 九握劍 八握劍	素戔鳴尊の 八坂瓊の曲玉	日神の十握劍 九握劍 八握劍
5	素戔鳴尊所生 子による判定	(女=潔白) (男=邪心)	女=邪心 男=潔白	女=邪心 男=潔白	女=邪心 男=潔白	女=邪心 男=潔白
6	天照大神所生 日神所生	三女神	三女神	三女神	三女神	(三女神)
7	三女神 (出生順)	多紀理・売命* 市寸嶋比売命** 多岐都比売命	田心姫 湍津姫 市杵嶋姫	瀛津嶋姫 湍津姫 田心姫	市杵嶋姫命 湍津姫命 田霧姫命	瀛津嶋姫命*** 湍津姫命 田霧姫命
8	亦名	*奥津嶋比売命 **狭依・売命			***市杵嶋姫命	
9	鎮座所	胸形之奥津宮 胸形之中津宮 胸形之辺津宮			遠瀛 中瀛 海濱	
10	子の交換	○	○			清心の兒等を 姉に奉る
11	天降り			○ 居道中、奉助 天孫、而為天 孫所祭	○ 葦原中国之宇 佐嶋、海北道 中、道主貴	○ 女兒は葦原中 国へ降す
12	奉祭氏族	胸形君	筑紫胸肩君		筑紫水沼君	
13	天真名井	○	○	○	○	○
14	天安河	○			○	
15	素戔鳴尊所生	五男神	五男神	五男神	五男神	六男神
16	五男神誕生の 物実	天照大御神の珠	天照大神の 御統(玉)	素戔鳴尊の 御統の瓊(玉)	天照大神の劍 素戔鳴尊の髻 の御統の瓊(玉)	素戔鳴尊の髻 の御統の瓊 (玉)
17	五男神 (出生順)	正勝吾勝勝速日 天之忍穗耳尊 天之菩卑能命 天津日子根命 活津日子根命 熊野久須・命	正哉吾勝勝速日 天忍穗耳尊 天穗日命 天津彦根命 活津彦根命 熊野? 樟日命	正哉吾勝勝速日 天忍骨尊 天津彦根命 活津彦根命 天穗日命 熊野忍蹈命	天穗日命 勝速日天忍穗 耳尊 正哉吾勝勝速 日天忍骨尊 天穗日命 天津彦根命 活津彦根命 ? 之速日命 熊野忍蹈命	正哉吾勝勝速日 天忍穗根尊 天穗日命 天津彦根命 活日津彦根命 ? 速日命 熊野大角命
18	分類	A	A	B	A'	B

Note: The hatched part of 17 shows records of “後裔氏族”.

Table 2 Ukei, Monozane, and Konokami

出典 要素		古事記	日 本 書 紀				
			第6段				第7段
			本文	第1の一書	第2の一書	第3の一書	第3の一書
a	誓約基準提案者	(スサノヲ)?	スサノヲ	日神	スサノヲ	日神	スサノヲ
	スサノヲの正邪基準	(○女 / 男なし)	×女 / 男○	×女 / ○男	女なし / ○男	女なし / ○男	女× / ○男
b	物実交換提案者	天照大御神	天照大神	なし	天照大神	なし	なし
	物実交換	○	○		○		
c	子神交換提案者	天照大御神	天照大神				
	子神交換	○	○				
d	誓約者と物実	天照×剣・スサ	天照×剣・スサ	日神×剣	天照×玉・スサ	日神×剣	日神×剣
	所生神	三女神	三女神	三女神	三女神	三女神	三女神
	所生親	天照	天照	日神	天照	日神	(日神)
	認定親	→スサノヲ	→スサノヲ	日神	天照	日神	(日神)
e	誓約者と物実	スサ×玉・天照	スサ×玉・天照	スサ×玉	スサ×剣・天照	スサ×玉	スサ×玉
	所生神	五男神	五男神	五男神	五男神	六男神	六男神
	所生親	スサノヲ	スサノヲ	スサノヲ	スサノヲ	スサノヲ	スサノヲ
	認定親	→天照	→天照	スサノヲ	スサノヲ	スサノヲ	スサノヲ
f	女神の天降り提案者			日神		日神	スサノヲ
	女神の天降り			○		○	○
g	男神の天上統治提案者					日神	スサノヲ
	男神高天原統治					○	○
h	物実の扱いと誕生の様子	囃む・吹き棄て・ 気吹の中から	囃む・吹き棄て・ 気吹の中から	食す	囃む・吹き棄て・ 気吹の中から	食す	囃んで掌に置く
i	奉斎氏族	胸形君	筑紫胸肩君			筑紫水沼君	
j	類型	A	A	B	A'	B	B'

This resonates with the understanding that the three goddesses worshiped by Munakata-no-Kimi and Minuma-no-Kimi derive from Amaterasu-Ōmikami or Hinokami; it is favorable for the worshiping clans in their political relationship with the kingly power and the genealogy of gods. The relationship with the kingly power must have been affected, however, by the act of exchanging the offspring deities on account of the owner of the monozane as seen in Aspects (c) and making the three goddesses the children of Susanowo-no-Mikoto.

Kojiki states that Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity will be proved if goddesses result. Nihonshoki, by contrast, states that his sincerity will be proved if gods result. In other words, Amaterasu-Ōmikami's offspring deities are male according to Kojiki and female according to Nihonshoki.²⁷⁾ Class-A accounts agree on almost all the aspects, except that the account in Kojiki differs from both the main account and the second alternative account in Nihonshoki on the criterion for proving Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity. Because Kojiki specifies goddesses as proof for his sincerity, Susanowo-no-Mikoto, who gave birth to gods, should have been judged to be insincere, according to the logic of Kojiki. There are only two options to negate this conclusion: specifying gods as proof for Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity as in Nihonshoki or denying that the gods are his children. In selecting the second option, Kojiki carried out complex manipulations--regarding the offspring deities of Susanowo-no-Mikoto as goddesses, as well as exchanging both the monozane (Aspects (b)) and the offspring (Aspects (c)), or in other words, regarding the offspring as the children of the owner of the monozane.²⁸⁾ The main account in Nihonshoki has created a major contradiction in which Susanowo-no-Mikoto should be judged insincere because while regarding gods as proof for this sincerity, it states that the exchange of the offspring took place, making the goddesses his children. A similar contradiction does not occur in the second alternative account in Chapter 6, in which the monozane was exchanged but the children were not. This suggests that the exchange of the offspring in the main account in Nihonshoki is not of primary importance.

Both Class-A and Class-B accounts in the Nihonshoki, which think of gods as proof for Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity, regard the gods as the children of Susanowo-no-Mikoto because the

performer in ukei (Susanowo-no-Mikoto) gave birth to the gods. Class-A accounts state that the belonging of the performer's sibling was used as monozane (meaning that the exchange took place). In that sense, they differ from Class-B accounts, which state that the performer's belonging was used as monozane (meaning that the exchange did not take place). Apart from this difference, both accounts concur in stating that Amaterasu-Ōmikami or Hinokami performed ukei with a sword (Aspects (d)) and that Susanowo-no-Mikoto performed ukei with gems (Aspects (e)), with the exclusion of the second alternative account in Chapter 6.²⁹⁾ According to the Class-B accounts, Amaterasu-Ōmikami or Hinokami gave birth to the goddesses and Susanowo-no-Mikoto gave birth to the gods regardless of whether the performer or the owner is regarded as the one who gave birth. Regarding the performer as the one who gave birth would contradict the criterion in the Class-A account in Kojiki, as has been noted earlier. Regarding the owner of the monozane as the one who gave birth would not contradict the criterion in Kojiki because in that case, Susanowo-no-Mikoto's monozane resulted in the birth of the goddesses and Amaterasu-Ōmikami's monozane resulted in the birth of the gods. However, it would go against the criterion in Nihonshoki. If the exchange of the monozane and offspring deities is a secondary matter in Class-A accounts in Nihonshoki, then it transpires that Kojiki, which thinks of goddesses as proof of Susanowo-no-Mikoto's sincerity, regards the owner of the monozane as the one who gave birth, meaning that his offspring are goddesses.

This means that the three goddesses derive from Susanowo-no-Mikoto (the Izumo lineage); this lineage would put kingly power at a politically disadvantageous position. That does not mean, however, Izumo-no-Omi worshipped the three goddesses.³⁰⁾ It can be interpreted that the relationship between Munakata-no-Kimi (三女神奉斎氏族) and Amaterasu-Ōmikami or 日神 (Aspects (d)) means the political approval of the clan by the kingly power and even the status of it as relatives of the kingly power. The change of the biological parent of the goddesses to Susanowo-no-Mikoto does not necessarily mean that the kingly power lowered the status of the worshipping clan. Rather, it is more likely means that the change was made as demanded by the clan and that the kingly power approved the change.³¹⁾

As will be discussed later, the kingly power and Munakata-no-Kimi established close political ties through marital relationship when Amako-no-Iratsume, daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, married Prince Ōama-no-Miko (Emperor Tenmu, a descendent from Emperor Jomei) and gave birth to Prince Takechi-no-Miko, who came to play a major political role later. This political relationship allowed the Munakata goddesses to assume the nature of being an Amatsukami [a deity of heaven] by regarding them as the children of Amaterasu-Ōmikami in the Takamagahara legend amid a number of major developments, including the promotion of Amaterasu-Ōmikami to the status of being the founding deity of the Imperial Clan, the compilation of Kojiki and Nihonshoki, and the reorganization of the Jingi rituals (rituals dedicated to Kami of heaven and earth). In the Jingi system under the Ritsuryō regime of the Nara period, the Ritsuryō government had to approve the powerful traditions of Munakata gods (Munakata-no-ason) and the Izumo deities (Izumo-no-Omi), who asserted their identity in that period of time. That may have led to the assertion that the three goddesses were the children of Susanowo-no-Mikoto, a Kunitsukami [a deity of earth], as described in Kojiki.

5. The Names of the Three Goddesses and Their Original Residence

As has been summarized in the previous section, the six accounts of the birth of the Three Goddesses of Munakata can be largely classified into Class A and Class B. There are differences between Kojiki and Nihonshoki as well. The complexity involving the exchange of the monozane and the children and the conflicting criteria, coupled with the Tenson Kōrin legend, is closely associated with the inclusion of the deities of the Izumo lineage into those in Takamagahara (those of the Yamato lineage) in the more politically-motivated legend on the birth of the three goddesses and the five gods.

Nihonshoki describes the Munakata goddesses as a trinity, referring to them as the trinity of goddesses worshiped by Munakata-no-Kimi (神代上・瑞珠盟約章) and as “於筑紫所居三神” (in its article of fifth year of Emperor Richū reign). It also described them as “胸形大神” (in the article of the 41st year of Emperor Ōjin reign) and “胸方神” (in the article of the ninth year of the Yūryaku reign). The collective name of the deities corresponds to that of the worshipping clan as in the case of the Azumi gods, as has been discussed. Unlike the marine-born Azumi or Sumiyoshi gods, the Munakata goddesses were said to

have been born as the result of ukehi in 高天原[Takamagahara]; no connection with the sea is explicitly shown. Such connection is implicitly indicated, however, by the names of the goddesses shown in Table 1, as well as by the terms “Dōtyū” and “Kaihokudōtyū.” The existence of an amabe settlement in the Munakata district is also suggestive of such connection. The following paragraphs summarize these indications.

As Aspects 7 and 8 in Table 1 show, the three goddesses are called Takitsuhime, Takorihime, and Ichikishimahime (or Itsukishimahime). Their names almost correspond to those specified in Kojiki and Nihonshoki. Takitsuhime is expressed as 多岐都比売命 and 湍津姫, Ichikishimahime as 市寸嶋比売命 and 市杵嶋姫, and Takorihime as 多紀理田比売命 and 田心姫 in Kojiki and Nihonshoki, respectively. The expression “田霧姫” in the third alternative account in Table 1 of Nihonshoki corresponds to 田心姫.³²⁾ Where do these divine names come from? And what do they mean? The character “湍” in Takitsuhime means “fast, fast flowing, or rapid stream.”³³⁾ If this character is a meaning-equivalent character rather than a phonetic-equivalent one, “Takitsu” in Takitsuhime denotes “tagitsu” or “tagiru” meaning a rapidly eddying tide. Such tides must have been deified as Takitsuhime. Takorihime, which is also expressed as “田霧姫,” may well represent a divinity that has personified a marine fog. Both “Ichiki” in Ichikishimahime and “Itsuki” in Itsukishimahime mean “斎く”. Ichikishimahime (Itsukishimahime) is interpreted to represent a goddess to be worshiped or enshrined (斎つき祀られ、斎つき祀る神). The word “Ichikishimahime” (also known as “Okitsushimahime”) and other words representing this goddess in all the six accounts contain the common word component “shima” meaning “island”. This suggests that this goddess is 島神 (island deity) in nature³⁴⁾ and that it is the central deity among the three goddesses. If that is the case, Kojiki inappropriately regards 奥津嶋姫比売命 as another name of 多紀理田比売命 instead of 市寸嶋比売命. This must have been influenced by 狭依田比売命.³⁵⁾

Where has this island goddess resided? It is most reasonable to assume that it has resided in the island farthest from the coast. For one thing, the three goddesses correspond to three shrines in Kojiki and the second alternative account in Table 1--Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya, and Hetsu-miya. For another, they also correspond to the divine names in the third alternative account in Table 1 of Nihonshoki.³⁶⁾ In all the six accounts but the main account in Nihonshoki, the three goddesses each resided in the farthest, middle and nearest locations in the order of birth. The three alternative accounts in Nihonshoki describe the horizontal distribution of the three goddesses from the location farthest from Munakata in the main island of Kyūshū toward the main island. The main account in Nihonshoki, by contrast, describes the distribution from the main island. The goddess residing in a location farthest from the main island was called Okitsushimahime, as people saw the island farthest from the coast. This contrasts sharply with Watatsumi of Azumi and Sumiyoshi, whose names include components meaning the surface, the middle and the bottom. The fact that there are no such names as “Nakatsushimahime” or “Chikatsushimahime”³⁷⁾ may suggest that Okitsushimahime is different from the other two goddesses in terms of both divinity and the time of appearance.

It should be noted here that Okitsushimahime is expressed as “奥津嶋比売” in the Class-A account in Kojiki and “瀛津嶋姫” in the two Class-B accounts, that is, the first and third alternative accounts in Nihonshoki as shown in Aspects 7 and 8. The first and the second expressions contain the characters “奥” and “瀛” respectively. Likewise, the goddess’s residence also contains “奥” in Kojiki and “瀛” in the second alternative account in Table 1 of Nihonshoki. The use of the second character “瀛” in Nihonshoki is limited. The use in 天淳中原瀛真人, the Japanese posthumous title for Emperor Tenmu (Prince Ōama-no-Miko) is one of the few known examples. The character “瀛”³⁸⁾ meaning “sea” or “ocean” is also known to have Taoist connotations as seen in the expression “瀛洲,” a mountain in the Tokai region that was believed to be home to Taoist immortals. The inclusion of “瀛” as well as “真人” in 天淳中原瀛真人 is the result of Emperor Temmu himself having performed divination. Emperor Temmu, as well as his mother Empress Saimei, who built a Taoist temple, is known to be associated with Taoism and the Way of Yin and Yang. In this way, the use of “瀛” provides a useful clue as to how and when the legend of the birth of the three goddesses was developed.

It would be safe to say that by the time when Kojiki and Nihonshoki were completed, the residences of the deities had been generally determined to be Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island, and the mainland Kyūshū.

Table 1 suggests, however, that which goddess resided on which (is)land had not been fully established. What had been established is that Okitsushimahime who resides in Okinoshima is actually Ichikishimahime, as evidenced by two factors. One is that the word “Ichikishimahime” or its equivalents representing this goddess in all the six accounts share the common word component meaning “island.” The other factor is the relationship between 市杵嶋姫 and 瀛津嶋姫 in four of the five accounts of Nihonshoki. It must be the other two goddesses whose residences were in a state of flux. This may suggest that these two deities came some time after Ichikishimahime. The two Class-A accounts, one in Kojiki and the other being the main account in Nihonshoki, might reflect the state of more confusion before Nihonshoki. Be that as it may, it is clear that the goddess residing in Okinoshima represents the original form of the Munakata goddesses and that Okinoshima is their original residence.

6. Okinoshima Island: a Landmark in Kaihoku

Ichikishimahime (Itsukishimahime), the central figure among the Three Goddesses of Munakata, is 島神 (island deity) and a major landmark in the Genkai Sea.³⁹⁾ These attributes are best expressed in the direction given by Hinokami as described in Class-B accounts in Nihonshoki about the birth of the three goddesses. Regarding this direction, the first alternative account in Table 1 of Nihonshoki states: “日神(略)乃以_二日神所生三女神_一、令_レ降_二於筑紫洲_一。因教之曰、汝三神、宜降_二居道中_一、奉_レ助_二天孫_一、而為_二天孫_一所祭也。” Included in this passage is the phrase “*descend on Michi-no-Naka*.” The third alternative account in Chapter 6 of *Nihonshoki* states: “日神(略)即以_二日神所生三女神_一者、使_レ降_二居于葦原中國之宇佐嶋_一矣。今在_二海北道中_一。號曰_二道主貴_一。” Included in this passage is the phrase “[the goddesses,] now in *Umi-no-Kita-no-Michi-no-naka*, are called *Michinushi-no-Muchi*.” “Michi” clearly refers to a sea route. The goddesses residing in the sea route are the guardians of the sea route, which is none other than “*Michinushi-no-Muchi*.”⁴⁰⁾ The fact that this direction was intended for the Munakata goddesses, as well as the phrase “descended on the land of Tsukushi” in the first alternative account, shows that the sea refers primarily to the Genkai Sea. Likewise, it is clear that the goddesses reside in Okinoshima. It is possible that the other two goddesses were added later as additional deities to protect the sea route over the years during which the people of the sea continued to worship Okinoshima (or 島神) from the shore of Munakata or from the sea.

The third alternative account in Table 1 explicitly states that Minuma-no-Kimi contributed to these Class-B accounts. As will be discussed later, Minuma-no-Kimi is a clan which was based in the Mizuma county in Chikugo Province and closely related to the Ariake Sea. The Munakata goddesses were not their ancestral deities; they were secondary deities for them. Given this fact, nothing must have stood in the way of the clan handing down the legend that regarded the Munakata goddesses they worshiped as the deities residing on the island in the Genkai Sea. According to the third alternative account, the Munakata goddesses descended on 葦原中國之宇佐嶋. Experts are divided over what Usa-no-Shima represents. Some argue that it refers to Usa in Buzen Province. Others maintain that it refers to Okinoshima in Chikuzen Province. The use of the ambiguous expression “葦原中國,” as opposed to “the land of Tsukushi” as specified in the first alternative account, seems to have been politically motivated as in the case of the Tenson Kōrin legend in Nihonshoki. According to the first alternative account, the three goddesses descended “to support the successive descendants.” Because of this support, “the goddesses were worshiped by the descendants.”⁴¹⁾ If this concept is applicable to the third alternative account, this account can be interpreted as stating that the three goddesses were ordered to descend on the island to support the descendants.⁴²⁾

“Dōtyū” in the first alternative account corresponds to “Kaihokudōtyū” in the third alternative account. There has been a general understanding that “Kaihokudōtyū” refers to the sea route to the Korean Peninsula via Okinoshima, distinct from the one via Iki and Tsushima islands. The expression “Kaihoku” also appears in the memorial to King Song of Paekche in Nihonshoki’s article of December of the 15th year of Emperor Kimmei reign, which reads: “以斯羅無道、不_レ畏_二天皇_一、與_レ狛同_レ心、欲_レ殘_二滅海北彌移居_一。臣等共議、遣_二有至臣等_一、仰乞_二軍士_一、征_二伐斯羅_一。” The expression “海北彌移居”⁴³⁾ in this passage is generally interpreted to mean Miyake in the Korean Peninsula from the overall context. This does not, however, explicitly mean that “Kaihoku” is a synonym for Korea or the Korean Peninsula. It is more appropriate to assume that “Kaihoku” simply means “to the north from a reference point.” Nihonshoki’s

sense of direction⁴⁴⁾ regards Korea and China as located to the west as shown in such expressions as “海西諸韓” (in the article of May of the 50th year of Jingū reign), “海西” (in the article of March of the 51st year of Jingū reign), “海西諸国官家” (in the article of February of the fifth year of Emperor Kimmei reign), “海西蕃国” (in the article of February of the 16th year of Emperor Kimmei reign), and “西海使” (in the article of July of Hakuchi 5 and the articles of the second, third, and fourth year of Emperor Saimei reign). There seems to be no problem in interpreting “to the west” as “to the west of the sea.” Experts would agree that Nihonshoki places the reference point in the Kinai region. By contrast, the reference point for “Kaihoku” is northern Kyūshū, not the Kinai region. It is more reasonable to assume that “Kaihoku” refers to the waters in and around the Genkai Sea, not a specific sea route and that “Kaihoku” in the legend of the three goddesses primarily points to the waters north of the Munakata region.

Today, vessels are generally equipped with modern instruments such as nautical charts and a radar; very few sailors navigate only with their own eyes. It is safe to say, however, that Okinoshima Island remains an important navigational landmark for vessels sailing in the Genkai Sea. As a map of the region shows, Okinoshima is situated in the center of the Genkai Sea, 60-70 kilometers each from Munakata (on the main island of Kyūshū), northern Kyūshū, Iki and Tsushima Island, Tsunoshima Island of Yamaguchi Prefecture, and Shimonoseki. If the ancient navigation was Jinori Kōhō, which centered around coastal or near coastal navigation that depended much on visual observations, then Okinoshima must have been a *landmark in Kaihoku* and served as a beacon that allowed sailors to know where they were and the direction they were heading for. This characterizes the Munakata goddesses as island deities. They protected the people of the sea (sailors and fishermen) who did not confine themselves to Munakata and northern Kyūshū, wished for safe voyages and abundant catches in the Genkai sea, and worshiped these deities.

7. The Munakata Goddesses and Yamato Kingly Power

The third alternative account in Table 1 of Nihonshoki, which is classified as belonging to Class B in Table 1, describes the three goddesses as “此筑紫の水沼君等が祭る神、是なり.”⁴⁵⁾ Minuma-no-Kimi⁴⁶⁾ was a powerful clan based in the Mizuma district in Chikugo Province near the Chikugo River and the Ariake Sea. Much of their origin is unknown, however. Nihonshoki, in its article of February of the fourth year of the Keikō reign, describes Kunichiwake-no-Miko (Haha-sono-Take-hime) as “*the progenitor of the Minuma clan*.” According to Nihonshoki’s article of July of the 18th year of the Emperor Keiko reign on the emperor’s trip to Kyūshū, Minuma-no-Agatanushi-Saru-Ōmi told him in Yame-ken that a goddess called Yametsu-hime resided in the mountains. These tales point to the clan’s close relationship with Yamato kingly power. It is important to remember that the tales of the imperial trip to Kyūshū in the reign of Emperor Keikō are more recent; Kojiki does not contain similar tales. Sendai Kūji Hongi, in Volume 5 on the grandson of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, describes Mononobe-no-Ajiko-no-Muraji-no-Kimi, the 14th descendant [of Umashimachi-no-Mikoto] as “the ancestor of the Minuma-no-Kimi and others.” The Mononobe was deeply involved in the pacification of or the rule over Kyūshū by the kingly power. For example, Mononobe-no-Ōmuraji-Arakabi is believed to have been dispatched to the Chikugo region to quell the “rebellion” by Iwai of Tsukushi-no-Kimi [the Tsukushi clan].⁴⁷⁾ Be that as it may, the genealogical description in Sendai Kūji Hongi is secondary in importance and untrustworthy.

Minuma (水沼) may also be written as “水間” or “三瀨”. The character “瀨” means “a pool of water or a pond.”⁴⁸⁾ The clan’s names likely reflect such features in the lower reaches of the Chikugo River.

On the meaning of “minuma,” ORIKUCHI Shinobu ⁴⁹⁾ argues that “minuma” and “mitsuha” are two different forms of the same word and that “mitsuha” in “Mitsuhanome” means “minuma.” He contends that “Mitsuhanome” was apparently thought to be a female serpent or an aquatic animal. Building on ORIKUCHI’s theory, TANIGAWA Kenichi⁵⁰⁾ maintains that mitsuha refers to a kind of aquatic serpent (mizuchi) and that Minuma-no-Kimi was none other than the shrine maiden who worshipped the serpent-shaped goddess who resided on the bottom of the water (the goddess of minuma). He considers it logical to conclude that the Munakata clan also worshipped this goddess. People living off the sea likely feared and venerated something lurking in the sea, and it seems that the Munakata was no exception. That does not necessarily mean, however, that the serpent-shaped goddess suggested by these two experts was directly associated with the Munakata goddesses or the Munakata-no-Kimi. If Minuma-no-Kimi

worshipped such a water deity, it is more likely that the clan had a chance to associate it with the Munakata goddesses and Munakata-no-Kimi. The pacification of the “rebellion” by Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai represents a watershed in the process of Yamato kingly power gaining rule over Kyūshū. The Munakata made inroads into Chikugo and the Ariake Sea probably with the backing and intentions of the kingly power.

The tales that suggest close association between the Munakata clan and goddesses and the Chikugo region often feature hataori, which was without doubt closely associated with Jingi rituals.⁵¹⁾ Hizen-no-Kuni Fudoki, in an episode in Himekoso gō, Kii-gun (ancient district), states that when Kaseko, a resident in the Munakata district, threw a banner to identify and pacify the raging deity, it flew over the grove of Himekoso Shrine in the Mihara district and fell near Yamaji River. This allowed Kaseko to know where the raging deity resided. The appearance of loom parts--kutsubiki and tatari--in his dream showed that the deity turned out to be a goddess. According to the Nihonshoki's article of february of the 41st year of the Ōjin reign, Achi-no-Omi and others were ordered to bring seamstresses and sent to Kure. After returning to Tsukushi with four seamstresses, they offered E-hime, one of the four, at the behest of Munakata-no-Ōkami. The other three arrived at Muko (Tsu) in Tsu Province. The article adds: *This is the ancestor of the Mitsukai-no-Kimi, the clan who are now in Tsukushi Province.* “This” in the sentence probably refers to Ehime. The identity of this clan cannot be independently confirmed.⁵²⁾ A similar tale is contained in the Nihonshoki's article of January of the 14th year of the Yūryaku reign. According the article, Ao and others of Musa-no-Suguri brought skilled seamstresses including Ayahatori, Kurehatori, and Kinunui-no-Ehime-Otohome from Kure and had them stay in the port of Sumiyoshi. Ehime was offered to Ōmiwa-no-Kami. Also referring to Ao and others of Musa-no-Suguri as well as Kure is the article of September of the tenth year of the Yūryaku reign. According to this article, the geese offered from Kure was bitten to death by a dog of the Minuma-no-Kimi,⁵³⁾ who offered swans and a swan-keeper to the kingly power as a sign of their atonement.⁵⁴⁾ Achi-no-Omi, Musa-no-Suguri, and others were from the Yamato-no-Ayashi, a clan who had come from the Eastern Han Dynasty of China. It is likely that these tales are the product of combing the clan's tales with those of weavers (the Munakata goddesses) and bird-keepers (Minuma-no-Kimi). It is likely that these tales do not date back much. For one thing, it is assumed that Achi-no-Omi was placed above Tsuka-no-Omi as an older ancestor.⁵⁵⁾ For another, similar stories are contained in Nihonshoki's articles on the Ōjin and Yūryaku reigns.⁵⁶⁾

The articles in Nihonshoki reporting on the relationship between Yamato kingly power and the Munakata goddesses or Munakata-no-Kimi are those of March and October of the fifth year of the Richū reign and the one of February of the ninth year of the Yūryaku reign, as well as the volume on the Ōjin reign as mentioned above. According to these two articles on the Richū reign, “the three deities residing in Tsukushi” appeared in the imperial palace and raged: “Why did you take away our people? Now we shall shame you.” The Emperor “prayed but did not worship them (inorite matsuazu),” which “failed to pacify the divine curse (kami no tatari wo osamezu).” As a result, Princess Kuro-hime died. It turned out that Kurumamochi-no-Kimi, the clan in charge of supervising the Kurumamochi-be, a group of people tasked with building and carrying the vehicles of the Court, went to Tsukushi and, in the process of inspecting the members of Kurumamochi-be, took away those entrusted with divine rituals.⁵⁷⁾ These members were later put back in the service of the three deities. According to the Newly Compiled Record of Surnames [Shinsen Shōjiroku], a genealogy of noble clans, Kurumamochi-no-Kimi was given its name because the clan offered vehicles to Emperor Yūryaku. The Record categorizes Kurumamochi-no-Kimi under Kobetsu (offshoots of the imperial line, descended from Amaterasu-Ōmikami), Sakyō. Under the Ritsuryō system, Kurumamochi-no-Kimi supported Tonomoribe officers in the Imperial Palace Keeper's Bureau of the Imperial Household Department; it took charge of the Emperor's vehicles and attendance on the Emperor. Some members of the clan were likely put in charge of the vehicle for the three deities of Tsukushi. The divine curse likely reflects the ire of the deities whose demand had not been met; it does not signify that the Munakata goddesses were cursing deities.⁵⁸⁾ This tale reflects the memory of a series of major historical developments--from the phase in which Yamato kingly power had to make some concessions to local powerful clans leading up to the phase in which these clans were put under the control of the kingly power.

According to the article of the Yūryaku reign, Ōshikōchi-no-Atai-no-Katabu and uneme attendant were dispatched to worship the Munakata deities. When they were about to perform a rite in the altar hall, Katabu raped her. Upon hearing this news, the Emperor sent Naniwa-no-Hidaka-no-Kishi to put Katabu to death. He ran away. Eventually Yuge-no-Muraji Toyoho [the Yuge clan] caught and executed Katabu in Aihara of the Mishima district. The act by the kingly power of sending a pair of a man and a woman to

worship the Munakata goddesses reflects the ancient form of religious rituals in Japan.⁵⁹⁾ Informed of the sexual act in the altar hall, the Emperor said, “*you should worship deities and pray for good luck in a decent manner*,” and punished Katabu. It is thought that this reflected the values of the period when the true meaning of the act of marriage between a human being and a deity in a ritual had already been forgotten.⁶⁰⁾ The later state of affairs as highlighted by the appearance of Yuge-no-Muraji, combined with the memory of the times when the kingly power had to make some concessions to local powerful clans as in the case of the above-mentioned article of the Richū reign, seems to reflect a new type of embellishments.⁶¹⁾ The tale of worshipping the Munakata goddesses and the tale of executing Katabu might have been combined into one story.

It should be noted here that the articles on the Munakata goddesses are unique to *Nihonshoki*; *Kojiki* does not contain such articles. For one thing, these two historical records are not based on common historical literature. For another, *Nihonshoki* was compiled sometime later than *Kojiki*. It is important to remember that these tales, despite being suggestive of the connection between the kingly power and the Munakata goddesses, are contained in the volumes on the reigns from Ōjin to Yūryaku. They are not contained in the volume on Emperors Sujin and Suinin, in which articles on rituals for deities important to the kingly power, including deities of Ise, Miwa, Yamato-no-Ōkunitama, Isonokami, and Izumo, tend to be concentrated.⁶²⁾ That will help understand the intentions and the historical context behind the compilation of *Nihonshoki*.

8. The Transfer of the Divided Spirits of the Munakata Goddesses to the Kinai Region [Kinai Kanjō] and the Sea Routes for the Kingly Power

Two articles in *Nihonshoki* clearly show the relationship between Yamato kingly power and Munakata. One is the article of February of the second year of Emperor Temmu reign (673), which states: “*Next, Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen [the Munakata clan] offered [the Emperor] his daughter Amako-no-Iratsume, who gave birth to Prince Takechi-no-Miko.*” The other is the article of November of the 13th year of the Temmu reign, which reports that the Emperor granted “Ason,” one of 八色の姓 known as “Yakusa-no-Kabane” to 52 clans, including Munakata-no-Kimi.

According to the second article, the title “Ason” was granted to 39 clans with the title of Omi, two clans with the title of Muraji, and 11 clans with the title of Kimi. Munakata-no-Kimi was among these 11 clans along with Ōmiwa-no-Kimi and Kamo-no-Kimi (both of which were in charge of religious affairs), showing that the clan had a high status within the Court. The fact that Kurumamochi-no-Kimi was also granted the Ason title coincides with the above-mentioned article of the Emperor Richū reign.

The marriage between Prince Ōama-no-Miko (Emperor Tenmu) and Amako-no-Iratsume was of great significance not only for the Munakata but also for the imperial family of Emperor Jomei lineage. Prince Takechi-no-Miko was the only son of Emperor Temmu who took part in the Jinshin War as a general. Because of his role in the war, Prince Takechi-no-Miko carried weight in the Imperial Court. Prince Takechi-no-Miko has a son known as Nagaya-Ō. Prince Takechi-no-Miko, who is regarded by some as the “founder” of the Munakata Shrine in the Shikinokami district in Yamato Province, passed away in July of the 10th year of Emperor Jitō reign (696). It is not known how old when he died or when he was born. Historical materials of later periods suggest that he was born in the fifth year of the Hakuchi reign (654) or the first year of Emperor Saimei reign (655),⁶³⁾ indicating that Prince Ōama-no-Miko married Amako-no-Iratsume earlier.

Iminaoama, the real name of Emperor Temmu, likely derived from the name “Ōama-no-sukune,” the family who brought him up (yōiku shizoku); in the mogari funeral ritual for Temmu, Arakama of Ōama-no-sukune is known to have spoken about his memory of rearing the emperor as a child in his eulogy. Amako-no-Iratsume was also appropriately named for a woman who came from a clan who worshipped the Three Goddesses of Munakata, as ‘Amako’ in Amako-no-Iratsume can be expressed as “海子” [child of the sea]. Furthermore, the valets attending Prince Ōama-no-Miko (Temmu) included Ōkida-no-Kimi Esaka and Wakami (Ōkida-no-Kimi was a powerful clan in Kyūshū). This is yet another piece of evidence showing that Prince Ōama-no-Miko was closely associated with the sea and Kyūshū. This association seems to have derived from the political will of someone higher in status, rather than the will of the prince himself.

In the reign of Yūryaku in the late 5th century, Yamato kingly power grew and increased its dominance over local powerful clans, as evidenced by the inscriptions on the iron single-edged sword excavated from the Eta-Funayama (mounded) tomb and those on the iron double-edged sword unearthed from the Inariyama (mounded) tomb. The kingly power virtually brought the whole country under its control by the early 6th century with its successful pacification of the "rebellion" by Tsukushi-no-Kimi Iwai. It built a number of footholds, including Natsu-no-Miyake, for ruling Kyūshū as well. The reunification of the Northern and Southern Dynasties in China at the end of the 6th century and the subsequent rise and fall of Sui and Tang Dynasties brought about a major upheaval to East Asia. In and after the Suiko reign, the kingly power faced two major challenges: how to establish new relations with the dynasties in China and countries in the Korean Peninsula, and how to restructure the domestic regime in line with the changing international situation. An even more daunting challenge came between the 640s to the 660s. During this period, the Yamato kingly power was managed by the descendants of Prince Tamura (Emperor Jomei), who succeeded to the throne after Emperor Suiko. This lineage, to which Temmu belonged, can be described as a new imperial lineage, which began with his father Emperor Jomei. The lineage, which may have derived from the Okinaga clan, was distinct from the traditional Soga lineage. Those of this lineage eventually "modernized" ancient Japan by establishing the Ritsuryō System. In the process, the kingly power made a number of attempts to establish new relations with Tang China and Korean countries. In one of these attempts, the kingly power sent troops to Paekche, which were defeated in Hakusukinoe. It is obvious that sea routes via the Genkai Sea had an essential role to play in these attempts and attracted fresh attention of the kingly power.

For the Yamato kingly power, sea traffic was essential for successful exchanges with Kyūshū and even other countries. There were two major routes for such traffic: the Sea of Japan route and the Inland Sea route. The Sea of Japan route went northward from Yamato Province, passed Yamashiro Province and Ōmi Province, arrived at Tsuruga (or Tsuruga Bay and Wakasa Bay from a wider perspective), went along the Sea of Japan coast, passed Izumo Province, turned southward near Tsunoshima Island, and arrived at the Kanmon Strait or Shimonoseki or veered to the Hibiki Sea and headed toward the western Genkai Sea. This is the route Empress Jingū (Okinagatarashi-Hime-no-Mikoto) took when she headed for Anato [the Kammon Strait] from Tsunuga to meet Emperor [Chūai], who was in Kii Province, as part of their plan to defeat the rebellious Kumaso people who refused to bring a tribute to the kingly power, according to Nihonshoki's article of March of the second year of the Chūai reign. The Munakata Shrine in Hōki Province and the Ou district in Izumo Province were located almost halfway between Tsuruga and the Kammon Strait. About 60 kilometers to the west from Tsunoshima Island sits Okinoshima Island. Tsushima Island is 70 plus kilometers from Okinoshima. The Inland Sea route, on the other hand, went westward from the port of Naniwa or the port of Sumiyoshi along the coast of the mainland Honshū (along the Sanyō-dō) or along the coast of the main island of Shikoku (along the Nankai-dō). The Honshū course ran through Honshū and arrived at northern Kyūshū via the Kammon Strait or at the east coast of Kyūshū through the Suō Sea. The Shikoku course first went northward from Matsuyama through the Inland Sea to Hōfu and converged with the Honshū course or went through the Suō Sea toward the Kunisaki Peninsula and headed north in the waters along the eastern coast of Kyūshū and passed the Kammon Strait, or landed directly on the eastern coast. The Kammon Strait, where the tide has been strong to this day, posed a major challenge for travelers. Travelers who wished to deter this strait and opt for a safer route landed the eastern coast of Kyūshū facing the Suō Sea, took an inland route to arrive at Hakata Bay, Karatsu Bay or the Ariake Sea.⁶⁴⁾

These traffic routes had political and military significance for Prince Ōama-no-Miko (of the Jomei lineage). It is reasonable to conclude that Ōama-no-Miko wanted to have close relations with Ōkida -no-Kimi and Munakata-no-Kimi to gain control over the Suō Sea (the inland sea) and the Genkai Sea (the open sea), respectively. Such awareness was likely shared among the elites at the kingly power in that period of time. The marriage between Prince Ōama-no-Miko and Amako-no-Iratsume may have been motivated by the kingly power's wishes to establish such relations, and presumably by the intentions of the central figures of the kingly power--including Emperor Kōgyoku--to do so.⁶⁵⁾

9. Munakata and Izumo

Both Kojiki and Nihonshoki fail to mention the origin of Munakata-no-Kimi, who was granted the tile of

朝臣, one of the eight honorary titles known as "八色の姓" (Yakusa-no-Kabane). The origin is mentioned only in Shinsen Shōji Roku, which states: "宗形朝臣 大神朝臣同祖、吾田片隅命之後也" (左京神別)・"宗形君 大国主命六世孫、吾田片隅命之後也" (河内国神別). The Record characterizes the clan as a clan supposedly descended from a deity (or deities of the land or earth). 宗形朝臣・君 mentioned here was a branch family who transferred its domicile to the Kinai region sometime in the history. It is unlikely that they maintained that they came from a different origin from the Munakata Clan in Chikuzen. It is known at least that the Munakata Clan made the point between the end of Nara period and the beginning of Heian period that they were of the Izumo lineage, or more specifically, a descendant of Atada-Katasumi-no-Mikoto, who was a descendant of Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto. Saikaidō Fudoki, as quoted in Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi, compiled by the Munakata Grand Shrine, states: "*The descendants of Ōama-no-Mikoto include present-day Munakata-no-Ason.*" The description of this origin was made actually later in time. The trustworthiness of *Saikaidō Fudoki* itself as a historical record cannot be independently verified. The notion that the clan derived from Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto is unreliable because the deity is a god, not a goddess. This notion might be the product of more recent interpretations.

The claim that the Munakata family is of the Izumo lineage seems to be reflected in a number of legends. One such legend is that the Three Goddesses of Munakata were born as the result of ukei between Amaterasu-Ōmikami (Hinokami) and Susanowo-no-Mikoto of the Izumo lineage. Another is a legend in Kojiki that Ōkuninushi-no-Kami married the "goddess residing in Munakata Okutsu-Miya," that is, Takirihime-no-Mikoto, who gave birth to Ajisuki-Takahikone-no-Kami. The second legend was likely aimed at further explaining the relationship between Munakata and Izumo.

Munakata and Izumo bear similarities. As will be discussed later, an analogy can be drawn between the administrator of the Munakata district and that of the Ou district, as well as between the Kannushi of Munakata and Izumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko. In this context, special attention should be given to Nihonshoki's article of July of the 60th year of the Sujin reign, which describes Izumo's subjugation to the kingly power.⁶⁶⁾

Emperor Sujin wanted to see the sacred treasure that Takehinateru-no-Mikoto had brought from heaven and was now deposited in the shrine of Izumo-no-Ōkami. One day, he sent an envoy to Izumo, where the envoy found that Izumo-Furune, who was a remote ancestor of Izumo-no-Omi and was in charge of the management of the sacred treasure, was away on a trip to Tsukushi Province. His younger brother Iirine offered the treasure as ordered by the Emperor. When Izumo-Furune returned home and learned what had happened, he got angry and made up his mind to kill his brother. Later, Izumo-Furune asked his brother to go to a pool for a bath with him. They bathed. Then Izumo-Furune got out of the water and took his brother's sword. Iirine got out and took his brother's sword, which turned out to be a wooden sword. They hit each other and Iirine was killed because of the wooden sword. Upon hearing what happened, the Emperor executed Izumo-Furune. Lest the Emperor get angry, Izumo-no-Omi refrained from worshipping the god for some time.

Then Hikatobe, a man of Hikami in Tamba told Crown Prince Ikume-no-Mikoto (Emperor Suinin) of a casual remark his child had made, adding that the remark might be a divine oracle, not the words of a small child. The Crown Prince reported this to the Emperor, who in turn ordered Izumo-no-Omi to worship Izumo-no-Ōkami.

This tale is unique to Nihonshoki; it is not contained in Kojiki. Yet Kojiki, in its chapter on Emperor Keikō, includes a tale about the murder of Izumo-Takeru on orders from Yamatotakeru-no-Mikoto. A parallel can be drawn between this tale and the tale of the fratricide if attention is given to such symbols as the fake (wooden) sword, bathing, the exchange of the swords, and a ballad. The tale of the fratricide revolves around the absence of Izumo-Furune, who was tasked with the management of the divine treasure. Where he had gone should not have mattered, but Tsukushi Province was specified. This should not be interpreted as the product of whimsical thinking; it should be interpreted to represent the actual relationship between Izumo and Tsukushi.⁶⁷⁾ The reference to Tsukushi Province reflects the perception of the people who told this tale from generation to generation or the situation when this tale was created, including the existence of the Sea of Japan route. Tsukushi Province in this tale refers not to Kyūshū as a whole but to a specific location in the main island. More specifically speaking, it would be safe to say that the creator of this tale was mindful of the Munakata district in Chikuzen Province in using this expression.

The Munakata Shrine in the district of Aimi in Hōki Province (present-day Munakata, Yonago City, Tottori Prefecture)⁶⁸⁾ is the only shrine listed in Engi-Shiki along the Sea of Japan coast. The Aimi district shared the border with the Ou district in Izumo Province. The land of Munakata where this shrine is located is home to the Higashi-Munakata archaeological site, which include the Higashi-Munakata and Munakata mounded tomb groups. Round Burial Mounds No. 6 and No. 7 in the Higashi-Munakata mounded tomb groups are thought to have been built in the early 6th century.⁶⁹⁾ Their burial facilities are pit-type stone chambers with a horizontal-entrance, the type of chambers that was common in northern Kyūshū from the late 5th century to the early 6th century. The Rōji (mounded) tomb in Fukuoka City provides a good example of this type. It is thought that the builders of these tumuli at least had direct contact with northern Kyūshū. More evidence is needed, however, to determine they were people of Hōki or even those of northern Kyūshū themselves. Yet the fact that tumuli with a stone chamber that is most prevalent in northern Kyūshū exist within hailing distance from the Munakata Shrine in the “Munakata” area in Hōki Province would not make it unreasonable to assume that this land had connections with northern Kyūshū, especially the Munakata region in Chikuzen, and even that people from the region settled down in the Munakata area in Hōki.⁷⁰⁾

The Sea of Japan route that connected Munakata with Izumo also provided a link between Tsuruga and northern Kyūshū, an important link for the kingly power. This route may have been established with the involvement of the Okinaga clan based in the Sakata district in Ōmi Province --a clan that led to the Jomei lineage. Such a historical background, as well as the state of the affairs in the 7th century, partly explains why the imperial family of the Jomei lineage placed a high value on sea traffic and Kyūshū.

10. Serving As Both the Kannushi or Kuni-no-Miyatsuko, and Gunji

The extant historical texts record the activity of Munakata-no-Kimi (Munakata-no-Ason) as a local clan from the 8th century onward; no such literature is available on their activity in earlier times. These texts show yet another similarity between the Munakata and Izumo clans: they had both administrative and religious duties. Munakata-no-Ason served as both Gunji of the Munakata district and the Kannushi of Munakata, while the Izumo-no-Omi served as both Gunji of the Ou district and Kuni-no-Miyatsuko of Izumo Province. As far as the Munakata and Izumo clans are concerned, the practice of a clan having such dual duties continued even after the separation of religion and politics was completed, as highlighted by the establishment of two distinctive entities: Dajōkan (the Council of State) and Jingikan (the Council of Religious Affairs). In other words, the Ritsuryō government (Imperial Court) allowed the Munakata and Izumo clans to practice the unity of religion and politics. Moreover, both the Munakata and Ou districts held the title of Shingun. This title had been granted to support specific shrines outside the Kinai region,⁷¹⁾ it represents favorable treatment of these shrines by the kingly power. These two districts were the only Shingun in the western provinces, with the Ou district serving the Kumano-ni-Imasu Shrine (and Kitsuki Taisha)⁷²⁾ and the Munakata district serving the Munakata Shrine. The fact that there were no Shingun in the Inland Sea area may reflect the historical background regarding the rule and consideration by the kingly power.

The history of the relationship between Yamato kingly power and the Izumo clan is characterized by rule and subjugation. The expression “Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko” first appears in Nihonshoki’s article of the fifth year of the Saimei reign (659), which includes a passage: “[The Emperor] ordered *Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko to repair the shrine.*” The subjugation of Izumo to the Yamato kingly power is suggested by the myth of kuniyuzuri (cession of land) and the tale of Izumo-Furune and Izumo-Takeru and by the inauguration rite for Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko that reflected the memory of these legends. On the other hand, no historical material is available that suggests the existence of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko in Munakata. Nihonshoki contains a number of articles that point to the Yamato kingly power’s consideration for the Munakata goddesses and the Munakata clan, partly in the context of marital relations between the Munakata-no-Kimi and the kingly power. These articles appear in the sections on the Ōjin, Richū, and Yūryaku reigns. Despite these historical differences, the legends of Munakata and those of Izumo, including ウケヒ神話 and the Tenson Kōrin myth, were integrated into the legends of the kingly power. It was important for the kingly power to gain control over these two areas, which were connected to each other by the Sea of Japan route. The international situation in East Asia in the 7th century made firm control

of these areas even more necessary.

What is special about the Shingun-Gunji (Gunji administering Shingun) was that the Gunji's relatives in the third degree were allowed to replace them. In March of the second year of Emperor Mommu reign (698), third-degree relatives of the Gunji of both the Munakata district of Chikuzen Province and the Ou district of Izumo Province were allowed to take over the office, according to Shoku Nihongi (the Continuation of Chronicles of Japan). It was until as many as 25 years later that this arrangement was approved for other Shingun, including the Watarai district of Ise Province, as part of measures by the procedure of the Dajōkan in November, Yōrō 7 (723) (Ryō-no-Shūge 選叙令 7 同司主典条). The preceding approval of in-family succession in the two Shingun-Gunji suggests that the unity of religion and politics was practiced more substantially there than in other Shingun and that the Imperial Court, mindful of that reality, had to show a measure of consideration for the two clans. In Izumo, the Gunji doubled as the Kannushi with Kuni-no-Miyatsuko playing a pivotal (mediating) role (「承前国造兼帶神主」 in the Decree of the Dajōkan in October, Enryaku 17 in Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku). In Munakata, where Kuni-no-Miyatsuko was not stationed, the Gunji doubled as the Kannushi without such mediation (「令国造帶郡領」 in the Decree of the Dajōkan in March, Enryaku 17 in Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 7). The difference in dual-office arrangement between the two Shingun reflects the gap in the history of their relations to the kingly power. Be that as it may, the Munakata and Izumo clans were eventually put under pressure to practice the separation of religion and politics.

The Izumo clan was ordered to do so by the Decree of the Dajōkan issued in March, Enryaku 17 (798) titled “應任出雲国意宇郡大領事”, which states: “昔者国造郡領職員有別、各守其任不敢違越、慶雲三年以来令国造帶郡領、寄言神事動廢公務、雖則有闕怠而不加刑罰、(略)自今以後、宜改舊例国造郡領分職任之”(Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 7). The decree cited as the reason the tendency for the double-office holding clan to give priority to their duties as Kuni-no-Miyatsuko or the Kannushi, often neglecting their administrative duties as top district officials [gunryō]. As discussed earlier, Kuni-no-Miyatsuko renovated a shrine (probably the Kumano-ni-Imasu Shrine in the Ou district) during the Emperor Saimei reign, indicating that Kuni-no-Miyatsuko served as a mediator between the Kannushi and the top district officials. Under Ritsuryō system, the system of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko was once abolished, and many of them were appointed as top district officials. Eventually it was reorganized into a new system known as Ritsuryō kuni-no-miyatsuko. It is thought that the Izumo clan had many of the attributes characteristics of old kuni-no-miyatsuko. These developments provide a background to the article of Keiun 3 (706) cited in the Decree of the Dajōkan. It would be safe to say that the double-office arrangement was in place some time before and after that year.

The Munakata clan was ordered to abolish the double-office practice two years after the Izumo clan was ordered to do so, according to the Decree of Dajōkan issued in December, Enryaku 19, titled “應停筑前国宗像郡大領兼帶宗像神主事”(Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 7), which states: “右大臣宣称、奉勅、郡司神主職掌各別、莫令郡司兼帶神主”. The practice of 大領補任=神主兼帶=(外)五位叙位 was customary as shown in the report to the central government by Dazai-fu (the government headquarters in Kyūshū), quoted in the Decree of Dajōkan, which states: “當郡大領補任之日、例兼神主即叙五位”. This practice is consistent with the state of Gunji and Kannushi under Ritsuryō system as shown in Table 3. This government decree also made the following three points. First, an imperial rescript issued in March, Enryaku 17 called for making merit-not lineage as had traditionally been the case--the key condition for appointing Gunji. Efforts were thus made, in vain, to search high and low for the right person to succeed Munakata-no-Ason Iketsukuri as Gunji, who had just deceased in February. With the title of 外從五位下, he served as both Gunji and Kannushi. As a result, it was often impossible to perform the rituals to worship the goddesses. Second, this state of affairs made it necessary to select a man of integrity (kessei rentei) from the clan who was capable of rituals and appoint him as Kannushi for only a six-year term in accordance with the decree issued by Jingikan in February, Enryaku 7. Third, it was thus necessary to abolish the practice of double-office holding because it was “inappropriate” since the term of office for Gunji was permanent while that for Kannushi was six years. Again, there are many similarities and a few differences between the Izumo and Munakata clans in how the double-office practice was abolished. Be that as it may, the second half of the Enryaku era (the reign of Emperor Kanmu) was a turning point for both clans.

11. Munakata-no-Ason and Takashina-no-Mahito (Takashina Clan)

Table 3 summarizes the articles on the court ranks conferred on, and the offices given to, people of Munakata-no-Ason. Under the Ritsuryō system, Gunji was outside the scope of the job-raking system whereby offices corresponded to court ranks. It was simply stipulated in Yōrō Senjo Ryō, which states: “其大領外従八位上、少領外従八位下叙之”⁷³⁾ (Article 13 on Gunji). Table 3 shows that the original court ranks largely ranged from 外八位 to 外五位, not unusual for Gunji.

Table3 Gunji and Kannushi

	年 月	人 名	職 名	位 階	叙 位	出 典
1	709 和銅2年5月	宗形朝臣等抒	大領	外従五位下	外従五位上	続日本紀
2	729 天平1年4月	宗形朝臣鳥麻呂	大領	外従七位上	外従五位下	続日本紀
	738 天平10年2月		神主	外従五位下	外従五位上	
3	745 天平17年6月	宗形朝臣与呂志	大領	外従八位上	外従五位下	続日本紀
4	767 神護景雲1年8月	宗形朝臣深津	大領	外従六位下	外従五位下	続日本紀
5	778 宝龜9年4月	宗形朝臣大徳	大領	外従八位上	外従五位下	続日本紀
6	798 延暦17年2月	宗像朝臣池作	大領兼神主		外従五位下	類聚三代格
7	813 弘仁4年	宗形朝臣秋足	大領(故人)	外正七位上	(当年没)	類聚国史

The person who deserves attention in Table 3 is 鳥麻呂 in the second row. Describing Torimaro, Shoku Nihongi states “筑前国宗形郡大領外従七位上宗形朝臣鳥麻呂、神齋に供奉るべき状を奏す。外従五位下を受け、物賜うこと数有り” in its article of April 5, Tempyō 1 (792). The phrase “供奉神齋” in “奏下可_レ供_二奉神齋_一之状上” refers to the act of the Kannushi, adding to the evidence that the Gunji doubled as Kannushi. The phrase “奏...状” means that he reported to the Emperor verbally, not in writing, that *he came to engage in votive abstinence*. It is reasonable to assume that the court title “外従五位下” and a present was given to him for assuming the office of Kannushi.⁷⁴⁾ The question is: Where did he make the reporting and receive the title and the present? Munakata is unlikely. It was possible for the Imperial Court to send the court rank diploma and the present directly to Munakata or to Dazai-fu so that he could receive them there. Given the relationship between the Munakata clan and the Imperial Court, it is more likely that 鳥麻呂 went to the capital, where he did the reporting and received the present directly. If the case of 鳥麻呂 was the norm rather than the exception, then that points to the set procedures whereby the newly appointed top district official who doubled as Kannushi went up to the capital for reporting his appointment and receiving the title “五位(外位)”. Such investitures must have been different in nature from the ceremony in the Imperial Court palace for a newly-appointed Izumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsuko because the latter was meant to show his subjugation to the Imperial Court.

秋足 in the seventh row died in Kōnin 4 (813), 15 years earlier than Tenchō 5 (828). The fact that his highest office and rank were 大領 and 外正七位上, respectively, can be interpreted to mean that he did not assume the office of Kannushi because the separation of Gunji and Kannushi was already in place in accordance of the government decree in December, Enryaku 19 as mentioned earlier.

There is an interesting story about the 深津 in the fourth row in Table 3. 深津, who was 大領外従六位下, was later promoted to 外従五位下 for building an anchorage in Kanazaki⁷⁵⁾ at the virtuous persuasion of Buddhist monk Juō. His wife 竹生王⁷⁶⁾ with no court rank (无位), was also promoted to 従五位下. It is interesting that the governor of a Shingun built an anchorage at the encouragement of a monk. What is even more interesting is that a man of Munakata-no-Ason, which was no more than a local powerful clan, was married to a princess, even though she had no court rank. This case, as well as the preceding case in which Amako-no-Iratsume was married to Prince Ōama-no-Miko, suggests that the Munakata Clan had maintained close relationship with the Imperial Court or the central government even in this period of time.

Such close relationship is also indicated by the existence of two princes named Prince Munakata, although the possibility of the two being the same person cannot be ruled out. One was promoted from 无位 to 従四位下 (his first Imperial Court title) in Tempyō-hōji 3 (759) and appointed to the office of Migi-no-Ōtorine-no-Kami in Tempyō-hōji 6. The other prince was promoted from 无位 to 従五位下 (his first Imperial Court title) in Hōki 3 (772) and assumed the office of Kii-no-Kami in Hōki 10. After being promoted to 従五位上 in Enryaku 2 (783), this Prince Munakata assumed the office of Ōi-no-Kami in Enryaku 3 and the office of Sanuki-no-Kami in Enryaku 9. Their name may reflect their association--possibly through fostering--with the Munakata Clan. If that is the case, women from the Munakata Clan may have served as nursemaids to look after these two persons when they were small children. Montokutennō-Jitsuroku contains an article reporting that Munakata-no-Ason Toyoko with the title of 外従五位下 was promoted to 従五位下 in July, Kashō 3 (850). The women concurrently promoted were high-ranking and low-ranking court ladies, raising the possibility that Toyoko was also a low-ranking court lady in the imperial seraglio. A few historical records are available that provide information on people from the Munakata family who lived in the Kinai region.⁷⁷⁾ Be that as it may, it is likely that the Munakata family in Chikuzen were generally cooperative to the Imperial Court or possibly an integral part of it. The marriage between Prince Ōama-no-Miko and Amako-no-Iratsume acted as a major impetus for some members of the Munakata family to move to the Kinai region and for the Munakata goddesses to be enshrined also in the Shikinokami district in Yamato Province. And their son Prince Takechi-no-Miko is often highlighted. In light of the Jomei lineage mentioned earlier, it is possible to assume that the Munakata Clan began to make inroads into the Kinai region a little earlier.⁷⁸⁾

However, historical literature on the Munakata Shrine in Yamato Province makes no mention of Munakata-no-Ason. According to the Decree of Dajōkan of October, Gangyō 5 (881) in Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 3, in the Tenmu reign onward, members of the Munakata clan offered a great deal of divine treasure and non-paddy farmland and took charge of shrine affairs from generation to generation. Their commitment waned over the years and “*each of the members waited for someone else to perform rituals, effectively neglecting (ketai) their collective duty to do so.*” Accordingly, a request was made to station Kannushi at the Munakata Shrine in Yamato and appoint Takashina-no-Mahito to that post to follow the example of the head shrine in Chikuzen. And this request was accepted. According to the Decree of Dajōkan of October, Kamyō 5 (893), the repair of the deity-enshrined building of the Munakata Shrine in Yamato had traditionally been financed by the annual tribute from the bond servants (shisen) in Kanezaki of the Munakata district who were owned by Takechi-no-Miko, the founder of the Takashina clan. Due to the considerable inconvenience involved, however, “Kano-Yashiro-no-Ujibito” Takashina-no-Mahito Tadamine and others made a request to promote 16 of the bond servants to the status of ryōmin [free people] and finance the repair instead with the contributions from eight yōtei (people engaged in miscellaneous labor service) in Shikinokami and other districts in Yamato Province. The request was approved. This episode points to close relations between the Munakata Shrine in Yamato and Takashina-no-Mahito in this period of time. The Decree of Dajōkan of 881 cited above clearly shows that Takashina-no-Mahito managed the Munakata Shrine in Yamato. It could even be possible to assume that Munakata-no-Ason took charge of the management, given that a request was made to appoint a member of the Munakata clan as a new Kannushi to rectify the situation in which members of the clan “passed the buck to one another” to evade their ritual duties due to their waning commitment. The move by Takashina-no-Mahito was likely associated with the official listing of the Munakata Shrine in Yamato one year earlier, in March, Gangyō 4, with the description “*the shrine sitting at Higashi-Ichijo-Tei of the Grand Minister (Fuyutsugu) and the one sitting in the Munakata district of Chikuzen Province are separate shrines dedicated to the same deities.*”

Takashina-no-Mahito is the title for a clan chieftain granted to Prince Nagaya-Ō's son Prince Asukabe in October, Hōki 4 (773),⁷⁹⁾ according to the Newly Compiled Record of Surnames, which states: “出づ自詔天武皇子浄広太政大臣高市王也、続日本紀合” (左京皇別). Prince Asukabe, whose mother was a daughter of Fujiwara-no-Fuhito, survived after being accorded a special pardon in connection with the Incident of Prince Nagaya-Ō, according to Shoku Nihongi's article of Hinoe-inu [23rd] of October, Tempyō-hōji 7: 復合従坐以藤原太政大臣之女所生、特賜不死. The relationship between the Fujiwara Clan and the Munakata goddesses started when Fujiwara-no-Fuyutsugu, guided by the oracle of the latter, bought a tract of land in Sakyō-Ichijō in the Heian Palace, established residence there, and invited them to the southwest corner of the residence to be enshrined there. Thereafter, the Munakata Clan had

close relations with the Fujiwara regent family thereafter (with Fuyutsugu's son Yoshifusa onward).⁸⁰⁾ In and after the late 9th century, the divine aid of the goddesses to Empress Jingū was honored not least in the face of rampant piracy by Silla. Often, the goddesses were granted a divine title and Buddhist sutra chanting was performed before Shintō deities.⁸¹⁾ Such developments surrounding the Munakata goddesses in this period of time owed much to the regent family. The fact that Takashina-no-Mahito, who had connection with the Fujiwara Clan, strengthened relationship with the regent family under these circumstances may have reflected in the Decrees of Dajōkan mentioned earlier. Nagaya-Ō-ke wooden tablet (mokkan) clearly shows that Prince Nagaya-Ō had close relationship with the Gunji of the Munakata district, who came from Munakata-no-Ason, from which his grandmother also came. If the Munakata Shrine in the Shikinokami district of Yamato Province was maintained by Amako-no-Iratsume → Takechi-no-miko → Nagaya-Ō → Takashina-no-Mahito in succession after Amako-no-Iratsume was married to Ōama-no-Miko, then it is possible to assume that the spirits of the Munakata goddesses were divided and a part of them was transferred to the Kinai region more recently than generally believed. The lack of historical literature on the Munakata Clan in the Kinai region may support this assumption.

It might be worth adding that the term of office for the average Gunji and Kannushi is estimated at about 20 years based on Table 3. This figure is not unusual. It may serve as a standard for the term of the double office of Gunji and Kannushi.

12. The Kannushi of Munakata and the Office of *Daigūji*

Although the Kannushi was not stationed at every Shintō shrine, the post was widely distributed across Japan, including Munakata, Izumo, Ise, and Ōmiwa, according to Shoku Nihongi and subsequent records considered authentic. Nihon Kōki, third of the six classical Japanese history texts after Nihonshoki and Shoku Nihongi, used the expression roughly translated as “Kannushi at shrines across Japan” in its article of October, Kōnin 3 (812). It is known that the Kannushi topped the hierarchy of *priests*, followed by *negi* and *hafuri* from Montokutennō Jitsuroku's article of April, Saikō 3 (856) and other literature. The term “Kannushi” first appears in Nihonshoki's article of the Jingū reign that Empress Jingū, in an effort to know the identify of the deity who gave the oracle to her deceased husband, Emperor Chūai, became a Kannushi herself and organized a divinity-worshipping rite. The term is more explicitly used in Nihonshoki's article of May of the sixth year of the Temmu reign (677), which states: “勅すらく、天社地社の神税は、三つに分ちて、一つをば神に擬供るが為にし、二分をば神主に分ち給へ。” The Kannushi in the Jingū reign resonates with “荒魂を祭る神主” (Nihonshoki's article of December of the Kanoetatsu [17th] year of the Jingū reign), “祭事に堪える者” (Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 7, the Decree of Dajōkan of February, Enryaku 7), and “監神者神主也” (職員令神祇官条讃説). In short, the Kannushi is essentially characterized by divinity worshipping. It is believed that the Kannushi took full control of all aspects of his shrine, including “repairing shrine buildings” (Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 1, the Decree of Dajōkan of June, Jōgan 10).

It is thought that the Kannushi at the Munakata Shrine had such attributes common to such Kannushis. A significant change came, however, during the Tenryō era [938-947]. In Tenryō 5 (942), Minamoto-no-Kiyohira was appointed as deputy director of Dazai-fu, where he deceased in January, Tenryō 8. According to the request made in February, Tenen 2 (974) by the Gūji of the Munakata Shrine and members of the Munakata clan, the Munakata goddesses, who had been given the divine title of 正一位勲一等 after the revolt by Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo, was granted the title of Bodhisattva. Before the Tenryō era, there were no such offices as Gūji; the Kannushi worked as “雑々執行之長.” Newly-appointed Kiyohira then established the office of Gūji and made the Kannushi double as Gūji “執印勤行” as well. Once the office of Gūji was put under the condition described as “不蒙官符補任件職,” there appeared a situation described as “只就府国遞以競望、仍雖神田地子三時六度祭料、而更闕其用、枉為贖勞、因之神宮雜務莫不陵遲.” In accordance with the Decree of Dajōkan in Anna 2 (969), the Kōra Shrine came to appoint Daigūji. As a result, the divine authority of the shrine was strengthened and the shrine buildings were kept in good repair. Daigūji was also appointed in such shrines as Sumiyoshi, Kashii, Tsukushi, Kamado, and Hasaki. The Gūji of the Munakata Shrine and members of the Munakata clan thus requested the establishment of the office of Daigūji and the appointment of [Munakata-no-] Ujijoshi, saying that doing so with the authority of the Decree of Dajōkan would solve the

problems and allow for “社務無_レ闕、祠祭有_レ勤.” Jingi-kan (the Council of Religious Affairs) accepted this request and issued a statement calling for the approval of the request in August, Jōgen 3 (978) to Dajōkan. The request was officially approved by the Decree of Dajōkan to Dazai-fu titled “應_レ補_下任坐_二筑前国_一宗像宮大宮司_上正六位上宗形朝臣氏能事” (Ruijū-Fusen-shō, Vol.1, 諸神宮司補任) in February, Tengen 2. That was five years after the Gūji of the Munakata Shrine and others made the request.

Earlier, the office of Gūji as established by Kiyohira took full charge of everything from personnel affairs, finance, and building maintenance. The Kannushi's job was limited to performing rituals. This division of role was often blurred because the Gūji doubled as Kannushi. Another major problem was that the appointment of Gūji was not based on a Decree of Dajōkan. This allowed Dazai-fu and the governor of Chikuzen Province to exert influence on the Gūji and the shrine as a whole. These circumstances constituted the background against which the Gūji of the Munakata Shrine and others called for the establishment of the office of Daigūji. This is how Daigūji came to combine the duty of the Kannushi to perform rituals with the authority of the Gūji over the personnel affairs and property. This happened against the background of internal rivalry within the Munakata Clan. The chasm came to a head when Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo revolted, with the mainstream faction siding with Sumitomo and the anti-mainstream faction with the imperial Court. It was under these circumstances that Kiyohira established the office of Gūji. It is thought that the Munakata Clan pursued the establishment of the office of Daigūji to strengthen their power base amid these moves by the key actors, including Dazai-fu, the imperial Court, and the Fujiwara Clan.⁸²⁾

Between the end of the 9th century and the early 10th century, the Munakata Clan thus acted differently from the Izumo Clan. The nature of the Kannushi also changed in the process. Religion and politics, once inseparable, became separated with the former managed by Kannushis and the latter by Gunji, who eventually underwent qualitative transformation. In line with these moves, there was a succession of three phases: (i) rule by the Kannushi over the Munakata Shrine and the Shingun; (ii) the separation of authority of the Kannushi as a result of the establishment of the office of Gūji, and (iii) the unified rule over the authority of the Gūji and the Kannushi by the Daigūji. Eventually, the Munakata Daigūji family became the retainer of the Hei-ke family and developed into a powerful local clan characteristic of the Medieval period.

The qualitative transformation of the Kannushi of Munakata must have affected the way the rituals for the Munakata goddesses were performed. These developments surrounding the Munakata Shrine and the Kannushi of Munakata may have helped put an end to the Okinoshima rituals.

13. The Inauguration Rite for the Kannushi of Munakata and Okinoshima Island

Virtually no historical literature is available that shows how the rituals for the Munakata goddesses were practiced in ancient times and how that faith developed. The author postulates that in assuming the office of Kannushi, Torimaro of Munakata-no-Ason as shown in Table 3 went up to the capital and performed a certain inauguration rite in the imperial Court, just as the same way that newly-appointed Kuni-no-Miyatsuko of Izumo went to the capital and performed a subjugation rite.⁸³⁾ Despite a few differences in their implications, these two types of rites were performed between the two clans and the imperial Court. In contrast to these external inauguration rites, the Izumo Clan performed an important rite for the inauguration of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko in Izumo Province earlier. This internal site is known as “(神火) 火継式”.⁸⁴⁾

When *Kuni-no-Miyatsuko* died, his heir promptly went from Izumo Kokusokan (Kitsukino-Oyashiro Shrine in the Izumo district) to the Kumano-ni-Imasu Shrine (present-day Kumano-Taisha Shrine) with a Hikiri-usu mortar and a Hikiri-kine mallet. At Sankaden of the Kumano-ni-Imasu Shrine, he started a fire with the mortar and the mallet. The fire was used to cook a meal. By having the meal, he became *Kuni-no-Miyatsuko* of Izumo and “became one” with the distant ancestor of Amenohohi-no-Mikoto. This divine fire was kept at Sankaden of Izumo Kokusokan. While in office, *Kuni-no-Miyatsuko* continued to eat meals cooked with this fire. Undoubtedly, this divine rite dates back to a period before the Ritsuryō era, although it is not clear precisely when it started. It was an internal rite for succeeding (the right to perform) rituals with no direct connection with the kingly power.

What deserves attention in connection with the internal succession of (the right of) rituals or the inauguration of Kuni-no-miyatsuko is the Decree of Dajōkan October 11, Enryaku 17 (798) titled “禁_上出雲国造託_二神事_一多娶_二百姓女子_一為_レ妾事” (Ruijū-Sandai-Kyaku, Vol. 1, 神宮司神主祢宜事).⁸⁵⁾ The full text is as follows:

右被_二右大臣宣_一、奉_レ勅、今聞、承前国造兼_二帶神主_一、新任之日即棄_二嫡妻_一、仍多娶_二百姓女子_一、號為_二神宮采女_一、便娶為_レ妾、莫_レ知_二限極_一、此是妄託_二神事_一、遂扇_二淫風_一、神道益_レ世豈其然乎、自_レ今以後不_レ得_二更然_一、若娶_レ妾供_二神事_一不_レ得_レ已者、宜_レ令_二國司注_一名密封_二卜_一定一女、不_レ得_二多点_一、如違_二此制_一、隨_レ事科處、筑前国宗像神主准_レ此、

The expression “the newly appointed” means the newly appointed *Kuni-no-Miyatsuko* who would double as the Kannushi. The gist of the Decree of Dajōkan is as follows: *Kuni-no-Miyatsuko shall not abandon his wedded wife and take maidens from a farming family as shrine attendants and made them his mistresses on the day of inauguration because that would be a lewd act under the pretext of a divine rite; provided, however, that if that is unavoidable, he may choose only one woman by drawing from those whose names are shown to the provincial governor.* The act of taking a maiden from a farming family as a shrine attendant may represent the transformation of the ancient form of rituals in which a man and a woman performed a rite in pair and the woman (maiden) was also a goddess. This act was considered lewd because the true meaning of the rite was forgotten. It resonates with the tale contained in *Nihonshoki*’s section on the Yūryaku reign about Ōshikōchi-no-Atai-no-Katabu and his maiden attendant as mentioned earlier. Be that as it may, the act also retained vestiges of the ancient tradition. This is why the state had to make a “compromise” that allowed Kuni-no-Miyatsuko to take one maiden on condition that Kokushi (provincial governor) act as a guarantor. As has already been discussed, the Imperial Court applied a strategy of stepping up pressure or even forcing changes on Izumo and Munakata in the Enryaku era by, for example, limiting the term of office of Kannushi to six years and banning the practice of serving as both Kuni-no-Miyatsuko (or Kannushi) and top district official. The act of prohibiting the practice of newly-appointed Kuni-no-Miyatsuko abandoning his wedded wife and “taking” a new maiden attendant on the day of his inauguration may have been part of this strategy. This practice represented a “watershed” between the states before and after the inauguration. The author believes that the practice carried value as a traditional internal ritual that had been handed down over the years, just as the act of newly-appointed Kuni-no-Miyatsuko striking a fresh divine fire and keeping it alive while he was in office. In the words, the practice represented the act of creating a “watershed”--putting out the divine fire that had been kept alive by his deceased predecessor and starting a new one.

This interpretation of the act of the *Kuni-no-Miyatsuko* of Izumo sheds new light on the last passage of the above-mentioned the Decree of Dajōkan that reads: “*this applies to the Kannushi of Munakata in Chikuzen Province.*” If the “*Kuni-no-Miyatsuko* of Izumo” was replaced with “Kannushi of Munakata” in this Decree of Dajōkan, the resultant text would read something like: “*the Kannushi of Munakata traditionally abandoned his wedded wife and took many maidens from farming families as shrine attendants and made them his mistresses on the day of inauguration. This act shall be prohibited as it will incite immorality.*” The implications are that such an act retained vestiges of the ancient tradition as in the case of Izumo. It was performed as a “watershed” on the inauguration day of the newly-appointed Kannushi in Munakata as well. In other words, the act can be interpreted to have been performed as part of the internal rite for the succession of the (right of) rituals for the Munakata goddesses.

The central ritual for this succession rite was (Jinka) Hitsugishiki in Izumo; there is no known equivalent in Munakata. It is well conceivable that such a central ritual was practiced in Munakata as well. It would be rather illogical to think otherwise. It is reasonable to assume that such a ritual, whatever its content, was performed on Okinoshima Island, which is home to the Munakata goddesses and where the god in the island reside, given the nature of the Three Goddesses of Munakata and the Munakata Shrine. It must have been the ritual through which the Kannushi assumed the divinity of the Munakata goddesses and started a new life. Okinoshima, where the Okitsu-miya Shrine is located, is a divine but *familiar* island visible not only from the Chikuzen Ōshima Island and the mainland Munakata but also from any part of the Genkai Sea. At the same time, it is an *unfamiliar* divine island in that it lies in the rough sea of Genkai and defies each landing. Given the geographical inaccessibility of the island, it is less likely that people of Munakata often landed on the island to perform rituals. It is more likely that they did so on special occasions. There is

a good chance that on such an occasion, they performed the rite for the inauguration of a newly-appointed Kannushi, in other words, the rite for the succession of the (right of) rituals. The end of the ancient rituals on Okinoshima cannot be analyzed without considering the internal transformation of Munakata. The ritual sites as well as the features and artifacts found there should be studied from this perspective as well.

14. Conclusion

In this paper, the author has reviewed a number of aspects, including the background to the origin of the ukei legend about the birth of the Three Goddesses of Munakata, the relationship between Takashina-no-Mahito and the Fujiwara Clan over the Munakata Shrine in Yamato, the practice of serving as Dairyō (district governor) and Kannushi concurrently at the Munakata Shrine, similarities between Munakata and Izumo, and the relationship between the Genkai Sea and the Munakata goddesses.⁸⁶⁾ What has emerged as a key issue in the process is the relationship between the internal succession rite for the Kannushi of Munakata and Okinoshima Island. The rather lengthy discussion, which has significantly exceeded the space assigned to the author, has often depended on assumptions rather than established facts. Further research is required to delve further into this issue as well as many other underaddressed issues.

Notes (not translated):

- 1) 宗像市史編集委員会編『宗像市史』通史編第1巻(1997年、宗像市)および「付図3 縄文時代の宗像の地勢」。
- 2) 弓場紀知『古代祭祀とシルクロードの終着地 沖ノ島』(新泉社、2005年)。弓場氏は沖ノ島の第三次調査に参加された方で、本書は近年刊行された沖ノ島についての簡にして要を得た書籍であるので例示的にあげたものであり、他意はない。
- 3) 宗像神社復興期成会編『沖ノ島』(吉川弘文館、1958年)の「序説」参照。
- 4) 註3の「序説」には「(宗像郡玄海町神湊・壱岐島芦辺・対馬厳原)これ等の島々や陸地は、天気が清澄な時は沖ノ島から見わたせるけれども、少しの曇り日でも島影の見えぬことが多い。やや近く視界に入るものは南方では小呂島・大島等がある」と沖ノ島からの視界について指摘されている。筆者も一ノ岳(海上保安庁の燈台がある)に二度登ったが、天候に恵まれ目視することができた。
- 5) 筆者も城山(蔦ヶ嶽)山頂や地島、また相島(福岡県新宮町)などから目視した経験がある。なお、宗像市田野に在る瀬戸4号墳・3号墳の発掘調査報告書の巻頭図版に「古墳から望む沖ノ島」の写真が掲載されている(『田野瀬戸古墳』宗像市文化財調査報告書第59集、宗像市教育委員会、2007年)。
- 6) 1954年5月～55年11月の第一次調査の成果は宗像神社復興期成会編『沖ノ島』(吉川弘文館、1958年)として、また1957年8月～58年9月の第二次調査の成果は宗像大社復興期成会編『続沖ノ島』(吉川弘文館、1961年)に、1969年9月～71年5月の第三次調査の成果は第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊編『宗像沖ノ島』(三分冊、宗像大社復興期成会、1979年)に纏められて公開されている。三次に亘る調査の総括は第三次調査の報告書で行われている。
- 7) 1978年1月に行われた井上光貞氏の東京大学退官の最終講義「古代沖の島の祭祀」は、この考古学の調査を受けて文献史学の側から律令祭祀制の成立についての関心と視点で鋭い考察を加えたものである(井上光貞『東大三十余年』、私家版、1978年、のち『井上光貞著作集』第5巻に再録)。井上説は学界に大きな影響を与えたが、沖ノ島祭祀の第三期と律令的祭祀の先駆形態という点を中心に批判を加えた岡田精司「古代国家と宗像の神」(『古代を考える 37 沖之島祭祀遺跡の検討』、古代を考える會、1984年)がある。なお、井上氏に沖ノ島調査の概要を説明されたのは、第三次調査に参加された弓場氏であるとのことである(註2著書参照)。
- 8) 岡崎敬「総括編」(註6、『宗像沖ノ島』)
- 9) 全調査に参加された小田富士雄氏は、「第三次調査のころから誰言うとなく海の正倉院というキャッチ・フレーズが喧伝されるようになった。まことに言えて妙である」といわれる(小田富士雄「祭祀遺跡沖ノ島の歴史的位置」、同氏編『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』、吉川弘文館、1988年)。
- 10) こうした理解は調査の検討過程で次第に調査団の共通的なものになっていたものかと思われるが、註8の岡崎敬氏の総括はその後の理解(解釈)に大きな影響を与えたのではないかと推察される。な

- お、古代の国家的対外交渉の相手は 4 世紀後半～9 世紀後半では、中国の南北朝の南朝系王朝・隋・唐の諸王朝、朝鮮では高句麗・百済・新羅(統一期を含む)や渤海の諸王朝であり、中国王朝に限定されるものでないことはいうまでもない。質の高いといわれる中国・朝鮮系の、取分け金属類の年代が 7 世紀より以前に比定され、律令制下の祭祀遺物との類似性が高い 8 世紀以後ではなさそうな点は、在地と王権の関係からも注意されよう。発見遺物の製作地や制作者、島内への搬入ルートやその主体など、解明すべき事柄は多く残されている。
- 11) 従ってムナカタ表記の変遷は①→②→③と考えて誤りはないであろう。①から②への変化には、和銅 6(713)年 5 月の「畿内七道諸国の郡・郷の名は、好き字を着けしむ」(『続日本紀』)という行政地名の表記の改正、胸形(方)郡→宗形郡が与っていたかもしれないが、後述するムナカタの特別な有り様からは今少し早く大宝律令編纂時、評→郡への変化の時期を想定することも可能かと思われる。ムナカタはミノカタよりもムネカタから変化した言葉というべきであり、音声言語ムネにどの漢字を当てるかは、表音ではなく表意からの漢字選択、和(倭)語「ムネ」⇔漢字「胸」と考えるのが妥当であろう。なお、本稿では史料に基づく場合を除いて、ムナカタの表記は現行の宗像を使用する。
 - 12) 宗像神社復興期成会編『宗像神社史』上巻(宗像神社復興期成会、1961 年)による。
 - 13) 宝永 2(1705)年以降の成立かといわれる。近世の地誌類および解題は、中村正夫編校訂『宗像郡地誌綜覧』(文献出版、1997 年)による。
 - 14) 1974 年の臨川書店の復刻版による(原著は 1903 年刊)。
 - 15) 青柳種信編『筑前国続風土記拾遺』(宗像郡上・田島村)。文化 11(1814)年以降の成立と考えられる同書には、「往昔此村ハ江海の浜にして東南北の三方ハみな潮水たゞへて、田島川の上、土穴稲本村等の辺まで遠く入海なり。近代に至りて潮水やゞあせて斥鹵の地を開墾て佃となせり。故に村名を田嶋といふ」とある。
 - 16) 金関丈夫「むなかた」(『えとのす』12 号、1979 年、同氏著『発掘から推量する』に再録)。
 - 17) 一例をあげると福岡県八女市の立山山 13 号墳の人物埴輪にみることができる。
 - 18) 安曇・住吉神出現については、『書紀』は神代の第 5 段(四神出生章)の異伝の一つ=第 6 の一書にのみ記している。『記』(上巻)も大略同内容であるが、神名を底津綿津見神・中津綿津見神・上津綿津見神、底箇之男命・中箇之男命・上箇之男命と表記する。
 - 19) 神名ワタツミはワタ+ツ+ミで、ワタは海、ツは格助詞「の」、ミは霊、即ち「海の霊」=海神を意味する語句と考えるのが妥当であろう。『書紀』(神代下・第 10 段や景行 40 年は歳条など)や『万葉集』の「海神の手に巻き持てる玉ゆゑ」(巻 7・1301 番)、「海神の持てる白玉」(1302 番)などでは「海神」を「ワタツミ」と訓んでいる。なお、「アヅミ」については太田亮のアマツミ(海積)や本居宣長のアマツモチ(海人つ持)の約まった語とする説がある(佐伯有清『新撰姓氏録の研究』考證篇第 3、吉川弘文館、1983 年、安曇宿禰の項を参照)。
 - 20) 『新撰姓氏録』(右京神別下)によれば、安曇宿禰(連)は「海神綿積豊玉神子穗高見命之後也」として神別・地祇に区分されている。同書は佐伯有清『新撰姓氏録の研究』本文篇(吉川弘文館、1962 年)による。なお、安曇連の本貫については①九州(博多湾岸)説と②畿内(大阪湾岸)説がある。前者は延喜式内社志加海神社三座が筑前国糟屋郡にあり、現在の神主も阿曇姓である。しかし、畿内神である住吉神が式内社住吉神社三座として筑前国那珂郡にみえることは、外部からの勧請・定着の可能性を排除するものではない。後者については阿曇寺(『書紀』白雉 4 年 5 月条)や安曇江(『続日本紀』天平 16 年 2 月条)・安曇江莊(天曆 4 年「東大寺封戸莊園寺用帳」『平安遺文』257 号)など地名にその名をみることができ、摂津国西成郡を中心とする辺であったろう。安曇連の伝承や活動を勘案したとき、②説の方が妥当ではないかと今のところ考えている。畿内説については檜崎干城「阿曇氏考(一)―志賀島本貫地説への疑問―」(『文化史研究』第 21 号、1969 年)がある。
 - 21) 大津渟中倉長峽の比定地については、①摂津国菟原郡住吉郷(現、神戸市東灘区住吉)説と②摂津国住吉郡(現、大阪市住吉区)説がある。住吉神は摂津国の延喜式内社では住吉郡の住吉坐神社四座だけであり、現在の住吉大社の地である②説が妥当であろう。なお、『住吉大社神代記』(田中卓『住吉大社神代記』、住吉大社、1951 年、のち『田中卓著作集 7』に再録)によれば、和魂を大津渟中倉長岡峽国で手搓足尼(田裳見宿禰に当る)に祭拝させ、また皇后に代わって手搓足尼を神主として斎祀奉らせた、とする。
 - 22) 田中卓、註 21 著書参照。田中氏は「元来、津守氏はこの海神を奉斎していたのでであろう」といわれる。なお、住吉神の神名「ツツ」については、「箇」と表記されることと相俟って、①星説・②船霊容器説・③蛇神説・④津の男説・⑤豆酲の男説・⑥呪杖の男神説などの諸説がある。中でも④の津の男説はなお有力な説というべきである。山田孝雄氏によれば(「住吉大神の御名義につい

- て『歴史公論』6—5、1937年)、住吉三神の名はソコツ+ツノオ+ノミコトに分けて考えるべきで、ツノオのツに御名の核心がある。ツノオは津之男＝津を知らしめす神であり、単に住吉に止まらず航路又来往する船舶すべてに関わるものであって、つまるところ「津を司る長神」の意であろうとされる。これら諸説の整理については、西宮一民「御祭神としての神功皇后」(神功皇后論文集刊行会編『神功皇后』、皇学館大学出版部、1972年)などを参照されたい。
- 23) 『書紀』垂仁39年10月条や87年2月条にみえる物部連の石上神宮への関与も同様の事例であり、物部連の祖先神は物部神である。
 - 24) 畿内ヤマト王権が大阪湾周辺に有した港湾＝外港は住吉津と難波津が代表的である。ともに大津と称されたように王権との関係が密接であったが、前者が古く栄え、6世紀以降に後者が繁栄するようになったのではないかと、といわれる(大阪府史編集専門委員会編『大阪府史』第2巻古代編Ⅱ、大阪府、1990年や岡田精司「古代の難波と住吉の神」、林陸朗先生還暦記念会編『日本古代の政治と制度』、続群書類従完成会、1985年を参照されたい)。
 - 25) この神話についての諸説の概要等については、正木喜三郎「宗像三女神と記紀神話」(小田富士雄編『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』、吉川弘文館、1998年、のち正木『古代・中世 宗像の歴史と伝承』に再録)を参照されたい。また、本稿で扱う宗像神誕生(ウケヒ)神話を含む『書紀』の神話について、読み下し文・注釈・考察を加えたものに角林文雄『日本書紀神代卷全注釈』(塙書房、1999年)がある。
 - 26) 益田勝実氏は沖ノ島の巨岩Dの7号・8号遺跡、特に前者の遺物の種類や分布状況から、三女神誕生神話の誓約(ウケヒ)の行為が実修されたのではないかといわれ、沖ノ島での儀礼＝「秘儀」の形跡を発掘調査の結果と関連付けて見い出そうとされた(「秘儀の島―神話づくりの実態―」、『文学』39—4・5・6、1971年、のち同著『秘儀の島』に再録)。氏の着想と考察は貴重なものであり、演じられ繰り返される行為と神話や説話がしばしば密接な関係をもつことは肯定してよいと思うが、発掘時点での遺物の出土と分布の評価の問題は依然残るように思われ、それを前提での解釈には慎重でなければならないであろう。
 - 27) 『記・紀』神話において17の男神を天照大神の子とする痕跡は、例えば正哉吾勝勝速日天忍穗耳尊について窺うことができる。この神は神統譜ではニニギノ尊の父とされ、当初天降りを予定されながらニニギノ尊が生まれると子に降臨を委ねたとされる神であるが、具体的な活動は知られない。ところが天孫降臨段で天照大神はこの天忍穗耳尊を、「我が御子」(『記』)、「天照大神の子」(『書紀』第9段本文)・「吾が児」(「第2」)と呼んでいるのである。所伝の性格など問題はあるが、男神の中に出雲系の神とともに高天原系のしかも天孫降臨に関わる神が含まれていることは、後述することと合わせて三女神を天照大神の子とする所伝の作為性が窺えるのではなかろうか。
 - 28) 物実と子神の交換がA類のみであってB類にないこと、その提案者が天照大神であって日神でないこと、Aが胸形君系所伝であって水沼君系でないことは、A・B系神話の成立背景＝王権と奉斎氏族との政治的関係からも注意しておいてよいと思われる。
 - 29) Bはdで物実の剣を日神自身の物としているが、剣が男性を象徴するとすれば、その剣に誓約相手のスサノヲ命を言外に想定しているとも考えられる。同様にeの玉も日神を想定しているともいえよう。
 - 30) 17の男神の内のアメノホヒ命について、『記』はその子建比良鳥命を出雲国造の祖、『紀』の「本文」は出雲臣・土師連の祖としている。また、熊野クスヒ命・熊野オシホミ命の熊野を紀伊の熊野とする考えもあるが、熊野坐神社(意宇郡)とみてよければ、五男神に含まれる出雲系の神ということになる。
 - 31) そもそもこの『記・紀』の宗像三女神(ウケヒ)神話は、高天原において国津神が誕生するという特異なものである。天津神天照大神と国津神スサノヲ命を姉弟とする神話の形成と、ある意味で不可分の関係で三女神に天津神と国津神の性格が混在するという状況を生み出したのであろうが、太陽神の日神→天照大神の成立とも密接な関係があると思われる。出雲系神話が国造制の解体一律令的中央集権への移行という政治過程に対応し、天武朝に完成した神話体系は『記』上巻に近い形であろうという岡田精司氏の考察は、三女神神話の成立にも当てはまるものと思われる(「記紀神話の成立」『岩波講座日本歴史2 古代2』、岩波書店、1975年)。
 - 32) タゴリ(田心)はタキリ(田霧)の転訛という(『古事記』日本思想大系1、岩波書店、1982年、46頁頭注参照)。
 - 33) 諸橋轍次『大漢和辞典』(巻7)の「湍」を参照。
 - 34) 島神が鎮座する「神の島」は、全国的に知られるが、陸地からの距離が数10kmに及ぶことや朝鮮等の外国に近い点などは他に比べがたい沖ノ島の特徴であろう。宗像神社との関係が注目される

神社に、宗像神を祭神とする広島県の厳島神社がある。『延喜式』では厳島神社は斎つき祀る島神の社の意味である伊都伎嶋神社(安芸国佐伯郡)と表記され、宗像神のイチ(ツ)キシマ姫と共通する島神であることがしられる。しかし、『延喜式』には宗像神社(大和国・筑前国)・宗形神社(尾張国・備前国)・胃形神社(下野国・伯耆国)の如く宗形神を祭る宗像神社が存在しているにも拘らず、この神社が宗像名を称していないことは、この段階で伊都伎嶋神社の祭神が宗像神であったのか疑問が残るところである。島神の属性を共通に伊都伎嶋神社の祭神が宗像神とされる契機に、宗像大宮司の平氏家人化や平清盛の存在があったのではなかったかと思われる。なお、島神については、註3の『宗像沖ノ島』第1分冊や和田萃「沖ノ島と大和王権」(註7『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』、のち同著『日本古代の儀礼と祭祀・信仰』下に再録)が参考になる。近年わが国で注目されている韓国の竹幕洞祭祀遺跡(全羅北道扶安郡邊山面格浦里竹幕洞山)は、海に面した半島部の先端近くに所在する露天祭祀遺跡で、出土遺物の石製模造品にわが国のものと類似する物があり、倭人との関係が推測され、沖ノ島祭祀遺跡との比較がいわれたりしている。私も現地を見学する機会があったが、その祭祀が沖ノ島の島神祭祀であるとは素直には理解し難いところがあった。

- 35) 狭依毗売命が「神の依り憑く」ヒメノミコト(註31、『古事記』、47頁頭注参照)の意とすれば、それが市寸嶋比売命の別名とされていることは、市寸嶋比売命が最も重視された神格であることを示唆していると考えることができよう。また、イチキ・イツキについて、水野祐氏は「斎き」の義か、「い憑き」か解釈が別れるとし、『記』が亦名をサヨリヒメとするところから後者がよいかと思われる(「出雲大神と宗像神」、神道学会編『出雲学論攷』、出雲大社、1977年)といわれるが、狭依毗売命を亦名とするのは一つの解釈であり本来的なものではないであろう。
- 36) 『記』は7・9のように中津宮には市寸嶋比売命が鎮座するとしている。宗像大社の中津宮は宗像市大島に所在するが、その背後の御嶽山(標高224m)山頂の中津宮の摂社御嶽宮周辺が、2010年9月～11年1月にかけて発掘調査が行われた。奈良三彩や八稜鏡・金属製雛形・滑石製形代・須恵器土師器・宋銭・寛永通宝が出土し、8世紀～9世紀の年代が現在のところ与えられている。この調査で全てを判断はできないが、律令時代の祭祀であり、7世紀以前の特に6世紀を遡るものではないことは、宗像三神の中核神が祀られ祭祀が行われていたとは考えにくい。「大島御嶽山遺跡調査報告会」資料(宗像市市民活動推進課文化財係、2011年3月20日、於ユリックス)参照。
- 37) 『先代旧事本紀』(巻4・地神本紀)には、「次市杵嶋姫命、亦名佐依姫命、亦云中津嶋姫命、坐宗像中津宮、是所居于中嶋者也」「次湍津姫命、亦名多岐都姫命、亦名邊津嶋姫命、坐宗像邊津宮、是所居于海濱者也」とあり、中津嶋姫命・邊津嶋姫命とあるが史料の性格からしても『記・紀』段階まで遡及させるのは難しく、後代的な付会の名であろう。ナカツシマヒメについては中世期の宗像神社の史料『宗像大菩薩御縁起』と『正平年中行事』にみえるが、ヘツシマヒメについては知られない(宗像神社復興期成会編『宗像神社史』上巻、1961年、第4章第1節)。
- 38) 諸橋轍次『大漢和辞典』(巻7)の「瀛」を参照。他には「瀛風邊風」(神代下・第10段・第4の一書)と「瀛津世襲」(孝安即位前紀)の二例が知られる。
- 39) 玄界灘の名称は糸島郡の「月海島」(現在の玄界島)に由来するといわれる(吉田東伍『増補 大日本地名辞書』第4巻、富山房、1971年および『角川日本地名大辞典』40福岡県、角川書店、1988年)。その範囲は必ずしも確定的ではないが、西は壱岐・対馬、東は本州西端(含響灘)、北は対馬海流域であるといつてよいと思われる。
- 40) 道主貴は「(み)ちぬしのむち」と訓まれている。『書紀』における「貴」の使用例は、大日靈貴(神代上・第5段本文)と大己貴神(神代上・第8段等)の二例であるが、前者には「大日靈貴、此云於保比屢咩能武智。靈音力丁反。一書云、天照大神。一書云、天照大日靈尊」の割注が付されており、貴を「武智」と訓んだことがわかる。この三例が日神と出雲の神に関わるものであることは注意されてよいのではなかろうか。
- 41) これまで「而為天孫所祭也」を「天孫の為に祭られよ」と訓むのが通例であり、その意味も「そして天孫によって祭られなさい」と解してきた。しかし、本文に記したように訓み解するならば、既述の三女神が誰の子神であるかがより明確になるのではないか。天照大神の子の三女神(天津神)が天孫を助けるよりも、スサノヲノ命の三女神(国津神)が天孫を助け、そのことによって三女神が天孫の祭祀を受けることになる、と解するのである。
- 42) 『記・紀』における地名ウサの表記は、『記』は宇沙、『書紀』は免狹であって、宇佐は「第3」の一例のみである。「第3」を除くと宇佐の早い例は、8世紀初頭の『続紀』養老5(721)年6月3日条の宇佐君や「平城宮木簡」の神亀4(727)の「豊前国宇佐郡」(『平城宮木簡(1)』285号木簡、奈良国立文化財研究所、1969年)などである。なお、「宇」(巻3)には「居處・さかひ・地域」など、

- 「佐」(巻 1)には「たすける・うかがふ」などの意味があるが、詳しくは諸橋轍次『大漢和辞典』を参照されたい。
- 43) 弥永貞三氏はこの史料について、「書紀編者の潤色がほとんど加わっていない部分」「極めて原文に近い形で日本書紀に登載されたもの」(「官家・彌移居考」、『名古屋大学文学部研究論集』35、1964 年、のち改題して同著『日本古代社会経済史研究』に再録)といわれる。この記事の続きには天皇によって派遣された有至臣が率いてきた兵士(本文は民と記す)に火箭を能く射る筑紫物部莫奇委沙奇がおり、その活躍が特記されているが、筑紫と海北の関係で注意してよいかもしれない。なお、『宋書』(夷蛮伝倭国条)の倭王武の昇明 2(478)年の上表文にも「渡平海北九十五国」の表記があるが、慎重な扱いが必要であろう。
 - 44) 『隋書』倭国伝にみえるわが国の国書等に隋の皇帝を「海西菩薩天子・日没處天子」といい、また倭王の言に「海西大隋有り」とある。後者に対応する『書紀』推古 16(608)年 9 月条には「東天皇・西皇帝」と記してある。中国歴代王朝の正史では倭は東夷伝に分類されているが、『書紀』にみえる中国・朝鮮からのわが国についての方位認識も、「海東貴国」(神功 52 年 9 月条)・「海東之政」(斉明 5 年 7 月条、但し、唐から朝鮮を指す)など、「東」である。なお、海南の表記は知られないが、令制下の国内の道制では、南海道・西海道・東海道の名称がある。
 - 45) A 類の『書紀』本文にも「此則ち、筑紫の胸肩君等が祭る神、是なり」と定型的な記述がみられる。いずれの奉斎氏族名にも「等」を付して複数であることを示しているが、『書紀』編纂時に胸肩君以外に水沼君の奉斎を王権が確認していたことになる。このことは王権と宗像神との歴史的関係を背後にもつものであるが、やがて令制神祇制度の下での大海人皇子の後裔や藤原氏との関係などの影響から宗像神の祭祀の一元化が図られ、水沼君のことは『書紀』以降姿を消したのではなかろうか。
 - 46) 水沼君については、井上辰雄「地方豪族の歴史的な性格―水間君をめぐる諸問題」(『日本歴史』第 280 号、1971 年)がある。
 - 47) 拙稿「磐井の乱の前後」(平野博之他編『新版 古代の日本』第 3 巻九州・沖縄、角川書店、1991 年)。
 - 48) 諸橋轍次『大漢和辞典』(巻 7)の「瀦」を参照。
 - 49) 折口信夫「水の女」(『折口信夫全集』第 2 巻、中央公論社、1965 年)。『書紀』(神代上・第 5 段四神出生章)に「水神罔象女」、神武即位前紀戊午年 9 月 5 日条に「水名為巖罔象女(罔象女、此云瀦菟破廼迷)」とある。
 - 50) 谷川健一『古代海人の世界』(小学館、1995 年)。谷川氏は、ミツハはミ=水+ツ(助詞)+ハ=蛇の古語ハハで、水の蛇=ミズチ蛟の類ではないか、といわれる。
 - 51) 『書紀』(神代上)「宝鏡開始章」には天照大神が新嘗のため斎服殿で神衣を織っていたとある。『養老令』神祇令 4(日本思想大系『律令』、岩波書店)には神衣祭の規定があり、このために伊勢神宮では三河赤引きの糸で神服部が、また麻績連が麻を績んで御衣を織って神に奉納した。宗像郡の式内社は『延喜式』(巻 10、神名下)では宗像神社三座と織幡神社一社であるが、両社の関係は上記の例と同様に、宗像神に対する機(幡)織の関係にあるということができ、『書紀』の呉の縫工女の説話とも無縁ではないであろう。なお、『筑後国神名帳』(小郡市史編集委員会編『小郡市史』第 4 巻、小郡市、2001 年)の現存部分に宗像神社の分布がみられる。
 - 52) 『新撰姓氏録』(左京皇別上)の御使朝臣条には景行天皇皇子気入彦の後裔で、応仁朝に逋逃した御室の雑使大壬生等を皇子に命じて探させ三河国で捕らえたことを嘉して御使連を与えたとする。佐伯有清氏は、御使朝臣は御使部の伴造氏族で、御使君も御使部の伴造氏族であろうという(『新撰姓氏録の研究』考證篇・第 1、吉川弘文館、1981 年)。
 - 53) 『書紀』の同条に引く「別本」は、筑紫の嶺縣主泥麻呂の犬が嚙み殺した、とする。水沼君か嶺縣主かは、安定していない。
 - 54) 水沼君の献上した養鳥人等が、大和国の輕村・磐余村に安置されたことが雄略 10 年 10 月条にみえている。なお、『和名類聚抄』によれば筑後国三瀦郡に鳥養郷がある(池辺彌『和名類聚抄郡郷里駅名考證』、吉川弘文館、1981 年)。
 - 55) 加藤謙吉「東漢氏の氏族組織の成立」(同著『大和政権と古代氏族』、吉川弘文館、1991 年)。
 - 56) 平野邦雄氏は、両紀にみえる記事は同一内容を分記したか、雄略紀の記事の起源を応神紀にもとめたものが多いとおもわれるが、その場合の基準はあくまで雄略紀にあるといわれる(「古代外交史上における雄略朝」、森克己博士還暦記念論文集『対外関係と社会経済』、塙書房、1968 年、のち同著『大化前代社会組織の研究』に補訂再録)。
 - 57) 筑紫における車持部の存在は大宝 2(702)年の「豊前国仲津郡丁里戸籍」(『寧楽遺文』上巻)に車持

- 君泥麻呂ら 3 人、また「大宰府出土木簡」(「大宰府関連木簡集成」144・145 号、『太宰府市史』古代資料編、太宰府市、2003 年)に車持朝臣氏道の名がみえる。
- 58) この神の祟りが平安期にみられるような怨霊でないことはいまでもあるまい。「崇」の用例等については、大江篤「崇現象と神祇官の亀卜」(続日本紀研究会編『続日本紀の時代』、塙書房、1994 年、のち同著『日本古代の神と霊』に補訂再録)を参照されたい。車持君は「長渚崎」(摂津国河辺郡)で祓え禊を科されたとすることから、筑紫に赴き畿内に戻ったということであろうが、車持君について氏族名は記すが、具体的な個人名を欠いていることは注意しておいてよいであろう。
- 59) 岡田精司「宮廷巫女の実体」(女性史総合研究会編『日本女性史 第 1 巻原始・古代』、東京大学出版会、1982 年)。
- 60) 神婚の名残りとみられる記事が後述する延暦 17(798)年 10 月の太政官符(『類聚三代格』巻 1)にみられる。宗像神主が新任の日に百姓の女子を神宮采女として娶るのは神事に託つけて淫風を煽るとして禁止しているのがそれである。
- 61) この雄略 9 年 2 月条の次の 3 月条には天皇が親ら新羅を討とうとしたが、「神は天皇を戒めて、自らは新羅に赴くな」といった、とある。谷川清士はこの天皇を戒めた神を前条の胸方神と解している(『日本書紀通證』巻 19)。宗像神が新羅や神功皇后と関係して文献に現れるのは貞観 12(870)年 2 月(『三代実録』)の新羅入寇の時であり、『書紀』の朝鮮諸国との外交における住吉神などの存在からすれば、宗像神と看做すのは慎重でなければならない。
- 62) 『書紀』の宗像関係記事が神代と応神～雄略の時期に限られていることは、その紀年をそのままには認められないとしても一つの特徴である。舒明系が属する王統は継体天皇に始まるものであるが、継体を応神五世孫(『書紀』継体即位前紀)としていることは、息長を「鍵」に関係を推量することができそうである。ヤマト勢力の全国統一には、対等的関係(4 世紀代が想定される)→支配的関係(5 世紀代)→支配・服属関係(6 世紀代以降の統一期)の三段階の過程が想定され(註 47、拙稿)、ヤマト勢力の各地方在地勢力への対応の仕方にも段階差が有り得てよいことは容易に想定されよう。なお、宗像君という氏族は第一段階では未成立であり、早くて第二段階の後半、恐らくは第三段階での成立を考えるべきかと思うが、宗像を中心とした共同体は第一段階、あるいはそれに先立っての存在は想定できるであろう。また、沖ノ島出土遺物の国際性を考える時に、王権と地方勢力とのこうした関係や当時の東アジアの国際状況を考慮する必要があるように思われる。
- 63) 後代の『扶桑略記』(持統 10 年 7 月条)の 43 歳、『公卿補任』(持統天皇御代・高市皇子)の 42 ないし 43 歳説によれば、白雉 5(654)年ないし斉明 1(655)年の生まれということになる。持統朝には「太政大臣」の職に就き、持統 10 年の死亡記事では「後皇子尊」と『書紀』は「尊」の字を使用している。なお、長屋王邸跡から「後皇子命宮」の木簡が出土している。
- 64) 拙稿「ヤマト王権の九州支配と豊国」(『福岡教育大学紀要』第 58 号第 2 分冊、2009 年)。既に松原弘宣氏(「豊前国の地方豪族について」『愛媛大学教養部紀要』第 21 号 I、1988 年)も畿内と九州の交通における周防灘沿岸に上陸して内陸部を陸路進むルートの重要性について指摘されているが、周防灘から陸路で博多湾方面また有明海方面に抜けるルートの重要性は再認識されてよいであろう。海外への渡航もその点では関門海峡通過を絶対的な前提とする必要はなく、船さえ確保できればこのルートでも可能である。その際は『万葉集』にも詠まれた海の難所「金の岬」(1230 番、現宗像市鐘崎)を通る必要はないが、玄界灘一帯に及ぶ宗像神の神威を貶めるものではない。こうしたルートを推測させる例に、『万葉集』の天平 8(736)年の遣新羅使の一連の歌が佐婆(防府)の海中で逆風で漂流し順風をえて豊前国下毛郡分間浦に着いて以降筑紫館まで一首の歌もみえないこと(巻 15)や大伴坂上郎女が大宰帥の家から帰京の途次に筑前国宗形郡の名児山越えをした(巻 6)とあるのも海路金崎を取らず陸路瀬戸内に向かったことと思われることなどがある。また、河内王を豊前国鏡山(田川郡香春町)に葬った時に詠んだ手持女王の歌(巻 3)があるが、この場所も大宰府と京を結ぶ瀬戸内に抜けるルート上にあると考えてよいであろう。
- 65) 舒明・皇極天皇にとって息子の中大兄や大海人皇子の大王位継承は十分に意識されており、また激動の時期にあって新たな舒明系ともいべき権力の基盤強化も意図されていたであろう。大海人皇子の九州豪族との関係・海上交通への関与も、中大兄の畿内中枢部の掌握とともに、意図的な 2 人の子供の役割分担の一端として行われたとは考えられないであろうか。
- 66) 以下に述べるように出雲振根・飯入根の説話は倭建命・出雲建の説話と同工異曲的である。その関係は単純ではないにしても、『書紀』が神宝貢上を基本モチーフとしていることを考えると、東西の平定譚という倭建命の説話に出雲建を倒して出雲を平定する部分が後から付加されたのが『記』ではないかとも考えられるが、なお検討を要すであろう。崇神 60 年条については言及した論考は少なしとししないが、井上光貞「国造制の成立」(『史学雑誌』第 60 編第 11 号、1954 年、の

- ち『井上光貞著作集』第4巻に再録)や松前健「ヤマトタケル伝承の成立(二)」(『立命館文学』439～441号、1982年、のち同著『大和国家と神話伝承』に再録)、瀧音能之「古代の出雲と宗像」(『古代文化研究』第6号、島根県古代文化センター、1998年)、のち補訂して同著『古代出雲の社会と信仰』に再録)などを参照されたい。
- また、崇神60年7月条に関連する話が、垂仁26年8月条にみえる。天皇はしばしば出雲国に使いを派遣して神宝を検校させたが、はっきりと報告する者がいないので、物部十千根大連に出雲に行き検校することを命じた。出雲に行き神宝を検校し、はっきりと復命した十千根に、天皇は神宝を掌らせることとした、というものである。崇神朝に貢上された神宝が返還されたようにも受け取られる話であるが、十千根の石上神宮の神宝管掌説話と関係するものであろう(拙稿「石上神宮と忍坂大中姫」、横田健一編『日本書紀研究』第13冊、塙書房、1985年)。
- 67) 瀧音能之氏は、筑紫と出雲の両地域が「大和王権に服属する以前に両者の間に地域連合が成立していた」のではないかといわれるが、地域連合という程のものであったかは検討を要すであろう(『古代の出雲と宗像』(『古代文化研究』第6号、島根県古代文化センター、1998年)、のち補訂して同著『古代出雲の社会と信仰』に再録)。
- 68) 旧住所表示では西伯郡成実村大字宗像字向塔である。現在の社地は尼子晴久によって、弘治2(1556)年に300m程離れた宮ノ谷から移されたともいわれる。
- 69) 東宗像古墳群の6・7号墳については、『東宗像遺跡』(鳥取県教育文化財団、1985年)によった。なお、同報告書は東宗像遺跡周辺の地形について、古代の汀線が現在よりもかなり後退していたことも考えられ、海上交通の拠点的な位置を占めていたのではないかと推測している。
- 70) 宗像と日本海については鐘崎の海女の展開が知られている。近世の「あわび」漁を中心とする「筑前蟹」の蟹浦といわれたのは波津・鐘崎・大島・弘の四浦である。近世以前からの伝統を引くのは鐘崎・大島といわれるが、その展開は対馬の曲・壱岐の小崎・石川県の輪島・鳥取市の夏泊などの他、石川県の舳倉島や山口県の大浦などへの移住もみられ、出漁地としては角島をはじめ浜田・温泉津・波根・出雲・隠岐などであるが、移住・出漁地はいずれも日本海側である。この広がりには鰯の生産と関係するであろうが、瀬戸内海側には足跡を残していない。古代とは単純に比較できないかもしれないが、近世には宗像から能登辺まで船による移動が行われていたのであり、このことは古代における海上交通を考える上で十分参考にしてよいことであろう。詳しくは『宗像市史』通史編第2巻の近世・第3章第2節5(高田茂廣氏執筆)を参照されたい。なお、『延喜式』(巻24・主計上)の諸国の調・庸・中男作物の品目に鰯がある日本海および瀬戸内海に面した国は、若狭・佐渡・出雲・隠岐と伊予・阿波・(紀伊)である。九州では筑前・肥前・肥後・豊後・日向・壱岐である。この外に木簡に鰯がみられるのは、『式』の諸国以外では長門国であるが、「長屋王家木簡」には「長屋親王宮鮑大贄十編」が知られる。このように古代には瀬戸内海方面でも鰯が税として徴収されており、備前国赤坂・津高郡には式内社の宗形神社が分布し、後には安芸国の厳島神社との関係がいわれるにもかかわらず、近世の筑前蟹の展開がみられず、日本海側のみであることは有意なことではないかと思われる。
- 71) 養老7(723)年11月16日の太政官符(『令集解』選叙令7主典条釈説所引)の時点では「伊勢国渡相郡・竹郡、安房国安房郡、出雲国意宇郡、筑前国宗形郡、常陸国鹿嶋郡、下総国香取郡、紀伊国名草郡」の7国8神郡が定められていた。神郡の初見記事は『書紀』持統6(692)年3月条の伊勢であるが、神郡の設置は伊勢や鹿嶋の例からすれば、孝徳朝の7世紀半頃を一つの目安と考えることができる。神郡とは別に「神封」も限られた神社に付与されたが、神封と「神戸」の関係は必ずしも明確ではない。『新抄格勅符抄』(第10巻、神事諸家封戸)の大同1(806)年牒によれば、「熊野神 出雲国加十戸」「杵築神 六十一戸 出雲天平神護元年奉充」「宗像神 七十四戸(已上四社同国)」とあるが、九州関係は「大宰神封」に纏められている。神戸の初見は崇神7年11月条であり、「養老神祇令」(20神戸条)に規定がある。同条の「神に供せむ調度に充てよ」との規定は、履中紀の車持部＝神充者に当てはまるといえよう。
- 72) 出雲国の熊野坐神社(意宇郡)と杵築大社(出雲郡)の関係・歴史には複雑なものがある。神郡はその領域が神の神域とされるものであるが、意宇郡＝神郡、神階の授与、国造継承儀礼・火継神事などにみられる熊野坐神社の優位性は、神郡設定が熊野坐神社を中心とするものであったことを推測させる。平野邦雄「神郡と神戸」(『大化前代政治過程の研究』、吉川弘文館、1985年)などを参照されたい。
- 73) 『令集解』(巻17)の「跡」説は「假令、内七位任郡司者、即日改叙外位也」という。なお、神郡郡司について『続紀』では、宗形郡郡司以外にはほとんど現れてこない。このことは史料残存等の問題もあるかもしれないが、出雲と比べても特徴的である。延暦19年12月の太政官符所引大

- 宰府解(『類聚三代格』)などを勘案すると、宗形郡司(大領)の場合、神主就任を含意した「特記」の意味合いがあると解することは出来ないであろうか。
- 74) 延暦 19(800)年 12 月の太政官符には引用されている「大宰府解」には「当郡大領補任の日、例によりて神主を兼ね、即ち五位に叙す」とある。鳥麻呂は天平 1 年 4 月の時点で宗形郡大領外従七位上であり、すでに大領には補任されていたのである。
 - 75) 金崎(鐘崎)が海の難所であったことは、『萬葉集』(巻 7、1230 番)に「ちはやぶる金の岬」と詠まれたことでも知られる。鐘崎と地島を結ぶラインが響灘と玄界灘の境＝潮目をなし、海の色にも違いが認められるこの潮目はほぼ直線に走り、常に白波が立っている古今の難所である。
 - 76) 竹生王は女王を王と表記する例の一つであるが、女王の結婚については「養老継嗣令」に「凡王娶親王、臣娶五世王者聴。唯五世王不得娶親王」と規定がある。皇親の範囲は慶雲 3(706)年 2 月の格で五世王も皇親の範囲とされた。(女)王を称し臣下に嫁していることから五世王とみてよいであろう。
 - 77) 畿内本貫者の一例をあげれば、養老 5(721)年 1 月に正七位下解工とみえ、天平 17 年に外正五位上にまで昇叙した宗形朝臣赤麻呂(『統紀』)や「元右京人」であった宗形横根(『統後紀』承和 6 年 9 月条)、弘仁 8(817)年 1 月に正六位→外従五位下に昇叙した宗形朝臣勝麿(『類聚国史』)らが知られる。他に天平 5(733)年の「山背国愛宕郡某郷計帳」に宗方君族入鹿ら宗方君族 4 人がみえるが、同帳や神亀 3(726)年の「愛宕郡雲上里・雲下里計帳」には出雲臣族や上毛野君族・白髪部造族・鴨縣主族・布世君族など「某+姓+族」を名乗る人物が多く記載されている。筑前在住者では和銅 2(709)年 6 月(『統紀』)に益城連姓を賜った筑前国御笠郡大領正七位下宗形部堅牛は、大宰府所在の郡の長官に宗形部の部姓氏族が就任した例で、賜姓された氏姓益城連の益城は肥後国の益城郡や益城郷に由来するものであろう。また同 4 年閏 6 月(『統紀』)に宗形部加麻麻伎に穴太連が賜姓されているが、これら改賜姓が宗形部という部姓者であることや賜姓後の氏名との関連からも宗像勢力の展開の有り様という点で注意されよう。畿内および宗像在住者で名の知れる者については、『宗像市史』通史編第 2 巻第 2 章(福原崇太郎氏執筆)を参照されたい。
 - 78) 本位田菊士氏は「高市皇子自身が天武—持統朝にかけて筑前宗像神をこの地に勧請したとみるべきであろう」(「高市皇子と胸形氏の伝承」『続日本紀研究』第 161 号、1972 年、のち同著『日本古代国家形成過程の研究』に再録)とされ、同様に瀧音能之氏も「大和国の宗像神社は高市皇子によって創建された、と考えることが妥当と思われる」「高市皇子の時代、天武朝から持統朝にかけての時代を、宗像氏の中央進出の時期の上限としてとらえることができる」(「宗像氏と大和国宗像神社」、『明治大学大学院紀要』19、1982 年、のち同著『出雲国風土記と古代日本』に再録)といわれる。舒明系の王統の意識という点などからも宗像神の大和国への勧請は高市皇子以前に遡る可能性があるものと考えられる。
 - 79) 高階真人の賜姓を受けた人物は安宿王系の他に、承和 10(843)年 6 月に高市皇子の後裔春枝王の六世岑正王ら 3 人と秋枝王の六世原雄王ら計 4 人(『統後紀』)、翌 11 年に石見王(長屋王と石川婦人の桑田王の裔)の子峯緒に与えられている(『高階氏系譜』、『群書類従』第五輯所収)。また、天平宝字 1(757)年閏 8 月に長屋王の弟鈴鹿王の裔の出雲王・篠原王・奄智王らに豊野真人が与えられたが(『統紀』)、嘉祥 1(848)年 7 月に豊野真人澤野ら 10 人に高階真人が改めて与えられている(『統後紀』)。
 - 80) 『拾芥抄』中(諸名所部第 20)の小一條の項に「坤角宗像社有り」と注記されている。その他に『大鏡』上の藤原忠平の条や『三代実録』貞観 1(859)年 2 月条などにみることができる。
 - 81) 例えば、新羅海賊や神功皇后については『三代実録』貞観 12 年 2 月条や元慶 2 年 12 月条、神階授与は承和 7(840)年 4 月の従五位下・勳八等(『統後紀』)～寛平年間の正一位・勳六等が知られる。神前読経や度僧は延暦 13(794)年 3 月(『類聚国史』)や遣唐使の平安を祈らせた承和 5(838)年 3 月(『統後紀』)の例が知られる。承和 5 年は最後の遣唐使が派遣された年であり、宗像神社の新度の僧 2 人をはじめ 9 人を国分寺・神宮寺に安置供養して使節の無事を祈らせたとある。遣唐使と宗像神社の関係が知られる貴重な史料ではあるが、宗像神に対する祭祀でないことに注意しなければならない。
 - 82) この時期の大宰府や宗像神社などの動向については、正木喜三郎「大宰府の変質と宗像氏」(九州大学国史学研究室編『古代中世史論集』、吉川弘文館、1990 年、のち同著『古代・中世 宗像の歴史と伝承』に再録)および『宗像市史』(通史編第 2 巻)第 5 章第 1 節を参照されたい。なお、九州については律令制下で大宰府に主神が配され、筑前国司は原則的に置かれずにその行政が大宰府で担われるなど特殊な要因がある。このことと天武—高市皇子以降の舒明系王統や長屋王後裔高階真人や藤原氏との関係など、なお考究しなければならない課題は多い。

- 83) 出雲国造の朝廷出仕による就任儀礼は『延喜式』(臨時祭式・太政官式・中務省式・式部省式など)や『続紀』などによれば、およそ次のようである。「出雲国造は国司が詮擬言上し、太政官において任命し、位階四階を進め、神祇官で負幸物を賜与する。帰国した国造は一年間の潔齋をする。齋を終えると再び国司に率いられて朝廷に上り、大極殿南庭で神寿詞を奏上、神宝を献上する。国造は位階四階を進められ、賜物を給される。帰国して更に一年の潔齋を行い(後齋)、再度朝廷に行き、同様の儀礼を執行する」。これらについては、新古典文学本『続日本紀 2』(岩波書店)の補注 7-8 を、また千家尊統『出雲大社 日本の神社 3』(学生社、1968 年)や上田正昭編『古代を考える 出雲』(吉川弘文館、1993 年)などを参照されたい。
- 84) 火継式については、註 83 の千家尊統『出雲大社』および水野祐「出雲の国造」上田編『古代を考える 出雲』を参照した。千家氏は「火の継承が人々の耳目をひいて(略)火継式と火に重点が置かれるようになった」が、火とは霊であり、「じつは霊継式というにほかならない」といわれる。なお、この神事について近世に比重があるが、神道学的な考察をしたものに平井直房『出雲国造火継ぎ神事の研究』(大明堂、1989 年)などがある。
- 85) 『類聚国史』(巻 19・国造)は延暦 17 年 10 月丁亥(12 日)とする。なお、『類史』のこの条は、『類聚三代格』の延暦 17 年 3 月 29 日官符と本官符を合わせて一条に纏めている
- 86) 宗像神・宗像氏・沖ノ島等について筆者は下記の小文をこれまでに書く機会があった。合わせて参照いただければ幸いである。
宗像市史編集委員会編『宗像市史』史料編第 1 巻(1995 年、宗像市)、同『宗像市史』通史編第 2 巻(1999 年、宗像市、古代第 1 章)、津屋崎町史編集委員会編『津屋崎町史』資料編上巻(1996 年、津屋崎町)、同『津屋崎町史』通史編(1999 年、津屋崎町、第 4 編古代・第 1 章～第 3 章第 1・2 節)、「沖ノ島と宗像神・宗像神主一宗像覚書一」(『福岡教育大学紀要』第 59 号第 2 分冊、2010 年)

Islands of Munakata: History and Topography of Oronoshima, Okinoshima and Ōshima

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Abstract: 1. Roles played by border islands and remote islands in the Middle Ages were considered. Relationships between Oronoshima and the Munakata Shrine that owned it as well as those between the Takata-maki (“Takata Ranch”) that played a key role in Asian trade and Munakata Shrine are explained. 2. Reports on Okinoshima written mostly in the Middle Ages were interpreted in the context of actual life experiences. The history and topography of Okinoshima as recorded in *Chikuzen-no-kuni shoku-Fudoki* (*The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province*) by Kaibara Ekiken, *Sakimori-Nikki* (“*Diary of a Coast Guard*”) by AOYAGI Tanenobu, *Okinoshima Kinroku* (“*Logbook of Assignments on the Okinoshima Island*”) and other documents were studied in concrete details. 3. Selected bibliographical materials including *Oranda Shōkanchō Nikki* (“*Diary of VOC Opperhoofden in Japan*”) and Ōshima-related articles.

Keywords: Takata-maki, Tōbō (Chinatown), KAIBARA Ekiken, AOYAGI Tanenobu, Ōshima Island fishermen

1. Introduction

The present paper represents a historiographic and topographic discussion on the islands of Oronoshima, Okinoshima and Ōshima with the view to making contributions in the efforts to having the Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region registered on the World Heritage List. With focus on pre-modern Okinoshima, bibliographical materials that are considered helpful to capture its history are presented.

2. Daigūji of Munakata and Asia

Okinoshima, though often referred to as “the Island of Mystery”, has not always been a virgin territory to humans. As evidenced by the archeological artifacts from Jōmon and Yayoi Periods, people did frequent the island since long time ago and left their footprints. From where did they come and how? And where have they gone and how? The island of Okinoshima is mysterious not because it was untouched but because there has apparently been human involvement.

Okinoshima belongs to Munakata Shrine. Munakata Daigūji (the senior priests of Shintō shrine; the highest position of Munakata Shrine) in ancient times and during the Middle Ages were very international in character; those of Late Heian Period were internationally-minded leaders who promoted the international trade between Japan and Sung Dynasty. The mothers and wives of Daigūji were Chinese (Sung dynasty) nationals coming from either Chang or Wang family. International trade with Korea in Muromachi Period is reported in *Richō Jitsutoku* (“*A True History of Joseon Korea*”). Between Ōei 19 (1412) and Tenshō 14 (1586) vessels sent by the Munakata Clan for trade with Korea made as many as 50 voyages. The history of mankind is inseparable with the sea. Voyages become safer when islands are visible en route. Whilst the role played by Okinoshima in this connection is not difficult to assume, there is paucity of written evidences. The role that a remote island played in the Middle Ages can be extrapolated from the case of Oronoshima.

(1) The international character of Senior Chief Priest of Munakata and Munakata Tōbō

The Amidakyō (the Sukhavati Sutra) stone housed in the Shimpō-Kan (Divine Treasure Museum) of Munakata Shrine is known to have come from Sung Dynasty China and the stone has an inscription of

Chinese (Sung Dynasty) year that reads “the 6th year of Taisō Shōki” (1195). Likewise, the Sung-style lion figure (Kyū Munakatagū Daisan Gozen Ishijishi or stone lion at the third sanctuary of the former Munakata Shrine) was brought from Sung Dynasty China. In the afterword of *Issaikyō* sutra transcribed by monk Shikijō corresponding to Bunji and Kenkyū Eras (1185 - 1199), names of Sung Dynasty Chinese people are mentioned such as “Honkyōshu Gōshu Chōsei, Sumijosei Gōshu Riei” (Main sponsor of this scripture Chinese merchant Chōsei and Ink sponsor Chinese merchant Riei). One Daigūji after another married a Chinese lady and was born to a Chinese mother. Munakata Daigūji was wed bicultural and the sons who succeeded the position were mixed breeds.

In Tsuyazaki, there is a place called Tōbō (or Tōbōchi). Being literally translated “Chinese houses or Chinese rooms”, Tōbō stands for Chinatown. *Kyōkunshō* (a collection of Gagaku music) in its Section Biwa (Japanese lute) in No.8 Stories of Gagaku music pieces without dance describes a story that the biwa master Minamoto-no-Tsunenobu, who was a Dazai-no-sochi (governor of Dazaifu) and a Dainagon (counselor of the first rank of the imperial court), made a biwa performance in the Chinatown of Munakata (it is written as “Hanakata” in the original text; it is believed to be an error in transcription). *Sanboku-Kikashū* (a collection of Japanese waka poems) writes that when the Governor Minamoto-no-Tsunenobu passed away, many Sung Dynasty Chinese were deeply saddened. 「はかたにはへりける唐人どもの、あまたもうてきて、とふらいける」。Tsunenobu had an international orientation and frequented Hakata Tōbō and Munakata Tōbō. 「唐人の、こととふ（言問）さへも、此世には、に（似ぬ）」, the book writes. If the Chinese people (Sung Dynasty people) had been conversing in Japanese, they must have had strange accent. The conversation was most probably in Chinese. Tsunenobu must have visited Tōbō with some knowledge of conversational Chinese. Munakata Daigūji were born to Chinese mothers and had Chinese wives. They were naturally fluent in Chinese language. Some of the Sung Dynasty Chinese living in Tōbō must have married Japanese ladies. The Tōbō in Munakata was a truly bilingual international city.

Bordering at the north of Tōbōchi is a small locality by the name of Yanagashuku. *Chikuzen-no-kuni shoku-Fudoki* describes it as 「唐坊・柳の宿の一名なり」. During the renovation work of Tsuyazaki Elementary School close to Tōbōchi, a Tōbō-related archeological site was discovered. The site has been conserved within the school premises.

Among the celadon and white porcelain artifacts that were unearthed was an earthenware (Tong'an kiln-style celadon dating to about the middle of to the second half of the 12th century) with an inked Chinese character 「綱」 (岡 without the omitted 「糸」 radical). The character is believed to represent Goshu or Chinese boatman. *Shikijō Issaikyō* refers to Gōshu's by the names of Chōsei and Riei. A water well framework with a Chinese-style hoops-bound tub was also discovered.

Daigūji, who were born to Sung Dynasty Chinese mothers, started their career at, and based their roots in, Makiguchi Shrine in Arai where a Tōbō was situated. According to “*Teisei Munakata Daigūji Keifu*” (Corrected Lineage of Munakata Senior Chief Priests) and “*Munakatagū Shamu Shidai*” (Records of Shrine Affairs of Munakata Shrine) compiled in “*Munakata Gunshi*” (History of Munakata County) and “*Munakata Shishi Shiryōhen*” (Bibliography Section of Munakata City History), 36代および38代大宮司氏は文治五年（1189）と正治元年（1199）に、その甥である三十九代氏重（初任37代・初名氏仲）は建暦三年（1213）に、氏国弟である43代（四十六代再任）の大宮司氏経は貞永元年（1232）に、いずれも「自牧口社入社」した。Ujikuni and Ujitsune were sons of Ujisane and their mother was from Wang Family. Ujishige (Ujinaka) was a son of Ujitada and the mother was from Zhang Family. All the Senior Chief Priests who had Sung Dynasty Chinese mothers had their roots in Makiguchi Shrine. Entries to Munakata Shrine of those who had other roots were simply recorded as “joined.” They included two cases from Minato Shrine and one from Matsubara Shrine. The one who entered from Matsubara Shrine was no one else but the very Ujinaka who had a Sung Dynasty Chinese mother. Ujinaka first entered Munakata Shrine from Matsubara Shrine and in his second appointment he entered from Makiguchi Shrine. The name Matsubara Shrine comes from the name of place Matsubara in Katsuura that lies to the north of Arai. Daigūji mostly entered Munakata Shrine from the neighborhood of Hetsu-miya. Entry from other localities appears to have been rather exceptional.

Makiguchi Shrine is mentioned in “*Shōhei 23-nen Munakatagū Nenjū Gyōji*” (Annual Events of Munakata Shrine in Shōhei 23 or 1368) compiled in “*Shintō Taikei - Munakata*” (Encyclopedia of Shintō - Munakata)

as “Araji Makiguchi-sha” and “Araji-gō Makiguchi Daimyōjin.”

An ink-written porcelain piece unearthed from the Tōbō archeological site has Chinese characters that can be read to mean “高田 Takata” (White porcelain dish Category 3 dated to between the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 13th century; reported as “壽” in the investigation report). The calligraphy is partially disturbed. The dish bottom on which the characters are written is not uniformly flat; the paste is partly bulged into a convex shape. This may be the reason for the somewhat disorganized writing. Takata reminds us of Takata-maki in Chikuzen. This is the Maki (ranch) that appears in *shōyūki* (“Diary of Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke”) as having made offerings of items from Sung Dynasty China.

(2) Takata-maki, Chikuzen/Iki and Munakata Daigūji

Takata-maki, Chikuzen is believed to have been the House Manor of Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke who wrote *shōyūki* (the following passages are based on the descriptions therein). During Heian Period, Takata-maki presented precious articles from Sung Dynasty China, particularly medicine and leopard skins to the Court (August 7 Chōwa 2 or 1013). The article of March 2 Chōgen 2 or 1029 mentions the trade articles of “sappan, orpiment, Zijingao, patina, and a kind of lacquer made from the sap of *Acanthopanax sciadophylloides*” and that of August 7 Manju 2 or 1025 mentions “lapis lazuli bottle and jar.” According to the former article (March 2), an envoy of the Takata-maki Governor (Munakata) Myōchū delivered to Kyōto a letter of a guest merchant Shu Bun-ei from Taizhou, Sung Dynasty China addressed to the Dajō-kan (Department of State) and the Udaijin (Minister of the Right) Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke. This very Myōchū was the then Senior Chief Priest of Munakata Shrine. Through the good offices of the Governor of Takata-maki and concomitantly Munakata Daigūji, Shu Bun-ei sought to communicate with Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke who was the landlord of the Manor and through him with the Dajō-kan (the then Prime Minister was Fujiwara-no-Yorimichi). This episode indicates a very close involvement of Takata-maki in Japan-Sung Dynasty China trade. There was a strong interest also on the part of Kyōto in precious Chinese articles presented by Takata-maki; onmyōji or I Ching officials were called in to predict the arrival date (diary article of July 15 Chian 3 or 1023).

Governors of Takata-maki whose names appear in the book include: MUNAKATA Nobutō (August 7 Chōwa 2 or 1013, October 1 Kannin 4 or 1020, February 7 Chian 1 or 1021), Fujiwara-no-Masanori (June 25 in Chōwa 3 or 1014, MUNAKATA Myōchū (August 7 Manju 2 or 1025, March 2 Chōgen 2 or 1029), Fujiwara-no-Tametoki (August 26 and September 8 Chōgen 1), Tōharu (family name unknown) (August 20 Chōgen 3 or 1030) and Takeyuki (family name unknown) (December 7 Chōgen 5, a new appointee).

Many of Takata-maki governors have the family name of Munakata. As far as written records are concerned, no other family member served as governor more than one year on two different occasions or more. It is noteworthy that many of them have service as prefectural governor in their career. Tōharu was governor of Iki and Tsushima before becoming Takata-maki governor. His name appears as Iki governor in the article of January 24 Chōwa 3 or 1014, and as Tsushima governor in the April 18 and 27 articles in the same year, and then as Takata-maki governor in the article of August 20 Chōgen 3 or 1030. He who served as the No.1 government official of major prefectures of Iki and Tsushima was appointed governor of Takata-maki.

In the article of June 25 Chōwa 3 or 1014, Fujiwara Masanori is referred to as Takata-maki governor. Half a year later in Chōwa 4 or 1015, he is described as Dazai-daigen or Vice Governor of Dazaifu Territory (the page on February 12 in *Nihon Kiryaku* “The Abridged History of Japan”). In Chian 2 or 1022, he was appointed as Governor of Tsushima as a military in place of Ki-no-Kazutō who refused the appointment to the post (the article of April 3). He assumed the positions of Dazaifu vice-governor and prefectural governor after serving as Takata-maki governor, in reverse order to Tōharu. It appears that as No.1 non-imperial official he had concomitant offices of Dazaifu Vice-Governor and Takata-maki Governor.

The name of Munakata Myōchū appears nine times in *shōyūki*. In the section Chōwa 3 where it appears twice, Myōchū is referred to as Senior Chief Priest in both. Then on all of the four occasions the name appears in sections Chian 3 or 1023 and Chōgen 2 or 1029, he is mentioned as Maki Governor. When he is referred to as Governor, he is never mentioned as Senior Chief Priest.

Takeyuki appears in the article of February 14 Manju 2 or 1025 as priest of Kashii Shrine. The diary writes that Maki Governor Myōchū presented Chinese fabrics, Kamogashirakusa-utsushi (a blue dyestuff) and a *heiman* (a screen-like curtain) and that Takeyuki presented also some Chinese fabrics. As was mentioned earlier, the article of March 2 Chōgen 2 or 1029 is a note about the letter and gifts from Chinese guest merchant Shu Bun-ei. In this entry appears a person by the name of Kashii Shrine Priest Take, who together with Takata-maki Governor Munakata Myōchū presented Zijingao, *Kariroku* (a tropical wood used as medicine) and *Binrōji* (areca nut). The description “Kashii Shrine Priest Take” is believed to be the very Takeyuki; the Chinese character for “yuki” must have been omitted by error. A Kashii Shrine priest too was appointed Takata-maki Governor besides Munakata Shrine priests. As we saw before, Takeyuki appears again in the article of Chōgen 5 or 1032, this time as the newly-appointed governor (of Takata-maki). There he is not called a shrine priest. Like Myōchū, there must not have been a holding of concomitant offices of governor and Daigūji.

Lastly, Munakata Nobutō (Chōwa 2 or 1013) may well have been a few generation ancestor of Munakata Nobusada whose name is inscribed as Josei Danotsu (sponsoring affiliate) on the copper Sutra cylinder dated August 25 Hōan 1 or 1120 that has been unearthed at Tempuku-ji temple in Nishi-Aburayama, Fukuoka City.

Thus, persons who were knowledgeable about Iki and Tsushima as governor were appointed governor of Takata-maki. A vice-minister which was the highest position for non-imperial officials held a concomitant office of Takata-maki governor. And priests of Munakata Shrine and Kashii Shrine who were active in international exchanges served as Maki governor.

The rival to Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke was the former Dazaifu Minister Taira-no-Korenaka. Korenaka died at the private residence of HATA Sadashige. This HATA Sadashige is the very Sadashige who is mentioned as the grandfather of Hakozaki daifu (a priest) Norishige (Dazaifu Vice Minister) appearing in *Midō Kampaku Ki* (“The Diary of Fujiwara-no-Michinaga”), *Konjaku Monogatari* (“Anthology of Tales from the Past”) (Vol. 26-16) and *Uji Shūi Monogatari* (Vol. 14-6 and -180). Following the downfall of Korenaka, Takato took over the post of prime minister, who was Sanesuke’s brother of same mother. In this way Daigūjiof Munakata and Kashii became connected to Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke and Takatō. This was paralleled by the strong connection between the Hakozaki daifu and Dazaifu Minister Taira-no-Korenaka. Priests of Munakata and Hakozaki came into rivalry. The latter had a linkage to Fujiwara-no-Michinaga.

There was an incident in which low-level officials of Takata-maki were “expelled” to Iki Island by the order of Dazaifu Minister Taira-no-Korenaka.

(寛弘二年四月)

七日

前筑前守高規朝臣申上大弐許之書狀、帥去月十五日申時薨・貫首座「秦敷」定重宅者・字佐宮降誅敷、最可畏、僉議間頗有駁定、後日可驗、高田牧雜人悉追渡壱岐島、是帥所行也、下官宇佐定間、依無用意所為云々、極奇恠也

(寛弘二年五月)

十三日

故帥納言(惟仲)称令取壱岐島荒馬、追渡高田牧々〔牧〕子十三人、牧司等陳難堪由、重差遣彼雜色長字自可春利令追渡壱岐島之間、牧司等春利被搜取内財・雜物・馬并年貢絹十四疋之由、諸国郡證判先日言上、然間帥薨、其後件使春利參上云々、令尋伺之間不知在所、或云、罷下近江国云々、取国符令持健兒、差加家下人一兩、去十日下遣、今朝捕得、将来下給厩、令進過狀并日記、申雜物辨文

Korenaka is here referred to as Zōshiki-no-Osa (chief of apprentice secretary to the Emperor) UJIKI Harutoshi. *Ōmahoō* of Chōtoku 2 or 996 (*Dai Nihon Shiryo*, Vol. II-II, page 527) states:

越前国・大目正六位上宇自可宿禰春利・左大辨平朝臣正曆三年給

(宇自可 is sometimes written as 牛鹿). The Sadaiben (state minister on the left) stated here is an apparent mistake: it should have been stated as Udaiben (state minister on the right) because the family name is Taira and the minister is Taira-no-Korenaka (*Benkan bunin* (“Appointment of Ministers”); the Sadaiben at the time was Fujiwara-no-Kanetada). He was the right arm of Korenaka.

The news that 13 officials were expelled to Iki suggests the sheer size of Takata-maki. Kumokuryō (“Decree on Stables and Ranches”) stipulated that two ranch officials be assigned to a herd which consisted of 100 cattle or horses. Hence 13 ranch officials meant an organization responsible for 650 horses. A Prime Minister deed dated October 15 Tenchō 4 (*Ruijū Sandaikyaku*, Vol. V) mentions that the ranch in Kai Prefecture had “a little over one thousand female and male horses.” If we assume that the 13 officials who were transferred to Iki represented a half of the total assigned to Takata-maki, in other words, the total number is assumed to be 26, then that accounted for 1,300 adult cattle and horses. If so, Takata-maki was larger in scale than the one in Kai. Takata-maki then would be too large to belong to a county; it would stretch over the prefecture, encompassing several counties. There may well have been an exclave on Iki Island. From national defense perspective alone, it is simply impossible that Dazaifu would be indifferent to such a large ranch.

Because the ranch was large, there were a plural number of governors including non-resident supernumerary ones. As the order to expel to Iki came down from the Minister, there was the Minister or Deputy Minister of Dazaifu at the top of the chain of command. Separately, there was a line leading to Fujiwara-no-Sanesuke. Maki governors and officials down the line seem to have communicated to the side that favored them.

We have seen that Takeyuki who served as Takata-maki governor was a priest of Kashii Shrine. A strip of wood unearthed from Kashii Archeological Site “B” has the following characters written on it: “(老) 岐嶋 雜掌”.

Munakata Shrine documents contain some references to Iki Island.

永仁五年十一月九日筑前宗像神社文書、『鎌倉遺文』26-19523

譲与草野次郎殿所老岐嶋石田郷薬師丸所職田畠山野等

正和二年七月二十三日『鎌倉遺文』32-24932：嘉暦三年十一月二日

老岐嶋(石田保)薬師丸地頭職、右所領者、円種…

Iki has many localities with Maki-related names such as Maki-no-kuchi (in Ariyasu-fure) in Gō-no-uramachi Town, Maki-no-kuchi and Magome (in Watara-higashi-fure) and Magome (in Hongū-nishi-fure) in Katsumotomachi Town (KUSANO Shōichi, *A Comprehensive List of Locality Names in Nagasaki Prefecture*, 1999).

Based on *Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki* (*The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province*), *Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki Shūi* (*The gleanings of the sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province*) and *Munakata Jinja Shi* (“History of Munakata Shrine”) Part I (pages 683, 691 and 703); geographical distribution of Maki-lore and Maki-myōjin was investigated with the results categorized into three groups (Table 1). As far as *Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku-Fudoki* and *Shūi* are concerned, distribution of Maki-shrines is confined to the two counties of Onga and Munakata. And according to the descriptions in *Munakata Jinja Shi*, all shrines located in Munakata County and (a part of the) shrines located in Onga County are regarded as branches or affiliates of Munakata Shrine.

Table 1 Distribution of Maki-lore and Maki-myōjin and categorization of locations

○ Both Maki-lore and Maki-myōjin exist	1	Yukawayama, Onga County (Main Edition p.293/Hatsuura, Gleanings p.383)
	2	Katsushima, Munakata County (Maki-myōjin, Shrine History)
	3	Watari, Munakata County (Main Edition p.377 Maki-no-daimyōjin, Appendix mentions Maki-daimyōjin at sub-locality Makiato, Shrine History mentions Yumaki Shrine (Omaki Shrine), photo in the website of Tsuyazaki Hometown History Study Group)
○ Only Maki-lore exists	4	Tobata, Onga County (Main Edition p.293, Gleanings p.450)
	5	Inokuma, Onga County (Inokuma, Main Edition p.293)
○ Only Maki-myōjin exists	6	Kuroyama Village, Onga County (Gleanings p.365, Okagaki Town, East of Hatsu on the eastern hill of the Shioiri River)
	7	Chijima, Munakata County (Maki-Daimyōjin 638, located at Isozaki, Shirahama)
	8	Araji, Munakata County (Makiguchi myōjin)
	9	Ōshima, Munakata County (Details unknown, Yumaki Shrine in page 106 of Masaki, <i>Middle Ages Munakata Daigūji and the Sea</i> , <i>Middle Ages Ama and East Asia</i> ; Shrine History Part I p.703 quotes an appended article about locality Makinouchi)

The ranch that used to exist in Tsuyazaki was mentioned as follows in *Chōsen Jin Tomegaki* (“Notes of Service for Defense against Korea”) written in Tenshō 20 or 1592 A.D. (Mori Documents, *Tsuyazaki Chōshi* (“History of Tsuyazaki Town) Bibliographical Section Part I):

(四月)二日に(略)て^(手光)びかと申候所ニ御陣取候、一日御逗留候て、つやざきの馬牧などを御見物なされ候事

Tebika is the name of a place that lies to the east of Miyaji and borders with Araji. Tsuyazaki-maki was large enough with many good horses to have the Mōri squadron make an overnight visit. The presence of horse ranches in Ōshima and Tsuyazaki can be confirmed in the county document *KURODA Tadayuki Hanmotsu Utsushi* (“Transcript of Documents Signed by KURODA Tadayuki”, in *Tsuyazaki Chōshi*, History Text Part p.447). On the opposite side of Shioiri wetland on which a Tōbō was situated, too, there was: “牧大明神社あり、此社ハ京泊の内也” (*Shūi*).

Also there was an official ranch run by the Fukuoka Han (“Domain”) at Yukawayama that separates Munakata and Onga Counties. Dry moats and other structures still remain to this date. Yukawa also has a Maki-daimyōjin. *Munakata-ki* states that Myōchū called himself Daigūji of Imba. This Imba is believed to be a linguistic corruption of Inaba, a sub-locality in Teno, Okagaki Town. To the eastern foot of Yukawayamu and Tarumi Pass lies even today Uchiura Wakamiya Shrine, an affiliate of Munakata Shrine (MASAKI Kisaburō, *Kodai/Chūsei Munakata no Rekishi to Denshō* (“History and Lore of Ancient and Middle Ages Munakata”). Munakata Myōchū seems to have ascended to the post of Daigūji from a different route. And Yukawayama may well have been a part of Takata-maki.

Lore says that Katsushima Island offshore Kōnominato used to be a pasture for cattle-raising and there is a Maki-myōjin. On the island of Jinoshima there is a Makiguchi-daimyōjin. Though Katsushima and Jinoshima are both remote islands, it was not rare that remote islands were used for cattle-raising in

addition to hill ranches. Nokonoshima Island on Hakata Bay was also a horse farm and remains of earth mounds can be seen today.

Aokata Documents for Eitoku 3 or 1383, Meitoku 4 or 1393 and Ōei 3 or 1396 states that:

一ねんニ、しうけに、こむま一疋はなすへし、

The land steward Aokata Family let loose a “komuma” each year to the remote island of Shūgenjima. Whilst a release of just one horse is difficult to understand, the word “komuma” appears in *Dairi Utaawase* of Jōryaku 2 (1078) as “komuma kurabe” meaning “horse competition.” Accordingly, “komuma” is not “kouma” (a pony) as one is likely led to assume but rather should be interpreted as “koma” (a horse). Most likely, a horse retired from military service was released in stud for the purpose of raising stout and large-size horses.

Takata-maki was an optimum place for such grazing and breeding. It encompassed the counties of Munakata and Onga and included the exclave ranch of Iki. And officials who had served or would later serve as Daigūji of Munakata Shrine were appointed governors of Takata-maki.

(3) Oronoshima

Munakata Clan was in control of the Munakata - Iki maritime transportation. During Muromachi Period, the governor of Iki was served by Munakata Daigūji.

Like Okinoshima that was on a pivotal location in the routes Munakata - Tsushima and Munakata - Korea, Oronoshima occupied an important position in the Munakata - Iki route. In the second half of Kamakura Period, Munakata Clan had a territorial litigation with the powerful in Kamakura government.

(史料)

A 毛利家所蔵筆陣

宗像社雑掌申社領小呂島事、訴状^{副具書等}遣之、如状者、綱首謝国明語取前預所代常村、号地頭、対捍社役云々、事実者、甚不穩便、早任先例、可謹仕社役之由、可令下知、若又有子細者、召出国明子息、可被注申之状、依仰執達如件、

建長四年七月十二日

相模守(花押)^(北条時頼)

陸奥守(花押)^(北条重時)

少式資能
(豊前前司殿)

B 宗像大社文書

「六波羅殿御書下 当時武蔵守殿」

宗像六郎氏業与三原左衛門尉種延相論宗像社領筑前国小呂嶋事、如氏業申者、彼嶋者、自昔為大宮司成敗之處、種延寄事於船頭謝国明遺領、不從所勘之條、太無其謂、早可被遂糾決云々、如種延申者、謝国明遺跡事、後家尼与種延致相論御成敗未断之間、当時不及遂其節、所詮任先例被致沙汰事候者、不及支申云々、者種延承伏之上者、任先例、致其沙汰、可相待關東御成敗左右之由、可相触于氏業之状如件

建長五

五月三日(花押)^(北条長時)

奉行人

These two documents related to Oronoshima are well known to historians of Middle Ages because of the appearance of Sung Dynasty Chinese SHA Kokumei who was the inaugural follower/sponsor of Shōten-ji Temple in Hakata. Document “A” has been possessed by the House of Mōri, but little is known as to how it came into the House. It is quite conceivable that originally the document, like Document “B” was owned as

a Munakata Shrine document. The litigants were:

建長四年(1252) 訴人宗像社 論人謝国明(子息)

建長五年(1253) 訴人宗像氏業 論人三原種延

The plaintiff was in both cases Munakata Shrine. As is written like「彼の嶋は、昔より大宮司の成敗たり」, Oronoshima was owned by Munakata Shrine and was under the control of Daigūji. The defendants were SHA Kokumei in Kenchō 4 litigation and MIHARA Tanenobu in Kenchō 5 litigation. Let us discuss the latter defendant first.

● Mihara Saemon-no-jō Tanenobu

Tanenobu was in a legal fight against the widow of SHA Kokumei over inheritance, with a pending decision. The Kamakura government took time to make a decision. Apparently MIHARA Tanenobu was in a position to claim inheritance of SHA Kokumei. Conceivably, he was a son-in-law or a grandson of SHA Kokumei.

Mihara Clan was a warrior clan based in Mihara County, namely Mihara County, Chikugo Province. As is evident from the use of Chinese character “tane” in the name of Tanenobu, Mihara Clan is a member of Okura Family that used the “tane” character in personal names and served as officials of Dazaifu. Mihara County was not far away from Dazaifu, bordering Mikasa County, Chikuzen Province in which Dazaifu was situated. Mihara Clan has left Mihara Documents. In a late Kanakura Period document dated June in the Genkō 3 (1333), the head of the family called himself 「原田大夫種直五代嫡孫三原左衛門太郎入道仏見」 (*Kamakura Ibun* (“Documents from Kamakura Period”) #32315). Because the title of Saemon-tarō is used, this Bukken was likely a son or grandson of MIHARA Saemon-no-jō Tanenobu. Indeed, he claimed himself to be a direct descendent of HARADA Tanenao, the famous official of Dazaifu.

● Saki-no-Azukari-dokoro Dai (“Former Deputy Land Steward”) MIURA Tsunemura and SHA Kokumei

The defendant in the litigation of the previous year was the well-known Sung Dynasty Chinese SHA Kokumei (the son). The claim against him was that:

“綱首謝国明は、前預所代常村を語らい取り、地頭と号して、社役を対捍す”

Who is this former deputy land steward Tsunemura at all? A paper by ISHII Susumu titled “A Form of On-site Landlord Law in the Early 14th Century” (*ISHII Susumu Chosakushu* (“Works of ISHII Susumu”) No.6) sheds light on the evolution of control of Munakata Shrine estate. After the Jōkyū War and until the Battle of Hōji in Hōji 1(1247), the land steward of Munakata Shrine estate was MIURA Yasumura. Miura Clan used the Chinese character “mura” in their personal names since the time of MIURA Yoshimura. This litigation took place five years after the fall of Miura Clan by the defeat in the Battle of Hōji. Land stewards were previously members of Miura Clan and Tsunemura, the “former” land steward, was of course a clan member.

The domains Miura Clan used to hold in Kyūshū were the Munakata Shrine estate, Chikuzen Province in the north of Dazaifu and the Kanzaki village, Higo Province (*Yō-kō-ki* (“Diary of HAMURO Sadatsugu”) article of August 18 Hōji1). Both areas were important bases for international trade; Miura Clan can be said to have been in control of the waters both north and south of Dazaifu.

Oronoshima Island lies on western offshore Munakata County and Iki is to the further west. From Oronoshima, it is 30 kilometers to the nearest village of Ashibe on Iki Island, 40 kilometers to Munakata County, 35 kilometers to Shikanoshima and 50 kilometers to Hakata. Oronoshima was on the Munakata - Iki route and had a significant importance as a stop-over.



Figure 1 Geographical position of Oronoshima

MIURA Tsunemura appointed to the post of land steward the Sung Dynasty Chinese SHA Kokumei who was basically stationed in Hakata. Miura Clan who was responsible for the Munakata Shrine estate had to defend Oronoshima. For that purpose it relied on the wealth and technical and other expertise of the Chinese national SHA Kokumei. It attempted to deprive Munakata Clan of its interest in Oronoshima.

In Muromachi Period, Munakata Clan came to gain the position of Iki Governor (Satō Shinichi, *A Study on the Shugo System of the Muromachi Shogunate* Part II). Presumably it was not too difficult to gain control of the lines linking Iki with Oronoshima and with Munakata. Munakata Clan traditionally had a close tie with Iki and it was obviously based on trade with mainland China. It is no exaggeration to say the Oronoshima was a lifeline for Munakata Line.

(4) Remotest islands

For the Middle Ages Japanese Archipelago, borders and remotest islands were very important. Ōshu Sotohama and Nukanobu County that formed the northern border were known as “Yasuie-ato” meaning the domain of HŌJŌ Yasuie, a member of the House of Tokusō in Hōjō Family (a younger brother of Shikken (Shogun’s regent) HŌJŌ Takatoki). House of Tokusō refers to the heads of mainline Hōjō Clan that began with HŌJŌ Yasutoki and ended with Takatoki. Following the revolt of Kenmu, the position was inherited by ASHIKAGA Takauji (Hishijima Documents, *Nambokuchō Ibun* (“Documents from Nambokuchō Period” Book on Chūgoku and Shikoku Regions, Vol. 1, 215). The power at the top was in command of the northern outlet.

At the most southern tip of Kyuscabinhe county of Kawabe that comprises Satsunan Archipelago was also a “Tokusō-ato” or a domain of Hōjō Tokusō House (Nikaidō Documents, *Nambokuchō Ibun*, Book on Kyūshū, Vol. 3, 3317). According to Chikama Documents (*Kamakura Ibun* (“Documents from Kamakura Period”, Vol. 29, 22608), Tokusō-entrusted Chikama Clan governed the following lands and islands:

かハへ(河辺)のこほり(郡)のちとう(地頭)御代官職、ならひに、くんし(郡司)職、
坊津、大泊津、口五島・七島・きかいか島・大島・(次)ゑらふの島・とくの島

The Tokusō domain extended as far as Tokara Archipelago, Erabushima Island and Tokunoshima Island. The land steward position of Tanegashima Island was held by Nagoe Family, a member of Hōjō Clan.

In stark contrast to our present-day notion, places that would today be regarded as remote islands and back-country had a significant value and importance in the Middle Ages as the entrance and window to Asia.

On the mainland Kyūshū, Kaseda Beppu that comprises the mouth of the Mannose River was called “SAGAMI Rokurō Tokitoshi-ato” (House of Shimazu Documents, *Nambokuchō Ibun*, Vol. 2, 1908). Tokitoshi was a grandson of Tokusō Hōjō Sadatoki and his mother was a daughter of Sadatoki called Minami-dono and his father was Regent Sagami-no-kami Hirotoke (Hōjō Masamura-ryū) (Shōshū-ji Temple version of Hōjō Clan genealogy). In the historical district of Kaseda Beppu there remain two places with the name Tōbō (Chinatown). These historical place names imply that active international trade took place there. Those who were in power had a control over not only the northern tip of Japan’s main island but also the small archipelagos to the south of Satsuma and the mainland bays and ports that were linked to them. The latter was indeed the window open to Asia, Ryūkyū and China, the Outlet of the South (the Southern Island Route).

In a similar manner, Munakata Shrine had a control over the islands near the northwestern tip. The first attempt to take over the interest of Munakata Clan there was made by Miura Clan. It once had a presence almost comparable to that of Hōjō Tokusō House, but it was later perished by Hōjō Clan. The one who took over the position and became the landlord of Munakata Shrine was of course Hōjō Tokusō House.

A study by ISHII Susumu (*ISHII Susumu Chosakushū* 6) shows that the title and ownership of Munakata Shrine in the second half of Kamakura Period were as described below. After the Jōkyū War, the estate became a property of the Shogunate government. For a brief while, it was handed over to the Imperial Family because of linkage with the House of Saionji, but the Shogunate government regained it (in exchange for Tokuhashi-no-ho Manor in Kaga Province and others).

A 承久の乱～宝治合戦まで

本家・院(天皇家・修明門院、「武家要用之時者、可返給」という限定付きで、時に「忘却」されるほどに弱体な権利)

領家・鎌倉幕府(将軍御家領)

預所・三浦泰村

B 宝治元年(1247)～乾元元年(1302)

本家・院(天皇家・後嵯峨院→後嵯峨院中宮大宮院、西園寺実氏女子)

領家・西園寺実氏(関東申次)

C 乾元元年～建武元年(1334)・鎌倉幕府崩壊まで

本家・得宗

Zasso Ketsudansho Chō (“Records of Court of Justice”) of March 20 Kenmul(1334), Okinoshima, Ōshima, Oronoshima and Kojima are mentioned as estates of Munakata Shrine (Munakata Jinja Shi Part II, p.674; The document no longer exists but it is quoted in the Ōei 16 Comprehensive List of Documents of Munakata Shrine). Thus, Munakata Clan was adamant about its interest in Oronoshima, an isolated island on the Genkai-nada Sea. Likewise the Sung Dynasty Chinese SHA Kokumei and the officials of Dazaifu as well as Miura Clan which was behind them were keenly interested in the island. All these were documented in historical records. It is highly conceivable that Okinoshima played a similar role, but there are no concrete records.

It is said that the control by the Ritsuryō State and Dazaifu extended even to the Satsunan Islands. The recently excavated Gusuku archeological site on Kikaigashima Island and its artifacts are said to be indications of the control. Navigation was along the line of islands. Whether the guiding island can be found or not was a matter of critical importance for successful voyage.

Okinoshima must have been certainly under the control of the Ritsuryō State and Dazaifu. The unearthed Tōsansai (Tang-dynasty style three colored bottle) and Nara tricolored ware are considered to suggest it. The practical exercise of the control was left to the hands of Munakata Daigūji.

3. Reading about Okinoshima in Topographical Literature

(1) Modern Ages descriptions by KAIBARA Ekiken, AOYAGI Tanenobu and others

Okinoshima is well documented in *Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku-Fudoki* and *Chikuzen-no-kuni Zoku-Shosha Engi* (“History of Shrines in Chikuzen Province - Part II”) both by KAIBARA Ekiken (1630 - 1714). There are also *Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku-Fudoki Furoku* which contains new additions to the former document as well as *Shūi* of the same. AOYAGI Tanenobu (1766 - 1836) was substantially responsible for the editorial work of *Furoku* and was the editor of *Shūi*. He stayed in Okinoshima in Kansei 6. His experiences are detailed in *Sakimori Nikki* (Okitsushima Sakimori Nikki). It can be said to be a rare and indispensable literature. Okinoshima is also described in various literature including *Chikuzen Meisho Zue* (“Illustrations of Places of Interest in Chikuzen”) (Okumura Gyokuran, Bunsei 4 or 1821) and *Fukuoka-ken Chiri Zenshi* (“A Comprehensive Geography of Fukuoka Prefecture) in the Meiji era.

Whilst KAIBARA Ekiken unlikely set his own foot on the shores of Okinoshima, detailed records were available at Fukuoka-han (“domain”) that dispatched an Okinoshima on-site official (also known as Okinoshima assignee or Sakimori) every year.

When AOYAGI Tanenobu was given the assignment to be stationed in Okinoshima, he was 28 years of age (30 years old by the ancient method of age counting) and apparently unmarried (he appears to have married late; he was wed in Kansei 9 or three years after the service in Okinoshima; *AOYAGI Tanenobu Shiryō Mokuroku* Kaidai (“Bibliographical Introduction to the List of AOYAGI Tanenobu Materials”), Discussions by CHIKUSHI Yutaka). According to Chikushi, Tanenobu was a low-rank official with an annual salary of 6-koku/3-ninbuchi. He landed onto the island with the knowledge he had gained from reading writings of KAIBARA Ekiken whom he greatly admired. The Okinoshima service continues for 100 days on the remote island. Whilst ordinary officials were reluctant, Tanenobu most probably volunteered to the post. His records are not for every day, but show the details vividly. This is a first-class travel story in Japan. The writings of young Tanenobu reflect his passion. He in his later life made a detailed report on the finds of Mikumo archeological site in *Ryūen Koki Ryakkō* (“Brief Considerations on Old Ware of Ryūen”). But he left no such records about archeological artifacts of Okinoshima. This is in fact the only question mark about his days in Okinoshima. It is hard to believe that he was too young to be interested. Rather, he likely refrained from writing on archeological topics on purpose.

Publications that compile *Sakimori Nikki* include: TODA Shigemaru, *Sakimori Nikki* (*Kokugakuin Journal*, 10-5, 7, Meiji 31 or 1898); AOYAGI Tanemaro (a.k.a. Tanenobu) and SASAKI Shimpei, *Okitsushima Sakimori Nikki* (Meiji 33 or 1900, Digital Library from the Meiji Era, National Diet Library); HATAKAKE Masaki, *Okitsu-miya*, 1928; *Munakatagun-shi* (“History of Munakata County”), 1931; *Nihon Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei* (“Compilation of Literatures on the Life of Common People in Japan”) 2 (1968, proof-reading, notes and introduction by HARA Hiroshi); Munakata Okinoshima III and Bibliography (1978, partial compilation starting with Ōshima section); CHIKUSHI Yutaka, *Fukuoka-han no Kokugakusha AOYAGI Tanenobu no Kenkyū* (“A Study on AOYAGI Tanenobu, A Historian of Fukuoka Domain”) (III): *Okitsushima Sakimori Nikki*, (*Fukuoka-shiritsu Rekishi Shiryōkan Kenkyū Hōkoku* (“Fukuoka City History Museum Research Report”), Series 3, 1979); and HAYASHIDA Masao ed., *Chikushi Koten Bungaku no Sekai: Chūsei and Kinsei* (“The World of Classic Literature of Chikushi: Middle and Modern Ages”) (1997).

Works of Tanenobu are found in the library collection of former House of Yamazaki now conserved in Fukuoka City Museum. *Okinoshima Sakimori Nikki -Zen* (“The Complete Okinoshima Sakimori Nikki”) (*AOYAGI Tanenobu Shiryō Mokuroku* (“List of Works by AOYAGI Tanenobu”), No.1908) is known to have been transcribed by MITSUHASHI Ioaki in June Bunka 8. The transcription was made when Tanenobu was still alive. The 59 pieces of Tanenobu’s own writing owned by the House of Yamazaki and in custody by Fukuoka Prefecture Library were lost in the air-raid of Fukuoka City (notes to *AOYAGI Tanenobu Shiryō Mokuroku*). *Nihon Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei* includes detailed notes and introduction by HARA Hiroshi. *Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei* is based on the book kept in the Cabinet Library, which in turn is a transcript of Tanenobu’s original by MITSUHASHI Ioaki in Bunka 8. The Cabinet Library book has stamps that read: “Ministry of Teachings”, “Library Bureau Collection”, and “A Book of Government of Japan”. Ministry of Teachings (“Kyōbushō”) was created in Meiji 5(1872) for the purpose of regulating

religious bodies. It appears that several transcripts were produced by Ioaki; one was presented to the Aoyagi Family, another to either Munakata Shrine or Fukuoka Domain. There may well have been still another for himself. Fukuoka City Museum kindly informed the author that there is another transcript kept in the Byōzan Bunko collection in Kurume City. And it is stated in the introduction that there were transcripts each dated Ansei 2, Tempō 4, Kyōwa 2 and Kaei 4. The Kyōto University book has a write-in dated the 15th year of Bunka that reads: 「右筑前國福岡人青柳種麻呂字勝次日記也以同所人岡崎勝海字文右衛門所寫之本手寫之于時文化十五戊寅年三月廿日伴信友」. *Nihon Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei* contains also a document titled *Okinoshima Kinki* (“Duties in Okinoshima”), a kind of guide and manual for the Fukuoka Domain officials assigned to be stationed in Okinoshima. This is also a very valuable historical material. It is partially described in CHIKUSHI Yutaka, *Munakata* 37, Shōwa 37.

In the paragraphs to follow, selected old documents are revisited, keeping in mind the words of individuals who have lived in Okinoshima, Mr. MIYAMOTO Shunji who is a fisherman in Ōshima, and Mr. Satō Chisato who works at the local fishery cooperative. Fishing around Okinoshima by the fishermen of Ōshima is reported in a recent publication --- TSUCHIYA Hisashi, *Munakata Okinoshima no Shinji to Ōshima no Kurashi* (“Divine Rituals of Munakata Okinoshima and the Life in Ōshima”) in *Shima* (“Islands”) 227, *Umi to Shima no Nihon* (“Japan, A Country of Seas and Islands”) XII, 2011, 1, National Institute for Japanese Islands. Valuable information was given also by Mr. ITAYA Hideyuki.

● Duty on Okinoshima

貝原益軒 *Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki*

寛永十六年より以来、国主より島守を置玉ふ、足輕三人、水主四人、大島より役夫二人、凡九人、かはるかはる(替わる替わる)来る、五十日を以て限とす、送りの舟は大島より二艘出す

Shimabara Rebellion ended in February in Kanei 15 (1638). Portuguese ships were banned from Japanese shores and the tension rose. Both the Shogunate government and Fukuoka Domain tightened naval defense. In Kanei 16, Okinoshima on-site official (Okinoshima assignee or Sakimori) was placed by Fukuoka Domain. AOYAGI Tanenobu wrote in his *Sakimori Nikki* that it was for defense against Shila. It was a border patrol team but too understaffed to be called as such.

HARA Hiroshi and Chikushi Yutaka point out there are arguments that the on-site duty office was created not in Kanei 16 but in 7 or 17 (op cit, *Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei* and others). If so, a small office was perhaps installed around the 7th year and a more formal one inaugurated in the 16th year. A station was opened in Ōshima in Kanei 17 (1640). This echoes the developments in Okinoshima (*Ōshima Son-shi* (“History of Ōshima Village”). In fact, some Portuguese continued to come over to the sea of Munakata after the Shimabara Rebellion. On May 12 in Kanei 20 (1643), a ship with missionaries Pedro, Alanis, Jose Inotia and Francisco Casso Franc on board appeared offshore Ōshima and landed to seek water. Subsequently they were detained by the stationed official (*Ōshima Son-shi*, *Oranda Shōkanchō Nikki* 7, foreign literature about Japan, also see bibliography at the end).

梶目ノ大島 Casimena Oysime は、呼子 Jobico から 28 マイル、地ノ島湾 Sinoysima へ 3 マイルで、博多 Facatta 領だった。
(大島の)山の尾根の頂上に一つの小屋即ちあらゆる外国の船、殊にキリスト教徒のカスティリア人やポルトガル人の船を見張る番小屋がある。

The ban on Portuguese entry into Japan quickly heightened the tension. Like the patrol station in Ōshima, its counterpart post in Okinoshima was to be on alert for any arrival of Portuguese ships.

From the rules dated Ne-April (in Kanei 12 (1672), probably meant as the year of Mizunoe-Ne) and leap June in Kanei 12 (1672), both quoted in *Okinoshima Kinki* (compiled in op cit), the purposes of creating the patrol station can be understood to be: watchtower and rescue of drifting ships, keeping alert on Christians and nighttime lighting (lighthouse) when there are passing ships. There are also manuals for actions to be taken in the event of foreign and Japanese ships drifted ashore. In addition, there are rules to be followed if a Christian ship is found. In the former case, the official was to assist and keep eye and to take one person hostage. It was to be sent to Ōshima as soon as the weather conditions so permit. In the latter case, it was to

be taken to Ōshima. The main purpose of the station was “watchtower” and communication of any irregularities to the mainland.

子四月規定(一部)

- 一、沖嶋御番ハ、為遠見、被差越置儀ニ付 条、^(候脱カ)昼夜無油断見廻り可申、間ニハ神職同様ノ心得ニテ、本文ノ趣ハ取失候モ有之候ト相聞候条、以後急度相改可被申候事
- 一、異国船漂着有之節ハ速ニ助揚、昼夜代々見守、可被致候、尤人質トシテ老人取置、天気快晴次第付添、速ニ大嶋江漕^(送)渡り、同所御定番衆江、委細口上書ヲ以相届、引渡可被申候、右ノ事々相済候上ハ速ニ沖嶋江、渡海可被致候事

(中略)

- 一、日本船漂着致候節ハ、天気晴次第出帆可被申付候、尤船損シ乗廻り難相成節ハ御加^(水主)子江申談、大嶋江漕送ラセ、右ノ次第委敷、御定番衆江掛合可被申候、御番所明ケ、付添参候儀ニテハ無之候事

寛文十二年(1672)閏六月規定(一部)

- 一、御番所嚴重相勤、御鉄^(砲)手入等不怠様被致度事

(中略)

- 一、毎日毎夜替々沖ヲ見申、不審成船見へ申候ハ、追掛留置大嶋御番所江注進可申事
- 一、唐人船ノ儀ハ不及申、吉利切支丹船ト知レ申候ハ、則大嶋江連、渡海可仕事
- 一、日本船ニテも、何トソ不審成様子ニテ御座候ハ、留置早々御注進可申、并御鉄砲三挺持参候ヲ常打申間敷事

As in the Kanei 20 incident, a Japanese ship may have been chartered by Portuguese missionaries. There were established rules to follow upon detection of suspicious cases. Arms were necessary to arrest foreign or suspicious ships. According to a receipt acknowledgment note dated July in Meiwa 4 (1767) (*Okinoshima Kinki*, to be listed in the bibliography at the end), arms kept at the Okinoshima station included: 3 pieces each of rifle and ironware, 30 balls of 3-monme and 5-bu weight each (bullets), sack, power box, cotton Kukeo and used cotton Kukeo (Kukeo is a round, thick rope), gunpowder of 60-me in weight and other rifle-related items, sickle, Kanateko (an iron tool to take out nails), Chinese hoe, iron rake and three-fingered rake. Apart from the tools to pull up ships and to do farming, the lantern with official emblem is befitting to the coast guard.

But the manning is only “3 soldiers, 4 boatmen, 2 helpers from Ōshima and 9 workers.” Three rifles for three soldiers, each had one. A 3-man musketeer corp! Even though the rule stipulates “not to fire constantly,” 10 bullets per person were just too few. There is no mention of arrows, spears or swords. Because this was a receipt note, replenishment of consumable supplies may not have been excluded. Spear, bow and arrows and sword may have been brought by the soldiers by themselves.

Okinoshima Kinki

- 一、御番交代ノ節、御道具并御^(小)木屋付諸道具共々受帳相認、交代帰ノ衆ヨリ持参候テ御役所江相納可被(*申)下候、其節(*予)兼テ差出被置候分引替可被申候事

● 小早二艘

「五十日を以て限とす、送りの舟は大島より二艘出す」

At the time of Ekiken, it was a 50-day rotation, but it had changed to 100 days by the time Tanenobu took duty. Regulations on boats were as follows:

Okinoshima Kinki

- 一 御船二艘ハ 六挺・四挺 小早

朝往ト云 諸事注進船

There were only four boatmen in Okinoshima. This 6-oar boat (requiring 6 boatmen) and the other boat mentioned here must have been the two “boats to send” the official to Okinoshima referred to by Ekiken. These boats were based at the Ōshima station. They were used for the switch-over of the officials. If they had been normally based in Okinoshima, soldiers, fishermen or the priest would have to join in the rowing, which was rather unnatural. Since four boatmen were stationed in Okinoshima, there must have been a boat(s) normally anchored in Okinoshima. It is believed that there was a 4-oar fast boat, apart from the descriptions of *Okinoshima Kinki*. The description of boat arriving from Ōshima in *Sakimori Nikki* matches well. As the document wrote “various communications,” this fast boat must have been used to carry instructions from Fukuoka castle to Okinoshima. This description must have been made probably because the two fast boats based in Ōshima were the principal transportation means. These fast boats are considered to have provided regular, lifeline services including supply of goods (rice, salt, miso, vegetables, etc.).

一、詰方ノ内自然病人有之、御番所江難差置容体ニ有之候ハ、大嶋江漕送らせ可被申候、尤其節御番人ヨリ容易ニ、付添参候事ニテハ有之間敷候、大島御定番衆江右容体彼是委敷書状ヲ以掛合、御加子ヨリ漕送り候様取計可被申候事

When one of the personnel on Okinoshima fell ill, he was sent to Ōshima. The 4-oar fast boat normally anchored in Okinoshima comes into play. None of the men of arms was allowed to accompany. The conditions should be detailed in writing and the patient was to be sent off under the responsibility of the boatmen. If a samurai were to accompany, two would be absent and only one would be available to be on duty and the function of the island would become inoperable. In addition to the fast boats, there must have been a few small boats. If the safe trip to and from Ōshima required a 4-oar or 6-oar boat, fishermen on whom discussions will be made later must have a supply (freight) boat of comparable size.

● Two helpers

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

Two helpers from Ōshima

In Okinoshima Kinki, Okinoshima is referred to as Mishima. The usage is like: the helpers going to Mishima.

Okinoshima Kinki

一、大嶋ヨリ御嶋江^(まいる)参人足ノ者、若悪敷者ト見江候ハ、取替候事

但、御嶋江参人足^(うちぶ)内夫江召仕候間、内夫証拠并薪証拠帰リノ節、書調差出候事

一、御嶋江参人足、百日分粮米五斗持参、一日白米五合充、過不足ハ帰り算用致事

(中略)

一、人足江薪物取ニ遣シ、枯木・枯竹^(斗)ハカリ取セ候事

The helpers received the same treatment as samurai (soldiers and infantry men) because they were given 5-go each of white rice a day. Many must have wanted to get the job. Words “firewood evidence” and “firewood picking” are mentioned. A major work activity was firewood gathering. They were instructed not to cut trees but only gather felled wood and fallen bamboo. Not much is known about workers; perhaps they did the cooking and other jobs. “Replace if some of them are bad.” Selection of helpers affected the success of duty performance, because the team had to spend as long as 100 days with only nine workers. As in the case of patients requiring attention, the unfit were simply sent back to Ōshima.

● 7-day purification and Okitsunomiya Rituals, unfixed festive dates

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

春三月、冬十月、両度祭あり、むかし大宮司ありし時は、秋も祭り有しか、近世は秋を略して祭らす、風烈く、ふ^(吹)けは、波あらき故、渡事あたはす、故に祭日は定らす、社人は唯一人大島にあり、其家を一ノ甲斐と云、河野氏と称す、社人此島に着たる日より、毎日潔斎し、第八日に当る日祭る、かねて魚をつりて神膳にそなふ、魚を得されは祭日を^(延べる)のふる

Sakimori Nikki

四月と十一月と、両度の祭あり、神主大島より渡り来る、其渡り来て第八日にあたる日に祭をなす、祭日として定れる日はなし、
十六日、大神の宮にまゐるとて、まづ正三位の社に額つく、

Sakimori Nikki

此の島に来る例、七日の間毎朝に海潮にみそぎして、山中に入ることなし、七日に当る日に、正三位社志賀の神を祭るといふに、まゐり、八日に大神の宮に、まゐらる、毎朝に海水を浴みて、正三位社にまゐることは、其の後も日々に同じ、大神の宮には、つねにはみだりに参ることなし、神威を恐れてなり

Okinoshima Kinki

(After moving to Okinoshima, the officials continued their daily purification ceremony with sea water.)

一、大嶋着船翌日ヨリ毎朝海ニ垢離カキニ行候事

一、御嶽宮・中津宮・岩瀬御拝所江参詣致候事

(中略)

一、御嶋江出舟ノ節、神酒壺升并為土産酒式升持参致候事

但、神酒ハ七日過、参詣ノ節ニテ御神前江備ル事出船ノ節、新着ヨリ振廻致候、船頭一同ニ呼

一、御嶋着船ノ節、古詰ヨリ振廻致来リニ候、其心得ニテ福岡ヨリ諸品々用意可致事

一、御嶋着翌日朝ヨリ垢離カキ、七日ノ間何方江モ行間鋪候、尤着日ヨリ七日忌明ノ事

(中略)

一、四月・十一月、為御祭礼河野遠江守下社家共被致渡海、着ヨリ七日間ハ垢離ヲカキ、八日目御祭礼、其内ハ自分共ヨリ御殿ノ事諸事致候事

一、御祭礼ノ節、垢離ヲカキ、^(カミシモ)上下着用参詣仕、参殿ニ相詰ル事

Munakata Jinja Shi - Part II, Annual Events of Okitsunomiya (p.294) shows that during Nambokuchō Period a ritual was performed whereby bamboos for Mitenaga banners were brought from Okinoshima to Hetsu-miya. The voyage depended on weather, and there were no fixed dates for the trip to the island. The festival had “no fixed dates”; neither the date nor time was preset.

The date on which Tanenobu landed on Okinoshima was April 9 Kanei 6 which corresponds to May 8, 1794 in the Gregorian calendar. It must have been a fine day in the good time of the year. But Tanenobu had already reached Ōshima by the end of March. In other words, he had to wait ten days before he could leave for Okinoshima.

1 日 朔日には潔斎、御岳登山

3 日 河野ぬしの家で酔いしれて遊ぶ。

4 日 風波やむべくもあらず。

5 日にはやっと「浪風静なれば、船出せよ」となったが、追い手が吹かなかった。

「舵取遙なる舟路にしあれば、追手のおりずば、いかでか漕ぎあへぬ」

船は出なかった。

6日目も7日目も船は出ない。8日目、追手であったが、浪が高かった。

9日目、風浪も叶った。

The priest of Okinoshima is also the priest of Ōshima and is responsible for telling the fortune of ship departure, voyage and arrival. The prediction was that the voyage would not be blessed because of lull wind. Since the distance is long, rowing alone would not be enough unless helped by tailwind. But because the conditions were predicted to be good for safe landing, he departed anyway. The fleet was composed of seven boats and the Priest Ichinokai-Kōno was on board as well. The Priest Ichinokai-Kōno and the Priest Ninokai-Kōno are best detailed in *Munakata Jinja Shi* - Part II (p.295). They are also described in Notes by HARA, *Ditto* - Part II, p.526, *Shoku Fudoki*, *Sanja Engi*, *Sakimori Nikki* as well as in *Ōshima Sonshi* (pp.282, 308, 286). Priests used to pray out of Ōshima at usual times and actually visited Okinoshima to perform ceremonies twice a year, one in spring and the other in autumn.

On that day of April 9, Tanenobu finally landed on Okinoshima. When a change-over boat arrives, the outgoing official hosts a reception, the welcome party. When the boat leaves the incoming official (the recently-arrived) returns a banquet, the farewell/thank-you party. For each change-over, accordingly, foods and drinks for two parties were needed.

Uneventful landing on Okinoshima depended on the weather. Hence no set dates for festivals. Priests traveled on the same boat as Sakimori. A festival was held on the eighth day of arrival. As explained in the Notes, seven days were needed for the priests and others to be purified.

For seven days, it was not allowed to go out anywhere. Purification must continue every day. Priests and officials purified their bodies with sea water every morning. Samurai, boatmen and the nine workers who arrived from the secular world were “tainted.” Regardless whether one was aware or not, he was deemed to have touched or gotten close to a black foul (corpse) or a red foul (explained later). Only after the daily purification by the sea, one was clean enough to go into the mountains and visit Ōkami (Okitsu-miya) for worship.

On April 15, which was the seventh day from the April 9 arrival he visited the Shrine of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank. This shrine can also be found in Ōshima Island at the place of distance worshipping of Okitsu-miya.

志賀神のよし云う

Both the Shrine of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank in Okinoshima and its counterpart in Ōshima are said to enshrine the god of Shiga. If it is indeed the god of Shiga, then it is the god of Watatsumi or the god of the sea. There must have been an influence of Shikanoshima *Ama*. Hetsu-miya also has Shōsanmisha as subordinate shrine. *Munakata Jinja Shi* (p.545) tells that the Shōsanmisha of Hetsu-miya enshrines Usatsu Omi no Mikoto and Kawachi Onji Daimyōjin (Hetsu-miya Affiliate Shrine No. 12 Building). Page 577 of the same book states that Soko Watatsumi no Mikoto is enshrined in the Shōsanmisha of another subordinate shrine of Okitsu-miya (which comprises 25 shrines in total). This second subordinate shrine appears to be different from Shōsanmisha that Tanenobu visited for worship, which has an independent shrine.

He refrained from visiting Ōkaminomiya (Okitsu-miya) often out of respect and fear of the divine dignity. But he did visit Shōsanmisha every day. The latter shrine is front shrine, the entrance. There was a clear divide; Okitsu-miya deep in the back stood as a mystique.

● Nareko-ishi Rock

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

一島守の居る所は海濱に近し、後は岩也、奇石にて畳をつめるか如し、又なれこ石と云石あり、初て此島に来る者は、海水に浴し、夜中に此石の辺をまはる、身の不浄をはらはんかため也、

This Narekoishi rock is mentioned in a number of books.

Chikuzen Meisho Zue of Bunsei 4(1821) in its Volume 8 (reprinted in Showa 4 by Nishinihon Shimbun, available on the official website of Kyūshū University Museum) states:

(な)
おれこ石

嶋守の居る所は海浜の後は岩なり、其所に奇岩あり、疊盈をつあるかことし、此石をめくりて不浄をはらふなり

Fukuoka-ken Chiri Zenshi states:

ナレコ石

島ノ南ノ磯ニアリ、初メテ此島ニ来ル者ハ海水ニ浴シ夜中ニ此石ノ辺ヲ廻ル、身ノ不浄ヲ祓ン為メナリ

按ニ宗像祭礼記ニ奈礼古馴火ト云事見エ

「おれこ」 in *Meisho Zue* is an apparent error in transcription, and 「なれこ」 is correct. 「なれこ」 is a word listed in *Nihon Kokugo Dai Jiten* (“Complete Dictionary of Japanese Language”), and use examples include “nareko mai (dance)”. It is well-known that the purification ritual by the sea is still performed today. But the ritual of going around Narekoishi Rock at night to expel the evils is little known. The stone is considered to be the barrier between the two worlds: the shoreline extended up to that point and evils could have been brought ashore if not for the purification ritual.

Okinoshima Kinki (p.37 and beyond) tells about the various cleansing rituals that were practiced in a storehouse upon termination of the abstention period. The man was supposed to take a scoop of salt and walk around a cabin three times, totally naked. Whilst no Narekoishi was mentioned, the word Nareko Maruya did appear. Both Narekoishi and Nareko Maruya were in the back of the cabin. After the man was purified, the utensils were to be purified. The term Naminohana means salt for purification. *Nippo Jisho* (“Vocabulario da Lingua do Japaõ”) lists the word “Shio” (salt). Please also read also the taboo words listed later in this paper. Shioka meant probably the same thing. Oshiroi-mochi that was to be prepared not by boiling meant rice cake that was to be offered to the altar. Kiribi is the purified fire to light the lamps at the altar.

That the rituals for the end of abstention period were performed in a storehouse may have had something to do with the precious articles (treasures) that were kept in the storehouse.

- 一、着日ヨリ七日目忌明ニ付、金蔵ニテ潮花ヲ取、左右ノ手ニ握り、御木屋^(小)三度廻、
但、丸裸ニ相成候事、右相済御神具并ニ御木屋付諸道具垢離ヲカ、セ候事
- 一、八日目、改身、御^(沖津宮)殿・正三位宮・荒船宮三社江御膳上ル、参詣仕候事
御木屋ノ後ノナレコ丸ヤノ上ニ置候事
但、福岡ヨリ頼レ候何品(*紅皿など、紅皿は化粧用の紅を塗りつけてある小皿)ニ不寄、初参詣日ニ御殿江上ル、波ノ花ニテ清メ候事
- 一、御膳日前日、神具金蔵ニテ垢離カ、セ水溜ニテ清メ候事
- 一、御膳日、御供^(ごく)タキ候ニ、灯火^(切火)ニテタキ申候、尤ゆるり其外波花ニテ清メ候事
- 一、御膳日、一六式日、五節句、毎月十三日ニハ御白粉餅上ル、糯米ヲ少々マセ、ハタキ粉ニシテ小餅^(子)程ニ作り、煮スニ上候事
但、前日自分垢離ヲカ遣^(き)候上ニテ、白・杵共ニ其外諸道具、金蔵ニテ垢離ヲカ、セ、翌朝作り上ケ候事

● Shinsen (food offerings)

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki states:

「かねて魚をつりて神膳にそなふ、魚を得されは祭日をのふる」

Sakimori Nikki states:

「神司はあす^(明日)なん恒例の祭につかへ奉るべきとて、海人どもを率て、沖に出て魚つらす、狭^(さ)き魚だに、え^(得)ず、神の御心や、な^(風)ぎ給はぬ、など、いひあへり」

There were fishermen (*Ama*) on the island.

「日もくれな^(尺)んとするころ、おいをちふもの、三^(約)さかあまりなるを、二つ、つ^(神)りあげたり、神^(官)づかさのよろこび、い^(喜)はむか^(言)たなし」

Even though the seven days of purification were over, it was not possible to conduct the ritual service if no food to offer was available. The priest went out to the sea with fishermen with no catch. But when dusk was about to fall not just one but two fish by the name of Oiwo were caught. The priest had been afraid that no ritual would be possible, but two fish as big as over 3-shaku (Saka means Shaku) or about 1 meter were caught. Only the professionals can catch such big fish. The priest was rejoiced.

「おいを」 means ōuo, a Fukuoka dialect that means yellowtail (Taneo Harada, *Hakata Hogen* (“Hakata Dialects”), 1956, *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*). But *Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei* states that the fish was tuna. 34

● **Priestship and samurai**

「沖嶋勤記」

- 一、御膳日、御供盛候節、顔ニ手拭ヲカフリ、眼斗リ出シ、盛上ケ候節モ同様ニ候事
但、御定菜ひじき、御肴さ^(え)ぎ・あわび・めばる、其外キレイ成魚上候事

When offering the food to the altar, one was supposed to cover the mouth and nose with a towel so that the breath would not reach the food. It must have been a rule for the ritual.

- 一、間ニハ神職同様ノ心得ニテ本分ノ趣ハ取失候モ有之候ト相聞候条、以後急度相改可被申候事
(中略)
一、間ニハ御番人ト申儀ヲ取失、神職ノ様ニ相心得被申候人モ有之歟ニ相聞江候、甚以心得違ニ付、
重疊勘弁被至度事

As written here, some officials stationed in Okinoshima became immersed in rituals and less serious about their own duties as samurai (patrol guard) after their arrival to Okinoshima and participation in the rituals in the role of priest.

● **Shores and mountains**

Sakimori Nikki

此の島の大神、いたく汚穢を忌み給ふに依りて、山中にて、かりにも唾^(吐き)はき、小^(バリ)便る事なし、もしあやまちて、けがす時は、その地の土をすくひ、海に持ち出でて、磯に捨て、清き砂を、先の土取りし跡に埋みて、本の如くならしおく、

Fishermen revered the holy island of Okinoshima, refraining from spitting to the ground and relieving themselves at sea.

Nothing was allowed to be taken out of the island except fish and seashells.

There was however a notion that not the entire island was sacred; there was distinction between the shores and mountains. As quoted above, *Sakimori Nikki* states that the soil stained by urine or the like had to be thrown away onto the shore (op cit).

同廿五日なごろ高しとて出でたゝず、新防人の齋の中なれば、触穢とて山にもいらず、磯にのみあさる。

The term 「なごろ」 refers to the heavy waves that do not disappear even after the wind has calmed down. The boat could not leave because of the waves. Because the successor was still in the process of purification, Tanenobu stayed by the shore on account of his contact with the “foul.” The outgoing and incoming officials did overlap and contact each other. It was a taboo to go into the mountains unless purified. The new official can start his patrol duty only after that is done. It was a period of briefing for the takeover. Because of it, the outgoing team was fouled through contacts and refrained from going into the mountain. There was a notion that even though no contamination was permissible the taboo did not apply so strictly on the shore.

It is believed that the borderline between the shores and mountains was the First Torii (shrine gate) that exists today. During this period of overlap, Tanenobu and his outgoing team visited the Shrine of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank for worship, together with the newly-arrived. This Shōsanmisha was lenient about contamination. A different standard applied from that of Ōkami.

In this instance, the Torii up in the back of the Shrine of the Senior Grade of the Third Court Rank was the divide between the holy and the secular.

● Buildings in Okinoshima

On the island, there were the shrine building, the priest's residence and the station of the officials. The station building had paper screens. In addition, there was a cabin (expressed as woodhouse) called the shift cabin. It was probably the place where some of the three soldiers off-duty took a rest.

一、御嶋ノ儀ハ一切御足輕受持ノ儀ニ付、御加子御^(小)木屋損シ所等ノ儀モ手元ヨリ取計ノ事

There was a separate cabin for the rowers (boatmen). Its repair was a task of the soldiers. There was still a cabin for fishermen. They came not just only from Ōshima but also from Kanesaki.

● Kanesaki fishermen

The fact that fishermen came over to Okinoshima to catch fish can be confirmed by, for example, the following passage in the leap June Kanbun 12 (1672) of *Okinoshima Kinki*:

漁人參候節、当時ニテモ交代木屋ニ召置被申間鋪候事

Fishermen had a cabin to themselves. They came from Ōshima, Kanezaki (Kenesaki), Hatsuura (in today's Okagaki Town) that, together with four others, are known as The Seven Fishermen Villages of Munakata.

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

大島、金崎、初浦の漁夫、春夏秋の間来りて漁す、其外他方よりは来り漁する事ならず、

Sakimori Nikki

爰より御社の東の峯をつたひて下る所を、金崎といふ、こは先に金崎の海人等が漁に来たりて、
(庵)
いほりせし地なり、故に、しか名つけたり、いまは来らず、

鐘崎という地名は『沖ノ島』報告書にも書かれている。

カネザキは天然記念物の石碑のあるあたり。社務所のはし。鐘崎の漁師は、(当時)いなかった。大島の漁師の小屋はオマエとカネザキ、両方にあった(宮本)。

「カネザキみち」といった。軍隊(海軍兵舎)に行く道。鐘崎の漁師はいたとしても「獲って逃げ」(とってにげ、日帰り)、泊まることはない(佐藤)。

「沖ノ島周辺での漁は大島の漁師優先で、という暗黙の了解があります。ですが、もし鐘崎の漁師が来たとしたら、何時までは鐘崎側が釣りをして、その後は自分たちが網漁で、などと漁師同士で話し合っていますね」(『しま』227、94頁、「海と島の日本・XII」2011、1日本離島センター)。

Administratively, Okinoshima belonged to Ōshima Village, Munakata County. The fishing right offshore Okinoshima was owned by the Ōshima Village Fishery Cooperative. But it was only in the second half of Meiji Era that jurisdiction over Okinoshima was determined (details follow later in this paper). It can be found in the passage in August Tenmei 5 (1785) of Okitsumiya Shakaku Mokuroku that Kanesaki (Kanesaki) fishermen regularly came over to the island already in Edo Period. It reads: When fishermen of Ōshima and Kanesaki came over to the island to catch fish, their cabin must not be located near the pier for the ritual boat. 「大島鐘崎からくる漁民のために、一甲斐河野氏に命じられた大島肝煎が正三位社神前で龍宮祭を執行し、大漁満足、渡海安全を祈願した」(『宗像神社史』p.517, p.335)

● Whaling - Matsura- County, Hizen

Sakimori Nikki

(七月) 四日

壱岐の方の海に、白浪の山の如く高く見ゆる。あやしみ見る程に、黒く大なる魚の波をかづきてうき沈みつゝ行なり。彼物しれる海士、せみという鯨なりとそいふ(中略)。

此の海人は肥前国松浦郡の湊浦といふ所の者にて、鯨をとる時に海底を潜り鯨に縄を着くるを業とする、「はざし」ちふ者なり。こたび大島の海人にやとはれて、六月の中頃より来て、日々に鮑をかつき(潜り)とる。朝夕かつきするいとまに来ては、彼のあたりの事など物語るに、少しは旅の思いをはるけぬ。

「羽指・羽差」is “the person who plays the leader role in whaling from the hunters’ boat. Approaching the prey whale, he stands up at the bow, throws the harpoon, jumps upon the head of the waning whale and finally cuts open the nostrils with a hand-held knife.” (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*) According to Hiroshi Hara, “羽差 [is a diver and he] does the rough work of diving into the water to pierce into the whale’s heart, opens up a hole in the head to tie a rope” and “his main business is to dive like an ‘ama’ (fishing diver).”

In mid-June, Ōshima hired a whale-catcher 羽指 from Matsura-gun, Hizen. This means that whale hunting was also done around Okinoshima. Whaling near Ōshima seems to have been quite well-known. There is a whaling illustration in *Chikuzen Meisho Zue*. The 羽差 in Okinoshima caught abalones when there are no whales. Tanenobu wanted abalone pearls.

Sakimori Nikki

(七月) 六日

こゝの鯨はとる人稀なる故に、世にこえて大なれば玉もありぬへし

白いけれど光のない玉は多くあった。種信は青く光る大豆の大きさの玉を得ることができ、喜んでつぎのように記した。

吾はもよ しら玉得たり みな人の得かてにすとふ 白玉得たり

『万葉集』

吾れは毛や 安見児得たり 皆人の得かてにすといふ 安見児得たり 〈藤原鎌足〉

この歌の安見児(采女、鎌足妻)を「白玉」に置き換えただけである。種信はこの玉をだれに渡そうと考えたのだろうか。

● **Yoshimo Village, Shimo-Toyoura County, Yamaguchi Prefecture**
(Notes of ETŌ Masazumi)

Ōshama Son-shi describes in page 441 that a fishing zone agreement was reached in Meiji 25 (1892) among the three prefectures of Fukuoka, Yamaguchi and Saga. Saga and Yamaguchi prefectures claimed rights at Okinoshima. It says that Okinoshima was officially recognized to be under the jurisdiction of Ōshima for the first time in Meiji 35 (1902).

Whilst *Shoku Fudoki* says no fishermen came except those of the three fishermen villages of Chikuzen, there is a record that Yamaguchi citizens came to Okinoshima for fishing. ETŌ Masazumi, *Okitsushima Kikō* (“A Trip to Okinoshima”) (*Tokyō Jinruigakkai Zasshi* (“Journal of Tokyo Anthropology Society”) Vol. 7 No.69, Meiji 24 (1891)) recounts a trip from June 24 through 27 in Meiji 21. When priest KURAHACHI Chikashi and assistant priest KUWANO Hiroto organized a worship tour to Okinoshima for lay followers in Hakata, 「うべの ^(背う) 人、おびたゞしく出来ぬ」, says the report. Okinoshima was well-known in Hakata and many people were interested in visiting the island. The tour party left Hakata at 11:00 p.m. by a steam boat called Tamae-Marui and arrived at Okinoshima early in the following morning. ETŌ apparently had landed on Okinoshima some five years before. YASUBA Yasukazu, the then governor of Fukuoka and his assistants were in the tour group.

When Tamae-Marui arrived at Okinoshima, a boat of the shrine office and two fishing boats from the west approached the boat that had anchored offshore (to the south of the island to get shelter from the wind) and picked up the Tamae-Marui passengers. The boat to which ETŌ and YASUBA were taken in had “five or six rowers.” It must have been a 4-oar or 6-oar boat. Some rowers got off first and together with those who had arrived earlier pulled the anchor rope to bring the boat ashore. But the waves were high and the boat could not be berthed. So they returned offshore and finally landed in smaller boats. Aboard the first fishing boat, ETŌ asked: “Where does this fishing boat come from?” The response was Yoshimo Village, Shimo-Toyoura-gun in Yamaguchi Prefecture. When ETŌ said, “it must be hard to come this far and do the fishing,” an answer came out: “This is quite normal. We go as far as near Korea to catch fish.”

● **Different fishing season**

Sakimori Nikki

同(七月)十日、海人等漁しをへて、大島にかへる、此の二日三日ばかりは、海も静なれば、帰らんとて、船出を占ふに、神のゆるし給はねばとてやみぬ、けふなも、占ふに、又前の如し、もて来し鰻鰯といふものを一つ、正三位社に献りて、畏を申しゝてかば、やがて船出をゆるし給へりとてなむ、船びらきす、夫につきて、かしこくあやしとおもふこともあれど、世に不言島としも憚り来つるに依て、つばらかには物せずなん。

On July 10 Kansei 6, the fishermen went home to Ōshima.

The priest's fortune-telling did not favor the boat departure. Something that was said to be an Awabikane was dedicated as offering and the permission was granted. Awabikane is an iron tool to scrape abalone off the rock. Tanenobu used a subtle expression that he would write no further details because Okitsushima was known as the Island of Unspoken Words.

The date corresponds to August 5, 1794 by the Gregorian calendar. The sea had been quite for some days. The weather map was typical of the summer. When the land is warmed up and the ground surface temperature gets higher than above sea the wind blows to the land. From Okinoshima to Ōshima, it was a tail wind.

This is rather different from modern-day fishing around Okinoshima, which takes place in April and May, avoiding the hot summer. According to Joe Shibata, *Okinoshima no Okanegura* (“The Okanagura Archeological Site in Okinoshima”) (*Chūō Shidan* (“Central Platform of History”) 13-4, Showa 2), 「夏期に海上の比較的平穏なる折を見計らい、島の付近に出掛けて稀に漁業を営むものあるに過ぎず、之れも筑前方面のものならずして、大抵は出雲付近より冒険の気性に富むものが遠来する程度」。Fishing operation in May by the western calendar can be verified in *Sakimori Nikki*. From Edo Period to early Shōwa Era, fishing season continued into August and ended in the summer. Shibata wrote that fishermen in the summer were mostly from Izumo region, which description defies other accounts.

● Difficult navigation

Sakimori Nikki

(August 1)

鐘崎の里の上なる高山を湯川山といふ、沖つ宮よりつねによく見渡さるる山なり

It was a prerequisite for a boat departure that Okinoshima be visible and for the return voyage that Ōshima and Yukawayama can be seen. If one fails to reach the shore by nightfall, lighthouse (bonfire) had to be prepared.

Okinoshima Kinki

一、筑前方渡海船見江候節、夜ニ入候ハ、御山江登り、高キ所ニテ可致建火候事

When a boat passage is confirmed, lighting was made available at a high point in the mountain. It was a make-shift lighthouse.

In late July two boats came with the incoming team on board. But one failed to reach ashore.

July 22 of that year was August 17 by the new calendar, which in today's Japan is the season of O-Bon (the festival to honor the spirits of ancestors).

Sakimori Nikki

(七月)

The long-awaited two boats were spotted offshore at the hour of Mi (around 2:00 p.m.). One of them arrived at the hour of Saru (around 4:00 p.m.). But the other boat was as far as 1-ri (4 kilometers) away and could not come closer. Suddenly the sky turned gray and north wind began to blow, pushing back the boat. Waves got rough and dusk came. It must have been around 7:30 p.m., the hour of Inu, because the date was mid-August. Entire guides would be lost, if it gets really dark. Hurriedly, a beacon fire was set. “Here, here” we shouted, but no responses came back. As long as the fire is visible, the boat will know where to head for. But it would be impossible to keep rowing into the direction of Okinoshima in this storm. Did the boat sink beneath the rough sea? Was it drifted away by the storm wind to Yobuko or Oro? The people on shore were in despair and kept praying disheartened. At the hour of Ne (around 12:00 midnight), clouds disappeared and the moon came out. The sea has become quiet. Although there had been some lingering waves, they have calmed down by now. Then, out in the distance a thin and sad shouting voice was heard. “A boat! The boat has come in!” Everybody ran to the shoreline with a torch in hand. The boatmen managed to bring the boat ashore, but the rocky shore has breaking waves that push it back. The boatmen who had arrived earlier jumped into the water again and again to finally bring the boat onshore. “Are you alright?” The boatmen could not reply and kept crying. These were the boatmen. All the others were simply out of mind and dead tired. The boat was soaked with water, barely escaping a wreck. The passengers crawled out all wet. Everyone rejoiced that no life had been lost.

Later one of the boatmen said that this was to the contamination that occurred while they were waiting in Ōshima for the wind to turn in their favor. For this reason, the departure of return boat to take Tanenobu and his team back to Ōshima was significantly delayed.

There must have been rice on the boat for the new team and it must have been soaked with sea water. This

was not uncommon and there was a rule to follow in such a case.

Okinoshima Kinki

一、大嶋ヨリ渡海ノ節、自然風波強相成御扶持方米濡候儀有之節ハ、着ノ上速ニ干立相用可被申候、
近年毎度濡米有之御償ノ^(儀)義被願出候得共、以来ハ右願猥リニ御取用無之候事

In short, the rule was to dry the rice immediately and consume it.

Sakimori Nikki

(七月)

同廿三日、海なぎたれば、けふなも舟出すべけれど、よべのさわがしかりしにまぎれて、いまだ帰るべき設なンドもえせねば、あすこそとて、隣りのかたの家に移りてをり、

同廿四日にはよしとて舟出す、二三里ばかりにや来ぬらんとおぼしき比、風あしとて、又本如く漕ぎつれて帰りぬ、ことしはいつもよりもあつさ増りたれば、秋も半近くなりぬれど、猶涼風もたゝず、あら磯の小屋の煤たれるに、所せく物ら打ちつみたれば、いと暑けさ堪えやらず、風待つほどの住ひなれど、わびしくて有りしやうにもあらず、

同廿五日、なごろ高しとて、出でたゝず、新防人の齋の中なれば、触穢とて山にもいらず、磯にのみあさる、

同廿八日、けふは新防人の齋もはてぬれば、打ちつれて正三位社にまうづ、風もかなひぬれど、舟子どもさきにこりて、いざとて舟を出す者なし、一人二人がすまふもたゆたひつゝ、とかくしてつひにやみぬ、

*「一人二人がすまふもたゆたひつゝ」は擬古表現で、動詞「すまう」が争う、「たゆたう」(揺蕩)が、定まらないこと、動揺すること。1、2人が出す出さないで争ったが、定まらず、中止になった。

同廿九日、暁がたより良の風心よく吹き渡りて、海の面もなぎたり、舟人ら猶たゆたひしを、巳の時近くなりてなも、舟を出せる、日ごろは海濱の住居に

わびて、帰るべき日をのみ、かぞ^(数)へたりしを、今は
と出でたつには、さすがになごりを、を^(名残)しまる^(惜)る心ちす、海つち五里ばかりも来ぬらんと思ふほどより、風はやく強く吹きしきりて、浪の華も咲きさふばかりなり、櫓より懸浪うちいるれども、追手なればとて、すこし心をのどめてゐたりしを、申の時ばかりには、大島につきぬ、

● Arafuneiwa Rock

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

荒船(社) 蛭子社 岩崎の下御手洗みたらい 船の形したる岩瀬二つ荒舟岩

Sakimori Nikki

(四月)

十六日、大神の宮にまゐるとて、まづ正三位の社に額つく、岩崎の、さし出たところに、御社あり、また側に、荒船社・蛭子社あり、岩崎の下を、御手洗といふ、岩間に、浪の打ちいる所あり、其海中に、船の形したる岩瀬二つあり、荒船岩といふ、荒船の神とは、風の神をいふよしいへり、

Arafuneiwa is still there and is mentioned in *Okinoshima Report*.

---- Arafune is a natural rock. It is now behind the breakwater. We used to use it as a guide to tell the mountains. (MIYAMOTO)

● Taikoiwa Rock

Sakimori Nikki

(五月二十七日)

防人のやどりの南の磯に、太鼓岩とて岩の根、地中より生え出でたるにあらず、磯にはえたる岩の上にすわりたる岩あり、岩の下ほど、間ある中に、波の打ち入りて、引き落とす音、鼓をうつに似たり。

---- *It used to make drum-beat sounds. At high tide, you hear the tum-tum. No longer, that breakwater construction has made the water too lull.*

● Gameze

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

一南方磯の岸の上に亀石あり、大さ方三尺、耳、目、鼻、口、手、足、甲、尾、皆そなはりて、亀の形に似たり、亀瀬海中にあり

---- *I don't know Kameze. I know Gameze. The breakwater offshore the shrine office, that old small breakwater on the west. There was only a space of one-and-a-half boat length (inbetween). That was narrow. One-ken or two, rather, maybe 10-shaku (3 meters) from the far end of the breakwater, that is where Gameze used to be. They have torn it down and nothing left. Face-to-face with the western breakwater. (MIYAMOTO)*

● Oasabatake and souvenirs

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

御麻畠

此嶋の山中に一丁ばかり諸木生せさる所ありて草のみしけれり、御麻畠といふ、いかなる故にや伝わらず

一奥津島の土産

黄精(*おうせい・鳴子百合) 風蘭(*ふうらん) 沙防風(*浜ボウフウか、食用) 天南星 大葉
麦門冬(*ヤブランの根から得られる薬を大葉麦門冬という) 風藤(*ふうとうかずら) 包橘(*
かうじ) こば葉似棕櫚幹直 駒鳥多し 鷹 蛇 大葉 淡菜(*たんさい、いがい・貽貝) 栄螺
海蝦 黒魚(*めじな) 如鯛深黒多脂美味 久魚(*ひさのうお) 阿羅 鱒(*しび、ちょうざめ、
かじき) 鯛 魚師(*ぶり) 海鰻(*くじら) 烏蛇在海中

此島奇境なれば、此外異木、異草、薬草など多かるへし、渡りし者見しらされは、其有無しれす、

-----*We brought rice and miso with us, but non-staple foods were a problem. We ate fish in different ways: raw (sashimi), grilled and cooked, but got tired of having the same thing again and again. For vegetables, we grew green onions, using the field available at Oasabatake.*

There were wild onion and green leopard plant on the island. The leopard plant that grew on sandy soil was longer than that of Ōshima and valuable. Hamayagorō, the correct name is Hamachikashi. This is much eaten in Okinoshima. We had it too when a storm lasted (the supply was interrupted). During the excavation investigation, we experienced long stormy

days and we ate it often. The leaves are thicker than spinach. It grows also in Ōshima, by the Omboze Hill. (SATŌ and MIYAMOTO)

Sakimori Nikki

(四月)

十七日おのれが家に在し橘樹をもてまゐりて御前にうゝとて There were tachibana citrus trees in Koganedani and in the back of the shrine. The latter is believed to have been planted by Tanenobu. (NABESHIMA Yoichi, *Okinoshima no Shokubutsu* (“Plants in Okinoshima” Taishō 15 *Shiseki Meishō Tennen Kinembutsu Chōsa Hōkokusho* (“Report on the Survey on Historical Sites, Scenic Beauties and National Natural Monuments”) Second Series, Fukuoka Prefecture). Apart from them, there were Mikan orange trees in Oasabatake.

Munakata Okinoshima (Series 3 investigation) reports in its page 3 that “no live oak, castanopsis or Japanese babyberry exist on this island. There are no cultivated plants.” In fact, there were Mikan orange trees and green onions that were grown by humans.

Munakata Okinoshima quotes an old person of Ōshima as saying: there are green leopard plant, wild onion, mustard green, Takina (*Elatostema umbellatum*), thistle (Yamagobō), Hamayagorō, arisaema and Shakuha. Even if I were to live here alone, I would manage to survive by eating their stems, fruits and bulbs.

---The soil was sandy from the beginning and the nesting of streaked shearwater has made it soft and fit for growth of green leopard plant. A photo of cannabis field is included in *Munakata Okinoshima* (Series 3 investigation) Illustrations (p.22). This spot, though small, was one of the few flat lots on the island. Obsidian and stoneware have been unearthed from the spot.

Oasabatake (cannabis field) was where fishermen used to grow green onions and the like. Military barrack was once located there.

Pertinent descriptions of *Okinoshima no Shokubutsu* (op.cit) are quoted below.

天南星科	むさしあぶみ うらしまそう 到ル所ノ森林中繁茂シ
なるこゆり	多量ニハ非ラザレドモ発達シテ丈四五尺ニモ達スルモノ尠カラズ
のびる	少量ナルモ大ナルモノニテ食用ニ供セラル
ながいも	多少社務所付近ニ見タルモ、元移植シタルモノノ残存乎ノ疑アリ
ふうらん	非常ニ多量、到ル處ノ森林ノ大木ニ着生セリ、又岩石ニモ多ク着生セリ
いちじく	燈台監守ノ栽培品
やまごぼう	可成多クテ非常ニ發育セリ
つるな	海浜一帯ニ群生シ發育好クテ大形ナルコト他ニテ見受ケ得ザルモノアリ食用ニ供セラル
はまだいこん	海浜ニ多シ食用ニ供セラル
みかん	一二ノ栽培品ヲ見タリ
たちばな	神官ノ話ニ依ルト元ハ大分アリシ由、父ノ参拝スル度ニ果実ヲ貰ヒ居タリト云フ、34頁追補に「御社殿の後方にあり是れ青柳種信の献納と認めらる」
つはぶき	多量ニ海岸ノ草原ニ繁茂セリ、三尺以上ニ發育セリ、食用ニ供セラル

ほか、ぼたんぼうふうはあたかも栽培したかのようなものが多いとしている。根が薬用人参の代用になるようだ。

● Mountain alignment: palm watch

――沖ノ島あたりは潜っても底が見えないんで、気持ち悪くてね、スットンと 30 メートルくらいの深さがある(『しま』95 頁)

海中地名に瀬ノ下や、たぼ中がある。

――(西南の海底地名に)瀬ノ下：沖ノ島はキッテ落とし(周りはすぐに深くなる)、北はドンブカリ。その中で瀬ノ下はわりあい平地だった。

(東南の海底地名に)タボナカ(たぼ中)：中がすぼ一っと深い。すりばち、西側は浅い、大島側もちょっと浅い、西風にアンカーのとまりが悪い。

Mountain alignment was practiced to determine one's position on the sea. Then, he would know what lied underwater.

ショロダシ

――シュル(ショロ、シュロ)の木。(地名書き込み地図に宮本さんが)ビローって書いたけど、ビロージュは最近の言葉、もとはショロっていった。ワレノ鼻からシラタキの鼻、ソネがある。山の下り、高い・低いがある。タボ中(海中)の北か東に船がいて、山あてする。船が東西に動くと、シュロが出てくるところ、引込むところ(見えるところ、隠れるところ)がある。それで山アテした。そこがシュロダシ(宮本俊二氏)。

From a given spot on the sea, two capes overlap. Moving a little distance, one disappears behind the other. Moving further a little, the hidden cape reappears. A mountain peak has some trees, say, pine trees. From one point, two trees can be seen, and from another spot, three trees. Another imaginary line was drawn from the spot to a fixed point like a rock or a rocky shore. That line was memorized and the process was repeated from another spot. In this way one could determine his position on the sea. At least two, preferably three lines were needed. By doing this mountain alignment, one can know where on the sea he is and then he knows the depth of the spot. The palm watch point and Koyajima Island were often used for mountain alignment. There was another island that looked like Koyajima.

Mountain alignment was not easy to do with Okinoshima. The central mountain was conical and had few curves in shoreline.

---- *Mountain alignment does not work if you go far out in the sea so the island looks small. Even though you are not that away, the mountains were clear on one day and blurred on another. There were subtle differences and very difficult to do. (Mr. MIYAMOTO Toshihisa, the son)*

(七月十一日)

(白嶽)峯の北のかたに、谷あり、船より遙に見あぐるに、^(シュロ) 桜 欄 の形して、大きに、葉も桜欄よりは長く垂れたる木、多く立つ茂れり、大島の海人ども、こを誤りて、桜欄なりといひて、その谷をも桜欄谷とよべり、此木は^(己)おのれ^(先)さきに、志摩郡の遠呂嶋にて見し、備呂といふ木なり、檳榔の類にや(後略)

青柳種信はシュロではなく、ビロウドといっている。上掲「沖ノ島の植物」に

びろう 五本あり、最大ナルモノ高サ十四尺四寸 周囲二尺五寸

*『防人日記』に船より見上げるとある。青柳種信は、沖ノ島は巨岩の島で人が上り下りはできない。崖に生える木が目標であるとした。見え隠れするショロ(棕櫚)は海上からの目標であった。シュロダシは今でも山アテの地名である。種信の時代にも、現代にも変わらない。大島にも弁天ダシなどダシ地名があつて、やはり山アテに使う。

Mountain alignment is a technique that has been inherited over hundreds of years, but it is no longer needed thanks to the wide use of mobile phone GPS. By now, only those born in early Showa Era remember the technique. It is said that each person had a technique of his own.

On the eastern part of Okinoshima, readjustment of the technique once became necessary. Some stones on the eastern side of the mountain were blown off by dynamite for use in the construction of a breakwater. They had been used for other mountain alignment and the change in rock shape necessitated realignment. The big rock is in place to this day.

● Taboo words

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki

凡此神の威霊をは衆人甚おそる、靈験むかしよりしばしば多きよしかたり伝ふ、此島にて忌詞多し、常の詞はけかれなりと云、僧尼、山伏、女人、牛、馬、鹿、鼠などは、皆別名あり、

○宗像三社縁起(貝原益軒)

この島にては神事をむねとし侍れば、神事にけがれあるものを忌みて、まさしき名をいはで、名をかえていふ

死	くろやうせい	僧	まるやうせい
六畜の類	よつ	鳥	くろとり
女	ほとめ	衡	ためし
塩	なみのはな	升	はかり
未醬(みそ)	ひしほ	酢	みみとり
尼	かみなが		

*ようせいは意味不明。曜星か。

Sakimori Nikki

(七月十一日)

防人にある日数も、やうやう立ちぬれば、かはりの舟やくると、日々に山に登りて、南の海づらをながめつゝぞある、忌詞なンドもやうやう還るべき間近くなりてそ、えあやまたずなりぬ、此の島に忌言あり、仏経僧尼等を始めて器やうの物にも忌名あり、されど古のは失せ果てたりとみえたり、今いふに皆海人等が定めつると覺しくていやし、

忌み言葉には「飯・キワ、箸・ヨロズ、杓子・キワマガリ、味噌・ヨウセ、酒・チンタ、醬抽・タマリなどがある(『宗像』第一〇号、昭和三六年一〇月)。

天明五年『沖津宮社格目録』では、柄杓類を曲り、味噌をヒシヲ、僧・尼を丸ヨウセイ・髪長、馬をハネヨツ、女をホトメなどという(「澳嶋いミ詞」)。

Ōshima Sonshi (p.586)

I remember that I collected some 50 words from the island's old people around Shōwa 10. The record is no longer available. Let me cite some that have been found in newspaper and other sources (other than those already mentioned above).

○福日新聞（西日本新聞）

飯 キワ 小便 アマケ
 しゃくし キワマガリ みそ ヨーセ
 しょうゆ タマリ
 みそ汁 ヨーセノヨー、セノ
 岩・石 マリヤ はし ヨロズ
 火ばし ヒゾー 酢 ミミトリ

○Memories of old people (SATŌ Ichigorō , 75 years old; KAWABE Kajurō , 70 years old)

ねずみ イナカ 米 シャリ
 ねずみの巣 イナカノジョウロ
 猿 カキヨツ 出産 赤不浄
 岩・石 マリヤ 死亡 黒不浄
 しょうゆ タマリ すら ヨーセ木
 沖ノ島 オイワズ(不言島)

It is said that in Okinoshima as in other places the sounds 「シ」「ス」 and 「チ」 were by tradition curses that should be avoided. This indeed applies to many of the examples shown above. (*Ōshima Sonshi*)

『神社史』に「死」「僧侶」「鳥」などは忌み言葉として使わないとあります。現在でもそれらの言葉は何となく使いません。(『しま』88頁)

漁師は昔から沖ノ島のことを「いわず、いわず」と言いよりました。(『しま』224、96頁)

沖ノ島では、死とか死ぬとかいう言葉は使ってなかったですよ。死に関係するものはだめだったです。昔は家族に不幸があったら、一緒に釜の飯を食わなかったと聞いたね。ご飯を炊く時にも禊をしてから火を点けたらしいよ。自分たちも、正月には垢離をとってこい、って言われたこともあったね。(『しま』99頁)

俗に澳御号と唱奉り(『筑前名所図会』)

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku-Fudoki Shūi

隣国海辺の者、オンガウ島或は沖ノオンガウ杯、いへり、オンガウとは御神の儀なるへし

『宗像神社史』に「筑前国宗像三社霊験記は、主として沖ノ島の神験について、福岡の隠士森旧翁の語るところを、宝暦五年(1755)九月、田仲慶が筆録したものであるが、その中に沖ノ島の忌詞について記してある。さらに沖津宮社格目録(当社所蔵)は、表紙に天明五年(1785)八月とあり、沖ノ島に関する種々の事項を記してあるが、その冒頭に「澳嶋いみ詞」の条があつて、多くの忌詞を載せてある。委細は第十二章崇敬・信仰において記述する」。

とあるけれど、12章(崇敬)に該当箇所を発見できない(信仰という項目もない)。

Why did people avoided calling Okinoshima by its real name and instead refer to it as “いわず” or “おんごう”? Likely reason was to avoid the “shi” sound in Okinoshima. The same applies to avoidance of modern-day examples of “メシ”, “シャクシ”, “ハシ”, “ヒバシ”, “ミソシル” and “シオ”. It is probably because “shi” is the same pronunciation for “death.”

“チ” (chi) was avoided perhaps because the same pronunciation can mean “blood.” “Shi” was black foul and “chi” was red foul. It is not known why “ス” (su) sound was avoided.

Okinoshima Illustrations (Figure 3 Map of place names) show a place name of “イナカノジョウロ”. Guessing from the examples shown above, it is a substitute for “den of rats.”

But the perceived avoidance of シ sound contradicts the substitution of “Kō” (a weighing scale) by 「ためし」 and that of 「未醬 (みそ)」 by 「ひしほ」 (an archaic for soy sauce) that were mentioned in *Sanja Engi*.

Tanenobu's interpretation was that the traditional curse words had been lost and substituted by vulgar words commonly used by fishermen. The reports quoted above likely contain both old and new curse word examples.

The voyage to Okinoshima was always a risky venture. Fishermen were totally afraid of contamination by breaking of taboos.

● Avoidance of Buddhist monks

Both Ekiken and Tanenobu reported that the words “Buddha,” “Sutra,” “monk” and “nun” were avoided on the island. No nuns were allowed to come anyway. As a matter of course, Munakata Shrine was syncretic; it is clear in the presence of Amidakyō (the Sukhavati Sutra) seki and Shikijō Issaikyō (a complete collection of Buddhist scriptures by Monk Shikijō).

At Chinkoku-ji Temple, the Tagorihime goddess enshrined in Okitsu-miya is a manifestation of Vairocana. Likewise the deities at Nakatsumiya, Hetsumiya, Konomi Gongen and Orihata Myōjin are manifestations of Gautama Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru, Amitabha and Chintamanicakra, respectively.

宗像大菩薩御縁起(『神道大系』神社編宗像)でも

宗像三所大菩薩一所ニ御遷座事

第二者 湍津姫 居左間。本地釈迦如来 小神織幡

第一者 田心姫 居中間。本地大日如来

第三者 市杵嶋姫 居右間。本地薬師如来 小神許斐

已上奉号惣社。

It is unconceivable that Buddhism was rejected in Okinoshima before the Meiji separation of Buddhism and Shintoism. Those Buddhist terms were avoided, probably not as taboos but out of awe. It is still a fact though that nothing related to Buddhism appears in the illustrations of Okinoshima in *Chikuzen Meisho Zue*.

● Ban on taking things out and on entry of women

Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku-Fudoki

一此島の竹木土石など取来る事、神の、を(惜)しみ玉ひて、必災となるよし、いひて甚おそる、み
たりに島の物をむさほり取てあらさは、誠に神の崇あるへし、但正神は俗のいへることくに、鄙吝
なる事は有へからず、

Chikuzen Meisho Zue

もし盗伐取船中に隠置ときは風あらくして出船することあたわす、恐れて是を返せは船(たちまち)
出(でる) ;

The goddesses of Munakata are tender to women. *Shoku Fudoki*, *Munakata Sansha Engi Furoku* and *Sakimori Nikki* all noted the ban on taking things out of the island. But no mention is made of ban on the entry of women. It was unimaginable that a woman would travel to Okinoshima anyway. A description about Ōshima in *Sakimori Nikki* states that the “mensual foul” of women must not be touched. The red foul had to be avoided by all means. In pre-modern days, hygiene goods that are used today were unavailable. It would be a mistake to judge the past based on modern-day standards.

In the use of words, death (the black foul) was strictly avoided. If a woman should travel to Okinoshima, it was simply impossible to return in a matter of days and weeks. Inevitably, she would have produced the red foul. As a matter of doctrine, therefore, no women were allowed to set foot on the shore of Okinoshima.

The coast of Okinoshima was not fit for “ama” (female divers) fishing, because the beach formation is mostly a sudden drop-off. The knowledge of today's Ōshima fishermen and the perception of people in Edo Period resonate.

Okinoshima kin-ki

一、御嶋ノ廻リ自然不浄物流寄候ハヽ、突流シ可被申候、右様ノ物漕^(マッ) 余 候儀ニテハ有間舗事

Today still many drift-away are believed to arrive to the shores of Okinoshima. The “filth” mentioned here is unlikely a boat or a body. The rule says, “Push it away.” We do not know the identity.

● Taboo violators

An incident broke out in Keichō (1609) that a Christian missionary landed on Okinoshima and broke the taboo to take out some treasures by the order of Nagamasa, Lord of Fukuoka Domain.

This incident is reported in Kaibara Ekiken, *Chikuzen-no-kuni Zoku Shosha Engi* (compiled in Ekiken Zenshū, Meiji 43 and 44), and is widely known.

Chikuzen-no-kuni Zoku-Shosha Engi

一、長政公御入国のみぎり、澳津宮神宝の事、聞召及ばれ、御覧可被成との御意候へども、神職も、つねの者も、神威に恐れ、御ことわり申上候ゆゑ、しからば、耶蘇は神を恐れぬ者なればとて、其ころまで博多に有之候切支丹寺の者に仰て、御取寄なされ候。扱、御覧の後、色々の神器共、御やぐらに入れおかれ候へば、頻に鳴動し、をりをり、光物など飛出候ゆゑ、かやうに神慮にをしみ給ふ物ならば、返納なさるべきとて、又耶蘇持渡り、本のごとく納め置候へと仰付られけれども、彼者どもにも、何ぞ甚しき御崇ありけるにや、国主の仰なれば、一度は相勤候。もはや此上は御免被遊候へと、頻に御ことわり申上るにより、時の神職四郎右衛門を召寄^(寄に)られ、神器を御渡し、本の如く、返納仰付られ候。其後、四郎右衛門存候は、とかく神宝あらはに有之ゆゑ、かやうのあさましきことも出来る也。所詮、島のうちへさへ納め候へば、皆神物なりと了簡し、何がしかや申谷に、埋みたるよし、申伝へ侍る。金の機物、其余、女工の具共、皆金にて候由、四郎右衛門何と仕候や。右神器うづみたる所を、子どもに不申聞ゆゑ、今において其所しれ不申候。

The book says: “At the time of the Lord’s arrival to the Domain.” KURODA Nagamasa came to Fukuoka in Keichō 5 (1600) and soon after he learned about the treasures of Okinoshima. Be it a knowledge among common people or a briefing by a scholar, it was already known that there were secret treasures in Okinoshima. The Kuroda Family was Christian. His father, Josui, was baptized Simeon, and the Christian name of Nagamasa himself was Damian. Simeon’s funeral service took place in a Christian church in Fukuoka in 1604. The official seal Nagamasa used was quite uncommon: Curo NGMS, all written in Roman alphabets. According to *Iezusu-kai Nihon Hōukoku-shū* (“Collection of Society of Jesus Japan Reports”)1609, KURODA Sōemon, the lord of Akizuki and a Christian, requested permission from his nephew Chikushū (i.e. Nagamasa) to issue a legal permit to Christians in his jurisdiction. Nagamasa accepted the request. He himself is described as an “iconist” and so he must have abandoned the belief but still was feeling close to Christianity.

The treasures were “naked” or exposed when carried away. *Okinoshima* in page 10 claims that the golden weaving equipment reported buried again in a certain valley after the incident is different from the gild-made weaving equipment now on display; that first is still buried in the ground.

This incident is also recorded on the Christian Church side. Lettera Annua del Giappone del 1609 e 1610 by Giouan Rodriguez Girano states:

博多の市から三十里離れたところに或る神に捧げられている島(*沖ノ島)がある。異教徒たちはその島からつまらぬ物や価値のない物(でも)運んで来ることは著しく不敬な行為だと考えており、その掟に背く者はかならず罰を受けると言っている。そしてこの島にこの地方の人が住もうとしないのはもとより、他の地方の人々からも忌避されている。さらにこの島では一年を通じてほとんど収穫がなく、そのためにその島に住んでいる仏僧は辛うじてごくわずかの食料を入手できるだけである。こうした事情を考慮し、さらに状況が悪化しはしまいかと心配した仏僧は、或時、殿にこの島の神社の中に多くの財宝や価値のあるものがあるに違いないと言った。この言葉を聞いた偶像崇拜者の殿の貪欲な心の中に欲望の火が燃え上がり、何人かの家来をその島に派遣しようとしたが、各々

がその役目を嫌がった。この様子を見た殿は異教徒をその島に送りこむのは難しいと判断し、心の中でこう言った。「キリシタンは神を恐れぬという噂は本当であろうか」と。そこで〔軍勢の中で我らの教えを信奉していたために追放されてきていた〕籠手田ゼロニモを呼びよせ、彼に自分の考えを伝え、ただちに船に乗ってその島へ向かうように命じた。この立派なキリシタンは困難のものともせず同じ信仰を持つ何人かの同志と語らって船に乗り込んだ。すると空には厚い雲がたちこめ激しい嵐が起こって一行を脅かし、海には波が逆巻いて船を危険な状態に陥れた。それにもかかわらず一行は無事島に辿り着いた。(ゼロニモは)仲間とともに船から陸に降り立つと金目の物や値打ちのありそうな物を集め、最後に偶像の神殿に行き、それを粉々に壊してしまった。こうして役目を立派に果たし終わると島を離れ、獲得した品物を持ち帰った。そして博多に着くとただちに殿のもとに行き、持参した品々を差し出した。それで彼が出かける前にゼロニモの大胆さを嘲り、一行が神から大いなる懲罰を受けると予言した人々は赤面し、それまでは偶像に対して抱いていた敬意を爾後は我らの教えに対して抱くようになった。

上記は鳥居正雄氏による訳で、原本は天理図書館蔵

Lettera Annua del Giappone del 1609.e 1610. Scritta al M. R. P. Clavdio Acqvaviva Generale della Compagnia di Giesv. Dal P. Giouan Rodriguez Girano. In Milano. MDCXV. 141 pp.

The author of this paper has not had the opportunity to verify the original. Presumably, the original does not specify Okinoshima. But comparion with the writings by Ekiken makes it certain that the incident took place on Okinoshima. This literature on the Christian side does not mention that Nagamasa eventually returned the Okinoshima treasures, but it is considered to be true. The readers are invited to see also Joe Shibata, op cit.

(2) Islands of god: Okinoshima and Ōshima

The land registry map of Okinoshima today (Figure 2) shows the island is divided into three lots: Nos. 2988, 2989 and 2990.

No.2988 of course represents the shrine premises and the landholder is Munakata Shrine. The area is quite extensive with 683,510 square meters (the registry has been amended from 689,202 square meters). Whilst no land registry data from the Meiji and Taishō Eras have been discovered, the file registry indicates that ownership by Munakata Shrine was registered on March 12 Shōwa 27 as a result of transfer dated July 6 Shōwa 25. The former owner was the Ministry of Finance. According to a document archived by Fukuoka Prefecture, it was a “state property” already in Shōwa 5. In Shōwa 12, a department manager of Base Construction Headquarters of the Imperial Army issued a report of land use change to the Governor of Fukuoka to the effect that Okinoshima would be used for military purposes. No further details are available. There was indeed a piece of land for a lighthouse, but it appears to have been totally returned to the shrine in Shōwa 25.

The latter two numbered lots occupy a very small portion of the island. No.2989 is 22 square meters (the latest registry has been amended to 72 square meters) and No.2990 is 181 square meters (amended from 125 square meters in the old entry). There is a difference from the Shrine-owned area by 4 to 5 digits. The tiny spaces are owned by the Munakata Fishery Cooperative. The title holder was originally Ōshima Fishery Cooperative and was renamed as a result of merger of cooperatives (Kanezaki, one of the seven Munakata fishing villages, did not join Munakata Fishery Cooperative). Although the land registry map shows the locations of the two small lots to be on the eastern side of the island, they are in fact in the south, near the shrine office. They are just spaces to pull up and keep boats on shore. Perhaps there was some berthing facility and that may have been reflected in the registry (land ownership). From the perspective of land-use, it is important to note that the lots were not branched out (if so a hyphenated numbering would have been used) but rather recognized as independent lots.

A portion of the shrine-owned land (No.2988) was lent out for non-religious land-use purposes.

First, fishermen from Ōshima and other nearby villages (Ōshima Fishery Cooperative) borrowed a space to

build cabins and for other purposes.

Second, a lighthouse was constructed by the Navy's Water Channel Department before the War and run by the National Coast Guard after the War.

Third, some other spaces were borrowed by the Imperial Army (gun battery) and the Navy during the War.

The lighthouse in 2 above was commissioned in April in Meiji 38 (The lighthouse nameplate reads: 「沖島燈臺 初點明治三十八年四月、改築點燈 大正拾年拾貳月壹日」. According to *Ōshima Sonshi* (p.528), a light station and watchtower was constructed by Sasebo Naval District in April in Meiji 37. *Munakata Jinja-Shi* (p.11) also states construction in April Meiji 37. There is a difference of one year; perhaps the construction took one year before the service was begun. The lighthouse keepers worked in a rotation of ten days and commuted from Ōshima (*Shima*, p.98). People of Ōshima were hired to carry fuel cans and other stuff.

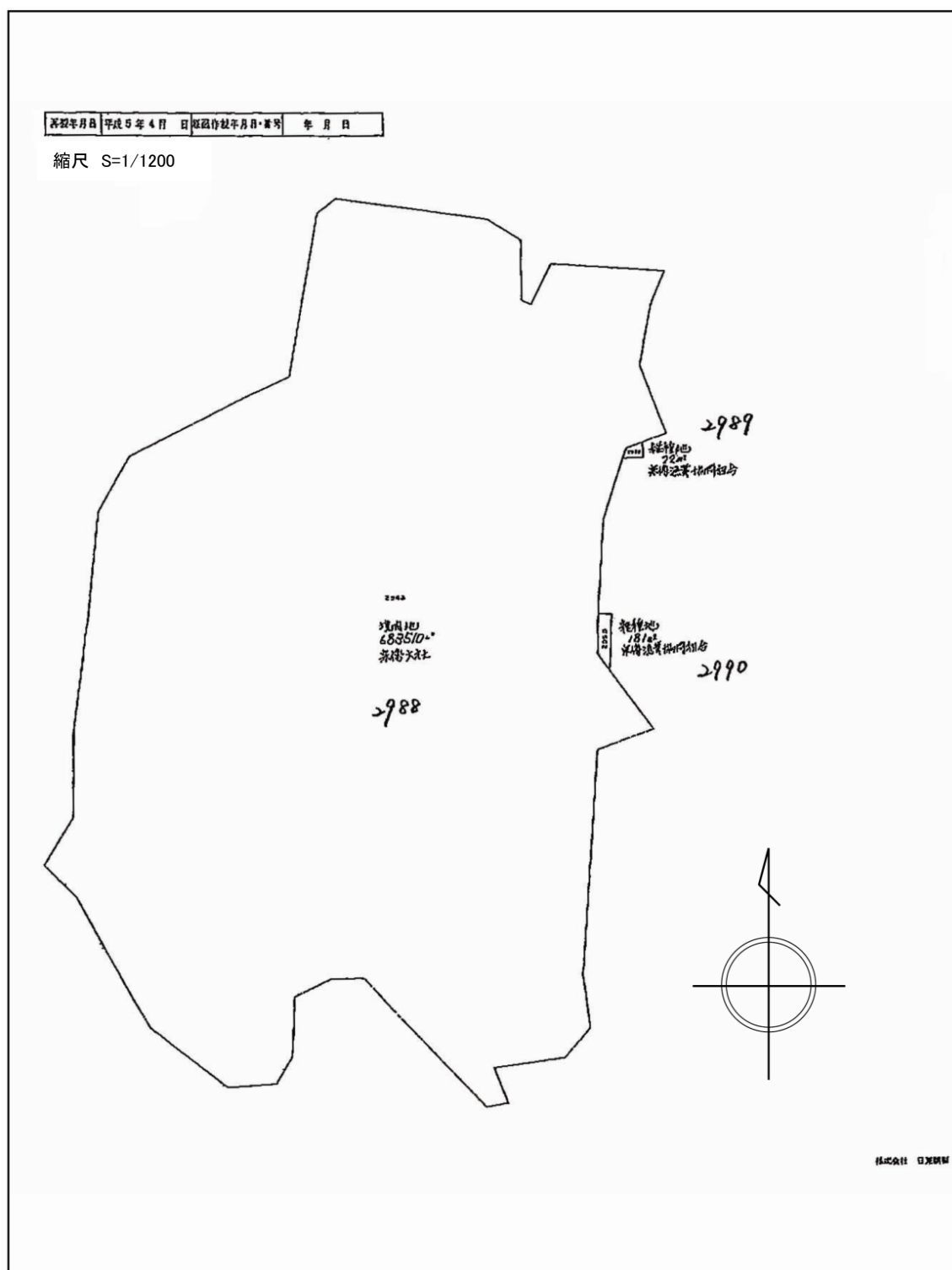


Figure 2 Land registry map of Okinoshima Island

The battery mentioned in above 3 was erected in March Shōwa 15 (*Ōshima Sonshi*, p.532). The naval defense facilities in Okinoshima were “completed” in July Shōwa 17 (op.cit. p.540). At the battery under the jurisdiction of Shimonoseki Fortification Department of the Imperial Army, a troop (about 200 men) was stationed. The barracks were located in Owasabatake. The artillery was in the caves. Officers’ housing and navy barracks were in a place called Usugura. There was found a ruined mortar (“usu”) beneath a rock. There is a record that the Navy deployed a corp with the mission to monitor sonar signals from submarines. Perhaps the core was placed in Ōshima. This ended in August Shōwa 20.

In Okinoshima still remain stone staffs that indicate the Army premise. It is a proof that land survey and stringent border definition was carried out.

Fishing mentioned in above 1 dates back to Edo Period and is still done today (but fishermen today do not use cabins on the shore and rather stay on boat).

The paper by TSUCHIYA Hisashi quoted earlier in this paper (Munakata Okinoshima no Shinji to Ōshima no Kurashi in Shima 227) gives detailed accounts of fishing around Okinoshima by Ōshima fishermen. Some of the stories the author of this paper learned from interviews with Mr. MIYAMOTO Shunji and Mr. SATŌ Chisato follow:

The fish around Okinoshima were rich in variety and in number. Fishermen, some early ones departed already in October, moved to the island on fine days, stayed in the cabin, caught fish and remained on the island until just before the lunar New Year’s day (lunar New Year’s day varies whether there is a leap month or not, but it is usually around the Lichun day). They took a “relax time” during the lunar New Year holidays and after that around the time of Higan (spring equinox) they moved to the island again. They stayed there early spring, April and May and returned to Ōshima. The winter fishing (five months from October through early February) was long, and the spring season (three-and-a-half months from mid-February through May) was short.

The cabins were on a space lot borrowed from the shrine. There were five or six of them and one or two families stayed in one cabin. By family, I mean, boat. Men on a boat or two used one cabin. The youngest in the cabin did all the cooking. In total they were a group of around 30 fishermen. The fishing was mostly by line. (Mr. SATŌ Chisato)

---I cut off the head of a loach and used it like a lure to fish yellowtails. No rods. Just fingers and hands. The line we used around Shōwa 20 was made of twisted silk threads. It was soaked in tannin of Kaki persimmon and dried. Then soaked again and dried again. It was tough and very easy to use. Not easily cut [because the line was tangled manually]. There was no such thing as it is called “tegusu” today. Later, we also used piano string and wire, for about 5-shaku near the hook [perhaps referring to the tegusu portion].

To lift up the fish Shintō the boat, we used a big hand hook for yellowfish. We shouldn’t hit the belly; we hook up the fish back lightly, not to kill it. But not too softly. Sometimes we used a hand net. You have to be careful not to get cuts in the hand from the wire. You move it around the shoulder and put it into the preserve.

There used to fish we called “Ose.” It looks like the salamander that lives in rivers. Ose used to be found around Okinoshima, but it’s been extinguished. We used to catch one once a year to be served on a festive occasion. When they became few, I once bought one. They grow not from roe, they are viviparous. As soon as the babies are born they start swimming. Sharks are also viviparous. They grow to about 1 meter in size.

Ose: Orectolobiformes Orectolobidae Orectolobus

“Kuro” is called ‘kurokuro.’ There were “Shiio” as well. What was ‘Kunouo’ (Shoku Fudoki)?

The caught fish were kept alive in the preserve. We sent them fresh to the mainland without any processing. For this transportation, the fishermen staying in the cabins on Okinoshima took turns to do the job or hired a special large boat from outside. The destination was mainly Kōnominato; after the War the fish were sent to Fukuoka as well. When ice was available, big ice blocks transported from the

icemakers in Shimonoseki were used. Remains of the ice storehouse are still found on the beach by the Torii. It was winter and fish were not prone to decay. Underneath we put "Ampera" (a mat made of thinly-sliced bamboo), a kind of drainboard. And we put mats over the fish and sprayed water to keep them wet. We tried to keep them alive as long as possible. When reloading to the transportation boat, we killed them instantly. I don't know about the time when ice was not available. Perhaps the preserve was used.

Even at the time of sail boats, it was possible to reach Kōnominato in four to five hours from Okinoshima if good tailwind was there. But when the sea got rough, there was no way to save the fish from rotting. Some were salted for preservation. (Mr. MIYAMOTO Shunji)

"My father used to carry fish from Okinoshima on fresh fish transportation boat every three or four days in the middle of the night not to miss the morning market opening. After unloading the fish in the market, he comes home with letters from Okinoshima. My job was to deliver them to the families before my school class begins. So I knew who were working in Okinoshima. It was in the thirties of Shōwa. (Mr. YAMAGUCHI Kunikazu , Shima p.93)

The real backbone of the fishing life in Okinoshima was this sales channel that was secured by the transportation boat. Fishing would be meaningless if not for the secured sales channel. The transportation boat was truly the vital artery. During the time of sail boat, too, this boat must have travelled between the two islands though the frequency may have been lower.

Fishermen were eager to write letters to the family.

Sakimori Nikki states:

(April)

十一日、さきの防人、例の事どもし^(終)をへて、船出す、家に文ことづく

The cover photo in *Okitsu-miya* (Munakata Shrine Office and HATAKAKE Masaki , ed. Shōwa 3 or 1928) (Photo1) shows in the back of the worship group a straw-roof cabin to the left with fishing net being dried in the front. On the right, too, the roof of a cabin is visible. Those must have been where fishermen stayed.

Chikuzen Meisho Zue includes an illustration of Okinoshima (Figure 3). The published version is rather hard to read all the captions, but legible ones are as follows:

本社、金水、御供、お前、舟付、一ノ岳、二ノ岳、三ノ岳・白岳ともいふ

In the text there is a passage that reads: Not a few paddies and fields.

Building illustrations include: the Sanctuary (main building), Worship Hall, three auxiliary shrines, a building of Oamabatake (estimated), an Offertory Hall, two other constructions in front and two more in the east. A boat is docked facing east and four others facing west. The two cabins on the western side are likely those for the officials and those two on the east for fishermen.

---The cabins have been used since long time ago with repeated repairs. Humble huts with tin-plate roof. Use-life?

When it becomes bad, we replace. We do it by ourselves. There are no professional carpenters. The repair can go on for years. Collapsed stones, pillars with no stone foundation

There are no tatami mats to sleep on. We lay out beech pebbles flat and cover them with a straw mat. That's our bed spread.

When you replace the pebbles, they get warm and comfortable again. That's what old people used to say.

That was already over by my time. We brought used tatami mats from our house. (Mr. MIYAMOTO Shunji)

The fishermen cabins were there until Shōwa 42 or 43. Then, high-speed boats came and we could make it by a day trip. A yellowtail of 7 or 8 kilos sells at 10,000 yen today. In those days, the value of yellowtails was ten times as high. It sold for 10,000 yen. (Shima, p.94; it cost 10 or 20 yen for the first ride of a train in those days. The prices have increased 10 - 20 times. A yellowtail must have been worth nearly 200,000 yen by present value.)

Some 60 of 200 fishermen in Ōshima worked in Okinoshima. For a young boy who had just finished upper elementary school (equivalent to today's junior high school), it was like an "expulsion" to move to an island that had no place to play around. Of course, there were absolutely no girls.

----Shikeshirazu ("Know No Storm") meant the watershallow near Kenzaki on the west and Kuzure, according to Okinoshima and Mr. SATŌ Chisato. There one was able to shelter from east wind and south wind. Mr. MIYAMOTO Shunji, in turn, understands that Shikeshirazu was not that point but a spot on the east to the north of Tsunatorize. There, one can avoid north and west winds.

The island was inhabited by Ogachi birds ("streaked shearwater") and Koyashima Island by ancient murrelet.

----Ancient murrelets, the egg is tasteful. It's sad when the parents are nearby. Good-sized eggs, mostly two in a nest. The parent may be brooding and may be away offshore leaving the eggs alone. The school graduation ceremony was held in April in those days. Then we moved. In March and April the eggs do not hatch yet. The eggshell was not strong. You had to be careful because even a soft hit can break it. We kept them in a box of seaweed or boiled them immediately.

** The egg-laying season of Ogachi (streaked shearwater) and the fishing season in Okinoshima did not overlap.*

----We ate the adult bird of streaked shearwater grilled. They lay eggs during the rainy season. We are not there that time of the year. They are a kind of seagulls. They come in the summer. Oasabatake is covered with Mondo grass, and deep below it [is the bird's nest and] you get one foot stuck. I never went into Ogondani.

This is all about the time when the concept of nature conservation and protection of national natural monuments was obscure.

The first engine-driven boat was built in Ōshima in Taishō 8 (Ōshima Sonshi, p.442). Ōshima no Rekishi to Bunka writes in page 57 that a 6-horse power engine-driven boat by the name of Koun-Marū was launched in that year.

According to Chikuzen Kanazaki Gyogyō Shi (p.429), the first fishing boat that had an engine was the test boat Fuji-Marū in Shizuoka in Meiji 39. In Kanazaki, Sayakata-Marū (a freight boat) launched in Taishō 2 is said to be the first. Boats for coastal fishing were motorized in Shōwa 3. Motorization progress gradually, it is reported. Whilst motorized boats were indeed used, many, especially the poor fishermen, must have continued to use sail boats.

In Meiji 38, there was already a mention. There was a write-in note in the Shrine Diary (an article about the Russo-Japanese War). There were many boat builders in Ōshima, in the sail boat days, before the appearance of engine boats. Motorized boats came in Taishō 6 or 7. Before then, sail boats and oar boats were built.

Ōshima Sonshi (p.191) writes that eight fishermen en route to Okinoshima died in a shipwreck on February 1 Anei 3 (1774). Even though the source of this particular report is unclear, there were many accidents and the folk belief and taboos were closely associated with such unfortunate events.



沖津宮參拜記念撮影

Photo 1 Group photo of worship tourists to Okitsu-miya (Okitsu-miya, Munakata Shrine Office and HATAKAKE Masaki, ed. Shōwa 3 or 1928)

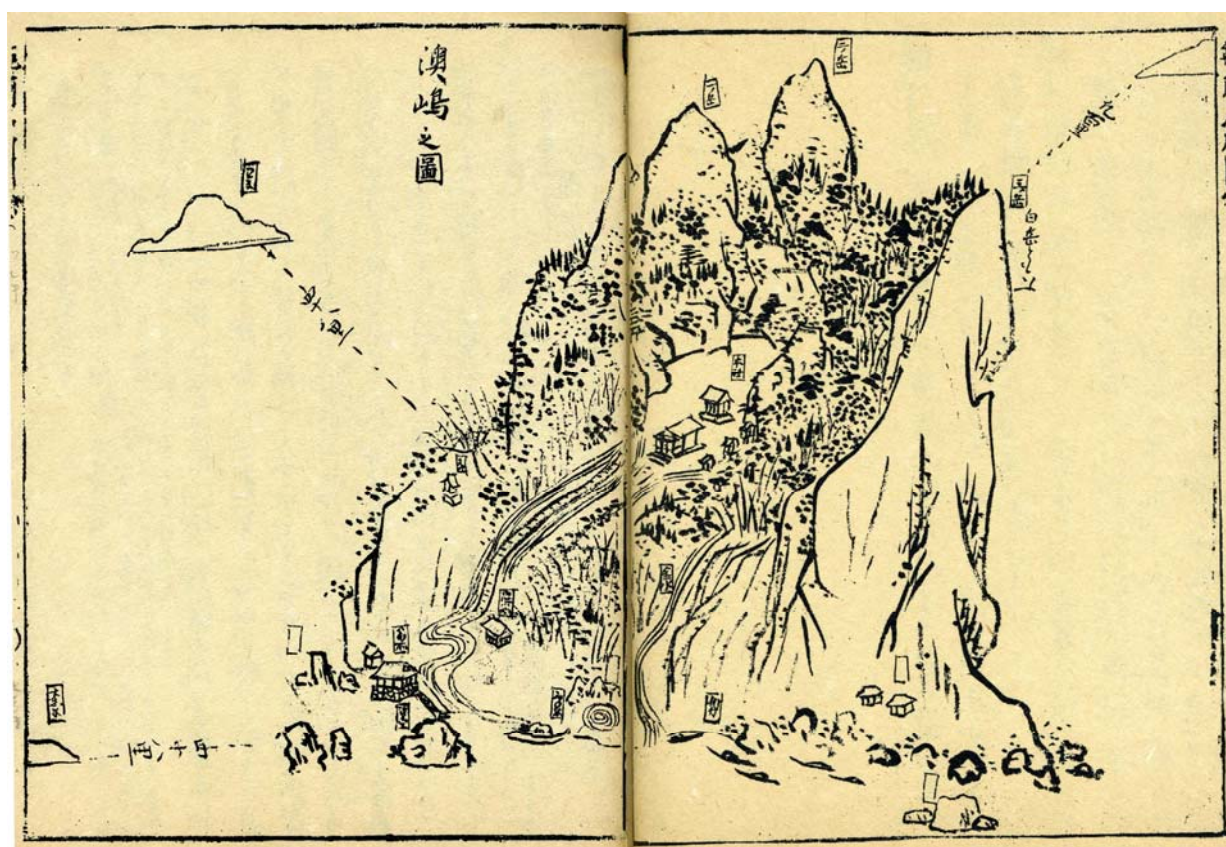


Figure.3 Illustration of Okinoshima Island (Chikuzen Meisho Zue)

Sweet water ran into the east of the breakwater. The shrine office and the military all depended on this stream. It must have been flowing out of Ōgondani. There were few fields for the priests. The people working at the lighthouse had a small crop field atop the hill. Now, electricity is generated by solar cells; before then in-house generator was used and still before that oil lamps.

Female divers worked in Ōshima; they did not come to Okinoshima.

Abalones are found under rocks in summertime. In winter the low temperature moves them to rock surface. If divers (female) were allowed, they would taken everything away. So it is strictly regulated in Ōshima. (*Shima*, p.96)

Female divers were in shirts. There were no diving suits in those days. It's cold even in summer if they stayed underwater for a while. It is just too cold in winter.

(3) Place names in Okinoshima, Ōshima and Oronoshima

Okinoshima had many places with names because of the need for living (See Figure 4). And many of them have not changed from the time of KAIBARA Ekiken. It suggests that same lifestyle has continued for centuries. Okinoshima and Ōshima both have place names related to seashore (See Figure 6). They represent shallow waterbeds. They were necessary for spear fishing (in modern times, fish and abalones are searched through a glass window box and the prey is caught by spearing from the boat) or for mountain alignment (as explained earlier).

Today, amateur anglers come to not just Ōshima but also to Okinoshima on small ferryboats. They are permitted to the extent that their fishing activity is for fun.

There are certain place names that such anglers use. The ferries come likely from Hakata, Kōnominato and Tsuyazaki. Some of these place names are same as those used by Ōshima fishermen but many are different. Ōshima fishermen were in fact unfamiliar with a majority of those names. In the map, we show only the place names that are used by Ōshima fishermen and those distinct names that are shown on ferry brochures are briefly indicated in the illustration (Figure 4).

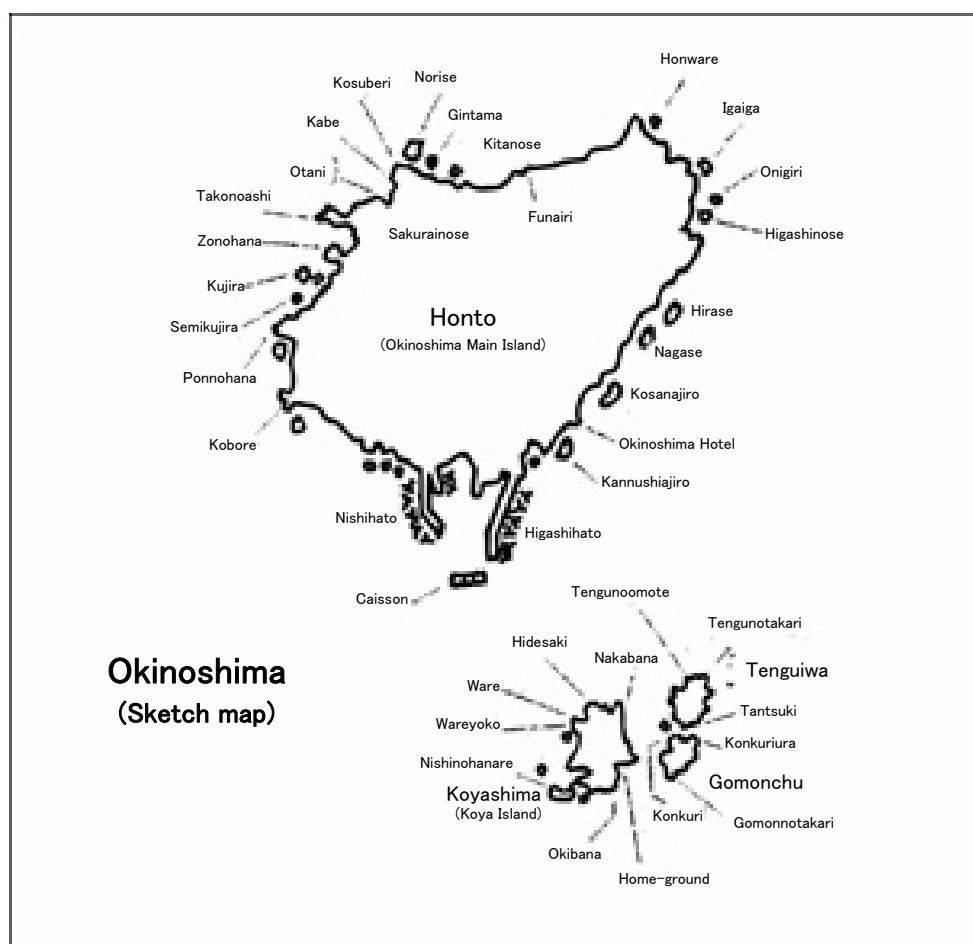


Figure.4 Place names as used by ferry operators. They differ from those normally used by Ōshima fishermen.

Lists of place names with maps (not translated)

●沖ノ島の地名（小字は沖ノ島のみ）

1 おまえ(御前)	2 おたか(御高)	3 太鼓岩
4 荒船(あらふね)	5 がめぜ	6 かねざき
7 かんす	8 えぼしいわ	9 くずれ
10 けんいわ(剣岩)	11 かつさき(柏崎)	12 おもてぼん
13 ぼんの崎	14 うらぼん	15 こぶ
16 のりぜ	17 のりぜのかべ	18 おおたに
19 おうべら	20 しゅろだし(しゅるだし)	21 われのはな
22 こばな	23 しけしらず	24 つなとりぜ
25 ひらせ	26 ながせ	27 おおいわ
28 のぞき	29 たぼなか	30 せのした
31 おあさばたけ	32 一ノ岳	33 二ノ岳
34 しらたけ(白岳)	35 おうごんだに	36 びろう
37 うすぐら		

*クジラセ：鯨のように見えた。干満によって見えたり沈んだりする。

こばな、ながせ、ひらせは『沖ノ島』などに掲載されている地図とは位置を異にする。「いなかのじょうろ」は鼠の巣の忌み言葉。大島聞取ではこの地名を確認できなかった。「あじろ」も未詳。

*「沖ノ島の植物」(前掲)に「いすのき 東部ノ一方面ナルモ量多ク大木ヲナス此木ノ最モ多キ谷ニ「ゆす谷」ノ称アリ」とあるが確認できない。

また 34 頁にヤマジ川とある。山路は大島の小字名であるから、混同か。

●小屋島周辺の地名

1 かもぜ	2 おふないり	3 ひでさき
4 ふなとおし	5 みかど(御門柱)	6 てんぐ(天狗岩)

*小屋島も御門柱も近世地誌に頻出する。

「おふないり、機械船はむりだけど、テンマ船は入る。ナレ(ナデ)釣りをする」。

●大島の地名

1 小字志美	a しび(志美)	b やまべ
	c かまぶり	
2 小字真名箸	a たまち	b おんぼうぜ
	c べんてんだし(山アテに使う)	
3 小字山振	a やまぶり	b りゅうぐうさま
	c さきやまぶり	d つうれ
4 小字加代	a かしろ(加代)	b くろせ
	c あなのうら	d くえど
	e ことがうら	f みつぜ
	g ふたみがうら	h てろうら(の山、鯨見の山)
5 小字小使	a ひらばい	b くじらがうら
	c ひやみず	d ううせ
	e おおづかい	f こづかい
	g どうくつ	h ながせ
	i よがまた	j うつりぜ
	k たた	l ねこやま

6	小字舟倉		
7	小字中江		
8	小字岩瀬原	a いわせ	b いわせはら
		c 入道坂?	
9	小字伊東	a もと	b いたう
		c ふかぐちのたに	
10	小字峠	a おおにうどう	b とうげ
11	小字瀬山	a ふたまた	b まるわ
		c いけじり	d どうさき
		e いたびかずら	f よこせ
		g よこまくら	
12	小字神崎	a くろかべ	b しらせ
		c かみざき	d ばていいわ
		e ひだりぐうら	f またせ
		g みうら	h うのくつ
		i かべのはな	j かべ
		k はもう	
13	小字野田	a くぼた	
14	小字下津和瀬	a ひた	b ひめ
		c まるやま	d つわせ
		e とおみやま	
15	小字家門田	a つわせ	b かげのうら
		c みみがね	d いたぎ
		e ごとうぜ	f ひみずがうら
		g ううごし	h ふかぜ
		i やかてえ	
16	小字中津和瀬	a たのうら(田ノ浦)	b たたたのうら(多多田ノ浦)
		c こはしのうら(小橋ノ浦)	d はしのうら(橋ノ浦)
		e ちんのした	f みたけやま
17	小字大牛(おおぎゅう)	a おおぎゅう	b まつがした
		c とりのうら	d よせ
		e たたみせ	f たてがみ(立神・立神岩)
		g すがらまち	h じょうやま(城山)
		i ううづきのたに(大月谷)	j しらいしのたに
		k ごひょうぎやま(五評議山、御評議山)	
18	小字津崎	a こばらみ	b はらみ
		c みなとじり	d わいぜ
		e そね	f そねはな
		g じじばばぜ	h ううさき
		i さくぞう	j めたか
19	小字長者倉	a ながさき	b だんぢくがうら
20	小字大岸	a おおきし	b いまにし(今西)
21	小字明山(あかりやま)	a あかりやま	b くうら
		c かなぐら	
22	小字保戸呂瀬	a ほとろせ	
23	小字山路	a おおもん(大門)	b こもん(小門)
		c ひいぞう	d やまじ
			e 幸山
24	小字宮ノ後		
25	小字井ノ浦	a いのうらみち	
26	小字江坂		
27	小字中西		
28	小字叶川(かないがわ)		
29	小字谷		

30	小字雪残(ゆきのこり)	a	うらのたに (浦ノ谷)	b	ゆきのこり
		c	てこのうら		
31	小字前田	a	ごしょやま(御所山)	b	きよさきつじ (清崎辻)
32	小字小田				
33	小字坂本	a	ごしょやま	b	さかもと
		c	あかさか		
34	小字グイ				
35	小字ヤノオ				
36	小字小大田	a	こおおた	b	さよじま (小夜島)
37	小字田志	a	かんす		
38	小字ハタ				
39	小字神田(かみだ)				

●小呂島の地名(小字名は神ノ前・神ノ後・向の3つ)(第7図参照)

1 とびぜ	2 いがい瀬	3 あなぐち(あな のまぐち)
4 うつりば	5 新八	6 たいこうぜ
7 うちまわし	8 大石	9 折下り
10 なつとり	11 はちのくぼ	12 越前(えちぜ ん)
13 水尺	14 みつぜ	15 馬のこうね
16 なやば	17 西の平	18 向山
19 砲台跡	20 こまじやる (こまざり)	21 高岳(*海軍望 楼)
22 おおわざ	23 あかぎし(赤 石)	24 みなみざ
25 弾薬庫跡	26 おおくぼ	27 はしるくら(走 下り)
28 とのんやま	29 御手洗	30 水の尻
31 かんかん瀬	32 毘沙門	33 びしゃごーぜ
34 はなぜ(はな れ)	35 ほっこうぜ	36 あしかぜ
37 よしい原	38 まつりやま	39 どんどんぜ
40 なかのくい (中ノ首)	41 ふなぜ	42 一つ瀬
43 おおばたか い	44 浄水場	45 薬師堂
46 一本松	47 まいぞうね	48 三吉
49 へいぜ	50 殿の山	51 神のうしろ
52 神の下	53 大段川	54 ほきのかわ
55 大段瀬	56 ふくと一ぜ	



Figure 5 Place names of Okinoshima and Koyashima (the above map was prepared by overlaying learned place names on a reduced-scale reproduction of 5,000:1 topographical map prepared by Munakata City)

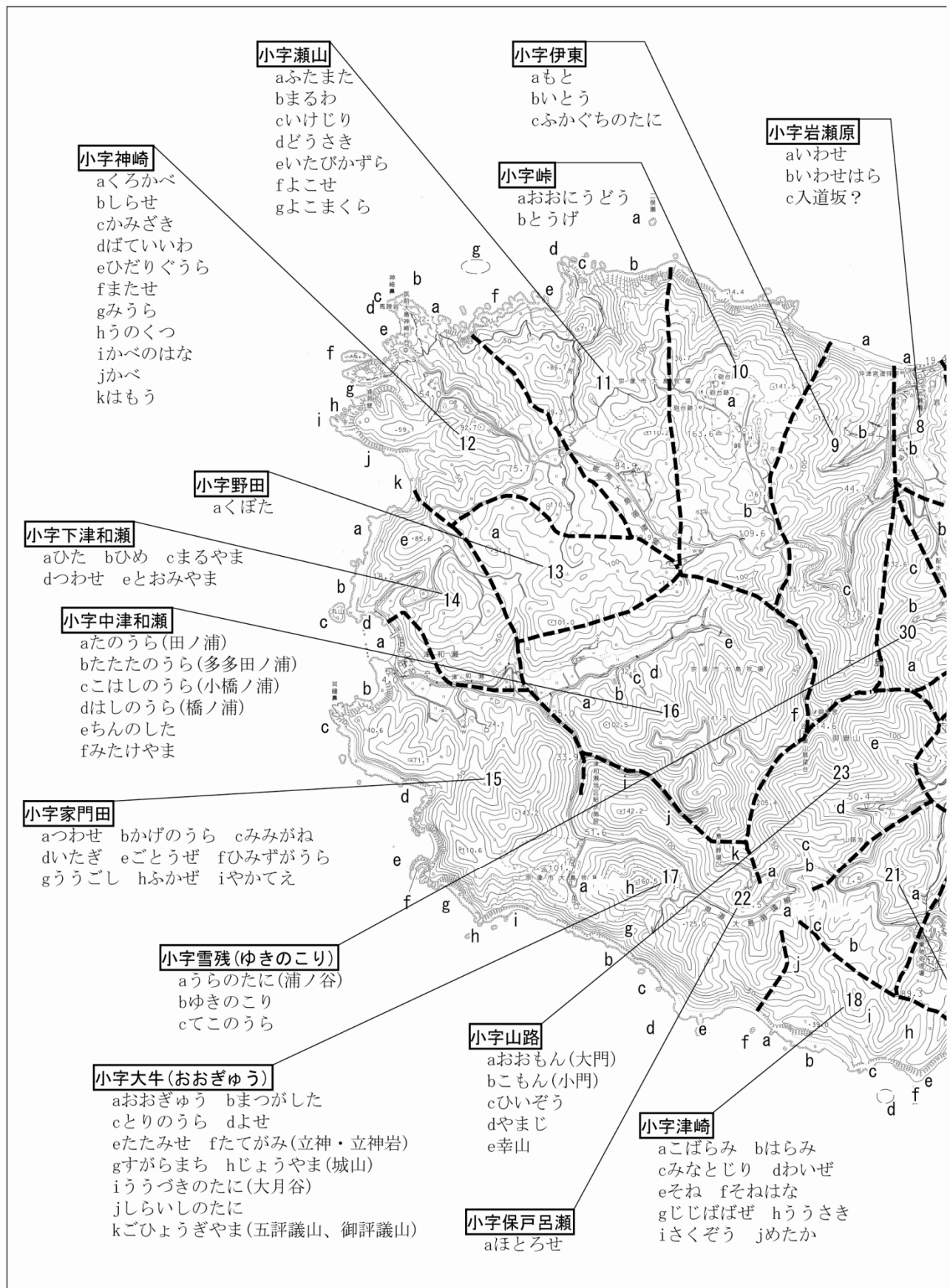


Figure 6 Place names of Ōshima (the above map was prepared by overlaying learned place names on a reduce-scale reproduction of 10,000:1 topographical map prepared by Munakata City (former Ōshima Village))

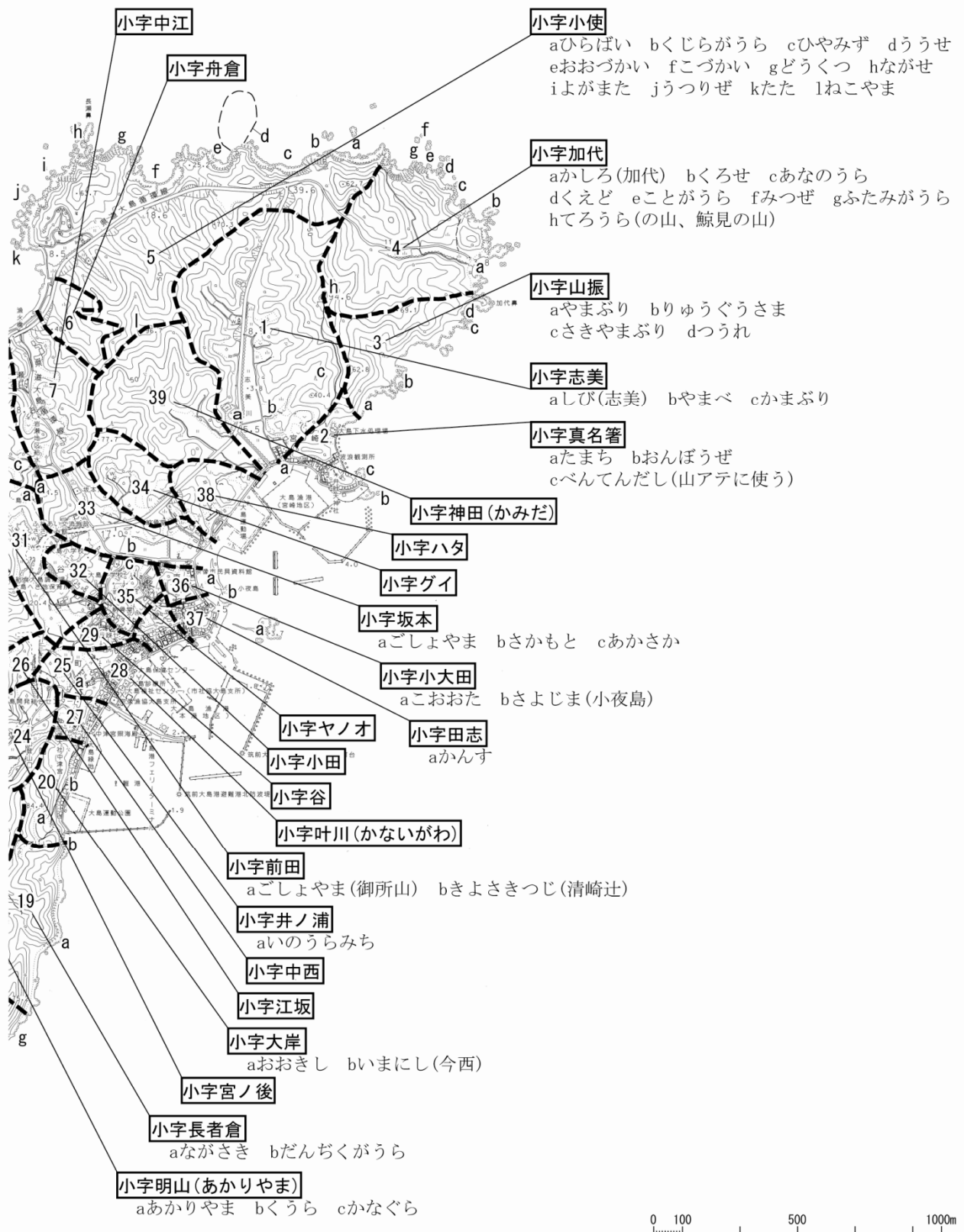




Figure 7 Place names of Oronoshima (the above map was prepared by overlaying place names identified by Oro Fishery Cooperative on a 5,000:1 topographical map prepared by Fukuoka City)

4. 史料

(1) (平戸)オランダ商館長日記『日本海外史料』訳文篇7より

〔1642年11月〕

24日(10頁)

梶目ノ大島 Casimena Oysime は、呼子 Jobico から 28 マイル、地ノ島湾 Sinoysima へ 3 マイルで、博多 Facatta 領だった(同上『商館長日記』10頁)。

〔1643年7月〕(46頁)

同月一日 本日、十人のキリスト教徒、即ちイエズス会士とその従者たちが、平戸の北方に位置する梶目ノ大嶋で、博多の領主の配下の番士によって捕えられ、数日中に当地に姿を現わすと聞いた。
同月4日 捕えられた宣教師たちが当地へ連行された。彼等は日本風に〔月代を〕剃り日本の衣服を着ていた。彼等の名前は以下の如くである。

ペドロ・マルクス○(略)日本管区長、日本名ト意、ポルトガル人、イエズス会士、七十歳。

アルゴンソ・アロヨ・ファン・アンダルシア、○(略)日本へ渡り棄教、後キリスト教に復し餓死した。イエズス会士、五十一歳。

フランシスコ・カッソラ、ローマ人○日本で棄教し、まもなく死亡した。イエズス会士、四十歳。

ジョゼ・クララ・ファン・シシリア、イタリア人、○シチリアのパレルモ生まれ。日本で棄教し、日本名岡本三右衛門を名乗り、江戸幕府の宗門、改役の配下となり、1685年8月24日(貞享二年七月二十五日)に歿す。

イエズス会士、四十一歳

ラウレンティオ・ピント、長崎生まれの中国人

中国人の父と日葡混血の母の間に生まれた。三十二歳。両親はマカウ在住であるが、今も長崎に多くの友人を持つ。

長崎郊外生まれの日本人、四十二歳○イエズス会士、長崎茂木の生まれ

二十八歳の時ポルトガルのイエズス会に入会した。棄教して南甫と名乗る。

大坂の日本人一名、五十一歳○大坂生まれ、マニラに家を持ち、家族を残して日本に来た。

京の日本人一名、

この三名の人々は今まで二十三年間日本国外に在住していた。

タイナム生まれの青年一名、○日本名弥作、十七歳

カントン生まれの青年一名、○日本名喜作

この十名の人々はすべてキリスト教徒で彼等自身の自由な意志から当地へ来た。彼等は、この度のために買い入れたジャンク船で、中国人及び彼等がプラスと呼ぶ、カンボディアと交趾シナの間のおそらくプロ・セシル・デ・テラ近辺の嶋の住民からなる六十名の水夫とともに、三〇セタエルの日本のスホイト銀及び量目十タエルの金を携えてやって来たが、この資金は、彼の地の住民等が、一行が当地へ向けて出発する際、布施として持たせたものである。そしてジャンク船の一行は陸地を発見するとすぐにこの十名の人々をただ一艘の小形三板船に降ろし、彼等は陸地を目指して漕ぎだした。最初彼等は、人も家畜もないある不毛な無人の小嶋に著いたが、それから別の小嶋に渡った。そこには小家畜と水はあったが、人間は見つからず、三旦三晩過ごした後、再び別の嶋に渡った。その嶋には、最初は気附かなかったが、山の尾根の頂上に一つの小屋即ちあらゆる外国の船、殊にキリスト教徒のカスティリア人やポルトガル人の船を見張る番小屋があるのを見つけた。さらに一人の人間を見つけた。その者は彼等から逃げたが、手招きして呼び戻し、そして、いったい何處の国へ(一行は)来たのかを尋ね、誰から聞いてここが博多領と知ったのかは明かさないという条件の約束をし、スホイト銀二枚を与えた。それから、北へ向かい下関を目指して(大坂、京を経て江戸まで旅しようとの考えであったので)まっすぐ漕ぎ出した。しかし、陸地を離れるやすぐに、先にスホイト銀二枚を与えられた者が番士たちに彼の身に起こったことを告げたので、番士たちは直ちに追跡にかかり、かなり沖まで来て、一行を番士たちの居た梶目ノ大嶋へ連行し、そこから主に陸路で当地まで護送して来たのであった。この功により、番士たちはその領主から莫大な褒美を得るであろう。

7月30日(96頁)

数人のポルトガル人宣教師と彼等の従者、併せて十人余が、海上で博多の番卒に追跡されて捕えられ、長崎に送られたが、同地では既に水責が行なわれ、そして(皇帝から使者が遣わされて)、三日以前に江戸へ護送された。大方の推量するところでは、同地で裁判にかけられるためである、とのこと。

(2) 筑前国続風土記

(前略)

寛永十六年(1639)より以来、国主より島守を置玉ふ、足輕三人、水主四人、大島より役夫二人、凡九人か、はるばる来る、五十日を以て限とす、送りの舟は大島より二艘出す、島に常住の人なし、初て此島に来る人は、先海水に浴し、正三位の社に参り、七日の間毎日一度海水を浴し、第八日に本社にまうづ、足輕水主もおなし、島山高し、其峯三あり、いと高きを一の岳と云、其次二の岳、其次白だけ、

皆岩山なり、一の岳も糟屋郡立花山よりひきし、凡^(低し)
此島山の形状、風景うるはしくして、奇異なる事、他邦におゐて、いまた見さる所也と云、遠く俗塵をはなれたる佳境也、岩そびえ、木しけれり、島のめくり皆大岩也、本社のうちろ左右にも大岩あり、い

つれも見あくる^(見上げる)はかり也、山中雑木大竹多し、松なし、岩間より大竹おひ出たり、山上より封馬、朝鮮見ゆ、東の崎よりは長州見ゆ、田圃は少もなし、大島、金崎、初浦の漁夫、春夏秋の間来りて漁す、其外他方よりは来り漁する事ならず、凡此神の威霊をは衆人甚おそる、靈驗むかしよりしばしば多きよしかたり伝ふ、此島にて忌詞多し、常の詞はけかれなりと云、僧尼、山伏、女人、牛、馬、鹿、鼠などは、皆別名あり、祭の時御饌をそなへし御飯を、後の祭礼の時徹す、其時御飯の変によりて、世の吉凶を占ふ、むかしより三神の御前、一神に各三饌、すへて九饌を備奉るに、各其人に属したるためし有て、天子、將軍、国主、国の大夫、社人の自身、或諸祀家の事に応ず、世に変災なき時はかはる事なし、其人変災有へき時は、其人に当りたる御饌の御飯に変怪あり、或御飯すへてかふろのかみの如く、小児の黒髪のうるはしくおひとゝのへるか如し、或海藻の如く、或黒くくさりて、手にとれば、忽くたけ消ぬ、さまさまの変あり、其変怪あるを見て、其應する所の人の凶をしる、むかしより此ためしたかふ事なく、必しるしありと云、

一此島の竹木土石など取来る事、神のをしみ玉ひて、必災となるよしいひて甚おそる、みたりに島の物

をむさほり取てあらさは、誠に神の崇あるへし、
但正神は俗のいへることくに、鄙吝なる事は有へからず、
一奥津島のまへ廿町許、島の巽の方に、小屋島とて小島あり、高さ水面より七丈、めくり百間許、皆岩也、
一小屋島と奥津島との間、御門柱とて岩二ならび、あたかも神門のことくなるあり、其両間四五間あ

り、本社の方へ向へり、いとことなる所也、
一奥津島の磯に太鼓石とて、大岩海中にさし出たり、夫木の歌によめるは、此所なるへし、荒船に近し、昼夜潮のみち干に、此石にあたりて鳴ひゝく故、太鼓をうつか如し、しほの満干しるゝ也、

顯 伸

たつ波につゝみの音をうちそへて

唐人よせぬおきの島もり

一南方磯の岸の上に亀石あり、大さ方三尺、耳、目、鼻、口、手、足、甲、尾、皆そなはりて、亀の形に似たり、亀瀬海中にあり、
一島守の居る所は海濱に近し、後は岩也、奇石にて畳をつめるか如し、又なれこ石と云石あり、初て此島に来る者は、海水に浴し、夜中に此石の辺をまはる、身の不浄をはらはんかため也、
一此島に船の入所は、島守の居る所の前に、わつかに小舟を一艘こき入ほとあり、あたかも竹生島の神前の如し、左右に背あり、浪あらし、故に漁船など来れば、濱の上に引あげ、岩によせかけてならへおく、
一此島の山中に御麻島とて、一町許諸木不生所有て、草のみ茂れり、
一田島、大島、奥津島の末社は、三所共にみな七十五社、一百八神也、近世は三所共に合せ祭りて、末社の数すくなし、一社に数神をいはひ納む、
一此島にけた物なし、只鼠多し、北土の異邦より渡り来る鳥、先此嶋にて羽をやすむ、蛇、石龍子の類、むかしよりなし、諸鳥時に應して多し、地、さゝえ、淡菜、海藻多し、薪多く大竹あり、

一奥津島の土産(※この項、本によりちがいあり)

黄精 風蘭 沙防風 天南星 大葉麦門冬 風藤 包橘 こば葉似棕櫚幹直 駒鳥多し 鷹 地
(※ 炮 大葉) 淡菜 榮螺 海蝦 黒魚如鯛深黒多脂美味 久魚 阿羅 鱒 鯛 魚師 海鱈
烏蛇在海中

此島奇境なれば、此外異木、異草、薬草など多かるへし、渡りし者見しらされは、其有無しれす、
一荒船御社 奥津島より少し前、荒船と云所あり、船の形なる大岩有、はなれたる小島なり、前に
少入海あり、御手洗と云、此所に不浄の物をすてす、大岩のみ有て、土地なし、波あらし所也、
其内北の方にすこしはなれて、山上に社あり、高大明神と云、是荒船の御社なるへし、

藤 原 輔 相

拾遺第七物名

草も木もみなみとりなるふか芹は

あらふねのみやしらく見ゆらん

3) 沖嶋勤記(『日本庶民生活史料集成』2より)

(※)は傍注文字

「(表紙) 沖嶋詰方心得記 久原」

(本文) 沖嶋勤記

一、福岡乗船致志賀嶋ニテ継立、相嶋ハ船出迎居申候、途中ニテ乗移候儀毎度有之由、以後ハ同嶋
江乗付継立可申事

一、大嶋着御定番衆御名元承置可申事

一、沖嶋御番ハ為遠見被差越置(※候)儀ニ付(※候)条、昼夜無油断見廻り可申、間ニハ神職同様ノ
心得ニテ本文ノ趣ハ取失候モ有之候ト相聞候条、以後急度相改可被申候事

一、異国船漂着有之節ハ速ニ助揚、昼夜代々見守可被致候、尤人質トシテ老人取置、天気快晴次第
付添速ニ大嶋江漕^(送)渡り、同所御定番衆江委細口上書ヲ以相届、引渡可被申候、右ノ事々相済候上
ハ速ニ沖嶋江渡海可被致候事

但、本文ノ趣其節委敷相認、大頭役所小頭中江当名致シ例ノ通継立ヲ以、^(すのこ)簀子町継所ヨリ大
頭役所江相達候様送状差添送出可被申事

一、日本船漂着致候節ハ、天気晴次第出帆可被申付候、尤船損シ乗廻り難相成(出来)節ハ御加子江
申談、大嶋迄漕送ラセ右ノ次第委敷御定番衆江掛合可被申候、御番所明ケ付添参候儀ニテハ無之
候事

一、御番所付御道具并御^(小)木屋付諸道具、毎月現改致、手入等無怠可被致候、尤御鉄砲箱ニ入置、毎
月両度充手入ノ事

一、大嶋ヨリ渡海ノ節、自然風波強相成御扶持方米濡候儀有之節ハ、着ノ上速ニ干立相用可被申候、
近年毎度濡米有之御償ノ^(儀)義被願出候得共、以来ハ右願猥リニ御取用無之候事
子四月

一、唐人船漂着候ハ、速ニ大嶋江漕送り、御定番衆江引渡可被申候事

但、老人付添ニテ行届間舗ト相見込候ハ、兩人ニテモ付添可被申候事

一、御番所嚴重相勤、御鉄^(砲)手入等不怠様被致度事

一、間ニハ御番人ト申儀ヲ取失、神職ノ様ニ相心得被申候人モ有之歟ニ相聞江候、甚以心得違ニ付、
重疊勘弁被至度事

一、御山内竹木猥リニ伐取申間舗事

一、御嶋ノ廻り自然不浄物流寄候ハ、突流シ可被申候、右様ノ物漕^(マツ)余候儀ニテハ有間舗事

一、御番交代ノ節、御道具并御^(小)木屋付諸道具共々受帳相認、交代帰ノ衆ヨリ持参候テ御役所江相納
可被(※申)下候、其節(※予)兼テ差出被置候分引替可被申候事

一、右御道具并諸道具共々損有之候ハ、帰着ノ上損シ^(※分)道具并御役所江致差出置
可被申候、尤自分物ノ分ハ年番江モ同様書付差出置可被申候事

一、詰方ノ内自然病人有之、御番所江難差置容体ニ有之候ハ、大嶋江漕送らせ可被申候、尤其節御番人ヨリ容易ニ付添参候事ニテハ有之間敷候、大島御定番衆江右容体彼是委敷書状ヲ以掛合、御加子ヨリ漕送り候様取計可被申候事

一、御嶋近辺ニ日本舟自然破舟等有之乗組ノ者揚陸致候ハ、其者共国所委敷相調子、舟頭并御加子何人ト申儀ヲ委敷相認、書状ヲ以大嶋御定番衆江漕送ラセ可被申候、尤右漕送リニ相成候テモ、跡御舟乗組人数差支無之様取計置可被申候、勿論御番人ヨリ付添参候^(義)ニテハ無之候事

一、漁人参候節、當時ニテモ交代^(小)木屋ニ召置被申間鋪候事

一、御嶋ノ儀ハ一切御足輕受持ノ儀ニ付、御加子御^(小)木屋損シ所等ノ儀モ手元ヨリ取計ノ事

一、御本社末社鳥居等損シ有之節ハ、其旨書付致シ御嶋神主江通達可被致事
但、爰元江申出有之事ニテハ無之候

御役所

一、毎日毎夜替々沖ヲ見申、不審成船見へ申候ハ、追掛留置大嶋御番所江注進可申事

一、唐人船ノ儀ハ不及申、吉利切支丹船ト知レ申候ハ、則大嶋江連渡海可仕事

一、日本船ニテモ、何トソ不審成様子ニテ御座候ハ、留置早々御注進可申、并御鉄^(砲)三挺持参候ヲ常打申間敷事

右被仰出候通洩断仕間敷候、若不吟味仕候ハ、曲事可被仰付候、為後日書物如件

御足輕

寛文十二年閏六月

小頭中

沖嶋心得書

一、御嶋詰方当込ニ相成申候ハ、早々証拠方江御扶持方米証拠相願可申候

一、乗船証拠ハ、乗船前日御館江罷出、小頭江問合証拠受取、浦役所江持参引替候事

但、福岡湊町熨斗屋・博多市小路町末次両家ノ間ニ引合候テ証拠付、明日何時何方ヨリ致乗船

ト能所ヲ申付、尤風^(波)破強出船不致候ハ、早々相届候様申談置候事

一、風^(波)破強乗船難相成候節ハ、引日大頭(衆)役所御月番并役所江相届候事

但、三人ノ内老人ニテ宜敷、今日沖嶋乗船仕候処、何分風^(波)破ニ付乗船難相成候様、快晴次第ニテ(ハ)乗船仕候様申届候事

一、出船ノ^(後)節、何日何刻ニ致乗船候ト組小頭老人ニテ、御館出日ニ小頭手元へ相届候事

一、御番所障子紙請書法

沖嶋御番所付窓障子共ニ張候四方切受取申事

一、壱帖ハ 四方切

頭書 何某

年号月日

同 右同

同 右同

御役所江当ル

一、大殿様ヨリ御挑灯三張・蠟燭三拾挺御宝納、御買物所引合受取、持人ノ儀ハ触^(狀)丈江間合候事

一、沖嶋居^(小)木屋諸道具損繕且仕替等ノ儀ハ、先番帰ノ面々江引合、其趣前広二年番江申出置候事

一、^(菜種油)辛子油 三升、^(灯心)とふしみ・付木添

^(福岡地行町)右地行住居大原栄吉殿江問合候事

一、御膳六膳 大三膳簀子町 小三膳大工町間 差合無之候、

^(曲物屋)檜物屋江相頼候事

一、相嶋^(継)次船途中ニテ継候事及聞、是は必乗替申間敷候、荷物等落^(コミ)込申候事モ有之由ニ付、同浦ニハ多滞船不致候得共、若風波強渡海難相成候節ハ止宿可致候、茶代等見合遣ハシ候事

一、大嶋着船定番衆両家江届ケ参可申候、尤頭書ノ名札持参袴着用、大官司ノ方江モ参、是ハ頭書ニ不及、名札指出シ候事

一、御供米トシテ河野^(一ノ甲斐河野通次)遠江守殿方江、左ノ通着日宿ヨリ人足ニ持セ可遣候

一、御供米 三升三合

一、御初穂 百五拾銅

右御神納

何の何かし

右同

右同

- 一、大嶋着船翌日ヨリ毎朝海ニ垢離カキニ行候事
- 一、御嶽宮・中津宮・岩瀬御拝所江参詣致候事
- 一、大嶋宿江為土産茶半斤遣シ候事
- 一、大嶋ヨリ御嶋江参人足ノ者、若悪敷者ト見江候ハ、取替候事
 - 但、御嶋江参人足内夫江召仕候間、内夫証拠并薪証拠帰リノ節、書調差出候事
- 一、御嶋江参人足、百日分粮米五斗持参、一日白米五合充、過不足ハ帰リ算用致候事
 - 但、御嶋江出船前少々振廻致候ニ付、其節為土産茶半斤持参可致候事
- 一、御^(神占)上ケ、御加子并船頭同道ニテ、遠江守殿方江参候事
 - 但、老人参、式人ハ荷物等相届(*仕)廻候事
- 一、御嶋江出舟ノ節、神酒壺升并為土産酒式升持参致候事
 - 但、神酒ハ七日過、参詣ノ節ニテ御神前江備ル事
 - 出船ノ節、新着ヨリ振廻致候、船頭一同ニ呼
- 一、御嶋着船ノ節、古詰ヨリ振廻致来リニ候、其心得ニテ福岡ヨリ諸品々用意可致事
- 一、御嶋着翌日朝ヨリ垢離カキ、七日ノ間何方江モ行間鋪候、尤着日ヨリ七日忌明ノ事
 - 一、着日ヨリ七日目忌明ニ付、金蔵ニテ潮花ヲ取左右ノ手ニ握り、御^(小)木屋三度廻、但、丸裸ニ相成候事、右相済御神具并ニ御木屋付諸道具垢離ヲカ、セ候事
- 一、八日目、改身、御^(神津宮)殿・正三位宮・荒船宮三社江御膳上ル、参詣仕候事
 - 御木屋ノ後ノナレコ丸ヤノ上ニ置候事
 - 但、福岡ヨリ頼レ候^(紅皿など)何品ニ不寄、初参詣日ニ御殿江上ル、波ノ花ニテ清メ候事
- 一、御膳日前日、神具金蔵ニテ垢離カ、セ水溜ニテ清メ候事
 - 一、御膳日、御供^(ごく)タキ候ニ、灯^(切火)火ニテタキ申候、尤ゆるり其外波花ニテ清メ候事
- 一、御膳日、一六式日、五節句、毎月十三日ニハ御白粉餅上ル、糯米ヲ少々マセ、ハタキ粉ニシテ小餅程ニ作り、煮^(ず)スニ上候事
 - 但、前日自分垢離ヲカ遣候上ニテ、臼・杵共ニ其外諸道具、金蔵ニテ垢離ヲカ、セ、翌朝作り上ケ候事
- 一、御船式艘ハ
 - 六挺・四挺 小早
 - 朝^(カ)往トモ云、諸事注進船也
- 一、御殿其外、何方ニテモ損所ハ書留置、帰リノ節役所江差出致候
- 一、筑前方渡海船見江候節、夜ニ入候ハ、御山江登り、高キ所ニテ可致建火候事
- 一、四月・十一月、為御祭礼河野遠江守下社家共被致渡海、着ヨリ七日間ハ垢離ヲカキ、八日目御祭礼、其内ハ自分共ヨリ御殿ノ事諸事致候事
 - 一、御祭礼ノ節、垢離ヲカキ、上下着用参詣仕、拝殿ニ相詰ル事
- 一、御初穂 七拾式銅
- 一、御供米 壺升五合
- 一、御万 百五拾膳
- 一、御水曲 壺本竹ニテ作り
 - 但、御祭礼前日上ル、神主渡海有之着船ノ日、御^(小)木屋ニテ出来膳出シ候事
- 一、御膳日、御供盛候節、顔ニ手拭ヲカフリ、眼斗リ出シ、盛上ケ候節モ同様ニ候事
 - 但、御定菜ひじき、御肴さ^(え)び・あわび・めばる、其外キレイ成魚上候事
- 一、御嶋廻り、詰方中堅三度可相廻候事
- 一、御殿初、掃口(除)ハ御加子申合可致候事
 - 一、人足江薪物取ニ遣シ、枯木・枯竹ハカリ取セ候事
- 一、大嶋ヨリ漁船参候節、書物致サセ船頭名元書判取置可申候事
 - 但、漁船参候節ハ、自分共七日参詣遠慮可仕候事

- 一、御番所御道具請帳并御^(小)木屋付受帳損シ差出ハ、御役所小頭江相渡候事
一、年番江ハ持帰りノ損シ物并損シ差出致候事
一、御扶持方上納証抛ハ、罷帰次第早速証抛方江相頼候事
一、福岡表江帰船ノ節、御加子申合、直ニ御役所江相届、只今沖嶋交代何ノ刻ニ着船致候様、忝人罷越相届候事」

「(表紙) 沖嶋御番所江遣置御鉄砲^(ママ) 併 諸道具請帳
(本文)

- 一、三挺 御鉄砲、鉄具共ニ
但、三匁五分
一、三ツ 古留袋、馬皮朱塗
一、三ツ 胴乱、木綿くけ緒共ニ
一、三ツ 同葉入 右同 木綿くけ緒古シ
一、壺ツ 御鉄砲箱 棒共ニ
一、三拾 但、三匁五分
一、六拾目^(ごうやく) 合 薬
一、壺具 鎌
一、壺丁 鉄手子
一、壺丁^(かけやカ) 驍 矢
一、壺丁 唐鍬 せん共ニ
一、三本 鉄熊手但、三ツ熊手柄式間、石突有リ
一、式ツ 御紋付提灯 溜塗金物、棒共ニ
一、壺ツ 右入箱、系^(かけざお) 棹 四間、結縄共
一、八畳 古畳、床八通り、表七嶋^(縁 紺) へりこん
右拾五口
右ノ通槌ニ受取申候、以上

明和四年亥七月

高浜十兵衛
沢木十之進
熊沢十右衛門
小川専左衛門

山岡藤右衛門殿
大森善左衛門殿
皆田藤大夫殿
原吉蔵殿
沢木五郎左衛門殿

天保十二年丑五月十五日

^(ママ)
古賀齊吉
野田恵八

Okinoshima Ritual in the History of Shintō

(oral presentation transcription)

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1. Introduction

In the consideration of Shintō rituals or Shintō-like rituals of pre-Shintō era, it is important to clearly understand who worshipped whom where and how. It is also necessary to understand how that worshipping became a routine practice and ritualized. Then we must explore what conditions were required for the ritualized event to spread to other lands and become a commonly accepted practice. This is the process by which a unique Shintō ritual becomes a standard.

The ritual of Okinoshima is, by some people, said to be a unique *matsuri* (literally, festival) distinctly different from other *matsuri*. However, as Professor SASŌ Mamoru and Mr. SHINOHARA Yūichi mentioned earlier, a good portion of the elements of Okinoshima ritual can be in a sense found in one *matsuri* or another in other parts of Japan. With these two opposing views in mind, let me discuss step by step the position that Okinoshima ritual occupies in the history of Shintō.

2. Mythological Lore about the Beginning of the Ritual

(1) *Amaterasu and Susanowo*

We need to consider why a mythological lore as the one we all know was born.

As you all are very aware, both Kojiki and Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan) say that the three goddesses of Okinoshima were born as a result of the vow of *Amaterasu* and *Susanowo*. Other gods of sea, be it *Ōwadatsumi* or *Tsutsunowo*, are said to have been born when *Izanagi* practiced Misogi (purifying bath) and when he dived deep into the sea, respectively. Why does this difference exist? There would not have been any problems to say that the three goddesses of Munakata were born that way, too. But the lore specifies that they were offspring of *Susanowo*. What are the reasons behind? I don't have exact answers myself. Yet it is very important to remember that these goddesses appear at a point where *Amaterasu* myth and *Susanowo* myth come together, especially at what is believed to be the most critical moment of their encounter. It is equally important to note that the scene heralds the birth of heirs to *Amaterasu*. It could be that this episode was a part of *Susanowo* myth, which was subsequently combined with *Amaterasu* myth.

(2) *Umi-no-Nakamichi*

Another issue is *Umi-no-Nakamichi*. What does it really mean? Does it suffice to say that it means a route (*michi*) in the middle (*naka*) of the sea (*umi*)? My own interpretation is that it should mean a route (*michi*) midway (*naka*) between the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago. There are in fact many issues to consider about this term *Umi-no-Nakamichi*.

There is a passage in Nihonshoki, which was not included in the quotes that Professor SHIRAISHI Taichirō made earlier, that reads: “海の中道に降り居まして、天孫を助け奉り、天孫の為に所祭（いつかれ）よ” (Nihonshoki, aru-fumi (= other documents)). That is: May thee descend upon the *Umi-no-Nakamichi* and be enshrined supremely for the sake of *Sumemima*. This supports the view that this was a kind of god that Yamato court had the responsibility to enshrine. The most basic reason for building shrines and perform *matsuri* at the Izumo Grand Shrine or the so-called Tsuzuki Grand Shrine is to honor the god who agreed to cede the country. In the same token, I believe, Yamato court had the responsibility to enshrine the gods of Munakata, not just those of Okinoshima.

3. Dating and Features of Rituals as Suggested by Archaeological Finds

(1) The triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror

When I touched on this subject in my presentation in Tōkyō, I received a kind of cold look --- well, I should say, attention from everyone. I offered that these mirrors existed already in the 3rd century. That was perhaps due to my rather uncommon way of saying things, but the question that I am really interested in is until what time the so-called triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror were in production. For certain, some of the finds from Okinoshima are rather old, even though they were not really unearthed there. It is also true that some others are fairly new. But the question is: when the production began and when it ended. My view is that the production of those mirrors stopped by the early 4th century at the latest. The triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror that was unearthed at the Kambarajinja mounded tomb in Izumo has an inscription “The 3rd year of Keisho.” It does not appear to belong to so old a group of such mirrors. If you look at this and other like mirrors, you find that the inscribed era names are Keisho and Shōshi. These era names are those of Wei Dynasty (China, Three Kingdoms period, 220–265) and were used in Japan because of its feudal status to Wei Dynasty. Apparently, the mirrors were made by people who knew or remembered the Wei Dynasty era. It is hard to imagine that someone would have produced a Wei Dynasty mirror even after the state of Wei Dynasty had disappeared in the 3rd century. At least, production in significant scale must have ceased by then. This makes me believe that the triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors were all made in Japan. Whether I am right or not, this is my view. I have the impression that Professor SHIRAISHI dates the Okinoshima ritual to somewhat an earlier time. I too believe it is fair to assume that the ritual began already in the 3rd century.

And we should look at it from another angle, that is, the relations with Paekche and with Silla during the decade of 360s A.D. I think that that time period was very important. The ritual may well have begun in that time period, but I am inclined to believe that it began somewhat earlier. And there is the issue of relationship between the two titles, Oka-no-Agatanushi (governor of Oka municipality) and Munakata-no-Kimi (leader of Munakata Clan). I will touch on this later, but at any rate, I have the view that it is correct to assume the first ritual took place already in the 3rd century.

(2) Kantō-tachi (ring-headed long sword)

Continuing on the topic of archaeological artifacts, I have the feeling that there should have been more Kantō-tachi long swords discovered, if the relations with Silla were truly very strong. Indeed, metal fractions of the head of a Kabutsuchi-tachi long sword were unearthed. There was a crystal Miwadama, though it may be newer, and there were a twisted metal piece and others. So, I think it is for certain that there were Japan-made tachi long swords. But it is hard to understand why Kantō-tachi long swords are too few and hardly inexistent. Perhaps this was due to looting. I don’t believe that what we can see today are all the artifacts of Okinoshima that were once there. It is said that they have been well kept because it was an island of god. But it may not be an exaggeration to say about a half of the original artifacts is gone. Kantō-tachi, from that perspective, is highly visible, and I tend to believe that it was inevitable that much has been lost.

(3) Faceted glass beads

Mr. SHINOHARA reported on stone artifacts a short while ago. With regard to jewels, I should mention the faceted glass beads as they pertain to my earlier report on cut glass bowls. They are not really very old, probably of the same time period as those decorating the crown of Fukū-Kenjaku-Kannon (amogha paaza) statue that sits in Sangatsudō of Tōdai-ji Temple. I wish I were given an opportunity to compare them even only for dating purposes. I trust the crown has been removed temporarily from the head and can be seen from a closer distance at an exhibition now. Anyway, that’s one example. I do not believe there are so many around the country.

(4) Did Peninsula items enter directly into Munakata?

Among them are the golden ring and some others that are said to be definitely made in the Korean Peninsula. The question is that, were they brought first to Yamato and then transported to Munakata, or

were they directly unloaded on Okinoshima? For instance, there is the issue of the weaver from Wu. Was she first taken to Yamato and then came back to Kyūshū? Or was she on the way to Yamato when the god of Munakata wanted her and kept her. I think it is necessary to review how the archaeological finds have travelled including the question of the transfer of the weaver.

4. Reconstruction of Rituals as Estimated from the Archaeological Sites

(1) Where did the rituals take place?

How did the ritual sites look like? That question translates itself, as Mr. SHINOHARA and Professor SASŌ mentioned earlier, into the question of how *matsuri* was performed. Everyone went to Okinoshima, did *matsuri*, made offerings and came back. This could well have been the case. But if we assume all events took place on the island of Okinoshima, questions remain: where in Okinoshima the ritual was performed, and did the people not move to anywhere else after the ritual? At Sites 7, 8 and 6, you can get a fairly large space if you cut down trees. But at other sites, it would be extremely difficult to do rituals. Site 21, which was mentioned earlier, is particularly questionable in this respect. It's a very large rock, so maybe ten people or so may stay atop. However, did they really perform *matsuri* on top of a rock? I am rather skeptic. And I am one of those who do not agree to the hypothesis of one site-one *matsuri*. I would like to believe that a same site was used for a number of times, and even if there were offerings left on the spot from a previous ritual, *matsuri* may have been performed without removing them or new offerings may have been donated as additions. So, I believe it is important to look closely at the exact way by which *matsuri* was performed.

And as it pertains to sites of Okinoshima, one question needs to be answered; why the offerings were made to those particular locations on the island. As Mr. SHINOHARA was mentioning, the place of worship was called “*Kura*” and the offerings could well have been made underwater, because it was a sea site. However precious the offerings may have been, they could have been thrown into the water for the purposes of *matsuri*. I would like to just point out that throwing offerings into the sea is not an uncommon form of worshipping.

(2) The number of ritual participants

This is a question of how many people went up there. Once I wrote a paper about the archaeological site on the top of Mt Nantaisan in Nikkō. There are reasons to believe that the *matsuri* there was performed at the mountain foot in the plains with a large number of people participating. The offering was brought to the mountain top and buried by only a handful of people, it is considered. Perhaps, *matsuri* of a kind may have been performed up there, but *matsuri* for a large group of people must have been performed at a more appropriate place, maybe the very location in Tajima. We need to keep thinking about this question.

5. Importance of *Matsuri* in the Context of Okinoshima's Geographical Location

Ritual community

Now, I would like to turn to the topic of *Umi-no-Nakamichi*. As the term “Michinushi-no-Muchi” (literal translation: supreme god of traffic route) implies, the sea traffic across the Genkai Sea was extremely important. As Professor SHIRAISHI mentioned, there is little doubt that the Iki-Tsushima Route was, as the descriptions of “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” (*gishi wajinden*) suggest, the major safe route used by many people. In the long past, I used to say, well that's so long ago that I don't say it any more, that the so-called Shimonoseki-Busan Ferry Route that Professor SHIRAISHI also mentioned, was a military route. One thing to note is the cession by Oka-no-Agatanushi of *Nashio-no-Tokoro* (literal translation: Place of Fish and Salt) that is recorded in Chuai-Ki. Munakata Clan does not appear at all in this episode. In the story, Oka is followed by Ito. And to what area does *Nashio-no-Tokoro* refer to? Some believe it covers a big area while others believe it meant a more specific location. I believe it refers to the entire Genkai Sea. The eastern end is the western part of Yamaguchi Prefecture and the western end is the Owatari Channel between Iki and Tsushima, in other words, the Iki-Tsushima line. I am of the view that

this extensive zone was ceded by the Oka-no-Agatanushi. And so my hypothesis is that: the Oka-no-Agatanushi was a member of the group which was responsible for *matsuri* in Okinoshima or of Munakata and by agreeing to make the cession the leader of Munakata Clan established himself as leader of a ritual community around the time of Chuai-Ki, as, if my memory serves, Mr. SHINOHARA or Professor SASŌ once wrote in his paper. I believe that was the process by which Munakata Clan came to rise as a ritual community. This also underlines the importance of the decade 360s A.D. So, ritual community is another important issue.

6. Continuity of Rituals to the Present Day

Now, I should stress the significance of the uninterrupted continuity of *matsuri* of Okinoshima to the present day. The ritual has been performed based on the mythological lore that I have referred to, and we have a good degree of understanding about the ritual in the old times from the archaeological artifacts and other evidences. What is more amazing and significant about the Okinoshima ritual is the fact that the ritual has been passed down over centuries and is still being practiced now. In the Seto Inland Sea there are some islands that have archaeological ritual sites. But the question is: have they preserved the ritual? The answer is that hardly any of them have. On the island of Takashima, Okayama Prefecture, there stands a shrine on the coast. Apparently the faith has not died down, if you put it that way. But it is extremely difficult to demonstrate the continuity of the ritual there. Anyway, this Takashima Island was a landmark for gateway to Kojima Bay in old days. There are huge rocks on the mountain top, which must have been quite visible from ships at sea. The shrine is called Takashima Myōjin. It is truly noteworthy that the faith has continued. In the same vein, the Tajima Shrine in Yobuko is equally important as the Shrine in Tajima, Munakata. That having been said, I must emphasize that the land of Munakata is quite unique in that it has preserved the ritual of Kofun Period down through the medieval and modern ages to the present day, even if it may have received some influence from the Ritsuryō rituals.

Characteristics of Japanese rituals

I think *matsuri* in Japan differs somewhat from those in other countries. I think no other countries around the world have *matsuri* that is more concerned with food than Japanese *matsuri*. Granted, food is a very important element in some *matsuri* in Southeast Asia. But food offerings, that is, what the god eats, take up a very important position in Japanese *matsuri*. My interpretation is that we the Japanese look at gods as beings very close to us humans. I think this is the biggest reason. When we can eat lots of good food, we become happy and generous to others. When our appetite is satisfied, we say yes to someone's request. In our basic thinking, god is perceived that way. A god must be well-fed if we want to have our wishes made come true. That's why we the Japanese make food offerings.

From this perspective, I think it very important to investigate how much food, the divine food, was offered in the Okinoshima ritual, even though it was inevitable that the earthenware has been removed and disappeared over time. I mean, it is not so simple to reconstruct an ancient *matsuri* because one must also give thoughts to post-*matsuri* matters such as the fate of the offerings and cleaning of the ritual site. For that process of reconstruction, Okinoshima ritual of Munakata stands as an excellent example, a representative uninterrupted model of Japanese Shintō, or rather, pre-Shintō rituals. To be exact, Munakata was much earlier than the term Shintō became established as the name of an institutionalized religion. It's really hard to verify continuity even in the case of well-known shrines. For instance, stone replicas have been unearthed at the Ise Shrine. But even though there have been finds unearthed, it is difficult to substantiate the continuity of the ritual archaeologically, if assumed philologically. The Kamo Shrine I alluded to earlier is of course another example. Famous old shrines in Japan mostly own stone replicas of ritual artifacts from the 4th or 5th century. However, it is only Okinoshima for which we can say for sure that these old ritual items have clear linkages with the ritual being performed today. So far, I have looked at the issue of Okinoshima ritual from various angles. We need to continue our study, entertaining many hypotheses and ideas. And we need to be as specific as possible. For example, if the Munakata Clan was indeed a ritual community, then we must address the question: what were the specific instructions for the ritual that must have been received from the imperial court.

It's three o'clock now. So, I stop here. (Note: This is a transcription of the presentation made at the 5th Experts Meeting on Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region.)

The Yamato Kingly Power and Rituals on Okinoshima Island

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Abstract: It has been pointed out since early that state-related rituals on Okinoshima Island were performed under the participation of the Yamato kingly power (*yamato ōken*). However in the past, it is conventionally considered that the Yamato kingly power was established at the beginning of 4th century and advanced into the Kyūshū region in the first half of the century and further into the Korean peninsula in the second half of the century. It is also conventionally considered that rituals were intended to pray for a safe voyage following the advance of the Yamato power. However, it is conceivable that the establishment of the Yamato power dates back to the mid-3rd century, while it is hardly conceivable that the Land of Wa (*wakoku*) autonomously advanced into the Korean peninsula in the second half of the 4th century. This is because it is presumable that Paekche (Baekje) intended to tie up friendly relations with the Land of Wa against Koguryo (Koguryō, Goguryeo) advancing into the southern part of the peninsula in the second half of the 4th century and then the Land of Wa dispatched troops to the peninsula at the request of Koguryo. Rituals on Okinoshima Island may have been launched concurrently with the dispatch. It seems that rituals were actually undertaken by the Munakata forces, yet in the Munakata region, large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound were constructed one after another especially from the second half of the 5th century to the 6th century. This suggests that the Munakata forces played a major role also in the negotiations between Wa and Korea.

Keywords: Okinoshima ritual site, three goddesses of Munakata, Yamato kingly power, Wa-Korea negotiation route, large keyhole-shaped tombs, Munakata clan, Minuma-no-Kimi, Paekche (Baekje), Silla, Koguryo (Koguryō, Goguryeo), Japanese envois to the Tang Dynasty

1. Introduction

Such a notion has been already proposed very early that rituals or the *kami* worship at Okinoshima, a solitary island in the Genkai Sea were not executed solely by a local powers in northern Kyūshū but at a state level in connection with external negotiations conducted by the Yamato polity (*yamato seiken*) or Yamato kingly power (*yamato ōken*). This notion is derived from the results of archaeological investigations into ritual sites at Okinoshima which started in 1954 as well as philological study which indicates the important position in the myths of the *kojiki* and *nihonshōki* of the three goddesses of Munakata as objects of worship at the Munakata Shrine and worshipping Okinoshima as Okitsu-Miya.

In the report of the Series 1 investigation of the Okinoshima ritual site carried out from 1954 to 1955, it is noted that rituals can be considered to have a state-related character, judging from the presence of a variety of imported objects, including Silla type horse trappings and cut glass and moreover Tang Dynasty three-colored glazed ware (*tōsansai*) [Munakata Shrine Revival Association, 1958]. In the report of the Series 2 investigation carried out from 1957 to 1958, the discovery of gorgeous votive offerings, including many bronze mirrors dating back in the second half of the 4th century at site no. 17 on Okinoshima is considered to show that rituals were established not only with the support of a local force but also as for state deities of “the Yamato court” (*yamato chōtei*) [Munakata Shrine Revival Association, 1961].

Moreover, in the report of the Series 3 investigation carried out from 1969 to 1971, the results of three excavations at Okinoshima are summarized together with a comprehensive study based on the history of foreign negotiations conducted by ancient Japan. The report presents such a view that the establishment of rituals on Okinoshima in the second half of the 4th century was initiated by the Yamato polity which embarked on close foreign negotiations with Paekche and other kingdoms on the Korean peninsula. Moreover, it is pointed out that the discontinuance of Japanese envois to the Tang Dynasty may be considered to be a reason why the rituals came to end toward the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century. This very clearly leads to such a notion that Okinoshima was the very site of state-related

rituals connected with foreign negotiations by the Yamato polity or the ancient Ritsuryō state [Series 3 Okinoshima Scientific Investigation Team, 1979].

These opinions of the people concerned with this Series 3 investigation about the fundamental character of the Okinoshima rituals have been subsequently passed on to many researchers whether in archaeology or history which is based on written documents. Those are opinions formed on the basis of the results of three series of investigations carried out at Okinoshima more than 40 years ago from 1954 to 1971. Needless to say, we should respect the conclusions of the people in charge because they are based on the results of very significant on-site investigations. Since then, however, remarkable progress has been made in 40 years up to now in archaeological research concerning the Kofun period and the connections with the Korean peninsula in those days and ancient history research based on written records relevant to the process of forming the Yamato kingly power (*yamato ōken*) and their foreign negotiations. For example, it is conventionally considered that the emergence of the standard type of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound (*teikeika zenpō kōen fun*) and the establishment of the Yamato polity (*yamato seiken*) or Yamato kingly power (*yamato ōken*) as their background date back to the last third of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century. In recent years, however, there is an increase in the number of researchers who seek their establishment in or after the middle third of the 3rd century.

If we take these recent findings of Japanese archaeological and ancient history research into consideration, how can we interpret the relation between Okinoshima rituals and the Yamato kingly power? It seems that we do not need to change the fundamental notion that Okinoshima rituals were connected with foreign negotiations conducted by the Yamato polity or the Yamato kingly power. However, it is rational to discern difference in the understanding of Okinoshima rituals, especially their establishment according to the stage of the research. In the older research literature, the Yamato kingly power was considered to have been established in the 4th century, while at the present stage, researchers seek the date of establishment in the middle third of the 3rd century. It seems that the results of recent studies enable us to clarify the fundamental character of Okinoshima rituals more clearly. From this point of view, the author will re-examine anew the relation between Okinoshima rituals and the Yamato power, especially the Yamato kingly power in consideration of recent progresses in the history research of ancient Japan.

The author distinguishes “the Yamato polity” (*yamato seiken*) from “the Yamato kingly power” (*yamato ōken*). As a result of progress in the post-war Japanese archaeological research, the Kofun period has come to be understood as an period during which political heads across the Japanese archipelago except for the northern and southern parts formed an alliance of the heads on the initiative of great chiefs of Yamato and Kawachi located in the central part of the Kinki region. In this respect, it seems that this nationwide political alliance itself should be distinguished from a political force in the central part of the Kinki region, which was later called Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Kyōto and Nara: Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi). From this standpoint, the author would like to declare at first that he calls the former alliance of the heads “the Yamato polity” and the later force “the Yamato kingly power” that took the leadership in the alliance [SHIRAISHI 1999].

2. Existing Theories about the Relation between Okinoshima Rituals and the Yamato Kingly Power

First of all, let us take a glance into theories about the relation between Okinoshima rituals and the Yamato kingly power which have been proposed on the basis of the results of the Okinoshima ritual site investigations carried out after the end of World War II.

The Series 1 investigation from 1954 to 1955 was a full-scale survey conducted for the first time with regard to the distribution of the gigantic rock group near Okitsu-Miya of the Munakata Shrine located halfway up the south slope of Okinoshima Island and ritual sites around the rocks and accompanied by the excavation of sites no. 4, 7, 8 and 16. Various votive offerings were discovered at these sites. In particular, at site no. 7 dating back in the first half of the 6th century, pieces of Iranian cut glass and splendid gilt bronze horse trappings seemingly made in Silla were excavated together with a mirror with an inner field of pearl relief design (*shumon kyō*) and a gold finger ring and moreover, pieces of Tang Dynasty three-colored glazed ware were also discovered in the western part of the site. In the report, KAGAMIYAMA Takeshi

who headed the investigation team made the following remarks based on the excavation of objects seemingly of Silla lineage, including the gold finger ring and gilt bronze horse trappings etc. as follows:

“Turning to history books, we can find many articles on conflict and dispute with Silla in the time called the Late Kofun period. If we consider relics at Okinoshima in view of such historical disputes, a simple idea will come across our mind that they were trophies or objects to pray for victory. However, this interpretation needs to be closely examined. If anything, we would like to derive an unrecorded aspect of cultural exchange from the tense international relationships with Silla. (Passages omitted.) Although it is not a relationship limited to one kingdom on the peninsula from which culture spread widely from the west, the position of Silla will have a subtle effect on the consideration of the route through. Despite being unfortunately broken into small pieces, glass vessels are also relics which can link us to the west as objects discovered in the Silla mounded tombs give us a precious connecting link.”

He suggests that culture from the west was accepted via Silla. Looking at the whole picture it appears appropriate that we do not necessarily have to consider rituals in connection with war against Silla. Moreover, he points out a possibility of state-related rituals on Okinoshima stating as follows:

“As time passes, pieces of Tang Dynasty three-colored glazed ware are also notable imported objects. These relics are also found although rarely in the Japanese mounded tombs. Judging from abundant ritual objects on Okinoshima, it is presumable that the character of the rituals is not a privilege exclusive to northern Kyūshū gained through unique circumstances there, it bears a state-related coloring.” [KAGAMIYAMA 1958]

In Series 2 investigation subsequently conducted from 1957 to 1958, sites no. 17, 18 and 19 were investigated around the huge rock “I”, the highest place inside the gigantic rock group at the Okinoshima ritual site. Among these sites, no. 17 as well as no. 18 are the oldest of the group of Okinoshima ritual sites and various objects were discovered there, including 21 bronze mirrors. They are common to grave goods of the Early Kofun period. In the report, HARADA Dairoku in charge of the analysis of the excavated mirrors comments about the group of bronze mirrors found at site 17 as follows:

“(Passages omitted.) Who undertook this offering then? (Passages omitted.) These things may have been en bloc offered from a certain region. If we regard a powerful clan in Kyūshū as an entity which offered en bloc 21 mirrors and other objects, what will turn out? As many as 21 bronze mirrors have not been found together buried in any of the graves of the mounded tombs (*kofun*) dating back to Early Kofun period culture in Kyūshū, though it may be possible in the case of the Yayoi culture. The highest number of mirrors is 14 found in Buzen-ishizuka-yama tomb. (Passages omitted.) Not even one of the mirrors of Class A found at site 17 on Okinoshima is reported to be found in Kyūshū. Guessing from mirrors of the same type and similar ones found in Kinai, it is presumable that there was no power other than the Yamato court in Kinai that could offer so many things.” [HARADA 1961]

KAGAMIYAMA Takeshi who headed the investigation team also summarized as follows:

“It could be understood that the rituals of the Munakata deities were established not only in the context of a local independent force but also for state deities of the Yamato court.” He understands that the Munakata deities themselves are state deities of the Yamato kingly power [KAGAMIYAMA 1961].

Finally, in the Series 3 investigation conducted from 1969 to 1971, sites no. 1, 4, 5, 6, 18, 20, 21 and 22 were investigated. In this investigation, plenty of gorgeous offerings were excavated at site no. 5, including gilt bronze dragon heads and Tang Dynasty three-colored glazed ware. But more important is that the investigations of site no. 7 (7th century) and site no. 1 (8th to 9th century) revealed the continuation of rituals at Okinoshima sites from the Asuka to the Nara period and until the beginning of the Heian period and the actual condition of ritual sites and artifacts in these periods. In the report containing these results of the Series 3 investigation along with those of the first and second one, OKAZAKI Takashi, chief of the investigation undertook a summary evaluation of the Okinoshima ritual sites. It is pointed out in the report that rituals on Okinoshima started from a stage classified as rituals on top of a rock exemplified by sites no. 17 and 18 around huge rock “I”. This phase began in the second half of the 4th century equal to a new phase of the Early Kofun period featured by bracelet-shaped stone objects composed of hoe-shaped

(*kuwagataishi*), wheel-shaped (*sharinseki*) and ring-shaped (*ishikushiro*) stone (steatite) bracelets as well as triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (*bōsei sankakubuchi shinjūkyō*). Tracing the Japanese history of foreign exchange back to the 4th century, he indicates that overseas connections with the southern part of the Korean peninsula including Paekche triggered the start of Japan's external exchange. The Yamato polity that launched close negotiations with Paekche in the second half of the 4th century needed the cooperation of fishing people in Munakata and "Munakata-no-Kimi", a powerful clan. Therefore, he continues that the Yamato polity began to worship with new rituals and offerings to the Munakata deities that had been "deities worshiped by Munakata-no-Kimi in Tsukushi". He considers that such a relationship between the Yamato polity and the Munakata deities continued even during and after their exchange with the Southern Dynasties in the "five kings of Wa" period of the 5th century.

Moreover, examining the role of the Munakata deities in the Ritsuryō period, OKAZAKI Takashi reasons that they played a certain role in the dispatch of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and negotiations with the unified Silla. Referring to site no. 1, the latest of Okinoshima ritual sites in the second half of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century and the end, he points out that the discontinuance of the state level Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty is one of possible reasons for the discontinuation of state-related rituals on Okinoshima.

The general examination and evaluation of Okinoshima ritual sites by OKAZAKI Takashi in the Series 3 investigation report is critically important. In the preceding first and second reports, the assumption that rituals on Okinoshima were state-related ones held by the Yamato polity was merely a product of the qualitative and quantitative evaluation of gorgeous imported objects and bronze mirrors dedicated to Okinoshima. On the contrary, OKAZAKI specifically places the processes of establishing, developing and discontinuing Okinoshima rituals in the Japanese history of external negotiations in the period of 4th to 9/10th centuries and clearly highlights the important role of Okinoshima rituals in the history of external negotiations by the Yamato polity and the Ritsuryō state.

With regard to the roles of the Munakata deities and Okinoshima rituals in the dispatch of Japanese envoys to the Tang Dynasty among others considered by OKAZAKI. As OKADA Seishi points out, at the beginning of the 8th century, the route of the Japanese envoy was changed from north to south and envoy ships stopped passing by Okinoshima Island. If this is taken into account, it will be hard to consider that special rituals were performed at Okinoshima in connection with the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty until the discontinuance [OKADA 1985]. Moreover, it can hardly be evaluated that among other deities throughout the Japanese archipelago, including the Ise Grand Shrine, the Munakata deities played a major role, such as action against Silla pirates. There is still a question about the evaluation of the Munakata deities to be considered. Nevertheless, as far as the state-related character of Okinoshima rituals at least in the stage of the Kofun period is concerned, it may be said that its evaluation has been affirmed by the Series 3 investigation report based on the results of the first and second investigations. In particular, as for the inception of Okinoshima rituals which can be gathered from Paekche-related historical records cited in the section of the time of Empress Jingū in the *Nihonshoki*, should it not be highly evaluated that he clearly points out the relevance to the establishment of diplomatic relations with Paekche in the second half of the 4th century?

A monograph entitled "Rituals on Okinoshima Island in Ancient Japan" written by INOUE Mitsusada specializing in the philological study of Japanese ancient history in 1978 was published about one year before the publication of the Series 3 investigation report [INOUE 1978]. Prior to writing it, however, INOUE received some advice and instructions YUBA Tadanori with regard to the results of the investigation and how the study team understood the results of the investigation [INOUE 1978] YUBA participated in the Series 3 investigation and the compilation of the report. Therefore, the monograph tells us how a researcher of ancient history based on written records understood the standpoint OKAZAKI Takashi who placed Okinoshima rituals in the history of external exchange by the Yamato polity based on the results of the Okinoshima ritual site investigations. In the monograph INOUE attempted several examinations of many problems raised by the results of the investigation from a philological point of view. A question, among others, in which INOUE had the highest interest is whether "Ritsuryō rituals" or their precursory form can be considered to already have resided in the third stage of the Okinoshima rituals. Despite being extremely interesting, this question will not be examined here because it is not directly

relevant to this paper “The Yamato Kingly Power and Rituals on Okinoshima Island”.

INOUE argues as follows:

“The Yamato kingly power put northern Kyūshū under its control at latest at the beginning of the 4th century and expanded its power to southern Korea for iron resources from the middle third of the century on. The cultural expression of their power is the kofun culture, which emerged in Kinai at the beginning of the 4th century and gradually expanded to Kyūshū extensively and deeply throughout the 4th century. The Yamato kingly power’s control penetrated into Kyūshū and expanded to southern Korea. Is this situation itself not a real historic background of the fact that the Yamato kingly power came to take a hand in Munakata rituals which had been primarily performed by a local powerful clan in Tsukushi? When the Yamato kingly power embarked on advancing into southern Korea from the base in northern Kyūshū, the safety of voyage from Japan to Korea necessarily became a main problem. Then, we can find it significant to prove archaeologically the participation of the Yamato kingly power in rituals on Okinoshima at latest at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century.”

As clearly shown in the above-mentioned excerpt, the notion that the Yamato kingly power started advancing into northern Kyūshū at the beginning of the 4th century was based on the results of archaeological research in those days with regard to the establishment of mounded tombs and their transmission to the east and the west. In the archaeological circles in the 70s, KOBAYASHI Yukio’s view became almost an established theory that the emergence of mounded tombs could date back to the beginning of the 4th century or at earliest the last third of the 3rd century [KOBAYASHI 1961]. It need hardly be said that INOUE accepted this theory in understanding the establishment and development of the Yamato kingly power. INOUE understands that the Yamato kingly power was probably established toward the last third of the 3rd century and advanced into northern Kyūshū at the beginning of the 4th century and further into the southern part of the Korean peninsula for iron resources in the second half of the century. At that stage, the Yamato kingly power prayed for the safety of voyage to the Korean peninsula and came to take a hand in rituals on Munakata Okinoshima Island which had been primarily local rituals of a powerful clan in Tsukushi. This understanding was not limited to INOUE Mitsusada himself but common to many researchers of ancient history. It is probably a natural conclusion as far as the emergence of mounded tombs is understood in connection with the establishment of the Yamato kingly power and people accept the results of archaeological research showing the emergence of mounded tombs in northern Kyūshū at the beginning of the 4th century.

Earlier than INOUE’s monograph, UEDA Masaaki specializing in ancient history based on written records published a book “The Century of the Great Kings”. In this book, he expressed his own opinion about the character of Okinoshima rituals from a slightly different point of view than INOUE [UEDA 1973]. UEDA clearly recognizes the dual aspects of three goddesses of Munakata, namely goddesses with an intrinsic character deified by the Munakata clan and goddesses to pray for voyages made by the central power. However, he argues that “the remains on Okinoshima are no more than ritual sites and cannot be regarded as a military base for sending troops to Korea.” As the goddess of “*Kaihokudōchū*”, Okinoshima has many objects of Korean peninsula lineage, which “tell us that not only the course from Japan to Korea but also the course from Korea to Japan were swirling.” He suggests such a possibility that rituals were also performed upon the voyage from Korea to Japan. It is certain that relics on Okinoshima include weapons, defensive equipment and weapon-shaped ritual utensils, which are, however, not excellent compared with ritual sites in this time across Japan but rather low in relative importance. His argument seems to be important as a criticism against such an illogical interpretation that rituals which have survived up to now on Okinoshima are regarded as sites of military rituals accompanying the dispatch of troops to Korea.

INOUE Mitsusada understands Okinoshima rituals in connection with the advance of the Yamato kingly power into the Korean peninsula after the second half of the 4th century. On the contrary, OKAZAKI Takashi points out the start of close exchange between the Land of Wa and Paekche in the second half of the 4th century according to the section of the time of Empress Jingū in the *Nihonshoki* and the inscription on the seven-branched sword (*shichishitō*) in the report of the Series 3 investigation introduced earlier in this paper. He indicates that the inception of rituals on Okinoshima is concurrent with the start of those exchanges. As a prerequisite for the start, OKAZAKI understands that the 4th century was a chaotic time following the southward advance of northern horse-riding people, during which the exchanges between the

Land of Wa and the Wei Dynasty and the Daifang Commandery of the Jin Dynasty seen in the 3rd century were completely broken off. According to OKAZAKI, exchanges with Paekche as an emerging force became possible for the first time in the second half of the 4th century. They had the same significance as former exchanges with the Daifang Commandery and indispensable for securing iron resources and advanced technology and culture. It is difficult to bring the start of those exchanges forward to the first half of the 4th century when chaotic times prevailed on the Korean peninsula.

In other words, whereas INOUE Mitsusada emphasized such an internal situation that the Yamato kingly power was established, expanded to northern Kyūshū and advanced into the Korean peninsula iron resources, OKAZAKI put emphasis on external changes in international circumstances in a broad perspective of changes in Asian circumstances where external exchanges became possible in the second half of the 4th century. Under such objective circumstances, it was considered to be essential for the Yamato kingly power to secure the cooperation of the Munakata clan. However, he does not necessarily clarify why it was the Munakata clan that the Yamato kingly power chose from among other forces, such as Ito and Na in the western part of the Genkai Sea that took the initiative in foreign exchanges in the Yayoi period. He does not necessarily explain clearly what momentum made the Land of Wa resume exchanges with the Korean peninsula in that period.

ODA Fujio who participated in all three investigations on Okinoshima compiled a book entitled “Thinking about Ancient Times – Okinoshima Island and Rituals in Ancient Japan” in 1988. In this book, he wrote an essay “*Kaihokudōchū* – The Continent and Okinoshima Rituals [ODA 1988]. ODA, like OKAZAKI Takashi, referring to the inscription on seven-branched sword and the section of the time of Empress Jingū in the *Nihonshoki*, emphasizes that diplomatic relations with Paekche were launched in the second half of the 4th century and the intervention of the Wa polity into the Three Kingdoms (*sangoku*) conflict was made known. Then, taking into consideration the inception of Okinoshima rituals in that period, he argues as follows:

“Intrinsically, three goddesses of Munakata were local ones for voyages administered by the Munakata clan. In the second half of the 4th century, however, when the Yamato (Wa) polity began to intervene into the military conflict on the peninsula, frequent traffic via the “Kaihokudōchū” route was suddenly highlighted. Then, “Kinai-type rituals” (state-related rituals) were established with the support of the Wa polity.”

In the 5th century when five kings of Wa reigned, he continues:

“The safety of voyage was not secured unless they ask for a divine message from the goddesses upon the dispatch of troops to the peninsula”; and therefore

“Concerning the diplomacy of the Yamato polity the establishment of a status as important state deities”

Moreover, he argues that the end of Okinoshima rituals can be understood in connection with the discontinuance of Japanese envois to the Tang Dynasty.

Thus, among researchers in archaeology and ancient history who considered the character of Okinoshima rituals based on the results of the scientific investigations on Okinoshima carried out in three stages, it was fundamentally the general understanding of the character, in spite of more or less difference in a subtle nuance that state-related rituals were performed to pray for the safety of voyage along with the advance of the Yamato kingly power into the Korean peninsula that started in the second half of the 4th century. Among them, more attention should be paid to the opinion of UEDA Masaaki who pointed out the risk of regarding ritual sites merely as military ones for the dispatch of troops to ancient Korea.

In the foregoing paragraphs, the author has introduced various theories about the relation between Okinoshima rituals and the Yamato kingly power proposed until the 1980s by researchers in archaeology and ancient history. Contrary to the conventional notion of the fundamental character of Okinoshima rituals, if we review the relation between Okinoshima rituals and the Yamato kingly power based on the remarkable development of mounded tombs and the results of archaeological research on that time, how can we understand it? In the following, the author would like to state his own view of this matter.

3. Re-examination of the Formation Phase of the Okinoshima Rituals

As for the *iwakura* (the “rock-abode” or dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily) group consisting of huge rocks in the periphery of Okitsu-Miya of the Munakata Shrine located halfway up the south slope of Okinoshima Island and ancient rituals executed around them, the outline of them has been almost clarified as a result of the scientific investigations carried out in three stages from 1954 to 1971. The results of the investigations showed the transformation of rituals on Okinoshima in four stages: i.e., rituals on top of rocks in the first stage; rituals in the shade of a rock in the second stage; rituals performed partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air in the third stage; and rituals in the open air in the fourth stage. At ritual sites in the first stage, objects common to grave goods found in mounded tombs dating from the 4th to 5th centuries were excavated, including bronze mirrors, beads, bracelet-shaped stone objects, iron weapons, agricultural tools etc.. In the second stage, besides accessories and horse trappings common to grave goods in Late Kofun period, iron miniatures (*hinagata*) and soft stone imitations of objects (*sekisei mozōhin*) etc. were also added to the ritual objects. Moreover, in the third stage, a large quantity of pottery for rituals appeared, while ritual paraphernalia like metal miniatures such as of spinning and weaving tools and weapons etc. sharply increased. In addition to these, Eastern Wei Dynasty style gilt bronze dragon heads and bottle-shaped vases with long neck of Tang-Dynasty three-colored glazed ware (*tōsansai chōkeihei*) were also offered. In the fourth stage, metal miniatures and pottery for rituals were accompanied by small jars of Nara three-colored glazed ware (*narasansai*), bronze mirrors, bronze bells, coins etc. and moreover as of a large number of ritual objects unique to Munakata like steatite (soapstone) representations of objects (*katashiro*), such as the human figure, horses, ships, comma-shaped beads (*magatama*) etc..

Judging from those relics, rituals performed on top of rocks in the first stage date from the second half of the 4th century to the 6th century. The second stage, which was initially considered to be centered in the 6th century, can be probably judged to date back to the 5th or 6th century or partially the 7th century according to the today’s chronology. Moreover, it is presumable that the third stage conventionally considered to have emerged in the 7th century lasted from the second half of the 7th century to the 8th century, while the fourth stage lasted from the 8th to the 9th or 10th century. Apparently, the transformation process of the ritual forms seen at Okinoshima ritual sites tells us that they started with rituals performed on top of rocks in the first stage. In a recent chronological perspective, let us examine here how we can consider the calendrical age of site no. 17 conventionally regarded as the oldest of all sites belonging to the first stage.

At site no. 17 on Okinoshima, it is said that 21 mirrors were piled up between overlapping huge rocks and covered with a pile of stones. There are many other relics common to grave goods of the Early Kofun period, including one jadeite comma-shaped bead, 2 steatite (soapstone) comma-shaped beads, 10 jasper cylindrical beads, 11 steatite (soapstone) cylindrical beads, 4 steatite barrel-shaped beads (*natsumedama*), 75 glass beads, 298 steatite beads, 2 wheel-shaped stone bracelet (*sharinseki*), 1 ring-shaped stone bracelet (*ishikushiro*), 4 iron bracelets, 7 iron double-edged swords (*tekken*), 5 iron single-edged swords (*tekkō*), 3 iron iron knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt (*warabite tōsu*) etc.. In this context bronze mirror types as bases for decisions regarding the age determination, the items are 7 modified (remodelled) TLV mirrors (*henkei hōkakukiku kyō*), 3 modified mirrors with floral décor (interconnected arcs) in the inner décor field (*henkei naikō kamon kyō*), 2 turtle-dragon mirrors (*daryō kyō*), 2 modified (remodelled) pictorial mirrors (mirror with mythical images in raised flat relief) (*henkei gazō kyō*), 3 triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts (*sankakubuchi shinjūkyō*), 2 modified (remodelled) beast-band mirrors (*henkei jūtai kyō*), 1 modified decorated mirror (*henkei mon kyō*) and 1 K’uei-bird-mirror (K’uei: dragon with bird head) (*kihō kyō*). All of these mirrors have been conventionally considered to be mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (*bōsei kyō*). However, apart from triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts, the manufacturing area of which has been disputed, the K’uei-bird-mirror is apparently a Chinese mirror probably dating from the time of the Jin Dynasty, as suggested in the report of the Series 3 investigation.

The three triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts have been all considered to be mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (*bōsei kyō*). According to the conventional classification, they are two triangular-rimmed mirror decorated with foliage-scroll pattern band and images of three immortals and three beasts manufactured in Japan after continental prototype (*bōsei sankakubuchi karakusamontai sanshin sanjū kyō*) (mirror no. 18 and 19 in the report) and one

triangular-rimmed mirror decorated with images of three immortals and three beasts manufactured in Japan after continental prototype (no. 20). Among these, as for one (no. 18) of the former two, it is known that there are a total of 7 mirrors produced from the same model (same mold) in other places: i.e., two mirrors in the Shikinzan tomb in Ōsaka prefecture, one in the Tsuboi-otabiyama tomb in Ōsaka prefecture, one in the Dodoike tomb in Kyōto prefecture and two privately possessed by an individual. These are with relatively neat patterns compared with other mirrors conventionally considered to be triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (Figure 1). The other two mirrors, by contrast, have primitive patterns in the inner decor field, the sawtooth pattern in the outer decor field degraded into a pattern of a sequence of very rough triangles; and the degradation of the pattern of two wavy lines is remarkable (Figure 2). They belong to the latest phase of the so-called triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (*bōsei sankakubuchi shinjūkyō*).

Over the last twenty years, remarkable progress has been made in chronological studies on triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts. Until now triangular-rimmed mirrors (*hakusai sankakubuchi shinjūkyō*) who have been identified as imported are classified into phases 1 to 4. Mirrors in the first phase are considered to date back to about 240 AD, judging from the existence of mirrors on which the third year of the Chinese Jingchu (*jap. keisho*) era (239 AD) or the first year of the Chinese Zhengshi (*jap. seishi*) era (240 AD) is inscribed. The understanding of the time interval until the fourth phase varies from researcher to researcher. However, if major changes in the cross section of the mirror are taken into account, it is hard to accept such a short span as ten years during which (Queen) Himiko negotiated with the Wei Dynasty as KOBAYASHI Yukio assumed. If we assume a time span of several decades, the subsequent emergence of the so-called triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes will be considered to date back to the beginning of the 4th century. Since we must estimate a considerably long span for the manufacture of these mirrors, we should consider that the group of bronze mirrors found at site no. 17 on Okinoshima, including the ones belonging to the latest phase date back to near the middle third of the 4th century.

In recent years, on the other hand, there is an increase in the amount of research data helpful in the absolute age determination through the tree-ring dating method (dendrochronology). It was learned that the start of production of Sue ware in the stage of the Middle Kofun period extends back to a considerably earlier time. This became clear through the tree-ring dating method. In a ditch dating from the Kofun period at a site in Uji, a city in Kyōto prefecture, pottery from the Sue ware group of the TG 232 type, the oldest produced at the Suemura group of kiln sites (*suemura kamaato gun*) in Ōsaka prefecture, was associated with unfinished wood products of Japanese cypress (*hinoki*), proved to have been cut in the year 389. In addition in a ditch dating from the Kofun period in a lower stratum of the Heijō palace site in Nara Sue ware of the TK73 type following the TG 232 type was associated with unfinished wood products of Japanese cypress cut in 412. There is no contradiction between this facts. Without question the emergence of Sue ware dates back to the fourth quarter of the 4th century [SHIRAIISHI, 2009].

Since the emergence of Sue ware is related to the Middle Kofun period furthermore the second phase, it should be probably considered to date back the beginning of the Middle Kofun period to the third quarter of the 4th century. Accordingly, we cannot but consider that the date of site no. 17 on Okinoshima that contains objects common to the group of grave goods found in tombs from the latest phase of the Early Kofun period should be placed from the middle to the third quarter of the 4th century.

Among sites belonging to the first stage of Okinoshima rituals, on site no. 18 located right above site no. 17 until now as imported identified bronze mirrors were detected, including triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with beast decor band and images of two immortals and two beasts from site and pieces of a Later Han Dynasty style TLV mirror decorated with four immortals found together with ring-shaped stone (steatite) bracelets (*ishikushiro*) and small glass beads. These objects were associated with 2 triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with beast decor band and images of three immortals and three beasts and 1 triangular-rimmed mirror with foliage-scroll pattern band and images of three immortals and three beasts with remarkable degeneration. Besides these, there are also 6 mirror fragments made from the same mold as the K'uei-bird-mirror found at site no. 17. Judging from these objects, it may be reasonable to consider that site no. 18 belongs almost to the same time as site no. 17.

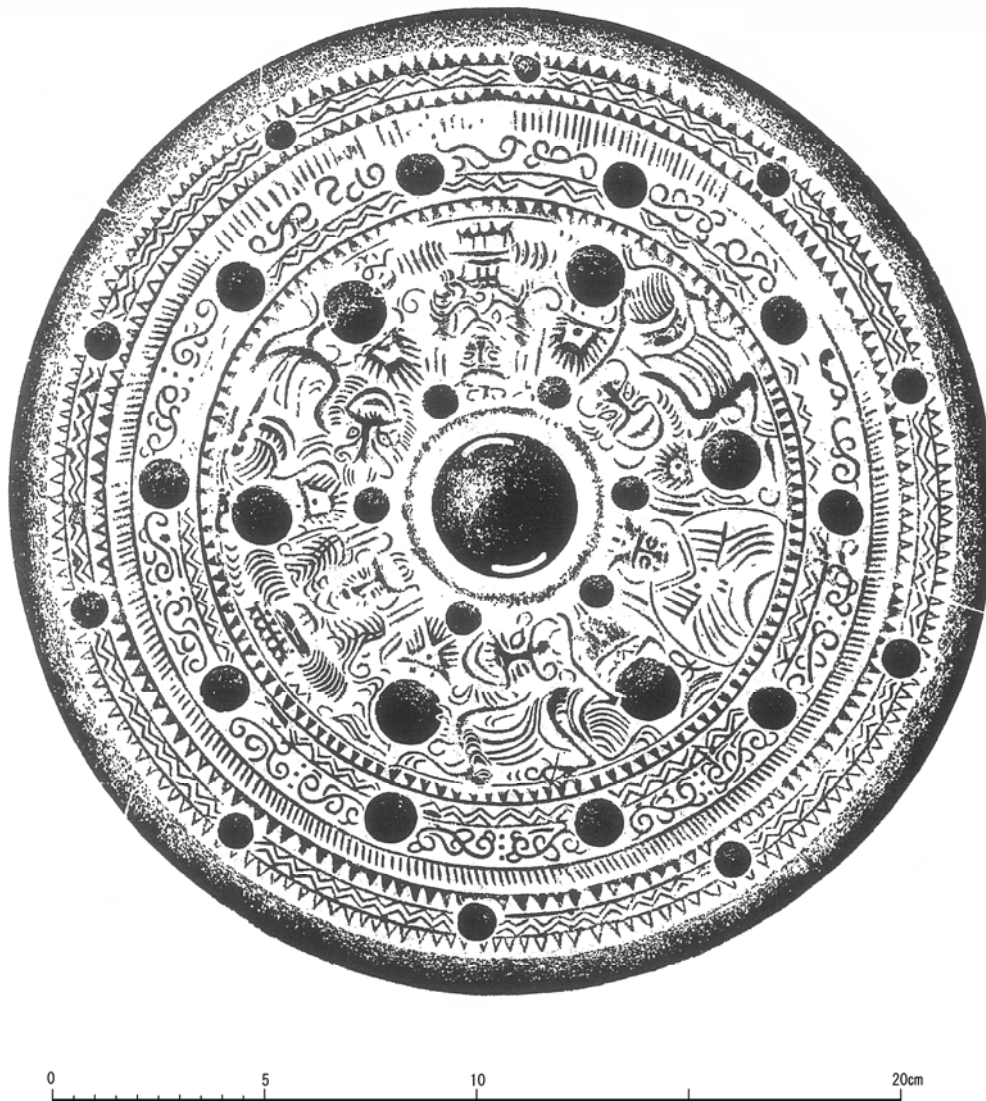


Figure 1: Triangular-rimmed mirror with foliage-scroll pattern band and images of three immortals and three beasts no. 17 on Okinoshima (mirror no. 18)
(Source: “*The Sequel Okinoshima Island – Munakata Shrine Okitsu-Miya Ritual Sites*”)

Thus, as until now be pointed out, it is certain that sites no. 17 and 18 are considered to be representing the oldest phase of all ritual sites known at Okinoshima dating from the second half of the 4th century. However, inside the second half of the 4th century they have been until now considered to be relatively new. In the report, HARADA Dairoku who took charge of the analysis and the report of the bronze mirror group at site no. 17 made the following remarks placing this site between the Shinyama tomb in Nara prefecture and the Bizen Maruyama tomb in Okayama prefecture based on the results of close and detailed analysis of bronze mirrors:

“Presuming from Yamato Shinyama and Bizen Maruyama, the relative date of site no. 17 on Okinoshima can be considered to be between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century.”

OKAZAKI Takashi who analyzed and examined anew a number of bronze mirrors found at Okinoshima in the Series 3 investigation report describes:

“Ritual sites on top of rocks centered around site no. 17 are thought to be operated in the second half of the 4th century when the Land of Wa started the exchange with Paekche”



Figure 2: Triangular-rimmed mirror decorated with beast decor band and images of three immortals and three beasts from site no. 17 on Okinoshima (mirror no. 20)
(Source: “*The Sequel Okinoshima Island – Munakata Shrine Okitsu-Miya Ritual Sites*”)

This description is nothing but a product of his thinking that the start of exchange with Paekche in the 360s can be linked to the inception of Okinoshima rituals. As previously mentioned, this linkage is derived from the section of the time of Empress Jingū in the *Nihonshoki* and the inscription on seven-branched sword [OKAZAKI, 1979]. From the present standpoint of the author, this OKAZAKI’s chronological view can be highly evaluated for the combination of archaeological analysis and historical material. However, it cannot be said that his view was not necessarily based on the detailed investigation of archaeological data available in those days. In the circles of archaeology until the 1980s, even tombs in the earliest phase of the Middle Kofun period were not considered to go back earlier than the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century. It is not deniable that in those days, researchers generally searched the younger phase of the second half of the 4th century for the date of site no. 17 containing many objects common to grave goods found in tombs dating from the end of the Early Kofun period.

4. The Meaning of Establishment of Okinoshima Rituals

There is no doubt about the notion that rituals on Okinoshima Island were not merely local ones performed by a local force on the coast of the Genkai Sea but rituals with a state-related character in which the Yamato kingly power participated, if we take into consideration the gorgeous offerings of imported objects found at site no. 17, including a large number of bronze mirrors, cut glass, gilt-bronze dragon heads, Tang Dynasty three-colored glazed ware etc.. It is difficult to evaluate the notion that the discontinuation of these rituals was concurrent with the discontinuance of the Japanese envois to the Tang Dynasty, unless it is clarified more clearly what role the Munakata deities played in the dispatch of the Japanese envois to the Tang Dynasty. Nevertheless, it seems that the possibility of such concurrency cannot be totally denied.

Moreover, the position of three Munakata goddesses in the myths of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* gives a clue that Okinoshima rituals had a state-related character. A myth about these three goddesses appears in the description of the age of the gods (*jindaiki*) in the *Nihonshoki*, three addendum to the description of the age of the gods to the *Nihonshoki* and the *Kojiki*. The myth reads that when Amaterasu and Susanoo took an oath (*ukei*), Amaterasu bit the Totsuka-no-Tsurugi (lit. ten-hands long sword) of Susanoo, from which her breath burst out like fine mist and then three goddesses, namely Tagorihime, Tagitsuhime and Ichikishimahime were born from the mist. Amaterasu thought them as children of Susanoo because the sword belonged to Susanoo. According to the text of the *Nihonshoki*, these three goddesses “are the deities which are worshipped by the Munakata-no-Kimi of Tsukushi”. The third of the above-mentioned addendum says, “The three female Deities born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land. They are now in the *Kaihokudōchū*, and are styled the Michinushi-no-Muchi. These are the Deities which are worshipped by the Minuma-no-Kimi in Tsukushi.”. The clan in charge of rituals is different from that written in the text of the *Nihonshoki*. This difference will be mentioned later. At any rate, it should be noted here that three goddesses of Munakata take an extremely important position as children of Amaterasu in the myths of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* and moreover they are given the status of “Michinushi-no-Muchi” in “*Kaihokudōchū*”. In this respect, as pointed out by the people concerned in the aforementioned three investigations and many other predecessors with one accord, it is out of question that Okinoshima rituals were performed in a deep relationship with the Yamato kingly power and also related with marine traffic from the Land of Wa to several kingdoms on the Korean peninsula or their bilateral exchange.

A problem here, however, is that these rituals date from an earlier phase of the second half of the 4th century or according to today's archaeological view of calendrical age, probably the third quarter of the 4th century. It goes without saying that connections between the Japanese Archipelago and the Korean peninsula date back to the Paleolithic period and the Jōmon period. As seen in the descriptions of the book of the Former Han Dynasty (*kanjo*) and the book of the Later Han Dynasty (*gokanjo*), it is unquestionable that exchanges with Lelang commandery (*rakuro gun*) etc. had been already launched in the time of Han Dynasty. This can be also proved by the results of archaeological research. Moreover, those exchanges continued even in the time of the country of Yamatai in the first half of the 3rd century. No doubt, close diplomatic relations had been already established with not only Chinese colonies such as Lelang and Daifang commandery but also “several Korean kingdoms” as described in the so-called “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” (*gishi wajinden*). It need hardly be said that wet-rice agriculture beginning in the Yayoi period was also accepted via the route from the southern part of the Korean peninsula to northern Kyūshū. The very development of connections and trading with the Korean peninsula was almost a sole means to accept advanced culture for the people of the Japanese archipelago, including a number of proto states which depended on the peninsula for all advanced culture and its products, including resources like iron.

When considering the establishment date of Okinoshima rituals, an important thing is that the location of Okinoshima is largely deviated eastward from the main maritime route of connection and trading with the peninsula that prospered especially in the Yayoi period. The main route is unquestionably a route from the south edge of the Korean peninsula (*Kuyakan-koku*) (now the vicinity of Gimhae, a city in South Gyeongsang Province) to vicinity of Karatsu in Kyūshū via the islands of Tsushima and Iki as shown in “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty”. It is in and after the second half of the 4th century that rituals were initiated on Okinoshima and there are no traces of rituals carried out on a full scale before that time. That is why we cannot but consider that before the second half of the 4th century,

Okinoshima rituals had no linkage to the Japan-Korea exchange via the Iki-Tsushima route dating from the Yayoi period.

In this respect, ODA Fujio understands that “*Kaihokudōchū*” in the description “The three Goddesses born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land. They are now in *Kaihokudōchū*, and are styled the *Michinushi-no-Muchi*.” seen in the aforementioned third addendum to the *Nihonshoki* shows the maritime route from the south edge of the Korean peninsula (*Kuyakan-koku*) to Tsushima, Iki and Northern Kyūshū and vice versa [ODA, 1988]. Judging from the text of *Nihonshoki*, however, the author considers that “*Kaihokudōchū*” means the very Okinoshima Island where the three goddesses of Munakata are enshrined or a route via Okinoshima, and therefore it should not be interpreted as a main route extensively via Iki and Tsushima. If you interpret “Usa island (*usajima*)” in the above-mentioned description as not Kyūshū island but Okinoshima as ODA does, it seems that the author’s consideration will become more reasonable.

In the second half of the 4th century, rituals were suddenly launched and continued in a large state-related scale until the 9th century at Okinoshima that had no linkage to Japan-Korea exchange via the Iki-Tsushima route as the former main route between Japan and Korea. We must consider that there was a good reason for the performance of such rituals on its own way. In this respect, a notable thing is the start of diplomatic relations with Paekche to which OKAZAKI Takashi paid attention.

Seven-branched sword that has been passed on to the Isonokami-jingū Shrine in Tenri City, Nara prefecture is known as a sword according to the inscription manufactured for and presented (in the 4th year of *taiwa* – chin. Taihe – the 4th year of the reign of Emperor Fei of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, which corresponds with the year 369) to the King of Land of Wa by the heir (Prince Geungusu or later King Geungusu) to the King of Paekche (Geunchogo) [MISHINA Akihito 1964; YOSHIDA Akira 2001]. This is consistent with the article about the 52th year in the *Nihonshoki* during the reign of Empress Jingū: “52nd year, Autumn, 9th month 10th day. Kutei and others came along with Chikumanagahiko and presented a seven-branched sword and a seven-little-one-mirror, with various other objects of great value”. Including this article about the donation of seven-branched sword, there are many articles based on the historical sources of the Korean peninsula such as the Records of Paekche (*Kudaraki*) in the span from the reign of Empress Jingū to the reign of Emperor Ōjin, which contain reports about this time. Since early, they have been regarded as invaluable historical sources which may be considered to be almost historical facts, if the sexagenary cycle is turned back by two cycles. The year Jingū 52, ninth year of the sexagenary cycle which is called *jinshin*, corresponds to the year 252 according to the yearly count of the *Nihonshoki*. If it is turned back by two cycles, it will become the year 372, which is as completely consistent as three years after the date of the manufacturing or the fourth year (369) of the reign of Emperor Fei of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (the 4th year of *taiwa*) according to the inscription on the seven-branched sword.

According to the above-mentioned descriptions in the *Nihonshoki* derived from the Records of Paekche (*Kudaraki*), Kutei of Paekche visited the land of Tokujun, one of provinces in Kaya (Gaya) in 364 (kasshi) to request the latter to mediate negotiations with the Land of Wa. When Shima-no-Sukune of the Land of Wa went to the land of Tokujun in 366 (heiin), he heard this request and sent a messenger to Paekche. When a messenger from Paekche came to the Land of Wa in the next year, diplomatic relations started between Land of Wa and Paekche. Moreover, it is also described that in 369 (kishi), the allied forces of the Land of Wa and Paekche defeated Silla, and then seven provinces including Hijiho and four villages including Hiri surrendered to the Land of Wa. Among these, the account of the year 369 describing the beginning of control of the Land of Wa over Mimana cannot be considered to be a historical fact as it is. At least, however, as far as the records of years 366 and 369 describing the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Land of Wa and Paekche are concerned, there is material evidence like the seven-branched sword. Cooperation with the Land of Wa is reasonably conceivable in the situation of Paekche under tense international circumstances, such as the southward advance of Koguryo in East Asia. It may be safe to recognize it as a historical fact. In this point, it is highly suggestive that diplomatic relations between the Land of Wa and Paekche were initiated through the land of Tokujun (now the vicinity of the city of Changwon, South Gyeongsang Province), one of several provinces in Kaya (Gaya) with which the Land of Wa had have a closely cooperative relationship since before through the acquisition of iron resources.

Records in the *Nihonshoki* derived from the historical sources of the Korean peninsula, such as the Records

of Paekche (*Kudaraki*) cannot be judged to be highly valuable historical documents merely because they are citations from such sources. They did not necessarily describe clearly the actual situation of the military advance of the Land of Wa into the Korean peninsula just after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Land of Wa and Paekche. According to the History of the Three Kingdoms (*Sangokushiki*; kor. Samguk Sagi), Paekche took the offensive against Koguryo in 369 and 371 and Geunchogo, King of Paekche drove Gogugwon, King of Koguryo to death in battle. Although the role played by Land of Wa in this battle is not clear, such a possibility is not deniable that Paekche could take great strides with Land of Wa as an ally behind Paekche. Moreover, an inscription on the stone monument of King Gwanggaeto in Ji'an (city in the Jiangxi province, People's Republic of China) says that the Land of Wa advanced into the peninsula in 391, twenty years after the above-mentioned year and directly crossed swords with armed forces of Koguryo in 400. Furthermore, the Land of Wa, which advanced deeply into a place connected with itself in the Daifang commandery in 404, was driven back by a large army of Koguryo.

Thus, there is little doubt about the record that diplomatic relations started between Paekche and the Land of Wa in a relatively early phase of the second half of 4th century and subsequently led the Land of Wa to send troops to the peninsula. That was almost concurrent with the inception of rituals on Okinoshima as OKAZAKI points out. Nevertheless, OKAZAKI does not necessarily explain clearly what made Paekche seek diplomatic relations with the Land of Wa. As already seen, of course, their alliance was one of countermeasures Paekche could take against the southward advance of Koguryo, if we take into consideration the subsequent shift of Paekche to an offensive action against Koguryo.

Since the situation of the Korean peninsula since the second half of the 4th century is extremely complicated, the movement of the Land of Wa in that situation is too difficult to clarify correctly. Nevertheless, Paekche took the way to the battle with Koguryo, unlike Silla which surrendered for survival to the latter whose movement to the south created a very severe situation for the southern kingdoms on the peninsula. It may be not wrong to consider such a fundamental schema that Paekche won an ally by building diplomatic relations with the Land of Wa for that purpose and often fought with Koguryo and its subordinate Silla. Since the Yayoi period the Land of Wa which depended on Byeonhan (Byeonjin; jap. *benshin*) or later Kaya (Gaya) for important iron resources on the peninsula had large concern in the situation of the peninsula. They were probably concerned that if Koguryo defeated Paekche and Silla, it should directly invade the Land of Wa. Probably, that is why the Land of Wa accepted the request of Paekche to take part in the battle on the peninsula.

The participation in the battle on the peninsula must have been a great ordeal to the Land of Wa. Up to that time horses were unknown in the Land of Wa. They had to quickly accept equestrian culture and horse riding tactics from Paekche and Kaya in order to fight with Koguryo. It is not hard to imagine that Paekche and the provinces in Kaya actively provided the Land of Wa with manufacturing know-how of horse harness and techniques for breeding horses in order to survive. With this as a momentum, a variety of new technologies and cultures, beginning with equestrian culture were transmitted to the Land of Wa, which from then on joined the civilized societies of East Asia at a rapid pace [SHIRAISHI, 2004b].

It is probably out of question that the inception of rituals on Okinoshima was concurrent with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Land of Wa and Paekche in this turbulent situation of East Asia and the subsequent dispatch of troops from the Land of Wa to the Korean peninsula. That is, however, never the autonomous advance of the Yamato kingly power that gained ground in northern Kyūshū in the first half of the 4th century as INOUE Mitsusada assumed. It is nothing but a great wave of change surging over the Land of Wa in the situation of East Asia as a result of the southward advance of Koguryo driven by nomadic equestrian people coming down to the south. The sequence of historical events under these circumstances can be clearly explained by the newly proposed notion, unlike the conventional one, that the inception of rituals on Okinoshima dates back to not the late phase of the second half of the 4th century but to a relatively earlier time, the third quarter of the 4th century shortly after the start of connection between Paekche and the Land of Wa in 364 as described by the citation from the Records of Paekche (*Kudaraki*) in the *Nihonshoki*.

In this connection, INOUE Mitsusada or any other researchers who examine ancient history on the basis of written sources proposed a schema that the Yamato kingly power was established toward the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century and subsequently advanced into northern Kyūshū and

furthermore into the Korean peninsula in the second half of the 4th century as introduced in section 2. For this schema, the archaeology has also a great responsibility. At least until the 1970s, it was a general view in the archaeological world that tombs which seemed to have a close relation with the formation of political order of the Yamato polity, especially the standard type of keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound had emerged toward the last third of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century. Substantially from this point of view, INOUE expressed his opinion about the time of the formation of the Yamato kingly power. This is apparent, if you read “*From Mythology to History*” written by INOUE in 1965. In this book, he regards it as a critically important fact that the reign of Hatsukunishirasu-Sumeramikoto or Emperor Sujin as the first emperor gathered from written sources estimated from the second half of the 3rd century to the beginning of the 4th century corresponds with the time of the appearance of mounded tombs (*kofun*) archaeologically understood [INOUE, 1965].

This theory seeking the emergence of mounded tombs in the last third of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century was substantially derived from KOBAYASHI Yukio’s view of mounded tombs. He took the initiative in research on mounded tombs in this phase of the Kofun period. His view was based on the detailed analysis of the chronological sequences of triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with images of immortals and beasts as grave goods buried in large quantities in the time of the appearance of mounded tombs. He also analyzed meticulously the ownership relations of mirrors produced from the same mold (*dōhan kyō*). Many researchers gave in to his view [KOBAYASHI, 1961]. After then, however, in the 1980s, questions were raised about this chronological view one after another. In particular, in and after the 1990s, progress in research on the chronological sequences of triangular-rimmed mirrors was accompanied with an increase in the number of researchers who began to think that the emergence of mounded tombs might date back to the second half to the middle third of the 3rd century. In recent years, accordingly, it is considered that the Yamato polity, a political federation embracing a wide area centered in Yamato in the Kinki region was formed in or after the middle third of the 3rd century, when northern Kyūshū must have been also included in its territory [SHIRAISHI, 1999].

As for the relation with the Korean peninsula, it has become clear that the important iron production did not begin on the Japanese archipelago before the 6th century. Throughout all times after the Middle Yayoi period until the 6th century, it cannot be doubted that the important iron resources were brought from Byeonhan (Byeonjin; jap. *benshin*) or later Kaya (Gaya) in the southern part of the peninsula. Therefore, we cannot but consider that exchange between the Land of Wa and Byeonhan or Kaya in the southern part of the peninsula had constantly continued regardless of the conditions of the situation of East Asia. In the second half of the 4th century, on the other hand, the southward advance of Koguryo as a great change in the situation of East Asia led the Land of Wa to approach Paekche. Thus, the Land of Wa was drawn out onto the international stage of East Asia whether it liked or not.

Needless to say, such a great wave of change in the international situation of East Asia also exerted a remarkable effect on the inside of the Yamato kingly power. The old kingly power of Yamato with a strongly religious and magic character had difficulty in coping with the great change in the international situation. It is presumable that the force of Yamato was superseded by that of Kawachi (including Izumi) on the coast of Ōsaka Bay which probably took charge of trading and negotiations with the Korean peninsula inside the Yamato kingly power in the central part of the Kinki region.

In the second half to last third of the 4th century, gigantic keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds presumably as graves of great kings or leaders of the Yamato polity which had been consistently constructed in the Nara Basin began to appear in the Furuichi and Mozu mounded tomb groups in the southern part of the Ōsaka plain. We cannot but consider their appearance to tell that the force of Kawachi/Izumi in the southern part of the Ōsaka plain took the kingly power because mounded tombs were to be constructed in the home ground of this political force [SHIRAISHI, 2000].

It is impossible to clarify how and when the succession of the kingly power took place. Nevertheless, there is a high possibility that it was the force of Kawachi that took the initiative in negotiations with Paekche and the subsequent performance of rituals on Okinoshima, if we attach importance to the fact that the Isonokami-jingū Shrine has preserved the seven-branched sword presented by the King of Paekche in commemoration of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Paekche and the Land of Wa and that rituals at the Isonokami-jingū Shrine were administered by the Mononobe clan as the Tomo-no-Miyatsuko

Gōzoku (powerful local clans). It is assumed that this clan was originally based in the southern part of Kawachi and supported the new kingly power of Kawachi. It were these great kings based in the Ōsaka plain that subsequently developed the diplomacy of five kings of Wa with the Southern Dynasties (420–589 AD) in China. Accordingly, it seems that rituals on Okinoshima were launched on the initiative of the Kawachi force.

There is no doubt that state-related rituals on Okinoshima, a solitary island in the Genkai Sea were initiated along with the start of a new relationship between the Korean peninsula and the Land of Wa that experienced a major change as mentioned above. It is interesting that the Okinoshima Island deviates to the east from the Iki-Tsushima route as the previous main route for Japan-Korean exchanges. It is very suggestive that the island is located near the course of the old Kanpu ferry connecting Shimonoseki to Pusan via a direct route from Kinai through the Seto Inland Sea and the Shimonoseki Straits (Figure 3). It is located right along the very shortest route connecting Yamato and Kawachi to the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Of course, it seems that the Iki-Tsushima route was practically used more frequently because it was safer. However, we can see an important symbolic meaning of its location which is largely deviated from the previous Iki-Tsushima route and yet along the shortest route between Yamato and the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

At any rate, it seems out of question that state-related rituals on Okinoshima were performed by the Yamato kingly power together with the local force of Munakata to which the Yamato kingly power entrusted navigation because the Yamato kingly power bound to Paekche by diplomatic relations opted to send troops to the Korean peninsula following a major change caused by the southward advance of Koguryo in the international situation of East Asia in the second half of 4th century. In that case, as UEDA Masaaki noted before, it is probably dangerous to confine those rituals only to a military character like prayer for victory. Weapons and weapon-shaped ritual utensils do not necessarily have a high share in offerings found at ritual sites in the first stage of Okinoshima rituals, which are fundamentally consistent with combinations of grave goods found in mounded tombs of the Early Kofun period featuring a strong religious and magic character. Those rituals were related to direct exchanges between the Yamato kingly power and Paekche and other provinces on the peninsula which were rapidly promoted under historical and international circumstances. It may be safe to say that judging from the divine character of Okinoshima as the goddess of sea, they were primarily intended to pray for the safety of voyage.

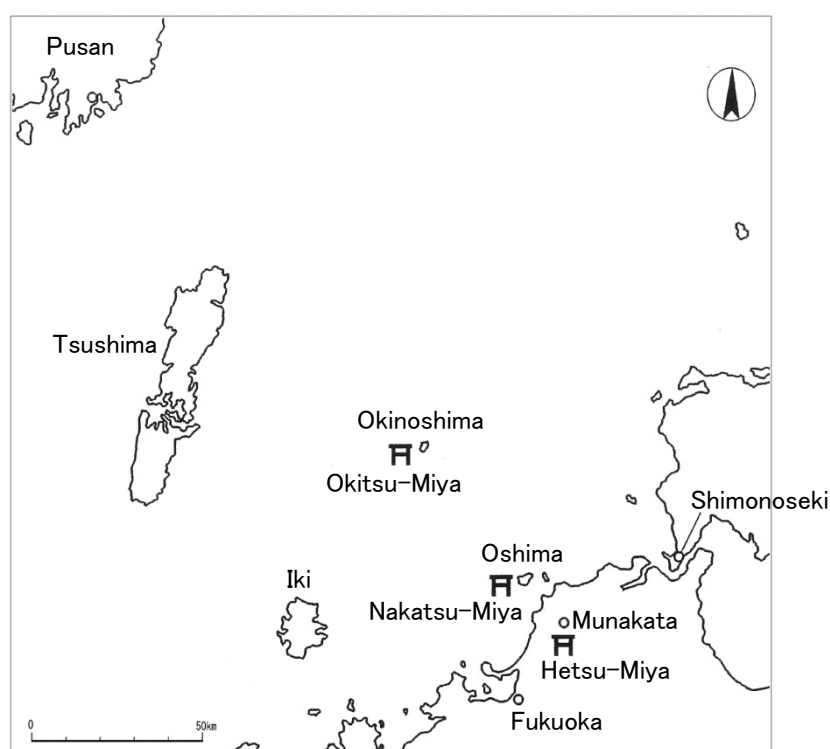


Figure 3 The location of Okinoshima Island

5. The Transition of the Wa-Korea Exchange Route and Okinoshima Rituals

The most important Wa-Korea exchange route had been consistently a route from near Karatsu in northern Kyūshū through Iki and Tsushima to *Kuyakan-koku* since the Yayoi period, a place in the southern part of the Korean peninsula today near the vicinity of Gimhae, a city in South Gyeongsang Province. Notwithstanding, rituals were launched on a very large scale at Munakata Okinoshima which lies quite far to the east off the route. As mentioned in the previous section, this is the very result of the new state of things that the Yamato kingly power began to take part in the battle on the Korean peninsula as an ally of Paekche facing a major change in the situation of East Asia.

It seems to be due to the proximity of Okinoshima to the shortest maritime route from Yamato and Kawachi in the central part of the Kinki region as the home ground of the Yamato kingly power through the Seto Inland Sea and the Straits of Shimonoseki to the southeastern part of the Korean peninsula. Moreover, for a long time from the beginning of the Yayoi period until the middle third of the 4th century the voyage via the Iki-Tsushima route had prospered which seems to be also related to the absence of traces of rituals on Okinoshima. That is probably because following the new change in the international situation of East Asia, Munakata as an eastern force began to play a certain role anew in negotiations between the Yamato kingly power in Kinai and Paekche, separately from western forces on the coast of the Genkai Sea, such as Matura, Ito, Na etc. which had once taken charge of the Iki-Tsushima route. Of course, however, it was the safest and shortest Iki-Tsushima route that was practically used in making a voyage even in and after the second half of the 4th century. It is also unquestionable that on the the Land of Wa side of this route, leaders in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast continued to play an important role as before or a more important role than before in Wa-Korea negotiations via this route.

Their important role can be gathered from the fact that the heads of the countries of Matura, Ito and Na in the west of the Genkai Sea coast introduced the oldest corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance (*yokoanashiki sekishitsu*) on the Japanese archipelago into keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds from the second half to the end of the 4th century. Good examples are the Taniguchi tomb in Karatsu city included in the territory of the country of Matura, the Sukizaki tomb in the western part of Fukuoka city seemingly included in the territory of the country of Ito and the Rōji tomb in the southern part of Fukuoka city included in the territory of the country of Na (*nakoku*). All of these mounded tombs have a unique corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance called a “pit-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance” (*tateanakei yokoguchishiki sekishitsu*) created in this region through integrating ideas of the corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance into the concept of the pit-style stone chamber (*tateanashiki sekishitsu*) conventionally constructed in this region. This tells that the heads who succeeded to the rulers of the countries of Matura, Ito and Na visited the territory of Paekche or Koguryo on the Korean peninsula in that time and personally saw corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance which had been already established there. Doubtless, as an advance guard for the Yamato kingly power, they made an expedition to the Korean peninsula and played a major role in the dispatch of many troops from the Land of Wa to the peninsula. Although his role was never minor, the head of Munakata cannot be considered to have been powerful enough to supersede the former heads in the western region of the Genkai Sea coast. Is it not that the rituals of the Yamato kingly power on Okinoshima Island had a more symbolic meaning as the goddess of sea on the shortest route between Yamato and the Korean peninsula?

As previously seen, there is the following article in the third addendum to the description of the age of the gods (*jindaiki*) to the *Nihonshoki*: “The three Goddesses born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Reed-plain Central Land. They are now in *Kaihokudōchū*, and are styled the *Michinushi-no-Muchi*. These are the Goddesses which are worshipped by the Minuma-no-Kimi in Tsukushi.”

The home ground of the Minuma-no-Kimi is a coastal area of the Ariake Sea near the mouth of the Chikugo River among other areas in Kyūshū and far distant from the western region of the Genkai Sea and Munakata. WADA Atsumu, an ancient historian, indicates from the article in the above-mentioned third addendum, that “it is not enough to take up only Munakata-no-Kimi as a local prominent clan which worshiped at Okinoshima Island”. Moreover, he concludes that “in the first and second stages of Okinoshima rituals presumably located on *Kaihokudōchū*, they should be understood in connection with

not only Munakata-no-Kimi but also the kingly power in Kinai and other clans in the northern and central parts of Kyūshū” [WADA Atsumu, 1988]. The author has no objection to his conclusion itself but considers that there is even greater significance behind the myth about the three goddesses of Munakata. Let us examine this matter in the following.

As mentioned many times earlier, the Iki-Tsushima route had remained the main artery connecting the Land of Wa to the Korean peninsula even in the Kofun period since the Yayoi period. On the Korean side, this route was supported by forces near the mouth of the Nakdong River, such as Kuyakan-koku or later the country of Kinkan Kaya (kor. Geumgwan Gaya). On the side of the Land of Wa, it was supported by forces on the west coast of the Genkai Sea, such as the countries of Matsura, Ito and Na as seen in the “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” (*gishi wajinden*). In the first half to middle third of the 5th century, however, a great change took place in the Wa-Korea trading and negotiation route connecting the coast of the Genkai Sea to the vicinity of the mouth of the Nakdong River. It is that the country of Kinkan Kaya among provinces in Kaya became unable to continue playing its role as before in negotiations with the Land of Wa because Silla advanced into the vicinity of the mouth of the Nakdong River. They were replaced in the west by Daegaya (*ōkaya*; *daikaya*) in the middle reaches of the Nakdong River, by Ara in the south and finally more to the west the area centered in the present Jeollanam-do which came to play an important role in negotiations with the Land of Wa. Although this change can be somewhat gathered from historical documents and materials, it can be more clearly told by the fact that keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds doubtless under the influence of the Land of Wa began to be constructed throughout the South Jeolla Province in the second half of the 5th century to the beginning of the 6th century (Figure 4). Those burial mounds are featured not only by the keyhole-shape and the round rear mounds. Some of them have also the same cylindrical (*entō*) *haniwa* (ceramic clay figures placed on the surface of mounded tombs) as those found on the Japanese archipelago, while others have corridor-style stone chambers with horizontal lateral entrance of Wa lineage [YANAGISAWA, 2001].

In the Land of Wa, on the other side, there was also a major change comparable with the one on the Korean side in the bilateral negotiations. From the Early Kofun period to the beginning of the Middle Kofun period, maximum large-scale keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds were constructed in Matsura, Ito and Na along the coast of the Genkai Sea even in northern Kyūshū. In the first half of the 5th century corresponding to the second phase of the Middle Kofun period, however, large-scale keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds like those disappeared in this region. Instead, they began to be constructed on the coast of the Ariake Sea and in the basin of the Chikugo River flowing into the Ariake Sea. Northern Kyūshū is an area where large tombs were not originally constructed in the Early and Middle Kofun period. Even so, keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds with a burial mound 60 to 100 meters in length had been constructed in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast until the beginning of the 5th century. In the second quarter of the 5th century, however, the scale of mounded tombs (*kofun*) was rapidly reduced in this area for an unknown reason. In Chikugo, by contrast, large mounded tombs began to appear in the first half of the 5th century as exemplified by the Sekijinsan tomb (120 m) at Hirokawa town in Fukuoka prefecture. This is also the case in Hizen. Keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds which had been seen before only in the coastal area of the Genkai Sea began to appear also in the Saga Plain in the first half of the 5th century as exemplified by the Funazuka tomb (115 m) at Saga city in Saga prefecture. Moreover, in the middle reaches of the Kikuchi River in Higo, Iwabarū Futagozuka tomb (102 m) was constructed at Yamaga city in Kumamoto prefecture.

Thus, whereas the scale of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds was rapidly reduced from the beginning of the 5th century on in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast as the pivot of the Wa-Korea maritime connection, local forces on the Ariake Sea coast and in the basins of the Chikugo River and Kikuchi River flowing into the this sea launched the construction of large-scale keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds which had not been seen there. This can be considered to be the consequence of such a transition that several forces on the Ariake Sea coast superseded those in the west of the Genkai Sea coast and began to take the initiative in Wa-Korea negotiations and trading.

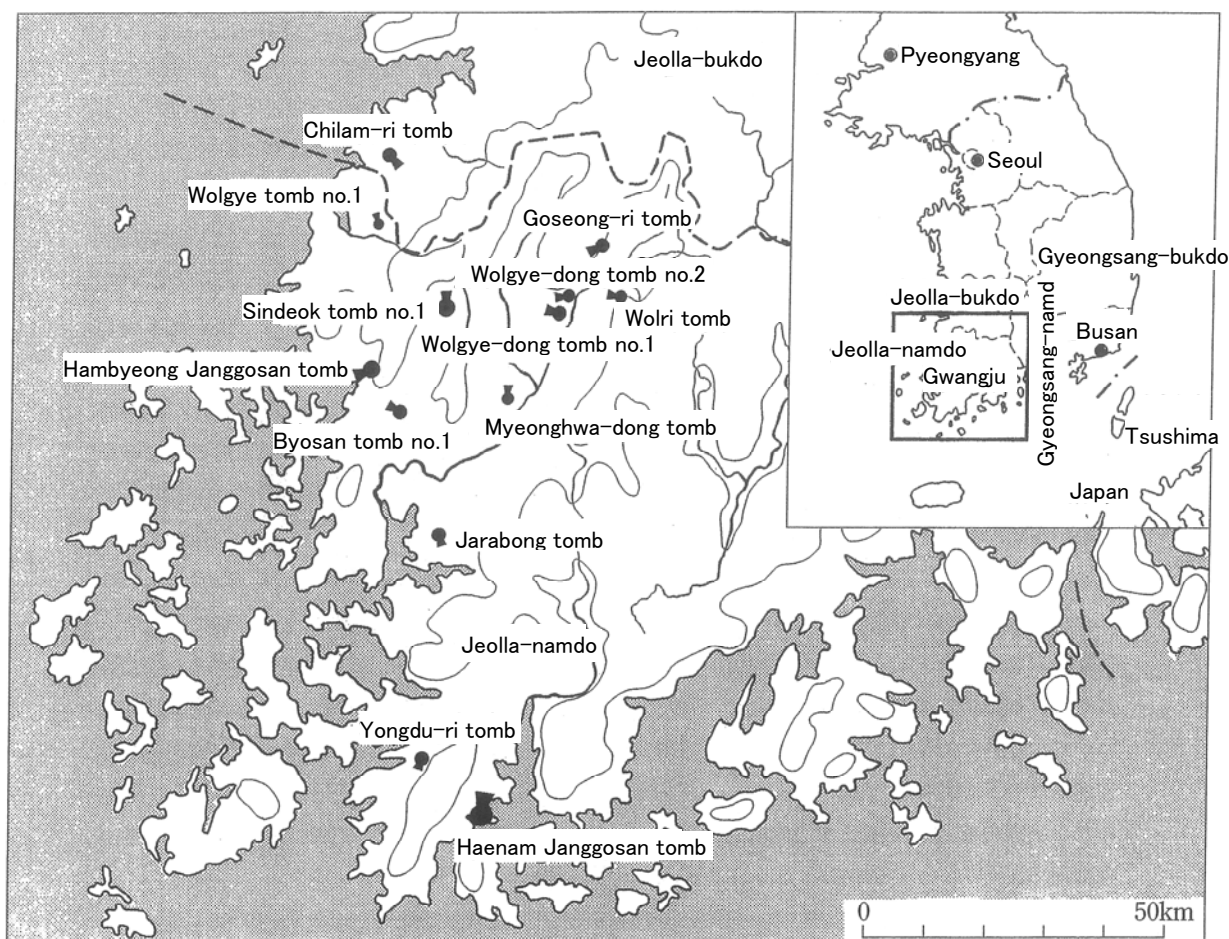


Figure 4 A distribution map of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds in South Korea

The active participation of people on the Ariake Sea coast in the voyage to Korea may be gathered from the fact that the first full-fledged mounded tomb decorated with colored paintings on the stone chamber walls (*sōshoku kofun*) seemingly under the influence of East Asia was constructed in this coastal area of the Ariake Sea around the first half to the middle third of the 5th century. Moreover, in this period, hollowed-out boat-shaped stone coffins (*kurinukishiki funa(fune)gata sekkan*) made in three areas in Higo on the Ariake Sea coast were introduced into many areas along the Seto Inland Sea and the Kinai region. This can be understood only on the assumption that people in these areas were active in water transport. In this period, their water transport probably facilitated the extensive spread of corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance of the Higo-type created in the coastal area of the Ariake Sea to areas along the Seto Inland Sea and the Kinai region. It also probably facilitated the spread of stone chambers shaped like a stone coffin with lateral entrance (*yokoguchishiki no sekkanshiki sekishitsu*) and corridor-style stone chambers with horizontal lateral entrance to the San'in region. It should be taken for granted that people in the coastal area of the Ariake Sea also developed water transport in the direction of the Korean peninsula [SHIRAISHI, 2004a].

Corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance applied to keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds etc. seen in the region of Jeollanam-do are apparently of Kyūshū lineage and can be found to be similar to those seen in the coastal area of the Ariake Sea rather than the Genkai sea coast [YANAGISAWA, 2001; SHIRAISHI, 2004a]. From this fact, it can be gathered that exchange activities were prosperous between the Jeollanam-do region and the Ariake Sea coast. These archaeological phenomena show the very transition of power in Wa-Korea negotiations in this period from the western part of the Genkai Sea coast and near the mouth of the Nakdong River to the Ariake Sea coast and the Jeollanam-do region. Probably, it tells that the Iki-Tsushima route seen in the “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” (*gishi wajinden*) was replaced with the Ariake-Jeollanam-do route, which became the center of the Wa-Korea exchange route.

In that case, of course, it may be safe to say that voyages were practically made via a safer route, namely Matsura→Iki→Tsushima at least from the mainland of Kyūshū to Tsushima. What seems certain here is the substantial change of the leading force. This change is clearly shown in the census register for Kawanobe village, Chikuzen province (*chikuzen no kuni shimagun kawanoberi koseki*) included in the one of the document collections of the Nara period held in the Shōsōin – treasure house that belongs to the Tōdai-ji – (*shōsōin monjo*). The register reads that Hi-no-Kimi-no-Ite was the head administrator of Shima-gun in the Chikuzen province near a port in the country of Ito, which was a key base on the the Land of Wa side of the Iki-Tsushima route and where according to the “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty”, the country of Yamatai placed *Ichidaisotsu*. Hi-no-Kimi was originally a powerful clan in Hii village in Yatsushiro-gun in Higo province on the coast of the Yatsushiro Sea adjacent to the Ariake Sea. They advanced into the vicinity of the Ito port in an unknown time. This can be gathered from the fact that at Tsushima, there are several large-scale mounded tombs in the terminal stage of the Kofun period with a gigantic corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance dating from the last third of the 6th century to around the 7th century. The structure of the chambers are fundamentally of Chikugo/Higo type.

The above-mentioned major shifts of the Wa-Korea exchange route and the leading negotiator are unquestionably attributable to a great change in the situation of the Korean peninsula. That is the advance of Silla into the southeast part of Kaya including the country of Kinkan -Kaya (kor. Geumgwan-Gaya) and the emergence of a new force in the region extending from the Ariake and Yatsushiro Seas to the basin of the Chikugo River. The new force superseded the force on the coast of the Genkai Sea in the northern part of Kyūshū, probably coupled with the transition of Korea. Taking these changes into consideration, can we not regard it as natural that the Minuma-no-Kimi which had a great power in water transport on the coast of the Ariake Sea along with the Munakata clan took part in Okinoshima rituals which prayed for the safety of voyage from Land of Wa to Korea? That the Minuma-no-Kimi took charge of the Okinoshima rituals which is indicated in the legends in third addendum to the description of the age of the gods (*jindaiki*) to the *Nihonshoki* and on this background being a the driving force of the Wa-Korea exchange route can be understood for the first time when we take into consideration the historical changes.

6. The Role of the Munakata Clan in Okinoshima Rituals

In the previous section, we have examined the historical changes of the Wa-Korea exchange route and the driving forces in relation with the Okinoshima rituals. In the last section, let us consider the role played by the Munakata clan as a carrying force in the Munakata region in the Okinoshima rituals seemingly with a state-related character to pray for the safety of voyage following the start of negotiations between the Yamato kingly power and Korea in the foregoing transition.

It is not known well what role was specifically played by the Munakata clan as a local force in negotiations with Korea until the middle third of the 4th century.

Of course, it is presumable that the Munakata force that occupied a key location facing the Genkai Sea played a certain role in negotiations with Korea or concerning the sea route to Korea. At that time, it is considered that chiefs across the Japanese archipelago except for the northern and southern parts had already formed a union called the Yamato polity (*yamato seiken*) focused on forces in the central part of the Kinki region. Judging from the significance of mounded tombs constructed presumably in close connection with the political order of the political union, it cannot be necessarily said that the political force in the Munakata region in this time played a major role compared with other forces, such as Na, Ito and Matsura in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast.

In this situation, in the early phase of the second half of the 4th century, namely the third quarter of the 4th century, the Yamato polity, namely the Land of Wa achieved an alliance with Paekche under the influence of the major changes in the international situation of East Asia and then sent troops to the Korean peninsula. Concurrently with this, rituals were launched on a large scale at Munakata Okinoshima. If we take this process into account, as already stated, we can assume that the Munakata force played a certain role at the beginning of state-related rituals on Okinoshima.

As mentioned in the previous section, even after the Yamato polity began to send troops to the peninsula in

the second half of the 4th century and the Yamato kingly power as the pivot of the Yamato polity actively embarked on negotiations with Korea, a decline of the role played by forces in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast in negotiations with Korea is difficult to imagine. On the contrary the role may have increased at least until around the beginning of the 5th century. This seems out of question if we consider the continuous construction of large-scale keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds in Na, Ito and Matura at this time and the creation of the corridor-style stone chambers with horizontal lateral entrance of the first phase by the chiefs of these regions and usage for their mounded tombs.

Even in the Munakata region where the remarkable keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds were not constructed before the second half of the 4th century when the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb (61m in mound length) in Munakata city appeared (Munakata Town's Board of Education, 1989). Probably, this proves that the Munakata force played a certain role in response to the direct advance of the Yamato kingly power concerning the relations with Korea. This mounded tomb, being 61 m long, is not so large. Rather, it is small in comparison with the Ikisan-chōshizuka tomb (103 m long) in the Ito region [KOBAYASHI, 1952] which is slightly older and the Rōji tomb (about 80 m) in Fukuoka city [Fukuoka City's Board of Education, 1989] which is slightly younger. Therefore, it is not conceivable that the Munakata force superseded the forces in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast and took the leadership in negotiations with Korea.

Notwithstanding, it is of great significance that in the second half of the 4th century for the first time with the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb, a keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound, appeared in the Munakata region which can be regarded as a burial of the class of a powerful chief. Because this time is close to the inception of Okinoshima rituals, the appearance of this mounded tomb seems to be an event which indicates a close connection with the establishment of a certain relationship between the chief of Munakata and the Yamato kingly power that launched a new policy towards Korea and the subsequent cooperation of Munakata as a local force for state-related rituals on Okinoshima. In this way, the Munakata force may have established itself as a member of the Yamato polity for the first time. In this connection, it is reported that 12 round mirrors (*enkyō*) and 72 arrowheads were discovered in the Kamitakamiya tomb on the present premises of Hetsu-miya of the Munakata Shrine in the third year of the Keian period (1650) [OKAZAKI, 1979]. In the re-investigation toward the end of the Taishō period, a bronze mirror with four raised conical bosses and images of beasts (*shinyūjūmon kyō*), different kinds of beads, iron double-edged and single-edged swords, bronze and iron arrowheads, chest armor bound together with leather thongs (*kawatoji tankō*), iron adzes, iron knife with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond (*warabite tōsu*) and other knives etc. were unearthed. If the discovery of 12 bronze mirrors is a fact, it is an important mounded tomb parallel to the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb, though slightly younger than the latter, in the examination of the connection between the beginning of Okinoshima rituals and the local force of Munakata. At the present time, unfortunately the shape and scale of the burial mound are unknown and there is some doubt, whether the artifacts are representing a closed find. That is why we cannot use them as certain evidence.

In the Munakata region, the construction of remarkable keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds broke off for a while after the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb was constructed in the second half of the 4th century. As previously stated, the construction of large keyhole-shaped tombs rapidly declined in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast from the beginning of the 5th century on in northern Kyūshū. Instead, large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds began to be constructed on the coast of the Ariake Sea and in the basin of the Chikugo River. It does not seem that the Munakata region played a key role above all in the great changes of political power. In this area, unlike the Chikugo area, large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds were not immediately constructed. Rather, like the west of the Genkai Sea from the beginning of the 5th century, there were no powerful political leaders seen in this area. It seems that a force on the coast of the Ariake Sea like the Minuma-no-Kimi played an important role in Okinoshima rituals at this time.

Presumably, it is around the middle third of the 5th Century that the construction of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds was resumed on a certain scale in the Munakata region. That is the appearance of the Shimbaru-Nuyama tomb no. 1 (original names: Shimbaru-Nuyama tomb no. 17; mound length 50 m) [HASHIGUCHI and IKEBE, 1989]. After that, from the second half of the 5th century to the 6th century, the end of the Middle Kofun period to the stage of the Late Kofun period, extremely large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds began to be constructed in the Munakata region. Major mounded tombs in the Munakata region from the middle third of the 5th century to the 6th century developed not in the basin

of the Tsuru River where the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb and the Takamiya tomb are located but in the coastal area extending long from Kusazaki west of Kōnominato to the southwest. They are divided into three groups, namely the Katsuura mounded tomb group, the Shimbaru-Nuyama mounded tomb group and the Sudata mounded tomb group from north to south [YANAGISAWA, 1992].

In the one in between, the Shimbaru-Nuyama mounded tomb group, circular-shaped mounded tombs (*enpun*) about 30 m in diameter began to be constructed in the first half of the 5th century. After the Shimbaru-Nuyama tomb no. 1 appeared in the middle third of the same century, middle-sized keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds were constructed in succession until the second half of the 6th century, including the Shimbaru-Nuyama tomb no. 12 (57 m long), no. 22 (mounded tomb with scallop shell-shaped base (*hotategaishiki kofun*); diameter of the circular-shaped part of the mound 54 m), no. 30 (burial mound length 54 m) etc. [HASHIGUCHI and IKEBE, 1989]. Big keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds, by contrast, were constructed in the Katsuura mounded tomb group in the north in the phase from the second half to the last third of the 5th century and later in the Sudata mounded tomb group in the south. For instance, the Katsuura-inoura tomb (original names: Tsuyazaki tomb no. 10, Katsuura tomb no. 12; mound length 70 m) appeared in the Katsuura mounded tomb group in the second half of the 5th century (Figure 5). Next, the Katsuura-minenohata tomb (original names: Tsuyazaki tomb no. 41, Katsuura tomb no. 14) was constructed, the largest keyhole-shaped tomb (97 m) in the Munakata region [Compiled by ISHIKAWA, 1977]. This tomb has a unique corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance in the round rear part of the tomb whose main burial chamber is divided by stone pillars into three parts (Figure 6). A deity-and-beast mirror with an wide image band (*gamontai shinjū kyō*), a mirror with interconnected arcs (*naikō kamon kyō*) and a mirror with an inner field of pearl relief design (*shumon kyō*) etc. were found. Moreover, in the 6th century, the Arai-tsurugizuka tomb (85 m) was constructed probably from the first half to the middle third of the century and then probably in the second half of the century the Sudata-amafurijinja tomb (80 m) was constructed in the Sudata mounded tomb group in the south [YANAGISAWA, 1992].

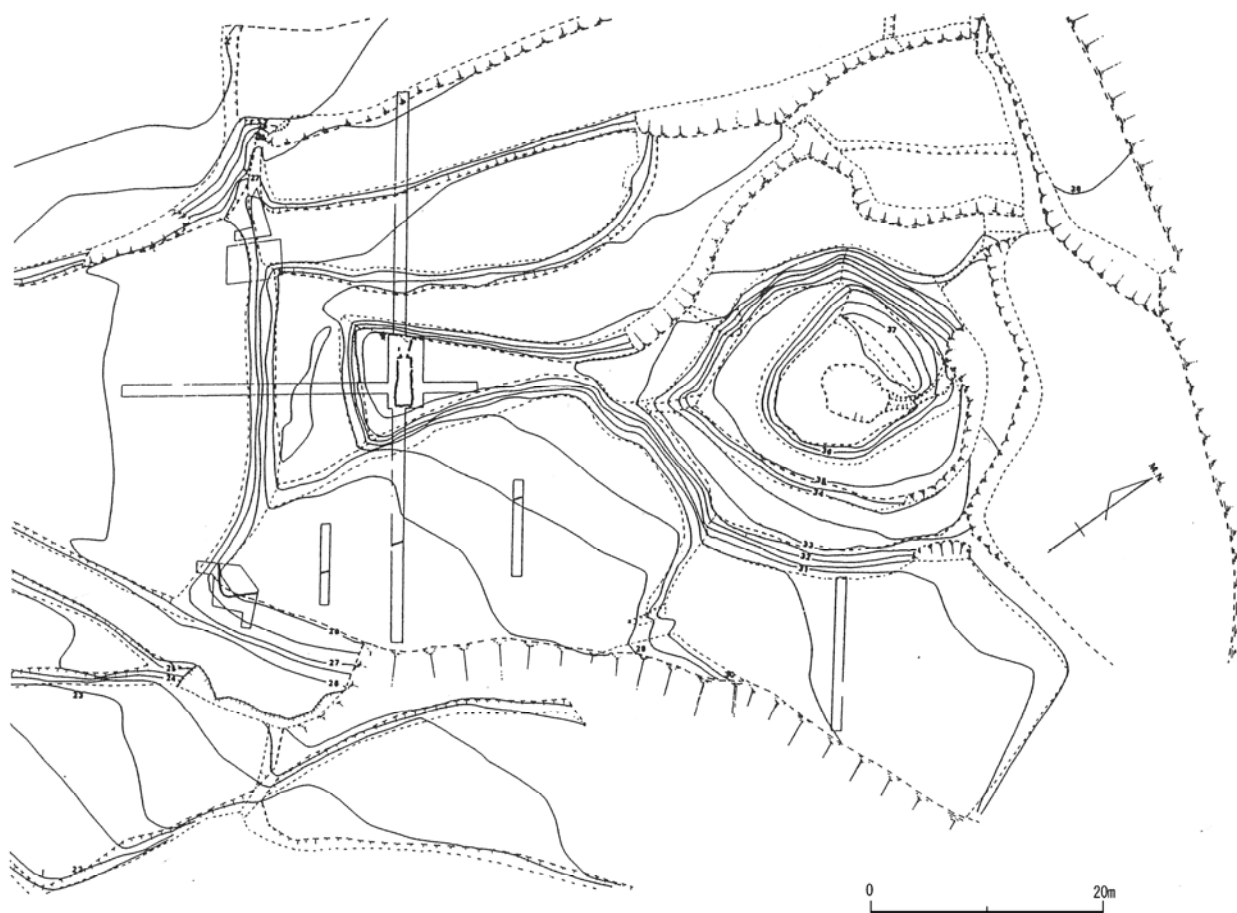


Figure 5 The mound of the Katsuura-inoura tomb (original names: Tsuyazaki no. 10, Katsuura no. 12)
(Source: *"The Shimbaru-Nuyama mounded tomb group"*)

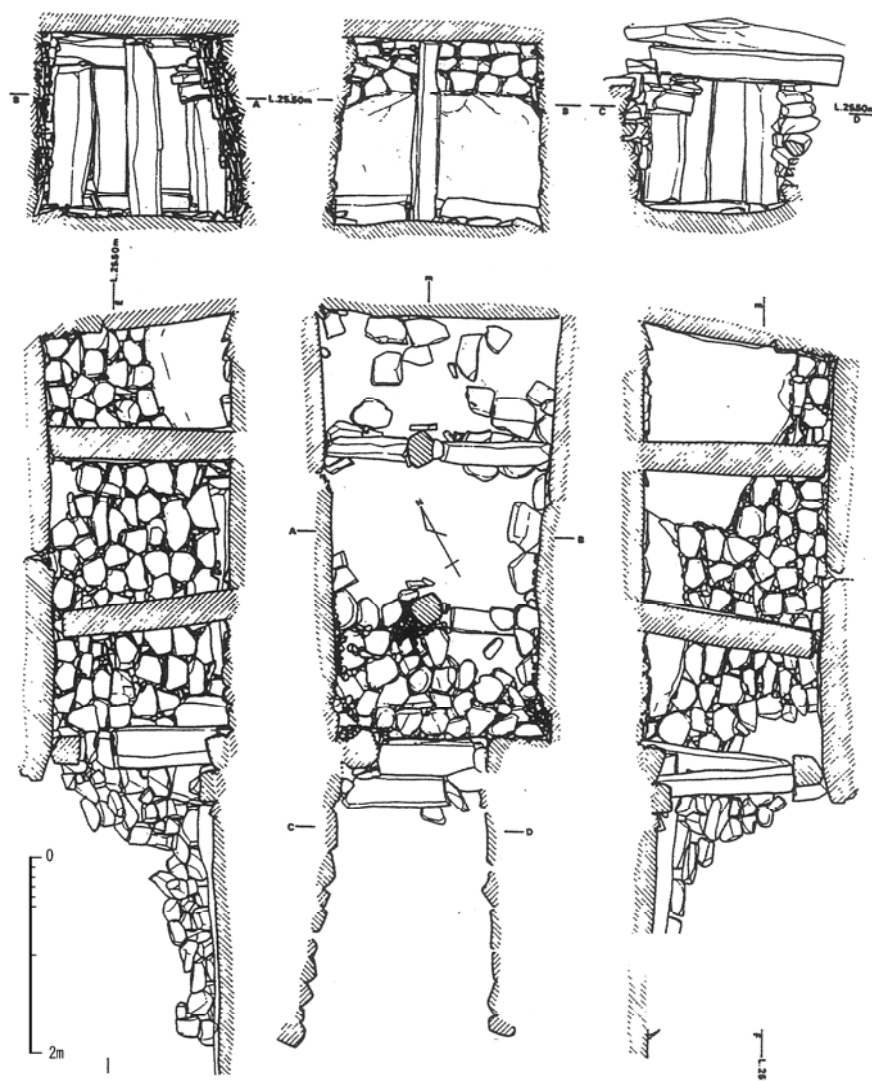


Figure 6 The corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb (original names: Tsuyazaki no. 41, Katsuura no. 14)
(Source: "The Shimbaru-Nuyama mounded tomb group")

Thus, in the Munakata region, large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds with 80 to 100 m in length were constructed for generations during the second half of the 5th century to the 6th century. Parallel to them, mounded tombs 50 to 60 m long were also constructed there. However, there are only a small number of areas where large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds, 80 to 100 m long, continued to be constructed in this phase even in the northern and central parts of the Kyūshū region: e.g., the Yame mounded tomb group in Chikugo where the Iwatoyama tomb (140 m long), the Zenzōzuka tomb (about 90 m) and the Tsurumiyama tomb (85 m) in Yame city, Fukuoka prefecture, were constructed in succession; in the Ukiha region in the upper reaches of the Chikugo River, the Tsukinooka tomb (95 m), the Tsukadō tomb (90 m), the Hinooka tomb (75 m) and the Shigesada tomb (70 m) at Ukiha city, Fukuoka prefecture, etc. were constructed in succession; in the lower reaches of the Hikawa River in Higo, the Nakanojō tomb (98 m), the Himenojō tomb (85 m) and the Ōnoiyawa tomb (about 100 m) at Hikawa town, Kumamoto prefecture were constructed. Besides these, there are also examples of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds of the 80-meter class, including the Tōkōji-kenzuka tomb in Fukuoka city (75 m), the Keisen-ōzuka tomb at Keisen town, Fukuoka prefecture (80 m), etc. which were, however, sporadically constructed without similar tombs ahead of or after each of them.

It goes without saying that the above-mentioned Yame mounded tomb group in Chikugo was left by the Tsukushi-no-Kimi, while the above-mentioned Hikawa River mounded tomb group in Higo was left by the Hi-no-Kimi. It is unquestionable that a local force in the Munakata region in and after the second half of the 5th century, namely the Munakata clan occupied a certain position inside the Yamato polity at this stage as Tsukushi-no-Kimi in Chikugo, Hi-no-Kimi in Higo etc. did. It is also out of question that their position was secured by a certain role that they played in the Yamato polity's negotiations and trading with Korea at this stage. It is known that in negotiations and trading between the Yamato polity and Korea at this stage, an important role was played by chiefs in the coastal areas of the Ariake and Yatsushiro Seas, including Hi-no-Kimi, Minuma-no-Kimi and Hi-no-Ashikita-no-Kuninomiya-suko or perhaps the person buried in the Eta-funayama tomb in the basin of the Kikuchi River [SHIRAISHI, 1997]. Along with these forces, it is presumable that the Munakata clan also played a critically important role in negotiations and trading with Korea, including the performance of rituals on Okinoshima.

There is the Miyajidake tomb on the premises of the Okumiya of the Miyajidake Shrine at Fukutsu city Miyaji south of the Sudata mounded tomb group where large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds were constructed in the 6th century, namely in the middle third to second half of the century, such as the Arai-tsurugizuka tomb and the Sudata-amafurijinja tomb. It is a circular-shaped mounded tomb, 35 m in diameter with a long and massive corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance made with cut stones, 22 m in length inside. This tomb seems to have been excavated in the early modern period and gorgeous grave goods were found, such as beautiful accessories including a gilt bronze openwork crown, horse trappings including a gorgeous gilt bronze bridle with cheek plates and stirrup with pot-shaped cover for the toes (*tsubo abumi*), weapons including a gilt bronze single-edged long sword with bulbous pommel (*kabutsuchi no tachi*) and moreover a bronze bowl (*dōwan*), a bronze plate (*dōban*) and glass plates which seem to be raw material [MORI, 1976]. Judging from the Sue ware excavated together with those objects, it can be assumed that the tomb dates back in the third quarter of the 7th century.

According to the section of the 2nd month of the second year of the Emperor Tenmu (673) in the *Nihonshoki*, it says that the Emperor got married to Amako-no-Iratsume, a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, and then Prince Takechi-no-Miko was born as their son. Prince Takechi-no-Miko passed away in 7th month of the tenth year of the Empress Jitō (696). According to the directory of court nobles (*kugyōbunin*) his age at the time of his death was 42 or 43 years, it can be assumed that his birth year was about 654 and his father probably passed away in the third quarter of the 7th century. This assumption is consistent with the construction age of the Miyajidake tomb estimated from Sue ware found at the tomb. The Miyajidake tomb is a large circular-shaped mounded tomb of the terminal stage following large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds, such as the Arai-tsurugizuka tomb, the Sudata-amafurijinja tomb etc. being burials of chiefs of the Munakata clan probably around the second half of the 6th century, which are located in the Sudata mounded tomb group immediately north of the Miyajidake tomb. This fact clearly tells that the burials of the chiefs in the Sudata mounded tomb group and the Katsuura mounded tomb group older than the former are nothing but the graves of the heads of the Munakata clan. Moreover, it tells that those tombs including the Shimbaru-Nuyama mounded tomb group are nothing but groups of graves of the Munakata clan.

When these are taken into consideration, it seems that as of the first half of the 5th century during which chiefs in the coastal areas of the Ariake Sea or the Yatsushiro Sea south of the former are considered to have embarked on negotiations and trading with Korea, for the local force of Munakata the period of not playing a major role in the bilateral negotiations continued. This is the case with several forces in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast that had taken leadership in the exchange in an earlier phase before the first half of the 5th century. From the second half of the 5th century on, however, especially from the last third of the 5th century on when the Katsuura-minenohata tomb as the largest keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound in the Munakata region appeared, it can be assumed that the Munakata clan began to take a critically important position in new exchanges and trading with Korea along with several forces in the coastal areas of the Ariake and Yatsushiro Seas and in the basin of the Chikugo River, if we take into account the nature of the mounded tombs in the northern and central parts of the Kyūshū region, including Munakata.

In relation to the aforementioned continuous construction of large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds in Munakata from the second half of the 5th century on, what should be noted anew is a description in the ninth year of the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku in the *Nihonshoki*. It says that in 2nd month of the ninth year, Oshikōchi-no-Atai Katabu and court ladies were sent to Munakata to offer to the Munakata Goddess. It continues “3rd month. The Emperor desired to chastise Silla in person, but a God warned him, saying:--"Go not." For this reason the Emperor did not carry out his intention of going”. This means that when the Emperor intended to make an expedition to Silla by himself, the Munakata goddess opposed it and the expedition by the Emperor was suspended. Instead, Ki-no-Oyumi-no-Sukune, Soga-no-Karako-no-Sukune, Otomo-no-Katari-no-Muraji and Okahi-no-Sukune were dispatched to Silla. Apart from the question whether this description is a historical fact, it is important that the goddess of Munakata was recognized to have status which could affect even a decision to be made by the Emperor about external expeditions and policies in this time. The construction of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb, the largest keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound in Munakata is estimated around the last third of the 5th century near the time of Emperor Yūryaku’s court. At this stage, the Munakata clan was presumably in a position which could affect external policies of the Yamato kingly power.

7. Conclusion

In the preceding six sections, we have examined the relations between Okinoshima rituals and the Yamato kingly power from an archaeological point of view. Based on the results of the scientific investigations on Okinoshima rituals carried out from 1954 to 1971, it has been pointed out since early that rituals on Okinoshima, a solitary island in the Genkai Sea were not limited to a local force of Munakata but were certainly state-related rituals where the Yamato kingly power has played a profound part in . It has already passed such a long time as 40 years since the end of the Series 3 investigation, during which remarkable progress has been made in archaeological and document-based historical research concerning the Kofun period to Ritsuryō period. From the present situation of studies in ancient history this paper has re-examined how we can understand the fundamental character of the Okinoshima rituals and its interrelation with the Yamato kingly power. In the following, the author will briefly summarize what seems to have been clarified so far.

First of all, with regard to the inception of rituals on Okinoshima, the absolute age determination of mounded tombs and the artifacts of this period has been significantly adjusted and the beginning dates back to earlier times. As for sites no. 17 and 18 probably in the oldest stage of the surveyed ritual sites, there are not a few researchers who previously thought them to be in a newer phase of the second half of the 4th century, namely from the end of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century. In recent years, however, reexamination concerning the dating of the emergence of mounded tombs based on the recent detailed analysis of the chronological sequences of triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors or the establishment of the Sue ware by absolute age determination through the tree-ring dating method (dendrochronology) etc. took place. Based upon on such chronological adjustments, the author has indicated that they should be considered to date back to an earlier stage of second half of the 4th century, namely the third quarter of the 4th century.

While the emergence of rituals on Okinoshima has been adjusted to an earlier time, we have also had to substantially change the evaluation of their relations with the Yamato kingly power and their fundamental character. This reflects a great change in the view of the beginning of the Kofun period. The conventional notion is that large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds emerged toward the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century. On the contrary the recent notion is that they date back in the middle third of the 3rd century. As for the standard type of big keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds, there is no major change in the stance that their emergence corresponds to the establishment of a political union called the Yamato polity. Conventionally, however, not a few researchers have considered the inception of Okinoshima rituals directly in connection with the advance of the Yamato polity into the Korean peninsula. They have depicted a schema that the Yamato polity was established toward the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century and advanced into northern Kyūshū in the first half and further into the peninsula in the second half of the 4th century.

However, on the assumption that large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound date back to the middle third of the 3rd century and Okinoshima rituals date back to the time after the middle third of 4th century, it will be hard to establish a schema that the Yamato polity unified domestic forces and advanced into the Korean peninsula immediately after the unification. It will become necessary to assume the presence of some external momentum for the military involvement of the Yamato polity on the peninsula from the second half of the 4th century on. In this point, it deserves more attention that OKAZAKI Takashi who conducted the Series 3 investigation proposes such a view in the report that the inception of Okinoshima rituals should be connected with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Paekche and Land of Wa in the second half of the 4th century which can be gathered from Paekche-related historical documents, such as from the description the time of Empress Jingū in the *Nihonshoki*. His view is extremely important, though from the general chronological point of view in those days, it was unreasonable to advance the date of site no. 17 consistent with the grave goods of mounded tombs of a quite new phase of the Early Kofun period to the second half of the 4th century even to around the middle third. In the present view of the calendrical age, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Paekche and Land of Wa are completely consistent with the beginning of Okinoshima rituals.

In East Asia in the 4th century, northern equestrian people began to move south. This great wave of migration of people drove Koguryo southward, and consequently Paekche and Silla on the southern part of the Korean peninsula were faced with state crises. At that moment, whereas Silla gave way to Koguryo for survival, Paekche chose the way of all-out fighting. What caught the attention of Paekche in battle was the Land of Wa, which, depending on iron resources of the Korean peninsula, chose the way of cooperation with Paekche. These great changes in the international situation of East Asia led Land of Wa to appear on the international stage of East Asia. It may be unquestionable that Okinoshima rituals were concurrently launched with the start of diplomatic relations between Land of Wa and Paekche and the subsequent dispatch of troops by the Land of Wa to the Korean peninsula.

It is very suggestive that the location of Okinoshima Island is largely deviated from the Iki-Tsushima route as the conventionally main route of Wa-Korea connection and rather close to the later Kanpu ferry route from the Straits of Shimonoseki to near the mouth of the Nakdong River via the Seto Inland Sea from Kinai. Okinoshima rituals were probably performed by the Yamato kingly power, now cooperating with Paekche and dispatching troops, with the support of a local force of Munakata to pray for safely crossing the sea on Okinoshima near the shortest route connecting Kinai to the Korean peninsula. Of course, however, the safest Iki-Tsushima route may have been practically used to make the sea crossing. As a goddess on the “*Kaihokudōchū*”, the shortest route connecting Kinai to the Korean peninsula, the goddess of Okinoshima probably had a symbolic meaning upon the performance of rituals for the safety of the sea crossing from the Land of Wa to Korea.

Even though rituals were launched on Okinoshima at this moment, all the most prominent mounded tombs are located in northern Kyūshū from the second half of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century. Their location can prove that a main maritime route was the Iki-Tsushima route between the Land of Wa and Korea, and leading forces which supported this route on the side of the Land of Wa were Matsura, Ito and Na in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast. However, the leading driving force via this route began to substantially change in the first half of the 5th century. As a result of the advance of Silla into near the mouth of the Nakdong River where Kuyakan-Koku or later the country of Kinkan-kaya (kor.

Geumgwan-Gaya) was located as a Korean window of exchange with the Land of Wa, more in the west Daegaya (*ōkaya*; *daikaya*) in the middle reaches of the Nakdong River or the even more westward the region of Jeollanam-do took the lead in the exchanges with the Land of Wa. Following this supersession, a leading role on the side of the Land of Wa began to be assumed by forces in the coastal areas of the Ariake and Yatsushiro Seas, instead of Matsura, Ito and Na in the western part of the Genkai Sea coast. This transition can also be proved by the fact that prominent mounded tombs began to disappear on the Genkai Sea coast in the first half of the 5th century and instead, large mounded tombs began to be constructed on the Ariake Sea coast and in the basin of the Chikugo River. In the section of the time of Empress Jingū in the *Nihonshoki*, it is written that rituals to worship three goddesses of Munakata were undertaken by the Munakata clan. On the contrary, the third addendum to the *Nihonshoki* says that offerings were done by the Minuma-no-Kimi from the mouth of the Chikugo River on the Ariake Sea coast. It may be unquestionable that the latter description reflected a major change in the driving force via the Wa-Korea exchange route.

There are many unknown things with regard to specific roles in Wa-Korea negotiations played by local forces in Munakata, including the Munakata clan maintaining Okinoshima Island. Notwithstanding, if we take a look at the presence of mounded tombs in this region, it is apparent that the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb, a middle-sized keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound appeared in the second half of the 4th century when rituals were launched on Okinoshima. This seems to show that the force of Munakata played a certain role upon the start of a new negotiation between the Land of Wa and Korea. After that, however, until the middle third of the 5th century, remarkable keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds were not constructed, and it does not seem that the Munakata force played a major role in Wa-Korea negotiations. From the second half of the 5th century on to the 6th century, on the contrary, in this region the construction of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds of the 70 – 100 m class began with the Katsuura-minenohata tomb whose mound is near 100 m long, followed by others. At this stage, it's common knowledge that the Munakata force had developed into one of the leading forces in northern and central Kyūshū comparable to the Tsukushi-no-Kimi who constructed the Yame mounded tomb group in Chikugo and the Hi-no-Kimi who constructed the Hikawa mounded tomb group in Higo.

Following those large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds in the 5th and 6th century, the Miyajidake tomb, a large circular-shaped tomb in the terminal stage of the Kofun period was constructed. Such a possibility cannot be denied that this mounded tomb is the grave of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, the father of Amako-no-Iratsume, one of wives of the Emperor Tenmu, judging from gorgeous grave goods and the date of excavated pottery. From the presence of mounded tombs in this region, it can be gathered that the political force of Munakata, namely the Munakata clan along with several forces in the coastal areas of the Ariake and Yatsushiro Seas played a critically important role in foreign exchanges of the Yamato polity from the second half of the 5th century on. It can be considered doubtless that the Munakata clan practically assumed the performance of rituals on Okinoshima in this period.

Thus, the author has presented a report on the results of his consideration with regard to “The Yamato kingly power and Rituals on Okinoshima Island” as a subject of study given to him. The author would appreciate it, if you would criticize this paper without reservation.

Acknowledgments:

I have continued to have much interest in ritual sites on Okinoshima Islands and ancient rituals performed there since I took charge of the exhibition entitled “Okinoshima Island” at the National Museum of Japanese History opened to the public in 1984. For the completion of the exhibition, I would like to appreciate great help and valuable instructions of OKAZAKI Takashi and YUBA Tadanori who led the Okitsumiya ritual site investigation team. It is one of my memorable things now that I was permitted to visit Okinoshima Island three times in order to carry out field surveys and make a model of a “rock-abode” (dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily). Now that 27 years have passed since then, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the World Heritage Promotion Committee of Okinoshima Island and related sites in the Munakata region for this opportunity to re-examine the character of Okinoshima rituals.

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Intangible Folk Cultural Properties of Munakata Grand Shrine

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Abstract: This paper discusses “intangible folk cultural properties of Munakata Grand Shrine”, or “festivals”. Among the rituals performed today at the Munakata Grand Shrine¹⁾, the ritual called Miare Festival, which features the reception of the divine spirits of Tagorihime-no-Kami from Okinoshima Island and Tagitsuhime-no-Kami of Ōshima Island at the Hetsu-miya enshrining Ichikishimahime-no-Kami, was revived in 1962 in reference to the Minagate ritual, which was conducted in the Middle Ages of Japan. This paper will describe the historical rituals and the history of their revival. Then, the relation between the Munakata Grand Shrine and the tutelary deities of villages within the area called “Shingun (a land for deities) Munakata” as well as Koshiki-Sai (ancient style festival) conducted by “miyaza” (shrine parish guild) of the Tashima district will be described. Finally, the relations between people of Okinoshima Island and people of Ōshima Island, where Nakatsu-miya is located, and the Tanabata-Matsuri (star festival) of Nakatsu-miya will be discussed.

Keywords: Revival of festivals, Miare Festival, Koshiki-Sai, Tanabata-Matsuri, livelihood and festival

1. Introduction

At the present Munakata Grand Shrine, more than about forty festivals including the Spring Grand Festival and the Autumn Grand Festival are performed annually. The festivals at Munakata Shrine have undergone a variety of renewals due to political and social changes, rise and fall of priests in the course of history spanning from ancient times, medieval times, modern times, and contemporary times up to current times.

Regarding the shrine rituals and festivals at Munakata Shrine, we can learn about the specific circumstances since the early Kamakura period. Munakata Shrine achieved its greatest prosperity under Daigūji (the senior priest of Shintō shrine; the highest position of Munakata shrine) during the medieval times and number of shrine rituals were solemnly performed and detailed historical sources regarding them were retained. The sources include: *Munakatagū Nenchū Shoshinji Goku Gegyō-no-Koto* (The yearly rituals and offerings at Munakata Shrine) depicting the divine rituals and offerings to deities during Kamakura period; *Shōhei 23nen Munakatagū Nenchū Gyōji* (The yearly events at Munakata Shrine in Shōhei 23 (1368)), which is a transcription before the Period of Southern and Northern Dynasties; and *Ōan Shinji Shidai* (The programs of yearly shrine events) on the basis of the index record of yearly events that were reported by Negi (senior priest) Munehiro in Ōan 8 (1375), whose 6 kinds of transcriptions are existing.²⁾

The Daigūji family was terminated in Tenshō 14 (1586) and due to the subsequent deprivation of the shrine property, breakup of Shintō priests/shrine Buddhist monks and deterioration of shrine and temple, etc., Munakata Shrine fell into a decline remarkably. Although the number of annual rituals was said to be 5921 times (9468 times in the leap year) in medieval times, there were only a small number of rituals performed at the shrine as the passage in *Munakata Jinja Engi Furoku* (The appendix to Munakata Shrine Superstitions) by KAIBARA Ekiken goes: “Most of the rituals are died out now and not even one hundredth of the ancient rituals are performed” in more recent times. Absent any substantial historical sources depicting annual events like in medieval times, we had to depend on scarce documents such as *Munakata Jiseki kō* (The vestige of Munakata) and *Munakatagū Nenchū Shosairei Gokumai Sadametyō*

(The statute of the yearly festivals and rice offerings at Munakata Shrine) issued in Genroku 13 (1700) to conjure up the condition at the time and we can assume from *Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki Shūi* (The gleanings of the sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province) that there were some festivals performed corresponding to the description in the Fudoki that goes “about 36 formalized yearly rituals are performed”³⁾.

The Order for Separation of Buddhism and Shintoism by Meiji Restoration placed shrines under state control and when Munakata shrine was categorized as the “Kokuhei Chūsha Shrine (government designated shrine)”

by an Ordinance from Dajōkan (supreme governing body) on May 14, Meiji 4 (1871), its divine rituals were to be performed according to the festivals defined by the state and the traditional divine rituals dating from the ancient times were performed as private festival or popular festivals.

After World War 2, by way of the Shintō Ordinance by GHQ, Shintō shrines were separated from the state and no shrines were under the state control and when Jinja Honchō (Association of Shintō Shrines) was established as a comprehensive association of the shrines in the nation in February Shōwa 21 (1946), Munakata Shrine joined in the association and the festivals according to the general framework directed by Jinja Honchō were to be performed. State-level divine rituals that had been conducted in the era of State Shintō disappeared and the priority was placed on the festivals associated deeply with shrines, shrine parishioners and worshippers and with the addition of revived ancient festivals, the shrine has become what it is now.

The “reisai (annual celebration)” before the end of WW2 was performed on November 15 (at Hetsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya) and on November 16 (at Okitsu-miya). It is believed to have adopted the date of Jōu in November defined as the date of “Munakata Matsuri(Munakata Festival)” in *Kuji Kongen* (Roots of Imperial Ceremonies) by ICHIJO Kaneyoshi after the Meiji period⁴⁾, at Hetsu-miya, the date was changed to October 2. Hōjō-e (ceremony of releasing captured animals), which had been traditionally performed on August 15, was changed to September 1 after Enpō 8 (1680) and was moved a month later to October by adoption of the solar calendar system. Today, it's become the most spectacular Autumn Grand Festival held from October 1 to October 3, featuring Minagate ritual (Miare Festival), which was revived in 1962. In addition, the annual celebrations at Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya are held on September 15 on the lunar calendar.

The Spring Grand Festival is performed at the Main Shrine on April 1 and 2. The festival was called “Hozon-e” in ancient times, in which after the ritual, worshippers were given a chance to see the shrine treasures that were open to public for airing purpose as well⁵⁾. Also, the time coincided with the time of seeding and therefore, it is also considered to have replaced the “Kinensai (prayer service for good crop) Spring Grand Festival” conducted before the end of World War 2⁶⁾. The prayer service for good crop at Munakata Shrine was already depicted in *Engishiki* (a list of shrines (with deities) published in 927) written in Heian period and they performed the festival in February as annual government festival receiving state offerings for three shrines. These two Spring and Autumn Grand Festivals are placed as historically significant festivals.

At the former Hetsu-miya, Hōjō-e (ceremony of releasing captured animals) of August 15 and May Dedication Ritual of the 5th of May were the two biggest festivals in the year attracting many people. For this reason, following the revival of Miare Festival, May Dedication Ritual and Hama-miya Festival were revived with participation of many shrines within the district.

Moreover, there is Koshiki-Sai in December (The Ancient Style Festival) as a unique shrine festival.

In this paper, from among the festivals currently performed in Munakata Grand Shrine, I will highlight the festivals with distinctive representation of devotion of shrine parishioners including Miare Festival, Koshiki-Sai and Tanabata Matsuri (Star Festival) at Nakatsu-miya.

2. Miare Festival

(1) Significance of Miare Festival

“Miare” means “Mi (deity) /Are (birth, advent)” and it means that a deity or a noble person is born or descends on earth. At shrines throughout the country, the miare rituals are performed so that new divine spirits are born into. In the folk society of Japan centered on agriculture, it was believed that the deities are ushered in from the mountain to a village in spring and they yield their divine power in order to bring agricultural fertility of the year and they return to the mountain after the harvest to reproduce their spirits. As the origin of a word “Fuyu (winter)” is “Mitama-no-fuyu (spirits are procreated)”, by ushering in the deities who reproduced their divine spirits during the wintertime, they start again the agricultural practice in spring. And the ritual of giving birth to a deity with new life is called “Miare Ritual” and the “Miare

Festival” performed as secret ritual at night at Kamigamo Shrine in Kyōto prior to Aoi Festival on the date of Ox during April (currently on May 12) was a famous festival dating from Heian period which also appeared in *Kino Tsurayuki Shū*.

Of course, Miare is performed at the seaside as well. Munakata Grand Shrine is a collection of three shrines that are Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya. The Miare Festival is a festival in which Tagorihime-no-Kami enshrined in Okitsu-miya (Okinoshima), Tagitsu-hime-no-Kami enshrined in Nakatsu-miya (Ōshima Island) and Ichikishimahime-no-Kami enshrined in Hetsu-miya (Tashima) meet once a year and they are reborn, that is to say, they are together to be endowed with new life and be born into young and powerful goddesses.

Although many divine rituals including the one praying for safe navigation were performed in ancient times on Okinoshima Island, being a solitary island in the Genkai Sea, it is not easily accessible from the land. Even today, it is still an unapproachable island of deities with many taboos existed. The routine daily prayers have been performed at Hetsu-miya that is called as the “Sōja” meaning consolidated shrine. However, close religious attention has always been paid to Okinoshima Island which is known as “根本御影向の地”. Until the medieval times when Munakata Shrine achieved its prosperity, Minagate rituals were performed 4 times a year and the divine spirits of Okinoshima Island were brought to Hetsu-miya. However, the ritual disappeared gradually, and instead, fishermen of Ōshima Island began to offer prayers to deities of Okinoshima Island when they went out fishing and they preserved and honored the shrine for a long time.

For this reason, welcoming the goddess from Okinoshima Island to Ōshima Island and to Hetsu-miya has a significant meaning for people living around Munakata Nanaura who are willing to serve for the festival and every year a magnificent parade of ships are deployed on the sea.

(2) Revival plan of the Miare Festival

The revival of the Miare Festival can be placed in a series of the Munakata shrine redevelopment activities during and after World War 2.

In Shōwa 17 (1942), the “Munakata Grand Shrine Redevelopment Association” was set up under IDEMITSU Sazō as a chairman. This association was formed with an aim of reviving the shrine as “Chokusaisha”, a shrine where imperial envoys are dispatched on occasion of festivals” based on the divine rescript of Amaterasu-Ōmikami written in a passage of the first volume of “Nihonshoki (Chronicle of Japan)”: “汝三神 宜しく道中に降居して 天孫を助け奉り 天孫に祭かれよ”. In order to clarify its history, the compilation of the Munakata Jinja History and the excavation research of Okinoshima Island were planned. However, the plan was held up due to the war defeat and the shrine was fallen into a decline because of dramatic decrease of worshippers. However, that didn’t dampen the enthusiasm of Mr. IDEMITSU and his associates who are from the district and the “Munakata Jinja History -Volume 1” was published and the second volume was published in 1966 and in 1971, the appendix was published. At the same time, the excavations were conducted from 1954 to 1958 and from 1969 to 1971 producing remarkable results and the island came to be called “Floating Shōsōin”.

Meanwhile, a variety of projects were drawn up to bring additional excitement to the shrine. During the time when KUBO Teruo served as chief priest (from 1959 to 1972), he invited ONO Michio from the Jinja Honchō (Association of Shintō Shrines) to draw up various projects with an aim to boost great divine prestige of Munakata Shrine. The deputy chief priest ONO⁷⁾ was a scholarly person and undertook wide range of projects including publication of the newsletter “Munakata”, establishment of a scholarship system in commemoration of the royal wedding of the crown prince, hosting of a Kendō competition for youth development and the foundation of “Munakata Society” composed of people from Munakata that have relevance to the present. Among many projects, he focused on the redevelopment of the historical festival. Incidentally, it was the time when the “Munakata Jinja History” was being compiled and the description of “Minagate ritual” of welcoming divine spirits of Okinoshima Island to Hetsu-miya that took place in medieval times grabbed his attention⁸⁾.

In those days, Miare Festival was an inconspicuous shrine ritual that consists of displacing three sacred bodies of Munakata Grand Goddesses from the Nichū Jinja that are Keidai-Massha (Branch shrines in the Grand Shrine Grounds) and putting them in the main shrine of Hetsu-miya in front of the Goddess⁹⁾.

It is relatively easy to visit Okinoshima Island with a power-driven vessel today, however, given that fact that it was impossible to displace the “shinji” (sacred chest) without substantial financial resources on the part of the priests during the times when the vessel structure and navigation technology were undeveloped, the revival of this festival had a symbolic implication of restoration of Munakata Shrine after the war.

Regarding the significance of the Miare Festival Plan in 1962, the deputy chief priest ONO described in the following way. “The current Miare Festival involves displacing three sacred bodies of Munakata Grand Goddesses from the Nichū Jinja that are branch shrines in the Grand Shrine Grounds and putting them in the Main shrine of Hetsu-miya, however, given the current state of society, if we adopt a new method of displacing three sacred bodies from Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Takamiya from Hetsu-miya respectively and if we perform the ritual of displacing from Nakatsu-miya on Ōshima Island in a big way, it will involve fishermen from Ōshima Island and Munakata Nanaura in the pre-event of Hōjō-e (ceremony of releasing captured animals) and it will serve as an excellent opportunity for people in the districts to participate in the Hōjō-e Grand Festival as a whole¹⁰⁾.

When he approached the local fishermen as to their interest in his proposal, the fisheries co-operative associations in Nanaura (Ōshima Island, Jinoshima, Kanesaki, Kōnominato, Tsuyazaki, Fukuma) nodded in favorable agreement saying “We’ll do whatever we can to render service to the festival of the goddesses of our sea”. Soon, the worshippers’ societies of Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya of Ōshima Island that had supported the divine rituals of Okinoshima Island built up a framework of cooperation¹¹⁾, which led to a start of greater-than-expected festival contrary to the originally-planned small-scale festival.

(3) Minagate Ritual

In the course of reviving the Miare Festival, we resorted to “Minagate Shinji” as a reference literature and in the paragraph “Tei-ichi Daijingū Shrine” of “*Shōhei 23nen Munakatagū Nenchū Gyōji*”¹²⁾ (hereinafter called as “*Nenchū Gyōji*”) there is a following description.

「第一大神宮仏神事」の項に、
 三月廿日 御長手御鍛冶屋御入神事 社務役
 六月廿日 御長手神事 社務役
 九月廿日 御長手御鍛冶屋御入神事 社務役
 「息御嶋神事 第一宮本社」の項に
 春 御長手神事 夏 同神事
 秋 同神事 冬 同神事
 「政所社神事」の項に
 三月十五日 御長手神事
 十二月十六日 御長手神事 同役(社務役)

Mandokorosha is located inside the Tei-ichi Daijingū Shrine where Daigūji renders a direct service and Mandokoro was in charge of preparing and enshrining Nagate. For this reason, prior to the ritual called “kajiyairishinji”, which is the blacksmiths’ entering into Tei-ichi Daijingū Shrine on March 20, it is considered that the ritual was performed on March 15¹³⁾. Minagate Rituals performed four times in each four season appeared in the page “Okinomishima (Okinoshima Island)” correspond to March 15th, 20th in spring, June 20th in summer, September 20th in Autumn and December 16th in winter and they are thought to be performed between Okinoshima Island and Tei-ichi Daijingū Shrine.

The origin of “Minagate” was described in the section of “強石將軍(今宗像大菩薩)依神功皇后勅命三韓征伐事”¹⁴⁾ in “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi (the principle of causation and *interdependence*)” (hereinafter called as “Goengi”) in the following way.

When Empress Jingū sent troops to Shilla, an old man appeared carrying “Minagate” and he called

himself as the emperor of Mizuho Province and the son of Amaterasu-Ōmikami and also the Warload Takaiso Gōseki who served as leader of the foreign punitive expeditions undertaken seven times. The Warload Gōseki became Munakata Daibosatsu of today. Munakata Daibosatsu became one of 6 warlords along with Kawakami¹⁵⁾, Sumiyoshi, Suwa, Kōra¹⁶⁾ and Takeuchi¹⁷⁾ and each of them stood on the bow and stern of the ships and total of 28 ships with 375 people on board sailed to Tsushima with Azumi-no-Isora¹⁸⁾ as helmsman. The empress dispatched Toyohime to Dragon Palace Castle and was offered Kanju and Manju on loan by the Dragon King.^f

Minister Takeuchi wove and carried red and white flags and attached the flags on a Minagate¹⁹⁾ of the Warload Gōseki (Munakata Daibosatsu) and proceeded hanging the flag at the front unit. The custom of holding a flag during the war started from this event.

When they crossed the sea to reach Silla and Minister Sō (Munakata Daibosatsu) waved down the Minagate and Minister Tō (Kōra-Tamatare-no-Mikoto) put the Kanju into the sea, the sea became the land. The pleased enemy soldiers got off the ships and started to walk toward this side, Minister Sō waved up the Minagate and Minister Tō put the Manju into the sea, the tide came in immediately and the enemy soldiers were drowned.

The Minagate that Munakata Daibosatsu waved up and down was an important “token of the god” which led our military to victory along with “kanju” and “manju” which controlled freely the tidal wave of the sea.

The warload Gōseki (Munakata Daibosatsu), after returning from the war, set up a white flag and a red flag on the ground in Hakozaki. The site was named “Akahatanosha (red flag shrine)” and “Hatahoko-no-midō (flag pole shrine)”. Later, the warload Gōseki set up the Minagate in the ground on Okino-mishima (Okinoshima Island), which is Konpon Goyōgō (original place where a holy spirit and the image of goddess descends). These were flag poles used for foreign expedition and they are unnatural bamboo which grew at the same rate in a vase “Samchiku no bin” every year. According to a theory, these Minagate had long been dedicated to the shrine and one of them (a bamboo branch) took root in a vase and its ethereal wonder never disappears year by year.

In another section, there is a description as follows. “Honchi(Buddhist deities) of Kanesaki Orihata Daimyōjin (guardian deity) is Nyoirin kannon(Cintāmaṇicakra) and Suijyaku(local manifestation) is the divine deity of Minister Takeuchi. When Empress Jingū sent troops to Shilla Dynasty, the banner with red and white streamers was attached to the Minagate of this deity Minister Sō, and therefore, he was given a cognomen “Orihata” on occasion of the “Jinmyō Suijyaku (Jinmyō god incarnated himself) and exists by the sea to protect the sea route against the foreign invaders”.

Taking into account the description of “Goengi”, Minagate must be a bamboo flagpole, or a form of a bamboo pole attached with red and white long strips of cloth, which is a military banner so to speak. It is revealed that on his triumphal return, Minagate was set up in the ground on Okinoshima Island as it is considered to be Konpon Goyōgō (original place where a holy spirit and the image of goddess descends) and it was also described as “the flag pole for the foreign expedition”. And this being the case, it is contemplated that the island, since ancient times, has been a place to offer prayers to Goddess not only for “safety of navigation” but also for “border security”, in other words, the shrine has been served as a guardian of the national border. In the *Nenchū Gyōji*, there is a passage that describes that “息御嶋日本與高麗之堺。第一大神宮本社”, which is to say that *Okinoshima Island is situated on the border between Japan and Kōrai (Goryeo) and is the main shrine of Tei-ichi Daijingū Shrine*²⁰⁾. “Minagate” can be seen as a symbol and this wonder-working bamboo has served as a sign of the Munakata goddess that has been brought quarterly from Okinoshima Island which is a place of Konpon Goyōgō (original place where a holy spirit and the image of goddess descends) to Hetsu-miya (consolidated shrine) where routine divine rituals of the holy trinity is performed to renew their divine power.

In the oracle of the shrine states as follows: “三神一所に御遷座有り、此則ち海辺に居、異国に向く事は、三神一^{ぐたいぐよう}俱^{じんみらいさい}俱用一致幽明の靈徳を顯し、尽未来際、本朝鎮護異国征伐の靈驗を施す也”. Today the revived festival of this Shintō ritual is called “Miare Festival” and the custom of setting up the big banner with the words “国家鎮護 宗像大社” on the Gozabune (boat for noble people) is the inheritance

from the ancient Shintoism faith.

The divine rituals on Okinoshima Island were undertaken by the Ichinokai-Kōno clan. The Ichinokai family usually stayed on Ōshima Island and the divine rituals were exclusively assumed in the name of “Gotō (lantern keeper)”. In modern times, except for sailing to Okinoshima Island twice a year they stayed on Ōshima Island and performed divine rituals at Special Worship Place for Okitsu-miya on Ōshima Island and Okitsu-miya Jingi-den within the estate of the clan. It is assumed that the same was true for medieval times and on the occasion of performing the Minagate Ritual, probably the Ichinokai clan went to Okinoshima Island and picked up Minagate bamboo branches and translated the divine spirits of Okinoshima Island on them and brought them to the consolidated shrine in Tashima (Hetsu-miya) to perform divine rituals²¹⁾.

There is no reference to “Minagate” in the *Ōan shinji shidai* (hereinafter called as “Shinji shidai”). Regarding the rituals concerning Okinoshima Island, there is a section “Daisaiji-mandokoro (grand festival administrative office)” describing as follows: “Seven jinin (low-rank priest) from Shokatsuura and seven jinin from Ōshima Island got together to make dolls, conduct ritual purification at the foot of “Uta-no-hashimoto (bridge where poems are written)” and then they held purification rite at the Omae-no-hama (front beach). After Negi(senior priest) hooked a fish, he offered divine rituals at Shimo-Takamiya and Chūden and offered twelve Gohei (wooden wands decorated with two shide) to Mikagimochi shrine to perform a ritual of plowing a rice paddy, made an offering of three handful of forage to Onmakiden shrine and read prayers for ritual. After all these rituals they went to Okinoshima Island by ship. This grand festival was held three times in spring, summer and autumn and the summer festival is called as “農業祭 (Agricultural Festival)”. According to the “Munakata Jinja History,” this is an error in writing of “農業祭” meaning agricultural festival. In this context, spring and autumn festivals may be fishery festivals.

The surrounding area of Okinoshima Island offers rich fishing ground and this is the reason why fishermen on Ōshima Island and Ura have treasured the island enshrining the guardian goddess. In this festival, Negi, performs rituals on the beach in front of Hetsu-miya including purification of the sea in the distance, offering of prayer for uneventful journey on the sea and wishing for large hauls of fish by performing imaginary fishing. This aspect of praying for everyday life and living of people is contrasted with the aspect of praying for “protection of the state” or “surrender of foreign enemies” in the medieval times when the state was threatened by the Mongolian Invasions. The fact that greater part of the Miare Festival is supported by the local fishermen also means inheritance of the faith.

(4) Hōjō-e (ceremony of releasing captured animals)

The “Goengi” describes the origin of Hōjō-e as well. In a paragraph that starts with “the divine oracle of this shrine states that”, there is a line that goes like this: “*Long time ago, we led more than 5,900 subordinate deities behind us and set out for an expedition while enduring strong wind sea during the journey more than 2000 miles and toppled the foreign enemies while waving Minagate. Of course we used force to protect our state security and our people, but we can't deny we've committed a killing. We need to transcribe Hannya-kyō sutra and engage in Hōjō-e ceremony.*” And according to the divine oracle of Tei-san-gū which says “*帰命満月海 浄妙瑠璃尊 薬能救衆生 因中十二願*”. It was supposed to transcribe the Dai-hannya-kyō sutra (skt: *Maha prajnaparamita sutra*) and the Kongō-hannya-kyō sutra, etc. every year without fail and interpret and appreciate the contents of sutras and their merits and hold Hōjō-e grand ceremony during three days from August 13 to August 15.

Hōjō-e is the oldest and the most important ceremony at Hachiman-gū shrines which started at Usa Hachiman-gū Shrine and now is held at Hachiman-gū shrines throughout the country including Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū Shrine, Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū Shrine and certain shrines associated with the ceremony. The ceremony originated from one of the five precepts in Buddhism, “abstain from harming living beings” and is a ceremony to release captured fish and birds to mountain, field, pond and water after holding a memorial service and in Japan it dated back to the time when Emperor Temmu ordered respective provinces to hold Hōjō-e on August 16 in the 5th year of the reign of Emperor Temmu (677)²²⁾. On occasion of Hayato Rebellion of Ōsumi and Hyūga broken out in the Yōrō 4 (720), Ōtomo-no-Tabito given a title of Seihayato Jisetsu Taishōgun (great general who subdues Hayato with Settō sword) and

Unu-no-Obito-Ohito who was a governor of Buzen Province were in charge of bringing under the rebellion and a female deputy chief priest Karashima Hatsume at Usa Hachiman-gū Shrine participated in the expedition as Mitsuebito. After the war, Hachiman Taishin(Yahata-no-Ōkami) gave his takusen (divine revelation) stating that “吾、此隼人等を多く殺却する。報いには年別に二度放生会を奉仕せむ” and this is the way Hōjō-e was started.

In the opinion of NAKANO Hatayoshi, this Hōjō-e was a precursor of “shinbutsu-shūgō (syncretistic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism)” ceremony where the older Shintō rituals joined together with the Hōjō rituals of Buddhism. Hōjō-e at Usa Hachiman-gū Shrine consists of Shintō rituals such as dedication of the bronze mirror from Toyohime Shrine in Kawara San-no-dake in Tagawa-gun, visit to Kyōshi-zuka mound known as a Hayato mound by shrine priests and shrine Buddhist monks and the Hōjō ceremony performed at Wamahama beach after joining the procession from Tagawa-gun and according to Nakano, this mound isn't from the 8th century but an old Tumulus with grand stone chamber dating back from 6th century²³⁾.

Regarding the origin of Hōjō-e at Munakata Shrine, in the colophon of “Shinji shidai (programs of shrine events)”, there is a line “放生会は仁明天皇御宇承和十年大神宮并男山の儀式を追わるの由、承り及ぶ所なり”. That means, in Jōwa 10 (843), the ceremony was started taking an example from the ceremony at Usa Hachiman-gū Shrine and Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū Shrine. Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū Shrine was founded in Jōgan 1 (859) and the year stated in the “*Shinji shidai*” is less-than perfect, but it is safe to say that the oracle concerning the origin of Hōjō-e cited in “Goengi” was adapted from the oracle of Hachiman shin (deity) that triggered a launch of Hōjō-e and this ceremony followed in the steps of Usa Hachiman-gū Shrine or Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū Shrine. However, at Munakata Grand Shrine which is different from Hachiman-gū shrines, they inserted a story of the Munakata Grand Deity who led more than 5900 subordinate deities, endured the storm and high wind during the journey of 2,000 miles and toppled the foreign enemies by introducing Minagate which is a one-of-a-kind “divine sign”. This is where you can see the position as grand shrine from ancient times of Munakata Grand shrine which had to proclaim its uniqueness despite the influence from the faith in Hachiman.

In the volume 2 of “Munakata-gū Shamu Shidai (record of services at Munaka Shrine)”, there is a description that right after the 43rd Daigūji Ujitsune entered the shrine in succession of his brother Ujikuni on October 9 in Jōei 1 (1232), he performed Hōjō-e ceremony on the third day and in the colophon 『大島第二宮年中御神事次第』, it is described as follows: “「宗像放生会初ル事」として「一、氏常(経) 四拾三代目ノ宮司也。天和三年(1683)迄四百五拾年」”

It is believed that the family serving Munakata Daigūji who was a Kamakura Gokenin (retainer belonging to the Kamakura Shogunate) tried to approach Hachiman-gū Shrine actively that had become prosperous as guardian of the government and incorporate the faith and rituals of the Hachiman-gū Shrine and that is the reason why Hōjō-e was performed as the biggest festival. The 9th Nagamatsu (later Ujikatsu) who became Daigūji in Ōei 10 (1403) went as far as to adjust the date of his assuming office as Daigūji to the date of Hōjō-e²⁴⁾.

Naturally, Hōjō-e is mentioned in many historical sources including the “*Nenchū Gyōji*”.

The Hōjō-e at Munakata Grand Shrine was held from August 13 to August 15. In medieval times, on August 13, the mikoshi (portable shrine) from Sessha Konomi Shrine (an auxiliary shrine dedicated to Kumano Gongen) was carried via Konomiyama to Ukidono (called “ichinowatari”) at the Shamukan (shrine's office) of Hetsu-miya. On August 14, mikoshi from five shrines including Hetsu-miya Sansho Shrine, Konomi Shrine and Orihata Shrine were carried to Hamadono and on August 15, the grand Shintō ritual was performed at Hamadono and at the break of the following day on August 16, the portable shrines were returned to respective shrines.

On August 13, Daigūji dedicated food offerings in front of the mikoshi from Konomi Shrine which had been transferred to Ukidono of Shamukan (shrine's office) and chanted the Hannya shingyo sutra and conducted preparatory exercises for Hōjō-e called Shigaku. According to “*Shinji shidai* (programs of shrine rituals)”, it is known that bugaku (music with court dance), hitotsumono (dressed-up infant child), sumai(sumō, furyū, dengaku (ritual field music and dance), en'nen, sarugaku (mimic play), etc were included in the performing arts.

On August 14, the rituals were conducted in the following order: 1. Sakaki ritual at Mandokoro-sha Shrine 2. Ōgoku ritual (food offerings are made to god) at Ukidono of Shamukan 3. Ōgoku ritual at Chūden (Tei-ni-gū, second shrine) Gobyōin (mausoleum), 4. Transfer of five portable shrines to Hamadono 5. Ōgoku ritual at Sōja (shrine enshrining several deities) (Tei-ichi-gū, first shrine)

As for the first ritual, it is believed that a prig or branch of sakaki (sacred tree) is put up at Mandokoro-sha Shrine to represent the sanctity of the rituals of Hōjō-e. In the second ritual, Daigūji and other priests participate in the Ōgoku ritual to make offerings to Konomi Gongen (deity) placed at Ukidono prior to being installed at Hamadono. After that, “Naorai (postritual party)” is held and the priests and participants gather to enjoy the offerings on the bridge over the pond. Regarding the third ritual, the portable shrines from the first, second and third shrine are ushered in the Gobyōin (mausoleum) at Chūden and Ōgoku ritual was performed and after that all priests gather to enjoy the offerings at the Sanctuary. As for the fourth ritual, the mikoshi from Konomi Shrine is carried from Ukidono at Shamukan (shrine’s office), the mikoshi of the Third Shrine is carried from Chūden Gobyōin (mausoleum) and that of Orihata Shrine goes directly to Hamadono. The location of Hamadono on the “Ancient picture map of Tashima Shrine Front Area” is on the left side of the Tei-ichi-gū Sanctuary. As the sign “Mikoshi Resting Place” appears by the Tsurikawa River, it is considered to be somewhere around there shown in the following note: “After the Hōjō-e votive offering on the boat, there is memorial service and sutra recitation is performed by the shrine monk with shrine priests seated together followed by relayed offerings. After that Ō-no-mai dance was performed.

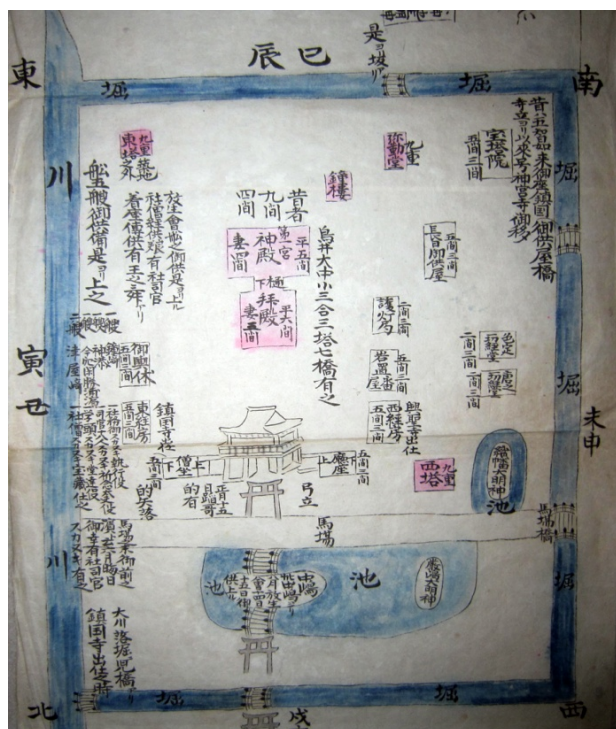


Photo 1 “Ancient picture map of Tashima Shrine Front Area” (copy) Collection of Munakata Grand Shrine

In the shrine rituals performed at Hamadono, the divine spirits of five shrines are brought out from mikoshi and are installed on the divine rack by a Tanamori (rack keeper) and then offerings of sacred sake and food are made. These offerings include two sets of Tatamimochii on the raishi (a pedestaled bowl), five sets of fish, two bottle of divine sake. These shingu (offerings) were relayed from the nakashima (pond island) in front of the rōmon gate of Sōja (consolidated shrine) and offered to deities²⁵. After the offerings were made, the Shintō ritual prayers were offered and during the night the performing arts including furyū (traditional and religious folk dance), dengaku, en’nen-no-mai (dance by monks and children) and sarugaku (mimic play) were demonstrated.

Regarding the fifth ritual, the mikoshi (portable shrines) from five shrines are arranged in a line in front of the rōmon (two-storied gate) of Sōja (shrine enshrining several deities) in front of the Grand Torii shrine gateway, and the rope of virtue is put around the shoulders of Daigūji and the priests line up in descending

order of status carrying the rope followed by shrine Buddhist monks in similar manner. Then shrine Buddhist monks recited the chant and shrine Buddhist monks and priests as well as shrine Buddhist monks together participate in the ritual together. Priests then perform a shrine ritual of moving forward with shinza (seat of god) and after the Ōgoku ritual, furyū (traditional and religious folk dance), dengaku, en'nen (performing arts done by monks and children) are performed.

August 15 is the day for the Hōjō-e grand ceremony. The procedures for performing the ceremony and the priority areas in the ceremony were different depending on a historical data and the time period. In other words, in the “*Nenchū Gyōji*”, the ceremony was conducted in the following order. 1. Hōjō-e ceremony relayed goku (food offering) 2. Funakurabe (boat race) ritual 3. Transcription of Daihannya-kyō sutra (skt: ***Maha prajnaparamita sutra***) and Buddhist memorial service 4. Buddhist memorial service for shakujō (monk staff) 5. Divine sake ritual. On the other hand, in the “*Shinji Shidai*”, the order of the procedure was as follows: 1. Mai dance 2. Funakurabe (boat race) 3. Relayed goku 4. Hōyō Buddhist sermon 5. Gyōretsu (Parade) 6. Relay (goku) 7. Maigaku (dance and music) 8. Hitotsumono-watashi by Gyōji (parade of children in costume led by Gyōji) 9. sumai(sumō)

On August 15, at the time of Tatsu(dragon) (around 8 a.m.), maigaku (dance and music) called “kochō (butterfly)” and “garyō-binga (imaginary creature with a human head and a bird body)” were performed (1). At the time of Mi(snake) (around 10 a.m.), the mikoshi from five shrines were loaded into different boats and goku ritual was performed for respective boats and funakurabe (boat racing) was performed on the Tsuru River in the foreground of the shrine (2). The three divine boats were from Kanesaki, Kōnominato, Imakogakatsuura-hama, and two ships were from Tsuyazaki²⁶⁾. In this shrine ritual, the divine ship from Konomi Shrine always won a victory²⁷⁾. Next, the dance called “Ō-no-mai (king's dance)” was performed in the wide garden on the headland of the Tsurikawa River. This Funakurabe is thought to have been spectacular and from the description in the section regarding Tashima Shrine in “Munakata Ki(A Record of Munakata) 5”, we can learn that this “funatogyo (boat procession)” ritual was still thriving in more recent times and we can feel the same level of enthusiasm and liveliness of fishermen as today's Miare Festival. *“The modern-day rituals of the ceremony mobilize great number of samurai to right and left of the shrine, in and outside of the reclaimed land, by both sides of Okariya situated front and back of the horse-riding ground to implement tight security measures. The ceremony is of course solemn and awesome. From the estuary of Eguchi, total of 12 decorated ships are set afloat on the river. Maidens, Kagura men, kagurao (players of gagaku music instrument) in a dignified style and attitude board on these ships and play the music and the maidens dedicate various crop plants to deities and performed a dance waving their sleeves. This is really awe-inspiring and comforting image.”* It shows that the funatogyo was performed actively even in more recent years and from the description we can feel the same level of spirits and gaiety of the fishermen as participants in today's Miare Festival.

In the following Buddhist sermon (4), ceremonies such as transcription of Daihannya-kyō sutra (skt: ***Maha prajnaparamita sutra***) and memorial service for shakujō were conducted followed by rituals from 5 to 9 and on the following dawn on the 16th, they were returned to their original shrines.

The grand ceremony enjoyed the remarkable success during medieval times rivaling Hōjō-e at Usa Hachiman-gū Shrine, however, due to negative factors including destruction of the ceremony building for syncretistic fusion of Shintō and Buddhism in a fire in the Kōji 3 (1557), failed attempt to rebuild the building, scarcity of financial resources to fulfill grand-scale ceremony and the conversion of Munakata Shrine to exclusive Shintoism in the Kanbun 5 (1665) in Edo period, Hōjō-e originated in Buddhism got to lose its name ostensibly and the size of the ceremony was greatly downsized and the holiday was changed to September 1 since September 1 in Genroku 8(1695)²⁸⁾.

In the article “Tashima” in *Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki(The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province)* Volume 1, there is a description as follows: *“The fete day of the annual ceremony of the shrine was August 15th, however, since Genroku 8 the date has been changed to September 1. There were Kagura dance performances. However they are not the highly artistic kagura of ancient times anymore. The priests of Konomi Village perform the rituals. Also, Kameishi Dayū comes every year from Uchiura village to perform sarugaku dance. The Kameishi family has been playing this role since early times. During the time when Ujitsune served as the 43rd Daigūji, Hōjō-e was taken place on August 15 for the first time, however, no Hōjō-e is held now.*

From the “Fukuoka-han Hikijisha Goyōchō (Official record of confidential notes on shrines and temples in Fukuoka Domain)”, it is confirmed that priests at Konomi Shrine organized a Okagura performance arts troupe and went off to Ōshima Island and Okinoshima Island as well as Tashima Shrine (Hetsu-miya). Although it is said that the kagura performances weren’t as highly artistic as they used to be, mikoshi (portable shrines) from Konomi Shrine occupied an important place in the Hōjō-e ceremonies in medieval times. Did these kagura performances inherit such tradition? In the same way, sarugaku dance performance dedicated by Kameishi Dayū from Uchiura Village (Okagaki-chō Uchiura in Onga-gun) means “Okina-Mai Dance (old man’s dance)” which had been dedicated for generations until Taisho 12 (1923) since KURODA Mitsuyuki built a stage for sarugaku in Enpō 3 (1675). At present, this Okina-Mai Dance is dedicated by Nō actors belonging to Kita-ryū School Master UMEZU and shrine personnel in Fukuoka City at the Two-Day Autumn Grand Festival on October 2. The old man’s mask, according to a legend, showed up on the surface of the sea at Cape Kaneno Misaki in Bummei 19 (1487) when Okiuji became Daigūji and it is alleged to be an image of the sea-god and the Okina-Mai Dance is performed with this mask every year.

Since the Gods and Buddha Separation Order issued in Meiji 1, in many Hachiman-gū shrines, Hōjō-e has been named as “Chūshū-Sai (midautumn festival)” and the contents of the rituals have been remarkably changed and reduced. At Munakata Shrine, September 1 and November 15 on the lunar calendar are cited as the dates for “popular annual festival”²⁹⁾ and according to the record in the “Jinja Shōkaku Ganshorui (the shrine’s application for promotion in status)”³⁰⁾, “popular grand festivals” are held on August 31 and September 1 on lunar calendar and on November 15 on lunar calendar. With the adoption of the solar calendar, they are the Autumn Grand Festival³¹⁾ from October 1 to October 3 and Koshiki-Sai (The Ancient Style Festival) held on December 15, respectively at present. The Autumn Grand Festival attracts visitors with many street stalls and is called as “Tashima Hōjō-e” locally with a remnant of ancient “Hōjō-e”. As “popular annual festival” familiarly preserved by local parishioner, it was described in the “Chikuzen Munakata jinja Meisaichō (detailed statement of Munakata shrines in Chikuzen Province)” as “the largest festival in our time” in Meiji 3.

(5) The first Miare Festival

So far I’ve described the background of how the ancient Hōjō-e came to be performed as the Autumn Grand Festival. As described in the paragraph (2), it was the enthusiasm and undertakings to revive the shrine on the part of the shrine that actually transformed a festival which had been scaled down due to post-war devastation into a vibrant and successful festival involving all local parishes including fishermen by conducting research on traditional festivals including Minagate ritual. I will describe below how this project was actually planned and implemented according to the *Saiten Kankei Monjo* (Documents related to shrine festivals) of Munakata Grand Shrine.

○ Implementation Plan

- *About 10 days prior to the festival, the shinji (a sacred chest inside which is a sacred sakaki prig with imidake bamboo logs of the same length (length of a chopstick) tied to it with a hemp cord and decorated with shade, zigzag strips of paper³²⁾) is moved to Ōshima Island Nakatsu-miya.*
- *By the start of the ritual, prepare the shinji (sacred chest) to which the prayer was dedicated at Nakatsu-miya, and seven days prior to the Hōjō-e Grand Ceremony (from October 1 to October 3) on around September 23, move it with the shinji (sacred chest) from Okitsu-miya to Gozabune ship and transfer them from Ōshima Island to Konominato for the journey of 8 kilometers accompanied by a fleet of fishing boats.*
Gozabune and the participant boats are set up with a Namikiri ōnusa (wooden purification wand to assuage high wave) are set up in gozabune and participant boats and also bamboo poles attached with red and white strips of cloth (about 10 feet long) are set up. In particular, big banner with “Munakata Grand Shrine as Guardian of the State” written on it is set up.
- *From Kōnominato to Tashima, as guardian goddesses of traffic safety, they are transferred by car. Police motor cycles and patrol cars from the Munakata Police Station are mobilized to lead them.*
- *On the night of September 30, two shinji which have been temporarily placed in the Main Shrine of Nakatsu-miya are transferred to Takamiya and the shinji of Hetsu-miya is placed deeply into the inner shrine of Hetsu-miya after the prayer has been dedicated.*



Photo 2 Gozabune ship

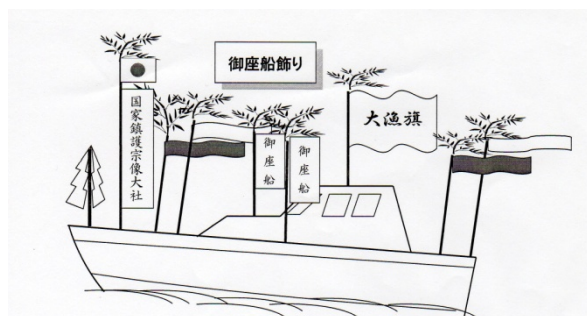


Figure 1 Decoration on Gozabune ship

In addition, although I don't go into detail, the general purport of this festival is to revive the festival according to traditional rituals and involve people in the gun (district) in this grand festival.

Regarding the *kaijō togyō* (ocean parade), after discussion between the shrines and the fisheries cooperative associations held at Munakata Grand Shrine on August 30 in 1962, the following rules were established³³⁾.

- The previous day of the ceremony, all the fisherman's boats shall be cleaned up.
- On the morning of the ceremony (scheduled on September 23) the ships shall be decorated.
 1. *Namikiri ōnusa* is set up at the bow of the ship (*ōnusa* shall be prepared and given by the shrines)
 2. Decorate *Gubusen* (accompanying ship) with green bamboo logs (total of 4 logs shall be prepared. 2 logs are set up on the front and 2 logs are set up on the back of the ship attached with red and white cotton cloth about 10 feet long like a streamer)

[Remark] Leave the branches on the upper third of the bamboo logs. Red and white cotton cloths shall be prepared by each fisheries cooperative association.
 3. Other *Kamiokuri-sen* (goddess seeing-off ships=fishing boats) shall be "*mansenshoku*" (decorated with flags). There is no limit for the number of ships.
- On the day of the ceremony, all the ships shall be gathered at Ōshima Island Port at 8 a.m.
 1. Fleet of ships shall be organized.
- Departure shall be at 9 a.m. at the sign of a drum sound
- Arrival at 10 a.m. at Kōnominato
- The leading ship and gozabune designate the fishing boats from Ōshima Island
- Among 10 *Gubusen* (accompanying ships) 2 shall be served by fishing boats on Ōshima Island and 3 shall be served by fishing boats on either Ura except Ōshima Island
- Inside the Kōnominato fishing port, only the leading ship and gozabune are allowed to enter and other ships shall remain outside the port to avoid the congestion.
- To each participant from the fisheries cooperative associations and the fishing boats, "protective talisman for maritime traffic safety and large catch of fish" and "sacred sake" shall be presented as a token for gratitude.
- This ritual shall be performed annually. Cooperation from all the relevant parties will be desired. During the escort of the goddesses at sea, make sure to pay attention to the navigation of the general vessels and where necessary volunteers board on the *Kamiokuri-sen* (goddess seeing-off ships=fishing boats) situated both sides of the sacred fleet shall be requested to guide the traffic on the sea.



Photo 3 Gubusen



Photo 4 Leading ship
A priest standing at the bow of the ship
and perform purification of the navigation
route

● *Dress code*

- A. *Officials shall be either in formal wear or semi-formal wear*
- B. *Other participants shall be smartly dressed (Wear hakama in Japanese-style clothing and wear a jacket in western-style clothing)*
- C. *Volunteers (worshippers) on the fishing boats shall wear neat clothing as they think proper*

Other than those mentioned above, the following rules were agreed: The fisheries association shall make phone calls to the shrines on the day of the festival (September 23) considering the weather condition. Bamboos shall be prepared by the shrines except for Ōshima Island and Jinoshima. The officer YOSHITAKE Giichirō shall be in charge and prepare them by September 21. The order of the fleet shall be decided at the chairmen's meeting of the fisheries cooperative associations as they fit proper. Protective talismans and sacred sake shall be handed to people on Ōshima Island in order of arrival.

From Kōnominato to Hetsu-miya, the shinji was loaded on the vehicle. Unlike other Shinkō-shiki (sacred parade ceremony) held many parts of Japan where due to shortage of mikoshi (portable shrine) bearers they have no choice but to depend on vehicles, it is remarkable in that the transfer by the vehicle was positively planned and adopted. Gozasha (vehicle for noble people) boarding the shinji was supposed to be provided by Munakata Grand Shrine Redevelopment Association, and a company car belonging to the Fukuoka Branch Office of Idemitsu Kōsan Co., Ltd. whose founder was IDEMITSU Sazō who also served as chairman of the Association. Building on the long tradition of the goddesses playing the guardian of maritime traffic safety, it was an epoch-making attempt to take advantage of the shift to motorized society and exalt their divine power to include the traffic safety on the road. In Shōwa 38 (1963), the protective talisman of traffic safety for vehicles were issued and dispensed for the first time in Japan and even now, they are dispensed as traditional talisman hung inside the car and a variety of "talisman with Mizuhiki (red-white decorative paper strings)" are being devised. It was also significant that Idemitsu Kōsan, managed by the chairman of the Grand Shrine Redevelopment Association, was a company playing a role in the motorized society. During the peak period, more than 30 automobiles participated in the Shinkō robo (divine procession) of carrying sacred chests. Today, the robo procession made up of patrol cars, patrol motorbikes, vehicles for PR activity, leading cars for large-size vehicles, Gozasha for Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya and Gubu bus (accompanying bus), go slowly in line from Kōnominato to Hetsu-miya.

The article of "*Shamu nissi* (journal of affairs of Shrine)" written on September 23 in 1962, the date of the revival ceremony, writes about the heightened emotions as follows.

"It is a cloudy day with south wind and there are wind-generated waves outside of Ōshima Island port. As many as 170 boats including the worshipping Gubusen boats from the Nanaura in Munakata-gun and Kamiokuri-sen (deity seeing-off boats), each decorated with colorful flags are filling the surface of

water inside and outside of Ōshima Island Port. At 8 a.m., the fleet of boats were organized and started to sail at the sign of a firework. The 10 gubusen boats in double file proceeded with red and white cloth steamers on Nagate flowing in the breeze, and on their sides, 13 Kamiokuri-sen (goddess seeing-off boats) in five file decorated with flags accompanied. The sound of drumming from the leading boat and the gozabune (priests' boats), and the sound of Horagai trumpet shells from respective boats, keeping 1,500 meter distance intervals around, sound majestic matching the roaring sound of engines from the entire fleet headed to Jinoshima Island at a slow pace. On both sides of the fleet of vessels, 6 marine rescue boats from Nanaura were deployed protected by the sea patrol ship "Isoyuki" from Fukuoka Coastguard Office from behind. The fleet approached the shore of Jinoshima before long. Due to Yamaze wind (wind blowing from the mountain), the wave suddenly calmed down.

From Hetsu-miya, Gongūji (deputy chief priest) ONO and Negi (senior priest) KAMBE came out in person to the Kōnominato pier to greet. The Kōnominato Beach and pier had been crowded with worshippers, waiting for the large fleet of vessels off the shore with a sigh of admiration. The magnificent spectacle of the fleet was hard to describe. The fleet made a slow right turn toward Kōnominato and its imposing appearance drew near up. Unexpectedly there was a clapping of hands and clapping in worship from the people standing on the pier.

In the twinkling of an eye, the leading ship and the gozabune boat approached and entered the port. Other participant boats were waiting outside of the port. Gongūji got on the gozabune from the outside pier, carried the shinji after performing worship rites and got off the ship and moved to Gozasha (vehicle) and proceeded.

Journalists from NHK and KBC who had been busy with reporting activities moved to the following Gubu-sha (accompanying vehicle) and the noble procession departed from Kōnominato Port at a low speed of 10km/h. The roadside was packed with all residents in Kōnominato who came to send off the procession and the sound of hand-clapping in worship lingered. The noble procession of 13 vehicles arrived at the front area of Hetsu-miya in Tashima before long. Soon after the arrival, the shinji was entered into the honden shrine and after the worship rituals of arrival report and ceremony were performed, Naorai (postritual party) was carried out with hundreds of worshippers from Tashima. Gongūji expressed his gratitude with deep emotion followed by a pleasant chat among all excited participants.

There were news live coverage of the ceremony on KBC TV at 4:00 in the afternoon and at 9:30 p.m. by NHK and the woven flag with "Munakata Grand Shrine as Guardian of the State" written on it was displayed fully on the screen. Among the sending-off people at Kōnominato, it was impressive to see a group of older people kneel down to worship and see the chairman of the shrine parishioners named SHŌMURA Kiemon in formal wear from behind in the front area of Tashima on occasion of entering the Shinj into the Hetsu-miya.

Given the recently-presented research findings on the divine treasure (Okinoshima Island divine treasure) of our shrines and the exalted divine power more than ever I had a feeling that I witnessed the reality of "Shingun (a land for deities) Munakata" with intensified divine virtue and reverence.

This year marked the 1600th anniversary after its original "Minagate" ceremony was conducted for the first time and it was the first revival ceremony after the discontinuation of rituals of 400 to 500 years and it ended successfully."

By enthusiastic devotion of fishermen and shrine parishioners the Miare Festival was performed in a spectacular. This journal entry conveyed the lively and vibrant atmosphere of the feast day so well that I can almost picture participants' heightened emotion and excitement.

At the evaluation meeting held after the festival,

- The fisheries associations in Kanesaki are already in the planning stage for the next year's gozabune
- There is an opinion from the head of the fisheries association of Fukuma that all fishermen from the association want to participate in the Miare Festival canceling the fishing activity of the day.
- The fishermen of respective fisheries associations and parishioners of respective districts all look

forward to an even more spectacular festival. People in Kōnominato want to make the decorations in the town more flamboyant.

- *Newspaper folks complained that the 23rd is a newspaper holiday that will make it impossible to gather information on the festival.*
- *How about making identification flags and number flags for the gozabune, leading ship and Gubusen? How about placing the Shinji on the Himorogi (sacred objects selected for worship)?*
- *3 fishing boats from Ainoshima participated. Next year, it's necessary to call on Hatsu and Singū, etc.*

The feedback including the above-mentioned comments was very positive. In the following year, in February in 1966, “Kaiyō Shinji Hōsan Kai (Ocean Rituals Worshipers’ Society)” was established among fishermen belonging to the fisheries cooperation associations in Nanaura³⁴⁾ and people from the water rescue association and the Miare Festival, along with the “Wakame Kenjō (Dedication ceremony of seaweed)”³⁵⁾ has since been performed as the two major events conducted by Kaiyō Shinji Hōsan Kai.

Since Shōwa 39 (1964), the Miare Festival has been taken place on October 1. In 1964, the previously transferred shinji from Okitsu-miya to Nakatsu-miya on Ōshima Island and the shinji from Nakatsu-miya were landed on the gozabune. Total of 250 gubu bune (accompanying boat) and Kami-okuri bune (goddess sending boat) started to sail and at Kōnominato, the rituals were conducted at the tongū (temporary palace) and a convoy of more than 30 vehicles escorted the gozasha to Hetsu-miya in 15 minutes. The shinji from three shrines were gathered together and the first day of the Autumn Grand Festival went this way.

(6) Present-day Miare Festival, Autumn Grand Festival

In Heisei 22 (2010), the festival was performed in approximately the same way as about 50 years ago when the revival festival was taken place for the first time. As for the festival on the sea, I’ve described the items worthy of special mention at the time of revival for recordkeeping purpose in the previous section; I will describe the overall course of events of the Autumn Grand Festival and the changed points and supplementary remarks in this section.

September 20: Welcoming ceremony of the Goddesses at Okitsu-miya

It is annually performed in the middle of September. In 2010, it was scheduled to be held on the 12th but due to turbulent weather with the wave height of 3meter it was postponed to September 20th. The previous day of 19th, Gūji (chief priest) TAKAMUKU and three priests went to Ōshima Island and engaged in “sanrōkessai” (confinement in shrine for prayer and purification) practices. The captain of “Shinyō maru” designated as the gozabune joined the priests and the “Totō Kigan sai (festival of prayer for safe navigation to the island)” was performed. At 6 a.m. on September 20th, the priests and the relevant people (A representative from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya Hōsan Kai (Worshippers’ Societies), Chairman of Kaiyō Shinji Hōsan Kai, director of Munakata Gyokuyō Ōshima Sisho (Ōshima Island branch of Munakata Fisheries Cooperative Association), Police officer at Ōshima Island Police Substation, etc.) boarded on the gozabune decorated with a big banner with “Guardian of the State” written on it, red and white streamers and Namikiri ōnusa (wooden purification wand to assuage high wave) at the bow of the boat and the boat departed from the Ōshima Island Port and despite a sudden shower, it arrived on Okinoshima Island safely just before 8 a.m. The company immediately performed purification in the sea and after the ritual of transfer was performed, the priests carried the shinji and descended the shrine approach while waving a onusa for purification, placed the shinji in the gozabune and they headed back to Nakatsu-miya and arrived there around noon. Officer YOSHIMURA at the Ōshima Island Police Substation led the way and proceeded to Nakatsu-miya. At the shrine of Nakatsu-miya, Nyūgyo-sai (ceremony of carrying the box into the shrine) was performed³⁶⁾. According to interviews with people belonging to Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya Worshipers’ Society³⁷⁾, simple Naorai (postritual party) was held at the Okinoshima Island Pier. In the ship, sake-drinking party was held with dishes prepared by the Keishin Women’s Society and the divine spirit of Tagorihime-no-Kami was transferred in a merrily atmosphere, guarded by shrine parishioners. The tenure of priesthood of Nakatsu-miya is two years and at Okitsu-miya, priests are dispatched from Munakata Grand Shrine (Hetsu-miya) in 10-day shifts. People on Ōshima Island have a strong sense of pride that their ancestors had been protecting the island of goddess even when there were no priests on Okinoshima Island and even now people in Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya Hōsan Kai play a central role in supporting the shrine rituals on the island.

The gozabune is decided on August 31, at the meeting of Miare Festival. In the past, it was common to build a new ship in time for the Miare Festival and people even competed for the rights to build a gozabune, a leading boat, and gubusen. The gozabune is often substituted by a Makiamisen (round-haul netter) from Ōshima Island and Kanesaki. Makiami fleet is composed of 7 boats and there are three fleets both in Ōshima Island and Kanesaki. The Makiamisen is a large ship so that is why it is suited for gozabune.



Photo 5 Welcoming ceremony of the goddesses at Okitsu-miya (September 20, 2010) provided by Munakata Grand Shrine

September 30: Jinushi (earth spirit) Festival at Sōja (collective shrine), Yoimiya Festival

Prior to the Grand Festival, the celebration for Jinushi-no-kami (earth god) is performed at 5 p.m. on the previous evening. Jinushi-no-kami is a stone set up under the Himorogi (sacred objects selected for worship) within the hedge on the left side of the shrine and two priests make food offerings in front of this stone and offer a prayer saying “May the Autumn Grand Festival proceed smoothly and uneventfully” . Then from 6 p.m., the Gūji (chief priest) and other subordinate priests carry out Yoimiya Festival at the shrine wishing for safety during the Grand Festival.

October 1: Miare Festival

8:30 At Nakatsu-miya, a rendai (litter) for Okitsu-miya is placed on the Sanctuary’s right and a rendai (litter) for Nakatsu-miya is placed on the Sanctuary’s left and the Shutsugyo (bearing out) ceremony shall be carried out.

After a prayer was recited for both shinji chests rested in the shrine since the 20th were loaded on each rendai (litter) and were carried by younger and older adults to the Ōshima Island Port. The litter of Okitsu-miya is carried by the younger and older adults from Kanesaki and the litter of Nakatsu-miya is carried by younger and older adults from Ōshima Island. They are all in white kimono, white hakama (divided-skirt), white tabi socks and yellow hō (round-necked robe) over the kimono and 8 bearers are assigned for each shinji chest, two for each section of the bar (front back, left, right). Each litter is escorted by Buggyō (commissioner).

In the meanwhile, the fishing boats hoisted with good-catch flags gathered one after another at the Ōshima Island Port and inside the boats the pre-departure “Omikiage (meal sharing with the goddesses)” ceremony is taken place. Only male family and relative members get on the boat and they are served by fresh raw fish caught on the previous day, rice balls with sea-urchin, and food items packed in nest of lacquered boxes include vegetables boiled hard with soy, red and white fish cakes, rolled egg, etc., and local rice wine. In ancient times, several hundreds of ships including a small vessel called “hokoryō-temma (spear fishing boat)” participated in the festival, but nowadays ships are getting larger so that small boats are not allowed to participate for safety reason. Also there is a rule that ordinary people are not allowed in these fishing boats.



Photo 6 Rendai (litters) from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya placed at Nakatsu-miya
Photo provided by Munakata Grand Shrine



Photo 7 Carrying out of rendai litters
Photo provided by Munakata Grand Shrine

The carried-out rendai litters changed direction as they got out of the Shin-Mon Gate (Divine Gate) and descended the stone stairs. From there the mikoshi (shinji on rendai) were led by a line of marching band of Ōshima Island Elementary School toward the port and they were loaded on two gozabune. Dairoku Ebisu Maru (Kanesaki) served as the gozabune for Okitsu-miya and Dairoku Miyaji Maru (Ōshima Island) served as the gozabune for Nakatsu-miya. In each gozabune, a priest, 8 young fishermen in charge of bearing mikoshi and Bugyō (commissioner), and representatives from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya Hōsan Kai and Kaiyō Shinji Hōsan Kai.

9:20 At the sign of a firework, the leading boat started to sail first. At the bow of the boat, the priest in purification robe waved the haraigushi wooden wand slowly from side to side to conduct purification of the sea with his sleeves fluttering in the wind. At the time of revival, it is said that a drum was beaten at the leading boat and gozabune and there was also a blowing of trumpet shells from respective boats, nowadays, drums are loaded only on the leading ship and no trumpet shell playing from the boats. Instead, the island elementary school children are playing musical instruments on the breakwater pier. The pier is packed with send-off people from the island.

9:30 Just outside the port, the fleet of vessels were formed in line and started to sail toward Kōnominato in the order of the leading ship from Okitsu-miya, the gozabune from Okitsu-miya, the leading ship of Nakatsu-miya and the gozabune from Nakatsu-miya. After that, a group of gubusen boats followed that were accompanied on both sides by the escort boats decorated with flags from each Ura. Today, the boats from Hatsu, Ashiya, Ainoshima and out-of-gun (district) places. On both sides of the fleet of vessels, relief boats were deployed to give directions of the route. This is the Escort of the Goddesses at sea the Miare Festival.

10:00 Ichikishimahime-no-Kami from Hetsu-miya, after going through the shutsugyo (bearing out) ceremony at Hetsu-miya starting from 9 a.m. was loaded on the rendai litter and departed from Kōnominato boarding the gozabune at 10 a.m. The gozabune with Ichikishimahime-no-Kami was out on the sea to welcome the goddesses from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya. In the past, she welcomed two goddesses at Konominato but in recent years, she set out on the sea. When the gozabune from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya arrived and joined that of Hetsu-miya, the three gozabune boats stopped at Naginoma (300 meters off the coast from the Genkai Inn) while the accompanying gubusen boats turned slowly around the three gozabune throwing money into the boats (offertory).

10:30 The three gozabune boats came into Kōnominato Port and three rendai litters were carried out from the boats and arranged in front of the Genkai Fishing Market and they were carried to tongū (temporary place) in procession. The procession is queued up with Zendō (guide), followed by a Ōnusa tsukasa (chief in charge of waving wooden purification wand), Entō tsukasa (chief in charge of purification by lukewarm salt water), Keihitsu (chief in charge of clearing the road for the sacred passage), Gūji, Sōbugyō (commissioner, chairman of the Worshipper's Association) and the respective rendai carried by 8 young adults was accompanied by Gyomeihojisha (emperor name bearer), Bugyō (representatives from the fisheries cooperative associations), Shinjihōtai shinshoku (priest in charge of shinji). The procession is in

the order of the group from Okitsu-miya followed by Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya followed by the rear guard and gubu (accompanying) members. Tongū (temporary palace) is situated on the high plateau in the Kusazaki Castle Site at the tip of Kōnominato and there is a small sone shrine. The place commands a panoramic view from Ōshima Island to Genkai Sea. In the past, the shinji of Hetsu-miya got together with those from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya for the first time³⁸⁾. From 10:50 a.m., the ceremony at tongū was performed and the shinji were taken out from the rendai and from there a procession of vehicles headed to Hetsu-miya.

11:40 After the shinji were loaded off the vehicle in front of the Torii shrine gateway of Hetsu-miya, they were carried by three priests (Negi³⁹⁾) to the Sanctuary, passing through the lively approach lined with street stalls and past the Shin-Mon Gate (Divine Gate). From there they were ascended to the main shrine and placed there and the ceremonies of the Autumn Grand Festival kicked off.

After the offering of prayers by the chief priest, the Fuzoku-Mai Dance from Suki region was dedicated. On the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Shōwa, the rice paddies of Wakiyama Village in Sawara-gun in Fukuoka Prefecture was selected as Suki rice fields (designated fields to grow rice for Daijō-Sai (Coronation Ceremony). At the Daijō-Sai, this dance was performed as Fuzoku-Mai of the Suki region, and for the purpose of preserving and handing down the folk dance in the prefecture, it was donated to Munakata Grand Shrine and is dedicated in the spring and autumn grand festivals. The dance consists of four male dancers in Omigoromo and the music by flute and clappers resembles “Etenraku” in Japanese court music. Originally, the Fuzoku-Mai was handed down by the young men’s association in Tashima District, however it is now succeeded by the Suki Region Fuzoku-Mai Preservation Association and is designated as Munakata City Cultural Asset.

At the tamagushi worship (sprig of the sacred tree is offered to deity), following the chief priest, the temple master of the former shrine-attached Chinkoku-ji temple offered tamagushi to the goddesses. It is probably a vestige of Hōjō-e as a ceremony of the syncretistic fusion of Buddhism and Shintoism. After that, the worshippers’ turn came around and the director of the Association of Shintō Shrine, chief commissioner of Kaiyō Shinji Hōsan Kai, Suinan Kyūsai Kai (Marine Rescue Japan) and gozabune hōshisha (worshippers engage in tamagushi worship).

After the Miare Festival ended, worshippers from some district return to their Ura (inlet) and hold “Naorai” (postritual party). In Kanesaki, there is an event called “Nōhimachi”, in which people gather by settlement (hamlet, total of 6 settlements) at their community center to participate in Naorai (postritual party) surrounding the ceremonial food including hachimori (large plate of sashimi) and boxed lunch prepared by people in charge of cooking. After the ceremonial offering of food and the prayer called “ogamiage” is made by the chief priest of Orihata Shrine, Naorai (postritual party) is performed. In Kanesaki, fishing is not allowed during the day. It is imperative for fishermen to take a day off to dedicate themselves to the festival. Around Okinoshima, the yellow tail, grunt fishing season will start soon. In recent years, the yellow-tail caught near Okinoshima Island are offered for sale on December 30 for the New Year by the name of “himeburi (princess buri)”⁴⁰⁾.

October 2

8:00 Shrine ritual called Yabusame (the art of shooting arrows on horseback) was performed at the paddock in front of the Shin-Mon Gate (Divine Gate). Unlike Yabusame dedicated at many shrines in Japan including Ogasawara-style Yabusame, it’s a one-of-a-kind Yabusame of Munakata Grand Shrine. Under the guidance of Mr. MIYAKI Sadahiko from Fukuma who served as an archer before, three young men tried to hit a target while riding on a horse. The target was set up on the place higher than the roof of the chōzuya (water ablution pavilion) and haraeshu (purification pavilion) and they hardly could hit the target. This yabusame isn’t intended to hit a target because it’s almost impossible to hit the point with a wooden, thick arrowhead. According to a saying; “If you pick up an arrow, you’ll be blessed with a baby”, visitors are competing for picking the fallen arrows to take them home.

11:00 The second day of the Autumn Grand Festival is performed at the main shrine. After the Hōhei (dedication and offering ceremony) ritual was performed by priests in the district and by parishioners, the Okina-Mai Dance (old man’s dance) is dedicated by the Kita-ryū School Master Tadahiro Umezu Company. Although it is not revealed in the article on Hōjō-e in medieval times what kind of dance numbers were

performed as “sarugaku”, it is highly probable that one of them was “Okina-Mai Dance (old men’s dance) if they had been performed as shrine rituals. Anyway, I’ve already described that Okina-Mai Dance (old man’s dance)” was a dance which had been dedicated by Kameishi Dayū since Enpō 3 (1675).



Photo 8 Yabusame (the art of shooting arrows on horseback)

14:00 At 22 Keidai-Massha (subordinate shrines) in the Grand Shrine Grounds in total, votive lanterns and food offerings are made and ceremony is conducted. Food offerings are composed of rice, sacred sake, sweet sake, layered rice cakes, egg plants and tangerines. Although the number of massha is 22, several deities are enshrined in one shrine, so the ceremony is called the “ceremony for the seventy-five massha and one-hundred and eight deities.”



Photo 9 Massha on the date of the Massha Festival

October 3: The third day of the Autumn Grand Festival

At 11:00 a.m., the ceremony was performed at the shrine and four female junior high school students from Genkai Junior High School dedicated the Urayasu-Mai. Each year, the dancers who performed at the festival decided on next year’s dancers so that Urayasu-Mai could be handed down through generations. They start to practice dancing about two months prior to the Spring Grand Festival and they dedicate the dance performance at the Spring Grand Festival and the Autumn Grand Festival. As these festivals are held during the week, the shrine side makes a request to the junior high school every year. The Urayasu-Mai is a miko-mai (dance by female attendants) established in commemoration of the 2600th year of the Imperial reign (in 1940) and based on the poem made by the Emperor Shōwa; “I pray to the deities of heaven and earth for the coming of the serene world like the morning lull in a sea breeze.”, music was composed and the dance was choreographed. Dressed in clothing called chihaya with a bell and a fan, they perform a dance. Nowadays, the Urayasu-Mai is dedicated by local girls at annual festivals at many shrines in the country.

From 11:40 a.m., the Takamiya Festival, Tei-ni-gū (second shrine) Festival, Tei-san-gū (third shrine) Festival and Munakata Gokoku Shrine Autumn Grand Festival are carried out.

It is believed that the origin of the combined enshrinement of three goddess in the present location of Munakata Grand Shrine (Hetsu-miya) dates back to the period of Ten'ō (from 781 to 782) in the reign of the Emperor Kōnin. It is known that within the ground of the ancient Hetsu-miya, apart from Tei-ichi-gū for combined enshrinement, there existed Takayama, Jinushigami (Tei-san-gū), Chūden (Tei-ni-gū). According to the “Munakata Jinja History”, Takamiya in Munakata Mountain was considered as the inner shrine set against the Satomiya (Tei-ichi-gū) at the foot of the mountain and Chūden (Tei-ni-gū) was considered to come into existence with a purpose and location as the middle ritual site (sangū) between Tei-ichi-gū and Takamiya.⁴¹⁾

In the “Saikaidō Fudoki Itsibun (The Topography of Saikaidō, unknown writings)”, there is a passage that reads “First Munakata Ōkami descended on the Sakito Mountain from the heaven”. Sakito Mountain was considered to be located “in the neighborhood of Mt. Takao in Fukata Village” according to the book’s commentary note and it is identified as the site of present-day Hetsu-miya, in other words, the location of Munakata Mountain⁴²⁾. At Takamiya, there are Kami-takamiya (upper) and Shimo-takamiya (lower) and at the mountain peak housing Ue-takamiya, there is a tumulus in which to enshrine the ancestor’s god of the Munakata Clan, and it is considered that the Munakata clan performed the combined divine rituals of worshipping to the three goddesses and worshipping to the ancestor’s spirits. Shimo-Takamiya is located in the middle of Munakata Mountain and had a closer relationship with Tei-ichi-gū in performing divine rituals. From there you can overlook Ōshima Island and Okinoshima Island on a straight line. In other words, this location is the present-day ritual site of Takamiya.

The Takamiya site was nearly passed on to a third party during the time of devastation, but in 1943 the shrine purchased the property and the land development work started in 1952 and in 1955, it was revived as a shrine site based on the ancient Shintō customs as if it were an ancient ritual site. The wide open space is paved with gravels and the indigenous evergreen broad-leaved trees grown are planted in the middle of the space as Himorogi (sacred objects selected for worship). In front of the stone-enclosed altar is installed with the ebony wood rack for placing offerings.

The divine crest of Munakata Grand Shrine is “oak tree (nara)”. When ASHIKAGA Takauji escaped to distant Kyūshū from Kyōto, Daigūji Ujiyori joined in the ASHIKAGA army and a legend has it that the Munakata warrior group carried their provisions wrapped in oak leaves. The oak tree has a long tree life and as its old leaves never fall until new leaves come out, it is a symbol of the continuous life. Just for the record, the Himorogi (sacred objects selected for worship) at Takamiya Site are not the twin divine trees called “Oak of Aioi” planted in Munakata Grand Shrine.

Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū were rebuilt in 1975 on the former elementary school site with the building materials which had been taken over from Ise Jingū Shrine. Tei-ni-gū enshrines Tagorihime-no-Kami from Okitsu-miya and Tei-san-gū enshrines Tagitsuhime-no-Kami from Nakatsu-miya.

18:00 Takamiya Kannabi Festival was taken place in the shrine due to rain in 2010. Usually, it is taken place in Takamiya Ritual Site with bonfire in appreciation for the successful completion of the Autumn Grand Festival. Parishioner’s Young Men’s Association at Munakata Grand Shrine formed a line on both sides of the ritual site wearing white kimono and yellow hō (round-necked robe) over the kimono carrying a lantern in a hand and the ceremony was conducted. On this occasion, a Kagura number “Yūkyū-no-mai (dance of eternity)” was performed and the old song of “Yaotome Shinji Koka (old song of Yaotome (8 female performers) ritual) was dedicated. Yūkyū-no-mai was made as a kagura number in commemoration of the 2600th year of the Imperial reign based on the song “Our state is better than any country in the world and will be as prosperous as ever for many years to come” made by Kōgaku Zenji (high-rank Buddhist priest) on the occasion of the Mongolian Invasions. It was originally the Otokomai (male dance) but on the occasion of the Tōkyō Olympics, it was adapted into a Mikomai (dance by female attendants). The Yūkyū dance is performed by dancers wearing tankan (heavenly crown), omigoromo (with indigo blue aizuri pattern a red string on the left shoulder) and deep-colored sabakama (ritual divided skirt) and carrying a chrysanthemum on a hand.

In the end, old song of Yaotome Rituals was dedicated. Yaotome Ritual was held on December 25th in medieval times. According to the “Shinjisaidai”, the Yaotome ritual started at the hour of the Rooster

(around 6 p.m.) at Kami-Takamiya. First of all, the offerings composed of a bottle of sacred sake (in earthenware called “Heishi”) and three sets of rice cakes placed in three Kubote bowls were made and 12 gohei paper streamers were prepared with four of them hung from the wig. Mochi was called “Aotsumi-no-mochi” which is a small oval mug wart rice cake and even today this is offered with the indigenous plant of Ōshima Island called “Kotonakishiba”⁴³⁾.

Yaotome was a shrine ritual of sacred music and dances performed by eight maidens. Following Kinenowosa, eight Yaotome formed a line and walked in concert with the flute melody waving the sleeves three times in front of the altar. In that occasion, Kinenowosa sang a divine song “八女は 誰か八女そ天に坐す 天若御子の 神の八女” which was thought to be read by the Empress Jingū on the occasion of visiting Chikushi. The Yaotome ritual was taken place in Shimo-Takamiya, Tei-ichi-Daijingū Shrine, Mandokoro-Kyūken Shrine as well following Kami-Takamiya. At present, neither the melody of the song nor dance is inherited and this old song is solely recited by all participants led by the Young Men’s Parishioner Association repeatedly.

The Young Men’s Parishioner Association was set up in 2005 when the Takamiya Kannabi Festival was launched. It was a former younger and older adults’ association of Munakata gun, which invites old-time parishioners and new residents of the district. Their professions vary from office workers, commercial trade, and manufacturer to fishing industry and it is thriving as the new organization supporting Munakata Grand Shrine.

The Takamiya Kannabi Festival is a new festival started at the conclusion of the Autumn Grand Festival for the purpose of reviving the Yaotome rituals, and it’s been gaining popularity as a festival to savor the atmosphere of ancient times fully at the Kannabi Shrine where the deities descend from the heaven. In the same way, Yūkyū-no-Mai is suitable for a performance at an autumn evening and it is performed in the evening based on the tradition of Yaotome rituals held at Takamiya in medieval times as night kagura from the hour of the Rooster.

(7) Significance of the revival of Miare Festival

The revival of Miare Festival has enlivened people in Munakata Nanaura. Year by year, the enthusiasm of the fishermen who participate in the festival has been growing. As the Three Goddesses of Munakata are restored and revived with new power, Munakata Nanaura is also revitalized as a place to live with the goddesses. As described above, the festival was revived and developed based on the Minagate shrine ritual in medieval times at first, thanks to the advancement of transportation by ship of today, it is possible to sail to Okinoshima Island annually and make the Escort of the Goddesses at sea from Ōshima Island more lavish event.

When the Minagate Ritual was conducted in medieval times, no details are given as to whether a sole boat with Minagate made a voyage to the island or how many gubusen boats were used. Rather, this lavish Funatogyo (boat procession) is a reminiscent of the spectacular state of “funakurabe (boat racing)” or “funagoku (food offering on the boat). Hōjō-e is said to be launched by the oracle of the Munakata Ōkami (Munakata deity); “異国征伐の折、殺罪を犯したため放生を行って供養せよ”, based on the rituals of the Hachiman-gū Shrine. However, the ceremonial element of “Hōjō (releasing) of living things” typified by an example of Usa Hachiman Shrine of releasing seashells called “ninagai” to the sea, isn’t found in any historical sources related to the shrine rituals of Munakata Grand Shrine. Rather, the components of the festival including the memorial service of making a variety of offerings, reciting Buddhist sutra and exhibition of variety of performing arts are comparable to those in Goryō-e (ceremony to appease evil deities and spirits of the dead) in Heian period where many people participated.

It is possible that the festival had more realistic implications including a sense of redemption for killing a lot of fish in the day-to-day livelihood and the repose of souls for their colleagues who lost their lives in sea disasters than a sense of atonement for wartime killing. For this reason, it is believed that Hōjō-e has been continued as the largest annual festival for centuries to the present day despite the ebb and flow of the power of the shrine. The Autumn Grand Festival has been conducted as a Shintō divine ritual by the policies after the Meiji period. The performing arts dedicated to the shrine are relatively new except for the “Okina-Mai Dance (old man’s dance)”. However, the performing arts which were dedicated in the earliest

days of the Hōjō-e ceremony were novel at that time and the deities must have enjoyed the fresh and original performing arts.

It can be concluded that the revival of the Miare Festival has brought about remarkable results as the shrine intended originally, in the form of revival of “Munakata as Shingun” and realization of the divine ritual involving all the people in the district. And the success of the festival is leading to greater significance of the Autumn Grand Festival derived from the ancient tradition.

3. The Sōja (Consolidated Shrine) of Munakata-gun

(1) Revival of Satsuki-Sai (May Festival)

Following the revival of the Miare Festival, in Shōwa 38 (1963), Satsuk-Sai (May Festival) was revived. The fact that the Satsuki-Sai (May Festival) and Hōjō-e were the two largest annual rituals at Munakata Grand Shrine in medieval times is mentioned in “Gokugegyō-no-Koto”, “Nenjūgyōji” and “Shinjishidai”, etc. and they were conducted in the order of 1. Arrival of Mikoshi from Konomi Shrine and the deities of Kuroo Shrine, 2. Shrine rituals of making offerings of food and drink at Chūden Gobyōin (mausoleum) 3. Procession to Satsuki Hama (beach) of Mikoshi from five shrines and divine horses from Date Shrine, Namiori Shrine and Kuroo Shrine 4. Large shrine ritual of making *offerings* of *food* and drink, 5. Kyōzen (food sharing) ceremony at Hamadono, and 6. Return to respective shrines. In parallel with the program, the ceremony of dedicating offerings of Tango-no-sekku (festival on May 5th on the lunar calendar) and at Mandokoro Shrine, rice planting ritual and dengaku (ritual field music and dance) were performed⁴⁴⁾. In other words, it is believed that the traditional rite of planting rice in the month of Satsuki (May) and the sekku (change of season) celebration brought from abroad were combined to become a more spectacular festival.

In the early modern times, Satsuki-Sai was nothing more than the “Sōja (consolidated shrine) Festival”, which was taken place on May 5th featuring the ceremony of making offerings of food and drink at Hetsu-miya. However, they say that until the end of World War 2, 11-year-old boys living in a village section called Satsuki in Munakata City joined the miyaza (shrine parish guild) of Satsuki Shrine and on the Grand Festival of May 5th, all men from the entire village set up a convivial gathering where they got a share of food offerings including sake (360 ml), sea bream and rice cakes. The gathering started at noon, at the time for high tide. It was conveniently called “Satsukisama-no-Oza(the gathering for the god of May)” to indulge in eating and drinking whole day. There was a rule that no fodder of the hayloft for Eguchi’s share should be reaped until the feast was over. It is a reminiscence of the Satsuki-e Hamadono Koshin Festival (escort of the goddesses)⁴⁵⁾.

While the Miare Festival is a festival at sea, Satsuki Sai was revived on the purpose of involving farming villages within the inland area. In accordance with a principle of Munakata Grand Shrine as the consolidated shrine of Munakata-gun, and with the participation of great number of shrines within the district, as a starter, the Hamaori (procession at beach) Ceremony is performed at Hama-miya in Kōnominato on the east bank of the Tsuru River Estuary where Himorogi (sacred objects selected for worship) and red-and white flags from each shrine are dedicated and then the ceremonies of the Satsuki-Sai (May Festival) were conducted at Satsuki

Matsubara on the east bank of the estuary of Eguchi. At present, the festival is conducted on a much smaller scale, consisting of the ceremony of making offerings of leaves of iris and chimaki (rice wrapped in bamboo leaves) followed by Naorai (postritual party) under the name of Satsuki-Matsuri and Hamamiya Festival.

(2) Shingun Munakata

In ancient times, the entire Munakata-gun was subject to “Shimpō (taxation, undertaking of shrine services, etc.) under the wing of Munakata Grand Shrine, in other words, it was “shingun”. The shrines with shingun are limited to Ise Grand Shrine, Kashima Shrine in Hitachi Province, Katori Shrine in Shimōsa Province, Awa Shrine in Awa Province, Hinokuma-Kunikakasu Shrine in Kii Province, Kumano Shrine in Izumo Province and Munakata Grand Shrine in Chikuzen Province, that is a total of 7 shrines with 8 shingun⁴⁶⁾ throughout the nation. Moreover, as described in “Kojiki (record of ancient matters) and Nihonshoki

(Chronicle of Japan)”, the Munakata clan not only assumed the role of performing rituals of the Three Goddesses of Munakata, but also served as Gunji –Dairyō according to the “Shoku Nihongi (sequel to Nihonshoki)”. Gunji, not like Kokushi dispatched from the central government, was selected from the local powerful families but the position wasn’t allowed to be inherited by a person who is a relative within the third degree of kinship (“Taihō Senjoryō-Code of assigning official posts”).

However, Munakata-gun in Chikuzen Province and Ou-gun in Izumo Province were excluded from the code in the time of the Emperor Monmu in 698 (“Shoku Nihongi”) and later the exclusion clause was established for other five shrines with six shingun in the same way. In other words, a Gunji in a shingun had considerable power both in execution of Shintō rituals and political activities. Among others, the Izumo clan and Munakata clan established a firm position as remarkable clans from ancient times and the deities dedicated and enshrined to both shrines became the most important deities in Japan.

This notion continued to be ingrained deeply in the minds of people in more recent times. By the start of Kamakura period, “seventy-five massha (branch 108 shrines)” were established. Among seventy five massha (108 shrines), the existing shrines are shown in the Table 1 and the Figure 2⁴⁷⁾. According to them, we learn that massha are not only in the former Munakata-gun (present Munakata City and Fukutsu City) but also in the former Kurate-gun and Onga-gun that make us realize the area of influence of the Munakata clan and the area of worship of the three goddesses of Munakata.

The seventy-five massha were first mentioned in the “Kansenji (official document of the State Department)” (“Document of Munakata Grand Shrine”) issued on April 5 of Kangi 3 (1231) as “approximately seventy small and large shrines” and were next mentioned in “Kantō Gechijō (official document of the Kamakura Shogunate)” in Jōei 1 (1232) as “the rule for 75 shrines” and in “Goengi” they are mentioned as “seventy five massha” and since then their names were mentioned in many documents as in the form of “massha 75 shrines” or “75 shrines”. Regarding one hundred and eight shrines, they are mentioned as in a line “the number 108 was probably derived from the fact that each massha enshrined many small deities” in the “First Volume of Munakata Jinja History” and now they are referred to as “seventy five shrines with one hundred and eight deities”.

These massha should be called as “ubusunakami (indigenous deities)” from respective regions, however, as Munakata Grand Shrine controlled the entire Munakata-gun as “shingun”, they are positioned as massha under its jurisdiction. At the end of the Period of Warring States, when Daigūji family failed, the shrine territory was confiscated by TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi in Tenshō 15 (1587) and after that most of them except Orihata Shrine, Kodaiji Shrine and Konomi Shrine were departed from Munakata Grand Shrine and each shrine became independent as Mura-ujigami (tutelary deity of a village) of each village⁴⁸⁾. Orihata Shrine and Konomi Shrine were designated as “Major Five Shrines” along with Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya in the previous period and in the Hōjō-e ceremony and the Satsuki-Sai which were the most important festivals in medieval times, the mikoshi from their shrines participated. Kodaiji Temple was added to the list and while Konomi Shrine and Kodaiji Temple were enshrined in both Mt. Konomi (271 m) and Mt. Kodaiji (499 m) respectively, Orihata Shrine is enshrined in Kanenomisaki. Mountain and Misaki (cove) used to be called “yama-ate” or “me-ate” that were seen as a route marker for a ship at sea and were important land marks for ships to learn their direction and fishing ground since the nutrients flowed into the sea by the river formed good fishing ground. In addition, mountains provide materials for building ships and fishing equipment⁴⁹⁾. These three shrines were probably the most significant massha that the fishermen in Munakata couldn’t do without.

Table 1 List of the existing shrines of the “75” subordinate shrines of Munakata Shintō Shrine

Map no.	Old rank	Name (current name, if different from original name)	Location
1	県	織幡神社	宗像市鐘崎
2	無	王子神社	同 王丸
3	村	の原神社	福津市八並
4	無	孔大寺神社	宗像市池田
5	県	宮地嶽神社	福津市宮司
6	郷	許斐権現(熊野神社)	宗像市王丸
7	無	木皮社(辺津神社)	同 神湊
8	村	年毛神社	福津市勝浦
9	村	伊摩神社	宗像市吉田
10	村	波折社(依嶽神社境内社)	同 田野
11	村	久末社(若八幡宮)	福津市久末
12	無	稲庭上社(氏八満神社合祀)	宗像市田島
13	村	依嶽神社	同 田野
14	村	森社(依嶽神社境内社)	同 同
15	村	津加計志神社	同 神湊
16	村	縫殿神社	福津市奴山
17	村	楯崎神社	同 渡
18	無	渡津社(楯崎神社)	同 渡
19	無	勝浦嶽神社	同 勝浦
20	無	須多田神社	同 須多田
21	無	酒多神社	同 奴山
22	村	津田神社(蘿神社)	宗像市陵厳寺
23	無	大井神社(靄神社)	同 大井
24	村	和歌神社	同 同
25	村	国玉神社(和歌神社境内社)	同 同
26	村	四道福松明神(諏訪神社)	福津市諏訪
27	村	飯盛明神(大森神社)	同 上西郷
28	村	原比女明神(辻八幡宮境内社)	宗像市江口
29	県	御霊明神(八所神社)	同 吉留
30	村	葦木神社	同 牟田尻
31	村	土穴若宮(八所神社)	同 土穴
32	村	桑田若宮 池田若宮(桑田神社)	同 池田
33	無	許斐所主(心吉神社)	同 王丸
34	無	許斐三御前社(八所神社)	同 同
35	無	許斐上七郎殿 許斐下七郎殿(六之神社境内七郎神社)	同 同
36	無	許斐上六御前(六之神社)	同 同
37	村	許斐下六御前(六所御神社)	同 久原
38	村	示現明神(田熊神社)	同 田熊
39	村	田熊貴船社(田熊神社境内貴船神社)	同 同
40	村	伊久志社(矢房神社境内社)	同 東郷
41	村	池浦山王社	同 池浦
42	村	太礼明神(指来神社)	同 多礼
43	村	蛭田若宮(八幡神社境内貴船社)	同 光岡

44	無	国連明神(葛原神社)	同 鐘崎
45	村	辻原若宮(辻八幡宮)	同 江口
46	村	十所王子社(日吉神社)	福津市内殿
47	村	猿王子社(日吉神社境内須賀神社)	同 同
48	村	本木若宮(八幡宮)	同 本木
49	無	老松若宮(天満神社)	同 同
50	村	牧口神社(金刀比羅神社境内社)	福津市在自
51	村	在自若宮(金刀比羅神社境内八幡神社)	同 同
52	村	西塔田若宮(大森神社同殿)	同 上西郷
53	村	前戸明神(葦木神社境内神崎神社)	宗像市牟田尻
54	無	藤宮明神(春日神社)	同 富地原
55	無	神興社	福津市津丸
56	村	御船上社(若宮八幡宮境内船宮神社)	宗像市田久
57	村	山田若宮(若八幡宮)	同 山田
58	村	山田白山権現社(若八幡宮境内白山神社)	同 同
59	村	在自天神宮(天降天神社 風降天神社)	福津市須多田
60	村	唐坊八幡宮 柳牟田社(金刀比羅宮境内八幡社)	同 在自
61	村	厳島神社	宗像市地島
62	無	牧神社	同 同
63	村	泊若宮社(厳島神社境内高殿神社)	同 同
64	村	内殿郷若宮(日吉神社同殿)	福津市内殿
65	村	朝町大明神(八幡神社)	宗像市朝町
66	村	光岡若宮(八幡神社)	同 光岡
67	村	山口若宮(八幡神社)	宮若市山口
68	村	山口御口代神社(八幡神社)	同 同
69	村	宮永若宮(八幡神社)	同 宮永
70	無	鴨山若宮(加茂神社)	同 下
71	無	宮田若宮(三所神社)	宮若市宮田
72	郷	室木若宮(六嶽神社境内八幡神社)	鞍手郡鞍手町室木
73	村	内浦若宮(若宮神社)	遠賀郡岡垣町内浦

The existing shrines of which the locations are not not clearly determined			
74		吹浦社	宗像市田島字吹浦
75		岡堺明神社(境明神社・祓方遠賀堺明神社・祓方明神社・犬王丸明神社)	同 池田垂見峠
76		許斐織機明神社	宗像市王丸
77		山田郷黒尾社	同 同
78		孔大寺山神社	同 池田
79		孔大寺芥神社	同 同
80		今山妙見大菩薩	同 吉田字今ヶ浦
81		織幡人見明神社	同 鐘崎
82		由牧殿社	福津市渡
83		山田妙見社	宗像市山田字稗田山
84		廻田道祖神	同 野坂

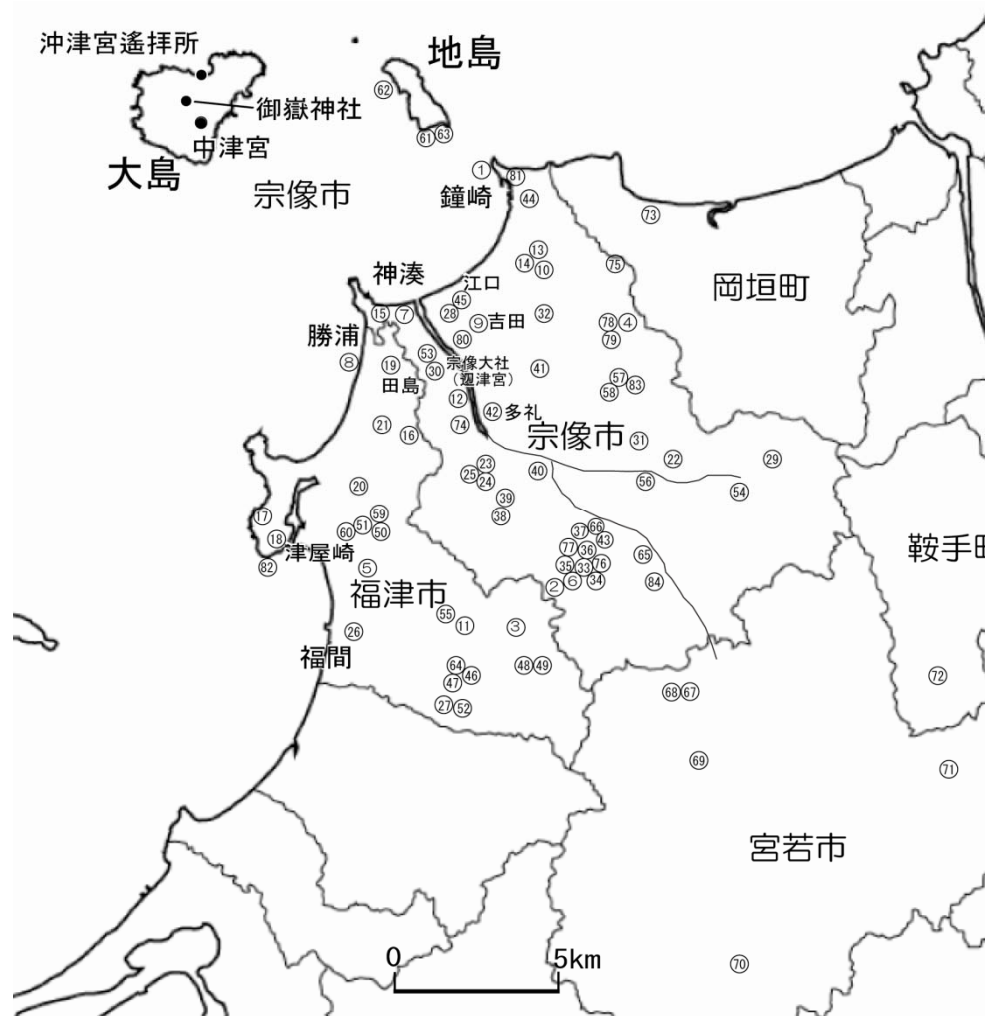


Figure 2 Distribution of the existing shrines of “75” subordinate shrines of Munakata Shintō Shrine

In the Meiji period, according to the “Official document on the revision of the Imperial Shrines, National Shrines and Sessha shrines in the country”, the number of sessha shrines attached to Munakata Grand Shrine was 84 from Meiji 4 to Meiji 10. It was the number of 19 massha at Hetsu-miya added by 65 massha within Munakata-gun. Only thirty-nine shrines out of the ancient seventy-five massha were designated as sessha shrines. Moreover, under the “Official document on the revision of the Imperial shrines, National shrines, Sessha shrines” issued on March 22 in Meiji 10, eighty-four were abolished and the five shrines including Orihata Shrine, Mitake Shrine, Ōji Shrine, Matohara Shrine, Kodaiji Shrine were defined as sessha shrines of Munakata Grand Shrine. In comparison to the ancient Munakata 5 massha shrines or 6 shrines, only Konomi Shrine was excluded but the small deities of Konomi-Shrine, that is, Ōji Shrine and Matohara Shrine were included. By the way, Mitake Shrine is a sessha of Nakatsu-miya and is located on the summit of Mt. Mitake in the center of Ōshima Island.

These sessha shrines outside the boundary of Munakata-gun had independent shrine rankings and each had its respective shrine priests and shrine parishioners in each location. Also after World War 2, each shrine was given a status of religious corporation as unit corporation and each sessha shrine in former Munakata-gun except Mitake Shrine and Ōji Shrine became a unit corporation shrine. However, they still maintain the hierarchical relationship with the Sōja (consolidated shrine) based on the history. It's no wonder that the revival of Miare Festival and Satsuki-Matsuri was intended to reaffirm such situation and intensify such relationship. At present, there are around 120 members from different places of the former Munakata-gun in the parishioners' association of Munakata Grand Shrine.

Orihata Shrine enshrined on the mountain side of Mt Sayakata at the tip of Kanenomisaki was a “shikinaisha (shrine listed in jinmyōchō)” enumerated with Munakata Shrine with three enshrined deities as “Orihata Shrine with one deity” in the “Engi-shiki Jinmyōchō (a list of shrines with deities published in 1927) and in recent times,

it was enumerated as a prefectural shrine in 1928. The main deity is believed to be Takeuchi-no-sukune and as described above in the “Goengi”, when the Empress Jingū sent troops to the enemy territory, the man wove red and white two banners and put them on the Minagate, after which the shrine was named as “Orihata”. Also the shrine has deep affinity and connection with Munakata Shrine in terms of shrine rituals

At present, the chief priest at Toshimo Shrine in Katsuura also serves as the chief shrine of Orihata Shrine. Although the shrine has no regularly assigned Shintō priests, it is pretty well maintained and on the ground, there are a monument “Chinshō to Kyogan (legendary bell sunk in the sea and a giant rock) erected by parishioners⁵⁰⁾ and a monument of female divers in Kanesaki and you can feel the lively spirits of people of Kanesaki who treasure the history of Kanesaki and Orihata Shrine.

Mr. GONDA Jinpachirō who serves as a chairman of Munakata Grand Shrine Ocean Rituals Worshippers’ Society never fails to pay a visit to Orihata Shrine in the morning. And in Autumn Grand Festival of Munakata Grand Shrine, he makes offerings of “O-shio-i(purified sand)” collected from Kanesaki Beach in front of the shrine. He says, “We are parishioners of Orihata Shrine and Munakata Grand Shrine is the head guardian shrine”. In Kanesaki, there is a saying that goes “If you don’t visit Munakata Grand Shrine, you will end up not visiting for another three years for some pretext or other”. Therefore, people make it a rule to visit Munakata Grand Shrine and feel obligated to participate in the festivals in particular.

The Spring Grand Festival at Orihata Shrine is held on April 16th and in autumn, the festival called “Okunchi” is held on October 9th. On this fete day, fishing activity is halted, which means nobody go out for fishing. In spring, one of six tōbamoto takes care of preparation of offerings of food, drinks and decorations for “goza” and on October 9, Mikoshi is carried out from the shrine. On the third Saturday in June, after the assembly of the fisheries cooperative association there is a convivial gathering of hamlets called Ryūgonsama (Dragon Palace Festival). In the past, it was “Okomori (confinement in the shrine)” according to the type of fishings. In Gionsan held on July 14, they carried the decorated floats like in Hakata Yamakasa Festival and on July 31, the summer purification festival called “Wakoshi-san” and on August 16, the Bon Festival of Kanesaki (cultural property designated by Fukuoka prefecture) is taken place.

Next to the Torii gateway of Orihata Shrine is a shrine dedicated to Ebisu (patron deity of business). Round-headed wooden sticks are placed on the offertory box. In the past, these sticks are loaded on a fishing boat and with the stick fishermen pounded the side of the boat shouting, “トウベスサ〜ン(Tōbesusan)”so that the hearing-impaired Ebisu could learn that they set out to fishing and he would guarantee good catch of fish and safety at sea. Currently, the structure of the boats have changed and while fishermen set out to fishing, their wives left on the land pound on the offertory box of Ebisu Shrine while shouting “トウベスサ〜ン(Tōbesusan)”.

In daily life, there are a variety of deities and the Kanesaki Fishing Port where worshipping for these deities and customs related to them have been inherited. Now the port has three Makiami fleets and boasts one of the highest haul of fish within the prefecture.



Photo 10 The offertory box at Ebisu Shrine and the sticks announcing the start of fishing to Tōbesusan.

4. Koshiki-Sai (Ancient style Festival)

(1) Origin of Koshiki-Sai

Hetsu-miya was called Tashima Shrine as well. The entire area on the west bank of the Tsuru River is a rural district suited to be called “Tashima” with acres of rice fields unrolled in the area surrounded by Tsuru River, its tributaries and the mountain range in the background.

Since Edo period, Hetsu-miya has taken on the characteristics of the Muraujigami (tutelary deity of a village). The Koshiki-Sai (ancient style festival) held on the Sunday near December 15 at present, used to assume a role of Miyaza (parish guild) of the former Tashima Village. Not only is Munakata Grand Shrine the guardian deities of marine traffic and fishing, but also is a guardian of farming in the inland of the Shingun Munakata.

Koshiki-Sai was called “Sōja-Sai (festival of consolidated shrine) in Edo period and was held on November 15. In the section titled “Munakata-gun jō Tashima-Jinja (Tashima Shrine in Munakata District” in the “Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki Furoku(The appendix to the sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province)”, there is a description as follows: “Every year the festival is held on 15th of November. It is called Munakat Festival. Many people from near villages pay a visit to the shrine. First on the night of the 14th, shioi (purified sand) is collected around the Uminobe-Miya (Kōnominato) and at the break of dawn next day, it is dedicated at the shrine. After the rites of worship, the ceremonial feast for the chief priest FUKADA Hyōbu , HINAMI Shōnagon, ABE Kamon , RIKIMARU Zōsu was served. Other shrine priests weren’t involved in the festival. When did this custom come about? No details are given”. According to the “Omiya Shimotsuki Matsuri-chō (record of shrine festivals in November)” in Hōreki 8 (1758), Tashima village is divided into four groups that are composed of 1st group of Yamashita, 2nd group of Dobashi, 3rd group of Uedon and 4th group of Katawaki and they contributed to this festival.

The Munakata Festival was mentioned in the “Kuji Kongen (Origin and history of ancient court practices and yearly events)” written by ICHIJŌ Kaneyoshi as Munakata-Sai held on the day of U (rabbit) in November and according to the book, the festival originally was conducted at Satusuki Beach on the day of U (rabbit) in November, however, during the tenure of Daigūji Ujisada, the date was fixed on November 15. It is also called “Shimotsuki-Sai (November festival)” where offerings of harvested rice were dedicated from the entire village and the year-end round mirror-shaped rice cakes were made from the rice. It was a harvest thanksgiving festival. After the Meiji Restoration, it has become a “Minrei-Sai (popular festival)” and in Meiji 43, the chief priest TAKAMUKU Hidezane sent a petition for the change of fete day and its name and from Meiji 44, it was established on December 15 on the new calendar under the name of “Koshiki-Sai”. On this occasion, November 15 on the solar calendar was designated as the “fete day” and the Spring Grand Festival was fixed from April 11 to April 13 and the Autumn Grand Festival was fixed from September 30 to October 2.

In the Koshiki-Sai at present, the former 4 groups of the Tashima Village are divided into 8 groups Uedon, Fukuda, Fukiura, Katawaki, Honmura, Shukunotani, Yamashita, Tonmatsu and each group takes care of the year’s Oza (gathering) in turn. Being originally an event in Tashima District, “Koshiki-Sai Goza Preservation Association” has been set up and although people in Tashima District prepare offerings to deities and feast food, ordinary people can participate in the Oza (gathering).

(2) Shinsen (sacred offerings) and Koshiki-Sai ceremonies

The important thing in the Koshiki-Sai is a special offerings called “Okashi” and traditional dishes served at the gathering.

The shinsen offerings made to the goddesses were shown in Photo 11 and three sets of the offerings for three goddesses were prepared.

At the center of the tray is seaweed called “gebasamo” caught in the shore of Eguchi. Gebasamo is seaweed called “Sargassum horneri” which looks like “hondawara” and tastes the best in February, but it is also eaten in November prior to other seaweed that is why they think it is dedicated at the Koshiki-Sai. Also,

due to its geography, large amount of algae tend to be drifted into Eguchi-no-hama (Eguchi Beach). The fresh algae collected from the beach is brought to the shrine and the fresh one is used as an offering, and the cooked algae mixed with the roasted and roughly ground black bean powder with soy bean paste and sugar is served as a dish for the gathering.



Photo 11 Special Shinsen “Okashi put on a tray”

At the four corners of the tray are placed cup-shaped bamboo cylinders. In this cylinder the new rice straw wrapped in a paper is inserted and skewered fan-shaped Kunenbo (citrus, cut in fan-shape) and skewered diamond-shape rice cake are also inserted and two pieces of urajiro (fern) are placed in each cylinder. In the past, instead of rice straw, yama potato was used and in addition to diamond-shaped rice cake and kunenbo citrus, dried abalone was also inserted⁵¹⁾, at present, a small piece of dried abalone (1cm by 1.5cm) is placed on dengaku (tofu baked and coated with miso) but isn't used as an offerings. All four bamboo cylinders are fixed with a thin strip of bamboo, hoshō paper and hemp string and a pair of willow chopsticks (46cm long) are placed.

While gebamosa was caught from Eguchi, Kunenbo came from Yoshida and diamond-shaped rice cake came from Tare⁵²⁾. In other words, the Shinsen is composed of products from the sea, the mountain and the field in Munakata and it is dedicated to three goddess of Munakata. At present, Kunenbo citrus is grown in the ground of Takamiya and rice cakes are pounded using newly-harvested rice by Jimoto(Tashima) Sōdai (parishioner representative) and is cut into a diamond shape (3cm by 3cm).

The offerings to the goddesses are composed of 2 bottles of sacred sake, a bowl of rice and diamond-shaped rice cakes in the back row, and a tray of Special Shinsen Okashi in front (special offerings), fruits (a plate of 12 or 13 kunenbo citruses), seaweed (kelp), fish (two male and female sea breams faced each other), bird (a chicken), vegetables (Chinese cabbage, daikon radish, burdock, lotus root), salt and sacred water in the middle row and the offerings for sessha and massha shrines with diamond-shaped rice cake, two bottles of sacred sake and a piece of sea bream in the front row. The ceremonies are conducted in the Chū-sai (middle scale festival) style. In a Shō-sai (small festival), one set of the above-mentioned offerings are made and in a chū-sai (or in above grade), three sets of offerings are made.

At six in the morning, the chief priest and other priests and assistant priests in charge of the festival, after performing purification in the purification hall, proceed in the dark to the main hall. Following the assistant priests are Mayor of Tashima Ward, representative of the group in charge of the Koshiki-Sai (Katawaki in 2010), Mayor of Eguchi Ward, representative from Eguchi group, chairman of Ujiko Sōdai (parishioner facilitator) proceed. At the Akusha (tentative pavilion) people invited to the first gathering are seated. After the purification ceremony, the chief priest gives prayers of thanks to the goddesses for abundant crops and after the prayer “Koshiki-Sai Ko Ka (old poem of Koshiki-Sai)” are recited by the Saiin shrine assistants.

- 一、 千早振る第一宮の木綿襷ゆうたすき掛けての後は楽しかりけり
- 一、 千早振る第二宮の木綿襷掛けての後は楽しかりけり
- 一、 千早振る第三宮の木綿襷掛けての後は楽しかりけり

This old poem is a part of the “tōka (group music and dance)” made in the style of the “tōka-no-sechie (court feast for viewing tōka)” which was performed by 12 singers and 6 dancers on January 15th and according to the “Shinjishidai (program of shrine events)”, it was performed not only in Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū but also in Kami-Takamiya, Shimo-Takamiya, Gobyōin (mausoleum), Miroku-ji Temple, Ukidono in the shrine, Orihata Shrine and Konomi Gongen and in such occasion, after the phrase “Chihayafuru” the name of respective shrines are cited.

After the recital, the ceremonies at the main hall are concluded with the tamagushi worship (sprig of the sacred tree is offered to deity) and the gathering at the Seimei Hall is held.

(3) Preparation of the Oza (gathering)

Oza was originally an event of Miyaza (parish guild) of the Tashima District and each group in the district takes turns preparing everything for the festival and plates and utensils are also prepared by each group. Nowadays, Munakata Grandshrine assumes a considerable part of the preparation.

By 8:30 a.m. on the previous morning, local Sōdai (facilitators) (sōdai from Tashima) gather to pound mochi (rice-cakes), prepare diamond-shaped mochi, prepare special offerings of food and drink to the goddesses, straw mat (size 180cm)⁵³⁾ for the altar, 300 pairs of the 23-centimeter-long Kuri-hai chopsticks (thick chopsticks made of chestnut branches), willow chopsticks (about 30 cm long) for three sets of offerings and 300 sets of subo (thin bamboo stick with rice straw attached on the top). Ingredients for cooking, bamboo skewers for dengaku, 80 kunenbo citruses, 300 gohei (purification wand), 300 earthen bowls and prizes for the winning tickets (in lottery) are prepared by Grand Shrine.

Each group leader collects money offering for the first ears of rice in advance from the members (1,000 yen per person, in Tashima Ward only one person per household is discounted to 500 yen) and bring the money to Mayor with a name list.

At 8 p.m., on-duty facilitators stay overnight at Munakata Grand Shrine and in the early next morning, they get themselves purified and change into white robes. Only men are to serve for the gathering (server). Some people have to come all the way from other parts of Japan to serve for this gathering and for this reason, the ceremony has been held on Sundays. The ingredients for cooking are arranged by the Grand Shrine and the female members of the on-duty group take charge of cooking from 4:30 in the morning.

The menu for the gathering is as follow.

- 一、 飯（1人1合程度）新穀で炊く
忌穂（藁スボ）を挿す
- 一、 味噌汁
だし昆布・イリコでだしをとり、具は豆腐・薄揚げ・大根・里芋
- 一、 田楽
串に挿した焼き豆腐の上に白味噌・あわびのしをのせ、九年母半月切り1切れを添える
- 一、 ナマス
三角揚げ・大根・人参・タツクリ（イリコ）
- 一、 煮付
蓮根（2切）・大根（2切）・牛蒡（2切）・里芋（2切）・人参（1切）・蒲鉾（1切）・揚げ豆腐（1切）
- 一、 菓子 九年母・菱餅



Photo 12 Dishes for the Koshiki-Sai Oza (gathering)

(4) Koshiki-Sai Oza (gathering)

From 5 a.m. in the early morning, in the anteroom room for Sōdai in the Purification Hall, tickets for the gatherings are put on sale. There are five rounds of gatherings (the first gathering starts at 6:30), and 50 people are admissible for each round. At the fourth gathering, fire-fighting staff for “Chinka-Sai (fire extinguishing ceremony)” will join. There is no ceremony of “Tōwatashi (handing over toban’s duty to next group)” and at the end of the 5th round of gathering, transfer of duties are completed orally.

On the altar of Seimei Hall, one set of special offerings of food and drink is made again and a new straw mat (komo) is laid out in front of the altar. On the mat the Chief Priest is seated of the mat in the middle and two representatives from Eguchi with gebasamo (algae) are seated on both sides of the priest⁵⁴). Facing the front, on the right side of the jōza (upper seat) is seated by the priests and on the left side of the joza is installed by drums. Four long rows of ables are setup and the participants are seated in front of the table on the straw mat.

On the table, gohei with the words “Koshiki-Sai Gohei , Munakata Grand Shrine” on a wooden wand and diamond-shaped mochi are placed on the left side and a sake cup with a divine crest is put on the right side and in the center is arranged by rice, nitsuke (simmered vegetables), dengaku (skewered baked tofu coated with miso), namsu (vinegrated fish and vegetables) and kurihai-bashi (chopsticks made of chestnut branches). When all the participants are seated, a drum is beaten one time. Following the purification ceremony performed by a priest, on-duty tōban (facilitator) in white kimono and white hakama (divided skirt) performs “Heibiki” which is a rite to purify the participants who bow their heads down with “gohei (wooden wands decorated with paper streamers used in Shintō rituals)”.

Next, sacred sake (white rice wine) is served by the tōban and savored by the entire participants. Then, ceremonial hand clapping is performed directed by the call of the tōban. First he calls “seeeeeee”, after which the participants clap their hands twice “clap clap”. Then he yells again “mo hitotsu, seeee” after which the participants clap their hands twice, then finally he yells “ioute sangon” after which the participants clap their hands twice. Then they start to eat.

The tōban goes around serving miso soup from the barrel and then the votive offering (seasoned gebasamo algae with cooked black beans) is served on a paper with a diamond-shaped mochi on it. During the meal, drawing of lots is performed and a mask of old man, sacred drinking cups (set of three cups), zodiac earthen bell, middle-size wooden plate, small-size wooden plate are given as prizes and a small charm for luck is offered to everybody. By the time the participants finish eating, hand-clapping is performed again and with the sound of drum, the gathering is finished.

People in Ecughi who delivered Gebamosa at 5 a.m. in the early morning are awarded with a talisman and about 3.6-liter sacred sake and they return to Eguchi. After placing gebamosa algae at Ujigami-Tsuji Hachiman-gū Shrine as offerings and performing rituals, they hold a gathering at the community center. In Eguchi there are 6 groups and each group takes turns assuming the role of tōban in one-year shifts.



Photo 13 Scene from the Koshiki-Sai Oza (gathering)



Photo 14 Heibiki ritual

The dishes served here include namasu (vinegared fish and vegetables) on a tray, bowl of rice, diamond-shaped rice cake, seasoned gebamosa on a piece of Japanese paper accompanied by a bowl of zōni (soup with a rice cake). People in Eguchi say “Gebamosa algae is indispensable for the Koshiki-Sai”, or “Only to Eguchi-no-hama (Eguchi Beach), gebamosa is drifted”. Their identity supports the tradition of Koshiki-Sai.

Eguchi-no-hama (Eguchi Beach) is a beautiful beach with white sand overlooking Kanenomisaki and its scenery resembles Nusa-no-hama (Nusa Beach) overlooking “Keya Ōto” which is a holy place located at the tip of the Itoshima Peninsula. According to NOMOTO Kanichi, hama means “秀間”, meaning a distinguished place, in other words, it is a “sanctuary area which is distinguished from a distance” and “a place glowing in the dark where deities are present”³⁵⁾. As it is well-known that in Izumo in the month of kamiari (October), there is a ceremony of welcoming deities from provinces from all over the country at Inasa-no-Hama (Inasa Beach), the Satsuki Hama (Satsuki Beach) where the Satsuki-Sai is held is also a beach where deities are flown toward. Gemasamo drifted to Eguchi-no-hama was considered to be “emissary” from deities or “deity itself”.

In the explanatory note on the “Significance of the Koshiki-Sai” issued by Munakata Grand Shrine, it is described that “The Koshiki-Sai is the last harvest thanksgiving of the year. It is an event to make an offering of this year’s harvest to the tutelary deity (Ujigami) in gratitude for the benefits of labor of the year and share the food in an iron pot cooked by the fire of the shrine with the deities among the shrine parishioners. This event is similar to Niiname-Sai performed by the Emperor in the “Shinka-den (palace sanctuary)” at the court. (snip). Oza (gathering) is said to be a gathering of inviting good luck. In this way, we can spend a convivial time of “Shinjinwaraku (communion of deities and men) once a year and this is where the significance of the Koshiki-Sai lies.”



Photo 15 Eguchi-no-hama overlooking Jinoshima island and Kanenomisaki

5. Festivals on Ōshima Island and Okinoshima Island

(1) Between Ōshima Island and Okinoshima Island

It takes 25 minutes to get to Ōshima Island Port by ferry. The road on your left leads you to Nakatsu-miya. Nakatsu-miya is enshrined at the east side of the foot of the Mt. Mitake (224 m), the highest mountain on Ōshima Island and with Tagitsuhime-no-Kami as main deity, Tagorihime-no-Kami from Okinoshima Island and Ichikishimahime-no-Kami from Hetsu-miya are jointly enshrined.

Mitake Shrine on the summit of Mt. Mitake is currently a sessha shrine of Nakatsu-miya which was Oku-no-miya (inner shrine)⁵⁶⁾ deemed as Takegami (mountain deity) and enshrines “aramitama (fierece spirit)” of Tagitsuhime-no-Kami and Amaterasu-Ōmikami. From the mountain summit, you can overlook the northern part of Kyūshū on the opposite side of the sea and on clear sunny day, you can also see Okinoshima Island. In recent years, the ritual site similar to Okinoshima Island was discovered near the shrine which has been drawing attention to the relationship between the rituals on Ōshima Island and Okinoshima Island.

On the north part of the island there is Okitsu-miya Yōhaijo (place for worshipping from afar). Rituals at Okitsu-miya were performed by the Ichinokai Kōno clan until Edo period, however, the shrine priests only went out to the island four times a year for the seasonal Minagate Rituals in medieval times and in modern times, only twice a year in April and October (late November) for the summer and winter festivals and they usually performed shrine rituals at Ōshima Island. At present, the priests on Ōshima Island go to Okitsu-miya on Okinoshima Island in 10-day shifts and the chief priest sails to the island only on a few occasions including the welcoming ceremony of the goddesses in the Miare Festival and the local Grand Festival held on the memorial day of Sea of Japan Naval Battle on May 27th. The Okitsu-miya Grand Festival held on March 15 and September 15 on lunar calendar is performed at this Yōhaijo by opening the doors and by worshipping Okinoshima Island in distance.

Even now, before landing on Okinoshima Island, you need to get yourself purifying the sea, this ritual was more strictly observed in ancient times. According to the “Written report by the Grand Priest of Okitsu-miya” in Keiō 4 (1868), prior to departure from Ōshima Island, the priests had to purify themselves every morning by performing Misogi (purifying bath). Also, they had to do fortune-telling on the next three points: 1) Time for departure, 2) Pattern in the middle of the sea, 3) Conditions on arrival on Okinoshima Island before starting to sail. Even though the fortune-telling of 1) and 2) didn’t turn out to be well, if 3) turns out to be favorable, they decided to go to sea. On the other hand, even though No.1 and 2 were satisfactory, if No.3 wasn’t well, they cancelled the voyage. The fishermen on Ōshima Island called the median center as Kaminaka and they dedicated the nusa (ritual wand with paper streamers) to the deities in the sea as an offering and prayed for the safety of navigation⁵⁷⁾. In the “Manyōshū” (Vol. 1-62), there is a poem which translates like this: “Wishing for safe navigation to and from Tsushima on the Genkai Sea, I put the nusa (ritual wand) into the sea as an offering to the deity of the sea”. The act of offering a “nusa” into the sea for safety of navigation was performed during the time when the rituals on Okinoshima Island were thriving. The fishermen’s custom of pouring sacred sake into the sea when their fishing boats come closer to Okinoshima Island at present is probably derived from this tradition.

When the boat arrives on Ōshima Island, the shrine priests set up a tentative hut in the shore under the bluff where they confine themselves for worshipping. For seven days, they perform ablutions in the sea and don’t go into the mountain. On the seventh day, they visit a nearby massha shrine named “Shōsanmi Shrine” (dedicated to deities of Shikanoshima) and on the 8th day, they visit Okitsu-miya in the middle of the mountain for the first time and perform rituals for worshipping. Until the festival is terminated and until they leave from the island, the priests purify themselves in the sea water every morning and visit the Shōsanmi Shrine. The reason why they dare not visit the Ōkami-no-miya (Okitsu-miya) except for the festival is they are awed and humbled by the divine power. During the stay on the island, the priests refrain from conducting acts of impurities and make it a rule to use imikotoba (taboo words)⁵⁸⁾.

During Edo period, the Ichinokai-Kōno clan only paid a visit to Okinoshima Island twice a year. According to the “List of shrine ranking at Okitsu-miya” issued in Tenmei 5 (1785), during the fishing season in autumn and winter, the “kimoiri” (facilitator) by order of Ichinokai-Kōno sailed to Okinoshima Island and

after setting up a hut on the beach, engaged in repair and cleanup work of the approach to the Main shrine. Also, for the fishermen who came from Ōshima Island and Kanesaki to Okinoshima Island for fishing, the Kimoiri performed a Ryūgū-sai ceremony in front of the massha shrine, Shōsanmi Shrine to wish for good haul and safety of navigation as needed⁵⁹⁾. Judging by the results from the excavation of the archaeological site where earthenware, obsidian arrowheads, stone spear, swords, stone spoon from the early Jōmon period, as well as great number of ritual sites, it is estimated that from the Jōmon and Yayoi periods in ancient times, people already came to Okinoshima Island waiting for the right season and stayed there temporarily to do fishing⁶⁰⁾.

It is an obvious fact that the surrounding area of Okinoshima Island is a repository of fish. People on Ōshima Island calls the island as “treasure island” and people in Kanesaki say that “Okinoshima Island is the sources for their livelihood”. The perimeter of Okinoshima Island is 750 meters and the seven Ura (called Nanaura) including Kanesaki, Jinoshima, Tsuyazaki, Fukuma, Kōnominato, Katsuura (not existed now) have their respective fishing rights in respective designated fishing zones. At present, thanks to the advancement of vessel structure and the accurate weather forecast, only one temporary hut is existed on the island, however, in the past, on the mountainside of the wharf, there was a row of temporary huts. As the “Ikkomi” shows, fishermen who came to the island fished day and night for about three months in spring and autumn. Moreover, as the word “shikekomu” expresses, when the sea became rough due to storm, they were evacuated to Okinoshima Island and stayed there for many days. In such a occasion, they say that they had a pleasant time talking with the shrine priests at Okitsu-miya. Nowadays there are increasing number of cases where people practice fishing staying on their ships called “Tottenige (catch and run)” or people do one-day fishing boarding a pleasure boat (sewatashi-bune) and the elder of Ōshima Island is worried that this kind of practices may harm the dignity of the island.



Photo 16 Okinoshima Island and Mikadobashira, Koyajima

Not only does Okinoshima Island bring bountiful catch of fish, but also serve as the “deity” who protects the lives of fishermen. The fishermen sail between two rocky reefs, Koyajima and Mikadobashira when they land on Okinoshima Island without a fail. Then, they say that they clap their hands or pour sacred sake into the sea. Mikadobashira literally means the “shinmon (divine gate)” to enter the divine sanctuary. Passing this gate, they say they experience a transformation of feelings and feel closer to divine deities”. Before landing on the island, they enter into the sea and get themselves purified. They are not supposed to use “fire” unless they make ablutions in the sea. It is prohibited to relieve oneself, spit, cut a tree on the island, and take out anything from the island. These are taboos which are still observed today although not so strict as they were in the previous times. This island is also called as “Oiwazu-sama (you can’t tell anything about the island)”. Fishermen dare not approach Nakatsu-miya without reason but when they pass near the ritual sites, they could encounter divine spirit. And they can’t tell this to anybody. No women allowed. Women are banned from boarding a ship on the occasion of the festival as well as landing on the island.

Fishermen engage in a job where accidents and danger go hand in hand, and they have a strong belief that by strictly observing the contracts made with the god, good haul of fish and safety on the sea will be guaranteed⁶¹⁾.

(2) Festivals at Nakatsu-miya

The festivals at Nakatsu-miya have been performed by the Ninokai-Kōno (Ochi) clan since the medieval times. Along with the Ichinokai-Kōno clan, Ninokai family is said to have descended from the Kōno navy group in Iyo Province.

Regarding the festivals held at Nakatsu-miya in medieval times, the Gosekku (festival on May 5th) is believed to be influenced by the one held in Munakata Shrine and Hetsu-miya. As for the Spring Equinox, Fall Equinox and the Hokke-e of October, they are believed to be influenced by Buddhism. Also, there were festivals held outside the island. Kodaiji-e was held on February 3rd and on their visit to Tashima Shrine is in February, seven priests from Ōshima Island made “human molds” beforehand and at the festival of Yaotome ritual held on December 25 at Hetsu-miya’s Mandokoro Kyūken Shrine, they dedicated offerings of food and drink from the massha Goi Shrine of Nakatsu-miya where the Ichinokai clan and Benzaishi (tax collector) performed Afuko Ori (breaking a yoke) to read the fortune of Okinoshima Island and Ōshima Island and finally the priests from Ōshima Island performed a kagura (dance and singing) number “Shimano-Mikagura”. This Kagura was said to be modeled after 6 warriors (Sumiyoshi, Kashima, Suwa, Kōra, Shika, and Orihata) who played prominent roles in the foreign expedition written in the “Goengi”.

Nakatsu-miya also takes on the characteristics of the Mura-ujigami (tutelary deity of a village) on Ōshima Island where people live on both farming and fishing. Therefore, its characteristics are reflected in the festivals. As for agricultural festivals, there are “Tauchi ritual (tilling a rice field)” held on January 1st, “Nōnōgyō-sai” held in June and November, “Narekohokake Ritual” and “Tanabata Mushifuri Ritual” held in July and “Okunchi” held in September. Other interesting festivals are “Mitake Ritual” held in spring and winter, in March and November, respectively.

These festivals show evidence that a widely prevalent custom across the country was long observed on Ōshima Island as well. That is, people have been following a custom to ask the mountain deity to descend to the field at the foot of the mountain in spring to serve as tutelary deity of farming (rice paddies) and send them off to the mountain in gratitude for the termination of farming after the harvest in autumn. In the same way, in view of the way the ritual sites are arranged on the summit of Mt. Mitake and the fact that Mt. Mitake was called “Kaminomiya” and Nakatsu-miya was called “Mihonsha”, Mt. Mitake deserves attention as significant mountain in considering the rituals on Ōshima Island. Apart from that, just as there are many cases of holding the welcoming ceremony of the mountain deities on the first day of the Ox in February and the sending-off ceremony of the mountain deities on the first day of the Ox in November in the Kita-Kyūshū Region, on Ōshima Island there is also the “Hatsu-Ushi-Sai (festival on the first day of the Ox) held in February and November which is mentioned in the historical sources depicting the fete day of the massha shrines within the Ōshima Island Village. The shrine event with a similar purport to Mitake-Sai is described in the historical sources titled “Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Nenchū Goshinji Shidai (Programs of the Ōshima Island Tei-ni-gū yearly Shrine Rituals)” hereinafter called as “Ōshima Goshinji” issued in Kōji 2 (1556).



Photo 17 Mitake Shrine

As for the festivals related to fishing, the “Ofune ritual” of January 3rd and the “Ofune Kōkai Ritual” of December 24th are merely mentioned in historical sources in medieval times. However, in modern times, the “Ryūgū-Sai (Dragon Palace Festival)” in April, the “Ebisu Goshinji (Ebisu ritual)” were added and the Momote-yotsude Goshinji (arrow-shooting) to tell fortunes of the year and the Kifune Festival to worship the deities of water in June and September were added as well.

(3) Tanabata-Matsuri (Star Festival)

The most spectacular event in the present-day Nakatsu-miya is Tanabata-Matsuri (Star Festival) held on August 7th. It is referred to as “July 7th, Tanabata Mushifuri Ritual (ritual in insect’s active period)” in the “Nenchūgyōji (Yearly events)”, and as “Tanabata in July” in the “Ōshima Goshinji”. In the “Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Nenchū Gokumai no koto (about the rice offering)” written in Tenbun 22 (1553), it is mentioned as “Tanabata Hataki (loom)”, and in the “Tei-ni-gū Goshinji shidai” issued in Genroku 5 (1692), it is referred to as “Tanabata Hataki (loom) Ritual” 62). After the premise of Munakata Daigūji Ujisada in the Tenshō14 (1586), the ceremony had been discontinued for a while, but it was revived again in Genroku 2 (1689) 63).

In the Volume 16 of the “Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki(The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province), in the section titled “Munakata-gun Jō Ōshima”, KAIBARA Ekiken wrote like this, “There is a river called “Amanogawa (milkyway)” flowing in front of the shrine. This river comes from the source in Mitake Mountain. On both sides (right and left) of the river, there are two small shrines dedicated to two stars, Kengyū (the star Altair, personified as a cowherd) and Shokujo (Vega, as a weaving girl). They are built up with the river in between.” He also quoted a passage from the “Iwamijo-shiki zuinō (Commentary on the Iwamijo style Japanese poem tanka composition)” and “Kokinshū (collection of ancient and modern poetry)eigashō”, and wrote that the priests confined themselves in the Kengyū-sha Shrine and Tanabata-gū Shrine (Shokujo-sha shrine) from July 1 to July 7 and they built the racks over the river and filled the basin with water to read love fortunes of men and women.

This custom must have attracted a lot of attention and it was included in the writings edited by the government as unique ceremony. According to ORIKUCHI Shinobu, the word tanabata is derived from a word “Tanabatatsume” meaning a maiden who waits for the visit from the water god while weaving at the rack built over the river. Also, according to YOSHINARI Naoki, Tanabata is a ceremony for the deity of water and there are great number of traditions regarding water on the 7th of July including the rite of hair-washing or bathing by women throughout the nation⁶⁴⁾.

Kengyū Shrine is situated on the right side of Nakatsu-miya on a high ground and Shokujo Shrine is on a high ground by Amano River on the left side of Nakatsu-miya. Today, both of them are anything but the small hokora, too small to be used for confinement, however, the serene flow of Amano River with its source in Mt. Mitake remains unchanged and the place is considered fit to wait for the arrival of the god of water. By the upper stream of the river, there is a spring called “Amano-manai (water used by deities)” claimed to be the “magical fountain of longevity and good luck”.

In the shrine ground, there is a stone tablet inscribed with poems made by SUGITA Hisajo in 1932 when she visited there for poem making.

I feel a pang of nostalgia seeing young ladies of the island hanging the woven fabric on the day of Tanabata.

Ladies come down to the riverside of the Amano River to comb their black hair. In the past, women who married into families on the island used to comb their hair by the Amano River. Now, women of the island often marry men outside the island and the Tanabata Matsuri tends to be considered as one of the events. On the day of the festival, in collaboration with the “Genki na Shimadukuri Jigyō Suishin Kyōgikai (Vigorous Island Development Project Promotional Committee)”, from the early morning, bamboo cylinders for Tanabata decorations were set up along the road from the port terminal to the Green Park and around Nakatsu-miya and in the evening on the stage in the Green Park (which is a main event site) there are various music performances. When the sun set and it got dark, the event site was lit by the candles in bamboo cylinders and penlights. They say there is a company manufacturing penlights on the island. A long

plastic tube was stretched from the Kengyū Shrine all the way to Shokujiyo Shrine and the red fluorescent liquid was inserted and flowed out from Kengyū Shrine and when the mechanism of how the liquid got to Shokujo Shrine was disclosed, cheers arose among the participants. This is one of the original ways to make the festival spectacular and enjoyable in the present time.

The ceremony involved setting the rack toward Shokujiyo Shrine in the ground of Nakatsu-miya across Shokujiyo Shrine and the Amano River. On the rack were displayed offerings of watermelons, vegetable of the season and fish and the decorated bamboo branches are set up on both sides of the rack. On the bamboo leaves, kimono-shaped strips of papers are hung. After the ceremony, the Tanabata dance started inviting the participants in the ring of the dance.

Judging from the description “Tanabata mushifuri Ritual” in the “Nenchūgyōji” and the theories of ORIKUCHI and YOSHINARI, it is believed that Tanabata-Matsuri (Star Festival) at Nakatsu-miya is a ceremony related to agriculture. However, the ceremony held on July 7th at Hetsu-miya is called “Kikkōten”. Attracted by a Chinese legend of two stars, Kengyū (the Altair) and Shokujo (the Vega), who enjoy the encounter walking over the heavenly river only once a year, from the ancient times, the noble ladies offered a prayer that their handicraft would improve as proficient as Vega’s. This is what “Kikkōten” means and it is conducted in China. The legend of Tanabata already came down to Japan from China in Nara period and there are several dozens of poems about Tanabata in “Manyōshū (collection of Japanese poetry)”. Given that the festivals and rituals at Munakata Shrine included “sekku (seasonal festival)” or “sechie (court feast)” introduced from the central government and if that was the case with Nakatsu-miya as well, it is believed that the Tanabata Matsuri took on the characteristics of the “star festival” in more ancient days. The Tanabata-Matsuri held on Shikanoshima is now held on the 7th of August on the lunar calendar, and on this occasion, fishing boats from respective districts hoisted with good-catch flags sail to visit Shikaumi Shrine and after receiving a charm “kotonaki-shiba (acorn offcuts, charm for safety)”, they return to their villages. Some come from Tsuyazaki in Munakata. The reason why Tanabata-Matsuri (star festivals) is thriving in shrines dedicated to the god of sea is that the fishermen in ancient times navigated by stars and they had special attachment and devotion to the stars. Also, although Orihata Shrine is said to have been established based on a legend that Takeuchi-no-sukune wove the flags for Minagata and its name was also derived the flag-weaving, there is another theory that originally this weaving machine (loom) was related to the Vega, a weaver. Moreover, the fact that there is a miniature model of the weaving machine (Gilt Bronze-made Weaving Machine) among the divine treasures unearthed from Okinoshima Island is very intriguing.



Photo 18 Altar made for the Tanabata-Matsuri

6. Conclusion

Among many festivals held today at Munakata Grand Shrine, only Fuzokou-Mai Dance performed at The Spring/Autumn Grand Festivals is designated as the intangible folk cultural properties by Munakata City.

Festivals undergo changes in the form and mode according to the direction of politics, society and people. To a grand shrine reputed to enshrine the Three Goddesses of Munakata thought to be created by the ukehi(vow) of Amaterasu Ōmikami, the Founder of the state and his brother Susanowo-no-Mikoto and have received the oracle of Amaterasu Ōmikami, it makes sense that it was constantly under political influence. The number of rituals, which was said to have amounted to 5,921 annually (9468 in the leap year) in medieval times, decreased to less than 1% of the peak time in Edo period due to the social disruption during the period of warring states, and due to the fall of the family who served as Munakata Grand Priests and after the Meiji Restoration until the end of World War 2, within a framework of the State Shintō, the festivals suited to its principle were given priority. This scarcity of the festivals which subsume ancient folk traditions is thought to hinder approval for the cultural property.

The Miare Festival and Satsuki-Sai that were revived in 1962 and 1963 one after another during the postwar reconstruction period, were intended to return to the period when it was called as “Shingun Munakata” and the festivals were performed involving all people in the district based on the rituals performed in medieval times. As I have described above, the Miare Festival became a great success and since then it has grown to be a representative festival of Munakata Grand Shrine and has established a position as the seasonal tradition of this region. It is due in part to the consciousness of the fishermen that they are doing a job where accidents and danger go hand in hand “板子一枚下は地獄じゃから、神様ごとはちゃんとせにゃならん”⁶⁵⁾, and also there must be special attachment to Okinoshima Island, which is so-to-speak the “treasure island” on the part of fishermen. The “treasure island” probably means the best fishing ground for the fishermen, but as a result of the excavation and research conducted in succession the island became known as “Floating Shōsōin” attracting nationwide attention and it will be an even more significant island to them. The very act of carrying the sacred spirit of the deities they have long worshipped becomes the act of “hare” (sacredness) which galvanizes them even more. As described above, long before the flourishing period when the state-level rituals were actively performed on Okinoshima Island to pray for the marine safety, etc., the island was always a blessed place for the fishermen in the Shingun Munakata which brought bountiful catch of fish and safety in marine transportation. They have been faithful in their worship of deities of the island and have been proud of being descendants from the Munakata fishermen continuously down to the present.

On the other hand, Satsuki-Sai hasn’t produced expected results. This is partly due to the poor relationship between the Mura-ujigami (tutelary deity of a village) presumed to have existed in 75 massha shrines and the local residents due to the urbanization and under population of the inner part of the Munakata region. Another reason is, although it is a nationwide trend, “divine rituals” are not so permeated into the lives of people in rural areas as in fishing villages.

Today, with an eye toward the inscription of the “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region” on the World Heritage Sites list, a desire to have the festivals at Munakata Grand Shrine performed in ancient style true to the original form is growing more than ever among people. At the Takamiya Kamunabi Festival held in a venue where the ancient ritual site is renovated, old songs that were sung in the Yaotome Rituals in medieval times are dedicated and at the Koshiki-Sai, the poems that were recited in the ancient “tōkano-sechie (court event and feast for viewing tōka)” are recited and dedicated. Although dance and melodies have not been restored yet, depending on the further study, their revival may be possible. On the other hand, there is a request on the part of the Parishioner’s Young Men’s Association to perform the ceremony of divine procession by carrying Mikoshi (portable shrines) instead of using automobiles. These are a few examples of the firm faith of people in the goddesses of Munakata and the credibility of its inheritance.

From the ancient time, fishermen in Munakata have been playing an active role in the Genkai Sea along with fishermen called Ama in Shika. In addition to daily livelihood of catching fish and shellfish and shipping, they served as helmsmen and boatmen of the ships used on the occasion of foreign negotiations by the state or during the wars⁶⁶⁾. For the fishermen who live side-by-side with danger, the deities who

descend to them during the journey are something which give them moral support and are indispensable existence. They show the direction on the sea, prepare evacuation shelter and give them bountiful fish. In the daily life of fishermen exists firm faith in deities that has been handed down and will be handed down continuously and on every fete day of “festival”, the deities as well as humans renew their power.

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Supplementary notes (not translated):

- 1) 宗像神社は昭和 30 年代のなかばより「宗像大社」と称し(通称)、昭和 52 年 8 月 1 日神社本庁よりの正式承認を得て同年 9 月 22 日に法人名登記を行った。本稿ではみあれ祭復興以後の記述については「宗像大社」それ以前は「宗像神社」「宗像宮」としている。
- 2) 神道大系編纂会(1979):『神道大系 神社編 49 宗像』
- 3) 宗像神社復興期成会(1966):『宗像神社史下巻』 宗像神社復興期成会、p.302-305 に一覧表があり、p.306 以下にそれぞれの祭事について記している。
- 4) 『宗像神社史下巻』、p.350
- 5) 神島定(1986):「むなかたさま—その歴史と現在—」 宗像大社
- 6) 『宗像神社史下巻』、p.372
- 7) 小野迪夫は昭和 35 年禰宜として赴任、36 年権宮司就任、昭和 40 年退任。
- 8) 太田可愛名誉宮司(昭和 11 年生まれ)への聞き取り。太田可愛は昭和 37 年宗像神社権禰宜就任、平成 15 年宮司退任まで宗像大社に在職。
- 9) 宗像大社社務本局(1962、9):「宗像第 21 号」
- 10) 宗像大社社務本局(1962、9):「宗像第 21 号」
- 11) 宗像大社社務本局(1962、9):「宗像第 21 号」
- 12) 財団法人神道大系編纂会(1979):『神道大系 神社編四九 宗像』 財団法人神道大系編纂会
- 13) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.138
- 14) 財団法人神道大系編纂会(1979):『神道大系 神社編四九 宗像』 財団法人神道大系編纂会、p.10-13
『宗像大菩薩縁起』は鎌倉末期成立と考えられ、宗像大社所蔵本は南北朝を下らない時期の写本。
- 15) 佐賀県佐賀市大和町大字川上に鎮座する肥前国一の宮「與止日女神社」河上神社ともいう。祭神は與止日女命(淀姫)または豊玉姫命。本物語に出る神功皇后の妹「豊姫」はこの神社の祭神。
- 16) 福岡県久留米市の高良山に鎮座。筑後国一の宮。祭神は高良玉垂命。本物語では皇后の軍の副将をつとめ「藤大臣」とも名乗っている。
- 17) 神功皇后の重臣武内宿禰。
- 18) 志賀島の神とも、奉祭者阿曇氏の祖とも伝えられる。
- 19) 本史料では、初出の部分だけ「御長手」となっており、他は「御手長」としている。
- 20) 時代が下がっても、近世黒田藩では足軽 3 人、水主 4 人、役夫 2 人の計 9 人を 50 日交替で防人(島守)として警備に就け(青柳種信『防人日記』)、近代も海軍通信隊の兵隊 200 人くらいが駐屯していたという(沖・中両宮奉賛会の人々への聞き取り)。
- 21) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.295
- 22) 『日本書紀』天武天皇条
- 23) 中野幡能(1967):『八幡信仰史の研究』 吉川弘文館、p.407
- 24) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.216~217
- 25) 「田島宮社頭古絵図」の池の中島の注記に「中嶋ヨリ八月放生会十四、十五日御供上ル」とある。
- 26) 「田島宮社頭古絵図」注記

- 27) 『神事次第』乙・丙・丁本
- 28) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.315
- 29) 『明治十七年 宗像神社明細書』
- 30) 明治 18 年 10 月 8 日昇格上申書附載
- 31) 秋季大祭は 9 月 30 日・10 月 1・2 の日程で行われていたが、大正 14 年 10 月 1・2・3 日に改めた。
- 32) 中津宮神璽は大島で育った榺・竹、辺津宮神璽は辺津宮周辺に育った榺・竹で同様に奉製し、神璽移しを行う
山中耕作(1990):「宗像大社と長手神事」;『まつり』51、p.29
- 33) 「祭典文書綴」 宗像大社蔵
- 34) 現在は勝浦漁協はなくなり、鐘崎漁協以外の神湊・津屋崎・大島・福岡・地島の漁協が合併して宗像漁協となり各漁協は支所となる。
- 35) 昭和 38 年は 4 月に行われたが、3 月上旬の事が多い。若布の新芽を刈り、地島で調整。板干しで四角い形に整えた乾燥若布。加工に手間がかかるため献上用のみ作成。以前は浦ごとに回していたが、現在は地島でしかできない。しかし七浦でとれた若布という立前。
- 36) 宗像大社社務所・宗像会(2010):「宗像第 596 号」
- 37) 沖中両宮奉賛会は大島の長老で組織。聞き取り調査は、佐藤千里(85 歳)、坂口嘉一郎(84 歳)、宮本昭男(78 歳)の諸氏に行った。
- 38) 山中耕作(1990):「宗像大社と長手神事」;『まつり』51、p.30
- 39) 宮司に次ぐ役職
- 40) 海洋神事奉賛会長(鐘崎漁業協同組合長)権田仁八郎氏への聞き取り
- 41) 『宗像神社史下巻』、p.12
- 42) 『宗像神社史下巻』、p.14
- 43) コトナキシバは、神功皇后が凱旋の後志賀島の山中に納めた軍船の楫の柄(椎の木)が芽吹いたものと伝える。志賀島では 8 月 7 日の七夕祭に授与される他、正月の注連飾りなどにも使用する。玄界灘沿岸一帯に、難事が無いようにと「事無き柴」の一枝を戸口に挿したり、一葉を身につけた船の要所に置くなどの風習がある。
- 44) 『宗像神社史下巻』、p.168
- 45) 『宗像神社史下巻』、p.310
- 46) 伊勢大神宮のみ、はじめ 2 郡、のち 3 郡
- 47) 『宗像神社史上巻』、p.623-627 掲載の表、p.628 の地図に加筆したものである。
- 48) 一村一社の「村氏神」はおおよそ江戸時代に成立する。
- 49) 畠山重篤(1994):『森は海の恋人』 北斗出版
- 50) 鐘崎の海に鐘が沈んでいるという伝説があり、昔から何度か引き上げようとしたが失敗。大正 8 年ようやく引き上げた所巨岩であったという顛末を記した碑。
- 51) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.383
- 52) 宗像大社元権禰宜大野宗康氏(昭和 12 年生まれ)への聞き取り
- 53) お座用のコモは大社用意
- 54) 宮司・江口代表が座るのは一座目だけ。二座以下は神職のみ交替で座る。
- 55) 野本寛一(1990):『神々の風景—信仰環境論の試み』 白水社、p.57
- 56) 『大島第二宮年中御神事次第』には三月御嶽の条に「御本社上宮異国向ヒ立給フ。御本社ハ日向□裏ニ向給。天孫守護ノ為成り。上宮ハ荒魂陽成。御本社ハ和魂陰成」とあり、御嶽神社を「上宮」、中津宮を「御本社」としている
- 57) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.333
- 58) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.333-334
- 59) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.335
- 60) 出光美術館・宗像大社復興期成会『海の正倉院 宗像沖ノ島の神宝』宗像大社、p.117
- 61) 前記沖・中両宮奉賛会の人と佐藤精市氏(75 歳)への聞き取り。
- 62) 『神道大系 神社編 49 宗像』、p.342-343
- 63) 『宗像神社史 下巻』、p.328
- 64) 吉成直樹(2000):「たなばた」;『日本民俗大辞典 下』 吉川弘文館、p.51
- 65) 鐘崎漁協組合長権田仁八郎氏談
- 66) 『万葉集』巻 16「筑前国志賀白水郎の歌十首」の左注に、対馬に物資を送る船の舵師を命ぜられた宗形部津磨が志賀の白水郎荒雄に交替してもらい、荒雄が遭難したことが記されている。

Archival Document Collections in Munakata Grand Shrine and Medieval and Modern History of Munakata Grand Shrine

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Abstract: The archival document collections in Munakata Grand Shrine are classified into the shrine's archival collections and the documents dedicated by various professionals. They are valuable in the way that a wealth of details regarding the rituals performed in Munakata Shrine in medieval times, shrine territories, inheritance of the Daigūji (the senior priest of Shintō shrine; the highest position of Munakata shrine), and the reality of foreign negotiations are contained, and that the original texts of the historical sources and materials of medieval times regarding one shrine exist in a comprehensive way. The position of Daigūji was undertaken by the Imperial family members under the landed-estates (shōen) system and during Kamakura period and Muromachi period, it was assumed by the immediate vassals of the shogunate. During Warring States period, it was held by the upper powerful clans such as ŌUCHI clan, the MŌRI Clan and the ŌTOMO clan depending on the times. The Daigūji served as priests and hōsaisha (administrators of the rituals) and managed the shrine's property through worshipping of the deities and the shrine rituals. On the other hand, in Kamakura period, they formed a distinctive regional warriors' group engaged in the trade activity with Song Dynasty (Nang Song) and with Joseon Dynasty during Muromachi period. The Daigūji MUNAKATA Ujisada had no heir to succeed his position and the clan was discontinued at the end of Warring States period. In Edo period, the shoryū (not descending from the head clan) FUKATA Clan inherited the position of Daigūji and with the subsidy from Fukuoka Domain, managed the shrine.

Keywords: Munakata Grand Shrine documents, Munakata Daigūji, international negotiations, annual rituals, construction of the shrine buildings

1. Introduction

This paper constitutes a section of the basic research regarding the property in the promotional activity of the inscription of the "Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region" on the World Heritage List and the tasks assigned to this paper is to introduce respective documents in Munakata Grand Shrine Documents and make evaluations of those documents in terms of historical sources, and describe the comprehensive history of Munakata Grand Shrine backed up by the documents and I'll work on these tasks separately in the item 2 and item 3.

In the introduction of the historical sources and their evaluations, I'll describe my observations based on the detailed interpretations and annotations given to the contents described in pages 877 - 884 of the "Munakata Shrine History" Volume 2 (1966) published by Munakata Grand Shrine Re-Development Association and in "Munakata Grand Shrine Documents" Volume 1 (1992), Volume 2 (1999) and Volume 3 (2009) compiled by the Document Compilation and Publication Committee, published by Munakata Grand Shrine Re-Development Association. In the comprehensive history, I'll describe from the four perspectives: i) Control of Munakata Shrine by Daigūji (the senior priest of Shintō shrine; the highest position of Munakata shrine) ii) Foreign negotiations iii) Construction of the shrine buildings iv) Beliefs and rituals. Regarding these study subjects, given that the studies conducted by the scholars of the past have led to accumulation of the remarkable results over the years, this report doesn't attempt to go beyond the bounds of their results and simply focuses on compiling the elements regarding the history of the shrine contained in Volume 1, 2, 3 of the "Munakata Grand Shrine Documents".

On the other hand, I intend to devote pages to the observations of the sources related to the shrine rituals that have not been covered often until now. In my view, it is significant to report about the worship of the Three Goddesses of Munakata and ceremonies in the land of Munakata in relation to this activity.

2. Munakata Grand Shrine Documents

Munakata Grand Shrine Hetsu-miya enshrined in Tashima, Munakata City in Fukuoka Prefecture has a collection of about 4,000 documents including the oldest document written at the end of Heian period, documents in medieval and modern times, and classical books (tenseki) and these are collectively called the “Documents in Munakata Grand Shrine”. The papers regarding the administrative affairs of the shrine after Meiji period are preserved as well and needless to say, those materials on the Separation of Shintō and Buddhism, State Shintō and the Shintō Directive after World War 2 are important as fundamental materials of the modern and present history of Munakata Grand Shrine. However, these are not the historical sources, but rather they are living materials to be treated as “papers relating to the administrative affairs of the shrine” so they will be excluded in this paper. In Munakata Grand Shrine, those documents dedicated after Shōwa period are classified as “Shoke Hōnō Monjo (documents dedicated by various families)” and other documents are classified as the archival document collections of the shrine and they are introduced as different items. As for the catalogue of documents regarding Munakata, there is TAKEUCHI Rizō (1958): “The Ancient document of Chikuzen (1)”, “Proceedings of Kyūshū Cultural History Research Institute” 6.

(1) The archival collections of the shrine

i) Medieval documents

Out of the medieval archival collections of the shrine, the historical sources commonly called as “Hachikan Monjo (8-Volume Document)” compiled into eight rolled scrolls (kansubon) became Important Cultural Properties designated by the National Government in 1963 (Shōwa 38). Since the name of the shrine in those days was Munakata Shrine, the designated name of the “8-Volume Document” was the “Documents in Munakata Shrine”, but in this paper a common name “8-Volume Document” will be used. In 1976 (Shōwa 51), Mr. MUNAKATA Tatsumi who served as Daigūji of Munakata Grand Shrine from the former shake (family of Shintō priests serving a shrine on a hereditary basis) donated the historical sources owned by his family and in 1976 (Shōwa 51) and 1980 (Shōwa 55), a devoted worshipper Mr. IDEMITSU Sazō donated the historical sources from his collections. Combining the portion of these dedicated historical sources with the “8-Volume Document”, in 1978 (Shōwa 53), Twelve Volumes of the Munakata Shrine Record and the 6 appendix documents along with the increase in staff were additionally designated as the Important Cultural Property. In prior to this designation, the name of the religious corporation was changed from Munakata Shrine to Munakata Grand Shrine in August in 1977 (Shōwa 52) and this created existence of two names for titles of historical sources and owner’s name “Munakata Shrine/ Munakata Grand Shrine”, which led to misunderstanding and confusion in and out of the shrine. To resolve this, in KAWAKUBO Natsuko (1982): “Discussion on the archival document collections, classical books of Munakata Grand Shrine”; “Study of ancient documents” 19, attempts were made to standardize the names of the archival document collections of the shrine. Here, I attempt to introduce the medieval documents among the archival collections of Munakata Grand Shrine while reconfirming the names used.

a) Munakata Shrine Documents 8 Volumes (8-Volume Document)

The fundamental historical sources of the medieval history of Munakata Grand Shrines are the 8-Volume Document. The Document Compilation and Publication Committee (1992): “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents” Volume 1 contains total documents consisting of the principal part composed of paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and the photographic reproduction in a separate volume. In the annotations by KAWAZOE Shōji (pp. 533 - 566) in the principal part, the overview, origins, and the explanations of each volume are described in detail. Regarding the background of compiling the 8-Volume Document, the annotation on page 549 says: “It would probably have been around 1879 (Meiji 30) when the rough draft was prepared. The original form of the 8-Volume Document was formulated in relation to the restoration of the shrine by the chief priest KURAHACHI Chikashi, and the Kanpei Taisha (the Imperial Court designated grand shrine) promotion movement”. The total number of documents in the 8-Volume is 189 and of the total, 2 was from Heian period, 70 from Kamakura period, 47 from the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties, 18 from Muromachi period, 41 from Warring States period and 11 was from Edo period and each volume was compiled in well-organized way.

The 22 documents in Volume 1, except for 3 documents, are the collection of “Kugeyōmonjo (documents in

the Court)” headed by the “Rinji-an (draft of the ordinance)” by Emperor Gohorikawa and contains the oldest document of the Grand Shrine which is “Hachijō Nyōin-nochō kudashibumi (ordinance by the agency of female court attache)” issued in 1165 (Eiman 1). It is reasonable that the “Kugeyōmonjo” occupies Volume 1 given the time background of the state Shintō at the time and the intentions of the chief priest KURAHACHI. Volume 2 is a collection of official documents from the high-level persons in power. The 29 documents are mainly “bukeyōmonjo (documents in the age of samurai government), which are the ordinances from the Kamakura Shogunate but 10 ordinances from the lords of landed estates (shōen) are also included. The 32 documents in Volume 3 are mainly regarding territorial issues and 16 “yuzurijō (certificates of transfer)” are included. Compared with Volume 2, it is a collection of private documents regarding the territories. Of 31 documents in Volume 4, 19 are written by IMAGAWA Ryōshun in the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties. The following 26 documents in Volume 5 and 31 documents in Volume 6 are roughly compiled in chronological order. The documents regarding the ŌUCHI clan in Volume 5, and the documents in Volume 6 regarding the ŌTOMO clan and the MŌRI clan show the shrine’s relationship with the lower government (hikan class) at the moment. Volume 6 contains only 7 documents with the year number written on them and other documents bear no year number. However, they are more or less arranged in the order of era, so it is thought that they were edited by analogy of the contents. Also, as three documents from the modern times which are not designated as important cultural property are also contained in Volume 6, it is due to the return of documents from Vol. 1 to Vol. 6 that had been lost or scattered from the shrine. The four documents in Volume 7 are Ordinance by the Emperor Godaigo, documents by TAKETOMI Tomosuke who owned the ordinances and documents by KAIBARA Ekiken who facilitated the return of the documents and among them the ordinances (rinji) were designated as important cultural properties. Of the 11 documents contained in Volume 8, except for 4 modern documents not designated as important cultural properties, the remaining documents are medieval documents in Kamakura period, Muromachi period and Warring States period, and according to the annotation on page 563,” they are about the maintenance and the rise of the shrine and are compiled well to some extent. The documents in Volume 8 were never scattered from the shrine and handed down through generations. They were once compiled into the second volume of the sequel to the ancient documents compiled into a total of 7 volumes, but in 1963 (Shōwa 38), they became part of the “Munakata Shrine Documents” and along with the above-mentioned seven volumes, they were designated as important cultural properties.

Next, I attempt to summarize my evaluation of the 8-Volume Document as historical material based on the annotations. The 8-Volume Document that have been handed down in the shrine are basically “bukemonjo” (warrior-style documents) that show the development of the clans serving as Munakata Daigūji as warriors and are mainly composed of letter of appointments of the Daigūji, letter of transfer and documents related to the estate of Munakata Grand Shrine. Not only are they valuable texts per se to be appreciated in Munakata Grand Shrine, they are of great value in the whole of Japan since the original texts of the medieval documents are collectively inherited from the ancient times.

The medieval documents from Volume 1 to 6 had been scattered out and missing from the shrine at the end of the Warring States period and were returned to the shrine in 1787 (Tenmei 7). There were no historical materials depicting the background of the scatter, and even if some documents in modern times recorded the background, they are not consistent. Be that as it may, I attempt to describe the situation based on the historical facts. When DAIGŪJI Ujisada died of disease in 1586 (Tenshō 14), the MUNAKATA clan was broken down because he had no male successor. At that moment, Ujisada’s remaining family was his wife and three daughters. In Tenshō15, the estate of Munakata Shrine was confiscated by TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi who controlled the mainland Kyūshū. Although by mercy of KOBAYAKAWA Takakage who was given Chikuzen province by Hideyoshi, 200-chō (about 200 ha) parcel of land was restored, after the death of Takakage in 1597 (Keichō2), no “sharyo (shrine territory)” was granted anymore. Prior to that, TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi granted KUSAKARI Shigetsugu, a vassal to KOBAYAKAWA Takakage with the family name “Munakata” as reward for the Bunraku Campaign and it was thought that the marriage between a daughter of Ujisada and Shigetsugu was established at the time. Counting on this bond, the widow of Ujisada, giving up on the land control by Munakata Shrine and the restoration of the Munakata Daigūji family, took refuge with Shigetsugu who was a husband of the Ujisada’s daughter. She brought with the documents that had been handed down by Munakata Shrine and the Daigūji family and therefore the historical sources of Munakata Shrine became a collection of the KUSAKARI Family.

In Volume 7 (8-Volume document), No. 172, No. 173, and No. 174 are documents related to the return of the documents by KUSANAGI Tanetsugu in Tenmei 7 and the annotation on page 543 described the merits of TOMINAGA Jinuemon Ujiyasu who was a District Magistrate of the Fukuoka Domain.

b) MUNAKATA Daigūji Nagauji Shōmon Chūshinjō An (Draft of the Statement about the deed by Nagauji), MUNAKATA Jōe Shōmon Chūshinjō An (Draft of the Statement about the deed by Jōe)

This historical material is a combination of two documents: “MUNAKATA Daigūji Nagauji Draft of the Statement about the deed (“Nagauji’s Draft Statement” in short)” written in 1274 (Bunei 11) and “The MUNAKATA Jōe Draft of the Statement about the deed (“Jōe’s Draft Statement” in short)” in the same year, bound together in one volume and it is designated as an important cultural property. In the principal text of Volume 2 of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”, the paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations of the two documents written by KAWAZOE Shōji are included and the photographic reproduction is included in a separate volume. The Kamakura Shogunate ordered the immediate vassals to make written statement of their territories in order to grasp the reality of their military power as a countermeasure against the Mongolian invasions in the previous Bunei 10 and the both draft statements were submitted according to this order.

In the Nagauji Draft Statement, 29 drafts were made out and only 8 original texts remain. The subjects of each draft are related to the shrine territories and a particularly notable thing is that in the first page of each text, the number of rice fields owned by the shrine are listed and they are classified into Miyagata, Befugata, Han-fuyu nai tōchigyō-bun, and the private estate of Nagauji and you can see various aspects of land control within the domain of Munakata Shrine, which serves as a source for a variety of discussions. Regarding each category of the shrine estate and its characteristics, various research papers have been published including: SUGITANI Akira (1954) : “The position of the Munakata Daigūji in medieval times”, ”History of Japan” 75, ISHII Susumu (1959) : “A form of Zaichi-Ryōshu hō (local resident landlord system) in the early 14th century”– “Note on the kotogaki (rules in bullet points) of Munakata Shrine in Shōwa 2 ”, “Window to the medieval times” 1-3, ADACHI Naoya (1978) : “Existence form of the priest seignior in the early period of medieval times – focused on the local control in the Munakata district in Chikuzen province” ; KAWAKUBO Natsuko (1982) : “Study on History of Seinan Region” 2 , “An observation on Munakata Shrine’s domain in the early period of medieval times- focused on the difference between befugata and miyagata”; MASAKI Kisaburō (2004) “Study on Kyūshū Medieval History” 3 , “Munakata Shrine’s estate” , Iwata Shoin “History and inheritance of Munakata in ancient and medieval times”. According to them, Miya-gata means the entire land controlled by the Daigūji family, and Befu kata means the land outside the control of the Daigūji and Han-fuyu nai tōchigyō-bun refers to the land belonging both to Kokuga (central government of each province) and Munakata Shrine.

Jōe, made 4 written statements regarding his private estate using his father Ujinari’s Buddhist name, but no original texts were found. Along with the Nagauji DraftStatement, they are valuable historical materials to learn the entire part of the scattered documents.

On page 819 of the annotation, regarding the significance of the statements as historical materials in the Munakata Jinja History, it is described that “they served as the information sources for confirming the “tōchigyō (proprietary land)” of Nagauji and Jōe and strengthening their control in the region within the defense structure against the Mongolian invasion”.

c) “General catalogue of the documents owned by Munakata Shake (family of Daigūji)”

“General catalogue of documents owned by Munakata Shake” (“general catalogue” in short) is a compilation of documents held by hereditary succession that were classified into 83 sections by DAIGŪJI Ujitsune in 1409 (Ōei 16). Although it is a transcription of “Gakutō (scholar)” TOYOFUKU Nagayoshi in the early days of Edo period, it is designated as an important cultural property. In the principal text of Volume 2 of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”, the paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations of the total documents written by YAMAGUCHI Takamasa are included and the photographic reproduction is contained in a separate volume. The number of documents listed on the “general catalogue” is 441 of which only 141, a third of total documents, are remained. Due to the

confusion within the shrine triggered by the death of DAIGŪJI Ujisada and the following breakdown of the MUNAKATA family and the loss of documents held by hereditary succession, it is obvious that more than 300 documents got scattered and lost after the compilation of the “general catalogue”, however, thanks to the “general catalogue”, we can confirm their existence. The annotation on page 827 stated that “in our evaluation, it is outstanding in terms of quantity and in this regard there is no other document that can rival this in Japan.”

The background of creating the “general catalogue” is discussed in KAWAZOE Shōji (1989): “Comments on the

(General catalogue of the documents owned by Munakata Shrine)”, “History of Japan” 491. There was a conflict over the Daigūji between uncle Ujitada and his nephew Ujitsune. Initially Ujitada assumed the position of the Daigūji, however, Ujitsune, backed up by SHIBUKAWA Mitsuyori and ŌUCHI Yoshihiro who were Kyūshū Commissioners under the Muromachi Shogunate recaptured the position. KAWAZOE reads the intention of Ujitsune who claimed the legitimacy of taking over the Daigūji and hereditary succession of the shrine estate and tried to inherit the Daigūji to his brother Ujiaki from the fact that Ujitsune compiled the “General Catalogue”. Moreover, KAWAZOE pointed out that the internal conflict of the MUNAKATA clan who served not only as Daigūji of the shrine but also as the local resident landlord in the northern Kyūshū was related to the involvement of the Muromachi Shogunate and Kyūshū Commissioners. There was also a fact that SHIBUKAWA Mitsuyori and the Daigūji Ujitsune engaged in active trading with Jeseong Dynasty and both sides were in a competitive, interdependent and patron-client relationship.

d) The Copied Issai-Kyō(Complete collection of the Buddhist scriptures) transcribed by Shikijō-Hōshi

It is a transcription of the Issai-kyō(Daizō-kyō) which is the complete collection of Buddhist scriptures by Shikijō-Hōshi who was the priest monk at Munakata Shrine. According to the esoteric writing, he started to transcribe the scriptures in April in 1187 (Bunji 3) and finished the work in 1227 (Kroku 3). It is the only the Copied Issai-Kyō in existence and the 4,342 rolls are designated as important cultural properties but the real number exceeds this number adding those owned outside of the shrine. It is difficult to identify the total number of the transcribed sutras, however, Shikijō transcribed the 190 volumes of the Five-part Daijō Sutra (the Mahayana Sutra) twice and the total number of transcriptions should exceed 5,200. In KAWAKUBO Natsuko (2005): “Study report on the Copied Issai-Kyō by Shikijō-Hōshi” “Chronology of sutra transcription”; “Bulletin by Shimpō-Kan (Divine Treasure Museum) at Munakata Grand Shrine” 2, the following issues including background of the designation of important cultural properties, repair work, copytext, implication of transcription of a sutra, order of sutra transcription, collaborators and transcriptions owned outside of the shrine are described.

The copytext of the transcription is the Song Edition which was printed with block letters at Tōzen-ji and Kaigen-ji in Song Dynasty of China and the scriptures printed in both temples are mixed and made into a set of the Issai-kyō. This Song Edition is mentioned in the “Chikuzen-no-kuni Zoku Fudoki (The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province)” by KAIBARA Ekiken (Genroku 16, 1703) and although it is described that KURODA Nagamasa who was a feudal lord of Fukuoka Domain dedicated this to Nikko Tōshōgū in Keichō era, the whereabouts were never confirmed. In the pages from 101 to 107 of MAKINO Kazuo (2008): “Approaching the Daizō Sutra brought by Chōnen from the Daizō Sutra from imported from China at the end of the 12th century”; Edition by YOSHIWARA Hiroto, Yong Wan “Tendai Culture across the seas”, Bensei Publications, it is revealed that the copytext of the sutra copied by Shikijō was the Song Edition Daizō Sutra owned by Chionin and the study is still going on.

From the esoteric writing written at the end of the book by Shikijō, you can read into various facts including the purport of wishing to transcribe a sutra, the fact of changing his Buddhist names four times from Ryōyū, Keiyū, Eiyū to Shikijō, the date of transcription, place and contributors. Of particular note is that Chōsei, a merchant from Song Dynasty of China known as Hakata Gōshu who had been staying in Hakata contributed the copytext Song Edition to Munakata Shrine. There is also an example that another Hakata Gōshu Riei contributed a solid ink stick to the shrine and this activity by the Hakata Gōshu demonstrates that Munakata Shrine engaged in the foreign trade activity.

e) Amidakyō stone (Sukuhavati Sutra stone)

Although it is a stone-built artifact, it is one of Munakata Grand Shrine Documents and it was designated as a national treasure in 1906 (Meiji 39), the first of its kind in the Munakata collection and again designated as an important cultural property in 1950 (Shōwa 25). It is composed of three parts, the capstone, the main body, and the base stone and a seated statue of Amitadha Buddha is placed in a niche made on a side of the main body and the Sukuhavati sutra is carved on the other side of the body. It became famous nationally by a story of Taira-no-Shigemori (general) in the “Tale of the Heike, Volume 3: Transmission of Gold” which was recounted in the “Munakata War Chronicle” published in 1704 (Genroku 17). In the story of TAIRA-no-Shigemori, an account of the Amidakyō stone being sent from Song Dynasty in return for the gold sent from Shigemori is incorporated. In 1714 (Shōtoku 4), the replica of the Amidakyō stone was built in Chion-ji located at Tanaka Monzenchō, Sakyō-ku, Kyōto City and in 1743 (Kanpo 2), another replica was made in Komatsudani Shōrin-ji located at Kamiumachō, Higashiyama-ku in Kyōto City and they are still in existence.

Regarding scholars from the Chikuzen province, KAIBARA Ekiken mentioned this Amidakyō (the Sukuhavati Sutra) seki in the “Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki(The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province)” which he prepared in 1703 (Genroku 16) and KAJIWARA Kagehiro mentioned it in the “Chikuzen Tashima-mura Sekkeiki (Story of the stone scripture in Tashima Village in Chikuzen province)” in 1817 (Bunka 14) and in the following year, AOYAGI Tanenobu studied it in the “Chikuzen-no-kuni Munakata-gun Amidakyō seki (discussion on the Amidakyō (the Sukuhavati Sutra) seki in Munakata district in Chikuzen province)”.

Regarding the story of the kyō seki coming from China associated with the Taira-no-Shigemori story, according to the study papers including HARADA Dairoku (1984) : “Mystery of Amitadha Buddha Scriptures” , Rokkyo Publications, MASAKI Kisaburo (2004) : “Legends of the Heike” ; Iwata Shoin “History and Inheritance of Munakata in ancient and medieval times”, it is discovered that the story was made up in a context of the Taira Clan’s (regime) control over Munakata and that the Amidakyō seki was requested from DAIGŪJI Ujikuni to Nansong Dynasty of China.

In terms of history of Buddhism, there is a stone monument with the Amidakyō engraved on it in Xiangyang City in Hubei County and one characteristic is that the monument bears 21 characters “專持名号、以称名故、諸罪消滅、即是多善根福德因縁” not appeared in the Sukuhavati Sutra translated by Kumaraju (a Chinese monk) that is prevalent in general. Hōnen and Shinran quoted these 21 characters and the Amidakyō (the Sukuhavati Sutra) seki is also inscribed with these additional 21 characters and it is thought to have been associated with the scriptures in Xiangyang. In the same way, lack of a conditional sentence of “yuijyo gogyaku hibō shōhō (except for people who commit five crimes and criticize the Buddha’s teachings)” at the end of the 18th prayer of so-called “Sanganmon (the three Prayers)” which are engraved on the top part of the Amitdaha Buddha side of the main body and lack of this conditional sentence in “Senchaku Hongan Nenbutsu-shū (collection of selected hongan Buddhist chants)” have become the subject of discussions. Also, the time period when the six characters “na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu (Namu Amida Buddha)” below the Sanganmon which was engraved afterward, is disputed as well.

Speaking of the stone material, according to TAKATSU Takashi, HASHIGUCHI Wataru, ŌKI Kimihiko (2010): “Study of “Satsuma Stupa” from a view point of a Chinese-style stone structure with Chinese stone material”; “Kagoshima University Historiography” 57, it is pointed out that the material was probably the Baien stone produced near Ningbo and even from the viewpoint of natural science, it is proved that the artifact came from China.

As far as Munakata Shrine is concerned, Daigūji Ujikuni ordered the scriptures from Nansong to pray for the repose of his father Ujizane and this is a material to prove a matrimonial relationship between Daigūji family and a daughter of a merchant from Nangsong. The detail is described in the section 3 (1) ii Foreign negotiation. Also, from the words “A deed of transfer by Chōshi on February 12 in 1220 (Jōkyū 2)” engraved on the side part of the Amidakyō (the Sukuhavati Sutra) seki and the related 8-Volume Document No. 59 “Draft of toijō (questionnaire)” written and cosigned by the Monchūjo Shitsuji (court judge) and bugyōnin (magistrate) on June 27 in 1268 (Bun’ei 5), from No. 60 “Draft of Letter of Acknowledgement” written by Shami Jōe (MUNAKATA Ujinari) on July 3 in Bun’ei 5 and No. 43 “Kudashibumi (order)”,

written by the custodian of the private estates TACHIBANA Tomotsugu in February in Bun'ei 6, you can gain a glimpse into the family relationship between the Daigūji Ujizane and his son Ujitada, the inheritance of three villages including Tsuchiana, Inamoto, Sue that were the shrine territories.

f) Munakata Tei-ichi-gū Treasure Hall Okifuda (ridge tags)

This material is not a document-based historical material but is the munafuda ridge tags with information on shrine's construction written on 4 cedar plates dated June 1 in 1578 (Tenshō 6). They were prepared on the occasion of the construction of the existing main shrine of Hetsu-miya and were placed on the ceiling of the main shrine for a long time. In 1967 (Shōwa 42), they were designated as important cultural properties. Not only are they known as the historical sources to understand the situation of control of the shrine territories of the Munakata Daigūji but also known as the historical material to learn the history of the provincial wars in northern Kyūshū when the hall was built. Moreover, in KAWAZOE Shōji (2005): *"Historical sources on Hakata craftsmen in June in Tensho 6"*; "Journal of Historical Studies" 464, the summary of four ridge tags, their value in terms of historical sources, relationship between Hakata and Munakata and the Hakata craftsman who were mentioned on the okifuda were introduced in detail. Regarding the construction of the main shrine, it will be described in the section 3. (1). 3) Construction of the shrine buildings.

g) "KONDŌ Kiyoshi Manuscript of the Munakata Documents"

These are 29 documents related to Munakata Shrine existed in Suō and Nagato copied and dedicated by a scholar in Yamaguchi named KONDŌ Kiyoshi in 1908 (Meiji 41) and in the principal text of Volume 2 of the "Munakata Grand Shrine Documents", its paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations of the total documents written by SENO Seiichirō are included and the photographic reproduction is included as well. 11 manuscripts from Kamakura period, 6 from Muromachi period and 12 from Warring States period are contained. Of them, the original texts of 11 manuscripts from Kamakura period and 5 manuscripts from Muromachi period described as "MUNAKATA clan's collection", and one manuscript from Warring State period described as "MUNAKATA Yūichirō's Collection" have not been confirmed and therefore they are very valuable manuscripts. The manuscripts from Muromachi period and Warring States period show the relationship between the ŌUCHI clan, MŌRI clan and the MUNAKATA clan and from the name of the owner, we can learn about people associated with the MUNAKATA clan after the widow of DAIGŪJI Ujisada started to live with the Kusakari Family. The information on the scattered MUNAKATA clan is unknown, however, MUNAKATA Yūichirō family owns the pedigree chart that includes the 11 generations from the time when Kunimaru, a son of DAIGŪJI Ujio fled from Munakata to Nagato Island in secret and stayed there to call himself MUANAKATA Ujitaka and his son Ujikazu settled down in Hagi to the present. According to the "Munakata Gunki (military chronicle)", which is a record of the MUNAKATA clan in modern times, Kunimaru was killed during the shrine conflict concerning succession to DAIGŪJI Ujisada and he was dedicated to Imamiya Shrine in Yamaguchi-gō of Kurate District and Imamiya Shrine is still in existence as "Entsūin". Also "Reconsideration of the Chronicle of Munakata" describes that the man who was killed was Chiyomatsu, a nephew of Ujio.

h) Shintō-related historical sources

The following historical materials are all contained in the principal part of Volume 3 of the "Munakata Grand Shrine Documents" and in the photographic reproduction with the page number shown for each of them. MŌRI Shigeaki wrote the paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations of the respective documents.

"Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi" (History and Virtues of Munakata Daibosatsu)

It is designated as an important cultural property and in pages 710 to 711 of the annotation, its significance in the history of Japan and in the history of Munakata Grand Shrine is definitely described in the following way. "The document gives a vivid description of the subjects including the sincerity of history of the Munakata deities (goddesses) worshipped by the MUNAKATA clan, the process by which the deities designated Munakata as their base, divine virtues of the Munakata deities, the attributes as tutelary guardians of the state and their relationship with other deities in Kyūshū from the end of Kamakura period to the beginning of the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties against the historical and ideological

background of the times reflecting the trend of the syncretistic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism in an organic, comprehensive and mystical way. Due to the compilation of this book, the Munakata deities were placed properly in the Japanese myths and it allowed a mythological explanation about how the MUNAKATA clan who had been worshipping the Munakata goddesses as descendants of Tenjin and Jishin came to have the everlasting tradition that has been continuously succeeded from the ancient times”. Regarding the details of the affairs concerning the MUNAKATA clan, they will be described in the section 3. (1) iv) Beliefs and rituals, b) “Goengi”.

“Munakata Sansho Daibosatsu Goza Shidai” (Introduction to the Sacred Objects in the Shrines within Munakata Shrine)

It is a historical material written in 1277 (Kenji 3) designated as an important cultural property. It gives detailed description of the deities and the animals for eight shrines of Tei-ichi-gū serving the deities and according to the annotation on page 712, it is described as “a material in which you can learn how the trend of the syncretistic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism proceeded”. In IWATA Shigeki (2007): “Signature and sculpture of the syncretic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism”; “Special Exhibition: Syncretic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism – Worship and beauty woven by kami and hotoke”, 235-238, it was pointed out that the images of various deities in this document are representative of the expressions of the sculptures of syncretic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism.

“Munakatagū Sōzōki” (Story of Munakata Shrine Creation)

It is believed to have been written in Muromachi period and is designated as an important cultural property. It’s a description of the shrine buildings, descent of deities, rituals and the ancestor of the Daigūji in itemized form. The annotation on page 713 describes that the story was made to clarify the origin of the Munakata deities (goddesses) and history of the Munakata Daigūji who presides the worship of these deities and praise the divine virtues of the Munakata deities and recognize the founder of the clan serving as Daigūji and its authority”. Regarding a legend of defining Crown Prince Kiyouji as the founder of the Daigūji, it is described in the section 3. (1) iv) Beliefs, rituals b) “Goengi”.

“Munakatasha Zōei Daidai Ruki” (A Record of Munakata Shrine Construction)

Historical sources designated as an important cultural properties. The annotation on page 715 pointed out that seemingly miscellaneous contents including the origin of the Hōjō-e, construction of shrine buildings, Shinnyo, Kūkai, Seiku, etc. are related to the Buddhism and described it as the “record of accounts showing Munakata Shrine’s relationship with Buddhism according to various traditions”.

“Shōhei Nijūsannen Munakatagū Nenchū Gyōji” (Shōhei Record of Yearly Events: Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji) It is designated as an important cultural property. It’s a record of the yearly events of the Munakata Head Shrine and massha shrines within the compound. In pages 717 and 718 of the annotation, it is described as follows: “It is an important literature to learn about the yearly events held in the shrine in the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties. Moreover, through this document, you can grasp the influential range as well as the distribution range of the kenzoku (dependent deities) and minor deities of Munakata Shrine through the beliefs in them. Also, through the methods of sharing burdens of divine rituals and offerings, we can take a hint for learning the role-sharing system of of divine rituals and shrine’s administrative affairs”. In KAWAKUBO Natsuko (2008) : “*Historical sources on divine rituals owned by Munakata Grand Shrine*”; “Shintō Religion” 211, comparing the massha shrines appeared in this historical material with the contents in the “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi”, the expanded area of the sphere of influence of the Daigūji was demonstrated.

“Munakatagū Honsha narabini Massha Shōshin Shidai” (Record of Munakatagu Main Shrine and Massha Minor Deities)

It is a historical material designated as an important cultural property. It has the same content as the former half part of the above-mentioned “yearly events” and is contained only in pp 115-120 of the photographic reproduction of “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”.

“Yoshinoki Shinji Mokuroku” (An Inventory of Shrine Events during the Yoshino Period)

Including this historical material, the following sources are documents owned by the Munakata Family, and they were dedicated by MUNAKATA Tatsumi in 1976 (Shōwa 51). They are included here for the sake of convenience. The annotation on page 719, focusing on the number of Buddhist rituals and yearly events

recorded in this historical sources, describes that “the historical material serves to get an overview of the annual Buddhist and Shintō rituals and festivals and take a close look at the control area of Munakata Shrine through faith and the quality of these festivals”. In KAWAKUBO (2008), it was suggested that the possible time of compilation was after the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties.

“Ōan Shinji Shidai” (A Record of Ritual at the Ōan Era)

It is a record of order of the annual ceremonies of divine rituals, offerings, shrine services at Munakata Shrine from the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties to Muromachi period. The original text was lost and six kinds of manuscripts from A to F (A, B, C, D, E, and F) are remained. The colophon to Text E was dated 1375 (Ōan 8) and this date became the title of the book. In Text A, “rubi” (hiragana text) is placed above each Chinese character and it is valuable to know how to read Chinese characters at that time. From Text A to Text D were dedicated in 1976 (Shōwa 51) and Text E was dedicated from the Munakata Family in 2008 (Heisei 20) and Text F was returned from the OGATA Family from Nuyama in Fukutsu City in 1901 (Meiji 34). On pp. 720-723 of the annotation, explanation is given for the texts. In KAWAKUBO (2008), the possible time of creation of each of the six texts was discussed and they are summed up in three texts, A, B and E in terms of the content.

“Munakatagū Nenchū Shoshinji Gokugegyō no Koto” (Munakatagū Yearly Rituals Gokugegyō Ceremony) (“Gokugegyō”)

It describes the positions of distributing offerings according to each ritual and the details of the offerings, which help us to understand composition of the ritual performers and size of the rituals. This material was copied repeatedly and the manuscript by TOYOFUKU Chōga made in 1635 (Kanei 12) is existent.

“Nenchū Shosairei Ishō no Koto” (Matters on the Clothing for Annual Festivals and Ceremonies) (“Ishō no Koto”)

It was written in 1450 (Hōtoku 2). It describes the costumes of Daigūji presiding divine rituals and the manuscript of 1570 (Genki 1) is existent.

“Munakatagū Bukkiryo” (Rules on Mourning at Munakata Shrine)

It is a transcription of the rulebook on mourning formulated in 1575 (Tenshō 3) and revised in 1662 (Kanbun 2) which is the only materials containing rules on mourning in Shintoism.

“Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Nenchū Shoshinji Shidai” (Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Yearly Rituals), Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Nenchū Gokumai no Koto” (Regarding Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Yearly Rice Offerings)”

It is a historical material describing and combining the yearly events held at Ōshima Tei-ni-gū in 1556 (Kōji 2) and the rituals and offerings in 1553 (Tenmon 22) into one book. It is known for specifying the oldest member of the NINOKAI-KAWANO clan known as “Yoshimichi” who served as a priest worshipping at Nakatsu-gū and his signature.

ii) Documents in modern times

a) “Zoku Komonjo” (Sequel to Ancient Documents)

It is a collection of 66 documents in modern and recent times in six volumes including imperial decrees ordering prayers for foreign aggression stemming from the arrival of Commodore Perry’s black ships, a letter of donation of the shrine territories by the lord of Fukuoka Domain and Shintō prayers. Similar to the above-mentioned 8-Volume Document, it would appear that they were arranged and compiled by the chief priest KURAHACHI Chikashi.

b) Historical sources related to AOYAGI Tanenobu

The shrine has a collection of about 160 books (more than 200 copies) including autograph manuscripts and documents with titles and notes written by a Japanese classical scholar AOYAGI Tanenobu from Chikuzen province with Tanenobu’s ownership marks such as “ryuen” and “books of Aoyagi clan” stamped on them. The autograph manuscript is written from 1784 (Tenmei 4) to 1835 (Tenpō 6), from which you can follow the Tanenobu’s achievements, the transition of his academic interests and his human network. The fact that the chief priest Kurahachi was the disciple of Tanenobu is believed to have caused these

historical sources to become the collection of Munakata Grand Shrine.

c) Records and classical books (tenseki)

There are about 150 records of historical sources in modern times including catalogue of Shimpō (shrine treasures), record of the shrine affairs, catalogue of rice offerings to god, etc. Among them, there is a rolled book bound in a cloth woven with golden thread with a gorgeous endpaper, which contains three volumes of the “Munakata Sansha Engi” by KAIBARA Ekiken transcribed by YAMADA Yukitsune in 1736 (Kyōhō 21). Also there is a collection of about 500 copies in modern and recent times ranging from dictionaries, history, religion, ancient literature, liberal arts, economics to medical science.

(2) “Shoke Hōnō Monjo” (Documents Dedicated by Various Families)

i) Documents dedicated by Mr. IDEMITSU Sazō

As a worshipper and a chairman of Munakata Grand Shrine Re-Development Association, Mr. IDEMITSU Sazō dedicated the medieval document composed of 1 roll and 38 documents and 1 scroll and 1 document (both are designated as important cultural properties) in 1976 (Shōwa 51) and the medieval document 1 sheet 1 document in 1980 (Shōwa 55) and they became known as the “Documents dedicated by Mr. IDEMITSU Sazō”. In the principal text of the second Volume of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”, paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations of the total documents written by KAWAZOE Shōji are included and the photographic reproduction is also attached to it. Similar to the above-mentioned 8-Volume Document, they are a series of hereditary documents of Munakata Shrine and 14 documents are from Kamakura period, 17 from the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties, 6 from Muromachi period and 1 from Warring States period. Although the date and intention of the creation of rolled books remain unclear, the annotation on page 810 describes that “Generally speaking, typical warrior documents are selected in chronological order that can be called as a model of warrior books”.

ii) Munakata Family Documents

A collection of historical sources from medieval and modern times owned by the former shake (family serving as shrine priests) and dedicated by Mr. MUNAKATA Tatsumi in 1976 (Shōwa 51) and from his son, Mr. MUNAKATA Kiyofumi in 2008 (Heisei 20) is collectively called the “Munakata Family Documents”. The medieval documents dedicated by Mr. MUNAKATA Tatsumi include the following Munakata Family Rule in Itemized Form and Cosignatory Written Vow to the deities who are contained in the principal text and photographic reproduction of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Document” Volume 2 and the historical sources related to divine rituals are contained in Volume 3 of the same document.

a) Munakata Shrine “Kotogaki” (rules in itemized form) on January 9th, in 1313 (Shōwa 2)

It is designated as an important cultural property. It is a famous historical material on rules within the shrine in Kamakura period and its paraphrase, transliteration, comments and annotation are written by SENO Seiichirō. ISHII Susumu (1959): “A form of Zaichi-Ryōshu hō (local resident landlord system) in the early 14th century – “Note on the kotogaki (rules in itemized form) of Munakata Shrine; “Window to medieval times” 1,2,3 is valued as pioneer study, and in this article, he described this document as “the rules of the Munakata Hereditary Family of Daigūji as the local resident landlord”. It is a document written in a form of “okibumi (testament)” by the previous DAIGŪJI Ujimori to his young eldest son Matsuhoshimaru (Ujinori) whom he had just transferred the headship of the family and it is composed of 13 articles. The control and power by Daigūji in Kamakura period led to the establishment of the rules within the shrine. While the MUNAKATA clan Kotogaki (rules in itemized form) shows the solid control by Daigūji, it states that the administrative affairs were carried forward by resolutions adopted unanimously at “naidan”, a consensual decision making body. In the paper written by ISHII, the relationship between Daigūji and his subordinates stipulated in “kotogaki” is understood as the profit-exchanging, quantitative control relationship in a form of “hōkō (services to Daigūji) in return for “go-on (patronage)”. In Kotogaki, arbitrary exploitation of ura (inlet), islands, mountain and water in the domain was prohibited and it is confirmed that close attention was given to all levels of livelihood and life and priority was given to securing of service fee for the rituals and offerings.

b) Written vow to the gods cosigned by the priests, shrine Buddhist monks, keepers of the flames of Munakata Grand Shrine on September 3 in 1272 (Bun'ei 9)

Regarding this written vow to the gods and the medieval documents in the next section c), YAMAGUCHI Takamasa is in charge of writing paraphrase, transliteration, comments and annotation. They are designated as important cultural properties and in the documents, a vow is made to keep the incense burning and keep the oil for the lamp dedicated to Tei-san-gū of Munakata Shrine. It is disclosed that they preserve the fire from Hieizan Konpon Chūdō (temple) at Tei-san-gū and also the territorial relationship with Suemura Village, a site for collecting service fee.

c) Others

Apart from the above-mentioned documents, there are 65 medieval documents including “Honke Sōshō shidai-note on head family inheritance”, “Control of Munakata Shrine Territories”, “History related to Daigūji Ujisada”. From the documents written after the death of Daigūji Ujisada, it is revealed that the bereaved subordinates struggled to maintain the control of Munakata Shrine. In the historical sources dedicated by MUNAKATA Kiyofumi, 2 rolls of the Copied Issai-Kyō transcribed by Shikijō-Hōshi and the pedigree chart of Munakata family, etc. are included.

The documents in modern times include approval letters by Yoshida Shintō (mainstream faction of Shintoism), top-down orders from the Fukuoka Domain and the “catalogue of rice in the shrine” and their number is estimated to be more than 3,000, however, most of them are not disclosed and half of them are not arranged. It will take some time to clarify the rituals under the feudal domain of Fukuoka, shrine management and lifestyle of hereditary family of Daigūji, etc. using these historical sources. Also included here is the “Ujihachiman-gū Shrine Engi Emaki (picture scroll)” drawn by the painter KINUGASA Morihiro from Fukuoka Domain.

iii) Document dedicated by NAGANUMA Masamitsu

It is a scroll of letter written by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo on August 5 in 1185 (Genryaku 2) which was dedicated to the shrine in 1984 (Showa 59). In the principal text of “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents” Volume 2 and in the photographic reproduction, KAWAZOE Shōji writes a paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations on the document. It is a letter stating that the estate located in Haruke, Ogi-gun in Hizen province was presented from Yoritomo to Fujiwara-no-Takayori. The estate later became the private estates of the Munakata Daigūji Family in 1277 (Kenji 3). So this document serves as the precursor of the “tetsugi-shōmon (deed of transfer, title etc.)” of the estate in Haruke.

iv) Mine family document

It is the medieval document dedicated to the shrine by the former hereditary family of Daigūji member MINE Tomomi in 1987 (Shōwa 62) and in the principal text of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”, Volume 3 and in the photographic reproduction, paraphrase, transliteration, comments, rough translation and annotations are contained written by HORIMOTO Kazushige. The following documents from various families are handled in the same way.

Mine family document is composed of 14 letters, one roll and 38 account records (unbound) of land tax rice and money from the shrine estate from 1580 (Tenshō 8) to 1586 (Tenshō 14). In the annotation, it is described that the account records of land tax rice and money is the catalogue of collection of farm tax showing the concrete tax burden structure of the shrine territories and the signers of the document were “divided into those who always signed their names and those who only signed in a document regarding a specified location”. It is a source from which we can understand the situation of control over shrine estate and the land provided to the vassals in Warring States period.

v) Document dedicated by YOSHIDA Tsuya

It is a historical source handed down for generations in the family of YOSHIDA Hidetoki, a vassal of MUNAKATA Daigūji Ujisada which was dedicated in 2004 (Heisei 16). A total of 60 documents include

37 documents, 21 records and other 2 materials. Volume 3 of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents” contains 16 medieval documents covering Warring States period and the period of the Great Priest Ujisada and 9 books related to performing arts, art of war and Shintoism handed down for generations. It is an interesting source showing how Ujisada’s relation to his subordinates was and how the local warriors’ performing arts and warrior arts were received.

vi) URABE Family Documents

It is a historical source composed of 136 documents handed down for generations in the family of URABE Toyoyasu, a vassal of the Munakata Daigūji family, which was dedicated in 2004 (Heisei 16) by a relative of URABE Family. Volume 3 of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents” contains 14 medieval documents in Warring States period. In the annotation, it is described like this: “The characteristics of the Urabe Family Documents is that they include not only top-down orders from the Munakata Daigūji and his chief vassal, but also 8 letters from the peers which let us grasp the picture of a more detailed situation of the vassals of the Munakata Daigūji”.

vii) Documents dedicated by YOSHIDA Kōichi

It is a historical source handed down through generations in the family of YOSHIDA Shigemune, a vassal of the Munakata Daigūji family that was dedicated in 2004 (Heisei 16). It was first introduced in the YAMAGUCHI Takamasa (1987): “Yoshida Document in “A historical study on the Chronicle of Munakata (new edition)”, an example of appearance of the original text); “Historiography of Kyūshū” 87. Among 11 documents dedicated in 2004, 9 are contained in Volume 3 of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”. From this document, you can learn the situation of the dominions of the YOSHIDA Family dotted in the former Munakata District and the names of these places.

viii) Documents dedicated by the ISHIMATSU Family

It is a historical source handed down for generations in the family of ISHIMATSU, a vassal of the Munakata Daigūji family, which was purchased from the second-hand bookstore by Munakata Grand Shrine in 1990 (Heisei 2). In Volume 3 of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents”, 6 documents out of 7 purchased documents and 4 related documents whose ownership is unknown are contained. It includes “katatsu-monjo (top-down orders)” with signatures of vassals before the coming of age of DAIGŪJI Ujisada.

3. Munakata Grand Shrine in Medieval and Modern History

Volume 1, 2 and the supplementary volume of the “Munakata Jinja History” are very thorough and the top-level complete history book. The following Munakata City History Compilation Committee : “Munakata City History” Complete history edition, Volume 2, Ancient, Medieval and Modern times, historical sources edition, Volume 1-Ancient times/Medieval times II Volume 2-Medieval times II, Volume 3-Modern times” also present complete history based on the new study results on which this report is based. Regarding the quoted archival document collections of Grand Shrine, they are introduced in the previous section 2.

(1) Medieval times

As for medieval history in general, there are 17 papers contained in the Munakata City History Compilation Committee (1999): “Munakata City History” complete history edition, Volume 2, Ancient, Medieval and Modern times, MASAKI Kisaburō(2004) : “History and Inheritance of Munakata in Ancient and Medieval Times”, Iwata Shoin and 16 study papers contained in the KUWATA Kazuaki (2003); “The MUNAKATA clan in Chikuzen Province in Medieval Times and Munakata Shrine”, Iwata Shoin and three volumes of the “Munakata Grand Shrine Documents” and this report owes a lot to the contents of these papers. Regarding the papers written by MASAKI and KUWATA to be hereinafter cited are contained in the above-mentioned books and the titles of these books will be omitted below. Also, a series of studies of KOJIMA Shōsaku who was a chairman of the compilation committee of the “History of Shrines in Munakata”, which took an

economic-historical approach to the management of the landed estates at Munakata Shrine from both proprietor and the Grand Shrine Family's perspective are contained in the Yoshikawa Kōbunkan (publisher) "Collection of Writings by KOJIMA Shōsaku" 1.2.3 (1987, 1995).

i) Control of Munakata Shrine by Daigūji Family

a) Kamakura period

According to the directive of the council of state issued in 979 (Tengen 2), the position of Daigūji was established and Munakata Ujiyoshi was appointed Daigūji and it was the beginning of the Munakata Family taking control of the position of Daigūji. DAIGŪJI Ujizane who won in the competition for dominance within the clan from the dominant faction received recognition of the position of Daigūji and was guaranteed the Munakata Shrine estates by the "Draft of the Letter of Approval from Minamoto-no-Yoritomo" on August 7, 1187 (Bunji 3) in reply to the No. 2 Nagauji Draft Statement. Munakata Grand Shrine in medieval history started here.

ISHII Susumu (1959): "A form of Zaichi-Ryōshu hō (local resident landlord system) in the early 14th century – "Note on the Kotogaki (rules in itemized form) of Munakata Shrine in 1313 (Shōwa 2)" —" demonstrated clearly the development of the local resident landlord system of Daigūji family in Kamakura period in five periods and elucidated the control of Daigūji family in the shrine from the rules of Munakata Shrine (kotogaki) which was a fruit of the local landlord right. "The Draft of the Letter of Approval from Minamoto-no-Yoritomo" states that at the request of the Hachijō Nyoin (retired empress-consort), Yoritomo guaranteed the estate of Munakata Shrine which had been the imperial estate after the demise of the Heike clan for Ujizane instead of placing jigashira (land steward) and according to the ISHII paper, it was the start of the second period when Munakata Shrine became the landed estates called shōen under the direct control of the Taira clan. From this second period, "the lord-vassal relationship between Munakata Shrine family and the head of the Kamakura Shogunate" was established. The position of Daigūji in Kamakura period was passed down from Ujizane, Ujikuni, Ujitsune, Ujinari, Nagauji, Ujimori to Ujinori (former Ujinaga).

The Kamakura Shogunate suppressed the Jōkyū Disturbance (Jōkyū 3, 1221) which was a plan to topple down the shogunate by ex-Emperor Gotoba and outstripped the power of court nobles. After the disturbance, the shogunate first confiscated the imperial estates and contributed them to Takakura-in on condition that those estates should be returned if necessary and Munakata Shrine was also included in the imperial estates. The third stage is when the top authority over Munakata Shrine moved from the proprietor of private estates =imperial court to the Shogunate family. In the "Letter of command from the Kamakura Shogunate", written on July 27 in 1222 (Jōō 1) included in the No. 2 document dedicated by Mr. IDEMITSU Sazō, as an appeal on the part of DAIGŪJI Ujikuni, there is a passage that reads: "As the proprietor of landed estates in 1215 (Kenpō 3), a travelling inspector and a member of Azechi Family (HAMURO Mitsuchika) abused our land" (original text in the classical Chinese), which reveals that the local seigniorial right of Daigūji was threatened by the tightened measure to control minors by abdicated Emperor Gotoba who was preparing for the overthrowing of the government. According to the 8-Volume Document, No. 40 "Ordinance from the Kamakura Shogunate" issued on July 24th in Kenpō 5, DAIGŪJI Ujikuni went all the way to Kamakura and appealed to the Shogunate that he was dismissed from the Daigūji by the medium-ranked councilor HAMURO Mitsuchika and he actually won the restoration of rights. It was the Shogunate that eliminated the force of abdicated Emperor Gotoba and blew away the threats by lords of private estates, and it was a welcome step to form the lord-vassal relationship and be under control of the shogunate at first. However, the shrine later suffered interference over the control of Daigūji from the Azukaridokoro custody "son of the Suruga province", that is to say, by Yasumura who was the second son of MIURA Yoshimura as described in the "Draft of the Order from the Kamakura Shogunate" on September 4th in 1221 (Jōkyū 3) in reply to the No. 13 Nagauji Draft Statement. In the 8-Volume Document No. 10 "Edict from Omiya In-no-chō (the office of a former emperor)" issued in January in 1256 (Kenchō 8), it is described that Ujinari who succeeded to his uncle Ujikuni's position of Daigūji appealed to the Shogunate that the custodian MIURA Yasumura was impeding his control over the shrine estate irrationally. The reason why the TAIRA clan in the first period, abdicated Emperor Gotoba in the second period and the MIURA clan in the third period wanted a direct control of Munakata Shrine was that Munakata Region leading to Hakata Bay is a strategic spot in Kyūshū and people in Munakata had a technique to navigate freely on the Genkai Sea leading to Korean Peninsula and Mainland China and

actually maintained interchange with these places. In particular, during the first, second and third periods, trading and human exchange between Munakata Shrine and the Song Dynasty of China were thriving, which will be described in detail in the next section ii) Foreign negotiation. The conflict with the Miura clan resolved in the Hōji War in 1247 (Hōji 1) when the MIURA clan was defeated and destroyed by the HŌJŌ clan.

The fourth period begins with the donation of the land held by MIURA Yasumura including Munakata Shrine from the Shogunate to the estates of abdicated Emperor Gosaga after the Hōji War. According to ISHII paper, it was the time when the control of Munakata Shrine was returned to the imperial court and its closely related central nobles, however its control wasn't solid anymore and the hereditary family of Daigūji ensured much stronger backing through the lord-vassal relationship with the Shogunate and moved ahead with the completion of its own control of the local land. The above-cited "Edict from Ōmiya In-no-chō" is a permit issued in response to the appeal by Nagauji who was the eldest son and heir to Ujinari for the inheritance of the Daigūji for generations. Nagauji was granted priesthood by the "Deed of Assignment of the Position to MUNAKATA Ujinari" issued on February 14 in Kenchō 3 in reply to the "No. 30 Nagauji Draft Statement" and he assumed the position of Daigūji over the period of four stages until his position was taken over by Ujimori by the "Deed of Assignment from Nagauji to Ujimori" issued on February 6 in 1308 (Enkei 2) in the section "Deed of Assignment of the shrine administration for generations" in the "General Catalogue". Nagauji, just as he appealed to Ōmiya-In, laid the foundation of inheritance of the position of Daigūji through generations and showed the way to the complete control of Munakata Shrine and the local domain by Daigūji family.

According to a paper written by ISHII, the fifth period begins with the receipt of the shrine from the shogunate as a part of policies to control Kyūshū region directly which became evident after the Mongol Invasion in 1302 (Kangen 1) and continues until the end of the lord-vassal relationship through the landed-estate system by the establishment of the Kenmu Regime and Munakata Shrine became the property of the Tokusō clan. Munakata Shrine Kotogaki (rules in bullet points) composed of 13 articles was formulated in the fifth period.

b) Period of Southern and Northern Dynasties

"Ordinance of Emperor Godaigo" issued on October 11 in 1334 (Kenmu 1) in the 8-Volume Document No. 175 marked the end of Munakata Shrine as proprietor of the landed estates (shōen) and Daigūji family was involved in the turbulent times of the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties. The position of Daigūji was succeeded from Ujinori, Ujimasa, Ujitoshi, Ujikata, Ujitoshi, Ujyori, Ujishige to Ujitsune.

As the section "Akamanoshō Document" in "General Catalogue" contains the "Letter of Donation of Akama Jitō-gata (an agent in charge of a lord's private estates) from ASHIKAGA Takauji" issued on March 1 in 1338 (Kenmu 3), and the section "Chikuzen province Kusubashi Document" contains "Order from Takauji on April 2 in Kenmu 3, Shrine administration of Ujinori deserves commendation for his deeds of valor" and the section "Kubara, Ōbu, Kamagun-Kawasaki Documents" contains "Order from ASHIKAGA Yoshiakira, on November 22 in 1352 (Bunwa 1) commendation for the deeds of valor ", Daigūji family sided with the Muromachi Shogunate. According to "Baishō-ron", ASHIKAGA Takauji who fled to Kyūshū stayed at Munakata Daigūji's House to participate in the War of Tataranohama. Munakata Grand Shrine owns a set of "Aikawa odoshi katashiro dōmaru" (armor)" designated as an important cultural property which was said to be awarded for the deed of valor.

In 1364 (Shōhei 16, Kōan1), Prince Kanenaga established the Seisei government in Dazaifu. In its golden period, Ujikata who was described as "Miyagata (imperial court side) Shamu" in the "Record of Munakatagu Administration" assumed the position of Daigūji and the "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji" using the name of the period of Southern Dynasty was compiled. After IMAGAWA Ryōshun from Kyūshū Tandai (military outpost in Kyūshū) took control of Seisei government in 1372 (Ōan 5), Daigūji family followed IMAGAWA Ryōshun of the Muromachi shogunate and Volume 4 of the 8-Volume Document is mainly composed of "katatsu-monjo (ordinances)" from the Shogunate. It shows that Daigūji family swiftly and flexibly responded to the changes of the powers in the northern Kyūshū.

According to the "ISSHIKI Dōyū (Noriuji) letter of asking troop" on May 11 in 1347 (Jōwa 3) in the

Fukahori Document, MUNAKATA Ujitoshi reported to Dōyū that the navy from the Southern Dynasty made an onslaught on Ōshima, Kojima (Jinoshima) in Munakata. In the section “Mandate to expel pirates and protect the area” in the “General catalogue”, there is a line that reads: “Hōshō (mandate) from Dazai-no-Shōni Yorinao (warlord), August 13 in 1357 (Shōhei 12)”. It is revealed that Daigūji family controlled the sea of Munakata and they were assigned the Shugoshiki (regional governor, guardian) according to a passage in the section “Ikinoshima Shugoshiki Document” in the “General Catalogue”: “Letter from ASHIKAGA Yoshiakira, October 9 in 1365 (Jōji 4) addressed to Munakata Daigūji (Ujitoshi)”. According to the section “Ikinokuni Yakushimaru Document” in the “General Catalogue”, Fujiwara-no-Ujinyo who had succeeded the estate in Ishida-no-ho Yakushimaru in Iki province married to DAIGŪJI Ujinori and handed over the Shugoshiki to her son Ujimasa on February 3 in 1344 (Kōei). It was probably the appointment of the position of Shugoshiki based on the connection between Daigūji and Ikinoshima, but at the same time, it may show that the Shogunate placed emphasis on the sea control by Munakata Shrine in the Genkai Sea. In other words, it was the inheritance from the ancient times leading to the trading with Joseong Dynasty in Muromachi period.

c) Muromachi period

Soon after the consolidation of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, from the beginning of the Ōei era (1394-1427), Daigūji family was under the command of the ŌUCHI clan who moved from Suō to Kyūshū. As described in the section 2. (1) i) Medieval documents, Ujitsune who compiled the “General catalogue” fought over a position of Daigūji with his uncle Ujitada and won the battle with the help of the shogunate and the ŌUCHI clan. The mother of Ujitsune is said to be a daughter of ŌUCHI Hiroyo. The position of Daigūji was succeeded from Ujitsune, Ujiaki (Ujinobu), Ujitoshi, Ujitsugu, Ujihiro, Ujimasa, Ujisato, Ujisada, Okiuji, Ujisuke, Masauji to Ujio. The first historical source showing the relations with ŌUCHI clan is the 8-Volume Document No. 205, “ŌUCHI clan Magistrate WASHIZU Hirotame letter-form document (piece of letter)” written on April 11 in 1402 (Ōei 8). Until the year of 1551 (Tenbun 20) when ŌUCHI Yoshitaka committed suicide by sword in Nagato Taineiji under attack by SUE Harukata and DAIGŪJI Ujio killed himself following him, the lord-vassal relationship continued.

In Muromachi period, the shrine’s domain expanded beyond the Munakata District. According to the 8-Volume Document No. 128 “Sanpōin Mansai (Buddhist monk) Sodehan Migyōsho (lord’s order)” written on October 5, in 1402 (Ōei 9), DAIGŪJI Ujitsune was assigned a position of the local magistrate of Wakamiya-no-shō at Takegaki, Inumaru in Kurate District. Regarding the control over Wakamiya-no-shō by Daigūji, it is discussed in KUWATA article: “Wakamiya-no-shō and the MUNAKATA clan in Muromachi period”, MŌRI Shigeaki (2005): “Wakamiya-chō Journal” The 3rd Edition Medieval Times 2nd Chapter “The Period of Southern and Northern Dynasties, Muromachi period” 483-533. The relationship between Daigūji family and the Kurate District was originated with the assignment of the position of Jitō (proprietor of landed estates) and Jige-sataninshiki (executors/enforcer) of the Yamaguchi-gō in Kurate District depending on the 8-Volume Document No.61 “Donation letter from ONAKATOMI Tsunezane” written on July 6 in 1268 (Bunni 5), on page 507 of the Mori article, it is described that “Yamaguchi-gō is a strongpoint to proceed into the Kurate direction and it goes without saying that securing of the place was a matter of great importance for the MUNAKATA clan”. Moreover, on pp 515-516, MŌRI stated that the key factor behind the appointment of Ujitsune as Daikan (local magistrate) was Daigūji’s connection with the Shogunate from the generation of Ujinori and Ujimasa and the Shogunate’s relationship with the Daigoji Sanpōin Monzeki (priest served by nobility). And he presumed that the fact that DAIGŪJI Ujinori was granted a position of Jitō (proprietor of land estates) of Kusubashi-no-shō in Kurate District as the award for his deed of valor solidified the linkage between the Munakata clan and Sanpōin. Daigoji took control of the rights to manage Kusubashi-no-shō (land estates) and for Sanpōin monzeki, the MUNAKATA clan who owed allegiance to ASHIKAGA Takauji was reliable and the position of local magistrate of Wakamiya-no-shō was a chance for the MUNAKATA clan to attempt to expand its domain. The power of influence of Ujitsune never went beyond his clout as the chief magistrate by contract of Wakamiya-no-shō, however, it continued until ŌUCHI Moriharu became a local magistrate in 1424 (Ōei 31). As the lord-vassal relationship between the ŌUCHI clan and Daigūji continued thereafter, the end of the assignment of local magistrate to Ujitsune wasn’t probably in the aftermath of the deprivation by arms of the ŌUCHI clan.

The noteworthy thing other than the close relationship between Daigūji family and the Shogunate and the

ŌUCHI clan was the trading with Joseon Dynasty which will be described in the next section 2) Foreign negotiation.

d) Warring States period

According to the 8-Volume Document No. 138 “Letter from ASŌ Okiharu” on July 8, Okiuji and Ujisuke fought over the position of Daigūji and Okiharu who was a vassal of ŌUCHI Yoshioki reported that “Ujisuke doesn’t follow the intention of his senior Yoshioki”. The battle between Okiuji and Ujisuke was carried over to the next generation. The 8-Volume Document No. 141 in 1518 (Eishō 15) “Letter from TOIDA Okiyuki” was meant to relay a message to the effect that Yoshioki guaranteed the succession to family by MUNAKATA Masauji to the retainers of the MUNAKATA family and as a successor to Okiuji, Masauji assumed a position as Daigūji. Also, the same document No. 135 “Letter from ŌUCHI Yoshioki” written on August 2 in 1527 (Daiei 7) stated to the effect that Ujitsugu, a son of Ujisuke became a heirloom of Masauji as his yushi (another child considered as his own) to succeed the “MUNAKATA Hereditary family of Daigūji’s share” and its details were described in the accompanying sheet. Here the “Munakata Shrine family’s share” is considered as the performer of shrine rituals and it is considered that in the accompanying sheet its status and compensation were specified. On page 506 of the “History of Munakata City” Complete History Edition Volume 2, it is pointed out that the religious aspects as priest (shrine service) and military aspects (military service) were separated. Ujitsugu as a performer of shrine rituals, played a role in the control of Munakata Shrine with DAIGŪJI Masauji. However, the feud between the two continued and according to the Mine Family Document No. 3 “Performance Award for MUNAKATA Ujitsugu” on October 8 in 1536 (Tenbun 5), the feud led to a war. As Masauji stayed in Kurokawa in Yamaguchi at that time, he was called as “Assistant Minister of Kurokawa Justice Department”. In the MORI Shigeaki (2006): “2 historical sources existed outside the prefecture related to the ŌUCHI clan-Imperial Household Agency Library’s collection and University of the Sacred Heart Library collection”, “Studies on history of Yamaguchi Prefecture” 14, “ŌUCHI Yoshitaka Kakanjō (coming of age letter) on September 1 in 1532 (Kyōroku 5)” was introduced, which revealed the period when Masauji, receiving one character from Yoshitaka, announced himself as KUROKAWA Takanao.

In the Mine Family Document No. 3 “Letter from KUROKAWA Takanao” written on April 22 (year unknown), by the intention of Yoshitaka (Masauji), the position of Daigūji was succeeded to Ujio as his yushi without distinguishing between the shrine service and military service. Later, in the 8-Volume Document No. 145 “Letter from Kurokawa Takanao” written on July 13 in 1547 (Tenbun 16), he ordered that his estates and retainers were to be handed over to “Nabejumarū (child name of Ujisada)” and also ordered Ujio and Nabejumarū to go into service for the ŌUCHI clan. Two days later, Takanao died and this served as his testament. However, according to the 8-Volume Document No. 146 “Draft of the letter from the ŌUCHI clan cosigned by bugyōnin (magistrate)” on August 27 in Tenbun 18, dispute erupted over the divided land for Nabejumarū since Tenbun 16 and it is revealed that Ujio didn’t agree with the idea of assigning part of the position of Daigūji and the estates once transferred to him to Nabejumarū.

Ujio also went to Yamaguchi and called himself as KUROKAWA Takamune following ŌUCHI Yoshitaka. In Tenbun 20, Yoshitaka committed suicide by sword in Nagato Taineiji due to the treachery of his vassal SUE Harukata and Ujio (Takamune) killed himself following him. From this incident, the succession race for the vacant position of Daigūji erupted between the retainers siding with Nabejumarū living in Kurokawa and the retainers siding with the bereaved family of Ujio living in Munakata. The Nabejumarū camp, with the backing of SUE Harukata and made Nabejumarū be called MUNAKATA Shirō and returned to Munakata and won the battle against the bereaved family camp and as a result, Nabejumarū assumed a position of Daigūji and identified himself as Ujisada after the Genpuku (coming of age) ceremony. Legend has it that the bereaved families of Ujio who were killed by the Nabejumarū camp haunted Ujisada, the story of which has been passed down to present as “Legend of Vengeful ghost of Kikuhime” in Munakata region. However, according to KAWAKUBO article (2007): “True and falsehood of the history of Warring States period described in the “Reconsideration of the Chronicle of Munakata”, “Fukuoka Regional History Study” 24, the records at a later time depict inconsistent stories. While one story depicts that the person killed was the wife of Ujio and her daughter Kikuhime, another story tells that the one killed was the wife of Ujio named Kikuhime and her mother. Ujisada was born in 1545 (Tenbun 14) and he was in his infancy then, however, as he contributed the rice field to Zōfukuan where the victims were dedicated (Zōfukuin document) on July 24 in 1559 (Eiroku 2) to pray for the souls of the victims, it is confirmed that the

incident on which the legend was based actually existed.

Sue Harukata who forced ŌUCHI Yoshitaka to commit suicide by sword and ŌUCHI Haruhide whom Harutaka supported were defeated by MŌRI Motonari and in 1557 (Kōji 3), the ŌUCHI clan was destroyed and the northern part of Kyūshū became a battlefield between the ŌTOMO clan and MŌRI clan struggling for ruling power. Nabejumarū who assumed a position of Daigūji with the support of the retainers from his childhood, began to exercise strong leadership as he grew after he celebrated his coming of age and called himself as Ujisada in Kōji 3. In September in 1559 (Eiroku 2), he faced a predicament of fleeing to Ōshima for a while under attack from MUNAKATA Shigeuji with the backing of the ŌTOMO clan, however, in the following year, he recaptured the Konomi Castle and overcame the crisis. Although Ujisada was in a position opposed to the ŌTOMO clan joining hands with the MŌRI clan, in 1569 (Eiroku 12), he made peace with the ŌTOMO clan after the withdrawal of warriors from Kyūshū by the MŌRI clan. The greatest achievement of Ujisada was the construction of the main shrine building started from 1578 (Tenshō 6) and the details will be described in iii) Construction of the shrine buildings.

Ujisada died in March 1586 (Tenshō 14) and because he had no heir to succeed his position which led to the discontinuance of the Munakata Daigūji family. In the past, “Deputy Daigūji Enju” written on “okifuda (ridge tag)” was considered as the real son of Ujisada who died young, but as verified in the KAWAKUBO (2007), KUWATA Kazuaki (2010) : “About the MUNAKATA clan in Chikuzen province under the reign of the KOBAYAKAWA clan” ; “Historiography of Nanakuma” 12, Enju is not a real son of Ujisada but a second son of MASUDA Motoyoshi, a vassal of the MŌRI clan named Kageyoshi who became an adopted son of Ujisada and named himself as Enju. Enju dissolved the adoptive relation for a reason on the part of the MASUDA family and Ujisada died before adopting another son.

Regarding Munakata Shrine after the death of Ujisada, the following research papers have been published: HONDA Hiroyuki (1996): “Chikuzen Munakata District in the reign of TOYOTOMI and Munakata Shrine” , “Proceedings of Yasuda Women’s University” 14, HONDA Hiroyuki (1999) : “The TOYOTOMI regime and Munakata” , “History of Munakata City” Complete History Edition Volume 2 Modern times, Chapter 1, KUWATA Kazuaki (2010) : “About the MUNAKATA clan in Chikuzen province under the reign of the KOBAYAKAWA clan” ; “Historiography of Nanakuma” 12. As introduced in KAWAKUBO article (2007), as the historical sources and records, there are “Historical study on Chronicle of Munakata (new edition)”, “Chronicle of Munakata”, “Reconsideration of the Chronicle of Munakata”, “Munakata Gunki (military chronicle)”, “Discussion on achievements of Munakata”, “Biography of Kawazu”, however, they were all created in the modern times and their contents need to be examined.

As shown in the Mine Family Document No. 8 “Letter from MASUDA Motoyoshi” written on December 3 in Tenshō 14 (1586), Munakata Shrine was under the control of the MŌRI clan with FUKATA Ujiharu who was a shoryū (not descending from the MUNAKATA Family) as the head of the former retainers of Ujisada, however, Ujyohi didn’t succeed to Daigūji Family. A person considered a potential successor to Ujisada was “Munakata Saikaku” appeared on the “*Copy of the Letter from ISHIDA Mitsunari and cosignatories*” written on April 23 in Tenshō 15 (on page 17 of the “History of Munakata City”, Historical Source Edition). HONDA (1999) and KUWATA (2010) identified this person as the widow of Ujisada. However, it was only for a brief moment that the name of “Saikaku” was confirmed and the KUSAKARI clan who became the son-in-law of Ujisada identified himself as Munakata, and eventually Warring States period ended without any successor to Daigūji family and we will see a new era when KURODA Nagamasa entered the Chikuzen province.

TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi declared his intent to send troops to Kyūshū in April in Tenshō 14 and demanded MŌRI Terumoto to send his troops. The retainers of the Munakata family joined an army of Terumoto in the midst of chaos right after the death of Ujisada and they tried to approach the Hideyoshi side with an aim to gain the same control of Munakata Shrine and the shrine territories as the time Ujisada was alive, but in the end this attempt wasn’t rewarded.

In 1587 (Tenshō 15), Hideyoshi subjugated Kyūshū after making the SHIMAZU clan to surrender. He provided the Chikuzen province to KOBAYAKAWA Takakage and Munakata Shrine was put under the control of Takakage and was granted the shrine territories of 200-chō(about 200 ha). According to the MUNAKATA Family Documents No. 49 “Report of the order the rice fields and crossings belonging to

Munakata Shrine” on November 21 in Tensho 16, it is declared that the combined area of the shrine territories of Kasai-gō , Kato-gō, and Magari-mura falls short of reaching 200-chō (about 200 ha), by 55-chō. Moreover, in the same year, the Tsutagatake Castle built by Ujisada was destroyed by order of Hideyoshi and on page 656 of the HONDA’s article (1999), it was described as an incident to symbolize the dissolution of the proprietary system of the MUNAKATA clan.

The Munakata Family Documents No.65 “Memorandum Record on Munakata Hereditary Family of Daigūji” on auspicious day in March in 1599 (Keichō 4) is a document that gives an account of the benefit of 200-chō as shrine territories granted by Takakage and the benefit of annual rice tax of 100-koku rice from the Kasai-gō from the retirement estates after Takakage went into retirement in Mihara in Bingo province in November in 1595 (Bunroku 4). Munakata Shrine continuously asked for the benefit of shrine territories to be granted by KOBAYAKAWA Hideaki in his domain in Chikuzen province, but to no avail. As previously mentioned in the section 2 (1) i) a) Munakata Shrine Documents, the widow of Ujisada was deeply concerned about this situation and took refuge with the KUSAKARI family that her daughter married to with the hereditary ancient documents of Daigūji family. The shrine dominion discontinued after the ruling of Hideaki in Chikuzen province was restored to a lesser extent when KURODA Nagamasa who had entered Chikuzen in 1606 (Keichō 11) donated 50-koku and during Edo period, it was survived as “Tashima-gū (Tashima shrine)” under the control of Fukuoka domain.

ii) Foreign Negotiation

The uniqueness of Munakata Daigūji family who was the local resident landlord of the northern Kyūshū was its achievements of the foreign negotiations from Heian period to Muromachi period. The MUNAKATA clans who were the ancestors of Daigūji family were considered to sail across the Genkai Sea dating back to the times prior to the ancient rituals held on Okinoshima Island and the oldest literature and historical source showing the foreign negotiations of Daigūji family is an article in the “Shōyūki” written in the 11th century. Since the assignment of this manuscript is to describe historical events after the medieval times, the foreign trade negotiations in Kamakura period and Muromachi period will be described exclusively.

Since two great scholars MORI Katsumi and NAGANUMA Kenkai mentioned the foreign negotiations of the Grand Shrine family in MORI Katsumi (1943): “Study on Trade between Japan and Song Dynasty”, Kokuritsu Shoin and NAGANUMA Kenkai (1948) : “International half-breed” , “Shien” 56, research results handling the international negotiations of Daigūji family have been accumulated coupled with its association with the history of development of Hakata as gateway to China starting with Kōrokan (foreign trading post). Regarding the respective history and materials of foreign negotiations they will be described later appropriately. As for overall studies, the “Munakata Jinjya History” Volume 2, Chapter 16: Foreign negotiations” gives an overview of the connection between Munakata Shrine and the sea from the ancient times to the Japan Sea Battle in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 (Meiji 38). As for the overview of medieval history, two lectures, five reports, discussion and material introduction contained in KAWAZOE Shōji, AMINO Yoshihiko Edition (1994): “Fishermen in medieval times and East Asia”, Kaichosha are comprehensive. Regarding Kamakura period, the following three papers are taken up : KAWAZOE Shōji (1990): “External trade of the MUNAKATA clan and fishermen in Shika island” ; “Sea and the Archipelago Culture Volume 3-Islands in the Genkai Sea”, Shogakukan Inc., MASAKI Kisaburō : “Nosaka Befu in Chikuzen province and imported ceramics and porcelain” and HATTORI Hideo (2008) : “Munakata Daigūji and Nissō Trade (travel to Song Dynasty by merchants)- Munakata Tōbō, Oronoshima, Takadamaki in Chikuzen province” , “Historiography of Kyūshū” Collection of papers in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of publication, Second Volume, Iwata Shoin “Inside and outside from the boundary”. As for Muromachi period, AKIYAMA Kenzō (1932): “Trade between the MUNAKATA clan and Korea in the early part of Muromachi period”, “Aoyama Gakusō” 7, KUWATA Kazuaki (2004): “Korean trade of the MUNAKATA clan and appellations”; “Kairo (sea route)” 1 are recommended.

a) Amidakyō seki (Sukuhavati Sutra stone)

I’ve described the story of how Amidakyō seki came to Japan and its significance in terms of Buddhist history in the section 2. (1). Here I will describe the aspect of the foreign negotiations related to Munakata Shrine.

Amidakyō Seki is composed of the front main body sculpted with the image of Amida Buddha and the right and left sides with inscriptions and each component is an eloquent historical source. In Edo period, it was already impossible to decipher the whole sentences due to some chipped parts, therefore, I only intent to explain the contents of the decipherable part of the inscriptions chronologically. At the lower left of the Amida Buddha (on the lower right as you face it), there is the era name “Great Song Shoki 6”. It is considered as the year of the production and it corresponds to 1195 (Kenkyū 6). On the lower right there is the name of a person placing order which is “Danna (client) Munakatagū Daigūji MUNAKATA Ujikuni” and this accorded with Ujikuni serving as Daigūji in Kenkyū 6. “Daishi” is probably “Daigūji” with a character “宮 (gū)” omitted. Amidakyō Seki was requested to be made by craftsmen in Southsong by DAIGŪJI Ujikuni for the repose of the soul of his father Ujizane and it is conceivable that Ujikuni’s mother (described later) was a Chinese named “Ōshi”, made a request and gave advice.

On the upper left of the Amida Buddha, there is a phrase wishing “May Merciful Mother’s Spirit Rest in Peace”. “Merciful mother” means the mother of DAIGŪJI Ujikuni. As in the “Draft of the letter of approval by Kamakura Shogunate on September 13, 1223 (Jōō2) in response to No. 2 Draft of the request from Sayajōe”, she was confirmed to be alive as of 1210 (Jōgen 4), this phrase, therefore, was an additional inscription inscribed after the Amidakyō seki was brought to Munakata. On the upper right, there is an inscription in Katakana characters prohibiting the coloring of the Amidakyō seki.

On the right side of the Amida Buddha Image (on the left side as you face it), the letter of donation by Chōshi is inscribed in hiragana characters on February 12 in 1220 (Jōkyū 2). Chōshi, praying for the souls of the former DAIGŪJI Ujizane and his wife Ōshi, and her husband, deputy DAIGŪJI Ujitada, etc., and also wishing for her peaceful death, donated the estates for expenses to dedicate flower, incense, lanterns at the Amidakyō seki. Ōshi and Chōshi (that were names for Chinese ladies) whom Daigūji family members married to and are thought to be the daughters of a merchant from Song Dynasty who stayed in a place called “Hakata Gōshu” in Hakata. DAIGŪJI Ujikuni and Ujitada are brothers with Ōshi as their mother and from this fact, we learn that the marriage with Chinese ladies was no hindrance to the assumption of the position of Daigūji and people in Munakata in those days were very international cosmopolitan.

On the left side of the main body, five inscriptions are confirmed and the 2 inscriptions with the era name Kanki 3 (1231) are related to the land donation for setting up Amidakyō seki. Another inscription is “Statement of Ken-Amidabutsu (Amitadha Buddha) on May 24 in 1237 (Katei 3)” and although the contents of the statement are unknown due to the chipped part, it is believed that Chōshi reported on a state of devastation of the land she donated. Below the inscription, there is a letter of acceptance in reply to the Statement of Ken-Amidabutsu saying that he would redevelop the land in the letter of contribution from Chōshi on the right side and cope with the costs of memorial services including floral and incense tributes. On the right end of the bottom part is an inscription that reads: “Shujō Gokuraku Ōjō (all living things die peaceful death and are reborn in the paradise)”, however its relevance to other inscriptions is not known.

In the Board of Education of Hisayama-chō, Kasuya-gun in Fukuoka Prefecture (2010) : “Research briefing report of the Mount Shura Archaeological Site Excavation” , it was pointed out that the stone materials used for Song-style Lion, and Satsuma Stupa confirmed in the site may be the same as the Baien stones produced near Ningbo, China. Considering that Amidakyō seki also might be made from Baien stones, the Munakata family emerges as the important bearer of trade and cultural exchange with mainland China from the geographical point of view.

b) Stone guardian lion-dog

It is a pair of lion-dogs composed of Agyō with a pup and Ungyō carrying a ball carved from a chunk of limestone and their beautiful presence offers a sense of stability. The IGATA Susumu (2005): “*The Song-style lions at Munakata Shrine and their surroundings*”, “Buddhism Art” 283 gives a detailed report of its shapes and the cultural and historical implications. Incidentally, from the aesthetic point of view, they are stone-built lions, but at Munakata Shrine, they are considered as Koma-Inu which is a sacred beast to serve as guardian before a shrine. It is pointed out from early on that they are the works from South Song from the Koma-Inu’s style and the high level of completion. Given that DAIGŪJI Ujikuni with his mother Ōshi ordered Amidakyō seki from South Song and Hakata Gōshu Chōsei and Riei were involved in the

transcription of the Issai-kyō by Shikijō, this work is also a series of materials of foreign negotiations. Both Agyō and Ungyō are engraved with the same inscriptions on the back which reveal that they were dedicated by Fujiwara-no-Tsukafusa to Tei-san-gū in Munakata Shrine in 1201 (Kennin 2). Although Tsukafusa isn't mentioned in other historical sources, it is considered as a person associated with Munakata Shrine and the trade with South Song wasn't dominated by Daigūji family to begin with.

From the following papers: IGATA article (2005), (2008) "Song style lions and Satsuma Stupa in the Mount Shura Archaeological Site" ; "Mount Shura Archaeological Site- Mountain shrines and temples in environs of the Fukuoka Plain", Hisayama-chō Board of Education, KUCHITSU Nobuaki (2009): "Rock quality of the so-called "Song style lion dogs""; "Archaeology and natural science" 58, it is estimated that the style of the statues was roughly shifted from the full-faced, and round statue with sharp line to the laterally-facing narrow built statue with soft curve line made from non-limestone rock quality such as sandstone. The Koma-Inu at Munakata Shrine is a representative work in the former category.

c) Hakata Gōshu and Munakata Shrine

Among the archival collections in Munakata Grand Shrine, the historical sources showing the shrine's association with merchants from Song Dynasty staying in Hakata Gōshu in Hakata are the Copied Issai-Kyō transcribed by Shikijō-Hōshi described in the section 2. (1) i) and the 8-Volume Document No. 31 "Rokuhara Kakikudashi (letter from the Rokuhara outpost of the Kamakura Shogunate on May 3 in 1253 (Kenchō 5))".

Rokuhara Kakikudashi is a document revealing that Sha Kokumei who was Hakata Gōshu, in collusion with the Tōgoku Gokenin (retainer belonging to the Kamakura Shogunate) MIURA Clan, infringed a property right of Oronoshima which was a shrine domain of Munakata Shrine. Sha Kokumei was famous for founding Shōtenji established by Shōichikokushi Enni in Hakata and procuring timbers to rehabilitate Keizan in China and was the most outstanding Chinese among the Hakata Gōshu, who is indispensable for narrating the history of Hakata in medieval times. The MIURA clan was a powerful gokenin (retainer belonging to the Kamakura Shogunate) of the Shōgun in Kamakura with the MIURA navy and was assigned an "azukaridokoro" (custodian) of Munakata Shrine dominion from the Shogunate that was the proprietor of the landed estates as well. Both of them on a quest to conquer Oronoshima which was a base for a sea route to South Song Dynasty of China had a confrontation with Munakata Shrine. After the MIURA clan's down fall in 1247 (Hōji 1), a lawsuit battle arose and in the end the property rights were believed to be secured for Munakata Shrine. However, according to the Rokuhara Kakikudashi, it was revealed that MIHARA Tanenobu, immediate vassal from Chikugo province also infringed on the ownership of Oronoshima and from this we can learn of the geographic importance of Oronoshima, even though it was a small island, and also learn of the history of Munakata Shrine's control over the Hakata Bay. At present, regular liner sails across the Hakata Bay to and from Oronoshima and although the island belongs to Fukuoka City administratively, it is an island seen directly across from Katsuura Beach in Munakata Region and it is natural that the island was recognized as the shrine's dominion in the age of navigation with visibility.

Also the Rokuhara Kakikudashi shows that Sha Kokumei died prior to May in Kenchō 5 and took a Japanese woman as his wife¹⁾.

Including Hakata Gōshu, the settlement of Song merchants was called as "Tōbō". Tsuyazakichō (present Fukutsu City) Board of Education (2004): "Araji Aza-Nishinoato Remains" reported the discovery of the remains of a Chinese settlement based on the livelihood relics including the ceramics and porcelain manufactured in the late 12th century in China. Moreover, given that there are Tōbō Hachiman-gū Shrine and a place called "Tōbō" which is a massha shrine of the Munakata Shrine in its neighborhood and in the MUNAKATA Family Documents No. 46 "Copy of the land register of the dominion of MUNAKATA Daigūji, retainers and priests" on May in 1586 (Tenshō 14), there are family names "Tōbō" among the "Araji, Miyaji Village folks" and "Katsuura Village folks", ŌBA Yasutoki (2001) : "*Ages of Hakata Gōshu – Jyuban Trade and Hakata from the ancient materials--*", "Studies on Historiography" 756 pointed out the possibility of "Munakata Tōbō". HATTORI article (2008) determines that the surrounding area of the Nishinoato Remains was the Munakata Tōbō²⁾. Even though it is recognized as a Chinese settlement from the unearthed articles from the remains, Tōbō Hachiman-gū Shrine didn't appear in the "Goengi" in the late

Kamakura period but only mentioned in the “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” during the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties as massha, and the role played by Daigūji family for the control of its domain is also unknown. Also, as the “Land register of the dominion of the retainers of Daigūji” is nothing but a copy made after the Tenshō era, it requires careful examination to determine whether the surrounding area of the remains was called “Tōbō” at that time and if it was the base for overseas trade.

d) Trading with Joseon Dynasty of Korea

Combining “Joseon Dynasty King Sejon Fact Record” records of the Joseon Dynasty started in 1392 and “Record of the States located in the East Sea” compiled by SHIN Suk-ju in 1471, the MUNAKATA clan was mentioned in the documents 46 times from 1412 (Ōei 19) to 1504 (Eishō 1). Specific names include DAIGŪJI Ujitsune, Ujiaki, Ujimasa, Ujisato and although it is not certain what kind of articles were traded, it is evident that Daigūji family engaged in the trading with Joseon Dynasty of Korea.

As for the historical sources on the part of Munakata Shrine, there is the 8-Volume Document No. 188 “Draft of the document of DAIGŪJI Ujimasa” in November in 1454 (Kyōtoku 3). It was a diplomatic document requesting commercial intercourse to King Danjong and it is a valuable document as an example of the form prepared by the local resident landlord along with the trading achievements.

iii) Construction of the shrine buildings

Regarding the construction of the shrines of Munakata Grand Shrine, in the “Munakata Jinja History” Volume 1, Chapter 6: Main building/construction interpreting the construction history from ancient to present times, explanations are given for each of three shrines that are Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya in turn. Munakata Grand Shrine Re-Development Association (1976): “Journal of Shōwa Construction of Munakata Grand Shrine” gives a detailed account of the shrine’s construction project as a work carried out in the framework of the redevelopment movement spanning from 1965 (Shōwa 40) to 1975 (Shōwa 50) and started with the petition for elevation to Chokusaisha (shrine whose rituals are attended by an imperial envoy) made in 1927 (Shōwa 2).

The oldest historical source revealing the existence of a shrine is “Chūyūki (diary of Fujiwara-no-Munetada)”, and in the entry on May 28 in 1133 (Chōshō 2), it is described that he gave orders to construct shrines on the model of the “example of 1119 (Genji 2)”. In “The 9th year of Emperor Yūryaku” of “Nihonshoki (Chronicle of Japan)”, a word “dansho” was used for a place to dedicate the Munakata deities and on page 322 of Volume 1 of “Munakata Jinja History”, it is described that “it is the most ancient literature as a remark on the facilities of this shrine”. Although it’s unclear whether it can date back to the era of Emperor Yūryaku, according to “Ruijyū Kokushi (a collection of the history of Japan)”, a Buddhist monk was dispatched to Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen province to recite sutra in 794 (Enryaku 13) and it is clear that there was a shrine structure at this moment. The construction period was described as 776 (Hōki 7) in “Munakata Zōei Daidai Ruki (Record of Munakata Shrine Construction)” and as 781 (Ten’ō 1) in “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi (History and virtues of Munakata Daibosatsu)” among the archival collections in Munakata Grand Shrine and collating with the article in “Ruijyū Kokushi (a collection of the history of Japan)”, it is considered that a shrine had been constructed in the divine area of present-day Hetsu-miya by the end of Nara period.

A historical source that should be introduced regarding the construction and repair work after the Kamakura era was the 8-Volume Document No. 1 “Rinji-an (draft of the ordinance) by Emperor Gohorikawa” on August 2 in 1229 (Kangi 1). It was the rinji given to Munakata Shrine to the effect that the permission was given to Ōamidabutsu who had applied for construction of a “solitary island” in Kanesaki to prevent the accident of ships at sea and it was prohibited that the donations of the wrecked ships would be appropriated for the repair expenses of Munakata Shrine. According to the 8-Volume document No.8 “Chikuzen Kokushi Chōsen (ordinance from provincial governor)” in March in Kangi 3, 40-chō (about 40 ha) of Magarimura was donated to Munakata Shrine as a fee for repairs. However, according to the “Postulation from Munakata Shrine family” quoted in the “Draft of letter of approval by Kamakura Shogunate” on July 26, 1232 (Jōei 1), although the family requested a 150-chō of Tōgō as an alternative to the repair fee, in fact only 40-chō of Magarimura in Tōgō was donated and it ran short of the repair fee for seventy-five shrines. It is an example of the custom of appropriating donations for the repair expenses for Munakata Shrine and

the dominion of the Genkai Sea of Munakata Shrine and Daigūji family. In the same way, “seventy-five shrines” were mentioned for the first time in the document. Since then the number seventy-five massha became recognized with ideological number 75 throughout the medieval times, and the fact that the number of massha belonging to Munakata Shrine already surpassed several dozens in the early Kamakura period and their repair work was conducted under Daigūji’s administration shows one aspect of the control over the shrine dominion by Daigūji family.

The construction and repair projects in Kamakura and Muromach period can be traced back to the documents in the “General Catalogue” and “Document of Munakata Shrine Construction” and the following 8 projects were confirmed.

- ア) 文永三年(1266)
八卷文書二〇二号後嵯峨上皇ヵ院宣断簡
- イ) 正和三年(1314)
出光佐三氏奉納文書一〇号正和三年九月二十日関東御教書に「損色注文」、社殿の修理。
- ウ) 文保元年(1316)
- エ) 元応二年(1320)～元徳二年(1330)
嶺家文書一号元応二年二月十九日得宗公文所奉書に「宗像第二宮造営」
八卷文書八七号元徳二年十月二十二日得宗公文所奉書に「宗像第二社御遷宮」
- オ) 建武四年(1337)
- カ) 康永二年(1342)
- キ) 正平十年前後(1350 年代)
- ク) 永和元年(1375)～明德三年(1392)
出光氏文書二四号永和元年三月二十二日室町幕府御教書に「宗像社假殿造営」
出光氏文書四〇号八月一三日今川了俊施行状に「假殿遷宮」
『惣目録』至徳三年(1386)八月二十五日辻固人数注文に「惣社假殿遷宮時」
出光氏文書明德三年二月五日室町幕府御教書に「宗像社造営事始」

Although the details are unknown for A, C, E, F, G, the repair work in B, construction of Tei-ni-gū in E and the construction of Sōja in H are confirmed in the existing historical sources. And D shows that a series of steps were taken to construct a new shrine, from the construction of Kaden (temporary shrine), installation of sacred objects from the old shrine, dispatching Tsujigatame (roadside security) at the time of the construction for new shrines and the start of actual construction and it was considered to be a large-scale project. Also, in the “Tei-ni-gū Hamayuka Uragaki 1 (words written on the back of the low-podium of the Second Shrine)” (“History of Munakata City” Historical Source Edition), it is described that the construction of Tei-ni-gū was carried out from 1485 (Bunmei 17) for the period of 19 years and it is estimated that the Tei-ni-gū shrine hall was rebuilt about 150 years after D was issued.

The construction of the existing main shrine of Hetsu-miya was completed on June 1 in 1578 (Tenshō 6) and the Sengū Ceremony (dedication ceremony of a new shrine) was performed. 4 pieces of Okifuda (ridge tags) written during the construction were placed under the roof and they are valuable historical sources that provide concrete records of the history of Warring States period in northern Kyūshū, construction works, craftsmen, salary, name of contributors for construction, festival of relocation of sacred objects, etc. The ridge tag placed in the treasure hall of the Munakata Tei-ichi-gū states that the outbreak of fire from the interior part of Tei-ichi-gū (First Shrine) burned down the main shrine, sacred objects and divine treasures in 1557 (Kōji 3) and the hall that erupted into flames was thought to be the shrine constructed in the above H document. DAIGŪJI Ujisada, while maintaining Munakata Shrine amid the struggle for ruling power between the ŌTOMO clan and the MŌRI clan in the northern Kyūshū, felt distressed over not being able to accomplish the redevelopment of Sōja. However, in 1564 (Eiroku 7), through a strange turn of fate such as the arrival of a sculptor of Buddha statues from Kyōto at the shore of Jinoshima and obtaining of the articles drifted from the wrecked ship off the coast of Tsuyazaki, “Sonzō Kaigen Kuyō (ceremony to consecrate a newly made Buddhist statue or image by inserting the eyes)” and the relocation of the sacred

objects to Kaden were fulfilled. According to the 8-Volume Document No. 25 “Letter from Shōgoin Dōzō” written on December 12 in Eiroku 7, this wrecked ship was a trading ship returning from Ming Dynasty of China and in spite of the reclaim from the Muromachi Shōgun ASHIKAGA Yoshiteru, Ujisada stood firm on the accepted practice of possessing the driftage to cover the expenses of construction at Munakata Shrine. Even after that, Munakata Shrine and Daigūji family were tossed about by the conflict between the ŌTOMO clan and MŌRI clan and in 1576 (Tenshō 4), the construction was restarted at last and the work was completed in May in the following year.

第一宮御宝殿御棟上之事は、天正五年十一月二十日に斎行した上棟祭の設え、祝儀、棟上までの作業順、用材、職人、賃金等を細々と書上げる。

第一宮御造営御寄進引付は、社殿造営に対して寄進した人、品目、数量を書上げる。

第一宮御遷宮之事は、天正六年六月朔日に斎行した遷宮祭の設え、所役、式次第等を書上げる。

In this way the main shrine was reconstructed under the supervision of DAIGŪJI Ujisada, however, he died of disease without embarking on the reconstruction of the front shrine which was burnt down. Mine Family Document No. 11 “Cosigned Oath from the retainers of MUNAKATA Family” written on August 1 in 1586 (Tenshō 14) is an oath made and countersigned by DAIGŪJI Ujisada’s 31 retainers right after they held funeral service for their master and they vowed to complete the construction work of the front shrine in the following year. Although it was impossible to fulfill the construction promptly, it is known that from the MUNAKATA Family Documents No. 51 “Request for ridge pole raising of the sanctuary of Munakata Hachimangū” on June 21 in Tenshō 18, the hall was rebuilt by KOBAYAKAWA Takakage who had been ordered to control Chikuzen province by TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi. Compared to the ridge poll raising ceremony of the main shrine, it was a small-scale preparation. However, apart from anything else, the main shrine and front shrine were completed.

Finally, let me introduce the “36 kasen hengaku (framed tablet with poems and pictures painted on it)” thought to be dedicated by DAIGŪJI Ujisada. According to records in Edo period, the pictures were drawn by KANŌ Motonobu and the calligraphy was written by Shōgoin Dōchō. Current studies confirm that the calligraphy is Shōgoin Dōchō’s work. He was a cultured man knowledgeable about calligraphy and Japanese poem. Although the theory of KANŌ Motonobu as painter is rejected from the engraved mark stamped on the hengaku, there are two theories of identifying the author as KANŌ Eitoku or his son KANŌ Mitsunobu and the discussion hasn’t been settled yet. Based on the flourishing period of the calligrapher and the painter, the most appropriate time to dedicate this hengaku is thought to be the time when the Tei-ichi-gū main shrine was constructed or when the Tei-ichi-gū front shrine was constructed.

If it was the work of Eitoku, given that he died in the year when the front shrine was constructed while he was working hard on his art, it must have been dedicated by Ujisada in celebration of the construction of the main shrine in 1578 (Tenshō 6). If it was the work of Mitsunobu, he was still in his teens and it is unthinkable that he could draw this hengaku with high-level of completion. The dedicator on the occasion of the construction of the front shrine in 1590 (Tenshō 18) was KOBAYAKAWA Takakage. At any rate, it is an old precedent of a one-poet-one hengaku form and the point is that the excellent and high quality painting and calligraphy of the Momoyama period were dedicated in celebration of the construction of the Munakata Shrine³⁾.

iv) Beliefs, rituals

a) Completion of “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi (History of Munakata Daibosatsu)”

The oldest historical source that describes the enshrined deity, divine rituals, structure of honsha (main shrine)-massha (branch shrine) relationship, etc. in a comprehensive manner by Munakata Shrine itself is “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi” (“Goengi” for short).

“Goengi” is a historical source and is thought to be completed in the same period as “Hachiman Usa-gū Ontakusenshū (Collection of Hachiman Shrine Oracles)” (“Usa Takusenshū” for short) completed during the period between 1290 (Shōō 3) and 1313 (Shōwa 2) and “Hachiman Gudōkun (story of miracles and divine virtues of Hachiman deity)” which was compiled under the influence of “Usa Takusenshū” during

the period between 1301 (Shōan 3) and 1308 (Enkei 1). HAGIWARA Tatsuo (1979): “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi and Hachiman Gudōkun”, Shintō System, Monthly Bulletin 7, points out that there is common ground between “Yamatohime-no-mikoto Seiki (The Century of Yamatohime-no-Mikoto)” and “Hachiman Gudōkun”. MASAKI Kisaburō: “TAKEUCHI Sukune Denshō (Folklore of Takeuchi Sukune)” discusses the background in which TAKEUCHI Sukune became an enshrined deity of Orihata Shrine, a sessha shrine of Munakata Shrine by constructing “Goengi” with “Usa Takusenshū”/ “Hachiman Gudōkun”, and YOSHIDA Fukiko (2005): “About Two Surrenders-from “Usa Takusenshū” and “Hachiman Gudōkun””, Seinan Gakuin University Graduate School of Literature Collection of Papers 24 makes a detailed comparison between “Goengi” and “Usa Takusenshū”/ “Hachiman Gudōkun” regarding the described contents of the battles with foreign states. From these papers, it is obvious that the three historical sources were completed in the same period of time interacting with one another.

Moreover, KAWAKUBO (2008): “Historical sources on divine rituals owned by Munakata Grand Shrine” points to the newly joined massha shrines which were not mentioned in “Goengi” but mentioned in “**Shōhei Nijūsannen Munakatagū Nenchū Gyōji**” (Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji for short) completed in 1368 (Shōhei 23) and since the place of enshrinement of these shrines was first mentioned in the historical source written in 1334 (Kenmu 1), it concluded that the “Goengi” was completed before the moment (1334).

Kanazawa Bunko located in Yokohama City in Kanagawa Prefecture owns “Munakataki (record of MUNAKATA clan)” and “Munakatasha Kuketsu (oral instructions of teaching at Munakata Shrine)” in their collections. They are included in the favorite books owned by Kena (1261 (Kōchō 1) – 1338 (Ryakuō 2)) who was the second Buddhist Priest of the Shōmeiji. TSUDA Tetsuhide (1996): “Memo on Medieval Shintō Materials”, Kanazawa Bunko, “Medieval Shintō Materials in Kanazawa Bunko” determines the time Kena collected the sources at a period “from 1301 (Shōan 3) to 1336 (Kenmu 3) at the latest”. The contents of “Munakataki” and “Munakatasha Kuketsu” have something in common with “Goengi”. “Munakataki” was written with “Tōgū Rukisha (author of “Ruki” at the shrine)” and it is known that there was “Ruki (register)” as a precedent to “Goengi”. It is presumed that in the course of compiling “Usa Takusenshū” and “Hachiman Gudōkun”, the contents in “Ruki” and oral instructions from Munakata Shrine were introduced and on the other hand, at Munakata Shrine, “Goengi” was based on “Ruki” and was completed by incorporating the contents of these two documents.

Additionally, of special note is that both “Munakataki” and “Munakatasha Kuketsu” are the oldest records related to the divine rituals in Okinoshima Island and the dedicated articles at the divine rituals. In “Munakataki”, there is a passage which reads; “*Okinomishima has never failed to perform divine rituals by performers from Goryo Dynasty of Korea from the 16th Emperor Nintoku to the era of Bunei. During the period, that place in the valley was buried with a heap of divine treasures and ritual offerings from foreign dynasties. This story is known throughout Chinsei (Kyūshū).*” (original text written in classical Chinese). In “Munakatasha Kuketsu (oral instructions)” there is a passage, “In Okinoshima situated at the center of the Sea of Japan, “高麗人モ来テ毎年ニ奉祭、日本朝貢ノ時祭始メケルトカヤ”. It surely provides a clue to find out the performers of the rituals in Okinoshima Island. As already pointed out in KAWAKUBO article (2008), the place where divine treasures are buried is associated with the Golden Valley in Okinoshima Island.

HAGIWARA article (1979) refers to 1,790,034 years shown in the beginning of “Goengi” as the number of years of the five generations of Jinokami and in consideration for the influence of “Yamatohime-no-mikoto Seiki (The Century of Yamatohime-no-Mikoto)”, he described that “it is still unclear on what basis “Goengi” came to set forth this original numbers”. Tōkyō National Museum owns “Kashii-gū Goengi (History of Kashii-gū Shrine)” which was a story of Kashii Shrine enshrined in Kashii, Higashi Ward in Fukuoka City, and in the document, the same number of years for respective reigns as in “Goengi” were stated. Comparing both “Engi”, the story was identical from the reigns of seven generations of Tenjin followed by five generations of Jinokami, creation of the calendar on the model of Tang after the Emperor Jinmu’s coronation to the acquisition of both sir name and given name by ordinary people. “Goengi” inserted the story of the birth and descent of the three goddesses of Munakata in detail prior to the story of the Battles with foreign states. Although the following “Legend of Empress Jingū” in both Goengi is consistent in principle with the story that Empress Jingū who grieved for the soul of Emperor Chūai, set off on a military expedition to Shilla with the minister Takeuchi in cooperation with Azumi-no-Isora who is the Myōjin (deity) at Shikanoshima Island and won the battle and returned to Meinohama in Sawara-gun, Chikuzen province and she gave birth to Emperor Ōjin (Yahata Daibosatsu) at the foot of Mt. Shiōji, in

each Goengi, the particular anecdotes are incorporated arbitrarily in order to elevate the divine power of each enshrined deity. After this legend, both Goengi deploy different stories. From this, it is predicted that there was a common “engi” from the story of Tenjin/jinokami to the legend of Empress Jinmu and based on this, respective “engi” stories were made up and they didn’t exist independently with each other but they existed for consensual validation. As described above, the completion period was after the “Usa Takusenshū” and “Hachiman Gudōkun” were completed. Now that I’ve predicted the process and period of compilation of “Goengi”, I will discuss the contents associated with Munakata Shrine and confirm the recognition of the Munakata Goddesses by the ordinary people.

b) Contents of “Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi (History of Munakata Daibosatsu)”

Enshrined deity

“Goengi” is classified into three parts. The first part is composed of the birth and descent of the enshrined deities coincided with “Kashii Shrine Goengi”. The middle part is composed of shrine priests, shrine halls and shrine rituals and the last part is the enumeration of head and massha (branch) shrines. Since the middle and last parts are written in accordance with the circumstances in Munakata Shrine, only the first part is subject to consideration compared with other historical sources and the originality of “goengi” in the first part can be seen as something which shows the self-awareness of Munakata Shrine.

The original article in the first part is the quotation from the “Saikaidō Fudoki (Topography of Saikaidō (Kyūshū and islands))”. Following the birth of the Goddesses of Munakata by the vow of Amaterasu-Ōmikami and Susanoo-no-Mikoto, two etymologies of the place name (Munakata) are contained quoting “Saikaidō Fudoki”. One theory is that on the occasion of the descent of the Three Goddesses of Munakata, the sacred bodies of each goddess were placed in Oku-gū, Naka-gū, Hen-gū in a form of “Shintai-no-katachi (in the shape of divine God)” and thus it became known as “Mikata (body shape)-gun” (Theory A). Another theory is that among four deities in the heaven, three elder brothers told their youngest brother “Owatatsumi-no-Mikoto” to dedicate their divine bodies to Oku-gū, to the Sea and in Fukata Village Takao Mountain based on the writings on the back of this section written in red ink and thus the area became known as “Mikatano-kōri (district of the divine body shape) (Theory B). People in later generations picked up a common element from both theories and changed the part to “Munakata” followed by a sentence “Current Daigūji family was descendents of Ōama-no-Mikoto. In pages 92-100 in Volume 1 of Munakata Jinjya History, the itsubun (unknown writings) of this “Saikaidō Fudoki” is affirmed in full scale and it is concluded that this part must be titled “Chikuzen-no-kuni Fudoki” and it was inherited before the compilation of the ancient Fudoki. It goes without saying that rigorous examination is needed to determine if this part was the “itsubun (unknown parts)” of the ancient Fudoki or not, however, it can be recognized that such a legend regarding the place name existed in Munakata. By the way, what is the significance of telling of this legend in “Goengi”? The theory that the earliest ancestor of the Munakata Daigūji was Ōama-no-Mikoto was probably based on a legend that a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi-Tokuzen named Amako-no-Iratsume gave birth to Takechi-no-Miko with Ōama-no-Mikoto (later Emperor Tenmu, dots were put by KAWAKUBO), however, this story doesn’t have relevance to the following contents of “Goengi”. If you adopt the theory B, Ōama-no-Mikoto, a male deity was supposed to be enshrined in three Munakatagu and it is worlds apart from the contents in Kojiki and Nihon-Shoki (Chronicles of Ancient Japan).

In the theory A, the sacred bodies of the three goddesses of Munakata in three shrines are specified. Since the mirror Yata-no-Kagami as sacred object of Hen-gū is the same as one of Three Imperial Regalia of Japan, it is said that the Munakata deity becomes unified with Naishi-dokoro (where the mirror Yata-no-Kagami is placed) and is called as “divine treasure of spiritual protection, spiritual deity of punitive expedition to Shilla”. This led to the creation of “Munakata Daibosatsu” as guardian deity of the state of Japan advocated in “Goengi”. Prior to the Theory B, quoting Kogo Shūi (miscellaneous ancient words), it is described that the mirror Yata-no-Kagami which Amaterasu Ōmikami bestowed to Hononinigi-no-Mikoto along with the sword Kusanagi and the Yata-no-Kagami of the Munakata deities was designated as “Sai-kyō (ritual mirror)” as described. The reason for quoting “Saikaidō Fudoki” was to show that the sacred objects of the Munakata deities is the same as the three Imperial Regalia of Japan and to convince that Munakata Daibosatsu is the guardian deity of Japan.

Following that, in the course of deciphering the image of the three goddesses of Munakata narrated in

“Goengi”, I can’t help feeling astonished by the devotion of people of Munakata to Three Goddesses of Munakata and their high level of self-consciousness and self-awareness as the worshippers of these deities.

In “Goengi”, the birth and descent of Three Goddesses of Munakata are interpreted based on “Nihon-Shoki (Chronicle of Japan)” and it is concluded that three goddesses were reborn to be linked to the paragraph stating the seven foreign invasions.

“Usa Takusenshū”/ “Kashiigū Goengi” states that Sumiyoshi Deity was Kōkitokuō Bosatsu who made itself manifest as a deity and on the occasion of the foreign invasions, he was incarnated as a human and fought with his father’s kōso (ancestor) Warlord Gōseki against the enemies seven times. Also in “Usa Takusenshū”, Munakata deity is considered as a guardian of Warlord Gōseki and Deputy Warlord.

However, in “Goengi”, the very Warlord Gōseki was the ancestor of Munakata and father of Sumiyoshi Deity. The description about seven wars is almost identical in “Usa Takusenshū”/ “Kashiigū Goengi” and “Goengi”, however in “Goengi” there were marginal notes in red ink that Kōso Minamoto-no-Zenji” who fought with Sumiyoshi Deity was “story of Munakata” and Warlord Takaiso Gōseki was a father of Sumiyoshi is “Munakata Daibosatsu” and the grand father of Sumiyoshi Deity, known as Suikaraidenjin is “story of Munakata”. While the story in “Usa Takusenshū” goes that the whole Sumiyoshi family achieved the suppression of the land of barbarians, in “Goengi”, Munakata Daibosatsu, i.e. Three Goddesses of Munakata emerged at center stage to correspond to the closing of the previous part. Moreover, regarding the etymology of “Gōseki”, it explains that Munakata Daibosatsu wrote down the victorious story on the solid stone (gōseki) to the effect that the warlord won the battle against Silla using Kanju and Manju and forced the King of Shilla into submission. According to “Usa Takusenshū” it was believed to be written by Kashii Daimyōjin and in “Hachiman Gudōkun”/ “Kashii Shrine Goengi”, it is considered to be written by Empress Jingū. Regarding the reading of “強石”, in “Kashii Shrine Goengi”, hiragana letters “Ka-u” are placed on top of the character “強”, it is thought to be read as “Gōseki”.

In this way, in “Goengi”, it is repeatedly annotated that Warlord Gōseki who achieved remarkable success in a foreign state Shilla was Munakata Daibosatsu showing the high pride and self-consciousness of people in Munakata for Three Goddesses of Munakata. In the last part of the Middle Part, there is a statement that if you pay a visit to Munakata Shrine, it is the same as visiting as many as 3,000 shrines throughout Japan because Munakata Daibosatsu is the ancestor of various deities and it is followed by the enumeration of the Munakata head shrine and massha shrines in the last part. It is a bold attempt to speculate that Three Goddesses of Munakata who are the honorable child deity (mikogami) of the first jinokami Amaterasu Ōmikami as the earliest ancestor of all deities of Japan and I am overwhelmed by the daring consciousness of people in Munakata at that time.

Ancestor of Daigūji

The First Part states that the story about seven wars against foreign states and the expedition to Shilla Dynasty of Korea by Empress Jinmu is described in “Emperor’s Old Record” which is only allowed to be informed of by Nanako Daigūji.

In the Middle Part, Nanako Daigūji considered the ancestor of the priests of Munakata Shrine is introduced followed by the description of the construction of Munakata shrines, installation of enshrined deities in the shrines and origin of divine rituals.

Nanako Daigūji who had to keep the records of seven wars against foreign states confidentially with great care is not only mentioned in “Goengi”, but also in “Kashiigū Goengi” as “Nanako Shinkan (priest)” and in “Usamiya Takusenshū” in commentary note of “Kashiigū Record” as “Nanako Kanjin (priest)”. Probably it was Munakata Shrine that diverted the “Nanako Shinkan” in “Kashiigū Goengi” to “Goengi” to show the veracity and mystery of its history. However, a concrete description is only appeared in “Goengi” which enumerates the successive Daigūji from Munakata Shigemitsu, Mononobe-no-Fukuzane, Hata-no-Tōnori, Tottori Sadatomo, Tomo-no-Miyatada, Hachita Tanenari and Miyake Kunitsura with inserted notes for each of them. The first Munakata Shigemitsu is the second son of Munakata Daibosatsu=Warlord Gōseki and is considered as the brother of Sumiyoshi deity and the ancestor of Ichinichiteiō-Sō-no-Ototo. The heir of Shigemitsu became the priest presiding services for deities and Buddha of Munakata Shrine. Ichinichiteiō-Sō-no-Ototo was a persona that Munakata Daibosatsu repeatedly manifested itself and also

referred to as “Hayakaze Ichinichitei-Sō-no-otodo Mitsutō” and there was also a description that during the Engi era, he called himself “Ichinichitei”. In “Usa Takusenshū” there is a passage which states that during the Engi era, “Ichinichiteiō Aza Sō-no-otodo Munakata Ason Mitsutō” whose ancestor was Nihon Asaichi Shōgun (Warlord Gōseki) fought with the barbarian enemies. This passage is thought to have incorporated the oral legend of Munakata. In “Goengi”, Shigemitsu was an ancestor of Daigūji who is a priest of Munakata Shrine, a son of Munakata Daibosatsu (Warlord Gōseki) and an ancestor of Ichinichiteiō Sō-no-Ototo.

On the other hand, in “Munakata Kuketsu (oral instruction)”, it is stated as an oral tradition that the priests at Munakata Shrine are descendants of “Ichinichi-Ō” in the Engi era and they wear Emperor’s costume on Shintō ritual days, thus they are descended from royalty. MASAKI’s book “Legend of the Munakata-no-Kiyouji” elucidates the background of the creation of “Kishu-tan” which tells that the ancestor of the Munakata Grand Family narrated in “Story of Munakata Shrine Creation” was Kiyouji Shinnō who was a brother of Emperor Daigo and had an audience with an envoy from Kingdom of Bohai as “Ichinichi-Ō”. Although the theory that the ancestor of the Munakata Daigūji was Ichinichi Kokuō in the Engi era is common in the historical sources related to Munakata, it is not a theory of “Goengi” which identifies Munakata Daibosatsu as the ancestor of the Daigūji, but a theory of royalty described in “Munakata Kuketsu” which led to the creation of Kiyouji Shinnō legend and has been passed to the present. Could this mean that they adopted a theory of making a royal member Kiyouji Shinnō as their ancestor because they were humbled by the theory of identifying Munakata Daibosatsu and Three Goddesses of Munakata as the ancestor of Daigūji?

Shrines

Several generations after the first Nanako Daigūji Shigemitsu, in Tenō 1 (781), the oracle was provided to DAIGŪJI Ujio and he was to construct shrines within the estate of Ujio to enshrine Three Goddesses of Munakata, the sacred objects of Munakata Daibosatsu. From this moment, the story makes the transition from the mythical world to the real world. Although Ujio wasn’t a real character, in the Takusen (oracle), he was depicted as developer of the Munakata Shrine domain and a person on a mission to govern the administrative affairs of the shrine for generations to come and the position of Munakata Daigūji family and the legitimacy of the hereditary succession was described. The estate of Ujio probably corresponds to the sacred area of Hetsu-miya in Tashima in Munakata City of today. It was after the 8th century when they started to construct a shrine on the flat land to perform divine rituals and the date “Tenō 1” in the article doesn’t seem to be greatly distant from the founding period of the shrine. On Okinoshima Island, it was the period of the “Open-air Ritual” and in parallel with the rituals in the divine island, on mainland Tashima, rituals enshrining the Three Goddesses of Munakata were being performed.

“Goengi” reveals the existence of the enshrined deities of Sōja, Chūden and Jishu and Honjibutsu (Reincarnation of Buddha). In Sōja, Tagorihime-no-Kami and Honjibutsu Dainichi-nyorai are placed in the center and on their left are placed Tagitsuhime-no-Kami and Shaka-nyorai and on their right are enshrined Ichikishimahime-no-Kami and Yakushi-nyorai. In Chūden, Shaka-nyorai is enshrined in the center and on its left is placed Dainichi-nyorai and on its right is placed Yakushi-nyorai. In Jishu, at the center is placed Yakushi-nyorai and on its left is placed Dainichi-nyorai and on its right is enshrined Shaka-nyorai. In “Munakata Sansho Daibosatsu Goza Shidai (introduction to the sacred objects in the shrines within Munakata Shrine)” thought to be completed in 1277 (Kenji 3) prior to “Goengi”, it is described that in Sōja, Daiichi (first) Bosatsu, Daini (second) Bosatsu and Daisan (third) Bosatsu are enshrined as symbols of the syncretization of Shintō and Buddhism. While in “Goengi” the honchibutsu is designated for each shrine but it is not in “Gozashidai”, so it can be said that “Goengi” was written later when the syncretization became widespread. Regarding the “mishōtai (hanging-type Buddha image)” at each shrine is described in detail in IWATA Shigeki (2007) : “Signature and sculpture of the syncretic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism”; “Special Exhibition Syncretic fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism – Worship and beauty woven by kami and hotoke”, Nara National Museum, pp. 235-238

Next, let me discuss the trilateral relationships among Sōja, Chūden and Jishu and the relationships among the Three Goddesses of Munakata as enshrined deities of Munakata Shrine.

The listing of the head shrine and massha shrines contained in the Last Part of “Goengi” starts with Tei-ichi-daijingū followed by Tei-ni-daijingū and Tei-san-daijingū. In the beginning of “Syōhei Nenchū

Gyōji”, Tei-ichi-daijingu/Tagorihime-no-kami, Tei-ni-daijingu/Tagitsuhime-no-kami and Tei-san-daijingu/Ichikishimahime-no-Kami are mentioned and Zenjō and Orihata Myōjin which are minor deities of Tei-ichi-gū was described as “Sōja Minor Deities”. Also, “Okinomishima” is the head shrine of Tei-ichi-gū and “Ōshima” is the head shrine of Tei-ni-gū. According to “Ōan shinji shidai”, shrine names including Sōja, Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū and Chūden are mixed-up and in the poems of the Sōja tōka written on January 15 in the Tōka Shinji (ritual of reading poems), it was written as “チハヤフルテイチノミヤ”. It wouldn’t appear that there is a difference between the usage of Sōja and Tei-ichi-gū, so it can be considered that Sōja means Tei-ichi-gū.

In Okifuda (ridge tag) placed in the Treasure Hall of Munakata Tei-ichi-gū written on June 1 in 1578 (Tenshō 6) which is a historical source of the time when the main shrine in Munakata City was built (still existing in Tashima in Munakata City), information surrounding Munakata Shrine including the process leading to construction is recorded and it is revealed that “three sacred objects” were placed in the Treasure Hall. Although Sōja isn’t mentioned, the Three Goddesses of Munakata are jointly enshrined in Main Shrine of Tei-ichi-gū and the consciousness of “Sōja” as a consolidated shrine has been continued since 1277 (Kenji 3) when the “Munakata Sansho Daibosatsu Goza Shidai (introduction to the sacred objects in the shrines within Munakata Shrine)” was produced.

Based on the above-mentioned matters, I’d like to confirm the following points. Within the divine area of medieval Munakata Shrine, there were three shrines that is, Sōja, Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū. While Tei-ichi-gū enshrined Tagorihime-no-Kami with Okinoshima Island as its head shrine, it also undertook a role of “Sōja” of jointly worshipping the enshrined deities of three shrines. Tei-nigū worships Tagitsuhime-no-kami as a deity with Ōshima as its head shrine. Tei-san-gū enshrines Ichikishimahime-no-kami enshrined in Tanoshima. Only in “Goengi”, Tei-san-gū is called as “Jishu” and probably there was a perception of Tashima as guardian deity of the land where Three Goddesses of Munakata are jointly enshrined. It is on this land of Tanoshima that Sōja was constructed to worship Tagorihime-no-Kami which is the enshrined deity Okinoshima Island and jointly enshrines three goddesses of Munakata.

The current names of “Hetsu-miya Honden (main shrine)” and “Hetsu-miya Haiden (front shrine)” were given after the Meiji Restoration when the shrine names of Okitsu-miya in Okinoshima Island, Nakatsu-miya in Oshima Island and Hetsu-miya in Tanoshima were established and the worshipping of Three Goddesses of Munakata jointly enshrined in Tanoshima hasn’t faded since then. Incidentally in the early Edo period, there was a conflict of views regarding the enshrined deities within Munakata Shrine and I will describe this later in a section called beliefs in modern times.

Sessha

Following three shrines of the head shrine, Orihata Daimyōjin, Konomi Gongen and Kodaishi Gongen enshrined outside of Tanoshima are mentioned.

Orihata Daimyōjin is enshrined in Orihata Shrine located Kanesaki in Munakata City and according to “Goengi”, the enshrined deity is derived from Minister TAKEUCHI and the shrine name is derived from the story that Empress Jingu waved a red and white flags during the expedition and it is considered a guardian deity of sea route. Kōjō Region including Kanesaki was once controlled by the TSUMORI Clan as development proprietor, however, when the MUNAKATA clan became “zaichi ryōshu (local resident landlord)”, the region was under its control. Kanesaki is the gateway to Munakata using the sea route from Honshū and it is natural that the shrine enshrined here is closely linked with Munakata Shrine.

Konomi Gongen is enshrined on the mountaintop of Mt. Konomi located 271 meters above sea level in Ōmaru in Munakata City and the minor deities of five shrines are scattered in the middle of the mountain. In 857 (Tenan 1), a divided deity from Kumano Shrine was transferred and the shrine became miracle-working, however, it is hard to find religious and geographical necessity for Konomi Shrine to become a sessha of Munakata Shrine like Orihata Shrine. According to the “Shōgun Minamoto-no-Sanetomo Mandokoro Kudashibumi-an (draft of the ordinance from administrative office of Shogunate)” in 1209 (Jōgen 3) that is listed in the sixth of “Draft Statement by Nagauji”, it is revealed that there was a member of the Munakata clan named Ujinushi as a priest of Konomi Shrine. From this the reasons for selecting Konomi Shrine as a massha of Munakata Shrine include placing of a member of the clan as a priest at Konomi Shrine from the early period, the role of Mt. Konomi as a mountain for

practicing asceticism along with the Kodaishi Gongen as I describe next, and the geographical condition of the shrine as opposed to Orihata Shrine which was a guardian deity for the sea route. The Orihata Shrine and Konomi Shrine are among the five special shrines along with Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū and on the occasion of Satsuki-e in May and Hōjō-e in August, there is a sacred procession of mikoshi (portable shrines) from five shrines, which I will describe later.

In “Goengi”, Kodaishi Gongen is depicted as a shrine added to the list of five shrines and is deeply associated with Munakata Shrine. It is enshrined in the middle of Mt. Kodaishi located 499 meters above sea level in Ikeda in Munakata City. The document states that Kodaishi Gongen is a deity unified with Yoshino Zaō Gongen and the origin of the place name of Kodaishi, divine rituals dedicated in respective provinces in Kyūshū and the “Hokeyō shosha kuyō (memorial service with Hoke Sutra)” originated with the merit of Hoke Sutra granted to Saichō. This corresponds to the origins of an annual event called Kodaishi -e (rituals at Kodaishi) held from February 1 to 4 as described later.

Minagate Rituals

The origin of Minagate Rituals in Munakata Shrine is written in “Gogengi”. Although written in Kanji (Chinese characters) as “御手長”, katakana rubi is placed above the Chinese characters as “mi-na-ka-te” and in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, it is written as “御長手神事” in Chinese characters so it must have been called “Minagate”. In “Goengi”, “Minagate” derived from Warlord Gōseki who was a hero in the legend of Empress Jingū is mentioned five times as follows.

First, Warlord Gōseki carried the Minagate on occasion of the expedition by the order of Empress Jingū. Second, he waved Minagate up and down to send a signal when Kanju and Manju were thrown into the sea. Third, Warlord Gōseki remained in Okinomishima on his return from the expedition and after he set up Minagate on the island, oddly enough, three bamboos grew from the vase every year. Forth, Munakata Daijin (Munakata Grand Deity) fought against foreign enemies while waving up and down Minagate and after the war this Minagate was enshrined in the shrine and the bamboo used for Minagate grew from the vase. Regarding this mysterious bamboo, it is also mentioned in “Munakata Shrine Kuketsu (oral instructions of teaching at Munakata Shrine)” owned by Kanazawa Bunko. It is stated that from the site where a flag pole was set up in Okinoshima Island, a bamboo was grown every year and with this a ritual was performed every year in winter by “Gunshi (local officer) from Munakata Shrine”. You can learn about the origin of Minagate rituals in four seasons stated in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” and “Ōan shinji shidai”.

Another Minagate-related ritual is Hōjō-e (ceremony for releasing captured animals) and it is stated that the memorial service of Hōjō-e was performed transcribing the “Hannya shingyō (heart sutra)” out of regret that the warlord killed foreign enemies waving Minagate during the war against foreign states. Following this, another Hōjō-e was performed from August 13 to August 15 worshipping Yakushi Nyorai at Tei-san-gū and in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” it is also revealed that Tei-san-gū was a shrine influenced by Buddhism compared with other two shrines.

Head shrine, Massha shrine

In the Last Part of “Goengi”, head shrine and massha shrines of Munakata Shrine are enumerated. Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū and Takamiya Shrine in Tanoshima, Okinomishima Shrine in Okinoshima Island, Nakanomishima Shrine in Ōshima, Orihata Daimyōjin, Konomi Gongen, Kodaishi Miyama Shrine are placed in the same ranking category. There are 62 massha shrines started with Miyajidake Myōjin. In KAWAKUBO (2008), massha shrines at the end of Kamakura period are compared with those during the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties to indicate the expansion of the shrine domain.

After a list of massha shrines, three accounts including a story of Kanjō of Kifune Shrine (transfer of a divided deity from Kifune Shrine), appearance of Munakata Daibosatsu in Muruki Mutsudake and the battlefield against foreign states are described. According to page 95 of “Munakata Jinjya History”, the paper quality of this part is different from other parts along with the style of handwriting. Even supposing that the paper quality is different, the author seems to be the same although handwriting style is altered from the square style to somewhat cursive style. In “Goengi”, there is a part with a note “calibration-book B” written on it and it is obvious that the existing document is a transcription and it is probable that at the time of transcribing the text, the oral tradition in Munakata was added at the end of the book.

One notable thing you can read from “Goengi” is that people in Munakata had high self-esteem at the time.

This self-esteem was probably backed up by their faith in Munakata Daibosatsu=Three Goddesses of Munakata who reign over all deities in Japan as Mikogami (honorable child deity) of Amaterasu Ōmikami and their support for the Daigūji who were said to be descendants of Munakata Daibosatsu. Compared with Muromachi period when people's enthusiasm toned down and a different story of origin was created to identify "Kiyouji Shinnō" from Royal family as the MUNAKATA clan's ancestor, the difference is quite obvious. People in Munakata have been engaged in international interchange with Korea Peninsula and the China mainland since ancient times and as described in a section 3.(1) ii Foreign negotiation, especially in Kamakura period, there was a close interchange of people and culture between Munakata and South Song Dynasty of China. Incredible as the story in "Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi" might seem, for people in Munakata full of confidence and belief that their goddesses created after the Mongolian Invasion would control the sea and protect their state, the book was anything but an exaggeration.

c) Rituals in medieval times

I have introduced the historical sources regarding the rituals at Munakata Shrine in the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties and in Muromachi period in the section 2. (1) of this paper. Here I want to discuss the management side of Munakata Shrine by following the rituals throughout the year. As there are many relevant historical sources in Munakata Grand Shrine, it is possible to look into the specific circumstances of the rituals by making comparison and contrast. However, there is a difference in the completion times of respective documents and it is dangerous to consider them as records of shrine rituals around the same time. However, regarding the different rituals in different times can be considered as the transition of rituals. Let me organize the completion times of relevant historical sources and arrange chronologically to show a cycle of rituals in Munakata Shrine.

Hereinafter, "Ōan Shinji Shidai" will refer to common subject matters in Book A, Book B and Book E. In case of special matters, the name of relevant documents will be specified. In "Munakata Jinja History" Volume 2, pp. 55-259, a detailed explanation is provided for yearly events and in this paper I will describe the management side of the Daigūji's shrine domain and also give different views of yearly events from "Munakata Jinja History".

Table 1 List of historical documents on religious activities of Munakata Shrine

Year	Historical document
1368	"Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji" (『正平年中行事』)
1375	Book A of the "Ōan Shinji Shidai" (『応安神事次第』甲本)
1375	Gokugegyō (『御供下行』)
Sometime between 1375 and 1473	Book B of the "Ōan Shinji Shidai" (『応安神事次第』乙本)
	"Yoshinoki Mokuroku" (『吉野期目録』)
1437	Book E of the "Ōan Shinji Shidai" (『応安神事次第』戊本)
1450	"Ishō no Koto" 『衣裳之事』

January

The New Year was and is the most important month for shrines as the start of another year.

The first ritual performed during the New Year in the "Ōan Shinji Shidai" is "Imayama Myōken Daibosatsu" ritual. In the "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji", it is described as "Saishi Ritual" and it is a combination of a ritual of Kanjō of transferring a divided deity of Myōken Bosatsu to Shamukan (shrine's office) Ukidono at the hour of the Ox and a ritual held at Tei-san-gū at the hour of the Tiger. In the "Ishō no Koto" (literally, matters on clothing), it is specified that Daigūji should be present at the Myōken ritual at the hour of the Ox wearing "sokutai", a formal kimono worn by court nobles. The ritual held at the hour of the Tiger at Tei-san-gū is thought to have imitated "Shihōhai (prayer to four directions)" which was performed in the Imperial Court at the hour of the Tiger but its manners aren't stated. Shihōhai is the first ritual at the Imperial Court and on page 23 of WADA Hidematsu annotation/TOKORO Isao proofreading (1989): "Newly-revised version: Annotation of Kenmu Yearly Events", Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko, P.23, it is described as "a ritual where Emperor goes off to the East Garden of Seiryōden hall at the hour of the Tiger on the New Year Day to recite the name of the zokushō (star of the year), offers prayers to heaven, earth, four directions and

mountain ridge, performs purification to drive out evil spirits of the year and prays for long good harvest". Probably Daigūji also recited the name of the star corresponding to his birth year. The ritual held at the hour of the Tiger is described as a ritual held at Shōsanmi Daimyōjin not at Tei-san-gū according to "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji". Shōsanmi Shrine is described as "Tei-san-gū Shōshin (minor god)" in "Goengi" and it would appear that there was a connection during the Shōhei era. Since Tei-san-gū is a tutelary deity of Tashima enshrining three goddesses of Munakata collectively, it is suitable to perform Shihōhai prior to the New Year rituals at Sōja.

Transferring a divided deity of Myōken Bosatsu to Munakata Shrine prior to Shihōhai is a unique ritual performed at Munakata Shrine. Myōken Bosatsu is also referred to as Hokushin Bosatsu and it is Honjibutsu (A Buddhist Counterpart) of the North Pole Star. Hokushin Festival was also performed at the Imperial Court but not on January 1st. As described on page 56 of "Munakata Jinja History" Volume 2, the reason why it was held on January 1 would appear that "worshipping the North Pole Star which is the center of the universe should be performed at the very beginning of all festivals". However, why was it believed so at Munakata Shrine? Myōken Bosatsu is referred to as Imayama Myōken Bosatsu in "Goengi" and "Oan shinji shidai". As one of the Munakata massha shrines, there is Imasha Shrine. As Imasha Shrine is expressed as 伊摩大明神 (Ima Daimyōjin) in "Goengi" and 今社明神 (Imasha Myōjin) in "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji", a word 伊摩 is a phonetic equivalent to a kanji "今". Myōken Bosatsu is a Honjibutsu (A Buddhist Counterpart) of Ima Shrine whose divided deity is transferred to Ukidono within Daigūji's house. Daigūji's house is expressed as "Miuchi" in "Ōan Shinji Shidai" and in the section called "Miuchi ukidono tōka shinji (ritual of writing poems at Ukidono)" on January 15 in Book A, it is described as "according to ancestors, it was a shrine called Ukidono located on Nakashima in the pond" (this part is omitted in Book B). Ukidono which had been a shrine floating on the pond became a shrine within the shrine compound in Ōan 8.

Imasha Shrine appeared in 8-Volume Document No. 26 "Edict from Hayato-no-suke (Secretary of Hayato Office) NAKAHARA Narimori" in 1186 (Bunji 2) for the first time. In the edict, Ima Daimyōjin is mentioned to solicit "menden (tax-exemption paddy fields)" in Tanobefu in Munakata District on the occasion of holding Niōkō (Prajnaparamita Sutra recitation) ceremony on the 1st day of each month at Ima Daimyōjin to pray for peace, happiness and longevity of the proprietor of the landed estates and within the grounds of Munakata Shrine and it is known that the shrine was strongly influenced by Buddhism. Imasha Shrine was transferred to the present location and enshrined collectively with Munakata Shrine in 1926 (Taishō 15) but originally it was located in the middle of the hillside called Byōbudake where Chinkokuji (former Jingūji) is enshrined. Chinkokuji first appeared in "Donation (draft) of temple domain by MUNAKATA Daigūji Nagauji" in 1263 (Kōtō 3) (owned by Chinkokuji). Ima Shrine was enshrined prior to the foundation of Chinkokuji. Geographically speaking, Munakata Shrine is located in the west of the Tsurigawa River and Ima Shrine is located in the east and it would appear that the whole area was deified.

On page 391 of MASAKI "Tanobefu", it is stated that the name of "honke (noble patron)" and "ryōke (major proprietor of the landed estates)" are unknown. NAKAHARA Narimori, who ordered the holding of Niōkō (Prajnaparamita Sutra recitation) ceremony at Imasha Shrine, was a person from the side of the proprietors of landed estates and he is mentioned in the colophon of "Shikijō-Hōshi the Copied Issai-Kyō Daihatsunehan-gyō Last Part Volume 2" following the date of December 7th in 1188 (Bunji 4) as "Hayato-no-suke (Secretary of Hayato Office) NAKAHARA Narimori who subsidized the expenses for Gobu-Daijōkyō (five parts mahayana sutra) recitation". One of Shikijō's altruistic vows to transcribe Issai-kyō sutra was "honke taihei (peace of noble patron)" and there must have been financial support from the proprietor of the landed estates as well as Munakata Shrine. That is to say, the proprietor of landed estates of Tanobefu is the same as that of Munakata Shrines, abdicated Emperor Toba's Hachijō Nyoin (retired empress consort) 4). On pp. 284-298 of MASAKI "Munakata Shrine Domain", the circumstances that resulted in the establishment of Munakata Shrine's private estates influenced by abdicated Emperor Toba are revealed. Abdicated Emperor Toba had prayed for the curing of his son Emperor Konoe's ophthalmopathy by Myōkenhō and this fact must have been related to Myōkenbosatsu as Honjibutsu of Imasha Shrine. Abdicated Emperor Toba got involved in the foundation of Imasha Shrine facing Munakata Shrine across the Tsurigawa River and Ima Shrine served as a base for shōen ryōshu (proprietor of the landed estates) against Munakata Shrine as Zaichi ryōshu (local resident landlord). Also in 8-Volume Document No. 42 "Order from a registrar of azukaridokoro (custodial official)" signed in 1246 (Kangen 4), the order was issued from the proprietor of the landed estates to perform Niōkō (Prajnaparamita Sutra

recitation) ceremony at Imasha Shrine. And by the time “Goengi” was completed at the end of Kamakura period, it would appear that the control of Daigūji extended over Tano-gō and Imasha Shrine was incorporated into Munakata Shrine as its massha and thus a ritual of Kanjō of transferring a divided deity of Myōken Bosatsu started at the beginning of the year based on the Imasha shrine’s foundation and its religious influence. According to “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, Saishōkyō (most victorious king’s sutra) and Niōkō (Prajnaparamita Sutra recitation) and ceremony were performed on the 1st day of every month at Tei-ichi-gū which wasn’t described in a record of Ima Shrine and the relevant ceremony at Ima Shrine was later performed at Tei-ichi-gū.

At last the grand ritual was to be performed at Tei-ichi-gū. In “Ōan shinji shidai” Book A and Book B, events constituting the rituals are described. At the hour of the Snake, shrine priests gathered riding on horseback in front of the Daigūji’s house. Daigūji after receiving “Kanju (list of sutras to be recited)” from three priests who are toshiotoko (referring to a man born in a year with the same Chinese zodiac sign) and purification ceremony was conducted reading “nakatomiharae (Shintō prayers)”. According to the “Isho no Koto”, Daigūji was supposed to wear “tokusa (grayish green)” colored “kinugasa (Shintō priest’s outfit)”. The priests proceeded to Tei-ichi-gū riding on horseback. From the “baba (paddock)” in front of the main shrine, introduction piece of ranjō was performed by gakunin and they proceeded headed by Norito-Negi (an assistant to Daigūji in charge of prayers). When they reached Tei-ichi-gū, they opened the door of the inner altar. Relayed offerings of food and drink were performed and the prayers were recited. The order of rituals from shubatsu (purification), sanshin, kaihi (opening of a door), kensen (food offerings to deities) to noritohōjō (recitation of prayers) is the same as the Shrine Rites specified after the Meiji era, which shows that the protocols were well organized in Munakata Shrine during the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties.

After the previous grand ritual, “sakuhei ritual” of visiting each shrine within the grounds of Tei-ichi-gū and offering a wand with hemp and paper streamers to deities was performed. At Tei-ichi-gū Kami-Takamiya, Shimo-Takamiya, Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū, Shōsanmi Shrine, Migyōin, Mandokoroshia, food offerings and recitation were given to the deities and prayers were recited.

After visiting respective shrines within the grounds, performing arts associated with the rituals were performed, that is Hibari Song, Toshitoku-mōsu at “chōza” and “tauchi (plowing of rice paddy)” at the Grand Shrine’s residence. “Chōza” is used frequently in the “Ōan Shinji Shidai” and I will consider its location.

In the Munakata Family Documents No. 43, 44 “Copy of Munakata-gū Michō Chakuza Shidai (order of seating at Munakata Shrine)” in 1585 (Tenshō 13) defines the seating order of Shintō priests and Shrine Buddhist monks. In “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, there is a description of “chōza” and “sōza” and the seating order of a priest assuming “toshiotoko” in the above-mentioned purification at Daigūji’s House was “right seat No. 1”. In this way, the seating order of respective Shintō priests and Shrine Buddhist monks were defined in the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties. On the “Ancient picture map of Tashima Shrine Front Area”, chōza was drawn *on the right* of the Tei-ichi-gū rōmon (two-storied gate) and sōza was drawn on the left of the gate as you face the main shrine. This picture map is integrated with “Munakataki Tsuikō (Reconsideration of Chronicle of Munakata)”⁵⁾ and copied after “天正六年御造営ノ図ヲ写シ” and based on the sentence in the book “楼門ノワキニテ座ヲ御マツリヤト云、楼門ノ左ノ御座ヲ社僧ノ座トス” (“Journal of Munakata District” p.492) and it doesn’t necessarily reflect the periods in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” and “Ōan Shinji Shidai”. It would appear that the passage “Chōza means Mandokoro (administrative office)” in the “Aoumano Sechie (white horse ceremony)” held on January 7 in “Ōan Shinji Shidai” described the true state of the time.

According to “Tōka shidai (program of reading poems)” held on January 15 in “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, Mandokoro Shrine is read as “ウチトノノミヤ” and from this I could see that Mandokoroshia was enshrined as a guardian deity within the grounds of Daigūji’s House. It is believed that Mandokoro as administrative office is situated in Daigūji House also known as “miuchi” and within Mandokoro seating area called “za” for Shintō priests and Buddhist priests are prepared. Occasionally the very Daigūji was called “miuchi” and Daigūji House served not only as Daigūji’s private residence but also as public administrative office. It is unnatural to assume that “chōza” and “sōza” were located on right and left sides of the rōmon gate as shown in the “Ancient picture map of Tashima Shrine Front Area”, considering the

procedures of rituals. When “Ōan Shinji Shidai ” was written, it is believed that after the completion of “sakuhei ritual” at Mandokoro, the Shintō priests remained seated at Mandokoro within the Daigūji’s House where rituals of Hibari Song and Toshitoku-mōsu were performed and then around the lake in the garden, the ritual of “tauchi (plowing of rice paddy)” was performed. Although it is impossible to identify the period when “chōza” was set up on both sides of the “rōmon” gate, it was set up in the shrine which was burnt down in 1557 (Kōji 3) and in the main shrine rebuilt in 1578 (Tenshō 6) by the last Daigūji of Munakata Shrine Ujisada also had “chōza” in the building which was described in “Reconsideration of the Chronicle of Munakata”.

Hibari Song is a Kagura song rejoicing at the start of New Year but it isn’t appeared in Kagura songs that have been passed down until today. When Ingonegi (female assistant priest) started to sing, all the priests joined in a song in chorus and sang it three times. From the second round, ninjō, a leader of the kagura players performed a dance holding a sacred sakaki branch in his hand.

Toshitoku-mōsu is a congratulatory address to toshigami=toshitokujin (goddess of lucky directions) who brings good harvest and is one of the sacred performing arts along with the next “tauchi (plowing of rice paddy)” of Kinen-sai (*prayer* service for a *good* crop). Three deputy priests in charge of “tauchi” share their tasks including carrying of a cypress branch, carrying a winnowing basket with rice cakes and reciting prayers. This Shintō prayer uses the same phrase praising Daigūji who confined himself in the West Sanctuary on New Year Eve and is meant to praise Daigūji revived on New Year again, which is quite appropriate to celebrate the New Year.

“Tauchi” which is an agricultural rite held at the beginning of the year to welcome deity of rice paddies and is corresponded to a series of harvest festivals and sending-off of deity of rice paddies held in December. According to “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, “Tauchi” is composed of 4 dance plays. First, 30 negi (chief priests), 10 gonkan (assistant priests) and 10 kanshu stand around the pond and sing a song pounding the earth with white canes. Next 4 kunizamurai (local warrior) take turn imitating an act of plowing rice paddies. Then Unari is dedicated to god. And finally, five Shintō priests go out to the garden pounding white canes on the ground.

Now I would like to reaffirm “kanshu” who is identified as Shrine Buddhist monks on page 31 of “Munakata Jinja History” Volume 2. In a section “tauchi (plowing of a rice paddy) in Book A, “官首”と書いてクワムスとルビが付くが However, in the “tōka (recitation of poems)” ceremony held on January 15 at Sōja, the characters “貫首” are used for the same reading “kuwamusu”. “Kanshu” appeared first in 8-Volume Document No. 57 “Taira-no-nanigashi Yuzurijōan (letter of concession by Taira Nanigashi)” in 1228 (Antei 2). Taira-no-nanigashi owned a mansion of Naiki Dayū and consigned it to Genzaburō. In the annotation of “Letter of Concession by Taira-no-nanigashi”, “While it has several definitions including “main person”, it is used frequently in shrines and temples and in case of Usa Shrine it means a person in charge of “kendan (ruling, administering justice)”. As Kanshu didn’t appear in “Seating order of shrine Buddhists”, Kanshu doesn’t mean Shrine Buddhist monks but probably originate from a Chinese name of “kurōdo-no-tō (private secretary to emperor)” which is “貫首” and means officials serving divine rituals.

“ウナリ” dedicated at “tauchi (plowing of rice paddies) is expressed as “餉” in Book B and according to “Jitsu (Chinese character dictionary)”, it means “to serve God. To provide food. To provide food to laborers in the field and people holding offices and also means bentō (lunch box)”. In “tauchi” ritual, unari=meal was prepared like the actual farm work. Unari consists of “meshinohitsu (rice chest)”, “na-no-romushi (nanoronshi in Book B) vegetable containers” and “shiru-no-romushi (soup containers)”. “Romushi” is thought to be a container or a dish corresponding to “hitsu (chest)” but it is uncertain.

On January 7, Aomano-sechie originated in a court ritual is performed. The colophon of “Ōan Shinji Shidai ” Book E in 1437 (Eikyō 9) gives detailed accounts of shrine rituals compared to other historical sources. Also, a post called “senjō” pulling a white horse appeared. It is probably drawn from a name of a position called “senjō” who was an officer in charge of supervising tatewaki that is bukan (warrior officer) guarding the Crown Prince. On the ridge tag placed on the beam of Tei-ichi-gū Mihoden (treasure hall) in 1578 (Tenshō 6), a person in charge of handing the saddled horse according to Umayabettō (stableman) to a person pulling a horse is called as “senjō shichirōemon” and here the name of the post became a surname.

On January 8, shrine ritual telling fortunes of the whole year and a monthly Buddhist ritual of praying for the souls of Honjibutsu are held. This Buddhist ritual is described as “Honjikōenbutsuji” in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” and “Honjikō” in “Ōan Shinji Shidai” and appeared first in “Manuscript by KONDŌ Kiyoshi: No. 4 Copy of Letter (Hōsho) issued by Azukaridokoro (custodial office) by Governor of Bicchū province TACHIBANA-no-Tomomochi signed on July 2 in 1261 (Kōchō 1)”. KONDŌ Kiyoshi transcribed the original 29 documents archived in Munakata Shrine in 1908 (Meiji 41). In his manuscripts, some parts are indecipherable with marginal notes “transcribed exactly like they are in original” and although it is written in “車地講 (shachikō)”, it would seem that the characters “本” and “車” were mixed up. In this document, it was agreed between the proprietor of private estate and Munakata Shrine that Araji, Miyaji and Kurate would be incorporated into the Daigūji’s domain as the places for usage fee for “niki kagura” and monthly “Honchikō”. The fact that establishing a ryōsho (land of direct control) for “Niōkō (Prajnaparamita Sutra recitation)” in Tano-gō involves a pretext of securing land for Buddhist and shrine rituals for strengthening of the Daigūji domain, however, it is also confirmed that these Buddhist and shrine rituals have been continuing without interruption.

For three days from January 15 to 17, the head shrine, Orihata Shrine (sessha) and Konomi Shrine (sessha) take turns holding “tōka (poem reading)” ritual. A day’s ritual consists of tōka and hōsha (arrow-shooting for fortune-telling). According to “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, at Orihata Shrine and Konomi Shrine, Kagura (sacred music and dancing) is also performed. First, following Kyūchū Kagura (court-style kagura), “baijū (performer)” plays a prelude to kagura called “kamimukae-no-niwabi (bonfire for welcoming god)” and 6 shrine priests perform dancing according to a piece of hayakarakami, while holding sacred sakaki branches on their hands. Next Miko Kagura is dedicated with Miko (female attendant) and Hosa (male attendant) dancing in pairs. The fact that both Kyūchū Kagura and Miko Kagura which is a Sato Kagura (village-style kagura) were dedicated shows richness of ritual performances in Munakata Shrine. In “Okugegyō”, there is a description “Kaguraza”, which shows that a performing acting troupe belonging to Munakata Shrine was organized in the middle of the 14th century.

February

From February 1 to 4, the grand ritual of Kodaiji -gongen is performed. It is a ritual called “Kodaiji -e” which features “Hoke-kyō Shosha (transcription of Hokke sutra)” and “Hokke Senbō (ritual of contrition)” and the food and alcohol offerings to the deities are placed on 6 high racks installed in front of the altar for four days with the offerings changed every day. The Munakata Family Documents No. 43 and 44 “Copy of seating order of michō and sōza” written in 1585 (Tenshō 13) and Mine Family Document No. 12 “Catalogue of Kodaiji -Gongen Ipponkyō-sutra Transcriptions” in 1594 (Bunroku 3) are the historical sources regarding Kodaiji -e which was a grand ritual performed throughout the medieval times.

After this, Spring Higan Festival is held around Spring Equinox Day and Kagura Grand Ritual is held on the sixteenth day. Kagura Grand Ritual is held in February and November and first appeared as “Niki Kagura (kagura in two seasons)” in the above-mentioned “Letter (Hōsho) issued by Azukaridokoro (custodial office) by Governor of Bicchu province Tachibana-no-Tomomochi” signed on July 2 in 1261 (Kōchō 1). It would appear that kagura in Munakata Shrine which was based on the Naishidokoro Kagura in the Imperial Court was imported via Honke (noble patron) from the shōen ryōshu (proprietor of the landed estates) side, however, the kagura starting with Hayakarakami with ninjō dancing is a Munakata Shrine’s original program. In Niki Kagura, along with Ninjō-mai, (ninjō dancing) Naishi-mai (Yame-Mai dance in Book E), Miko Kagura is also adopted. Following the preludes of Tei-san-gū and Tei-ni-gū, prayers are given to the deities at Tei-ichi-gū and the real stage of Kagura starts. This Kagura adheres to Mikagura in Naishidokoro (inner sanctum of Imperial Palace) according to the interpretations of Book A and Book B. Starting with the statement of a secret story by Ninjō, ritual songs called “Niwabi” and “Achime sahō” are performed with the accompaniment of a fue (flute), hichiriki (*small double-reed* wind instrument), koto (thirteen strings) are performed. Then Kagura dancers carrying Kyūshu-torimono (nine hand implements) including sacred sakaki, sacred wand, cane, shino (steel rod), arrow, sword, pike, ladle and kazura (vine) dance with respective songs and finally Karakami is sung. After the intermission, saibari songs; Shizuno and Senzai are sung. Naishi (In Book E, Yame-Mai dance) dances along with Hayauta. After Banzairaku, Yudachi and Miyabito are sung. Dancers are in line and sing three star songs; “Kikiriri”, “Tokuzeni” and “Yūtsukuru”.⁶⁾ The performance is ended with Asakura and Sonokoma.

March

“Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” records the Grand Ritual on March 3 and “Ōan Shinji Shidai” states “Spring Grand Festival” prior to March 1st without identifying the date. This is a ritual associated with a series of Minagate Ritual held in four seasons in Okinomishima written in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”. Let me glean rituals of four seasons from “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”.

Spring	Tei-ichi-gū	March 3	Grand Ritual
		March 20	<i>Minagate Kajiya Oiri</i> Ritual
	Tei-ni-gū	March 3	Grand Ritual
		March 15	Grand Ritual
	Administration Office	March 15	<i>Minagate</i> Ritual
		March 15	<i>Minagate</i> Ritual
Summer	Tei-ichi-gū	June 1	Grand Ritual
		June 20	<i>Minagate</i> Ritual
	Tei-ni-gū	June 15	Agricultural Festival
		June 15	Agricultural Festival
Autumn	Tei-ichi-gū	September 15	Grand Ritual
		September 20	<i>Minagate Kajiya Oiri</i> Ritual
	Tei-ni-gū	September 15	Grand Ritual
		September 15	Grand Ritual
Winter	Administrative Office	December 16	<i>Minagate</i> Ritual

Although there is no word for “Minagate Ritual” in Book A and Book B of the “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, in Book E, there is a phrase “Grand festival is held three times in spring, summer and autumn and after the autumn grand festival, they sail to Okinoshima Island. The Summer festival is also called as Agricultural festival”. This is coincided with the article in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” and the custom of traveling to Okinoshima Island continued. No mention is made of a winter festival but it turns out that the grand festival was performed in spring, summer and autumn and Minagate was housed in Mikajiya (blacksmith workshop) of Tei-ichi-gū Minor God on Okinoshima Island. While the date of the festival is identified in the “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, the “Ōan Shinji Shidai” did not identify the date and only stated the programs of rituals for the Spring Grand Festival. From this, it would appear that the weather influenced the implementation of the rituals as well as the visit to Okinoshima Island. As described above, a story behind the origin of Minagate is stated in “Goengi”.

April

Misare Ritual is performed on “Kichijitsu-ryōshin (auspicious day with lucky star)” in April. It is a ritual combining a beginning ritual of fishery and an agricultural rite following the “tauchi (plowing of rice paddy)” in January which prays for good catch and bountiful harvest during the period until the harvest festival and the ending ritual in December which corresponds to Shinjō-e held from December 17 to December 20. “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” identifies the dates of the ceremony as April 1 and April 15 but in reality an auspicious date must have been chosen like in “Ōan Shinji Shidai”. In “Misare Ritual”, Naorai (post ritual party) was prioritized and in order to obtain seafood offered at this festival, the dates couldn’t be identified. In Book B, it is described that before the Misare Ritual, “Goshu-no-kokoromi” was held. It is believed to be set up in preparedness for a poor catch of fish, from which it is revealed that the naorai with seafood and ceremonial repast between god and people were prioritized.

Misare Ritual consists of purification at Bokuhi Shrine in Kōnominato, the beginning of fishery at Toshimo Shrine, beginning of agriculture at Tei-ichi-gū Mandokoro Shrine and Naorai held in between rituals at chōza.

Looking at the map, the coast line of Munakata features three protruded capes from Kanesaki (north), Kusazaki and Watari Peninsula and curved beaches (U-shaped) in between the capes. At the tip of the Kanesaki cape protruded toward Jinoshima Island, is enshrined Orihata Shrine. On the east side of Kusazaki Cape protruded toward Katsushima is Kōnominato and on the west part of the cape is Katsuura and on the beach is enshrined Toshimo Shrine. With this positional relationship in mind, I will explain the Misare rituals.

First Mokuhi Shrine which serves as a shrine for purification is built and purification is performed by Negi

assistant to Daigūji and food and alcohol offering is made. Since Mokuhi Shrine isn't a massha shrine but a temporary shrine for Misarei rituals, it isn't included in the enumeration of "Goengi" and "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji". In "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji", Misarei rituals are called "Katsuura-no-eki" (Katsuura assignment) and according to "Ōan Shinji Shidai", sea shells and abalone used for the ritual at Toshimo Shrine and Naorai (post ritual party) were procured from Kōnominato, fish was obtained from Oitsunoura in Kōnominato, Tomikazura was obtained from Katsuura which means that the seafood was supplied from the entire coastal line of Munakata. Next, food offerings to Toshimo Shrine are performed followed by Naorai (post ritual party). Fish, abalone, octopus, hotate were from Katsuura and Kakenouo was provided by various inlets (ura) and in Book B, "Minato, Imakuga, Katsuura, Watari, Tsuyazaki, Tuyazakikuga" are described as inlets situated to the west of Kusazaki. Ritual to mark the start of the fishing season held as a part of Misarei Ritual at Toshimo Shrine reflected the sea control by Munakata Grand Shrine. The reason for holding rituals at Toshimo Shrine was because Toshimo Shrine was worshipped by devoted fishermen and also for Munakata Grand Shrine, it served as a religious core to take firm control of the fishermen. In the hilly area overlooking Katsuura-hama to the north, the Shimbaru-Nuyama mounded tomb group, which is a component part of the property to be nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List, is situated, showing a profound relationship between Munakata Shrine and Toshimo Shrine.

After the ritual to mark the start of the fishing season, "Taue (rice planting)" ritual as an agricultural ritual after Tauchi ritual in New Year is performed. It features a rice planting performance by Daigūji at Tei-ichi-gū Mandokoro Shrine. In "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji", this ritual is also called as "Katsuura-no-eki" and considered as a series of rituals at Toshimo Shrine, which shows that Daigūji took control of fishery and agriculture within the Munakata shrine domain.

May

For three days from May 3 to 5, Satsuki-e (May Festival) is performed. Satsuki-e is a combination of Shō-Satsuki-e (called Satsuki-e Shiraku Daishinji in "Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji") held on May 3 in Tei-ichi-gū and Gosha Shinyo Gyōkō (procession of portable shrines from five shrines) held on May 4 and May 5. Gosha means three shrines of Munakata Shrine, Orihata Shrine and Konomi Shrine.

As in the colophon of "Ōan Shinji Shidai", "The festival of Satsuki-e is now transferred to Hiei (Shin Hiyoshi Shrine)" (original text in ancient Chinese), Yabusame (the art of shooting arrows on horseback) and performing arts on May 3 were modeled after Shō Satsuki-e at Shin Hiyoshi Shrine in Kyōto to which a divided deity was transferred from Hiyoshi Shrine in Ōmi province in 1160 (Eiryaku 1). On the following May 4 and May 5, Shinyo Gyōkō (procession of portable shrines), which takes on a strong ritualistic character but weak as performing art, is performed. The originality of Munakata Shrine lies in the combination of these two elements. Shinyo Gyōkō is also performed in "Nagoshi-no-harai (purification)" on June 30 and "Hōjō-e" on August 15. Considering that Shinyo Gyōkō originated in "Goryō-e" or "Hama-furi", it would appear that this was a combination of Gyōkō (procession) and "Shō Satsuki-e" at Shin Hiyoshi Shrine.

Let me identify Hamadono to which portable shrines are transferred. In "Ōan Shinji Shidai" the terms "Hamadono" and "Hamamiya" are mixed up and Hamadono can be considered equal to Hamamiya. Hamadono first appeared in "Munakata Sansho Daibosatsu Goza Shidai- introduction to the sacred objects in the shrines within Munakata Shrine" issued in 1277 (Kenji 3) but the existing historical source is a transcription of 1558 (Kōji 4). It makes reference to "mishōtai (hanging-type Buddha image)" and "naijin (inner sanctuary)" and from the description, we learn that there is a main shrine where mishōtai is enshrined. Also, from the fact that the shrine is listed up along with Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū enshrining Munakata Sansho Bosatsu, Kamitakamiya, Shimotakamiya and Uchidono (Mandokoro Shrine), it is a shrine within the grounds of Munakata Shrine. According to "Munakata City History" Complete History Edition, Volume 1, Ancient times (1997) 82-89, the Tsuru River that flows on the east side of the present Munakata Grand Shrine Hetsu-miya is a remnant of the landlocked bay dating from the Jōmon Period and Hetsu-miya is located at the intersection of the sea and the estuary and the estuary had disappeared before Edo Period. As the name Hamadono (beach palace) shows, there must have been an estuary as of Kenji 3 (1277). Although the estuary was probably land filled to a large degree in the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties and Muromachi, "Satsuki-e Ritual" in Book A called Hamadono as "Satsuki-no-Ukidono (floating palace of May)", which means that the shrine was built on the shore of the estuary and at high tide, the seawater poured in just beneath the floor. Hamadono was described as being

damaged in a passage of Book A, which shows the fragile structure of the shrine. Hamadono is believed to have been rebuilt at the time when Book B was completed but the location of Hamadono is believed to be the same in Kenji 3 and in Book A and Book B. The topography data sources in modern times claimed that there was Shinyo Gyōkō at the estuary toward the Genkai Sea and the estuary was called “Satsuki Hama (May Beach)” because horse racing was held on May 5. It was probably based on an article on Shimo-Satsuki Hama in Munakata-gun in “Chikuzen-no-Kuni Shoku Fudoki(The sequel to the topography of Chikuzen province)” but the justification of the articles in Fudoki is uncertain. Although “Munakata-ki (Chronicle of Munakata)” 5 “About Tashima Shrine” (“Journal of Munakata District” middle edition, p.477) states that “Twelve decorated boats were sailing on the Eguchi River”, this article doesn’t identify the place of Shinyo Gyōkō.

“Historical Description” in modern times aside, Hamadono during the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties and Muromachi Period was a shrine enshrined on the beach of the landlocked bay to the east of Tei-ichi-gū.

Then I’ll delve into the proceedings of Gosha “Shinyo Togyo (procession of portable shrines from five shrines)”. In “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, there is an article regarding a ritual of welcoming a portable shrine from Konomi Shrine but no mention was made of Orihata Shrine. However, I believe that the rituals held at Namiorisha Shrine and Imasha Shrine mentioned on May 4 corresponded to the ceremony of welcoming a portable shrine from Orihata Shrine. As described above in the section “January”, the ryōsho (a land under direct control of the proprietor of private estates) for “Niōkō (Prajnaparamita Sutra recitation)” was in Tanobefu, and Namiorisha Shrine is enshrined in Tano. It would appear that both Imasha and Namiorisha were involved with the proprietor of the landed estates before they became massha shrines of Munakata Shrine. In addition, it is known that Orihata Shrine had close ties to the AZUMI clan and Kōjō Village including Kanesaki where the TSUMURA clan was “kaihatsu-ryōshu (land developer/proprietor)” became under the control of Munakata Shrine in 1175 (Shōan 5) and the area situated to the east of Munakata Shrine from Kanesaki to Kusazaki was controlled by the AZUMI clan and the TSUMORI clan as a counterbalance to the Munakata Daigūji. It contrasts with the area to the west of Munakata Shrine from Kusazaki (Kōnominato) to Watari Peninsula where the ancient local ruling family Munakatagun took control. The reason for performing a ritual of carrying the enshrined deity of Orihata Shrine on a portable shrine to Tei-ichi-gū Hamadono followed by Namiorisha and Imasha is because the Munakata Grand Shrine grew as zaichi ryōshu (local resident landlord) and gained power exceeding other clans and the proprietor of the landed estates and made Orihata Shrine, Namiorisha Shrine and Imasha Shrine as the shrine’s massha.

In welcoming the deity from Konomi Shrine, as an assistant officer of Daigūji, Notto Negi goes off to Tei-ichi-gū and from the early morning of May 5th. Shrine priests in the neighborhood and their wives form a procession with pipers and drummers and enter the Chūden in the ground of Tei-ichi-gū Chūden (Tei-ni-gū). There they join the portable shrines from Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū and perform rituals. Konomi Shrine is a shrine administered by the MUNAKATA clan and they come to the shrine with pomp and splendor. According to “Okugegyō” Kayochō (portable shrine bearer) who can get the share of “oku (food offerings)” are Kayochō of portable shrines from Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū and Konomi and the portable shrine from Orihata Shrine doesn’t enter the Chūden. Being the same sessha, there was a difference between Orihata Shrine and Konomi Shrine.

When the portable shrine from Orihata Shrine followed by Imasha Shrine and Namiori Shrine, five portable shrines are carried to Hamadono and the ritual is performed. After that Naorai (post ritual party) is held at Daigūji House and chimaki (rice dumpling wrapped) is served suitable for a ritual in May. When all the rituals are completed, the portable shrines are returned to each shrine by the hour of the boar according to “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”.

June

On June 30, a ritual called “Nakoshi (summer purification rite)” (According to Book A and Book B) is performed. Generally the characters “夏越” or “名越” are used and the characters “和儺” were probably invented by Munakata Shrine. According to “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, “Akoya” is set up on the beach of the estuary and the top of the structure is covered with a blue-white colored silk cloth. This Akoya means a temporary house for rituals and rites called “Akuya”. Here the portable shrines carrying the Three

Goddesses of Munakata were carried and the grand purification ritual was performed.

July

On July 7, “Tanabata Mushifuri Ritual (ritual in insect’s active period)” is performed. At Munakata Shrine, it is more like “Gosai-e” in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” and “Sōja Ceremony” in “Ōan Shinji Shidai” as part of “Urabon-e” than Star Festival or “Kikkoten (Altair and Vega festival)”.

August

For three days from August 13 to 15, Hōjō-e (ceremony of releasing captured animals) is performed. On the thirteenth day, the portable shrine from Konomi Shrine is carried to Ukidono at Daigūji’s House to perform rituals. This ritual is called “Ichiwatari Grand Ritual” and in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” it is stated as “Shūjitsu Shūya Shinji (all-day all-night ritual) and “Hōjō-e shiraku”. After food offering to the Konomi deity is made, Daigūji changes his clothes from Sokutai (Japanese court style outfit) to tokusa colored “kinugasa (Shintō priest's outfit) and the entertainment of “kami-nigiwai (gaity share by deities and people)” kicks off. The entertainment consisted of bugaku (court dance and music), parade through the shrine grounds by “hitotsumono” and “gyōji (sumō referee)”, sumō dedication by wrestlers from various villages and art performances at night including dengaku, ennen and sarugaku in pompous outfits. These art performances are demonstrated as a rehearsal of the Hōjō-e ritual on the fifteenth day. Regarding the name “Ichiwatashi”, “Munakata Jinja History” Volume 2, page 201 states that “because Ichi (miko, meaning a shrine maiden=deity) is likened to a sacred object (ichimotsu) and this Ichi parades down (wataru) a street, it is called Ichiwatashi”. However, this hitotsumono also joins the parade on the 15 and this interpretation leaves some questions unanswered.

On August 14, like in Satsuki-e, portable shrines carrying Three Goddesses of Munakata and those from Konomi Shrine and Orihata Shrine are transferred to Hamadono and offerings of food are made (it is called Hamadono Ritual in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”). The portable shrines proceed to the main hall of Tei-ichi-gū and the sacred objects of five shrines are placed in the main hall and ritual is performed. In Book B, the sacred objects are transferred to portable shrines at the hour of the Tiger followed by food and drink offerings and it is described as “Okishukō Ritual”.

On August 15, at the early hour of the Dragon, the ritual starts with “Samai (dances of the left)” featuring a bird and “Umai (dances of the right)” which features a butterfly. After that “Funakurabe”, a boat racing ritual described in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” is performed. Funakubabe is a ritual in which five boats representing five shrines race on the river and according to Book B, boat from Konomi Shrine claimed a victory and the priests celebrated the victory. In the ritual, a memorial service of transcribing “Daihannya-kyō (great wisdom sutra)” is performed followed by food and alcohol offerings, then the art performances including maigaku, parade of hitotsumono and gyōji and sumō are demonstrated. Then naorai ritual which is described as “seishu shinji (refined sake ritual)” in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji” and “hisasue-shukō (sake and food)” in Book B was held and at the hour of the tiger on the following early morning, the portable shrines from five shrines were returned to their respective shrines and Hōjō-e was completed.

September

Gokunichi Shinji derived from “Chōyō-no-sekku (festival celebrated on ninth day of ninth month)” is performed at the head shrine and massha shrines of Munakata Shrine. In “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, Gokunichi Shinji is composed of the ritual at Tei-ichi-gū on the ninth day, ritual at Orihata Daimyōjin on the eleventh day (the tenth day according to “Ōan Shinji Shidai”) and the ritual at Matoharaogi Daimyōjin which is a Konomi minor deity on 11th. Given that Daigūji participated in the ritual wearing Kariginu (casual hunting costume) and art performances including maigaku, kagura, sumō and yabusame and naorai (post ritual party) are stated in “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, it would appear that this ritual wasn’t a strict ritual but rather a harvest festival to recognize the labor of the year. It is noteworthy that various memorial services for Buddhist scriptures are held at Orihata Shrine and Matohara Shrine.

October

On October 13, Hokke-e was performed at the Tei-ni-gū head shrine and all Buddhist monks of Tei-ichi-gū participated in the ceremony.

November

On November 16, just like in February, Niki Kagura (two seasons Kagura) is performed.

December

From December 1 to 3, mikagura ritual is performed at the head shrine and massha shrine of Tei-ni-gū in Ōshima Island. In “Munakata Jinja History” Volume 2, pp. 285-286, the ritual was described as kagura festival to give thanks to the deities for new crop of rice featuring a regional kagura from Ōshima. From an article in “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, it is known that chōza which serves as shrine’s administrative office was set up along with the main shrine and sanctuary in Ōshima Island as well.

On December 16, Mifuneage Festival is performed. Although “Mifuneage Myōjin” is recorded as a ritual held on the eighteenth day in “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, December 18 is a date for “Shinjōsai (harvest festival)” and so it must have been a typing error. “Ōan Shinji Shidai” only writes about “oku (food offerings)” and a passage in the headnote of Book B, “忌子秘密ヲ尽ス、外聞ヲスヘカラサル物也” is also unspecified. The “Ishō no Koto” specifies that Daigūji should wear “jōi (white robe worn by Shintō priests) for the ritual, which means it was probably a secret ritual involving purification.

For four days from 17 to 20, “新嘗会” (Shinjō-e, described as “新生会” in Book A) is performed at each shrine of Munakata Shrine. It is a ceremony composed of harvest ceremony, “shigoto osame (year-end closing ceremony)” and the sending-off ceremony for the deity which corresponds to Misare Ritual in April and “Takematsuri” for sending off the deity of mountain is repeated. At respective shrines performing Shinjoe, memorial service by reciting the Heart Sutra and the *ukeno* song are performed followed by Naorai (post ritual party). The lyric of Ukeno-uta is “For the deity whom we have offered prayers, we’ll hold a festival making offerings on the leaves of Kashiwa” and is believed to carry a meaning of the sending-off of the deity.

On December 17, food offerings are made to Tei-ni-gū and Shintō prayer is made at Ōyuka (edge of the main shrine). At Azumaya which was set up on the side of Tei-ni-gū by Negi (chief priest), Shintō prayer is made by the priest. This is a purification ritual for Shinjō-e from the following day (December 18).

On December 18, a ritual is performed at Inabake Shrine located south of Munakata Shrine. As the word Inabake suggests, it is a shrine worshipping a deity of rice paddy and a harvest festival of agricultural produce was held. According to “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, a core ritual at Inabake Shrine was assumed by respective villages within the shrine domain as the word “Shogō-juneki (respective villages take turns assuming the task)” suggests. Shrine priests and Shrine Buddhist monks in charge of the ritual gathered at Daigūji’s House to implement purification rites and after the dedication of dancing in front of the gate, they proceed to Inabake Shrine to administer rituals there. Along with Inabake Shrine, there was also a ritual of sending off the deity of rice paddies at Fukerasha Shrine located near Inabake Shrine.

Next, they pay a visit to Tsukakeshisha Shrine (Minato Shrine in “Ōan Shinji Shidai”) in Kōnominato to perform a ritual for the deity of the sea and after returning to Tei-ichi-gū, a ritual is performed at Tei-ni-gū and Mandokorosha Hatadono. The ritual at Hatadono is held at night where a secret song is dedicated. This secret song would probably correspond to a phrase “there is a secret in Mandokoro Festival as Misare Ritual in April” written in Book B.

On December 19, at Yoridake Shrine, Morisha Shrine and Orihata Shrine in Tano-gō situated to the east of Munakata Shrine across the Tsuru River, Takematsuri of sending off the deity of the mountain is performed. After the ritual, at chōza, the dialogue was held between Ingonegi (female assistant priest) and Shigyō (executor). In the dialogue, there is a line “There is Yoridake to the east”. Since Yoridake is situated to the south of Orihata Shrine, this dialogue should have been held in the chōza at Tei-ichi-gū overlooking Yoridake to the east. The dialogue consists of Ingonegi as “grand helmsman” asking Shigyō (as “minor helmsman”) about the condition of clouds hanging onto the Yoridake ridge to the east, Konomidake to the south and Ōshimadake to the west and Shigyō always answering “Kichini-sōrō (fine)”. According to Masaki “Appendix 2, historical sources regarding the ritual of helmsman”, this is considered as ritual to pray for safe navigation, however, this is a ritual held at Tei-ichi-gū. The implication of this ritual, in my view, is it was part of Takematsuri (festival of the mountain) to give thanks to the deity of the mountain who also guides people toward safe navigation since the mountain was important for visibility navigation.

On December 20, Takematsuri is held at Matobara Shrine enshrining Konomisha Minor deity and Miyajidake Shrine. The ritual of climbing down Miyajidake to the south and offering rice porridge at Makiguchi Shrine in Arai Village is performed. In the Mine Family Document No. 4 “Statement of new rice of the Tenshō 13 in Arai Village” issued on 11th of August in 1585 (Tenshō 13, leap year), there is a phrase “18 liter of rice are accommodated for Makiguchi Shrine and 1.8 liter of rice are accommodated for rice porridge” and from this it is known that this ritual continued until the Warring States period. Finally Takematsuri is performed at Nuidono Shrine on Mt. Nuyama followed by Naorai at Chōza of Tei-ichi-gū and a series of rituals end.

From the evening of December 25 at the hour of the Rooster, Yaotome Ritual is performed first at Kami-Takamiya, then Shimo-Takamiya, and then Tei-ichi-gū. According to “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, “Kinenowosa” (in Book B, written in Chinese characters as 貴禰法者 read as “kinenowosa”) is a dance performed by eight maidens. This is a kind of Miko Dance and Kinenowosa means kitōsha (prayer) and shugenja (mountain ascetic) associated with “Kinen Dayū” who performed Yudate Ritual (boiling water and performing a ritual using the boiled water) on the occasion of the Sengū Ceremony (dedication ceremony of a new shrine) on June 1 in 1578 (Tenshō 6). Regarding a word “santan”, as defined in KANDA Yoriko and HYŌKI Satoru Edition (2010): “Compact dictionary of Folkloristics” Yoshikawa Kōbunkan page 291 in “kagura”, Yaotome Dance “involves repetitive circular movements of Jun-meguri (right-handed rotation) and gyaku-meguri (left handed rotation) that lead to a state possessed by the supernatural”. In “Ōan Shinji Shidai”, it is described in the section of Takematsuri held at the former Orihata Shrine and Konomi Shrine and on Yaotome Dance, that the paper used for gohei (wooden wands with shide papers) is also used as “katsuraiino paper”. If you look the word “yūkazura” up in Shōgakukan “Nihon Kokugo Daijiten (Japanese Language Dictionary)”, it says “a wig made from the fibers from mulberry plants worn over the head as a sign of ablution”, so this paper was probably “used for rituals in ancient and medieval times”. Later in the middle 14th century, the material changed from you to gohei paper and it was inherited. After the dance at Sangū, a ritual is performed at Mandokoro Shrine followed by Naorai (postritual party) at chōza. Food and drinks at Naorai were prepared by Mandokoro (shrine office), Ingonegi (female assistant to priests), and Goisha Shrine in Ōshima Island. At Naorai, art performances including “Aukōri”, “Song by Ōshima Shinjin” and “Ukeno Song” by Priests” were presented. “Aukōri” is a performance in which a shoulder carrying pole is broken by an Ichinokai clan who is a priest in charge of keeping lanterns and Benzaishi (tax collector) in Ōshima Island. The implication of this act is unknown but persons associated with Okinoshima Island and Ōshima Island join the Naorai party held at Tei-ichi-gū chōza, which shows that Munakata Shrine is an integral part of Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya.

On New Year’s Eve, the last ritual of the year is performed at Nishi-no-Kōdono (west pavilion) of Mandokoro Shrine. Although the ritual started at the hour of the Ox according to “Shōhei Nenchū Gyōji”, since the starting time of Myōken ritual held at the beginning of the year was at the hour of the Ox, the ritual was believed to be started at midnight (hour of the Dog) as described in “Ōan Shinji Shidai”. After food offerings and Shintō prayers were made, there was a dialogue between Shigyō and Ingonegi. Shigyō asked who would confine himself/herself in West Pavilion along with Daigūji and Ingonegi answered saying she would confine herself and when Shigyō told her to confine herself until the night of New Year day, the dialogue completed. When all the rituals of the year completed, the door of the inner sanctuary was closed.

What I’ve mentioned is the outline of the rituals of the year from which I believe you can learn about the relationship among five Munakata shrines including Munakata Three Shrines, Konomi Shrine and Orihata Shrine and their relationship with other massha shrines and the domain control of Daigūji through performing rituals.

(2) In modern times

As mentioned in the previous section (1) medieval times, i) d) Warring States period, Munakata Shrine embarked on the modern times without successor to DAIGŪJI Ujisada who died of disease. The modern history of Munakata Shrine is exclusively described in each chapter in “Munakata Jinjya History” Volume 1 and 2. I will go into details according to a section below.

i) Shrine domain of Tashima Shrine and Shake (shrine family)

As appeared in the Munakata Family Documents No. 51 “Haiden Muneage Chūmon (Order of ridge pole raising of the Sanctuary)” issued on June 21st in 1590 (Tenshō 18) as “Munakata Hachiman Shrine” and also as described in “Donation Letter from Fukuoka Domain Lord Kuroda Nagamasa in 1641 (Kanei 18)/ Donation Letter from Fukuoka Domain Lord KURODA Tadayuki in 1641 (Kanei 18)” in the sequel to Ancient Documents as “Hachiman Shrine in Tashima Village in Munakata District”, the Tashima shrine’s title became Hachiman Shrine for some time from the end of the Warring States period to the beginning of the modern times. On page 208 of “Munakata Jinja History” Volume 1, it is supposed that Munakata Shrine was in connection with the worshipping of the deity of Hachiman associated with warriors and it was named after the deity for the sake of convenience although it is not known exactly why. According to katatsu monjo (superior top-down order) from Fukuoka Domain, the shrine was mentioned as “Tashima-gū” or “Tashima-sha” in most cases, from which it is known that the shrine was recognized as a shrine enshrined in Tashima Village in Munakata District reflecting its status under the feudal system. In Meiji period it became known as Munakata Shrine and after it was promoted to First Class Kanpei Taisha (the Imperial Court designated grand shrine) in 1901 (Meiji 34), it was called as “Munakata Taisha (Grand Shrine)” and in 1977 (Shōwa 52), it was officially called as “Religious Corporation Munakata Taisha”.

Regarding the shrine domain, a land of 200-chō (ha) was supplied by KOBAYAKAWA Takakage who had been granted with Chikuzen province, however no domain was given under the rule of KOBAYAKAWA Hideaki. In Edo period, the shrine was restored with the donation of 50 koku from KURODA Nagamasa who was a feudal lord of Fukuoka Domain. Later by the third feudal lord Mitsuyuki, additional 50 koku and newly cultivated rice paddy of 32 koku were donated, totaling more than 132 koku.

After the death of DAIGŪJI Ujisada, FUKADA Ujihide represented Munakata Shrine as the head of the old retainers of Ujisada. Ujihide was a son of FUKADA Ujizane who was permitted to assume the surname of Munakata in the Mine Family Document No. 7 “Letter from MUNAKATA DAIGŪJI Ujisada” (year of issuance unknown) and was a member of Daigūji Family. The family of Ujihide was the head in the shrine when the KURODA clan entered the domain for the first time; however, by the order of the domain in 1688 (Jōkyō 5), FUKATA Akitsugu became the head of the shrine family. According to the Munakata Family Documents No. 43 “Copy of the Seating Order of Michō at Munakata Shrine” on auspicious day of February in 1585 (Tenshō 13), Ujihide’s seat was set in the Gi-Daigūji (two ranks lower than Daigūji) first seat of the right hand and the seat of Chiaki who is a grandfather of Akitsugu was set in the Gon-Gi Daigūji (three ranks lower than Daigūji)/ Ingonegi Hidari-roku-za. There must have been good reason for this change but it is completely unknown. In the “Letter of approval by Yoshida Shintō” on June 9 in Genroku 11 addressed to Akitsugū’s son Chitsura, there is a sentence that reads: “Tashima Hetsu-miya Daigūji FUKATA Hyōbu-dayū (first assistant to the defense ministry) Munakata Chitsura” and this is the first time a name of Daigūji appeared in any document in Edo period. After that the family of Ingonegi Fukata Chitsura succeeded the Daigūji. Mr. MUNAKATA Tatsumi and Kiyofumi who owned the Munakata Family Documents are descendants of the Chitsura Family.

ii) Ritual

In the Munakata Family Documents “Copy of Munakatagū Bukkiryō (rules on Mourning at Munakata Shrine)” in 1575 (Tenshō 3), it is described that “From Kanbun 2 (1662), the shrine family has exclusively performed Shintō rituals”. In another document, the year was described as Kanbun 3. Given that the oldest letter of approval by Yoshida Shintō Family was issued in Kanbun 5, it is considered that the shrine officially adopted exclusive Shintō in Kanbun 5, however, it wasn’t the shrine’s own choice but rather the shrine jumped on the bandwagon of the exclusive Shintoism of the shrines in the nation advocated by the domain lord Mitsuyuki. Due to the elimination of Buddhist ceremonies from the yearly rituals by the adoption of exclusive Shintoism and discontinuation of Daigūji family and sharp decrease of the shrine domain, those “Nenchūshinjishidai (program of yearly shrine rituals)” described in (1) Medieval times-iv) weren’t inherited during Edo period.

KAIBARA Ekiken who was a great scholar under the Fukuoka Domain was famous for his academic achievements including the compilation of “Chikuzen-no-kuni Shoku Fudoki ” and “Munakata Sansha Engi” is also one of them. KAZANIN Sadamasa from the Kazanin family who transferred a divided deity of Munakata Goddesses to his family estate in Kyōto and worshipped Munakata Shrine for generations

commissioned Ekiken to write a document wishing for the rebuilding of the head shrine of Chikuzen Munakata Shrine. Munakata Grand Shrine owns the document beautifully preserved in a shape of 3-Roll Kansubon (books in scroll style) transcribed by Ekiken's disciple YAMADA Yukitsune and dedicated to the shrine in 1736 (Kyōhō 21). The first Volume is "Munakata Sansha Engi", the second Volume is "Munakata Jinja Engi Tashima" and the third Volume is "Munakata Jinja Engi, Okutsushima Island and Ōshima Island". Although Ekiken completed the draft in 1704 (Hōei 1) he repeated deleting and adding and died without completing in 1714 (Shōtoku 4) and his nephew Tsuneharu completed the book in the end. The reason why Ekiken didn't write up the book was because he got involved in the conflict of opinions regarding the enshrined deities within the shrine and the head shrine and massha shrines. From the letters written by Ekiken contained in "Kyūshū Historical Source Series" Ekiken materials (4), (5) Collection of letters, First and Second Volumes (1957/1959), we can get a clear picture of the circumstances. When Ekiken described that Tagorihime-no-Kami was enshrined in Okinoshima Island, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami was enshrined in Ōshima Island and Ichikishimahime-no-Kami as enshrined in Tashima in "Munakata Sansha Engi" based on the descriptions in "Nihon Shoki (Chronicle of Japan)", priests in Tashima claimed that Tashima Shrine was the first shrine worshipping Ichikishimahime-no-kami and the priests on Okitsushima claimed that Okitsu-miya was the first shrine enshrining Tagorihime-no-Kami that led to conflict between two shrines. When Ekiken submitted the draft of "Munakata Sansha Engi" for inspection to priests in Tashima Shrine, he didn't get any response and he was confused and disappointed with their reaction describing it as: "It seems like the shrine family doesn't like it". Also, realizing that a half-hearted attempt to write Engi would rather do harm to the shrine, he lamented that he became too old and tired to try to find a compromise. The conflict between priests in Tashima and priests in Okinoshima over the enshrined deities never ceased, which aggravated Ekiken. However, when he heard a theory of ABE Sōza that Tashima Shrine should be the first shrine because Tashima enshrines three shrines and the main deity of Okitsu-miya is also enshrined in Tashima, he felt that what Abe said made sense and wanted that "the conflict between both shrines resolved peacefully". As described in the previous section (1) medieval times iv) b) "Goengi", in medieval times, there was a consistent recognition that Tagorihime-no-Kami was enshrined in the head shrine of Okinoshima Island, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami was enshrined in the Tei-ni-gū in Ōshima Island and Ichikishimahime-no-kami was enshrined in Tei-san-gū in Tashima and also Sōja (consolidated shrine) was to be constructed to worship the Three Goddesses of Munakata collectively. From this point, the claim by the priests of Tashima Shrine showed lack of knowledge, however, there may have been an intention to solidify the shrine structure under new Daigūji led by Ingonegi Fukata Family. The theory by ABE Sōza is an eclectic theory based on the recognition in medieval times which led to understanding from both parties but Ekiken didn't have energy to write out the book any longer.

One noteworthy thing about the beliefs during Edo period is "taboos" about Okinoshima Island. The taboos in general are described in "Munakata Jinja History" Volume 2, 343-348 and "imikotoba (taboo words)" are described in OCHI Hironari (a descendant of Ōshima Nakatsu-miya Shrine family) (1961): "About taboo words in Okinoshima Island", Munakata Grand Shrine Bulletin "Munakata" 9.10.11.12.

The first time "taboo" was mentioned in the literature is in "Munakata Jinja Engi, Okutsushima Island, Ōshima Island" written by KAIBARA Ekiken and it is described that using taboo words and taking items (bamboo, wood, earth, stone) from the island were prohibited. In "Okitsushima Sakimori Diary (Diary of Border Patrol)" written by AOYAGI Tanenobu when he sailed to Okinoshima Island as a sakimori of Fukuoka Domain in 1794 (Kansei 6), it is described that the island was known as "Oiwazusama (vow of silence)" and you were not allowed to speak of any supernatural acts on the island and the tradition of ablution was obliged in Ōshima Island and Okinoshima Island.

Regarding "imikotoba" that are always mentioned in the records on taboo, although they show no association with "taboo words at Saigū" in "Engi-Shiki" and general "okikotoba (taboo words on the sea by fishermen)", what they have in common is that death, blood, Buddhist nun and four-legged animals are abhorred as taboos. Due to difference in terms and words and the fact that snake that is a taboo word in okikotoba didn't inhabit in Okinoshima Island, imikotoba on Okinoshima evolved uniquely. Although it is hard to pinpoint the origin of taboo words, the manuscript of the literature in which the taboo words appeared was completed in 1704 (Hōei 1) and for this reason it could be dated back to the beginning of Edo period along with a taboo against taking out anything from the island. Also as described in the "Okinoshima Sakimori Diary" as "all of them were decided by fishermen", it would appear that the users of imikotoba (taboo words) weren't the priests of shrine rituals but fishermen who inherited the tradition for a

long time. According to OCHI's article (1961), imikotoba were observed strictly until the middle of the Meiji period and the words were rarely used from the end of Meiji period to Taishō period and it became an old tale in Shōwa period.

The ablution in the sea before landing on the island was probably derived from the Shintō purification; however, it is difficult to find answers for the psychological and chronological origins of the system of not allowing women on the island according to the religious faith in the Three Goddesses of Munakata. However it is momentous that this taboo is strictly observed even today.

iii) Construction

In 1578 (Tenshō 6), the main shrine was constructed and after the construction of the sanctuary in Tenshō 18, the renovation projects were implemented repetitively during Edo period. Among them, the biggest project was the renovation work of the shrine buildings from 1675 to 1676 (Enpō 3 - 4) led by the third lord of Fukuoka Domain KURODA Mitsuyuki. According to the 8-Volume Document, No. 187 "Record of Restoration of Munakata Tei-ichi-gū Massha" and the Archival Document Collection of Grand Shrine "Record of construction of Munakata Tei-ichi-gū", with the aim of renovating massha shrines with 108 deities that had been dilapidated after the discontinuation of Munakata Daigūji family, twenty shrines were constructed around the Sōja in Tashima. For two of them, divided deities from Okitsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya were transferred and 6 deities were transferred to respective eighteen massha shrines and a total of 108 massha deities were enshrined. Massha shrines enshrined in the surrounding area of the main shrine at present were constructed at the time. In addition, it is known that the renovation work was done for Sanctuary, Mikuya (place for prayers and making food offerings), Kagura Stage, Wataridono, Issai-kyōzō (hall housing the Issai-kyō), Bell hall, Hall housing Amidakyō (the Sukuhavati Sutra) seki along with the repair work of the Copied Issai-Kyō and making of its container box. Moreover, as for additional materials related to the designation of the Important Cultural Assets, there are 6 mune-fuda (ridge tags attached to the building's ridgepole) for repair works in Edo period besides four oki-fuda (ridge tags placed under the roof) made on the occasion of construction of main shrine in Tenshō 6 as described in the above section (1) medieval times iii) Construction of the shrine buildings. Chronologically speaking, repair works were implemented for Main Shrine, Sanctuary, Massha, Stage, Mikuya in 1736 (Genbun 1), re-roofing of the roof of the front shrine in 1780 (Anei 9), re-roofing of the roof of the main shrine in 1799 (Kansei 11), repair work for the main shrine in Bunsei 3 (1820), and repair work for the main shrine, and re-roofing of the roof of wataridono was done in 1852 (Kaei 5).

Regarding the shrine buildings of Nakatsu-miya and Okitsu-miya, it is described in the Munakata Family Documents No. 4 in 1585 (Tenshō 13) that "Ōshima Tei-ni-gū Gotō (keeper of the flames of a light), "Okinomishima Gotō" from which we perceive that there was a facility for supplying votive light. In the course of demolition and repairs of the buildings of Nakatsu-miya conducted for 10 years from 1996 (Heisei 8), a written note in ink indicating the year name jōō 4 (1665) was discovered and it served as a proof that the shrine was constructed under the control of the second lord of Fukuoka Domain KURODA Tadayuki stated in the Kawano Family Document "Written note on Nakatsu-miya". From the Munakata Family Documents "Statement of the priests participating in Okinoshima Sengū Ceremony (dedication ceremony of a new shrine)" in Shōhō 1 (1644), it is known that the shrine buildings were constructed at that time, but no data is available regarding the construction of earlier times.

4. Conclusion

As part of the commissioned research on "Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region", I was committed to introducing every document achieved in the Grand Shrine individually and presenting the medieval and modern history based solely on the archival collections in a manner responsive to the assignment of introducing the available Munakata Grand Shrine Documents and presenting a brief overview of the complete history of Munakata Shrine. Particularly, I devoted pages on the rituals and religious faith in medieval times on the ground that few studies have been conducted on this area.

Supplementary notes (not translated):

- 1) 毛利家文書建長四年(1252)七月十二日関東御教書とあわせると、日本人女性との間に子息がいたことがわかる。同時代の宗像大宮司家の国際婚姻とともに、特別なことではなかったと思われる。
- 2) 柳原敏昭(2011):『中世日本の周縁と東アジア』「第二章唐坊再論」; 吉川弘文館、も関係論文として追加する。
- 3) 関係論文は、黒田泰三(1988):「宗像大社の「州信」印三十六歌仙図扁額」;『美術史』124、黒田(2007):『狩野光信の時代』、中央公論美術出版、山本英男(2007):「狩野永徳の生涯」;『特別展覧会 狩野永徳』、京都国立博物館
- 4) 河窪(1982)「中世宗像社領に関する一考察において」では、田野別符についての未熟な考察にとどまったが、本稿で社領としての在り方、変遷を確認できた。
- 5) 河窪(2007)『『宗像記追考』が語る宗像戦国史の虚実』で、元和三年(1617)に大宮司氏貞旧臣の占部宗仙(貞保)が執筆したものであることを示した。
- 6) 『宗像神社史』下巻 p.124 では「皇神の歌」とするが、『応安神事次第』乙本頭書に「星ノウタ」と書かれているように、宮中神楽の中の星三首である。

A Re-examination of the Okinoshima Ritual Site from the Viewpoint of Ritual Archaeology

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Abstract: The ritual sites on the island of Okinoshima in southwestern Japan represent a remarkably well-preserved collection of locations used for ritual practices from the 3rd to the 9th centuries AD. Archaeological remains comprise deposits of material culture considered to be intrinsically ritualistic, representing a sequence of ritual acts which took place when many of the cult practices that were eventually brought together under the rubric of Shintō, the indigenous Japanese religion, were being formulated. The richness of the archaeological remains at Okinoshima has resulted in the island being termed the ‘Shosoin of the Sea’, after the Imperial treasure house in Nara. The ritual sites on Okinoshima are considered especially significant because they are thought to represent a continuity of ritual activity on the island, and because much of this ritual activity is considered to have been related to a set of beliefs concerning the spiritual dimension of Japan during the period of state formation throughout the first millennium.

This paper examines the evidence for ritual activity on Okinoshima in the light of new developments in ritual archaeology, and the emerging field of the archaeology of religion. Particular attention is paid to the locational aspects of these practices, namely that they took place on an isolated island setting, the island in question (Okinoshima) only being used for these purposes. Okinoshima forms part of a small archipelago of islands that stretch between Kyūshū and the Korean peninsula, and played a significant role in both defining the boundaries of Japan and facilitating exchange between the Japanese archipelago and the East Asian continental mainland. Other islands include Iki and Tsushima, both Japanese, and Chungmak-dong, now in Korea. In addition, the morphology of the island, a mountain rising out of the Genkai Sea, needs to be considered, and the ritual practices at Okinoshima will be related to other ‘mountain’ and ‘island’ focused early ritual practices in Japan and elsewhere.

Ritual practices have continued at Okinoshima to the present day, and an important question is clearly to what extent current and recent ritual activities on the island derive from earlier antecedents, and to what extent these modern ritual practices represent a re-invention of tradition. Okinoshima forms part of what is now considered a sacred landscape associated with the Munakata Shrine, located on the mainland of Kyūshū. Elements of the landscape include the buildings and facilities of the Munakata Shrine itself as well as a series of burial mounds dating from the 5th-7th centuries associated with the ancestors of the Munakata Clan. With the appearance of Buddhism and the extension of centralised power over north Kyūshū from the Yamato region, new facilities were developed in the area, most notably the government administrative centre at Dazaifu a short distance to the west of Okinoshima.

Keywords: ritual practice; archaeology of religion; cult; ritual of state;

1. Introduction: the Archaeology of Religion and Ritual

Recent years have seen a great development in interest in the archaeology of religion and ritual. In 1992 a special issue of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* attempted to address the archaeology of ritual and religion in the Japanese archipelago with a series of case studies from the prehistoric Jomon period through to the historical period (Kaner and Hudson 1992). This volume was published shortly after the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Oxford entitled *Sacred and Profane* (Garwood et al. 1991), which marked a re-engagement by western archaeologists with questions of belief, ritual and religion as legitimate concerns for archaeology. Prior to this, for many ‘traditional’ archaeologists, concerned with the reconstruction of cultural history through the study of the material remains of the past, the sacred was the most difficult of all topics to deal with through archaeology. Religion, ritual and the sacred were considered to be at the top of the archaeological ‘ladder of inference’, and the reconstruction of ancient belief systems much more difficult to achieve than understanding technology, subsistence and some aspects of social organisation (Hawkes 1954).

Much western archaeology was affected by what became known as the New, or Processual Archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s, which attempted to identify universal laws of human behaviour, through which the archaeological record could be interpreted. New Archaeology itself was the product of positivistic thinking that considered human behaviour could be explained by referring to these universal laws, and which would allow the revelation of underlying systems: economic, social, technological. Religion and belief became equated with ideology, the way in which people could be controlled, often by those in higher social and economic positions (Demarest 1987).

In the 1980s and 1990s there was a reaction against the New Archaeology and its epistemological underpinnings. Attention began to shift to the role of human agency in the past: people as actors attempting to control their destinies through their engagement and understanding of the world, rather than being at the mercy of deterministic, mechanistic, overarching 'systems'. This interest in human agency led to increasing concern with the details of specific human practices and the diversity therein. At the same time, aided by developments in understanding human cognition, many archaeologists took an increasing interest in 'cognitive archaeology' and the evolution of human thought, and how this was manifested in the archaeological record. As part of the 'cognitive-processual' archaeology that arose from these developments, interest in religion and belief began to take centre stage (Renfrew 1994). There was an acceptance that human behaviour was not just the result of economic motivations, and that human beings saw the world through the filter of 'culture'.

The late 1980s and through the 1990s, manifested by the Sacred and Profane conference at Oxford, saw a renewal in the archaeology of religion (Gibson and Simpson 1998, Hayden 2003, Insoll 1999, 2001, 2004, Merrifield 1987). This re-emergence of interest in the archaeology of ritual and religion in western archaeology is well attested by the Templeton Project on the *Roots of Spirituality*, based at the University of Cambridge in the 2000s. This project brought together archaeologists, anthropologists, and specialists in the study of religion, to develop the idea of an archaeology of religion. The project has given rise to a series of very interesting new studies and approaches (e.g. Hodder 2010, Renfrew and Morley 2007, Barrowclough and Malone 2007) which address the archaeology of religion from a truly interdisciplinary perspective. Stimulated by such developments, many other archaeologists are also now engaging with the theoretical aspects of the archaeology of religion (Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 2008). These studies are of particular importance given the involvement of religious practitioners, and offer an approach which is properly 'multivocal'. Through the many case studies facilitated by these various projects, archaeology has moved away from an understanding of religion as a way of accounting for the apparently inexplicable or 'odd' in the archaeological record, to a position where belief is seen as a major motivating factor in human behaviour which leaves many material traces susceptible to archaeological interpretation.

Much contemporary writing about the archaeology of ritual and religion is understandably concerned with definitions. For Colin Renfrew, **ritual** can be defined as:

'the "inception or repetition of conventional programmes of expressive action". Ritual thus involves the production of performative actions that are situated in time and are repeated, and it clearly has a performative element. But the definition makes no statement about the belief system which underlies the ritual, nor does it imply a religious motivation. The notion of expressive or performative action avoids the problem of repeated, mundane actions in everyday life' (Renfrew 2007:9).

Cult, again for Renfrew is: 'the practice of worship within a religious context' (Renfrew 2007: 9) while for others it is 'a particular form of religious worship that implies devotion to a particular person or thing' (Malone, Barraclough and Stoddart 2007: 2). Renfrew accepts the dictionary definition of **religion** useful: 'Action or conduct indicating a belief in or reverence for and desire to please a divine ruling power', divine suggesting something transcendental or supernatural (Renfrew 2007: 9-10), while a further recent survey of the field proposes the following definition:

'Religion is a system of beliefs that posit supernatural beings and resolves mysterious or unexplainable phenomena; it is a set of practices and associated trappings that allows believers not only to engage the supernatural world but also to demonstrate their devotion and faith in it. It is intricately intertwined with every aspect of culture that shapes social structure, while it also in turn is shaped by it' (Steadman 2009: 23).

Discussions of ritual, cult and religion need to address issues of symbolism. Symbols are polysemic: they can have multiple meanings, signify different things to different people at different times and they can be ambiguous (Turner 1967). Through the manipulation of symbols, rituals 'positively encourage instability within society, since they offer themselves to conflicting interpretations (Leach 1954 cited in Malone, Barraclough and Stoddart 2007: 2). Material culture studies have shown how objects can take on their own agency, a point to which we will return in the final sections of this paper.

And the contexts within which rituals are performed, the locations at which they take place, the time of day and season and so forth, can all impact on the ways in which rituals are experienced and interpreted. 'Caves, landscapes, seascapes and mountain peaks provide special arenas for experience and sensation, some of which are influenced by seasonal or diurnal changes of light and atmosphere, making certain contexts special places for cult (Malone, Barraclough and Stoddart 2007: 3).

In addition to these general concerns, I have argued elsewhere (Kaner 2007) that an archaeology of ritual and religion needs to take into account factors such as the history of ritual performances in a particular location and relate this to the overall occupational history of that location. We also need to develop frameworks for addressing the motivations of those involved in cultic activities. Through this we can begin to address the deeper significances of changes within traditions of ritual and religious practice. Following Frederick Barth's ground-breaking study of the history of ritual practices in New Guinea (Barth 1987), it is also necessary to understand how these ritual practices relate to the operation of generative schemes through which key individuals drew on their knowledge of how to do things, in attempts to achieve the maximum efficacy for the rites being undertaken (Kaner 2007).. Okinoshima was part of a landscape that was at the centre of information flows, from the continent to the Yamato plains, that influenced the historical development of cult practices and the belief systems they materialised.

The case of Okinoshima is especially interesting as it attests to a human engagement with a landscape that was populated by gods and spirits that needed to be propitiated in order to avoid disaster. And the danger of disaster was ever present: illness, shipwreck, starvation due to poor harvests, marauding armies and pirates. Perhaps most importantly, there was always the potential of disaster arising from the many diplomatic embassies that were such a significant aspect of communication with the continent at this time. Okinoshima emerges from a sea of symbols which were actively manipulated by the regional power interests represented by the Munakata Clan and the emerging Yamato court which harboured designs over control of the whole of the Japanese archipelago, as well as controlling access to their counterparts overseas, on the Korean peninsula and in China. In addition, however, and of equal importance, is that still today Okinoshima is central to a series of ritual observances (the complete annual cycle of festivals and rituals is listed in Fukuoka 2010) that draw extensively on historical precedents, aspects of which are drawn upon in the various rituals of the Munakata shrine. This is of great significance as it offers the opportunity to understand how religious behaviour is historical and accumulative in nature.

2. Shintō Archaeology

The archaeology of Shintō has received attention in major scholarly syntheses (Oba 1972-81) and exhibitions both in Japan and overseas (Harris 2001). Edward Kidder provides a useful introductory summary to Shintō practice that refers both to the relationship with nature, and what happened at the kinds of sites:

'Most Shintō ritual sites show a direct relationship to the natural topography. They are associated with mountains, passes, rivers, streams, springs, lakes, ponds, islands, cliffs, rocks and trees. Since spirit life was believed to exist in the vicinity of these phenomena, offerings were made at or near spots thought to be the most sacred. (Kidder 1972: 34)

Relics at such sites are often loosely scattered because of the way the votive gifts were offered, and today there may be no surface indications of their presence. Rarely were the gifts actually buried. By and large they were gently thrown into the holy spot. Some were pitched into water, such as into wells or pools and rivers, while others were hung on trees. Offerings were also placed on a little table, tray or shelf. More than one of these ways is often used, and all are still seen today. It hardly need be said that practices of this sort may disperse the relics widely, yet stratigraphy has been found in some

sites and chronological changes in types and quality of gifts have been noted' (1972: 34-35)

Richard Bowring has recently surveyed the early history of Japanese religion (2005). He concludes, that around the time of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan during the 6th century, that

'any description ... of indigenous beliefs and cults in the sixth century must remain tentative', although he does accept that 'It would appear that from earliest times, the Japanese, like most early societies, had a strong sense of sacred space and of the numinous nature of certain places and objects. The term used to describe such elements is *kami*'. Often associated with particular places 'These places were treated as contact points between this world and the other world from where all uncontrollable events originated'. Pollution of these sacred places had to be avoided or 'dire consequences' might follow 'since *kami* were a source of all that was unpredictable, of life and health but also of misfortune and disaster. Constant and regular observation of ritual was necessary in order to placate, cajole or simply demonstrate that the presence or force represented by the site was being remembered and respected for what it could do' (2005: 39).

He further accepts that by the 6th century, certain family groups, or *uji*, had become 'hereditary ritualists' (ibid), and

'a process by which a divine presence, amorphous but specific to a locale, became the ancestral deity of an *uji*, symbolising its corporate identity. This was probably common by the sixth century and, given the reported response of the Nakatomi [to the arrival of Buddhism] in 552, one can perhaps posit a series of tutelary deities, honoured at a shrine, with a priestly family charged with the ritual' (ibid 40).

Importantly, Bowring further observes:

'One important corollary of the localised nature of cults was that they were essentially unrelated to each other. Certainly, this was not a coherent system ... whatever the Mononobe and Nakatomi may have been referring to in 552, it was nothing resembling an organised religion' (2005: 40).

3. The ritual sites of Okinoshima

The island of Okinoshima is located in the Genkai Sea, between the southeastern tip of the Korean peninsula and the northeastern corner of the island of Kyūshū. It forms the outlier of a small string of islets that extend out from the Kyūshū mainland.

23 ritual sites, dating from the 4th to the 9th centuries AD have been identified through archaeological investigation undertaken from 1954 to 1972, and some 80,000 artefacts have been excavated, all subsequently designated as national treasures. These sites are classified into four types, one succeeding the other in chronological terms: (1) rituals atop rocks (late 4th – early 5th centuries); (2) rituals in rock shadows (Late 5th century – 7th century); (3) rituals partly in rock shadows and partly in the open air (Late 7th century – 8th century); and (4) rituals in the open air (late 8th century to end of 9th century).

The statement of Outstanding Universal Value (Fukuoka 2010: 14) summarises current thinking about the nature and significance of the rituals performed on Okinoshima, and raises a series of questions that will be addressed in this paper:

'It is the archaeological sites where national rituals involving offering prayer for safe voyage and successful exchanges with other countries in East Asia were carried out from the latter part of the 4th century up through the end of the 9th century. The rituals of Okinoshima first involved supplicating the deities from atop huge boulders and offering them valuables similar to those offered at funeral services, but later evolved to involve offering prayer to the deities out in the open away from the boulders, and offering them special gifts. The rituals eventually gave birth to the Munakata Shrine, made up of Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya, where the three Munakata goddesses are deified. It is here that the process of changeover from a natural form of worship to the establishment of shrine rituals was made complete. Moreover, the site of the three Munakata Shrines, which seem to be

arranged in a line, in a basis of visual axis forms a unique religious landscape that is itself mythological. The main constituent of this property is the Munakata Clan, whose legacy has been protected from ancient times up until the present day by cultural traditions that include taboos. Changes in the Shintō rituals that place such importance on the relationship with nature and the historically important stages of change that were supported by the Munakata Clan are extremely well-represented at this exceptionally well-preserved and rare site.’ (Fukuoka 2010: 14-15)

A series of questions have been posed by previous Expert Meetings and conferences on Okinoshima. This paper will present an account of the Okinoshima shrines and associated rituals in context (by which I mean broader historical context of state formation in Japan and its relationships with the East Asian continent, and also the context of what was happening in the north Kyūshū region). We then consider the importance of ‘sacred islands’ and ‘sacred mountains’ and their archaeology, before returning to see how studies in this fields elsewhere can help cast light on the archaeology of the ritual practices at Okinoshima. These questions include:

4. Narrative History of Rituals on Okinoshima in Context

The island was known prior to the beginning of the rituals atop rocks in the 4th century, as is attested by the presence of pottery from the Early, Middle and Final Jomon periods and the Yayoi period: ‘It is known that Okinoshima was continually visited, with people often remaining on the island for a short period of time’. Pottery from the Korean peninsula was also discovered on the island. There is nothing specifically ritualistic about these deposits, however, and interesting as they are, they may indicate nothing more than occasional visits to the island by fishermen or curious farmers.

Phase 1: Late 4th – early 5th centuries AD:

During this period, ritual practices took place on top of large rocks. These rituals took place when the emerging central authority in the Kinai region, called by Joan Piggott the ‘coalescent core’, was engaging with regional powers such as the Munkata clan, and at the same time engaging with powers on the East Asian continent, and even taking part in ultimately unsuccessful military adventures on the Korean peninsula. This was also the phase when the Shintō historian Matsumae Takeshi considers that Shintō evolved from its primitive form of simple local cults to clan Shintō, powerful regional groups such as the Munakata for the first time identifying themselves with particular ritual locations such as Okinoshima.

Five sites are associated with this phase (sites 16, 17, 18, 19, 21). The objects, interpreted as offerings, represent the same categories as artefact as were buried in the mounded tombs of the period as grave goods and include

‘bronze mirrors from the Han and Wei dynasties, *boseikyo* mirrors (kiho mirrors, TLV mirrors, interconnected arc type mirrors, tortoise dragon mirrors, animal adorned mirrors, triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with gods and animals etc), jasper bracelets (stone, circular stone, hoe-shaped stone), iron weapons, tools, talc ritual objects (flat stones, sword-shaped objects, round plates, bracelets, komochi comma-shaped jewels, comma-shaped jewels, glass beads and glass tubes), hinagata offerings (swords, small knives, axes, Wei mirrors), Haji pottery, hand-formed pottery, and flat iron axes’ (Fukuoka 2010: 6).

The focus in this early phase at Okinoshima, then, appears to be on mirrors and beads. Site 17 represents the first evidence for large scale ritual observances at Okinoshima. The remains include

‘21 mirrors of varying design, along with kudatama and magatama made of jade, jasper or talk. Seven iron swords, three daggers and two warabite iron swords have also been discovered from this era, though all were found in fragments. The mirrors have garnered especially close attention because they are all of Japanese manufacture, made in imitation of contemporary Chinese mirrors. Their dense concentration at site no. 17 is rivalled only by the caches found in the immense tombs of Yamato elites, making Okinoshima unique among non-funerary locations. Many are of identical design to those found in the Kinai area, and it is widely believed that these in fact originated in the Kinai and were

brought to Okinoshima as offerings or gifts. This scenario accords nicely with broader practices of Wa paramounts observed during the 5th century ... kings from the coalescent core cultivated alliances with local chieftains through gift-giving and the coordination of ritual practice; no single location anywhere on the archipelago testifies to this with more clarity than Okinoshima. According to Piggott, the island may have been the first recipient of substantial offerings from the coalescent core, and the discoveries made there provide tangible evidence of the respect accorded the Munakata goddesses in the Yamato chronicles. They demonstrate the process of networking that was occurring between regional clans and the emergent polity centred around the Ōsaka Plain: by venerating the Muakata goddesses with expensive and symbolically meaningful objects, Kinai leaders of the late fourth and fifth centuries strengthened ties with Munakata, who in turn solidified their prestige and local authority through their association with the coalescent core” (Morley 2009).

During this period the Yamato court began to make advances into the Korean peninsula. Relations were fostered with the kingdoms of Baekche and Kaya against Goguryeo and Silla. Relations seem to have been particularly close between Yamato and Baekche, and in 371 AD the Seven-Branded sword was presented to the rulers of Yamato by the King of Baekche. Written sources suggest, however, that Yamato involvement on the Korean peninsula at this time was not particularly successful, and the Gwangaetto stele, dated to 414 AD, describes a Yamato attack against both Silla and Baekche in 391 AD followed by defeat at the hands of Goguryeo at Taihou-gun followed by withdrawal in 404 (Fukuoka 2010: 6).

The Yamato court began sending tribute to the Chinese courts at the beginning of the 5th century, with embassies being sent to the Eastern Jin in 413, the Song from 421 to 478, the Qi in 479 and the Liang in 502. One possible motive for these acts was that they ‘were carried out with the objective of seeking supreme command authority for military affairs on the Korean Peninsula’ (Fukuoka 2010: 6).

Within the Munakata region as a whole, a number of small keyhole shaped tombs were constructed in the middle reaches of the Tsuru River at the beginning of the Kofun period (early 4th century). This was followed by larger constructions, notably the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb (late 4th century) which coincided with the first rituals taking place on the top of rocks on Okinoshima. This suggests the increasing significance of the Munakata Clan at this time. From the early 5th century, tombs of the leaders of the clan were moved to the coast, thereby establishing the Tsuyazaki Tumulus complex (Fukuoka 2010: 6).

In regards to the Munakata Shrine itself, the earliest references to the Munakata goddesses in the Nihon Shoki, note that

‘In 426 Achi no Omi brought four female workers back to the province of Tsukushi from the Chinese state of Wu. The great god Munakata desired such female workers so Achi no Omi gave up one of these workers, Ehime. In 430, the three Munakata Goddesses appeared inside the shrine, and informed the Emperor of the plundering of the population. However, at this time, there were no rituals held for the three goddesses and the empress passed away as the result of a spell being cast. The Emperor deeply regretted this and after verifying the fact that Kurumamochi no Kimi had gone to Tsukushi and snatched the Kamubera no Tami from the Munakata deities, he gained possession of it and had it returned’ (Fukuoka 2010: 6).

Gina Barnes has recently proposed an interesting new model for the cultic nature of the Miwa Court, which emphasises the ‘charisma of the Miwa cult figures or the attractiveness that was inherent in Mounded Tomb Culture (Barnes 2007: 184). This would have been the court that gave rise to the Yamato hegemony that would ultimately take control of the rituals at Okinoshima in the mid-7th century, but from in this phase, whatever was happening at Okinoshima was part of a regional ritual complex, even though it may have had similarities to what was happening in the Nara basin.

Barnes argues that the cultic nature of the Miwa Court was related to the acceptance of certain Daoist concepts among the emerging elites in the Kinai region from the late 2nd century AD. Central to this analysis is the presence of the deity-beast mirrors, which show the images of the Queen Mother of the West, the King Father and the tiger-beasts. Barnes suggests a strong similarity with important female figures in Early Kofun period society, including Queen Himiko and Princess Yamato. These attributes include: the possession of divine powers; association with political rulership; marriage to gods; the pairing of authority

figures; and an association with mountains: ‘the Queen Mother’s home was a mountain, Princess Yamato’s husband was a mountain deity, and both the Princess and Himiko were reportedly buried in artificial mountains’ (Barnes 2007: 181). These ideas presumably entered Japan from Korea via Kyūshū and it is of interest that the offerings at Okinoshima included one of the Beast and Deity mirrors.

Chronological summary of Phase 1

350-450	Phase 1 of Okinoshima rituals (rituals atop rocks)
300-550	Yamato period
265-420	Jin Dynasty
420-581	Northern and Southern Dynasties
300-600	Development from primitive Shintō to Clan Shintō
414	Kwangaetto stele (6.4m high at Yalu River) announced defeat of Wa forces on Korea in 400 and 404 (they had been active there since 391, allied with Silla against Paekche and then Koguryo)

Phase 2: Late 5th – 7th centuries AD

In this phase, rituals on Okinoshima took place in the shadows of rocks. This was a time of great change within the Japanese archipelago as the Yamato court extended its power across Japan, taking control of the shipping lanes of the Inland Sea and north Kyūshū. By the end of this stage Yamato-appointed officials were active in Tsukushi, the major port into Japan just to the west of Okinoshima. It is of interest that there is a major gap in evidence for rituals at Okinoshima from the second part of this phase (the later 6th century, i.e. around the time that Buddhism was introduced) until the middle of the 7th century, and this is a theme that requires further investigation. The late 5th to 7th centuries saw major developments in Japanese internal politics and in regard to relations with the East Asian world. Buddhism was introduced from the Korean peninsula and the Taika reforms (645 AD), which introduced the Ritsuryō system, saw government functions ‘diverted from the powerful clans under direct imperial rule to a centralised national authority under the Emperor’ (Fukuoka 2010: 8). Against this background, clan Shintō evolved into State Shintō, with rituals and creeds being standardised and brought under the control of the Yamato court. This is also an interesting development in the light of the apparent cessation of ritual activity at Okinoshima.

12 sites are associated with this phase, representing the largest proportion of all the Okinoshima ritual sites (Sites 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 22). ‘*Hinagata* and talc offerings were much more common than in earlier periods. Especially noteworthy is that gold rings, harnesses and other items from Silla were discovered, indicating that a dynamic programme of exchanges with the Korean peninsula was taking place at this time’ (Fukuoka 2010: 7). Okazaki (1993: 313) notes that similar objects were found in Japanese tombs from this period.

Morley notes that:

‘During the second phase of observance on Okinoshima, the number of imported items used as offerings increased notably. Such items include arms and armour, earthenware and metal plates, but the most significant finds from this period are two small fragments of cut glass whose convex shape suggests they were once part of a bowl. Their distinctive design accords precisely with glass produced in the Giran region of Iran during the Sassanid dynasty; that such a valuable item would come to be used as an offering on Okinoshima strongly attests to the island’s continuing importance as a centre of ritual performance. The finds of this era are reflective of broader trends during the sixth century: all across the archipelago, items such as gold ornaments and equestrian gear began to replace the bronze swords and *magatama* used as prestige goods in earlier times.’ (Morley 2009: 37-38).

Morley goes on to note, however, that,

‘Yet there is a curious gap in Okinoshima’s archaeological record during this period. Artifacts dating from the latter half of the sixth century through the first half of the seventh have yet to be discovered, and while it may be that such discoveries will be made in the future, current information makes clear that this century-long span witnessed a perplexing drop in propitiatory offerings. So far this nadir has

yet to be explained' (Morley 2009: 38 citing Piggott 1997: 63-70).

This was also a time of change in the Munakata region. Settlements were built near the middle reaches of the Tsuru River and artefacts suggest strong connections with Korea. These settlements may well have been an important base for international relations during the Middle Kofun period. Craft production included iron working, sue-ware and talc objects, and it is suggested that the talc objects that featured in the Okinoshima rituals were made at this location. Large storehouses found at Tagumaishihatake (5th-6th centuries) are thought to have been controlled by the Munakata clan.

There was a shift in the location of graves of the leaders of the Munakata Clan at this time: southwards along the coast away from the previous burial grounds at the mouth of the Tsuru River. Many large tombs were built, some exhibiting influences from the peninsula (e.g. the stone chamber at Katsuura Minenohata tomb, which is influenced by Goguryeo and the horizontal stone chamber at the same tomb, influenced by Kaya. Grave goods included thin iron plates (*tettei*), halberds (*tetsuhoko*) and saddle poles (*dakkoutekki*), as shown in murals at the Goguryeo Soeizuka tomb. The Miyajidake tumulus has the second largest stone chamber in Japan (23m long) was built in the 7th century: "Because of the splendour of the offerings found there, such as *kabutsuchinotachi* swords, gilt bronze harnesses and glass pieces, it is believed to be the grave of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, the father of Amako no Iratsume, who married Emperor Temmu and gave birth to his first son' (Fukuoka 2010: 8).

Within the Munakata Shrine itself, around 478 the Nihon Shoki describes how Oushikouchi no Ataekatabu and a female attendant were dispatched to deify the Munakata deities. The Emperor abandoned plans to attack Silla in March 478 as the 'gods' had shown their disapproval. These gods are thought to have been the Munakata deities 'who occupied a critical position in important national rituals connected with the diplomacy of the Yamato court' (Fukuoka 2010: 7). Although there are no significant references for the 6th century, in 649 AD 'the Munakata district was established in its role as a *shingun* donations were made to the Munakata shrine. The Munakata *dairyo* also served as the head priest and possessed an authority that allowed the office to be kept over three degrees of kinship. Before the establishment of the kokugun system of districts, the Munakata Clan was directly linked to the seat of government, but after the system was established, the Munakata district *dairyo* was placed under the same administration as the Dazaifu district. Even with this move, however, as the head priest of the Munakata shrine the *dairyo* remained a position of influence vis-à-vis the central authorities. As evidence of this, Amako no Iratsume, daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, married Prince Oama (Emperor Tenmu) and gave birth to Takechi no Miko in 655. The Munakata Clan was thus able to maintain close ties with the Yamato Court' (Fukuoka 2010: 7-8).

In summary, at this stage, the Munakata Clan was greatly involved in maritime navigation, rituals at Okinoshima, international exchanges and the production of iron and sue ware. The Munakata's were clearly influenced by what was happening in Korea and 'broadened their dominance and authority through sea navigation and ties to the royalty by steady procurement of advance technology and goods' (Fukuoka 2010: 8). The symbolic importance of iron, and the control of the import of iron as ingots from the southern part of the Korean peninsula, in particular the kingdom of Kaya, was critical at this stage, and this symbolism deserves further study.

Okazaki, summarising the significance of the rituals at Okinoshima for understanding what was happening in Japan at this time, notes: 'During this time, Yamato gained firm control of distant regions, including northern Kyūshū. Although this was accomplished partly through military action, the manipulation of religious symbols also played a crucial role (1993: 314).

Okazaki considers that the shrines on Okinoshima were built by fishermen, farmers and local clan chieftains:

'A mountain that floats on the sea, Okinoshima ultimately derived its sanctity from the belief that certain mountains were the homes of kami. People believed that one of the three Munakata kami resided on the island, just as they thought that kami lived on spectacular mountains such as Miwa and Kasuga in the Kinai and Akagi and Futara in the Kanto. Lowland farmers built mountaintop shrines to worship the kami who might then make the rice crops prosper, and both farmers and fishermen built shrines on Okinoshima, in hopes of abundant yields. Local clan chieftains also worshiped at

Okinoshima, in hopes of claiming special ties with the kami that would add religious sanction to their political authority and help them extend their control over land and people' (1993: 314).

Chronological summary of Phase 2

450-650	Phase 2 of Okinoshima rituals (rituals in rock shadows)		
520s	Iwai Rebellion (Iwai, Lord of Tsukushi defeated by Yamato sources in a war known from 8th century sources. He is buried in Iwataoyama Tumulus, Yame, Fukuoka – the largest kofun in northern Kyūshū (135m long).		
536	Yamato establishes series of granaries along the Inland Sea (miyake). One on Fukuoka Plain called Nanotsu Miyake. Yamato representative appointed at Tsukushi.		
552	Buddhism arrives in Japan (538 according to some sources)		
550-710	Asuka period	581-618	Sui dynasty
618-907	Tang Dynasty		
600-700	Development from Clan Shintō to State Shintō		
600	Wa sends first Embassy to Sui Dynasty		
607	2nd Embassy: returns in 608 with 12 Sui officials – first Chinese envoys since Wei Zhi		
Early 600s	Yamato representative at Nanotsu Miyake called Tsukushi Dazai (Kyūshū Governor-General)		

Phase 3: Late 7th – 8th century AD:

During this phase, rituals at Okinoshima took place partly in the shadows of large rocks and partly in the open air. This period saw the formalisation of Yamato control over Kyūshū.

'3 sites are associated with this phase (Sites 5, 14 and 20). For the first time, important cultural objects from China were excavated, including *tosansai* ceramics and gilt bronze dragonheads' along with 'spinning and weaving tools, bells, stringed instruments, and dolls. The report notes 'These kinds of artefacts used in *Ritsuryō* rituals were the most advanced in use at the time in Japan and, what's more, they were gilt-bronze goods not seen at more typical ritual sites, where sue ware or wooden items are more common. This substantiates the national characteristics of the Okinoshima rituals' (Fukuoka 2010: 8)

Morley writes:

'During the mid seventh century, an interesting trend emerged towards using miniaturized items and replicas of everyday objects as offerings. Figurines of people, along with miniature knives, spearheads, and axes have been unearthed, as have a large number of objects associated with textile weaving, such a miniature looms and spindles. Although it would seem that such offerings, being scaled-down replicas of functional goods, are of less putative value than those used in earlier times, this is not necessarily the case. The very fact that they were miniature replicas, and thus unsuited to human use, underscores their significance as purely ritual items produced for no other purpose than to be used as religious offerings. The practice of using objects of high market value would, however, make a brief resurgence in the third major period of ritual observance. In the eighth century, previous objects from Tang China appear as offerings; the most notable among them are beautiful multicoloured ceramics referred to as *To no sansai*. Excavation site no. 5 which contains artefacts from this time, has also yielded a miniature five-stringed zither made of bronze, as well as bronze sculptures of dragon heads that are thought have originally been produced in the short-lived sixth century Chinese kingdom of Eastern Wei' (Morley 2009: 38-39).

In addition, Okazaki observes that there is a specific connection between weaving and the Munakata clan:

'The *Hizen Fudoki* suggests that the people of the Munakata area excelled in weaving, and a *Nihon Shoki* item for Ojin's reign tells of a delegation sent to one of the southern courts of China to obtain seamstresses, one of whom was given to Munakata to serve its kami. This item may refer to one of the delegations from the 'Five Kings of Wa' noted in Chinese dynastic histories' (1993: 315).

Within the Munakata Shrine at this stage,

‘there is a description in the Shoku Nihongi of a Munakata Ason Tojo of the lower junior 5th rank who was the dairyo of the Munakata district in Chikuzen rising to the upper junior 5th rank in 709. The Munakata Clan doubled as priests as well as the dairyo of the Munakata district, and thus held power over both rituals and politics. Up until the middle of the 10th century as well, efforts were carried out to raise the status of the Munakata clan. It is believed that the status of the Munakata clan came to cause tensions with Silla’ (Fukuoka 2010: 9).

Once again, this phase saw some interesting developments in regard to connections with the Korean peninsula. Goguryeo and Baekche attacked Silla in 655. In response to pleas for assistance from Silla, the Tang attacked first Goguryeo and then Baekje. In 660 the Baekje capital of Sabi fell and the kingdom of Baekje collapsed. Yamato went to the assistance of its old ally, Baekje. They fought Silla at the Battle of Hakusukinoe and were defeated, withdrawing from the peninsula. In 668 Goguryeo also fell, and Silla completed its unification of the Korean peninsula in 676. Yamato began sending envoys to Silla after the fall of Goguryeo,

Within this troubled international context, the deposition of Chinese objects on Okinoshima are interesting:

‘The Tang tri-colour earthenware fragments ... from site no. 5 are thought to have been carried back on either the 8th envoy to Tang China in 702 ... or the 9th envoy in 717. With regards to the gilt bronze dragon figures, two five-coloured banners were included among the treasures carried back to Japan from the royal palace after Otomo Sadehiko defeated the Goguryeo in 562. The Goguryeo had been paying tribute to the Eastern Wei and Yuzo Sugiyama theorises that these were carried back from eastern Wei (534-550) via Goguryeo’ (Fukuoka 2010: 9).

Chronological summary of Phase 3

650 onwards	Maturation of State Shintō
650-750	Phase 3 of Okinoshima rituals (rituals partly in rock shadows and partly in the open air)
663	Battle of Paekchon River (Hakusuki-no-e-no-tatakai) (Queen Saimei and Prince Naka aid Paekche against Koguryo). Japan defeated and withdraws from the Korean Peninsula.
664-671	Five Chinese embassies from Chinese government-general in Ungjin and increasing nervousness about foreign visits led to construction of defences, forts and beacons on Tsushima and Iki and in the Tsukushi region (Batten 2006: 25). Around this time Dazaifu really begins functioning – governor-generals are now members of central court aristocracy, e.g. Prince Kurihama, grandson of King Bidatsu, appointed in 671. Construction of Dazaifu Lodge Headquarters and Tsukushi Lodge (perhaps modelled on Sabi, last kingdom of Paekche). 664 massive Mizuki embankment constructed. Critical moment of Yamato consolidating control over Kyūshū. Dazaifu becomes the defacto control of routes of entry to Japan. Conscripted Sakimori guards despatched from Naniwa (about 3000 altogether) – a system that lasted for about 100 years.
668	Silla unifies the Korean peninsula. Sends first envoys to Japan: first of 23 embassies to 700AD. 9 embassies go from Japan to Silla. Most Korean embassies stayed in Kyūshū. In 697, however, Korean embassy was invited to Fujiwara-kyo. Numbers of embassies declined after 700, with 9 embassies from Silla before 730.
702	Promulgation of Taiho Law codes
710-794	Nara period
712	Kojiki completed
718	Yoro Administrative Code
720	Nihon Shoki completed Taga-jo established to help subdue northeast
727	Parhae (hostile to Silla and Tang) sends 1st embassy to Japan. And becomes ‘tributary’ of Japan.
731	Japan attacks Korea (Silla) (according to Korean records) against backdrop of deteriorating relations between Silla and Japan. Silla backed by Tang China. But

- 730-779 a further 12 missions sent from Silla to Japan and 7 from Japan to Silla, although the atmosphere is now one of bickering and Korean envoys are no longer automatically invited to Heijo-kyo.
- 735 Introduction of smallpox from Silla eventually kills 1/3 entire Japanese population. Responses were reading of sutras in temples and prayers at shrines (Batten 2007: 68). It seems that the spirits of Okinoshima were not being effective.
- 738 Todaiji Temple founded (temple for imperial family)
- 741 Kokubunji system established

Phase 4: Late 8th – end of the 9th century:

In this final stage of major ritual activity at Okinoshima, attention shifted to rituals in the open air, giving them a more public aspect. This was against a backdrop of the gradual loosening of control over foreign contacts as the Dazaifu system waxed and waned. In the later part of the period, increasing numbers of unregulated visitors arrived from China and Korea, with the gradual appearance of pirates and then attacks on Japanese settlements and facilities on Tsushima and Iki, as well as at Dazaifu itself. By the later part of the 9th century, while offerings are being made against pirates at various shrines, there is no mention of this happening at Okinoshima.

3 sites are associated with this phase (Sites 1, 2, 3). The largest site, No. 1, was

‘a large open-air ceremonial site that was created so that rituals could be held many times at the same location. Ceremonial offerings included vast numbers of Sue ware, talc, ritual objects (large, flat comma-shaped jewels, flat *komochi* comma-shaped jewels, *usudama* stones, flat stones and round plates) and talc representations of sacred objects (dolls, horses, boats), as well as iron weapons and tools, bronze bowls and metal *hinagata* ritual objects (bells, ritual gikyo mirrors, gilt bronze spinning and weaving tools and vessels)’ (Fukuoka 2010).

Among the rarest objects were ‘10 Nara-tricolor covered jars, coins from the imperial court (*Fujushinbo*), and eight prism sheets. The *Fujushinbo* is thought to have come back with the 19th envoy to T’ang China in 836.’ The *Fujushinbo* provide a convenient date for the later rituals at Okinoshima, as they were first minted in 818 (Fukuoka 2010: 9). Okazaki (1993: 313) adds bronze bells (*suzu*) to the list of artefacts and ‘twelve small Japanese copies of Tang three-colored ceramics have also been found. The steatite articles were probably used in purification rites (*katashiro*) and include images of humans, horses, and boats (Okazaki 1993: 314).

Morley notes:

‘The fourth stage of ritual performance is characterised by enormous numbers of comparatively low value items, including cups, lids, bowls, pots, jars of various sorts, and, on at least one occasion, domestic copper coins. Some of the pottery from this era is only found on Okinoshima and the coast of Munakata district, suggesting that it was produced in local kilns before being transported to the island. The amount of material from this period is so high that, as of 2008, only about half had been thoroughly catalogued and studied. Some objects of higher value are found, such as small octagonal mirrors and domestic ceramics known as *Nara sansai*, but the departure from past eras is nonetheless unmistakable. Crucially no imported items whatsoever are found from this period. By the turn of the tenth century, the era of large-scale ritual observance on Okinoshima was over for good’ (Morley 2009: 39-40).

The international context is considered to have been ‘relatively stable’, with envoys continuing to be sent to Tang China (to 836) and Silla (to 799). However, from 702, envoys after the 8th embassy took a more southerly route, resulting in a higher occurrence of shipwrecks. Embassies to the Tang were finally suspended in 894 and until then ‘national rituals to assure safe travel were held quite often’ (Fukuoka 2010: 9).

Within the Munakata Shrine itself, priests were sent to chant sutras at the Shrine for rituals relating to the Tang envoys, ‘and monks were also stationed there (*Ruiji Kokushi*). In 838 two monks offered prayers for

a peaceful voyage during the 17th envoy to Tang China. From 979 a high priest (*Daigūji*) was also based at the shrine, and was in charge for the next 500 years (Fukuoka 2010: 9)

The end of rituals of state at Okinoshima

Morley summarises the reasons suggested for the abandonment of Okinoshima as a major location of ritual practice: the most popular theory relates this to

‘Japan’s abandonment of official missions to China: with delegations no longer being dispatched, the need to undertake elaborate and expensive rituals designed to ensure safe voyages was eliminated. This view is supported by the fact that the overriding purpose of ritual observances on Okinoshima between the seventh and ninth centuries AD was, without question, to ensure safety at sea [evidenced by the funagata, small boat-shaped offerings typically carved out of stone, wood or talc]’.

Morley does not regard this as the only reason, however. He notes that

‘the Munakata Shrine was flourishing within the rubric of Japan’s newly-routinized imperial polity; ... the Munakata goddesses, and by extension the shrine establishment itself, rose rapidly in rank throughout the ninth century. By this time the social and political order on the archipelago had undergone a process of ideological configuration and administrative restructuring based upon Chinese principles of law and governance. Prior to this process, ritual observance on Okinoshima had served to cement ties between the Munakata and the Kinai kings, but by the late eighth and early ninth centuries, different mechanisms, such as ceremonial ranks and hereditary appointments to local posts, were functioning in a similar way’ (Morley 2009: 41).

In addition, the Hetsu shrine became a kind of headquarters for the Munakata family as it became formally more important in the administration, and by 781 all three Munakata goddesses were being ‘collectively venerated’ there, ‘and throughout the Heian period offerings made to Munakata Shrine by the Imperial Court or other influential patrons went predominantly to Hetsu. In sum, both the changed structure of prestige relations and the increased spiritual centrality of Hetsu Shrine combined to obviate the need to propitiate the Munakata deities on Okinoshima’ (Morley 2009: 41).

Edward Kidder, in his summary of Shintō archaeology, provides a rather more blunt summary:

‘After the Nara period, when the court had lost interest in Korea, most of the officiating at these sites was probably taken over by the Munakata clan, accounting for the decline in quality of offerings to the level seen at most popular ritual sites. A small number of objects of a later date were recovered. For instance, sixteen coins of the Sung dynasty were unearthed at Site No. 4’ (1972: 36).

Chronological summary of Phase 4

750-900	Phase 4 of Okinoshima rituals (rituals in the open air)
752	Opening ceremony for Nara Daibutsu
750s-760s	Fujiwara Nakamaro plans full-scale invasion of Korea, but not carried out - (following An Lushan rebellion in China)
760	Manyōshū completed
774	Year of natural calamities
779	Mission sent to Tang China (also in 804 and 838. One planned for 894 was cancelled)
780	Last of the Silla embassies
780s-935	Silla becomes internally weakened by succession disputes and palace coups. Increasingly, Silla’s borders became porous. Various ‘friendly’ Koreans show up in Kyūshū, unofficially: immigrants, castaways and later (830s-840s) merchants.
784	Capital moved to Nagaoka
794-1185	Heian period
803	Sakanouye Tamuramaro drives Emishi north
811AD	First historical record of ‘pirates’ (at Tsushima) – though no apparent ill-intent

820s-840	Chang Pogo active – built commercial empire from N China to Japan. Put in charge of Silla coastal defenses at Chong’hae garrison on Wan Island. (Batten 2007: 84). Tried to offer a saddle as tribute to Japan in 840 – rejected. Complex affair involving Japanese officials.
850 onwards	Silla pirates begin raids on Kyūshū
869AD	Silla pirates attack Hakata and stole silk and floss. Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku reports offerings made at Ise Shrine, Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, Hachiman Usa Shrine, but no records of offerings at Okinoshima
890s	Pirate raids increase
894AD	Major pirate raid on Tsushima (2500 pirates?)
894AD	Sugawara no Michizane convinces court to cease ending envoys to Tang China: ritual activities on Okinoshima go into decline
926AD	Parhae fall to Khitan tribesmen. They had been using the Matsubara (Pine Grove) Guesthouse at Tsuruga Bay (Echizen, Fukui) rather than going all the way to Hakata.
936AD	Silla replaced by Koryo
941AD	Dazaifu attacked and burnt by pirates from Inland Sea – led by Fujiwara Sumitomo (commanded over 1000 ships from base at Hiburishima)
996-999AD	Raids on Kyūshū mainland by people from Amami Islands and perhaps also Koryo – may people abducted
1019AD	Toi invasion (by pirates) of Kyūshū. Iki and Tsushima attacked first. Attackers were perhaps Jurchen (who succeeded Parhae). Throughout all these attacks, the authorities were careful to acknowledge the role of deities in protecting Japan

Chronological summary of later history of Okinoshima

From early 10th century, a long period of diplomatic isolation set in (despite requests from Liao dynasty (929), Wu Yue, Late Paekche and Koryo – but all ambassadors were rebuffed. Maritime trade took over from formal diplomatic embassies, and religious pilgrimages. There was no longer any need for the cultural capital, information or political legitimacy that the embassies brought and contacts with East Asia were maintained in other ways.

1368 ‘Shohei record of Yearly Events’ records that ‘Okinoshima is the main shrine on the boundary between Japan and Goryeo. The island itself is the object of faith, as the ‘Chinese kanji for Okinoshima is used without the character denoting shrine’ (Fukuoka 2010: 10).

5. Okinoshima among the World’s Sacred Islands

The study of island archaeology has been identified as a distinct field within the broader disciplines of archaeology and anthropology. A series of recent publications have examined the historiography of this subfield, as well as proposing a distinctive set of methods and theories designed to understand the human occupation of islands (Broodbank 2000, Fitzpatrick 2004, Rainbird 2007, Waldren and Ensenyat 2002). While few of these studies explicitly advances ideas about the nature of ‘scared islands’ per se, the study of island archaeology does provide useful context for understanding the way in which Okinoshima was interacting with other islands in around the Genkai Sea. There is also a major shift in the study of islands, away from them being seen as isolated, to them being seen as connected across the sea, which is also of significance for understanding Okinoshima.

The most recent, extensive, and critical survey of island archaeology (Rainbird 2007) concludes with stating that ‘islands should be a focus of study in regard to their relations with the sea rather than the apparently circumscribed piece of land they represent (ibid: 163). He identified ‘maritime communities’, not necessarily based on kinship, but rather ‘one where such symbolic markers [e.g. specific types of: handshakes, kisses, clothes, tattoos or jewelry] are recognised as affiliation to smaller groupings of people, but also one where either party in the observation will recognise in these materials a shared experience, one

linked to the sea' (ibid 166). He continues: 'It is ... in the maritime context that the majority of islanders find the experience which is passed from one generation to the next and creates a maritime community with expectations of communications across broad networks' (ibid 167).

This notion of 'maritime communities' relates to the idea of 'seascapes'. According to Crouch (2008: 132), who contrasts the study of seascapes with the traditional study of islands, which tend to regard coasts as marginal boundaries, 'in a socially constructed seascape, the most marginal place you can be is in the middle of a large island'. Crouch also makes the important point that 'the water is not empty' and refers to Cordell's (1989) study of indigenous customary marine tenure. The notion of seascapes is well-developed on Oceanian archaeology and increasingly elsewhere (cf Gosden and Pavlides 1994, McNiven 2008, Rainbird 2007). Seen in this regards, Okinoshima forms part of an enculturated seascape, celebrating its isolation but in fact closely connected to developments on the mainland.

Rainbird accepts that 'Islands are most important for archaeological study because ... they are so embedded in the myths and dreams of Western consciousness that in studying island histories archaeologists can challenge some of the fundamental social and political myths of our time' (2007: 171). It would be interesting to explore this further, and examine the place of islands in non-Western consciousness (for example Japan, or China). Defending a different perspective that of island biogeography or metapopulation biology, Terrell (2008: 146) argues that 'The great thing about islands for archaeology is that they invite, even beg, for comparative study – which in the eyes of many remains a primary concern of anthropology broadly defined. ... islands lead us to confront the essential diversity that is so characteristic of our species'.

Fitzpatrick (2004) considers that the study of island archaeology offers particularly good conditions for studying the following processes: environmental change (notably the impact of humans on island environments); colonisation; migration and demographic change; and interregional interaction. According to Terrell, 'As biogeographers see them, islands are what they are because they are living spaces (habitats) surrounded by radical shifts in habitat – so radical that (1) few species of plants or animals are able to live for long in one of these radically different habitats; and (2) consequently we must play close attention not only to what these habitat islands are like at any one moment but also to how and how often what is living there (plants, animals and humans) comes and goes' (2008: 144). The basic theory of island biogeography was set out by MacArthur and Wilson in 1967, and subsequently developed by later generations of those interested in ecology and the geography of nature (e.g. Lomolino 2000).

List of islands and island-related sites inscribed as World Heritage Sites

Name	Category
Bikini Atholl	Cultural
Brazil Atlantic Islands	Natural
Churches of Chiloe	Cultural
Cidade Velhe	Cultural
Corfu Old Town	Cultural
East Rennell (Solomon Islands)	Natural
Galapagos Islands	Natural
Gulf of California Islands	Natural
Gusuku, Okinawa, Japan	Cultural
Heard and McDonald Islands	Natural
Isole Aeoli, Italy	Natural
Itsukushima, Japan	Cultural
Komodo Island	Natural
Lamu Old Town, Kenya	Cultural
New Zealand Sub-Antarctic Islands	Natural
Orkney, UK	Cultural
Papahānaumokuākea	Cultural and natural
Patmos, Greece	Cultural
Phoenix Island (Kiribati)	Natural

Portovenere Italy	Cultural
Rapa Nui, Easter Island	Cultural
St Kilda, UK	Cultural and natural
San Cristobal de la Laguna, Spain	Cultural
Solovetsky Islands, Russia	Cultural
Suommenlinna, Finland	Cultural
Trogir, Croatia	Cultural
Chief Roi Mata's domain, Vanuatu	Cultural
Vegaoyan, Norway	Cultural

Total: 28

(Source: UNESCO)

Okinoshima is described as an 'island floating in the sea'. Its significance lies in the large number of ritual sites that have been excavated on it, and what these remains and what is known of the history of worship both on the island and at the associated Munakata shrines on the mainland of Kyūshū, can tell about the transition from regional to national rituals during the Kofun and Nara periods (from the 4th to the 9th centuries AD) in Japan, in the context of the establishment of a centralised state-level society in Japan, and the relationships between Japan and the East Asian continent at this time. In this, Okinoshima is somewhat different to other island and island-related sites that are on the World Heritage List.

The UNESCO website suggests that at least 28 World Heritage sites are islands or island-related. A survey of relevant websites conducted in January 2011 suggested that of these sites, nine were inscribed on account of the significance of their natural heritage (ranging from the home of the Komodo dragons of Indonesia, to exceptional fish breeding grounds, as at the Brazil Atlantic Islands, and the Galapagos Islands, which played such an important role in the formulation of the theory of evolution by Charles Darwin). The remaining 19 sites were inscribed on account of their cultural significance, with two being inscribed due to a combination of their cultural and natural significance (St Kilda off the coast of Scotland and Papahānaumokuākea).

These island world heritage sites fall into a number of categories. There are a series of excellently-preserved urban forms (Corfu Old Town, Cidade Velha, Lamu Old Town, San Cristobal de Laguna and Trogir), sites of specific architectural form (fortresses such as Suomenlinna in Finland), and centres of religious (Churches of Chiloe, the monasteries of the Solovetsky Islands in northern Russia, and Patmos). There are two of great significance for prehistoric archaeology, Orkney and Rapa Nui, and others that are important as representing traditional ways of life (Chief Roi Mata's Domain and Vegaoyan).

One of the closest to Okinoshima, both in terms of geography and significance, is Itsukushima:

The island of Itsukushima, in the Seto inland sea, has been a holy place of Shintoism since the earliest times. The first shrine buildings here were probably erected in the 6th century. The present shrine dates from the 12th century and the harmoniously arranged buildings reveal great artistic and technical skill. The shrine plays on the contrasts in colour and form between mountains and sea and illustrates the Japanese concept of scenic beauty, which combines nature and human creativity.

The shrine buildings of Itsukushima-jinja are in the general tradition of Shintō shrine architecture in Japan, generally constructed at the foot of a mountain. They have preserved the styles prevailing from the late 12th to the early 13th centuries and are important as examples of the ancient type of shrine architecture integrated with the surrounding landscape, the physical manifestation of human worship of nature.

The buildings consist of the main shrine buildings (Honsha), constructed and composed to achieve harmony within a single design concept, and the other buildings that have been added to them over a long period of history. Each building has high architectural quality in itself.

Itsukushima Island is one of many in the western part of the Setonaikai (Seto Inland Sea), between the islands of Honshu and Shikoku. Because it has the region's highest mountain, Mount Misen (530 m), it has been worshipped by people in the region since ancient times: they felt such awe that they dared not set foot on it, worshipping it from afar. However, their faith was so great that they were driven to construct shrines on the shores of the island on more than one occasion.

It is thought that Itsukushima-jinja was founded in 593, although its existence is not confirmed before

811. The Nihon Shoki states that Itsukushima no kami (the god of Itsukushima) took his place among the celebrated gods, and the Imperial household began to present *hei* (sacred staffs with cut paper at the top) to the shrine. It became known as a sacred shrine in the county of Aki during the Heian Period (794-1184).

It is not known when building work began. However, it is recorded that Saeki Kagehiro, a Shintō Priest, reported to the Imperial Court that he reconstructed the main shrine buildings in 1168: during this work the scale of the buildings was increased and the roofing of some was changed from shingles to Japanese cypress bark. This reconstruction, believed to have been financed by Taira no Kiyomori, the most powerful leader of the time, set the standards for subsequent reconstructions in both scale and composition. Kiyomori believed that he owed his successful record in the civil wars of Hogen and Heiji and his subsequent political promotion to his religious faith in Itsukushima-jinja, and the belief that the god of Itsukushima was a guardian deity of the Heike family deepened his veneration of the shrine, where he worshipped on every important political occasion of his life.

The reconstructed main shrine buildings were destroyed by fire in 1207 in the Kamakura Period (1185-1332) and reconstructed eight years later, only to be burnt down once again in 1223. This time the reconstruction took longer, not being completed until 1241; the major surviving shrine buildings date from this reconstruction. From this time onwards, total reconstruction of the complex became too large a task and so buildings were reconstructed on an individual basis. During the Kamakura Period the shrine was under the patronage of the feudal government, but in the succeeding Muromachi Period (1333-1572) this came to an end.

Since Itsukushima-jinja was built by the sea, it suffered repeated damage from wind and flooding, but each time it was restored with the support of influential people at national and local level throughout the ages. The Otorii (large Shrine gate), set in the sea, was especially vulnerable and was frequently reconstructed, most recently in 1875. New buildings were also added to the main compound, to create the present ensemble - the Gojunoto (five-storey pagoda) in 1407, the Tahoto (two-storey pagoda) in 1523, the Sessha Tenjin-sha Honden in 1556, and the Hokoku-jinja Honden (Senjokaku) in 1587.

Itsukushima Island has an important commercial role in the Inland Sea by virtue of its position. By the late Muromachi Period (1233-1573) a market had been opened on the island, round which an urban area developed. A Buddhist temple was erected near the summit of Mount Misen, and this also attracted many pilgrims and visitors. The island lost the somewhat forbidding character as a sacred island reserved exclusively for the act of worship, that it had had in ancient times and became an open island possessing great beauty from its integrated landscape of religious buildings and natural features, so that by the middle of the Edo Period (1600-1866) it had become acknowledged as one of the Three Most Scenic Places in Japan (Aki no Miyaiima).

Across the Pacific lies a further very significant island site at Papahānaumokuākea:

Papahānaumokuākea is a vast and isolated linear cluster of small, low lying islands and atolls, with their surrounding ocean, roughly 250 km to the northwest of the main Hawaiian Archipelago and extending over some 1931 km. The area has deep cosmological and traditional significance for living Native Hawaiian culture, as an ancestral environment, as an embodiment of the Hawaiian concept of kinship between people and the natural world, and as the place where it is believed that life originates and to where the spirits return after death. On two of the islands, Nihoa and Makumanamana, there are archaeological remains relating to pre-European settlement and use.

Polynesian voyagers arrived in the isolated Hawaiian Archipelago around 300 AD as part of the great migration around the Pacific that started perhaps around 3,000 years ago from south-east Asia, reached Polynesia by around 200 BC, and then spread across the rest of the Pacific over the next two millennia. The voyagers found the larger islands in what is now Hawaii to have fertile soils, abundant water, and reefs rich with marine life.

The settlers mainly inhabited the main islands to the south-east of the Archipelago, but there is evidence of human use in two within Papahānaumokuākea: Mokumanamana and Nihoa.

The sites in the two islands have been the subject of only limited archaeological investigation and there are still major gaps in knowledge.

The earliest studies, undertaken by the Tanager Expedition in 1923-24, completely excavated a number of small caves/rock shelters, partly-excavated some open-air sites and removed human skeletal material found in small niches in the cliffs on Nihoa, as well as two human femurs and a tibia revealed by excavation of a rock shelter on Mokumanamana. All the human bone as well as all cultural material

retrieved from the excavations and from surface sites were returned to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The human skeletal remains have recently been repatriated to the islands by Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners. In addition to completely stripping all sediments observed in cave/rock shelter sites, the Tanager excavations contributed to the destabilization of sections of dry-stone walling on the islands. This and several earlier non-scientific expeditions to the islands also removed a number of small and highly-distinctive carved stone statues and other artefacts from the surface of Mokumanamana. Some of the images are in Bishop Museum but others appear to have been lost.

Recorded human visitation to the two islands has been minimal since the Tanager Expedition, as the islands were part of the Hawaiian Islands Reservation declared in 1909. Access has effectively been limited to shortterm biological surveys, intermittent low-impact archaeological studies and occasional visits by Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners.

When Europeans arrived in Hawaii in the late 18th century they found a thriving society with distinctive and complex social and religious systems. Starting in the 1960s and 70s a resistance movement began to develop against Western assimilation. This led to a renaissance of Hawaiian culture and the strengthening of bonds with sacred places.

There are of course many other islands around the world that are of great significance in terms of their cultural heritage, and that provide interesting comparators for Okinoshima. These include, in the Mediterranean, the islands of Malta and Gozo, which contain some of the most remarkable monuments of the prehistoric world, notably the underground Neolithic temple known as the Hal-Saflieni Hypogeum, and the megalithic sites of Hagar Qim, and Tarxien. For the purposes of this survey, Malta and Gozo can be compared to Neolithic Orkney, another World Heritage site.

Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the many island of Greece were the focus of sanctuaries and shrines from prehistory through Classical Greece, and have provided many case studies in the archaeological study of cult, ritual and religion. In particular the sanctuary at Phylakopi has provided Colin Renfrew with material for thought in his studies of the archaeology of cult:

Located at the northern coast of the island of Milos, 'Phylakopi is one of the most important Bronze Age settlements in the Aegean and especially in the Cyclades. The importance of Phylakopi is in its almost continuous inhabitation throughout the Bronze Age (i.e. from the half of the 3rd millennium BC until the 12th century BC), and in plentiful architectural and artistic findings; Phylakopi is an important site for understanding the development of the prehistoric Cycladic culture'.

Anna Papamanolou-Quest has provided an interesting survey of caves in the Aegean islands, as cult places which are used over long periods of time, but by very different religious traditions, from Minoan civilization to Christianity. Beginning with the stalagmitic cult statues first recognised in the 17th century, by which natural features in caves were regarded as representations of saints, or as the columns of natural cathedrals, Papamanolou-Quest described the special significance placed on water from the caves as having healing qualities, a kind of 'holy water'. The motif of healing was extended to bones, which again were encountered in large numbers in caves. In one example, the Agioi Saranta in Cyprus, calcified bones are identified as those belonging to 40 anonymous Christian martyrs. These bones have become the focus of 'an intense popular cult, with oil lamps, candles, icons and prayers' (Papamanolou-Quest 2002: 533). Other sets of bones are considered to mark specific historic events. In other parts of the Aegean caves are the birthplace of gods, as recorded by the Classical Greek authors such as Hesiod. They are also home to 'hidden chapels' and secret sanctuaries are often located within grottos. And there is often a feminine aspect to the sacred nature of these locations, from the impossibly beautiful Neraides, 'the Greek fairies who haunt springs, trees and deserted seashores' – regarded as dangerous and demonic to the later Christian inhabitants of the islands, who invoked the Virgin Mary, 'the Christian feminine divine power linked to healing, child bearing and nourishing [who] keeps away evil Nereidas' (2002: 534). Papamanolou-Quest concludes by showing how caves on islands have provided religious comfort and security all through the tumultuous and often difficult history of the Aegean: a history of natural disasters, invasions and warfare:

'Throughout tormented history, the Aegean islanders stuck to the protected spaces of caves, where idols are made by an unknown divine sculptor, where God sends miraculous holy healing water, where invisible but omnipresent feminine beings spring constantly from fresh myth-bearing minds. A diachronic, deeply religious relation to environment, which has helped survival in the past and allows

some hope for the future' (Papamanolou-Quest 2002: 536).

Further north, a series of islands around the British Isles are also of particular interest.

Lundy is the largest island in the Bristol Channel, lying 12 miles (19 km) off the coast of Devon, England, approximately one third of the distance across the channel between England and Wales. It measures about 3 miles (5 km) by 0.75 miles (1.2 km) at its widest. Lundy has evidence of visitation or occupation from the Neolithic period onward, with Mesolithic flintwork, Bronze Age burial mounds, four inscribed gravestones from the early medieval period and an early medieval monastery (possibly dedicated to St Elen or St Helen).

The long-term occupation and variety of well-preserved monuments has led English Heritage to attempt to designate the entire island as a listed Cultural Landscape, but this is still under discussion. Meanwhile, on the northeast coast of the British Isles lies one of the most famous islands with religious associations, Lindisfarne.

Lindisfarne is a tidal island off the north-east coast of England also known as Holy Island, the name of the civil parish. Both the Parker Chronicle and Peterborough Chronicle annals of AD793 record the Old English name, Lindisfarena which means "[island of the] travellers from Lindsey", indicating that the island was settled from Lindsey, or possibly that its inhabitants travelled there. The island of Lindisfarne appears under the Old Welsh name *Medcaut* in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, and the name ultimately derives from Latin *Medicata (Insula)* "Healing (Island)", owing perhaps to the island's reputation for medicinal herbs. The *Historia Brittonum* recounts how in the sixth century, Urien, prince of Rheged, besieged the Angles led by Theodoric at the island for three days and three nights. The monastery of Lindisfarne was founded by Irish born Saint Aidan, who had been sent from Iona off the west coast of Scotland to Northumbria at the request of King Oswald ca. AD 635. It became the base for Christian evangelising in the North of England and also sent a successful mission to Mercia. Monks from the community of Iona settled on the island. Northumberland's patron saint, Saint Cuthbert, was a monk and later Abbot of the monastery, and his miracles and life are recorded by the Venerable Bede. Cuthbert later became Bishop of Lindisfarne. He was buried here, his remains later translated to Durham Cathedral (along with the relics of Saint Eadfrith of Lindisfarne). Eadberht of Lindisfarne, the next bishop (and Saint) was buried in the place from which Cuthbert's body was exhumed earlier the same year when the priory was abandoned in the late ninth century.

At some point in the early 700s the famous illuminated Latin manuscript known as the Lindisfarne Gospels, was made probably at Lindisfarne and the artist was possibly Eadfrith, who later became Bishop of Lindisfarne. Sometime in the second half of the tenth century a monk named Aldred added an Anglo-Saxon (Old English) gloss to the Latin text, producing the earliest surviving Old English copies of the Gospels. The Gospels were illustrated in an insular style containing a fusion of Celtic, Germanic and Roman elements; they were probably originally covered with a fine metal case made by a hermit called Billfrith. In 793, a Viking raid on Lindisfarne caused much consternation throughout the Christian west, and is now often taken as the beginning of the Viking Age.

Lindisfarne is of particular interest in relation to Okinoshima due to the religious associations and because of the reports of attacks by Vikings, which can perhaps be compared to the attacks by pirates during the 9th century in Japan. Our final example of a special island setting is Pohnpei in the south Pacific:

In the Pacific, Pohnpei "upon (*pohn*) a stone altar (*pei*)" (formerly known as Ponape) is the name of one of the four states in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), situated among the Senyavin Islands which are part of the larger Caroline Islands group. Nan Madol is a ruined city that lies off the eastern shore of the island of Pohnpei that was the capital of the Saudeleur dynasty until about AD 1500. It is in the present day Madolenihmw district of Pohnpei state, in the Federated States of Micronesia in the western Pacific Ocean. The city consists of a series of small artificial islands linked by a network of canals.[3] The site core with its stone walls encloses an area approximately 1.5 km long by 0.5 km wide and it contains nearly 100 artificial islets—stone and coral fill platforms—bordered by tidal canals.

The name Nan Madol means "spaces between" and is a reference to the canals that crisscross the ruins. The original name was *Soun Nan-leng* (Reef of Heaven), according to Gene Ashby in his book *Pohnpei, An Island Argosy*. It is often called the "Venice of the Pacific. Nan Madol was the ceremonial and

political seat of the Saudeleur dynasty, which united Pohnpei's estimated 25,000 people. Set apart between the main island of Pohnpei and Temwen Island, it was a scene of human activity as early as the first or second century AD. By the 8th or 9th century islet construction had started, but the distinctive megalithic architecture was probably not begun until perhaps the 12th or early 13th century.

Little can be verified about the megalithic construction. Pohnpeian tradition claims that the builders of the Lelu complex on Kosrae (likewise composed of huge stone buildings) migrated to Pohnpei, where they used their skills and experience to build the even more impressive Nan Madol complex. However, this is unlikely: radiocarbon dating indicates that Nan Madol predates Lelu. Like Lelu, one major purpose of constructing a separate city was to insulate the nobility from the common people. A local story holds that when Nan Madol was being built a powerful magician living in the well inhabited region on the northwest of the island was solicited, and that his help was a major factor in completing the buildings. In particular, he was responsible for supplying the huge stone "logs" used in much of Nan Madol by "flying" them from their source to the construction site. The elite centre was a special place of residence for the nobility and of mortuary activities presided over by priests. Its population almost certainly did not exceed 1,000, and may have been less than half that. Although many of the residents were chiefs, the majority were commoners. Nan Madol served, in part, as a way for the ruling Saudeleur chiefs to organize and control potential rivals by requiring them to live in the city rather than in their home districts, where their activities were difficult to monitor.

Carbon dating indicates that the construction of Nan Madol began around AD 1200, while excavations show that the area may have been occupied as early as 200 BC. Some probable quarry sites around the island have been identified, but the exact origin of the stones of Nan Madol is yet undetermined. None of the proposed quarry sites exist in Madolenihmw, meaning that the stones must have been transported to their current location. It has been suggested that they might have been floated via raft from the quarry, and a short dive between the island and the quarries shows a trail of dropped stones. However, no one has successfully demonstrated or explained the process. Some modern Pohnpeians believe the stones were flown to the island by use of black magic.

These examples of islands with significant cultural heritage relating to ritual and religion are important for assessing the significance of Okinoshima. While each has an interesting history, none have the continuity of ritual activity that suggests a link from earliest to contemporary times, with the possible exception of Itsukushima. And at Itsukushima there is not the extensive archaeological evidence for ritual practices, and more limited early historical evidence (the main references seem to be from the Heian period rather than earlier). In other examples, notably Malta and Gozo, the evidence is prehistoric in nature and thus, while the monuments themselves are unquestionably impressive in their own right, we are dependent on archaeological interpretations about how the sites were used. These interpretations, while of great interest, cannot provide the combination of historical detail and material evidence available for Okinoshima. Islands that feature in the history of western Christianity, for example St Kilda, Iona and Lindisfarne, demonstrate the power of islands to attract those for whom isolation is an important component of their religious tradition. This monastic tradition, while again fascinating and compelling in its own right, as is the notion of monks setting off in boats to achieve a closer communion with the divine (Mack 2011), is very different to what was happening at Okinoshima, which was a deity in its own right, at least from the Medieval period. Although Okinoshima was isolated and the ritual practices took place removed from other worldly events, in fact Okinoshima was closely tied into one the main route of entry to Japan for many centuries, through northern Kyūshū and across the Genkai Sea to Korea. In this way, Okinoshima needs to be understood as central to the islandscape, or the seascape of the region, a concept of great importance to contemporary research on the cultural history of the sea and the role played by islands in general.

6. Okinoshima amongst the World's Sacred Mountains

The various assessments of Okinoshima have also pointed out that Okinoshima as a mountain island, is regarded as a god in its own right. There are many mountains regarded as sacred all around the world (Bernbaum 1997), and of course some of the most famous examples (including Mount Fuji) are in Japan itself. In his 'Archaeology of Natural Places' British archaeologist Richard Bradley discusses the significance of mountains for the Saami peoples of Scandinavia. Mountaineer and author Edmund Bernbaum summaries the various themes that make mountains sacred: the mountain as centre of the

Universe (for example the legendary Mount Sumeru in Buddhism, of Mount Kailas in Tibetan Buddhism and Hinduism), or the centre of the world (for example Harney Peak in North America for the Sioux). Height can define mountain peaks as places of divine significance and the abodes of deities (for example Mount Olympus as abode of Zeus, and the 'Mountains of Heaven', or the T'ien Shan along the Silk Route). Other mountains are regarded as sacred due to their perception as 'paradises on earth' (for example Mount Athos in Greece).

These themes often give rise to metaphorical appreciations of mountains (for example the Tibetan view of Mount Kailas as the pagoda palace of Demchog, or the Hopi view of the San Francisco peaks as an enormous kiva). As sacred places, mountains are often the places where offerings are made, as altars. Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his only son to his god on Mount Moriah and Chinese Emperors sacrificed atop T'ai Shan 'thanking heaven and earth for the success of their dynasties'. Many mountains are venerated as shrines to particular saints and deities: from Croagh Patrick in Ireland where St Patrick performed the miracle of banishing the snakes from Ireland to Ayers Rock in Australia, where 'every rock .. recalls some event performed in the primordial Dreamtime by the human and animal ancestors of the Aborigines'. Mountains can of course also be feared as the haunts of demons: the Alps were so regarded until the 19th century. Mountains are often used as burial places, and are also often associated with ancestors, in a number of cases (including the Maori's of New Zealand) being regarded 'as the petrified bodies of ancestral heroes'. These ancestral connections are often seen as 'the source of innumerable blessings', perhaps most notably water. As well as these practical blessings, mountains can also bring health (as sources of medicinal plants for instance among the Navajo), peace of mind and (as is the case with Mount Kailas, home of Kubera, the Hindu god of wealth) more worldly blessings and prosperity. Mountain peaks are often sources of power and as such provide 'dramatic sites of revelation, vision and inspiration'. Such visions are often transformative for those who receive them: in Japan 'practitioners of Shugendo climb sacred peaks to purify themselves and acquire supernatural powers'. For those who are not seeking spiritual transcendence in such extreme ways, mountains are often the target of pilgrimage.

Mount Koya in Wakayama Prefecture, home to the Shingon sect of Buddhism and final resting place of the priest Kobo Taishi, is already inscribed on the World Heritage List along with a series of sites associated with the Kumano Pilgrimage. One of the earliest recorded sacred mountains in Japan is Mount Miwa, in the southern part of the Nara Basin. Miwa forms the focus of an important Late Yayoi and Early Kofun period settlement complex at Makimuku, is argued by many scholars to be the most likely contender for the location of Yamatai, a third century polity described in the Chinese chronicles the Wei Zhih (Kidder 2007: 254-273, Barnes 2007).

Writing about modern mountain workshop practices at Mount Iwaki in northern Japan, Ellen Schattschneider writes, inspired by Japanese anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao: there is

'a widespread tendency in Japan to assign hidden referents to important displayed objects (Yamaguchi 1991). In Japanese ritual contexts, representation and imitation are not simply secondary acts of substitution or replacement. They are, rather, fundamental components of efficacious workshop. Through the willed enterprise of mimesis, the production of tangible simulacra of visible and invisible forces, an actor performatively constitutes a productive link between mortal worshipers and immortal divinities. The divinities and ancestors, in this respect, do not enter into the human world without human creative agency and aesthetic apprehension'. Schattschneider goes on to argue that for believers, all labour they undertake, in the paddies, household chores etc, 'can be re-organised to partake of these efficacious mimetic functions' (Schattschneider 2003: 7).

In this regard, could the ritual practices at Okinoshima, which comprise making offerings to the gods of various objects, represent ritual performances through which the deities are actively engaged with, venerated and their help sought.

7. Artefacts from Okinoshima

Each of the categories of artefact recovered from Okinoshima have been the attention of very detailed studies that have revealed much about their typology, chronology, and manufacture. Contemporary

studies in religious archaeology outside Japan tend not to focus on individual artefact types, but on sets of artefacts and on the contexts within which the objects were used. There has also been much work on what has become known as ‘the biography of objects’ (Appadurai 1986) and this would seem to be an approach that offers great potential in the study of the Okinoshima ritual artefacts. Key questions must include, by what process are objects made sacred? Are they objects of veneration in their own way (as later Buddhist statues, for example were), or were they symbolic, representing the power of the deities.

Kidder makes a couple of observations that are of interest:

‘Bronze mirrors and horse trappings and other objects of exceptional quality were deposited under many overhanging rocks and never touched again. Removal was prohibited and, except for a thin mantle of natural deposit of soil, they are just as they were laid. The rock ledges are traditionally looked on as *iwakura* or ‘seats of the gods’. The sanctity of the place is even today maintained, despite the removal of the relics by archaeologists, by still prohibiting women to set foot on the island’ (Kidder 1972: 35)

In regard to other artefacts, Kidder is less impressed:

‘Pottery is rarely mixed with the metal objects under the rocks. What is found in open sites is Sue ware, the customary ritual pottery of the Tomb period, or the type that would have been used by the ordinary sailor on his way through if he wished to make an offering of food. ... Other than the quality of its metal offerings, Okinoshima’s own speciality are the simple steatite replicas of humans, horses and boats. The boats were undoubtedly used to gain favour with the kami for safe voyages. These replicas lost their realism in the course of time and tapered off into cheap, abstract productions’ (Kidder 1972: 35).

As there are over 80,000 objects from Okinoshima, it is beyond the scope of this paper to offer detailed interpretations of all of them from these perspectives.

8. Questions for Future Research

The documentation around Okinoshima and the associated sites of the Munakata region raise a series of very interesting questions, each of which require further analysis and interpretation, which it is hoped can form part of the project to have Okinoshima inscribed as a world heritage site. While some of these questions are specific to Okinoshima and the Munakata complex, others relate more broadly to the nature of ritual observances from the 4th to the 9th centuries and how they changed over time. Still other questions are more concerned with a broader understanding of the nature of ritual, cult and religion and it is suggested here that the unique constellation of finds, records and interpretations at Okinoshima can make a substantial contribution to addressing these themes of interest to everyone concerned with understanding the place of belief in human experience.

A selection of these questions include:

- How was the sacred, ritual or religious landscape of Okinoshima constituted in relation to the other islands in the region? How was the visual alignment of the islands used in the constitution of this ritual landscape?
- At what point was Okinoshima itself regarded as a god?
- Can the main constituents, forms and purposes of the Okinoshima Island rituals be clarified? What kind of rituals were conducted? Were they conducted before or after a voyage? When and where did practitioners obtain the offerings?
- On what basis can it be argued that rituals at Okinoshima were conducted to pray for safe voyages and successful foreign exchange?
- How can the process leading from the transformations in ritual forms to the construction of the Shintō shrines be best explained?

- How can the wealth of artefacts that have been excavated from Okinoshima best be explained, given the absence of other ritual facilities?
- By what process did regional rituals become transformed into ‘national’ rituals, and why are the materials from Okinoshima unparalleled exemplars of this?
- How can ritual archaeology lead to a better understanding of the ways in which the ‘ancient worship of nature’ led to Shintoism, and why is the archaeology from Okinoshima an outstanding example of this?
- What are ‘national’ rituals?
- What context were these voyages undertaken in? What sort of boats were used and how does this relate to ritual beliefs more generally (see John Mack The Sea)
- What does ‘supplicating the deities mean’: how does this fit into debates about the nature of religious belief versus simple practice?
- How do rituals ‘evolve’ and what are the behavioral practices involved?
- What does the clustering of shrines within the Munakata complex tell us, are there correlates elsewhere in Japan or the world?
- What is the relationship between the deposition of objects in funerals and those at offeratory rituals of the sort seen at Okinoshima?
- What were the ‘natural forms of worship’ and why were ‘shrine rituals’ established at this time
- What is meant by ‘a unique religious landscape that is itself mythological’
- Is there archaeological evidence for taboos and what is their significance in this context?
- How do the rituals for which we have evidence demonstrate and ‘important relationship with nature’
- What is the significance of continuity of place in terms of ritual archaeology?
- Who was performing all these rituals and deciding what items would be appropriate to deposit
- Is there anything about the contexts of deposition that can tell us more about the form of the rituals that were undertaken
- What is known of the significance of all of the different classes of object deposited?

9. Conclusions

In October 2010 I was very fortunate in being perhaps one of the first non-Japanese for millennia to make a visit to the island of Okinoshima. In concluding this paper, I will draw on my memories of that wonderful experience: mindful of course of the taboos that surround the island.

The archaeological study of ritual and religion has received a great deal of attention in recent years, as summarised above. In this paper, we have revisited the archaeological remains for ritual practices on the island of Okinoshima and set them in the context of what is known of the history and archaeology of Japan and its relationship with the East Asian mainland from the 4th to the 9th centuries. During these five centuries, the political and social organisation of the Japanese archipelago underwent a series of very profound changes, recognised by different period names (Kofun, Asuka, Nara, Heian), that saw the human geography of the archipelago transformed from a series of regional powers into a fully integrated bureaucratic centralised state-level society with its capital in the Kinai region. In conjunction with this process, what were a collection of regional indigenous cults were subsumed within a state-legitimated system of belief that formed the basis for what was to become Shintō. This happened alongside the adoption of Buddhism, introduced from the Korean peninsula, which became the official government religion. There was a close, syncretistic, relationship between Buddhism and Shintoism. All of this occurred in the context of changing relationships between the East Asian mainland and Japan, characterised during most of the period by official diplomatic embassies, carefully controlled by authorities in the capital through their offices at Dazaifu, a relatively short distance from Okinoshima. By the time the ritual

practices at Okinoshima were in decline in the late ninth century, these official embassies were giving way to much less controlled exchanges, including commercial trade and piracy.

The archaeological evidence for ritual practices at Okinoshima must be understood in the context of these larger narratives. Bearing this in mind, this paper questions the appropriateness of some of the issues raised in the documentation prepared for the World Heritage Bid. In particular, the Proposals from the 1st and 2nd Conference of Experts (June 17 2009 and November 11 2009) state that ‘The foreign relations of ancient rulers are not relevant to the exchange that took place on this island. Instead the impact on faith should be considered’ (Fukuoka 2010 Section 4 Tabulated Outline of Criteria). ‘On which will value be placed, sea navigation faith or fisherman faith’. Questions such as this do not do justice to the richness of the material available on Okinoshima.

Contemporary anthropological thinking about ritual is concerned with understanding ritual practice, and with the transformative qualities of performance (Mitchell 2007: 337):

‘ritual performance should be seen above all as transformative – capable of producing major long-term transformations within the persons, objects and spaces of ritual action. These transformations take place within ritual performance but are then brought back into the everyday context as permanent features of the ritual participants, their paraphernalia and the ritual site. At the same time these ‘objects’ of ritual action are transformed, in and through performance, from being objects of the material culture of ritual, into ritual subjects, endowed with the power to act, with agency’ (Mitchell 2007: 337).

Mitchell’s observations are interesting for a consideration of Okinoshima and the Munakata Shrines, as it is based on a study of contemporary ritual practices on the island of Malta, the annual festa organised by each of the Catholic parishes: on the same island which is of course so famous for its wonderful prehistoric monuments. Mitchell recognises three types of agency: body-agency, object-agency and space-agency, or the agency of the landscape and spatial setting where the ritual takes place. Each of these seem of relevance in the case of Okinoshima. Mitchell emphasises the need for a phenomenologically-informed analysis, and takes examples from how it would be to experience rituals in the confined underground space of the Maltese Hypogeum or the liminal space of the Melanesian bush.

‘A focus on body-agency demands a move towards a phenomenologically-informed analysis’ emphasising ‘multi-sensory experiential environments’ and the ‘sensory disorientation of ritual participants ... where vision, touch and smell were given heightened saliency, generating emotions of shock, stress and terror’ (Mitchell 2007: 338). This made me think about the boat journey to Okinoshima, and all of the very dire warnings about rough crossings and the need for ample sea-sickness medicine. On the day we visited, we were blessed with calm seas and blue skies, but in our small boat one could all too easily imagine the bodily distress that could be caused by a rougher crossing. The crossing itself, only achievable by boat, would represent a clear rite of passage. This sense of body-agency is then reaffirmed by the requirement to bathe naked in the sea prior to being allowed on land. While explained in terms of the need to avoid polluting the sacred precincts of the island, the experience also operated very effectively at the level of body-agency: plunging into the cold refreshing waters of the harbour brought about a sense of transformation.

Again, in studies of prehistoric Maltese funerary rituals, Mitchell noted how the archaeologist Caroline Malone emphasized ‘the placement of objects in relatively prominent or concealed locations, according to their relative ‘magical’ potency. This play of concealment and exposure might equally have informed the performative process through which such objects acquired their potency. Back on Okinoshima, I was struck by the main distinctions between the different types of ritual location being that of visibility: exposed on top of the rocks; hidden within crevices; partly visible in the shadow of rocky crags. In addition, certain objects were more carefully ‘hidden away’ (such as the Chinese gilt-bronze dragon heads). The object-agency of the ritual artefacts at Okinohima, whether they were bronze mirrors or talc models of small boats, is something that could be further investigated.

The third type of agency is space-agency. Again, Mitchell refers to the sense of power of place of the Maltese prehistoric monuments, created and enhanced through the direction of vision and sightlines. This

approach can be extended to whole landscapes, or perhaps sea-scapes in the case of Okinoshima: ‘a transformed landscape is a landscape with power – an agent in contemporaneous and subsequent peoples’ engagement with the world they occupy. This transformed landscape is also a performed landscape and one which, through performance, acquires the power inherent in it’ (Mitchell 2007). I am thinking here of the seascape, or islandscape, which Okinoshima occupies. It can be viewed across the bay, conditions permitting, from the Munakata Shrine. It would be very interesting to pursue further the ways in which this visibility of the island from the mainland coast, and vice-versa, play any significant role in the ritual practices.

Related to this third item is the historicity of the ritual practices at Okinoshima, a theme which is central to understanding the significance of the perceived ‘continuity’ of ritual observances. Through archaeological investigations the locations of many (but by no means all) of the ritual sites on Okinoshima have been identified. This gives a scientific gloss to the fact that ritual practices have taken place on the island over many centuries. Future research could usefully investigate to what extent knowledge of these locations may have affected subsequent ritual practices. The construction of the Okitsu Shrine on the island gave a fixed location, a permanent spatial focus, for the ritual observances. At the same time this was an embodiment of control over the forces that the rituals were intended to propitiate, and control over those performing the rituals. This aspect would be interesting for further research, and relates to how the Yamato hegemony was extended over the regional deities.

Acknowledgements

This report was commissioned in October 2010 on behalf of the World Heritage Bid for Okinoshima, Munakata Shrine and associated kofun. The brief was originally to provide a re-examination of the Okinoshima Ritual Site from the viewpoint of ritual archaeology to provide background information for the World Heritage bid. The author was requested to pay particular attention to sacred islands and sacred mountains in the paper. As part of the commissioning process, the author was invited to visit Okinoshima along with an international party of visitors on in October 2010, and to attend parts of the 2nd Specialist workshop held in Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture. This report is based on a review of online and published paper research resources, and a full bibliography is provided at the end of the report. I am grateful to all those involved in inviting me to take part in this exciting project in particular the Mr Aso Wataru, Chairman of the World Heritage Promotion Committee of Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region, Chairman of the Expert Meetings, Professor Nishitani Tadashi, representatives from the Agency for Cultural Affairs, in particular Mr Negita Yoshio, everyone at Fukuoka Prefecture and Munkata City for the very warm welcome and wonderful arrangements for the visit to Okinoshima.

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Chungmakdong Ritual Site and Okinoshima Ritual Site

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Abstract: The Chungmakdong Ritual Site in Paekche (the ancient Korean kingdom) and the Okinoshima Ritual Site in Wa (the ancient Japan) are representative examples of central-type seaside ritual sites with which the central authorities of the two countries were involved. Another notable point common to the two ritual sites is their locations commanding a sweeping view of dangerous sea routes of trading ships. Taking into account the common points as mentioned above, securing ocean trading routes for the purpose of acquiring valuable goods and knowledge appears to have been an important diplomatic strategy of Paekche and Wa. With the background of the emergence of both ritual sites, there seems to have been a political and economic situation in the ancient East Asia that required an invigoration of long-distance trading. During the fifth century, attacks by Goguryeo against the Kaya area and Paekche are considered to have triggered a reorganization of the trading system that linked the Southern Dynasties of China, Paekche, the Kaya area and Wa. From around the fifth century onward, securing the safety of the reorganized international ocean trading routes was a common challenge to Paekche and Wa. The Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site are valuable archaeological evidence which provide a clue to clarify the actual situation of the active seaside trading routes of ancient East Asia.

Keywords: Chungmakdong ritual site, Okinoshima ritual site, Wa, Paekche, Southern Dynasties of China

1. Discovery of the Jungmak-dong Ritual Site, and the Okinoshima Ritual Site

The historical significance of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is that the actual situation of the routes of the ancient ocean trading conducted between the Japanese Archipelago and the Korean Peninsula was clarified for the first time by the discovery of the site. Further, the Okinoshima Ritual Site, which emerged at about the fourth century in Wa, provided important archaeological evidence to throw light on the mutual relation between the formation of the nation and its long-distance trading.

The research of the Okinoshima Ritual Site in Japan has been developed in various fields such as rituals, ocean trading, regal power and mythology. During this process, the Okinoshima Ritual Site was found to be a representative central-type seaside ritual site with the center of Wa involved.¹⁾

Meanwhile, a ritual site was discovered in the Korean Peninsula in 1992, providing clues to clarify the characteristics of the Okinoshima Ritual Site (Figure 1). It was the Chungmakdong Ritual Site (Figure 2), found on a cliff top by the west coast of Korea.

Following the excavation, the Chungmakdong Ritual Site became known as one of the representative central-type seaside ritual sites of Paekche.

Particularly, the discovery of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site provided comparable and material archaeological evidence in unraveling international motives for the emergence of the Okinoshima Ritual Site.

At the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, a central-type seaside ritual in which the central Paekche was involved, is estimated to have first emerged around the fourth century. Taking into account that the same kind of ritual involving the central government of Wa first appeared in the fourth century at the Okinoshima Ritual Site, it is highly likely that a mutual interaction between the two countries and the international motives in East Asia had affected the process of the two sites being established.

The Chungmakdong Ritual Site was built on a summit of the seaside cliff from which dangerous sea lanes on the west coast of Paekche can be widely seen.

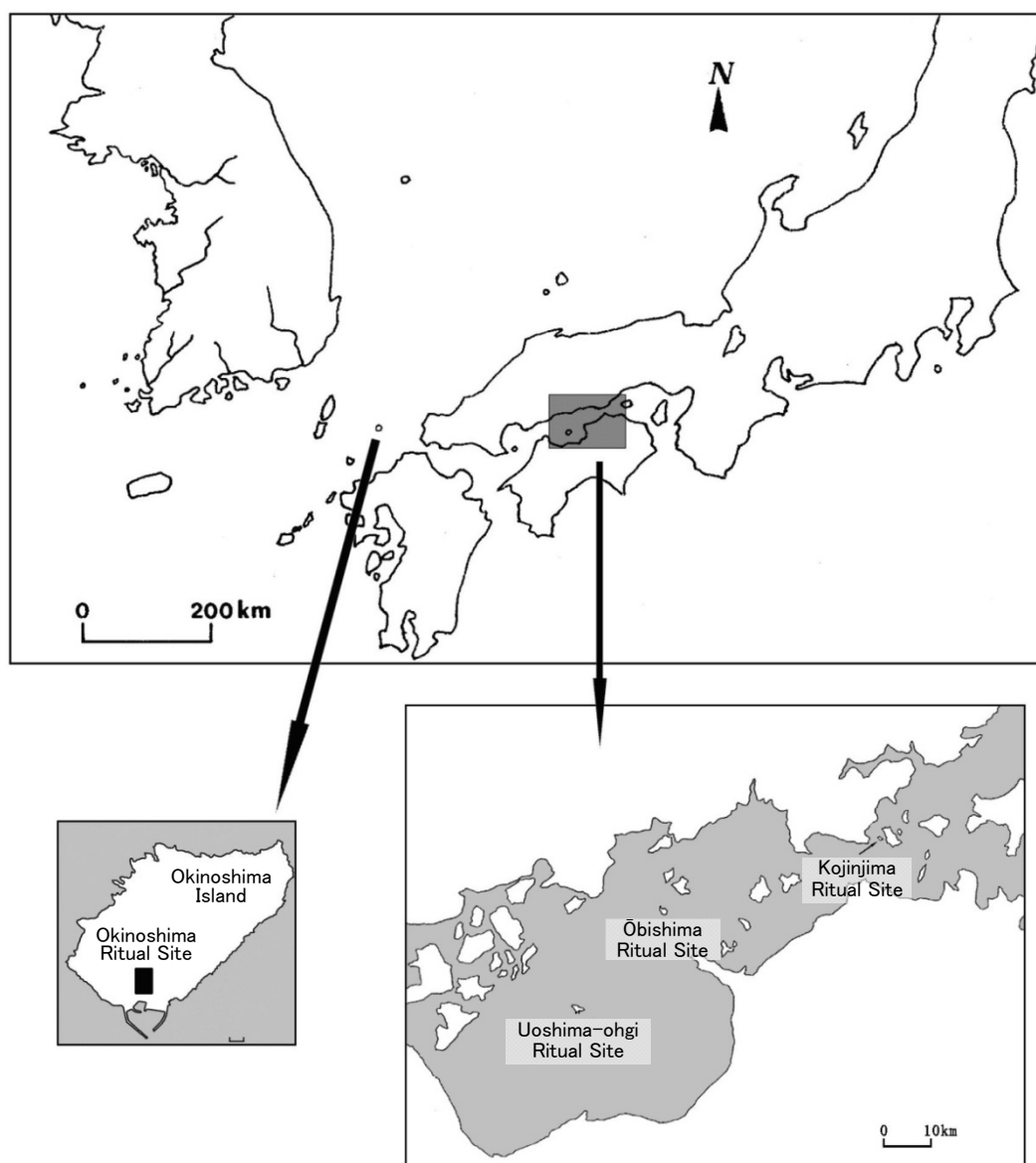


Figure 1 Distribution of seaside ritual sites of Wa (SADA 1988; KAMEI 1988; WOO 2010)

The construction site of the Okinoshima Ritual Site is also on the island's slope from which people can overview dangerous places on the seagoing routes from northern Kyūshū toward the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula. As mentioned above, the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site have similar geographical landscapes. Resemblance of geographical landscapes of the two ritual sites indicates a mutual function of both countries during the process of the emergence of the two sites.

In the main text, I would like to consider the background of the emergence of international central-type seaside ritual sites in Wa and Paekche as described above, based on archaeological analyses of the two sites.

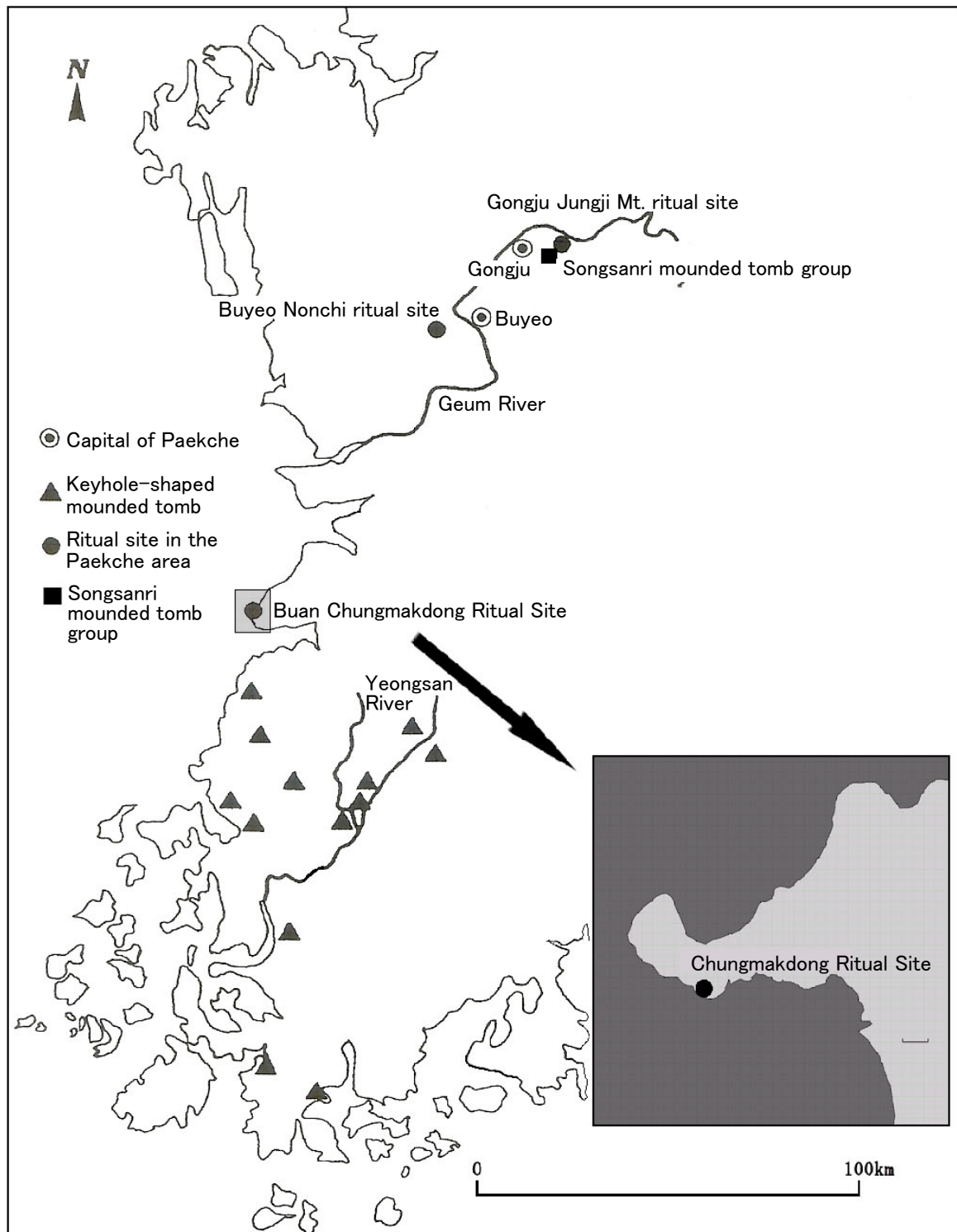


Figure 2 The Chungmakdong ritual site and keyhole-shaped mounded tomb located in the southwestern region of Paekche (WOO, 2010)

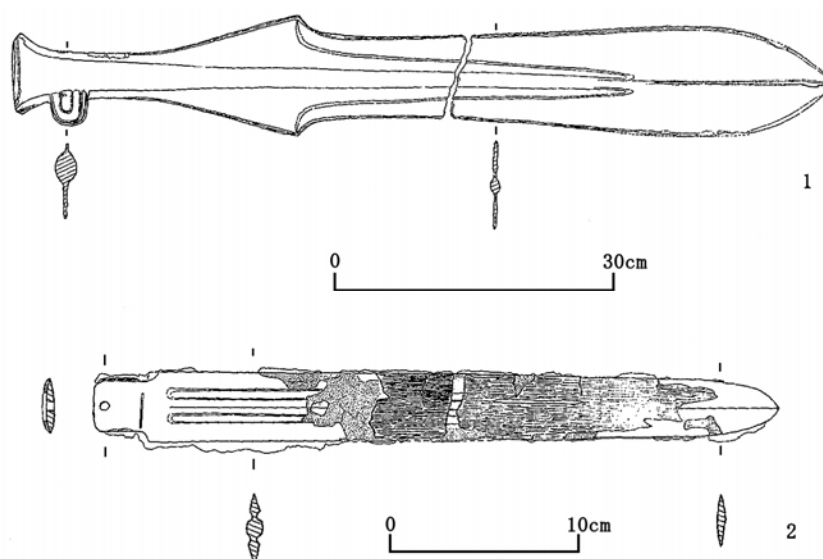
2. Seaside Ritual Sites that Emerged on Ocean Trading Routes from Wa to Gaya / Paekche

(1) Ocean trading routes from Wa to Gaya

During the first and second centuries, the most suitable ocean route for a ship of Wa departing from a port in northern Kyūshū and sailing toward the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula was the one arriving at a port in the Byeonhan area near the river mouth of the Nakdong River via Iki Island and Tsushima Island.

The excavation of the Gimhae Yangdongri Site in Byeonhan provided a decisive clue to clarify ocean trading routes from Wa to the Byeonhan area. A lot of bronze-ware items that were popular in Wa have been found in this site, including large socketed bronze spearheads for rituals that are considered to be imported from Wa.

For example, when we consider the forms and scales of large socketed bronze spearheads unearthed in the wooden burial chamber No. 90 and the wooden burial chamber No. 200 in the Yangdongri Site (Figure 3-1), along with modified short double-edged bronze swords with a narrow blade unearthed in the wooden coffin tomb No. 427 (Figure 3-2), these are judged to be weapon-shaped bronze-ware items for rituals, not for actual battles. These weapon-type bronze-ware items are representative examples of the type of Wa-style ritual bronze-ware which prevailed in northern Kyūshū.



1. Wooden burial chamber No. 200

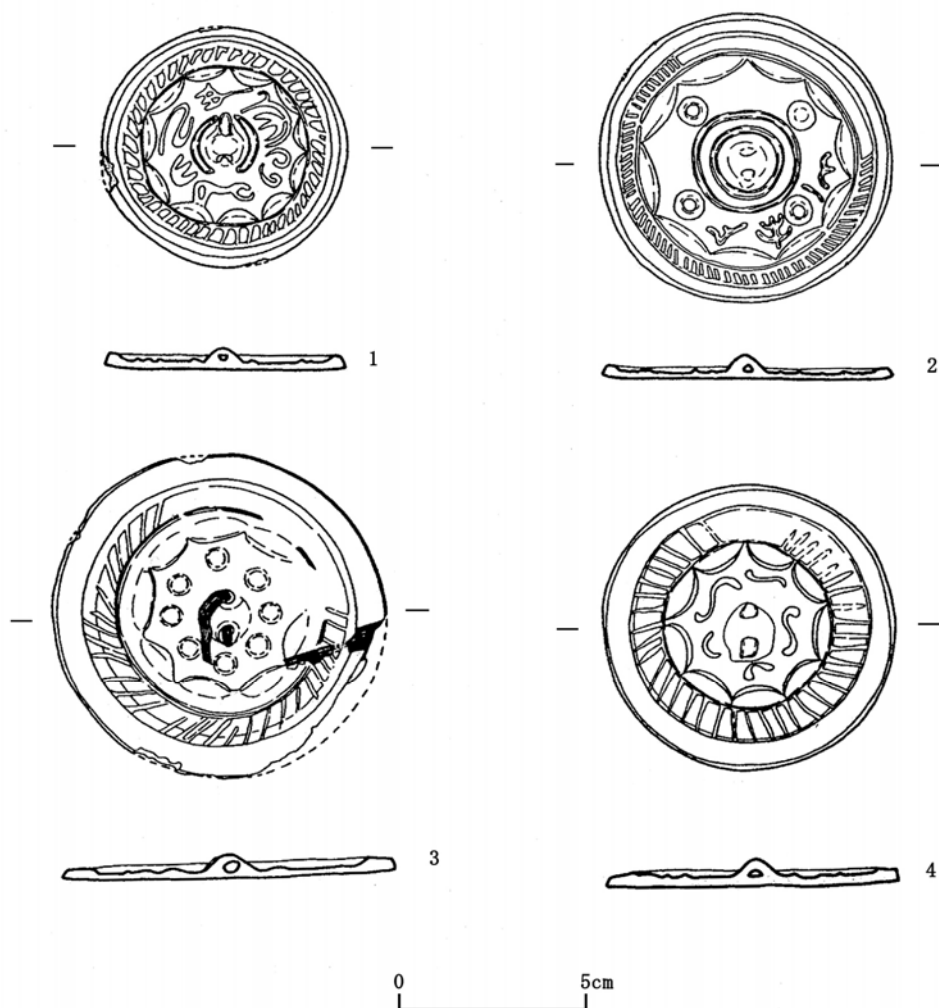
2. Wooden coffin tomb No. 427

Figure 3 Socketed bronze spearhead with wide, flat blade body and modified short double-edged bronze sword with a narrow blade unearthed in Gimhae Yangdongri Site (LIM, 2000)

Also, a mirror with interconnected arcs manufactured in Japan after the continental prototype that imitated mirrors of Han (Figure 4) were unearthed in the wooden coffin tomb No. 55, wooden burial chamber No. 162 and wooden coffin tomb No. 427 in the Yandongri Site. With regard to these mirrors manufactured in Japan after the continental prototypes mirrors, although there are conflicting views—one maintaining that those mirrors were produced in Byeonhan and the other maintaining that they have been imported from Wa³⁾—these are clearly the type of bronze mirror that prevailed in northern Kyūshū in those days.

Such bronze-ware items are strong archaeological evidence, which proves the existence of ocean trading routes from northern Kyūshū area to the Byeonhan area, in spite of a debate over the production site of the bronze-ware items in the Byeonhan area.

In about the second half of the third century, large-scale wooden burial chambers comparable to those of the kings, emerged at the Gimhae Daeseongdong mound tomb group in the Byeonhan area. The emergence of this large-size wooden burial chamber would be an archaeological indicator that hints the establishment of Kumgwan-Kaya. With the evacuation of the Gimhae Daeseongdong mound tomb group, an archaeological elucidation of the establishment and the decline of the shadowy Kumgwan-Kaya began.



- 1 & 2. Wooden coffin tomb No. 427
- 3. Wooden coffin tomb No. 55
- 4. Wooden burial chamber No. 162

Figure 4 Mirror with interconnected arcs unearthed in Gimhae Yangdong-ri Site (LIM, 2000)

Around the first half of the fourth century, a lot of prestige goods imported from Wa started to be used as burial accessories in the Gimhae Daeseongdong mounded tomb group. Goods such as bronze whorl plaque with central bos (Figures 5-1 and 5-2), stone products of flint arrowheads (Figures 5-3 and 5-4) unearthed in the Daeseongdong No. 13 tomb and spindle-wheel-shaped stone products unearthed in the Daeseongdong tomb No. 18 (Figure 5-5) are representative prestige goods which were the main burial accessories of tombs for chiefs of the central Wa.

Besides, a lot of cylindrical bronze objects were unearthed in the Deaseongdong mounded tomb group. Cylindrical bronze objects are prestige goods that were found mainly in tombs for chiefs of the central Wa thus far. There is also a dispute over the location of production for this cylindrical bronze object, but it clearly shows that exchanges between the central Wa and the central Kumgwan-Kaya had existed as expected.⁴⁾

In the early fourth century, goods that appear related to the Kinai district (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Nara or Kyōto: Yamato, Yamashiro, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi) increased among prestige goods sent from Wa to Kumgwan-Kaya as described above. These burial accessories of Wa-style prestige goods seen in tombs of chiefs of Kumgwan-Kaya indicate an establishment of a new trading system. This seems to be a trading system of which central authorities of the two countries were notably involved.

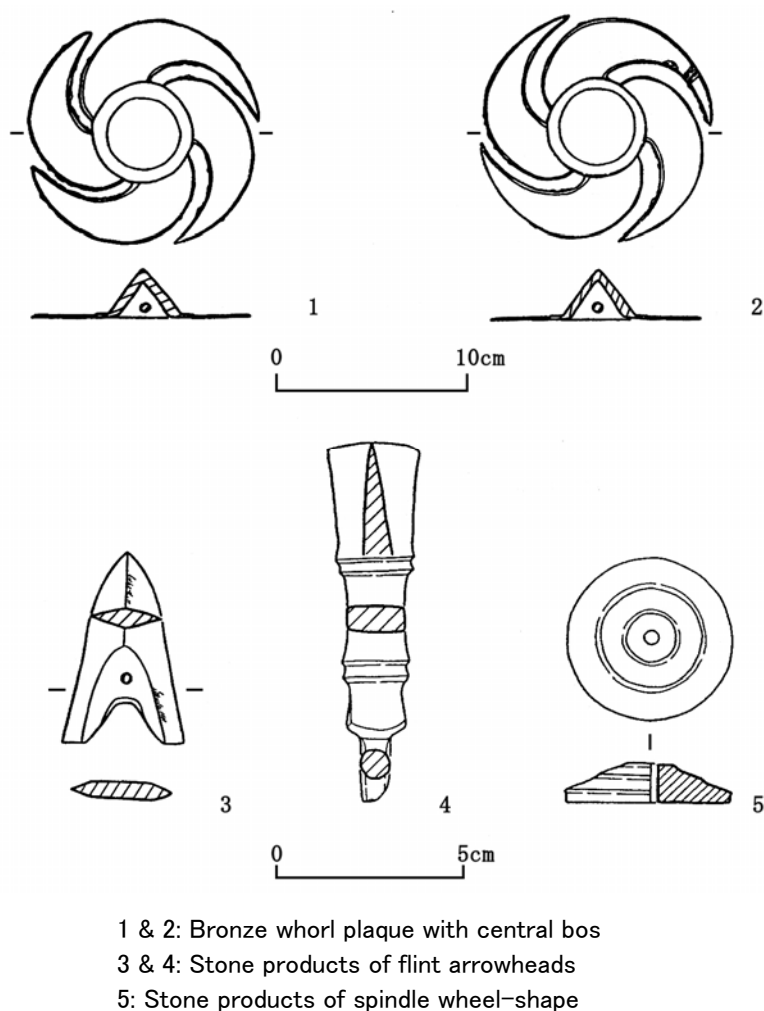
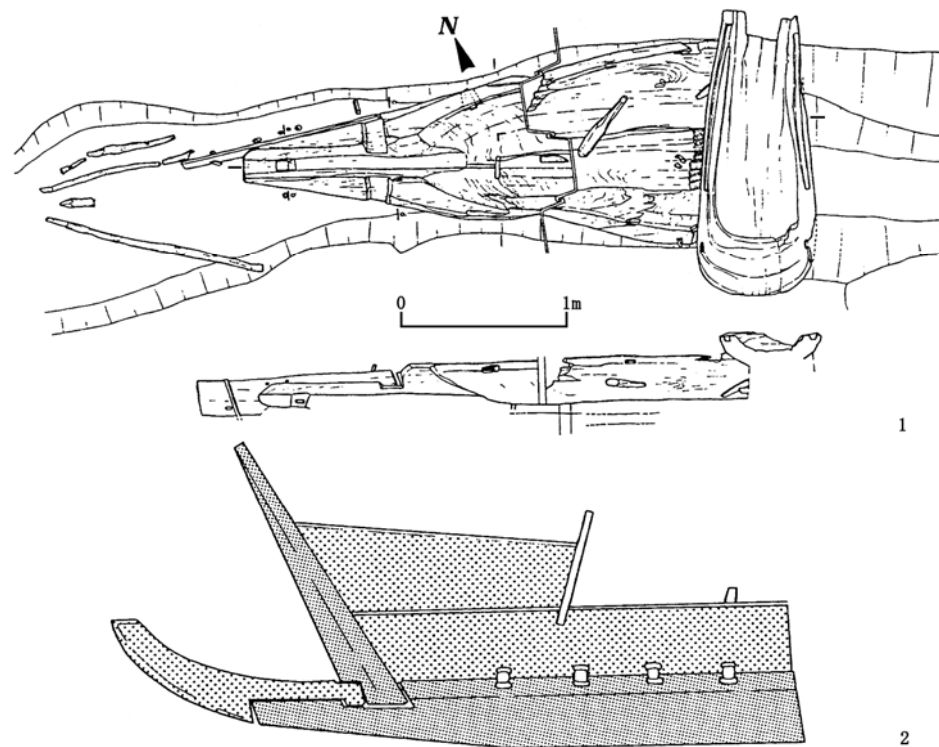


Figure 5 Prestige goods of Wa-style unearthed in the Gimhae Daeseong-dong mounded tomb group (Kyungsung University Museum, 2000)

Around the fourth century, it is estimated that ocean trading routes via the Inland Sea of Seto, northern Kyūshū, Iki Island and Tsushima Island were mainly used for a voyage from the central area of Wa in the Kinai district to the Kumgwan-Kaya area. In order to restore the ocean trading route, it would require, first of all, the work to restore the shipbuilding and navigation skills of Wa of that time.

Archaeological data that are key to restoring the shipbuilding and navigation skills of Wa during the fourth and fifth centuries include materials and drawings of ships and ship-shaped clay figures discovered in the Japanese Archipelago. For example, many ship-shaped clay figures such as ship materials unearthed at the Kyūhoji Site in Ōsaka Prefecture (Figure 6), ship-shaped line drawings to cylindrical clay figures unearthed in the Higashi-tonozuka mounted tomb in Tenri City (Figure 7) and ship-shaped clay figures unearthed in Nagahara-takamawari Tomb No.2 in Ōsaka Prefecture (Figure 8) belong to such materials. If we use such materials as reference, it is estimated that a ship of Wa during the fourth and fifth centuries was not a sail boat in principle but a quasi-structural ship that proceeded on oars.⁵⁾ When we consider the restoration of the shipbuilding skill and navigation of Wa during the fourth and fifth centuries, the navigation routes from the central area of Wa to the Kumgwan-Kaya area will be restored as Figure 9.



1. Measured drawing of the materials for ship
2. Restored drawing of the materials for ship

Figure 6 Materials for ship unearthed in the Kyūhōji ritual site in Ōsaka Prefecture (WOO, 2002)

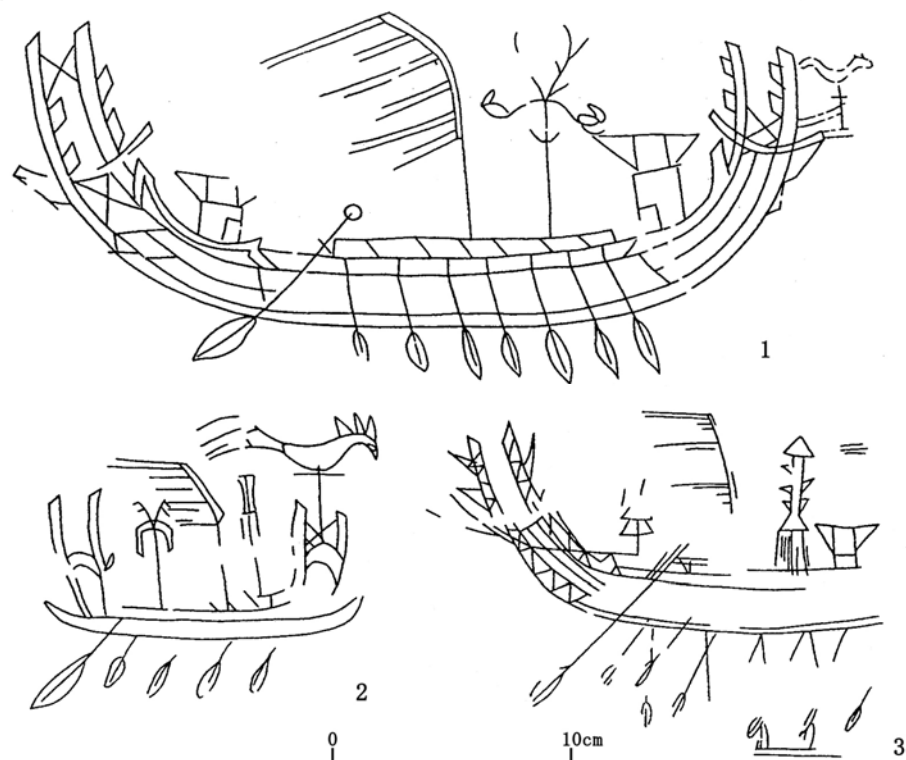
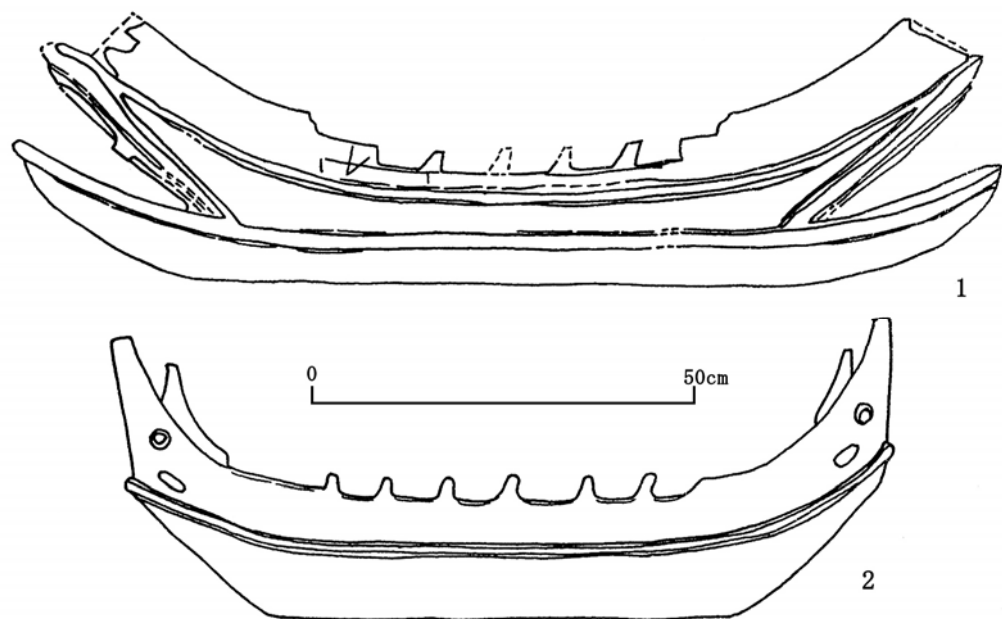
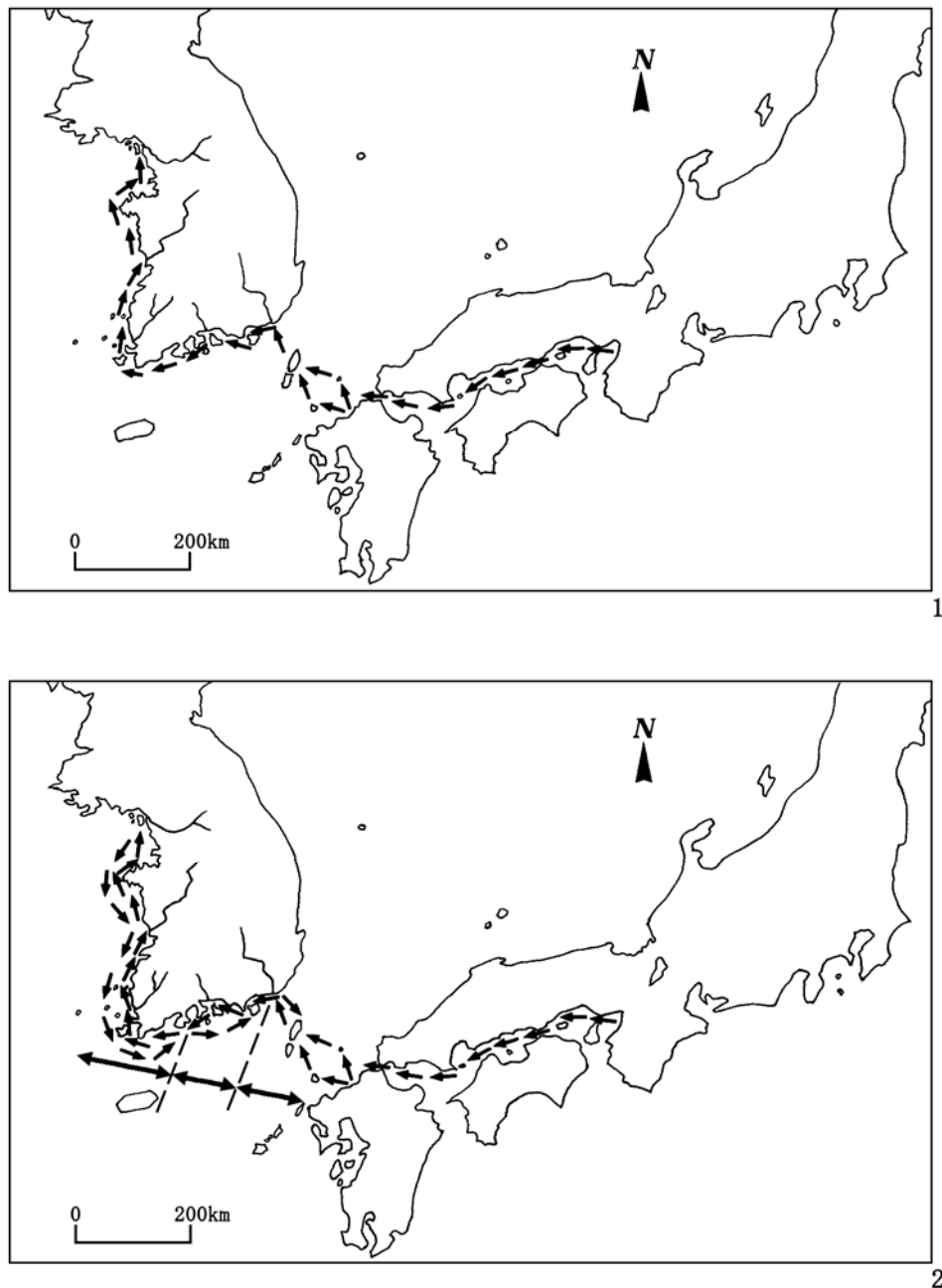


Figure 7 Ship-shaped drawings unearthed in the Higashi-tonozuka mounted tomb, Tenri City (WOO, 2002)



- 1. Nagahara-takamawari Tomb No.2 in Ōsaka Prefecture
- 2. Saitobaru mounded tomb group No. 169 in Miyazaki Prefecture

Figure 8 Ship-shaped clay figures at the Kofun period of Japan (WOO, 2002)



1. Direct route of ships of Wa
2. Transfer route to ships of Gaya/Paekche

Figure 9 Concept chart of navigation methods from Wa to Paekche during the fifth and sixth centuries (WOO, 2002; WOO, 2010)

When sailing to Kumguan-Kaya from Wa using a quasi-structural ship around the fourth century, it is assumed that the ship of Wa was required to stop at many ports on the way to provide time to rest for crew and to supply goods. Taking into account such situation, it seems that the ship of Wa that departed from a port in Ōsaka came to arrive at a port in Fukuoka through a lot of ports on the routes of the Inland Sea of Seto. Also, for a case in which such a ship sailed from a port in Fukuoka for Kumguan-Kaya, it seems it was necessary for the ship of Wa to have the crew take a rest and replenish goods in places like Iki Island and Tsushima Island on the way.⁶⁾

Around the fifth century, there is a sign of change in the navigation route of ships of Wa moving from

northern Kyūshū to the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula. Around the first half of the fifth century, a large political upheaval occurs in the Kaya area due to attacks by Goguryeo. Such a political upheaval in the Kaya area brought danger to the existing trading system linking the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula and northern Kyūshū.

(2) Ocean trading routes from Wa to Paekche

The top-priority diplomatic strategy of Wa in the fourth century was to stably import strategically essential products and iron produced in Kaya. Around the first half of the fifth century, however, a military crisis in the Kaya area due to attacks by Goguryeo brought a change to the existing international trading system linking countries in the Korean Peninsula centered on Kumgwan-Kaya and Wa. It is considered that the unitary diplomatic strategy of Wa to introduce advanced materials such as iron materials and knowledge through Kumgwan-Kaya changed because of the military crisis in the Kaya area.

Wa is considered to have adopted a new diplomatic strategy to reinforce direct trading with Paekche in order to solve this crisis of the trading system. In the second half of the fifth century, it appears that a ship of Wa with missionaries, merchants and cargo on board leaving northern Kyūshū tried a long voyage via the Kaya area, toward the center of Paekche. The traces of the Wa-style ritual found in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site on the west coast of Paekche would be those of a long distance voyage by people of Wa at this period. The traces of the long distance voyage from Wa to the central Paekche area would be strong archaeological material that indicates the new multi-polarized diplomatic strategy of Wa.

The Chungmakdong Ritual Site on the west coast of Paekche is located on a costal naval route of the Byeonsan Peninsula in which a ship of Wa must go through if the ship departing from an international port in the Kaya area heads for the capital of Paekche. If the ship of Wa passes over the dangerous sea area near the Byeonsan Peninsula, it will soon arrive at a port at the river mouth of the Geum River. From here, the ship presumably goes upstream on the Geum River and heads for Gongju, the capital of Paekche, and Buyeo. Namely, the sea area around the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is the last dangerous naval route that emerges on the voyage from the river mouth of the Nakdong River to the river mouth of the Geum River.

A trading ship proceeding from the Kaya area for the central area of Paekche seems to have conducted seaside rituals wishing for the safety of the navigation in some places on the way of the voyage. The Chungmakdong Ritual Site on the west coast of Paekche would be one of the leading ritual sites in which such seaside rituals were conducted.

If the author restores the navigation process from Wa to the central Paekche from around the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century, the following three navigation methods are estimated to have existed.

First, a ship of Wa that departs from northern Kyūshū directly heads for the central Paekche via ports at the Kaya area (Figure 9-1).

Second, a ship of Wa that departs from northern Kyūshū goes through Iki Island and Tsushima Island and travels until an international port in the Kaya area at the river mouth of the Nakdong River. Here, the missionaries, merchants and cargo of Wa take a route to central Paekche by transferring to a Paekche ship or Kaya ship.

Third, a ship of Wa that departs from northern Kyūshū travels to an international port in the Kaya area at the river mouth of the Nakdong River so the missionaries, merchants and cargo of Wa can transfer to a Kaya ship and take a route to a port in the bordering area of Kaya and Paekche. Then the missionaries, merchants and cargo of Wa transfer to a Paekche ship as they arrive at the bordering area to take a route to central Paekche (Figure 9-2).⁷⁾

During the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century, the three navigation routes, which the author just mentioned above, seem to have been mainly used as the navigation routes from Wa to the central Paekche by ships of Wa.

Meanwhile, in order to secure the safe passage of ships of Wa on naval routes from Wa to the central Paekche, the establishment of a political kinship that links Paekche, the Kaya area and Wa was inevitable.

In the Chungmakdong Ritual Site of Paekche during the late fifth century and early sixth century, ritual relics of Dae-Kaya and Wa styles along with those of Paekche were discovered. This would be a strong archaeological material indicating the establishment of the political kinship linking Paekche, the Kaya area and Wa. The establishment of the political kinship referred above appears to have guaranteed safe passage of ships of Wa on naval routes from Wa to the central Paekche.

3. Background for the Emergence of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site

(1) Types of seaside ritual site of Wa

To compare the features of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site, it is first necessary to first examine other seaside ritual sites located along the route from the central region of Wa to the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula.

There are similar seaside ritual sites as the Okinoshima Ritual Site on the naval routes in the Inland Sea of Seto, running from the central region of Wa to northern Kyūshū.

Based on the quality and quantity of the unearthed relics, the seaside ritual sites found in the islands of the Inland Sea of Seto are roughly categorized into two types. The first type refers to the seaside ritual sites where valuable ritual relics such as bronze mirrors were offered. This is related to the central-type seaside rituals in which the central government of Wa is perceived to have been involved in its process. The second type refers to the seaside ritual sites where the excavation of articles used in local rituals such as clay figures is distinctive. Local-type seaside rituals are associated with the second type, where the involvement of the central government in the ritual process is hardly perceived.

A representative central-type seaside ritual site located along the sea routes of the Inland Sea of Seto – from a port in Ōsaka to one in Fukuoka – is the Ōbishima Island Ritual Site in Okayama Prefecture. This site was found near some huge rocks on the slope of a mountain and the excavation of valuable relics such as Tang Dynasty hexalobed bronze mirrors with floral décor from the Nara Period through the Heian Period was a significant case.

Representative examples of the local-type seaside ritual site are the Koujin Island Ritual Site in Kagawa Prefecture and the Uoshima-ōgi Ritual Site in Ehime Prefecture, both located along the naval routes of the Inland Sea of Seto. The Koujinjima Island Ritual Site resembles the Ōbishima Ritual Site, a central-type seaside ritual site, since it was also discovered near huge rocks on the slope of a mountain. From here, model clay figures, copies of stone implements, iron swords and others were excavated. The Uoshima-ōgi Ritual Site in Ehime Prefecture was also built on the slope of a mountain, similar to the Ōbishima Ritual Site. Unearthed relics from the Uoshima-ōgi Ritual Site include model pottery, copies of implements made of stone, iron arrowheads and flat iron ingots.

As described before, seaside ritual sites on the sea lanes of the Inland Sea of Seto are classified as either central-type seaside ritual sites or local-type seaside ritual sites, based on the quality and quantity of the unearthed relics (Figure1).⁸⁾

Meanwhile, the difference in ranks among the same central-type seaside ritual sites in Wa is also determined by the quality and quantity of unearthed relics. For example, the Okinoshima Ritual Site in the Tsushima Straits is a top-ranking central-type seaside ritual site of Wa and it is thus possible to say that the Ōbishima Ritual Site, located on the sea lane of the Inland Sea of Seto, is relatively a lower-ranking central-type seaside ritual site than the Okinoshima Ritual Site.

The fact that the top-ranking central-type seaside ritual site is located along the international naval trading route running from northern Kyūshū to the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula indicates that this

trading route was the most important sea lane in Wa. Namely, the Okinoshima Ritual Site serves as strong archaeological material reflecting the diplomatic strategy of Wa at the time that emphasized a long-distance trade with China and various countries in the Korean Peninsula.

To sum up, it is clear that there is a difference in the ranks among the seaside ritual sites of Wa, depending on the importance of the sea lane.

Moreover, central-type and local-type seaside ritual sites share some common denominators in terms of their location and the unearthed relics. Both types were built on seaside slopes where nearby lanes could be widely observed from. Also, exclusive ritual tools such as miniature stone goods and flat iron ingots with valuable utility goods have been excavated from both types of seaside ritual sites.

(2) Wa-type copies of implements made of stone excavated in the Jungmak-dong ritual site of Paekche

In the meantime, Wa-type copies of implements made of stone, a kind of ritual implements (Figure 10), were excavated in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site on the west coast of Paekche in 1992. The original types of such copies of implements made of stone are utility goods such as iron sickles, cuirasses, axes and knives. These utility goods were produced as small-sized ritual tools, known as copies of implements made of stone.

Wa-style copies of implements made of stone found at the Chungmakdong Ritual Site have seldom been spotted from other tumuli or inland ritual sites in Paekche.

For example, relics including the strangely-shaped stone goods (Figure 11) were unearthed in the inland Buyeo Nonchi Ritual Site.⁹⁾ Besides, eight pieces of copies of implements made of iron for exclusive ritual use (Figure 12) were also unearthed in this site. In this respect, the strangely-shaped stone goods seem to be a kind of tool used exclusively for rituals. It is clear, however, that these strangely-shaped products mentioned above are stone products that belong to a different strain from Wa-style copies of implements made of stone unearthed in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site.

In case of Wa, on the other hand, Wa-style copies of implements made of stone have been discovered from many locations of not only seaside ritual sites but also mounded tomb groups.¹⁰⁾

In other words, considering such excavations, the stone replicas unearthed from the Chungmakdong Ritual Site are most likely Wa-style ritual relics.

Based on the quality and quantity of unearthed relics from the Paekche area, the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, built on the summit of a seaside cliff by the west coast of Paekche can be viewed as a central-type seaside ritual site of Paekche.

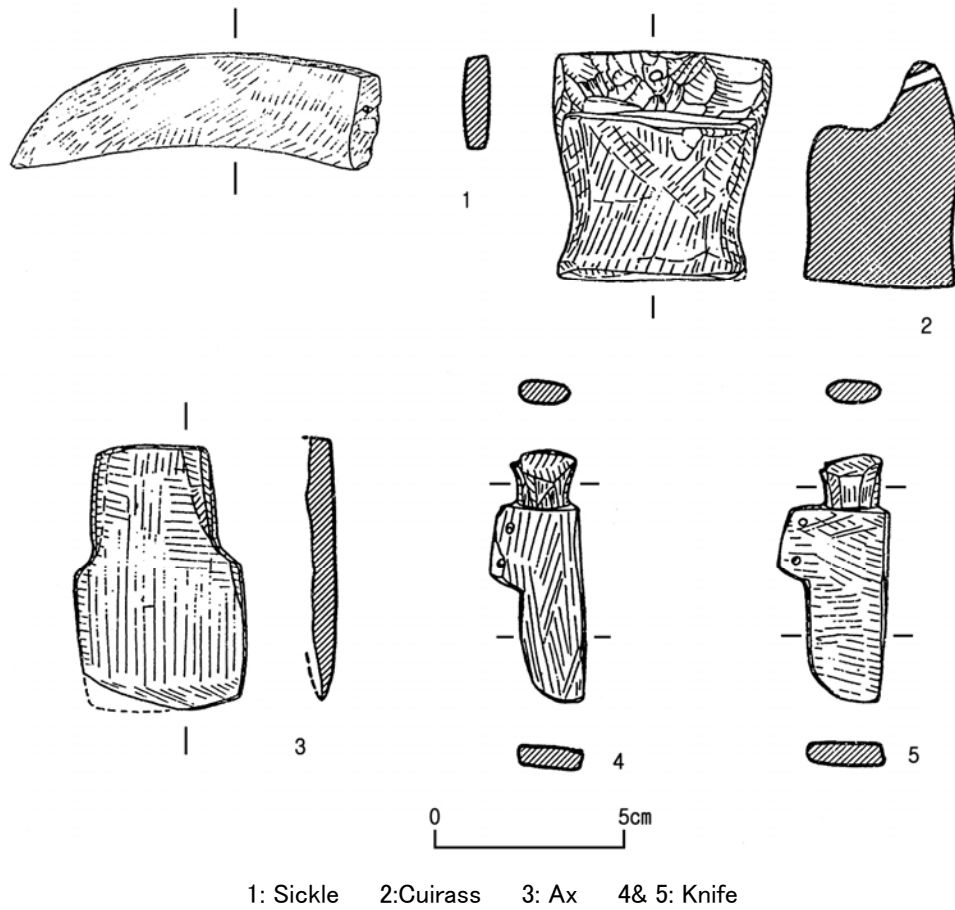


Figure 10 Wa-style copies of implements which are made of stone unearthed in the Chungmakdong ritual site (Chonju National Museum, 1994)

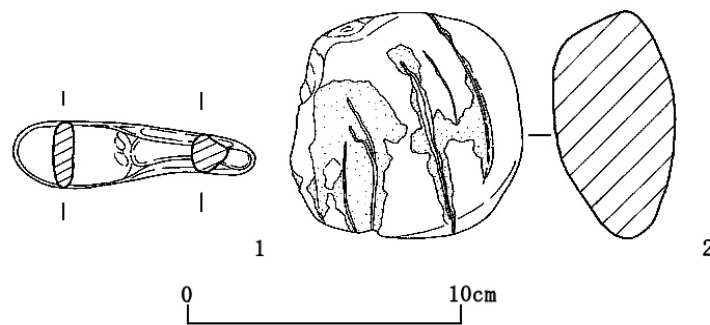


Figure 11 Strangely-shaped implements made of stone unearthed in the Buyeo-Nonchi ritual site (Buyeo National Museum, 2007)

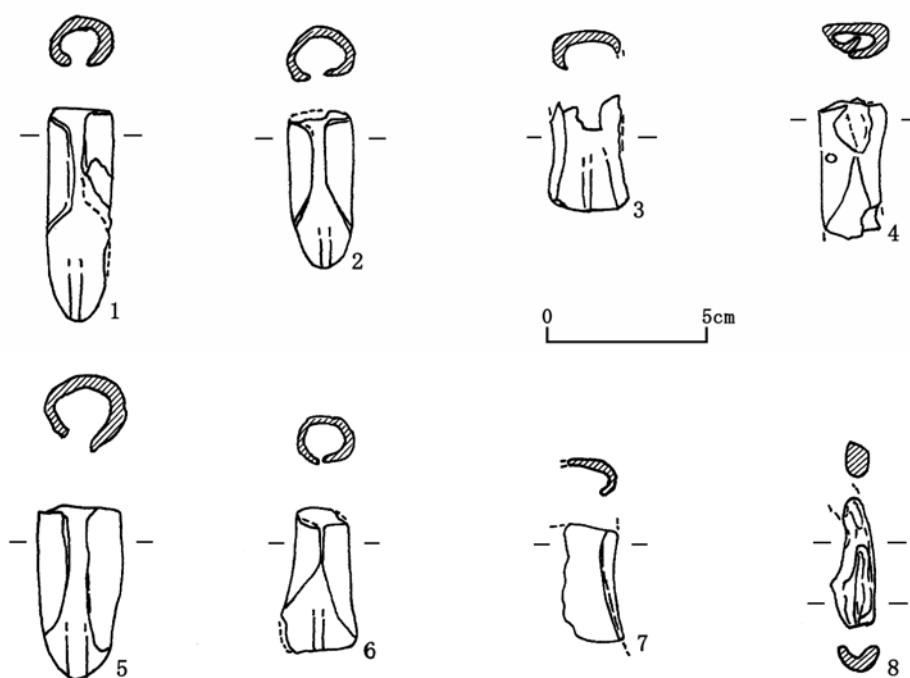


Figure 12 Copies of implements made of iron unearthed in the Buyeo Nonchi ritual site (Buyeo National Museum, 2007)

Another noteworthy feature of this site is its excavations of foreign-made ritual relics. The unearthed ritual relics brought from the surrounding countries range from the aforementioned Wa-style copies of implements made of stone to celadon from the Era of Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties of China, along with horse trappings originated in the Dae-Kaya. The international ritual relics uncovered from the Chungmakdong Ritual Site are powerful archaeological findings that indicate the existence of a wide-ranging trading system which had connected the Southern Dynasties of China, Paekche, the Kaya area and Wa. It is highly possible that the missionaries and merchants of diverse nationalities such as Paekche, the Southern Dynasties of China, Kaya and Wa, were onboard the international trading ships that traveled across the west coast of Paekche, heading for the capital of Paekche.

The neighboring sea area of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is one of the most dangerous sea routes among the many in the west coast of Paekche which leads to the capital of Paekche. Therefore, the cliff top where the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is located must have been the most appropriate ritual place to pray for the safety of navigations. It is assumed that the international rituals had been conducted here by passengers of international trading ships that passed through surrounding sea area.

The excavation of the Wa-style copies of implements made of stone from the Chungmakdong Ritual Site indicates the participation of the Wa people in the rituals. The process of the Wa people participating in open-air rituals at the Chungmakdong Ritual Site can be restored into the following two stages:

First, a trading ship with the missionaries and merchants from Wa heading to the capital of Paekche, departs from a port in the Kaya area and stops at a port near the Chungmakdong Ritual Site.

Second, the people of Wa disembark here, gather with the missionaries and merchants from various countries, and they altogether conduct a Wa-style open-air ritual, using the copies of stone implements at the Chungmakdong Ritual Site.

The implementation of Wa-style rituals by the Wa people at the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, a representative place for rituals on the west coast sea lanes of Paekche especially during the fifth and sixth centuries, reflects the establishment of a close kinship between the two countries during this particular period. Considering such circumstances, it is most probable that a missionary dispatched from the central

government of Wa was included among the people of Wa who performed Wa-style rituals here.

In addition to the Wa-style copies of stone implements, celadon from the Era of Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties of China and horse trappings from Dae-Kaya together were the main ritual relics of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site. We can assume that international rituals participated by multi-national missionaries and merchants from Paekche, the Southern Dynasties of China, Dae-Kaya and Wa were performed. And Wa-style rituals conducted by the missionaries and merchants of Wa were one of the performed rituals.

Meanwhile, Wa-style copies of implements made of stone unearthed in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site are evaluated to be representative relics that symbolize the reorganization of the wide-area trading system linking Wa and countries in the Korean Peninsula. The principal diplomatic strategy of Wa during the fourth century was to steadily import essential iron via Kumgwan-Kaya. It must have been necessary for Wa to make efforts in building an extensive trading system centered upon Kumgwan-Kaya, to secure valuable and essential iron resources.

In the first half of the fifth century, however, Goguryeo attacked the Kaya region and the then-existing extensive trading system circling around Kumgwan-Kaya had to be reorganized. To overcome the unstable trading system centered upon Kumgwan-Kaya, Wa presumably adopted a new diplomatic plan to reinforce the kinship with Paekche. While reorganizing the extensive trading system that connects through the Southern Dynasties of China, Paekche, the Kaya area and Wa, Wa seems to have tried structuring a new trading system to further strengthen the transactions between Wa and Paekche.

From the perspective of Paekche, its capital Seoul had fallen due to attacks by Goguryeo in the late fifth century. In order to surmount this crisis-ridden situation, it must have been necessary for Paekche as well to reorganize an extensive trading system linking the Southern Dynasties of China, Paekche, the Kaya area and Wa. Going through a political turmoil while relocating its capital to Gongju, the central government of Paekche had to further enhance its kinship not only with the Southern Dynasties of China, but also with Wa. The emergence of Wa-style traces of rituals in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, in this respect, becomes the archaeological verification that reflects the new diplomatic strategy of Wa and Paekche, adopted due to mutual necessities as discussed above.¹¹⁾

(3) Exchanges between Paekche and Wa during the fourth and sixth centuries viewed from the background of the emergence of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site

The Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site are central-type seaside ritual sites that represent Paekche and Wa. Concerning the period where seaside rituals with which the central Paekche was involved began in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, some have proposed that it was around the middle of the fourth century based on the unearthed relics and documents.¹²⁾

The central-type seaside rituals in the Okinoshima Ritual Site began estimably around the second half of the fourth century, based on the relationship observed in the use of the same mold for the bronze mirror unearthed here and the bronze mirror unearthed in the central area of Wa.¹³⁾

If we value such view, the period of the emergence of the central-type seaside rituals in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site would be around the fourth century.

However, in case of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, it was from around the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century that the central-type seaside rituals with which the central Paekche was involved became further popular. From around the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century was a period when excavations of international ritual relics such as celadon of the Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties of China, horse trappings from Dae-Kaya and Wa-style copies of implements made of stone became outstanding in the ritual relics of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site. This phase means the long-distance trade between Paekche and the surrounding countries was further stimulated during this period. It also reflects the situation where sea lanes on the west coast of Paekche that were used for this long-distance trading by the central Paekche were controlled by its central government. Namely, it means direct interchange between the central authorities of Paekche and Wa became more active from

around the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century.

Also, in case of the Okinoshima Ritual Site, there are phases in which the ritual actions were performed livelier than before during the sixth century.¹⁴⁾

Meanwhile, taking into account the fact that international ritual relics have been remarkably excavated from both sites, it is presumed that international trading ships which traveled between the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago participated in the seaside rituals held at these two sites.

For the operation method of this international trading ship, the direct method and the transfer method as mentioned earlier seem to have been compatible. It is presumable that the transfer method from a ship of Wa to a ship of Kaya, then to a ship of Paekche was more frequently used for navigations by the international trading ships from Wa to Paekche.

For example, in assuming a navigation with the transfer method, the people who performed ritual ceremonies in the Okinoshima Ritual Site are considered to have been people of Wa who embarked on a ship of Wa. However, taking into account ritual relics with a rich international flavor, foreign missionaries and merchants who embarked on the ship of Wa seem to have joined the ritual observance performed in the Okinoshima Ritual Site in some cases.

Also, in case of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, it is clear that people who performed the ritual observance were mainly people of Paekche who embarked on ships of Paekche. Besides, people from the Southern Dynasties of China, Kaya and Wa may have participated in the ritual observance in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site as well. Foreign-made ritual relics such as celadon of the Southern Dynasties of China, horse trappings originated in Dae-Kaya and Wa-style copies of implements made of stone that were unearthed here are estimated to be ritual relics left by foreign missionaries and merchants who were onboard the ships of Paekche. As previously mentioned, the ritual traces of Wa-style in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site are, at least, clearly ritual traces left by missionaries and merchants of Wa.

Meanwhile, the Okinoshima Ritual Site and the Chungmakdong Ritual Site have a lot in common that is worthy to note. First of all, the two ritual sites have similar compositions of ritual relics, including copies of implements made of stone, horse trappings, helmets and armors and flat iron ingots. Also, in terms of geographical landscapes, both ritual sites are built on a slope or a cliff on the seaside from which people can overview the surrounding sea area. Moreover, the two are located along the most dangerous sea lanes of the maritime trading routes running between Wa and Paekche. Considering the similarities of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site, it seems like there had been a mutual operation of the missionaries and the merchants from the two countries who were on the trading ships, during the process of establishing the ritual practices at the two ritual sites.

Differences, nonetheless, between the two ritual sites come across as well. For example, the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is understood as a ritual site with multiple purposes to play roles as a place for rituals and a trading port. The Chungmakdong Ritual Site is located along the naval routes on the west coast of Paekche from the Kaya area toward the central Paekche region. In particular, the western sea area of the Byeonsan Peninsula where the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is located is estimated to have been the most dangerous route for a trading ship heading for Gongju and Buyeo. A ship of Paekche departing from the Kaya area necessarily had to stop at a port near the Chungmakdong Ritual Site because of this risky nature of the sea lane. Paekche ships that stopped at this port most likely prayed for the safety of the navigation, performed seaside rituals, furnished supplies and took time for the crew to rest.

Meanwhile, in case of the Okinoshima Ritual Site, it is located in a small island far away to the east from the usual sea route of the Tsushima Straits that connects Iki Island and Tsushima Island. As a port on a formal sea route for trading ships to supply goods and provide rest for crew, this island is in the worst condition. Taking into account this point, the Okinoshima Ritual Site is evaluated to be a special ritual site where the role of a ritual place in which praying for the safety of navigation was further emphasized.

Taking into consideration how pottery and stone implements were unearthed in the Okinoshima Ritual Site, traces of temporal human activities after the Jomon Period are perceived. But the observed traces of human

activities present a different appearance from those seen in an inland long-term settlement.¹⁵⁾ In other words, it is hard to say that the Okinoshima Ritual Site is a double duty ritual site with plural purposes where ships on voyage call to replenish goods, take time for the crew to rest and perform seaside rituals.

When we analyze the shipbuilding and navigation techniques of Wa the fourth and fifth centuries from the viewpoint of archaeology, it is likely that a quasi-structural ship that proceeds on oars, instead of a sailing ship, was used for voyages from Wa to the Kaya area. Consequently, a ship of Wa on a voyage from Iki Island to Tsushima Island was less likely to stop by Okinoshima Island far away. Considering the technological level of a ship of Wa during the fourth and fifth centuries and the geographical aspect of Okinoshima Island, the island was mainly used as an evacuation area in emergency for ships of Wa traveling between Iki Island and Tsushima Island. While doing so, Okinoshima Island became a sacred island of rituals for Wa ships sailing across the Tsushima Straits.

The excavation of ritual relics related to the central government of Wa in the Okinoshima Ritual Site suggests that safe transportation of valuable trading goods was a major challenge for the central Wa, particularly in the late fourth century. Since then, the Okinoshima Ritual Site has become a more representative central-type seaside ritual site of Wa because of the modified diplomatic strategy to put more emphasis on trading with countries of the Korean Peninsula.

Around the fourth century, Wa ships departing from the northern Kyūshū area were mostly heading to international ports in Kumgwan-Kaya. Accumulating economic wealth by producing and exporting iron, Kumgwan-Kaya was the transfer point of international trades involving China, countries in the Korean Peninsula and Wa. International ports in Kumgwan-Kaya must have been the best place for missionaries and merchants of Wa to acquire advanced goods and knowledge from China and countries in the Korean Peninsula, including iron from the Kaya area.

In the fifth century, the situation in the Korean Peninsula rapidly changed due to the attacks by Goguryeo against both the Kaya area and the capital area of Paekche, Seoul. Therefore, the diplomatic strategy of Wa, which had valued the trade with Kumgwan-Kaya until then, encountered a crisis. Wa was required to attempt a diplomatic shift to strengthen direct trading with Paekche and the excavation of Wa-style copies of implements made of stone from the late fifth to the early sixth centuries at the Chungmakdong Ritual Site supports the changed diplomatic strategy of Wa during the period.

Because of the attacks by Goguryeo from the north in the late fifth century, Paekche relocated its capital to Gongju. To overcome this political and military crisis, Paekche applied a new diplomatic strategy to strengthen direct exchanges and trades with Wa in the southern area. The Wa-style traces from the late fifth century and early sixth century, left by the missionaries and merchants of Wa in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site serve as substantial archaeological evidence to the new diplomatic principles of Paekche.

Besides, new archaeological materials that reflect reinforced kinship between Paekche and Wa from around the late fifth century to the early sixth century have appeared in places that used to belong to Paekche.

The first example is approximately thirteen of the Wa-style keyhole-shaped mounded tomb group discovered in the southwestern area of Paekche (Figure 2). Taking into consideration the details of measurement and excavation investigations of these keyhole-shaped mounded tombs, they were constructed in the southwestern area of Paekche is mainly during the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century. Particularly, the Wa-style keyhole-shaped mounded tombs were collectively constructed in the age of King Muryeong, i.e., about the first half of the sixth century.

The second example refers to the materials for the coffin of the Royal Tomb of Muryeong from Paekche. The materials seem to have been made out of the best quality Japanese umbrella pine (*Sciadopitysverticillata*) imported from Wa. In the Royal Tomb of King Muryeong, a lot of prestige goods imported from the Southern Dynasties of China, had been buried as burial accessories together with the materials for the coffin produced in Wa. Further, the sepulcher of King Muryeong was built as the brick-built stone chamber tomb style of the Southern Dynasties of China. The excavation of such coffin reflects the diplomatic policy of the then central Paekche, suggesting that under the rule of King Muryeong, Paekche began to adopt a new diplomatic strategy, putting more emphasis to the Southern Dynasties of

China and Wa.

The diplomatic focus of Paekche during late fifth century and the early sixth century was to oppose the threat of Goguryeo through maintaining a close kinship with the Southern Dynasties of China and Wa. Missionaries of various countries who gathered at the funeral rites of King Muryeong of Paekche saw the brick-built stone chamber tomb in the style of the Southern Dynasties of China, being presented in Paekche.

These funeral rituals were to symbolize the political kinship formed between Paekche and the Southern Dynasties of China and the message must have been delivered to Goguryeo through messengers of condolence who participated in the event from various countries. Namely, adopting the brick-built stone chamber tomb in the style of the Southern Dynasties of China to the royal tomb of Paekche was an effective means to parade the intimate kinship between Paekche and the Southern Dynasties of China.

Information on Wa-style keyhole-shaped mounded tomb employed in some tombs of chiefs in the southwestern area of Paekche is considered to have been also delivered to Goguryeo through messengers of condolence of various countries for funeral rites who gathered to the funeral services. The scenes of the funeral rites are likely to have become an effective means to show off the close kinship between Paekche and Wa to Goguryeo.

During the late fifth century and the early sixth century, Wa-style ritual traces were found in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, a central-type seaside ritual site of Paekche. Best quality Japanese umbrella pine (*Sciadopitysverticillata*) was used as materials for the coffins of tombs for kings of the central Paekche. In addition, a Wa-style keyhole-shaped mounded tomb was adopted for the tombs of some chiefs in the Paekche area. These conditions that had simultaneously emerged in the central Paekche and its local regions are likely to be a strong archaeological material symbolizing the close kinship formed between Paekche and Wa.¹⁶⁾

Meanwhile, the number of archaeological materials that reflect the reinforced kinship between Wa and Paekche started to increase in Wa during the sixth century. A new expansionary trend of Paekche-style tomb system, along with housing, cooking and heating systems emerged in Wa.¹⁷⁾ For example, Paekche had brought about a change and led the sepulchers of tombs for chiefs of the central Wa to adopt the form of horizontal entrance stone chambers that originated from a place near the Kinai district.¹⁸⁾

Also, it is judged that Paekche initiated the broad expansion of the cooking and heating system style of the Korean Peninsula in which a cooking stove is set up inside the house. In Kyūshū, the Korean style of cooking and heating system widely spread throughout the Fukuoka area to the Kumamoto area. It was further spread to the southern Tohoku area of the main island of Japan.²⁰⁾

Houses furnished with the Paekche-style horizontal-entrance stone chambers and cooking stoves increased in Wa in the sixth century, signifying the strengthening kinship between Wa and Paekche. Changes as new as the example mentioned above clearly indicate a modified, new diplomatic strategy of the central government in Wa to reinforce the exchanges and trades with Paekche.

Put together the processes of the emergence of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site discussed so far, the beginning of the epoch-making era of the interactions between Paekche and Wa can be calculated as approximately the early sixth century since radical political and economic changes in the Korean Peninsula had begun in the fifth century when Goguryeo attacked the Kaya area and Paekche. Amid the radical changes in the Korean Peninsula, it was necessary for both Paekche and Wa to further strengthen their mutual political and economic interactions.

4. Conclusion--The Okinoshima Ritual Site and the Chungmakdong Ritual Site symbolizing the invigoration of the long-distance trade between the Japanese Archipelago and the Korean Peninsula

Around the fourth century, central-type seaside ritual sites with which the central regimes of Paekche and Wa were involved emerged on ocean trade routes linking the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese

Archipelago. The Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site are the central-type seaside ritual sites respectively representing Paekche and Wa. Taking into consideration the geographical features of the two ritual sites, which are located on the sea lanes of trading ships, the emergence of such central-type seaside ritual sites would symbolize the invigoration of the long-distance trade between the two countries.

Around the fourth century, the prioritized diplomatic strategy of the central government in Wa was to acquire iron materials and advanced knowledge from Kumgwan-Kaya. The simultaneous excavation of iron materials in a large quantity and prestige goods imported from Wa in the Gimhae Daeseongdong Mounded tomb Group archaeologically reflects the close kinship between Kumgwan-Kaya and Wa.

At the beginning of the fifth century, a crisis occurred to the active trading system between Wa and Kumgwan-Kaya due to attacks by Goguryeo to the Kaya area. To overcome the crisis of the trading system, it seems that Wa had to multi-polarize the existing trading system with countries in the Korean Peninsula. Wa-style ritual traces by missionaries and merchants of Wa emerged in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site on the west coast of Paekche, during the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the sixth century. This symbolizes further invigoration of the trading system between Wa and Paekche during this period.

The then Paekche was in close diplomatic relationship with the Southern Dynasties of China as well. Consequently, it seems that the strengthening of the kinship between Wa and Paekche was a new diplomatic strategy of the central Wa, which also may have led to the strengthening the kinship between Wa and the Southern Dynasties of China.

Meanwhile, during the period when Wa-style ritual traces emerged in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site, a lot of archaeological materials that reflect the reinforced kinship of Paekche and Wa emerged in the two countries.

For example, there was a sudden increase of examples that adopted Paekche-style horizontal-entrance stone chambers for the tombs of chiefs in the central Wa during the sixth century. Also, Paekche-style cooking and heating system that set up a cooking stove and a smoke duct in a house was adopted in widespread areas. The application and expansion of Paekche-style horizontal-entrance chambers and cooking and heating systems in Wa presumably became effective means to show off the kinship between Wa and Paekche to the surrounding countries. Namely, such phase would be a strong archaeological material that reflects the diplomatic strategy adopted by the central Wa of valuing Paekche.

The best quality materials used for the coffins made in Wa was employed for the Royal Tombs of King Muryeong of central Paekche during the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the sixth century. A Wa-style keyhole-shaped mounded tomb was adopted for some tombs of chiefs in the Paekche area as well. The adoption of a Wa-style keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in Paekche was effective in showing off the close kinship of Paekche and Wa to the surrounding countries, thus becoming a strong archaeological evidence reflecting the diplomatic strategy of the central Paekche at the time to value Wa.

The Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site are representative examples of central-type seaside ritual sites of Paekche and Wa. The two sites are similar in that both are located on sea routes through which international trading ships of Paekche and Wa had passed by.

The surrounding ocean area of the Chungmakdong Ritual Site is a dangerous sea lane that appears on a voyage from the Kaya area toward the capital of Paekche in the basin of the Geum River. Taking into account that the place for rituals is on a cliff top overlooking the costal sea lanes in the surrounding area, the Chungmakdong Ritual Site must have been the best location as a seaside ritual site praying for a successful navigation between the Kaya area and the Geum River basin of Paekche.

The Okinoshima Ritual Site, similarly, is located on a dangerous sea lane of the Tsushima Straits that links Iki Island and Tsushima Island. Okinoshima Island is a tiny island off to the east from a regular sea lane connecting the Iki Island and Tsushima Island. The place for rituals is located on a slope of the island overlooking the regular sea lane across the Iki Island and Tsushima Island. If we assume a situation where a trade ship of Wa is wrecked on the regular sea lane, Okinoshima Island would have been the most suitable place for the wrecked ship to evacuate into. Evacuation to the Okinoshima Island probably saved valuable

goods and lives of passengers on a wrecked ship many times. During this process, the Okinoshima Ritual Site seems to have become a sacred place to pray for the success of international trades between northern Kyūshū and the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula.

Okinoshima Island became the largest central-type seaside ritual site in Wa, although it is a difficult island for a ship to replenish goods. It symbolizes the importance of the international trade route linking northern Kyūshū and the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula. Ships of Wa sailed to Okinoshima Island, which is far away from the regular sea lane and performed rituals in grand style. The Okinoshima Ritual Site is a strong archaeological material that indicates that the top-priority diplomatic strategy of the central Wa was to invigorate the long-distance trade with countries in the Korean Peninsula.

Taking into account the geographical landscapes of these two ritual sites, the trade ships that mainly performed rituals in the Chungmakdong Ritual Site most likely were ships of Paekche sailing between ports in the Kaya area and the capital of Paekche at the basin of the Geum River. The Chungmakdong Ritual Site located on the costal sea route of the west coast of Paekche seems to have been a ritual site at the seaside, serving multiple purposes that plays roles of not only a seaside ritual site but also a port established for providing goods and giving rest for crew during a voyage.

Meanwhile, the Okinoshima Ritual Site was a place for rituals, established for ships of Wa sailing between ports of Wa in northern Kyūshū and ports in the Kaya area at the mouth of the Nakdong River. Taking into account the geographical landscape of the Okinoshima Ritual Site which is away to the east from the regular sea lane coming and going between Iki Island and Tsushima Island, it seems that the Okinoshima Ritual Site was not a ritual site at the seaside serving multiple purposes that possessed the roles of not only a seaside ritual but also a port established for providing goods and giving rest for crew. Rather, it seems that it was an exclusive seaside ritual site established for the purposes of the evacuation of a ship in emergency and the rituals to pray for the safety of navigations.

However, as mentioned earlier, the Chungmakdong Ritual Site and the Okinoshima Ritual Site share a similarity in their geographical landscapes since both are built on the most dangerous sea area on the sea lane, overlooking a wider view of the regular sea lanes.

It is possible to thus conclude that the primary purpose of the seaside rituals performed at both sites must have been for the success in international long-distance trades via ocean trading routes. The Chungmakdong Ritual Site is the central-type seaside ritual site of Paekche that indicates the emergence of a trade system, which newly became active between Paekche and Wa. Whereas the Okinoshima Ritual Site is the central-type seaside ritual site of Wa that reflects the actual status of the international long-distance trade that became active between Wa and countries in the Korean Peninsula.

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Group Study:
“Re-examination of Okinoshima Island, Ritual Site”

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The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island

– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

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Abstract: The author undertook a reclassification according to the composition of the objects excavated at ritual sites on Okinoshima Island and re-examined Okinoshima rituals in comparison with the ceremonies described in “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” (Book of Rituals and Ceremonies of the *Kōtai Jingū*). As a result, he considers that the common lineage of *jingū goshimpō* (shrine treasures) and of Okinoshima ritual objects can be dated back to the 5th century and that it has the same character as offerings, mainly ironware and fabrics recovered from other 5th century ritual sites throughout the Japanese Archipelago. The composition of ritual procedures described in the “*gishiki*” *chō* seems to correspond with finds and excavated context of Okinoshima. Whereas ritual sites atop of rocks and in the shade of rocks may be characterized as places to dedicate offerings and divine treasures near the divine spirit, ritual sites in the open air may be characterized as places for disposed and accumulated food vessels and ritual implements for food offerings to the deities that have been cleared away after the service to the deity. Moreover, this analysis has made it clear that the 5th century was a significant turning point in the formation of rituals for the deities of heaven and earth (*jingi saishi*).

Keywords: ironware, flat iron ingots, offerings made to the *kami*, “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*”, ceremonies

1. Introduction

As a place where Tagorihime, one of three Munakata goddesses is deified, Okinoshima Island has been a sacred precinct protected since ancient times. On this island, there remain ritual sites dating from the latter half of the 4th century to around the beginning of the 10th century. It is also a place where we can trace specifically how ancient rituals for the deities of heaven and earth and Shintō worship were established.

The transition of Okinoshima ritual sites was clarified by ODA Fujio in a report “Munakata Okinoshima”. He analyzed and put the excavated objects and their locations in order in detail and clarified the transition of the ritual sites in this order: 1) Ritual sites on top of a rock (from the latter half of the 4th century to the former half of the 5th century); 2) Ritual sites in the shade of a rock (from the latter half of the 5th century to the 7th century); 3) Ritual sites partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air (from the latter half of the 7th century to the 8th century); and 4) ritual sites in the open air (from the 8th to 9th centuries)¹⁾. When one is thinking of the transition and character of the ritual sites in Okinoshima, this fundamental pattern has established itself as the most common one.

However, when we look at the objects excavated at ritual sites on Okinoshima in detail, they will present complicated aspects. At Site No. 16, 17 and 21, all of which are on top of a rock, the objects are substantially different from each other in terms of their depositional context and composition. On the contrary, Site No. 22 in the shade of a rock and No. 1 in the open air involve the same composition of objects. Thus, their respective locations do not necessarily show directly the chronological tendency. Moreover, with regard to Site No. 1, SADA Shigeru and YUBA Tadanori point out that the site could have been a place where pottery and ritual implements were disposed²⁾. It is also conceivable that all the ritual sites are not places where rituals were performed. In other words, as far as ritual sites on Okinoshima are concerned, we probably need to set aside once the conventional notion that the location of ritual sites shifted from sites on top of rocks to those in the shade of a rock and then in the open air and the assumption that ritual sites are places where rituals were performed. Then, we need to classify each site according to the set [“composition”] of unearthened objects and re-consider the character of each site anew.

The objects unearthened at ritual sites on Okinoshima Island have been regarded as something special, judging from the very rich contents, including a large number of ironware, gilt bronze horse trappings, gold

finger rings, cut glass bowls and Tang-Dynasty style three-colored glazed ware (*tōsansai*). With regard to these objects, their linkage with the Korean peninsula and the Chinese continent has been already pointed out and their existence itself has drawn much attention of us to a special character of Okinoshima rituals in connection with state diplomacy³⁾. In recent years, however, objects common to Okinoshima ritual sites, such as ironware and flat iron ingots have been also excavated at other ritual sites throughout the Japanese Archipelago. Beyond emphasizing the special character of the Okinoshima rituals there is the necessity for considering how to place them in relation with other ritual sites across the Japanese Archipelago.

In this paper, accordingly, the author will classify ritual sites on Okinoshima anew according to the composition of the unearthed objects first and then compare them with other ritual sites throughout the archipelago mainly in terms of their composition. In this way, the author would like to re-examine changes and background of ritual sites.

When re-examining them, the author will focus attention mainly from the 5th century on during which ritual sites can be clearly identified across the archipelago. With regard to objects, the focus of re-examination will be the nature of ironware, metal imitations of objects (*kinzokusei mozōhin*) and spinning and weaving tools common to Okinoshima rituals.

Based on the foregoing re-examination, the author would like to consider the character of ritual sites on Okinoshima in view of the structure (the ceremonies respectively the rites) of the rituals. When considering the character of ritual sites, we often argue whether they were places to perform rituals or dumping grounds to dispose of ritual implements, because their relation with the rites is unclear. In this respect, ritual sites on Okinoshima are no exception in that the character of Site No. 1 cannot be determined. In the following, the author would like to attempt to infer the nature of rituals on Okinoshima and the character of its sites. For this purpose, the author will examine the depositional context and the compositions of the objects in comparison with the ritual procedures respectively the rites in the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” (Book of Rituals and Ceremonies of the *Kōtai Jingū*) that describes similar divine treasures.

2. The Composition and Classification of Objects at Ritual Sites

Composition and Types of Unearthed Objects

The objects unearthed from ritual sites on Okinoshima are mainly mirrors, beads, weapons and tools, which are similar to grave goods found in mounded tombs as pointed out by ŌBA Iwao and KONDŌ Yoshirō and many other researchers⁴⁾. Concerning the transition of objects from utility items to imitations of objects *mozōhin* (miniatures of objects *hinagata*) a chronological trend can be clearly recognized. INOUE Mitsusada recognized the significance of this course as the separation of worship or festival (*sai, matsuri*) from funeral or burying (*sō*) and evaluated it as the emergence of the *Ritsuryō* ritual (the ritual system of the *Ritsuryō* state)⁵⁾. This transition of objects, with mirrors, weapons and tools in the center, from utility items to imitations respectively miniatures of objects provides factors, which become criterions considering the composition of the objects at Okinoshima ritual sites. Table 1 summarizes the kinds and quantity of the objects unearthed at each site by adding the material of the objects to these factors based on their descriptions in three reports which have already been published⁶⁾. According to the composition, the objects unearthed at each site can be classified into the following three types.

Type I: This is mainly composed of bronze mirrors and items for practical use such as iron weapons, defensive armor (*bugu*), tools, beads including ones made from jadeite and jasper, and kinds of jasper bracelets. There was a large number of imported (*hakusai kyō*) and mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes (*bōsei kyō*); ironware and beads are only compromised of utility items.
This type is applicable to sites No. 16, 17, 18 and 19 on top of rocks.

Type II: This is mainly composed of items for practical use such as iron weapons, defensive armor (*bugu*) and tools which are accompanied by imitations of objects (*mozōhin*) made from iron and soft stone and comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (*komochi magatama*). Compared with Type I, the quantity of bronze mirrors decreases, while iron weapons increase and involve the addition of iron defensive armor

(helmet and armor *kacchū*), tools and as iron raw material flat iron ingots. As metal imitations of objects, ones made from iron are newly added, and miniatures of iron swords, adzes (*onogata*) and knives (*tosu*) exist in a fixed quantity. They can be subdivided into Types II-1 and II-2. The former is mainly composed of items for practical use such as weapons, armor, adzes, knives and tools like spear-like 387 lanning tools (*variganna*). The latter is accompanied with gilt bronze horse trappings for practical use, wa lineage single-edged long swords decorated with a twisted ring pommel (*nejiri kantō no tachi*) and ones with gem with three round bulges (*miwadama*) decorating the sword pommel and (rectangular) iron plates attached in the center of shields (*tate chūō teppan*).

Whereas Type II-1 corresponds to Site No. 21 on top of rocks, Type II-2 corresponds to sites No. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 23 in the shade of rocks.

Type III: This is composed of iron, gilt bronze and soft stone imitations of objects, different kinds of pottery (Haji ware and Sue ware) including dishes (*tsuki*), jars (*tsubo*), pots (*kame*) and vessel stands (*kidai*). Iron weapons and tools were mainly replaced with iron imitations of objects, to which various kinds of gilt bronze imitations of objects were added like spinning and weaving tools, different kinds of vessels (*yōkirui*) and *kotos* (Japanese board zithers). Soft stone imitations of objects mainly comprise large disk-shaped objects with hole (*yūkō enban*), ones representing the human figure (*hitogata*) or boats and horses. Pottery including kinds of glazed stoneware like Tang Dynasty and Nara three-colored (trichrome) glazed ware (*tōsansai*, *narasansai*).

This type corresponds to sites No. 4, 6, 20 and 22 in the shade of a rock and Site No. 5 partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air, and sites No. 1 and 3 in the open air.

The Chronological Trend of Each Type

Looking from a chronological perspective at the documented objects and the date of each type it is presumable that Type I may date back to the second half of the 4th century, judging from the bronze mirrors and the kinds of bracelets. Type II-1 may date from the first half to middle of the 5th century, judging from weapons, armor and tools for practical use and the comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted. Type II-2 may date back to the 6th century, judging from the iron plates attached in the center of shields and gilt bronze horse trappings. According to the typology of the ceramic vessels, Type III may date to the 8th, 9th centuries. The shift took place as follows: from Type I to Type II and then to Type III, and there is such a tendency that soft stone and metal imitations of objects gradually took a higher share in the transition from Type II-2 to Type III.

The Linkage of Each Type with Sites

Notwithstanding, there are also examples of sites which cannot be simply classified into Types I, II and III. At Site No. 16 which comprises mainly a composition of objects falling under Type I, there were also flat iron ingots and fragments of horse trappings unearthed which fall under Types II-1 and II-2. At Site No. 4, kinds of pottery and soft stone imitations of objects which belong to the composition of Type III are also accompanied with bronze mirrors of Type I and horse trappings of Type II-2. At Site No. 6, gilt bronze vessels and spinning/weaving tools of Type III were also excavated along with kinds of weapons and tools for practical use, flat iron ingots and soft stone imitations of swords of Type II-1. These facts show that each of the sites does not necessarily belong to a single phase or type. Rather, they may have been places related with rituals for a long period of time during which various ritual implements and offerings which belong to different phases were brought into the sites.

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– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Table 1 Summary of unearthed objects from Okinoshima ritual sites -- 1

Site name	Ironware						Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/ shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/ stoneware	Ritual Form	
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials		Others	Mirrors	Various kinds of imitations of objects					Accessories/ others
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations											
Shosani- misha- mae	1 double-edged sword (surface collection)		1 knife			16 flat iron ingots, 2 iron stick-like items							3 Haji (surface collection), 1 Haji small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), (surface collection), 1 coarse clay small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 1 coarse clay small bowl (<i>wan</i> ; surface collection), clay imitation: 1 gourd (surface collection)		
	52 arrowheads	21 miniatures of single-edged swords, 1 miniature of a socketed spearhead		84 miniatures of knives			30 dics	1 mirror with octagonal rim (<i>hachiryō kyō</i>)	Gilt bronze miniatures of spinning and weaving tools: 8 sword-shaped beaters (<i>ōjō</i>), 8 H-or X-shaped frame s for winding (<i>kase</i>), 22 upright standing weaving, spinning implement (<i>atari</i>), 1 vessel for storing hemp (<i>oke</i>); 5 bronze objects representing a ship, 36 small bronze bowls (<i>dōwan</i>), 4 bronze plates (<i>dōsara</i>), 1 bronze jar with narrow neck	1 gilt bronze belt fitting (<i>kaban</i>), 42 bronze bells (<i>dōdōka</i>), (35 bronze cylindrical items), 6 gilt bronze jinglebells (<i>kindō rei</i>), 1 round bronze coin with a hole in the center (<i>hiju Shimpō</i>)	soft stone objects representing : the human figure 68, horses 40, 108 ships, 28 comma-shaped beads, 37 disk-shaped objects with hole, 89 discs without hole, 238 unfinished discs, 238 rod-shaped items	Sue ware: 70 dishes, 51 lids, 34 bowls (<i>hachi</i>), 60 small bowls (<i>anō</i>) , 65 vessels stands, 42 plate-shaped bowls, 138 small bowls (<i>wangata wan</i>), 8 dishes with pedestal with plate-shaped vessel body, 18 dishes with pedestal with bowl-shaped vessel body, 182 ceramic vessels with holes, 46 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 5 jars, 65 pots, 16 Haji ware small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>) (including 4 vessels for making salt?), 15 coarse clay jars, 10 hand-formed ceramic vessels, 5 three-colored glazed lids, 11 small jars	Rituals in the open air		
No. 1															
No. 2															Rituals in the open air
No. 3												2 soft stone objects representing, 1 representing a ship	Sue ware, Haji ware		Rituals in the open air

Site name	Ironware					Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/ shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/ stoneware	Ritual Form
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements		Iron raw materials	Others					
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations									
No. 4	2 double-edged swords, 3 single-edged swords (1 gilt bronze gem with three round bulges (<i>nivadana</i>), 8 arrowheads	4 miniatures of single-edged iron swords	9 cast iron adzes/axes, 4 knives, 1 chisel-like item	1 miniature of an iron adze		Fragments of a crupper strap dividers with spangles (<i>byōkazari azu</i>), 1 strap divider (<i>suji kanagu</i>)	1 TLV mirror with beast-band (<i>yūtaimon hōkakuki kyō</i>), 1 modified japanese mirror with decor of beasts according to chinese model (<i>henkei jūkei kyō</i>), 2 mirror with raised conical bosses (<i>nyūmon kyō</i>), 1 modified mirror decorated with four immortals and four beasts (<i>henkei yonshin yonjū kyō</i>), 1 mirror manufactured in Japan after continental prototype (<i>bōsei kyō</i>) Kofun period	Gilt bronze miniature of spinning and weaving tool (1 loom <i>hata</i>), 11 bronze plates (<i>dōban</i>), 4 bronze plates (<i>dōban</i>)	1 gilt bronze strap-end fitting (<i>obisaki kanagu</i>), 2 clasps (<i>biyō</i>) (belt buckles <i>kako</i>)	2 comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi magatama</i>), 9 glass beads	soft stone objects representing the human figure 10 human, horses 10, ships 20, 20 discs without hole, 3 discs with hole, 4 large discs with hole, 99 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	Sue ware: 1 vessel stand, 7 dishes, 1 plate (<i>ban</i>), 1 ceramic vessel with holes; Haji ware: 2 dishes, 2 jars, 1 small jar	Rituals in the shade of rocks

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– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Site name	Ironware						Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/stoneware	Ritual Form	
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials		Others	Mirrors	Various kinds of imitations of objects					Accessories/others
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations											
No. 5	1 or more single-edged swords, 1 ferrule (<i>ishizuka</i>)	29 miniatures of single-edged iron swords, 19 miniatures of iron socketed spearheads	33 miniatures of knives, 3 miniatures of iron adzes/axes			2 objects representing the human figure, 4 discs, 2 iron bells, 6 iron rings, 1 iron upright standing weaving, spinning implement (<i>tatari</i>)			gilt bronze miniatures of spinning and upright standing weaving, spinning implements (<i>tatari</i>), 2 bronze spindles whorls, 3 sword-shaped beaters (<i>ôjo</i>), 11 warp beam (<i>chikiri</i>), 2 vessels for storing hemp (<i>oke</i>); 1 gilt bronze miniature of a five-string zither (<i>koto</i>), 4 gilt bronze object representing the human figure, 4 gilt bronze discs, 4 gilt bronze adzes/axes, 1 gilt bronze object representing a comb?, 1 gilt bronze jar with a narrow neck, 1 plate with attached foot (<i>ashitsuki ban</i>), 1 dish with pedestal (<i>takatsuki</i>)	2 gilt bronze dragon heads (<i>kindôsei ryûô</i>), 4 bronze bells (<i>ôdaka</i>), 1 bronze ring, gilt bronze decorative neckwear 21 (7 oval discs with hole, 14 thin rectangle plates with hole, 5 square plates with hole), 16 gilt bronze ring-like items, 2 unknown bronze items	1 comma-shaped jadeite bead, 2 cylindrical jasper beads, a fragment of a wheel-shaped bracelet (<i>sharinsêki</i>)	27 soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	1 Tang-Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck; Sue ware: 2 dishes with pedestal, 6 jars with long neck, 1 jar, 6 pots, 6 vessel stands, and 3 jars (vessels to make salt)	Rituals half in the shade of rocks and partly in the open air	
No. 6	4 double-edged swords, 10 or more single-edged swords	13 miniatures of single-edged iron swords, 1 miniature of a socketed spearhead	1 iron axe/adze, 1 spear-like planing tool	2 miniatures of knives, 1 miniature of an iron adze/axe, 1 miniature of a spear-style planing tool		2 flat iron ingots	4 discs		Gilt bronze miniatures of spinning and weaving tool (1 gilt bronze vessel for storing hemp <i>oke</i>), 3 gilt bronze lids, 1 deep bowl (<i>fukabashi</i>), 1 gilt bronze jar with a narrow neck	1 gilt bronze disc, 1 bronze bell (<i>dôseitaku</i>)	1 accessory made of shell	1 soft stone object representing a sword, 1 soft stone object representing a adze/axe, 22 flat beads, 9 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), small glass beads	2 Haji ware: 2 jars with round bottom, 1 vessel stand	Rituals in the shade of rocks	
No. 7	5 double-edged swords, 10 or more single-edged swords (accompanied with 17 crystal quartz gem with three	3 miniatures of iron single-edged swords	11 cast iron adzes/axes					1 mirror with images of beasts (<i>jûmon kyô</i>), 27 mirror fragments		3 gilt bronze strap-end fittings (<i>obisaki kanagata</i>), 5 belt buckles (<i>kako</i>), 11 gilded iron belt fittings	13 faceted crystal quartz beads, 1 bead shaped like a abacus bead (<i>sonbandama</i>) bead, 535 glass beads	908 small soft stone beads, 39 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1 semicircular shell bead, 4 items	1 three-colored jar, 1 lid, 1 vessel stand, 1 pot	Rituals in the shade of rocks	

Site name	Ironware						Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/stoneware	Ritual Form
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials		Others						
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations										
No. 8	round bulges (<i>univadama</i>) & 2 twisted ring pommels, 26 socketed spearheads, 2 spearheads with tang, 1 visorless keeled helmet, 1 iron plate attached in the center of a shield, 1 lamellar armor, 4 small round plates with iron rivets, 235 iron arrowheads, iron quiver fittings						(<i>suji kanagu</i>), 8 heart-shaped flat pendant harness ornaments (<i>shinyōgata gōyō</i>), 6 prickly-leaf-shaped flat pendant harness ornaments (<i>kyōkyōgata gōyō</i>), 3 flat pendant harness ornaments of the Kenbishi-type (oval plate with attached rhombic, sword blade tip-shaped part), strap divider buckles (<i>uzu kake</i>), 2 saddles, strap dividers (<i>suji kanagu</i>), bells, bits, strap-end fittings (<i>obisaki kanagu</i>)			with application of a bronze intermediate layer (<i>teisui kondō bari kaban</i>), 1 small gilt bronze ring, 1 gilt bronze banded rod-like item with a socket, 1 gold finger ring, 1 gold bracelet, 2 silver bracelets	shaped like a flat bead			
	2 double-edged swords, 8 single-edged swords, 4 socketed spearheads, 1 iron socketed spearhead with wide blade tip, 4 spearheads with tang (the following resulted from the second survey) some fragments of swords	10 miniatures of single-edged sword-like objects with sword guard (<i>tsuba</i>)	27 cast iron adzes/axes, 2 fragments of a large iron adze/axe (the following resulted from the second survey) 51 miniatures of iron adzes/axes, 51 or more miniatures of knives	21 miniatures of knives, 7 miniatures of iron adzes/axes (the following resulted from the second survey) 51 miniatures of iron adzes/axes, 51 or more miniatures of knives			large quantity of small iron rings	1 modified TLV mirror (<i>henkei hōkakuiku kyō</i>), 1 modified decorated mirror (<i>henkei mon kyō</i>), (the following resulted from the second survey) 1 turtle-dragon mirror (<i>banryū kyō</i>)	1 silver/gilt bronze sheath of a socketed spear (<i>hoko</i>), 2 silver bracelets, 4 gilded iron belt fittings with application of a bronze intermediate layer (<i>teisui kondō bari kaban</i>), (the following resulted from the second survey) 1 gilt bronze bracelet, 1 bronze bracelet, 1 cylindrical item with a silver ring, 1 small fragment of silver, 2 fragments of spangles (<i>byō</i>)	1 glass vessel, 2 comma-shaped jasper beads, 1 cylindrical jasper beads, 32 round and small glass beads, 338 small glass beads, 842 millet (small fine) beads (<i>avudama</i>), 7 faceted glass beads (<i>kirikodama</i>), 3 or more items made of shells, (the following resulted from the second survey) 1 comma-shaped jadeite bead, 4 round agate beads, 1054 small and round glass beads, 2 glass millet (small fine) beads (<i>avudama</i>), 6 faceted glass beads, 3 items made of shells with holes	2 comma-shaped soft stone beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi nagatama</i>), 3409 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 85 small flat beads with hole (the following resulted from the second survey) 11609 soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 152 soft stone large mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	Fragments of 1 Sue ware jar and pot	Rituals in the shade of rocks	
No. 9		3 miniatures of iron single-edged swords	2 miniatures of knives				2 crupper strap dividers (<i>azu</i>) and strap dividers (<i>suji kanagu</i>), 1 bit, 1 bell				4 or more items made of shells	498 soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)		Rituals in the shade of rocks
No. 10												soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)		Rituals in the shade of rocks

The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island
– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Site name	Ironware								Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/ shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/ stoneware	Ritual Form
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials	Others	Mirrors		Various kinds of imitations of objects	Accessories/ others					
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations												
No. 11	Fragments of swords														Rituals in the shade of rocks	
No. 12															Rituals in the shade of rocks	
No. 13															Rituals in the shade of rocks	
No. 14														Fragments of pots/jars	Rituals half in the shade of rocks and partly in the open air	
No. 15									1 mirror manufactured in Japan after continental prototype (bōsei kyō)					Fragments of jars	Rituals in the shade of rocks	

Site name	Ironware						Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items				Beads/glass/shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/stoneware	Ritual Form
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials		Others	Mirrors	Various kinds of imitations of objects	Accessories/others				
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations											
No. 16	4 or more single-edged swords, 1 socketed spearheads; (the following resulted from the second survey) 7 double-edged spearheads with tang, 3 single-edged swords, 2 socketed spearheads, 21 arrowheads		8 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond, 2 knives. (The following resulted from the second survey) 5 iron axes, 14 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond				2 iron plates (flat iron ingots), 6 iron bracelets	6 gilt bronze/iron fragments of horse trappings	1 modified triangular-rimmed mirror decorated with beast decor band and images of three immortals and three beasts (<i>henkei sankakubuchi jūmontai sanshin sanjū kyō</i> , 1 undecorated miniaturized bronze mirror, (the following resulted from the second survey) 1 modified TLV mirror (<i>henkei hōkakukiku kyō</i>), 1 modified mirror with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei naikō kamon kyō</i>)		2 bronze bracelets	2 ring-shaped jasper bracelets (<i>ishikushiro</i>), 2 comma-shaped jadeite beads, 44 cylindrical jasper/diorite beads, 41 glass beads, (the following resulted from the second survey) 1 comma-shaped jadeite bead, 2 comma-shaped jasper beads, 16 soft stone comma-shaped beads, 48 cylindrical jasper beads, 71 soft stone cylindrical beads, 1 cylindrical bead of unknown material, 31 fragments of cylindrical beads, 232 soft stone small and small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 2 large soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 7 soft stone ring-shaped bracelets (<i>shikushiro</i>)			Rituals on top of rocks
	6 double-edged swords, 1 double-edged sword with groove lines, 5 single-edged swords		3 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond				3 iron bracelets		7 modified TLV mirrors (<i>henkei hōkakukiku kyō</i>), 3 modified mirrors with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei naikō kamon kyō</i>), 2 turtle-dragon mirrors (<i>banryū kyō</i>), 1 modified decorated mirror (<i>henkei mon kyō</i>), 2 modified beast-band mirrors (<i>henkei jūtai kyō</i>), 2 modified pictorial mirrors (<i>henkei gazō kyō</i>), 3 modified triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with beast decor band and images of immortals and beasts (<i>henkei sankakubuchi jūmontai shiriji kyō</i>), 1 modified K'uei bird-mirror (<i>kihō kyō</i>)			1 comma-shaped jadeite bead, 2 soft stone comma-shaped beads, 10 cylindrical jasper beads, 11 soft stone cylindrical beads, 4 soft stone barrel-shaped beads (<i>naisumedama</i>), 75 small glass beads, 298 small soft stone beads, 2 wheel-shaped jasper bracelets (<i>sharinseki</i>), 1 ring-shaped jasper bracelet (<i>ishikushiro</i>)			Rituals on top of rocks

The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island
– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Site name	Ironware						Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/stoneware	Ritual Form	
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials		Others	Mirrors	Various kinds of imitations of objects					Accessories/others
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations											
No. 18			4 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond					1 deity-and-beast mirror with decor band with four deities and decorated with two deities and two beasts (<i>yonshin montai nishin niiji kyō</i>), 2 modified triangular-rimmed mirrors decorated with beast decor band and images of three immortals and three beasts (<i>henkei sankakubuchi jūmontai sanshin sanjū kyō</i>), 1 modified mirror decorated with foliage-scroll pattern band and images of three immortals and three beasts (<i>henkei karakusamontai sanshin sanjū kyō</i>), (the following resulted from the third survey) 1 fragment of a K'uei bird-mirror (<i>kihō kyō</i>), 1 fragment of a TIV mirror (<i>hōkakūka kyō</i>), 1 fragment of a triangular-rimmed mirror decorated with beast decor band and images of immortals and beasts (<i>sankakubuchi jūmontai shinjū kyō</i>)			1 ring-shaped jasper bracelet (<i>ishikashiro</i>), 3 glass beads (the following resulted from the second survey), 1 barrel-shaped jadeite bead (<i>natsumedama</i>), 5 tube-shaped jasper beads, 10 cylindrical diorite beads, about 100 small glass beads, about 20 soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)			Rituals on top of rocks	
No. 19	5 double-edged swords, 10 single-edged swords, 1 socketed spearhead		10 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond, 3 iron needles				3 iron bracelets	1 fragment of a modified mirror with interconnected arcs (<i>henkei naikō kamon kyō</i>)			2 comma-shaped jadeite beads, 1 crystal quartz comma-shaped bead, 9 comma-shaped jasper beads, 15 soft stone comma-shaped beads, 1 comma-shaped mica chest bead, 76 cylindrical jasper beads, 24 soft stone cylindrical beads, 300 small glass beads, 67 small soft stone beads, 1 soft stone barrel-shaped bead (<i>natsumedama</i>), 1 soft stone bracelet		1 Haji ware jar	Rituals on top of rocks	

Site name	Ironware							Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items			Beads/glass/shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/stoneware	Ritual Form
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials	Others								
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations											
No. 20	1 single-edged sword (accompanied with copper collar mounted between hand guard and blade (<i>habaki</i>) fittings, an upside-down oval bronze sword guard & cast bronze metal ring fittings <i>seme kanagui</i>)	14 or more miniatures of single-edged iron swords	7 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond, 9 knives, 3 spear-like tools, 7 iron adzes/axes, 2 cast iron adzes/axes	1 miniatures of a chisel-like item, 9 miniatures of adzes/axes	2 sickles (possibly miniature)	6 flat iron ingots	3 iron bracelets (including a decorative accessory for a sword?), 1 iron disc-shaped object with hole	1 fragment of a beast-band mirrors (<i>jūtai kyō</i>), 1 fragment of a turtle-dragon mirror (<i>banryū kyō</i>), 1 undecorated mirror (<i>sonon kyō</i>), 2 fragments of mirrors	1 gilt bronze dish			4 comma-shaped jadeite beads, 3 comma-shaped amber beads, 5 comma-shaped jasper beads, 8 cylindrical jadeite beads, 303 small glass beads	22 soft stone comma-shaped beads, 26 soft stone cylindrical beads, 3 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), barrel-shaped beads (<i>natsumedama</i>), 1 soft stone comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi magatama</i>), 3 soft stone discs with hole, 3 objects representing a sword and 2 adze/axes	Sue ware: 1 jar with long neck, 1 small spherical jar with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>) with foot and holes, 1 wide jug with wide flat bottom (<i>hirabe</i>), 2 large pots	Rituals on top of the shade of rocks and partly in the open air
No. 21	10 or more double-edged swords, 18 or more single-edged swords, 1 ferrule (<i>shizukui</i>), 20 or more arrowheads, 1 visorless keeled helmet	14 or more miniatures of single-edged iron swords	7 iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond, 9 knives, 3 spear-like tools, 7 iron adzes/axes, 2 cast iron adzes/axes	1 miniatures of a chisel-like item, 9 miniatures of adzes/axes	2 sickles (possibly miniature)	6 flat iron ingots	3 iron bracelets (including a decorative accessory for a sword?), 1 iron disc-shaped object with hole	1 fragment of a beast-band mirrors (<i>jūtai kyō</i>), 1 fragment of a turtle-dragon mirror (<i>banryū kyō</i>), 1 undecorated mirror (<i>sonon kyō</i>), 2 fragments of mirrors	1 gilt bronze dish			4 comma-shaped jadeite beads, 3 comma-shaped amber beads, 5 comma-shaped jasper beads, 8 cylindrical jadeite beads, 303 small glass beads	22 soft stone comma-shaped beads, 26 soft stone cylindrical beads, 3 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), barrel-shaped beads (<i>natsumedama</i>), 1 soft stone comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi magatama</i>), 3 soft stone discs with hole, 3 objects representing a sword and 2 adze/axes	Sue ware: 1 jar with long neck, 1 small spherical jar with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>) with foot and holes, 1 wide jug with wide flat bottom (<i>hirabe</i>), 2 large pots	Rituals on top of the shade of rocks and partly in the open air

The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island
– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Site name	Ironware						Horse trappings	Bronze/gilt-bronze & golden/silver items				Beads/glass/shell items	Stone imitations of objects	Earthenware/stoneware	Ritual Form
	Weapons/Armor		Tools		Farming implements	Iron raw materials		Others	Mirrors	Various kinds of imitations of objects	Accessories/others				
	For practical use	Imitations	For practical use	Imitations											
No. 22		13 or more iron single-edged swords, 9 iron socketed spearheads		2 iron adzes /axes		2 discs with hole (mirrors used in rituals), 2 iron rings			1 gilt bronze object representing the human figure, 3 gilt bronze discs (mirrors for ritual purposes), gilt bronze miniatures of spinning and weaving tools; 8 upright standing weaving implements (tatari), 1 spindle whorl, 1 warp beam (chikiri), 1 horizontal slat, 1 reverser (katten); 1 gilt bronze jar with narrow neck, 1 gilt bronze dish with pedestal, 1 bronze dish with pedestal	10 unknown gilt bronze items; 8 gilt bronze thin rectangle plates with hole, 1 sword-shaped plate with hole, 1 square plate with hole;	1 item made of an abalone shell with hole	25 soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (usudama) & flat beads	Sue ware: 1 lid, 1 dish, 4 jars, 2 large pots	Rituals in the shade of rocks	
	4 single-edged swords (accompanied with 1 gilt bronze hilt decoration and 2 sword guards), 5 arrowheads	5 iron single-edged swords				1 iron ring	1 mirror with images of beasts (jimon kyo) from the Late Kofun period			1 barrel-shaped shale bead (natsumedama), 6 small glass beads, 3 soft stone small mortar-shaped beads (usudama), items made of abalone shells with hole	1 soft stone disc with hole			Rituals in the shade of rocks	
No. 23															

* Note: The number of each item shows the count of the excavated units or pieces.

If we review the types of ritual sites, namely “on top of a rock”, “in the shade of a rock”, “partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air” and “in the open air” according to the composition types I to III, rituals on top of a rock can be subdivided into Type I which comprises sites No. 16 to 19 and Type II-1 which comprises Site No. 21. Type III can be extensively recognized at sites “in the shade of a rock”, “partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air” and “in the open air”. In particular, rituals in the shade of a rock can be found to have both the factors of Types II-2 and III simultaneously. Sites in the shade of huge rocks, which are not limited to the Kofun period, can be also linked with rituals in the Nara and Heian periods.

The Objects in the context of excavation

Looking at the excavated context of the objects at each site, it seems that bronze mirrors, swords, bracelets and beads were together deposited between rocks at Site No. 17 belonging to Type I. This is also the case with Site No. 22 belonging to Type III, where metal imitations of objects, mainly spinning and weaving tools were found to be gathered in the shade of a rock. On the contrary, at sites No. 1 and 5 belonging to Type III, kinds of pottery used for offering of food and drink were also excavated. Especially at Site No. 5 there is a high possibility that after the performance of the ritual they were left behind and abandoned. At Site No. 22, pottery was found at a spot different from where metal imitations of objects were unearthed, which is assumed to be a place for rituals in the report⁷⁾. In other words, all 23 ritual sites identified on Okinoshima should not be considered to be traces of rituals. Rather, there are two possible assumptions: i.e., 1) “places where special offerings, including mirrors, beads, swords, metal imitations of objects etc. were together deposited”; and 2) “places where various kinds of pottery used for offering of food and drink were accumulated and ritual implements were abandoned and disposed.”

Turning Points in the Composition of Objects

In the previous paragraphs, we have reviewed ritual sites on Okinoshima according to the composition of objects. In the changes of the ritual sites, a major turning point is marked by the formative phase of Type II-1 with the addition of abundant ironware and flat iron ingots and Type II-2 with the addition of decorated long swords and horse trappings. Another turning point is the transition to Type III comprising imitations of objects as the core of offerings. Next, let us consider the chronology of the formation phase of Types II-1 and II-2 and the transition to Type III in comparison with other ritual sites across the archipelago regarding the historical background.

3. Ironware, Flat Iron Ingots and Rituals of the 5th Century

The Date and Context of Type II-1

A turning point in the transition of objects from Type I to Type II-1 is the emergence of Site No. 21 on top of huge rock F. Objects from Site No. 21 are composed of bronze mirrors, including beast-band mirrors (*jūtai kyō*) and turtle-dragon mirrors (*daryō kyō*) and iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond (*warabite tosu*), which are common to Type I. Along with these, a new element can be clearly seen in the unearthed iron weapons and defensive armor for practical use (swords and helmets), tools and agricultural implements (sickles, spear-like 397lanning tools *yariganna*, knives, adzes, cast iron adzes), flat iron ingots, iron imitations of objects (miniatures of iron swords and adzes), soft stone imitations of objects (disk-shaped object with hole *yūkō enban*; sword-, adze-shaped; comma-shaped beads) and comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (*komochi magatama*). In terms of the unearthed quantity, there is a remarkable tendency of decreasing bronze mirrors and increasing ironware, which shows the emergence of ironware including imitations of objects as major items. Besides these, there are also iron sheet-shaped goods 1.9 to 2.4 cm in width, 3 to 4 mm thick and 10 cm or more in length included in the ironware though they are not documented in the report (Figure 2)⁸⁾. Since these sheets are partially uneven on both sides and not carefully shaped, it is possible to assume that they may have been small flat iron ingots. The author would like to point out that possibility here, though their shape needs to be verified by X-ray in the future.

The past excavations up to now have made it possible to determine the composition of ritual finds which

comprise iron weapons and defensive armor for practical use, tools and agricultural implements, flat iron ingots, iron adze-shaped miniatures and soft stone imitations of objects at other ritual sites (features) across the archipelago. Table 2 summarizes main examples dating from the 5th century⁹⁾. Looking at this table, it can be found that U-shaped spade and hoe blade tips (*yūjigata sukikuwasaki*) and sickles with a curved blade (*kyoku gama*) are also unearthed in addition to objects common to Site No. 21 on Okinoshima, such as iron weapons including arrowheads and swords, tools including adzes, spear-like 398lanning tools and knives, and flat iron ingots. However, flat iron ingots are small ones about 15cm long. Soft stone imitations of spinning and weaving tools are also excavated, such as stone spindle whorls (*sekisei bōsuisha*) for practical use and warp beam (*chikiri*). It can be assumed that there are also kinds of fabrics made with spinning and weaving tools. Moreover, in many cases Sue ware of the initial phase around the TK208 type was also present. From these compositions of objects, it is presumable that only soft stone imitations of objects did not constitute offerings and ritual implements in the rituals of the 5th century. Rather, a set which comprises iron weapons, tools and agricultural implements, raw materials like flat iron ingots, and kinds of fabrics which can be assumed from the spinning and weaving tools may have occupied an important position in offerings and ritual implements.

It is notable that this set has similarities to ritual materials used in the rituals of festival celebrated annually on the fourth day of February to pray for a bountiful harvest (*kinensai; toshigoi no matsuri*), festival of the sixth and twelfth months (*tsukinamisai; tsukinami no matsuri*), festival performed twice annually in the fourth and seventh months to pray for a bountiful harvest and for environmental conditions advantageous to agriculture (*ōimi no matsuri*), wind festival (*kaze no kami no matsuri*) etc., all of which are described as Festivals of the Seasons (*shijisai*) in the *Engishiki* (“Procedures of the Engi era”). At these rituals, weapons (swords, bows and arrows, quiver), defensive armor (shields), agricultural implements (hoes) and iron (flat iron ingots) etc. were used as offerings (*heihaku*) and ritual materials along with kinds of fabrics. This fact can lead to a notion that a set of offerings which comprises iron weapons, agricultural implements, tools, flat iron ingots and kinds of fabrics as identified at ritual sites in the 5th century was the original form of offerings at the Ritsuryō ritual. As shown in Table 2, it may be said that the original form was established at latest from the first half to middle of the 5th century, judging from the types of Haji ware and Sue ware excavated together with them. At this time, as exchanges of people and things increased between the Korean peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago, new technologies for forging and spinning and weaving were introduced, including ceramic techniques for firing Sue ware¹⁰⁾. Plenty of flat iron ingots dating from the second half of the 4th century to the 5th century were excavated in the Kaya region on the southern Korean peninsula, while as many flat iron ingots as 872 pieces were excavated from the Yamato tomb No. 6 in Nara City, Nara prefecture. As shown by these unearthed objects, it can be presumed that iron raw material was supplied from the southern part of Korean peninsula to the Japanese Archipelago in large quantities¹¹⁾. Against that historical backdrop of the 5th century, the best articles made with the latest techniques and raw materials transmitted from the Korean peninsula constituted a set of offerings presented to the deities composed of ironware and various kinds of fabrics¹²⁾. The composition of ironware unearthed at Site No. 21 on Okinoshima that consists of weapons, defensive armor, agricultural implements, tools and flat iron ingots is common to the very set of offerings. Thus, it can be considered that the composition of Type II-1 was established in the same background as mentioned above.

With reference to the chronological lower end of Site No. 21, it may be considered that the site was used until the middle of the 5th century because it contains comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted which fall under Type B-2 according to the classification by OHIRA Shigeru¹³⁾.

Shosani-misha-mae Site

A site related with Site No. 21 on Okinoshima is the Shosani-misha-mae site, which has elements in common with Site No. 21 in that 16 flat iron ingots were unearthed together with iron knives, and iron double-edged swords (*tekken*) were also gathered. Besides these, Haji ware small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (*kan*), hand-formed ceramic vessels (*tezukune doki*) and clay imitations of ladles (*hishaku*) (gourd-shaped *hisagogata*) were also gathered and accompanied with other pottery and clay objects (*doseihin*). Haji ware small spherical jars (*kan*) are considered to be of the type concurrent with phase III of the Furu-type pottery in the Kinai region¹⁴⁾. With regard to clay imitations of ladles, similar ones are included in groups of clay imitations of objects excavated from the layer below tomb No. 5 in the Myōgajima mounded tomb group, Shizuoka prefecture. Tomb No. 5 in the Myōgajima mounded tomb

group accompanied with Sue ware of the TK208 type can be presumed to date back to the middle of the 5th century. The clay imitations of objects excavated in the layer below date back to the first half of the 5th century¹⁵⁾. That is to say, it is conceivable that the Shosani-misha-mae site dates from the phase concurrent with Site No. 21 and that a place related to rituals also existed near the coast in the 5th century separately from Site No. 21 with its rituals on top of a rock.

Ritual Sites and Flat Iron Ingots

If flat iron ingots are compared between Site No. 21 and the Shosanmisha-mae site, it can be found that whereas those of the former are 5 to 6 cm in width, those of the latter are slightly smaller: 4 to 5 cm. All those ingots are plectrum-shaped (*bachigata*), that is warping outward on the long sides towards the short sides. Flat iron ingots of this kind were unearthed in a large quantity from the Yamato tomb No. 6 in Nara prefecture. There are 282 large flat iron ingots which are about 30 to 40 cm long with the short side measuring about 8 to 14 cm and 590 small ingots which are around 15 cm long with the short side measuring about 3 cm. Thus, the quantity of the iron ingots excavated there is outstanding¹⁶⁾, which tells that iron raw materials were accumulated and administered in the centre of the Yamato kingly power (*yamato ōken*). In view of this situation, it is presumable that the flat iron ingots excavated at Site No. 21 and the Shosanmisha-mae site on Okinoshima may have been given and offered by the Yamato kingly power. In Table 2, small flat iron ingots excavated from ritual features at the Senzoku-dai site in Kisarazu City, Chiba prefecture and the Ojima shell mound at Ukishima in Inashiki City, Ibaraki prefecture in the eastern Japan and the Shussaku site at Masaki-chō in Ehime prefecture in the western Japan have the same shape as those of the Yamato tomb No. 6. It may be considered that they were provided from the Yamato kingly power to local ritual places. If we consider so, it can be said that at Site No. 21 and the Shosanmisha-mae site on Okinoshima rituals took place in the phase from the first half to middle of the 5th century during which rituals with common offerings provided by the Yamato kingly power were spreading across the archipelago, including eastern Japan, despite of some variations among them in quality and quantity.

Ritual Implements in the 5th Century

Then, how was the entire composition of ritual implements at that time? At many ritual sites, including Site No. 21 on Okinoshima, offerings except for ironware and articles made from stone and clay have deteriorated. This fact makes it difficult to clarify the entire composition of ritual implements, including organic materials. In other words, it is highly possible that even in the case of Okinoshima Site No. 21, the composition of objects unearthed in the excavation does not show all the ritual implements of those days. In this point, what helps us is a large number of clay imitations of objects in the layer below the tomb No. 5 in the Myōgajima mounded tomb group in Iwata City, Shizuoka prefecture and the objects excavated at the Yama-no-hana site in Hamamatsu City, Shizuoka prefecture.

The Yama-no-hana site¹⁷⁾ is located in the alluvial plain on the west bank of the Tenryū river which separates it from the Myōgajima mounded tomb group. A large ditch (trace of a former river bed) 20m wide and 2m deep was detected over a length of about 80m by an excavation. From the remains of the river, ritual objects were unearthed, including soft stone comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (*komochi magatama*), soft stone imitations of objects like disk-shaped objects with hole(s) (*yūkō enban*), representations of swords, comma-shaped beads, mortar-shaped beads (*usudama*) etc.. Along with these, a large quantity of Haji ware, Sue ware and wooden articles was also excavated. Presumably, rituals were performed in the vicinity of the large ditch and the used implements were thrown (or streamed) into the ditch.

Wooden articles include representations of single-edged and double-edged swords, boats and arrowheads which seem apparently ritual implements. Besides these, there are also items of practical use, including hilts and scabbards of Wa-lineage long swords (*tachi*), bows, hoes, sickles, axes (adzes), knife hafts, H- or X-shaped frames for winding spun yarn (*kase*), upright standing weaving, spinning implements (*tatari*), spindle whorls, cloth beams (*chimaki*), warp beams (*chikiri*), sword-shaped beater (*tōjo*), loom parts, seats (*koshikake*), cushions attached to the back (*koshiate*), weapons for practical use, tools and agricultural implements, and parts of spinning and weaving tools. Moreover, musical instruments such as zithers (*koto*), pestles for food preparation and offerings implements like small tables etc. were also unearthed.

Table 3 shows the kinds of the clay imitations of objects in the layer below the Myōgajima tomb No. 5 in comparison to these items. Looking at the table, it is found that they have many similarities to each other in all items but clay imitations representing the human figure (*hitogata*), of animals, fowls and shells. The items identified at both sites may be closely related with rituals in the 5th century. Concerning the kinds of objects they include mirrors, long swords, shields, bows and arrows, quivers, wrist-guards, spinning implements (*tatari*), H- or X-shaped frames for winding spun yarn (*kase*), spindle whorls (also *tetsu no katamari*) and zithers (*koto*), which correspond to the items except for socketed spearheads (*hoko*) and wooden vessels (*oke*; for storing hemp, offering purpose) included in “*Shinzō miya anshōzoku yō monogoto: Kandakara jūkyūshu*” of the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” (Book of Rituals and Ceremonies of the *Kōtai Jingū*) and *Shimpō nijūisshu*, *Isedai jingū*, Divine Ritual 4, the 4th volume of the *Engishiki* (“Procedures of the Engi era”) in the 23rd year of the Enryaku era (804)¹⁸). The following is notable: at the beginning of the 9th century, the items included in *Kandakara jūkyūshu* (*goShimpō* or *kamudakara*; divine treasures) had already begun to be used in the form of real objects or imitations in connection with rituals by the middle of the 5th century.

This fact is an important point which we should not disregard when considering the objects found at ritual sites on Okinoshima. The objects unearthed at Site No. 21 dating from the 5th century are mainly composed of metal ware and objects made of stone. However, there is a high possibility that these objects are not all of the ritual implements. In comparison with those of other ritual sites across the archipelago, they should have coexisted with articles made of or from organic materials. It seems that we need to complement them with Wa-lineage accessory for swords and bows, wooden or leather shields, quivers (*utsubo*, *koroku*) made of wood and cloth containing arrows, and kinds of fabrics made with spinning and weaving tools.

In this connection, mirrors, as ritual implements, weapons (various kinds of swords, bows and arrows), defensive armor (shields, quivers, helmet and armor), agricultural implements (sickles, spades, hoes) and tools (knives, axes, adzes) are common to grave goods in mounded tombs until the second half of the 4th century. The set of ritual implements forming in the 5th century was established by adding newly transmitted forging and spinning and weaving technologies respectively techniques to the lineage of grave goods in the Early Kofun period.

Table 2 Ritual sites -- 1

Site; feature	Location	Local conditions	Metal ware	Objects made of stone (glass included)	Items made of clay	Wooden objects	Kinds of pottery	Haji & Sue ware types	Date	Remarks
Takehokoyama site Takagi district	Shirakawa City, Fukushima prefecture	At the foot of Mt. Takehoko	1 bronze ritual mirror (<i>g/kiryō</i>), 1 iron socketed spearhead (<i>hoko</i>), 3 fragments of iron double-edged swords, 4 fragments iron single-edged long swords	27 objects representing mirrors, 1 object representing a bracelet, 26 objects representing adzes/axes, 11 objects representing a sickle with curved blade, 29 knives, 518 disk-shaped objects with hole, 569 objects representing double-edged swords, 24 comma-shaped beads, 278 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)			Haji ware: jars (<i>sarubo</i>), small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), dishes with pedestal (<i>takatsuki</i>) Sue ware: 1 dish with pedestal with two handles)	Haji ware: Phase I to Phase II of the Middle Kofun period in Chronicle of Pottery/clay ware in Fukushima	first half of 5th century	Related to Shikimai-tsutsukoyama-wake shrine
1										
Miyata-suwahara site, zone 1, ritual feature No. 1	Shibukawa City, Gunma prefecture	At the foot of Mt. Akagi facing Mt. Haruna	1 small bronze mirror with decor around the raised conical bosses (<i>nyūmon kiryō</i>), 38 iron arrowheads, 4 U-shaped iron spade tips, 1 sickle with curved blade, 7 sickles (3 objects representing a sickle), 6 knives, 1 scale (of armor) (<i>kozane</i>), 3 unknown iron items	20 disk-shaped objects with hole made of serpentine, 86 objects representing double-edged swords, 3 object representing a knife, 9 flat comma-shaped beads, 482 or more small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), ores, unfinished items			Haji ware (8 pots, 7 small pots, 9 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 6 jars, 1 small jar, 1 jar with short neck, 14 dishes with pedestal, 124 dishes), 8 hand-formed ceramic vessels; Sue ware: 1 dish with pedestal with two handles)	Sue ware: types TK23	second half 5th century to the beginning of the 6th century	Five spots with ritual sites covered with volcanic ash layer (Hr-FA). Site No. 1 was formed along with an accumulation of pottery in the vicinity of huge rocks.
2										
Oshima-kaizuka ritual feature	Inashiki City, Ibaraki prefecture	In Lake Kasumi-ga-ura at east edge of Ukushima	2 iron arrowheads, 1 iron U-shaped spade tip, 1 sickle with curved blade, 2 knives, 1 iron adze, 2 flat iron ingots, 1 iron nail?, 3 cylindrical-shaped iron items, 1 circular iron item	1 soft stone object representing a mirror, 190 disk-shaped objects with hole, 48 objects representing double-edged swords, 6 comma-shaped beads, 33 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1 stone spindle whorl, 4 cores of raw soft stone, 3 whetstones	24 clay objects representing a mirror, 4 objects representing a spade tip, 2 comma-shaped beads		Haji ware: 2 jars, 10 pots, 3 dishes with pedestal, 2 bowls (<i>hachi</i>), 22 dishes, 1 small bowl (<i>wan</i>), 1 raised pedestal, 5 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>); hand-formed ceramic vessels: 5 mortars, 43 bowls, 6 pots, 3 small bowls, 3 dishes, 2 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 13 small vessels	Sue ware: types TK216 to 208, types TK43 & 209	middle of the 5th century to the 6th century	This is a ritual site adjoining to Oshima Shrine on Ukushima where 9 shrines existed according to the <i>Hiachi</i> <i>no Kuni Fudoki</i> . It is constituted of burnt soil and an accumulation of pottery. There are structures with internal pillars of building with pillars embedded directly into the ground (<i>hoitabashira tatemono</i>) in the vicinity of the accumulation of the pottery.
3										
Mamiyaku site, ritual feature No. 1	Kisarazu City, Chiba prefecture	In a settlement on a plateau	10 or more iron arrowheads, 1 U-shaped iron spade tips, 1 sickle with curved blade, 1 object representing a knife, 2 objects representing a reaping knife (<i>hoksumiga</i>), 1 object representing a spade tip, 7 objects representing a sickle, 2 objects representing adzes, 1 object representing a single-edged long sword, 2 other iron fragments	1 soft stone object representing a mirror (incl. green-grey stone material), 12 disk-shaped objects with hole, 4 flat comma-shaped beads, 6 objects representing double-edged swords, 2,247 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), unfinished soft stone products, fragments, 1 small mortar-shaped jasper bead (<i>usudama</i>), 1 soft stone comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>konochi magatama</i>)	1 clay bead, 1 tube-shaped clay weight		Haji ware: about 50 jars, 14 pots, 1 vessel with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hazō</i>), about 100 dishes, 9 hand-formed ceramic vessels vessels; Sue ware: 9 dish lids, 11 dishes, 5 or more dishes with pedestal, 5 vessel with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hazō</i>), 6 pots	Sue ware: types TK.208 to TK23	middle to second half of the 5th century	Ritual features with an accumulation of pottery inside settlement. Two spots.
4										

The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island
– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Site; feature	Location	Local conditions	Metal ware	Objects made of stone (glass included)	Items made of clay	Wooden objects	Kinds of pottery	Haji & Sue ware types	Date	Remarks
Senzoku-dai site , Ritual site	Kisarazu City, Chiba prefecture	In a settlement on the plateau	4 or more iron arrowheads, 2 U-shaped iron spade tips, 1 sickle with curved blade, 8 reaping knives (<i>hoisumigo</i>) (hand sickles <i>tegama</i>), 3 or more knives, 3 or more objects representing adzes, 30 or more flat iron ingots (incl. fragments), iron slag	2 stone objects representing a mirror, 1 object representing a warp beam (<i>chikiri</i>), 1 object representing a knife, 467 disk-shaped objects with two holes, 33 square-shaped objects with two holes, 30 disk-shaped objects with one hole, 31 disk-shaped objects without hole, 214 objects representing double-edged swords, 42 flat comma-shaped beads, 2 objects representing a bracelet, 16 cylindrical items, 18, 779 small mortar-shaped jasper beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1,480 fragments	2 objects representing a mirror, 1 comma-shaped bead, 1 round bead		Haji ware: 417 dishes, 74 dishes with pedestal, 70 pots; 69 hand-formed ceramic vessels. Sue ware: 1 pot, 2 vessel with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>haso</i>), 2 keg-shaped vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>tarugata haso</i>), 1 dish with lid, 1 dish with pedestal with two handles)	Sue ware: types TK208, Haji ware: Phase 3 to Middle Kofun period (Ozawa's chronology)	first half to second half of the 5th century	Ritual features with an accumulation of pottery inside a settlement (near the outer edge of the settlement zone). In traces of the accumulation of pottery between the posts were verified. It can be assumed that in the vicinity of the posts Sue ware pots and Haji ware dishes were arranged. A feature of small smith was detected in the vicinity of the ritual features.
5										
Kunikatsu-jinja-ura site	Sode-ga-ura City, Chiba prefecture	At the edge of a plateau	7 flat iron ingots	10 disk-shaped objects with two holes, 2 disk-shaped objects with one hole, 24 objects representing double-edged swords, 6 small mortar-shaped jasper beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1 spindle whorl, stone chips			Haji ware, hand-formed ceramic vessels		5th century?	Ritual feature adjoining to an old shrine.
6										
Nagasuga-jōrsei site	Tateyama City, Chiba prefecture	In the ditch or an old water way of an alluvial area	1 bronze mirror with an inner field of pearl relief design (<i>shumon kyō</i>)	11 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 7 objects representing double-edged swords, 9 flat comma-shaped beads, 2 cylindrical beads, 169 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1 comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi nagatama</i>), 1 soft stone spindle whorl	4 objects representing a mirror, 3 comma-shaped beads, 25 round beads, 3 objects representing mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)	Hoes, unfinished hoes, door parts	Haji ware: 63 pots/jars, 45 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 75 dishes with pedestal, 105 dishes/small bowls/bowls; 33 hand-formed ceramic vessels. Sue ware: 19 pots/jars/vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>haso</i>), 7 dishes with pedestal, 11 dishes with lid	Sue ware: types TK208 to TK47	middle to second half of the 5th century	Ritual features with rituals taking place in old river channel, a water intake facility and an irrigation ditch of paddy fields.
7										
Okakiri-ryō-geiji site SX/2	Minami-bōsō City, Chiba prefecture	On a coastal terrace	1 iron double-edged sword, 1 iron arrowhead, 3 iron objects representing a sickle (strip-like, possibly flat iron ingots)	10 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 10 objects representing double-edged swords, 1 comma-shaped bead, 2 cylindrical beads, 224 small mortar-shaped jasper beads (<i>usudama</i>)	2 comma-shaped beads		Haji ware: 760 pots/jars, 170 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 90 dishes with pedestal, 55 vessel stands (<i>kidan</i>), 10 dishes/small bowls/bowls; 140 hand-formed ceramic vessels	Haji ware: Phase VIIb of the Early Kofun period (Kunbun Se's Chronicle) to Phase 3 of the Middle Kofun period (Ozawa's Chronicle)	middle of the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century	Located at the tip of the Bōsō peninsula. Ritual features formed with natural stones etc. and accompanied with accumulations of pottery. 17 ritual features at the site, partially accompanied with burnt soil.
8										
Sawazama site , ritual feature No. 3	Hiratsuka City, Kanagawa prefecture	In the vicinity of a ditch of an alluvial lowland	6 iron arrowheads, 1 U-shaped iron spade tip	19 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 10 objects representing double-edged swords, 2 flat comma-shaped beads, 1,134 small mortar-shaped jasper beads (<i>usudama</i>)	1 spade		Haji ware: 8 pots, 7 jars, 18 dishes with pedestal, 17 dishes/small bowls; Sue ware: 1 pot, 1 jar	Sue ware: types TK216	middle of the 5th century	Ritual features were formed facing a waterway accompanied with accumulations of pottery At the site are three ritual features.
9										

Site; feature	Location	Local conditions	Metal ware	Objects made of stone (glass included)	Items made of clay	Wooden objects	Kinds of pottery	Haji & Sue ware types	Date	Remarks
Yama-no-hana site	Hamamatsu City, Shizuoka prefecture	In a large ditch of an alluvial area	1 iron single-edged long sword	23 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 4 objects representing double-edged swords, 1 comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi magatama</i>), 2 comma-shaped beads, 5 flat comma-shaped beads, 7 cylindrical beads, 1 green agate comma-shaped bead, 1 round agate bead, 3 round quartz crystal bead, 3 comma-shaped glass beads, 17 small beads	2 spindle whorls	long sword hilts, sheaths, tip of sheaths, bows, fork hoes, hoes with a wide blade (<i>hiragawa</i>), hoe handles, paddy field smoother (<i>yokogawa</i>), paddy field sandals (<i>gashi</i>), spades, sickle grips, adze grips, knife grips, spindle whorls, sword-shaped beater (<i>ôto</i>), reels, H-or X-shaped frame for winding (<i>kase</i>), kase stand, cloth beams, warp beam (<i>chikiri</i>), loom parts, seats, boards for the lower back (<i>koshiate</i>), zithers, zither bridges, ceremonial staffs (<i>gijô</i>), lids; objects representing ships, sickles, single- and double-edged swords, table-like platforms (<i>an</i>) (desks), table legs (desk bases), tubs, cylindrical vessels with walls made by bending wood (<i>magemono</i>), boxes, combs, paddles, mallets (<i>yokozachi</i>), metal hook-shaped hangers, knitting boards (<i>amidai</i>), wooden weights, parts of raised floor buildings	Haji ware: pots, jars, small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), dishes with pedestal; Sue ware: (dish lids, dishes with pedestal, jars, vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasô</i>), lids, bottles, vessel stands	Sue ware: types TK216, TK217, TK208, TK23, TK47 and MT15	middle of 5th century to the beginning of the 6th century	Objects unearthed from large ditch (waterway), 20m wide and 2m deep. Sheet piles were set up on the bank of the ditch.
10										
Mamizuka site, spot B	Ichinomiya City, Aichi prefecture	Alluvial area	2 iron arrowheads, 1 iron knife, 8 rectangular iron plates (Although they are considered to be sickles according to the report, they could be flat iron ingots judging from their rectangular shape.)	4 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 1 object representing double-edged sword, 2 comma-shaped beads, 5 cylindrical beads, 91 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1 small glass bead	1 object representing a mirror		Haji ware: large pot, 1 jar with composite rim, 7 jars wide mouth (<i>hiraguchi tsubo</i>), 3 small jars, 1 bowl, 11 hand-formed ceramic vessels, 2 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 20 dishes with pedestal, 9 pots with attached foot; Sue ware: 2 bodies of dishes with pedestal and lid, 2 dish lids, 1 dish, 2 vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasô</i>)	Sue ware: types TK208 & TK23	second half of 4th century to 5th century	Ritual feature with accumulation of pottery?
11										
Toyama site	Nabari City, Mie prefecture	On a hill	Bronze mirrors with images of four beasts (<i>yongji kyô</i>), mirror without decoration (<i>somon kyô</i>), metal parts of bow ends, iron double-edged swords, cast iron adzes/axes, iron knives, spear-like planes	disk-shaped objects with hole, objects representing a double-edged sword, comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads			Haji ware, miniature pottery		first half of 5th century	Ritual feature with accumulation of pottery in the vicinity of the bedrock of a hill.
12										
Furu site, toyoda chiku	Tenri City, Nara prefecture	In the vicinity of a river on top of a alluvial fan	2 small iron hoes (objects representing adzes/axe), 1 small sickle	4 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole (chlorite), 1 object representing a double-edged sword, 1 comma-shaped bead, 2 cylindrical beads, 787 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)			Haji ware: 60 dishes with pedestal, 2 small jars, 1 jar; Sue ware: 1 pot	Sue ware: types TK216 to TK208	middle of the 5th century	Ritual feature with accumulation of pottery formed on the bank of the Toyoda river.
13										
Nishi-kawachi-dota site	Gojo City, Nara prefecture	Inside a valley on a hill ridge line	7 iron items (incl. 1 flat iron ingot, 1 iron object representing a sickle)	1 disk-shaped object with hole, 107 small mortar-shaped jasper beads (<i>usudama</i>)			4 Korean type lineage pottery: bowls with flat bottom; Haji ware: dishes with pedestal, pots, etc.)		Middle to Late Kofun period (5th century)	Ritual feature with accumulation of pottery formed in the remains of a square-shaped pit feature.
14										

The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island
– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

Site; feature	Location	Local conditions	Metal ware	Objects made of stone (glass included)	Items made of clay	Wooden objects	Kinds of pottery	Haji & Sue ware types	Date	Remarks
15	Kine site Nose-chō, Osaka prefecture	On a natural embankment	1 iron arrowhead with wide body (<i>hiraneshiki</i>), 1 iron spear-like plane, 2 object representing a adze/axe, 4 objects representing a hoe tip?, 1 iron plate-like item (possibly a flat ingot judging from its shape)	4 disk-shaped objects with hole, 2 comma-shaped beads, 70 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 1 ring-shaped disc (object representing a bracelet), 1 cylindrical jasper bead, 1 small glass bead, 2 whetstones			Haji ware, about 80 pieces; jars, pots, bowls with attached foot, dishes with pedestal, small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), small vessel stands; hand-formed ceramic vessels, coarse clay pottery; Sue ware: dish lids, dishes, pots	Sue ware: types TK47 & TK43	5th to 6th centuries	Ritual feature with stone setting feature and accumulation of pottery.
16	Kidohara site, feature No. 10 Minami-awaji City, Hyōgo prefecture	In the vicinity of a river on a alluvial fan	6 flat iron ingots	12 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 1 object representing a double-edged sword, 222 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 4 cylindrical beads			Sue ware: 1 jar with straight neck and mouth, 1 dish with pedestal; Haji ware: 1 dish with pedestal, 2 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>)		early to middle of the 5th century	Earthen pit with ritual objects .
17	Kōjinshima site Naoshima-chō, Kagawa-gun, Kagawa prefecture	At the foot of a mountain within an isle in the Seto Inland Sea	5 iron single-edged swords, 4 iron double-edged swords, 2 iron arrowheads, 1 iron stick-like product, 3 iron stick-like items, 7 iron plate-like items (incl. 2 ingot-like items)	15 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 4 flat comma-shaped beads, 2 soft stone comma-shaped beads, 3 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)			Haji ware: 7 small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), 1 vessel with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasō</i>), 5 dishes with pedestal, 3 pots, 3 jars; hand-formed ceramic vessels: 9 jars, 6 bowls, 4 dishes with pedestal; small coarse clay pottery: 2 vessels with round bottom, 2 jars with round bottom, 1 vessel with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasō</i>), 1 pot, 2 bowls, Shiraku-type pottery 1; 3 coarse clay pot-shaped vessels, 1 pot-shaped vessel; Sue ware: 2 dish lids, 1 lid of a dish with pedestal, 4 dishes, 2 dishes with attached foot, 1 dish, 2 pots	Sue ware: types TK208, TK10, TK43 and TK209	middle of the 5th to 6th centuries	Ritual feature with accumulation of pottery formed in the vicinity of a group of natural stones on the island.
18	Takashima bedrock summit site Okayama City, Okayama prefecture	In the vicinity of huge rocks at the summit of a mountain within an isle in the Seto Inland Sea	1 small bronze mirror with several concentric decor bands (<i>ikenmon kyō</i>), 1 iron arrowhead, 1 iron stick-like item, 1 iron sickle-like item, 1 iron plate-like item (ingot-like)	4 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 2 flat comma-shaped beads, 1 object representing a double-edged sword, 1 plate-like item			Haji ware, hand-formed ceramic vessels, Sue ware (dishes)		late 5th to the early 6th centuries	Objects unearthed in the vicinity of huge rocks on the top of a bedrock..
19	Uoshima-oki site Uoshima-mura, Ochi-gun, Ehime prefecture	On the seashore of an isle in the Seto Inland Sea	1 small bronze mirror, 1 iron arrowhead, 9 flat iron ingots, 5 iron plate-like items, 3 iron fragments	39 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 1 flat comma-shaped bead, 60 small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>)			Haji ware, small Shiraku-type pottery		middle to late 5th century	Ritual site on an isle located in the center of the Seto Inland Sea.

Site; feature	Location	Local conditions	Metal ware	Objects made of stone (glass included)	Items made of clay	Wooden objects	Kinds of pottery	Haji & Sue ware types	Date	Remarks
Shussaku site SX1	Masaki-chō, Ehime prefecture	In the vicinity of a watercourse of an alluvial area	1 iron arrowhead, 1 iron hoe with three prongs, 1 concave hoe head, 1 U-shaped spade tip, 3 sickles with curved blade, 2 a reaping knives (<i>hokumigiri</i>), 1 cast iron adze (<i>ō kana</i> type of hoe), 3 knives, 1 object representing a socketed spear, 10 object representing an adze/axe, 10 or more flat iron ingots, forging leftovers, unfinished forged items, forge slag	141 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 4 objects representing a double-edged sword, 14 flat comma-shaped mortar-shaped beads, 1,951 small (<i>usudama</i>), 2 spindle whorls, unfinished items, fragments	1 spindle whorl, 1 discoidal clay object, 27 small imitations objects made of clay		Haji ware: 10 pots, 9 jars, 3 vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasō</i>), 19 dishes with foot, 4 small bowls, 2 vessel stands, 2 bottles, black Haji ware: 3 jars, 1 dish with pedestal, 2 dishes with foot, 3 small bowls; 32 hand-formed ceramic vessels; Sue ware: 4 dish lids, 2 dishes, 7 dishes with pedestal, 5 vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasō</i>), 2 small bowls with handles, 4 jars, 2 vessel stands, 5 pots	Sue ware: types TK208 to 23	middle to late 5th century	Ritual features with accumulation of pottery formed facing a waterway. Ritual features at about 20 spots within the site.
20										
Okimoshima ritual site No. 21	Murakata City, Fukuoka prefecture	On top of huge rocks on the isle in the Genkai Sea	5 fragments of bronze mirrors, 1 bronze mirror without decoration (<i>sonon kiyō</i>), 3 bronze bracelets, 18 or more iron single-edged long swords, 10 or more iron double-edged swords, 20 or more iron arrowheads, 1 iron stone-striker, 1 visorless keeled iron helmet gilded with application of a bronze intermediate layer, 7 iron knives with a flit resembling a curled fern frond (<i>warabite tosu</i>), 7 forged iron adzes/axes, 2 cast iron adzes/axes, 4 flat iron ingots, 14 iron objects representing a single-edged sword, 1 object representing a chisel, 9 objects representing an adze/axe, 1 iron disc, 3 iron bracelets	10 soft stone disk-shaped objects with hole, 3 square-shaped plates, 3 objects representing a double-edged sword, 2 objects representing a adze/axe, 1 comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>konochi nagatama</i>), 22 comma-shaped beads, 26 circular beads, 3 barrel-shaped beads, small mortar-shaped beads (<i>usudama</i>), 4 comma-shaped jadeite beads, 8 circular beads, 3 comma-shaped amber beads, 5 comma-shaped jasper beads, 7 circular beads, 303 small glass beads			5 hand-formed ceramic vessels: small bowls, dishes with pedestal, small jars with round bottom, jars, bottles		early to middle of the 5th century	"rock-abode" (dwelling place) (<i>iwakura</i>) adjoining to the Okitsu-miya of the Munakata Shrine. Site at the final stage of rituals on top of rocks.
21										

* Note: The number of each item shows the count of the excavated units or pieces.

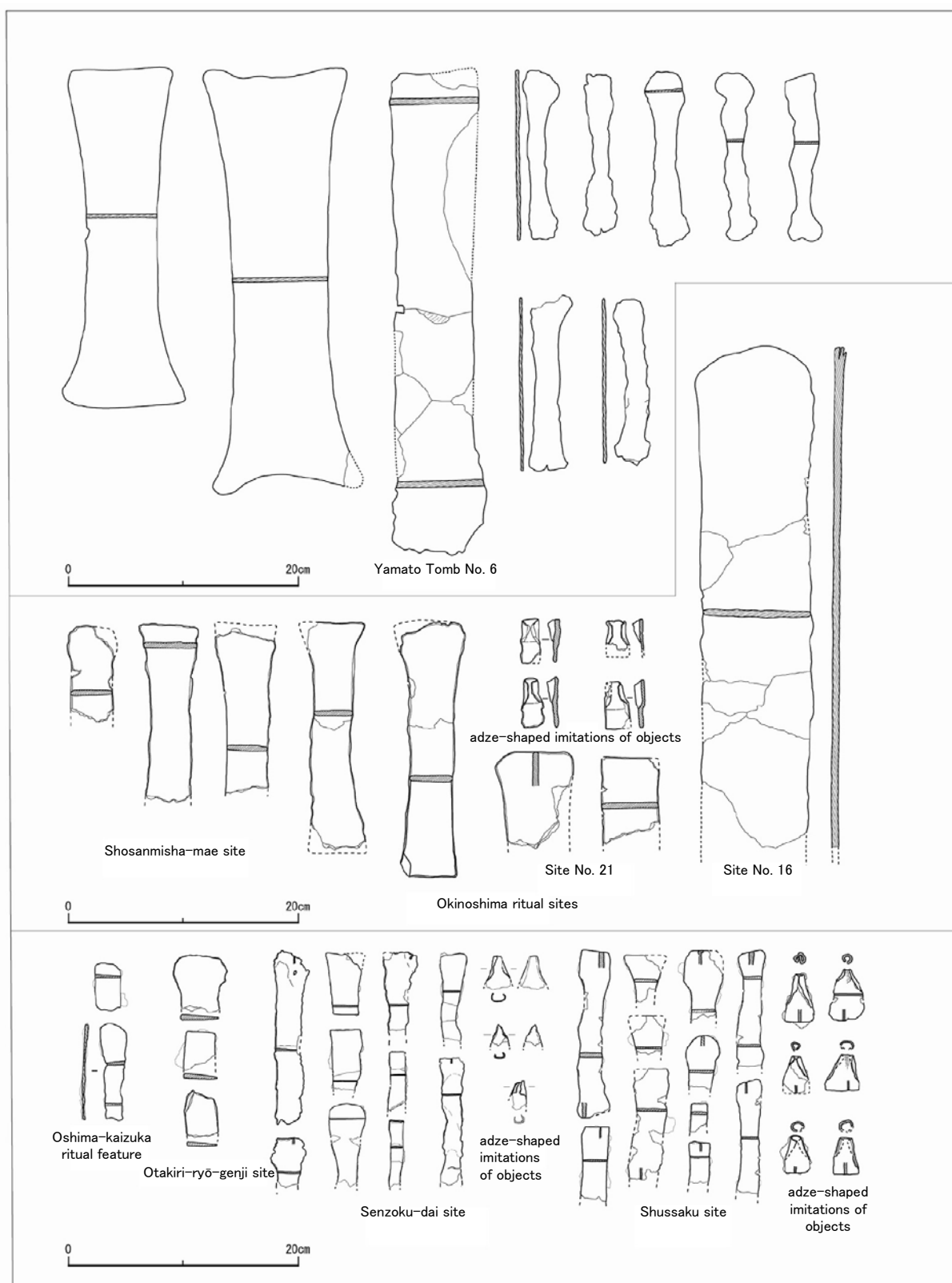


Figure 1 Flat iron ingots and adze-shaped imitations of objects unearthed from Yamato Tomb No. 6 and ritual sites

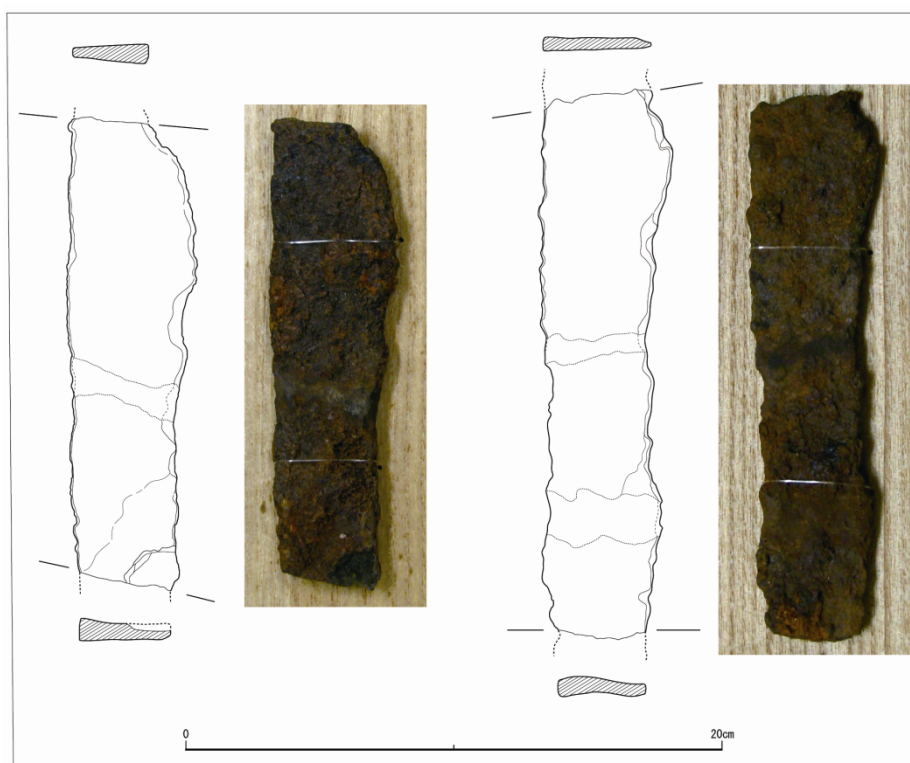


Figure 2 Articles shaped like small flat iron ingots unearthed from Site No. 21

Table 3 Correspondence between objects from the Yama-no-hana site and clay imitations of objects from the layer below the Myōgajima tomb No. 5

	Objects from Yama-no-hana site	Clay imitations of objects from the layer below the Myōgajima tomb No. 5
Accessories	Disk-shaped objects with hole, objects representing double-edged swords, comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (<i>komochi magatama</i>), comma-shaped beads, flat comma-shaped beads, circular beads, green agate comma-shaped beads, round agate beads, round crystal quartz beads, comma-shaped glass beads, small glass beads, combs mad of bamboo	Mirrors, comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, small beads, finger rings, earrings, bracelets
Weapons/armor	Iron sword fragments, wooden single-edged long sword hilts, scabbard, scabbard tips, bows, objects representing a single-edged long sword, objects representing double-edged swords, objects representing an arrowhead	Single-edged long swords, double-edged swords, bows, arrows, quivers, armor, shields, wrist protectors (<i>tomo</i>)
Farming implements	Wooden hoes with prongs, hoes with wide blade (<i>hiraguwa</i>), hoe handles, paddy field smoother (<i>yokoguwa</i>), spades, sickle handles, wooden paddy field sandals (<i>ōashi</i>)	Hoes, spades, sickles
Tools	Wooden adze/axe handles, knife handles	Adzes, axes, adzes/axes with short handle
Spinning and weaving tools	Wooden and clay spindle whorls, wooden sword-shaped beaters (<i>tōjo</i>), reels, H-or X-shaped frames for winding spun yarn (<i>kase</i>), upright standing weaving/spinning implements (<i>tatari</i>), <i>tatari</i> stands, cloth beams, warp beams (<i>chikiri</i> , <i>tatemaki</i>), loom parts, benches, boards for the lower back (<i>koshiate</i>)	Spindle whorls, (<i>tōjo</i>), cord reels, <i>kase</i> , <i>tatari</i> , spools
Musical instruments	Wooden zithers, zither bridges	Board zithers (<i>itazukuri koto</i>), zithers with a resonator box (<i>sōzukuri koto</i>), rod zither (<i>hōkin</i>), end-blown flutes, transverse flutes
Ceremonial implements	Wooden ceremonial staffs (<i>gijo</i>), lids	Staffs, lids
Implements & other equipment	Wooden table-like platforms (<i>an</i>) (desks), table legs (desk bases), paddles, mallets (<i>yokozuchi</i>), hook-shaped hangers, knitting boards (<i>amidai</i>), wooden spindle whorls	Table-like platforms (<i>an</i>), hammers, mortars, pestles, ladles, gourds, spoons, clay weights, paddles, benches, handles, boards, sticks/rods, cones
Pottery and containers	Haji ware: pots, jars, small spherical jars with round (convex) base and wide mouth (<i>kan</i>), dishes with pedestal; Sue ware: dish lids and bodies, vessels, dishes with pedestal, jars, vessels with funnel-shaped mouth (<i>hasō</i>), pots, bottles, vessel stands (<i>kidai</i>); wooden tubs, cylindrical vessels with walls made by bending wood (<i>magemono</i>), boxes	Cup-shaped vessels, bowls, plates, dishes with pedestal, jars, pots, lids
Others	objects representing a ship	Objects representing: ships, humans (warriors, men, women, third gender, children), animals/shellfish (wild boars, dogs, waterfowls, chicken, abalones, fan-shaped shells like scallops), phalli, stamps

4. The Offering of Wa-lineage Decorated Long Swords, Quivers, Shields and Horse Trappings

The objects of Type II-2 and their chronology

Looking at the objects of sites No. 7 and 8, there is a group centered in the second half of the 5th century, consisting of various kinds of swords for practical use, socketed spearheads (*hoko*), visorless keeled helmet made of horizontal iron strips riveted together (*yokohagiita byōdome shōkakutsuki kabuto*), cast iron adzes and iron imitations of axes/adzes. These can be recognized as a condition that continues at Site No. 21 of Type II-1. At the same time, there are also a group of objects which is characteristic of the composition of Type II-2, such as decorated single-edged long swords of Wa-lineage with quartz gems with three round bulges (*miwadama*) and twisted ring pommel (*nejiri kantō*) and gilt bronze horse trappings for practical use etc..

At Site No. 7, 17 quartz gems with three round bulges (*miwadama*) and 2 twisted ring pommels were excavated. This proves that there were at least two Wa-lineage decorated single-edged long swords, each of which had a twisted ring pommel and a leather band attached to the hilt (*magarigawa*) decorated with a line of gems with three round bulges. The ring pommel at the end of the hilt is clockwise twisted and a silver layer applied to the iron core. The twisted part is 6.5cm wide and 3cm high. It is corresponding to Type II-B according to the classification by FUKAYA Jun. This type can be seen in the phase from the TK47 to TK10 type and presumed to date from the end of the 5th century to the middle of the 6th century¹⁹⁾.

Iron fittings of quivers (*koroku* or otherwise *utsubo*) and iron plates attached in the center of a shield (*tate chūō teppan*) were also unearthed from Site No. 7. Quiver fittings may have been of elaborate decoration: being hemmed with plaited cord and also parts of plain weaved cloth with a layer of twill (*aya*) remained. According to the classification of quiver fittings by SENKE Kazuhiko, they fall under Type II-2 and have similarities to the unearthed samples of the Tamakiyama tomb in Sakurai City, Nara prefecture and the Sengenyama tomb at Mutsugiwa-machi in Chiba prefecture. They presumably date from the 6th century²⁰⁾.

Iron plates attached in the center of a shield, as already pointed out in the reports of the Okinoshima investigations, are probably centered in the 6th century, judging from the similarity to the stone sculpture of a shield (*ishitate*) found at the Iwatoyama tomb in Fukuoka prefecture²¹⁾.

Thus, Wa-lineage single-edged long swords, shields and quivers can be confirmed among unearthed objects from the end of the 5th century to the 6th century. However, these items could have existed at places for rituals in the 5th century through comparison of other ritual sites as previously seen.

Regarding this, horse trappings as a new addition to Type II-2 is unearthed at Site No. 6, 7, 8 and 9. Above all horse trappings from Site No. 7 are the richest in both quality and quantity and have a distinctive chronological feature concerning the gilded iron flat pendant harness ornaments with application of a bronze intermediate layer (*tetsuji kondō bari gyōyō*) and crupper strap dividers with spangles (*byōkazari uzu*). Flat pendant harness ornaments of the Kenbishi-type (*kenbishigata gyōyō*; oval plate with attached rhombic (lozenge-shaped), sword blade tip-shaped part) at Site No. 7 resemble those excavated from the Ōzuka tomb in Fukuoka prefecture, the heart-shaped (*shinyōgata*) respectively prickly-leaf-shaped flat pendant harness ornaments (*kyokuyōgata gyōyō*) resemble those unearthed from the Tamakiyama tomb No. 3 in Sakurai City, Nara prefecture and the Fujinoki tomb at Ikaruga-chō in the same prefecture. The crupper strap dividers with spangles are similar to those of the Fujinoki tomb. These similarities make it conceivable that horse trappings date mainly from the middle to end of the 6th century²²⁾.

Ritual sites and horse trappings

Horse trappings unearthed at ritual sites were once limited to Okinoshima even in a nationwide perspective. In recent years, however, the excavation of horse trappings is also confirmed at other ritual sites in some of eastern provinces (Kantō). One of those cases is a ritual feature accompanied with an accumulation of pottery from the F spot of the Nakanogoki Site No.1 in the Minami-hatori group of sites in Narita City, Chiba prefecture²³⁾. At this site, 4 fragments of iron bridles (rein connections *hitte*) were unearthed together

with an iron object representing a sickle, an iron fish hook, a clay object representing a spade blade tip and hand-formed ceramic vessels (*tezukune doki*). The dates of the objects are probably centered in the second half of the 6th century, judging from the types of Haji ware dishes accompanying them. Another case is the Higashida site in Tateyama City, Chiba prefecture²⁴. This is considered to be a ritual site with a large ditch, from which a large quantity of clay imitations of objects were unearthed, including jingle-bell (*reikyō*) and other mirrors, disk-shaped objects with hole(s), comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads (*kudatama*), spade blade tips and adzes/axes etc.. They were unearthed as if they had been thrown into the ditch. In the vicinity of a group of buildings with internal pillars (*sōbashira tatemono*) facing the ditch, a metal strap-end fitting (*obisaki kanagu*) seemingly belonging to gilt bronze horse trappings was unearthed and it is highly possible that it was related with the rituals. It is presumable that the ritual dates from the second half of the 6th century to the first half of the 7th century, judging from Haji ware accompanying the clay imitations of objects. Thus, there are some cases even in eastern provinces where horse trappings appeared at ritual places in the second half of the 6th century and matching the chronological trend of the horse trappings of Okinoshima ritual sites.

With regard to the relation between rituals and horse trappings, there is a prayer offered to the deities on the occasion of *Tatsuta-kaze-no-kami-no-matsuri* (Tatsuta Wind Deities Festival) in the 8th volume of the *Engishiki*. It says that “*Mima* (a divine horse) is saddled to offer various items to the deities”²⁵. In the section of Kashima district of the *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* (ancient gazetteer, provincial record of culture and geography of the Hitachi province), a horse and a saddle are included in offerings from Emperor Sujin to Kashima-no-ame-no-ōkami along with “板鐵 sheet iron – 練鐵 refine iron” that seem to mean flat iron ingots²⁶. *Kaze-no-kami-no-matsuri* appeared for the first time in the April section of the 4th year of the Emperor Tenmu era (675) in the *Nihonshoki*²⁷. It is assumed that *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* was compiled by 723²⁸. Horses and their trappings become recognized as offerings made to the deities from the second half of the 7th century to the beginning of the 8th century. It is conceivable that their offering was launched in the middle to second half of the 6th century, judging from the cases at Okinoshima Site No. 7 and at the Minami-hatori group of sites, the Nakanogoki No. 1 site F spot.

The significance of formation of Type II-2

A set with boosted decoration and ceremonial character composed of decorated single-edged long swords of Wa-lineage, shields, socketed spears, quivers with arrows (*koroku* or otherwise *utsubo*) and horse trappings can be confirmed in Okinoshima rituals from the end of the 5th century to the end of the 6th century, during which the composition of Type II-2 was accordingly established. SHIRAISHI Taichiro points out that among them, decorated single-edged long swords of Wa-lineage can be genealogically linked to the single-edged long swords of Wa-lineage decorated with gold and silver decoration (fittings) of the Fujinoki tomb, which, in turn, can be linked to single-edged long swords with gilt bronze applied on the hilt with a stirrup-hilt or a leather band attached to the hilt (*magarigawa*) decorated with a line of gems with three round bulges (*tamamaki no tachi*) and the sword of the imperial regalia (*sugari no ontachi*) of the shrine treasures (*jingū goshinpō*)²⁹. That is to say, single-edged long swords of Wa-lineage excavated at Site No. 7 genealogically continue to the shrine treasures (*jingū goshinpō*) and moreover socketed spears, shields and quivers correspond to the contents of the *Kandakara jūkyūshu* (*goshinpō* or *kamudakara*; divine treasures) in the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” (Book of Rituals and Ceremonies of the *Kōtai Jingū*) and “*Ara-matsuri-no-miya shōden* Utushimaturutoki-no-shōzoku, *Kandakara hasshu*”³⁰. The note to “Aoge-Tuchiuma-Ippiki” as one of “*Ara-matsuri-no-miya kandakara hasshu*” states “Kou-Isshaku. Kuratategami-Kinshoku”, which expresses a saddle decorated with gilt bronze consistent with the gilt bronze decorated horse trappings excavated at Site No. 7.

Thus, the original form of shrine treasures (*jingū goshinpō*) was conceivably directly formalized on the basis of the set of offerings established in the 5th century with the addition of horse trappings with highly boosted ornamental and ceremonial character in the 6th century and that the composition of Type II-2 at Okinoshima ritual sites specifically shows this process.

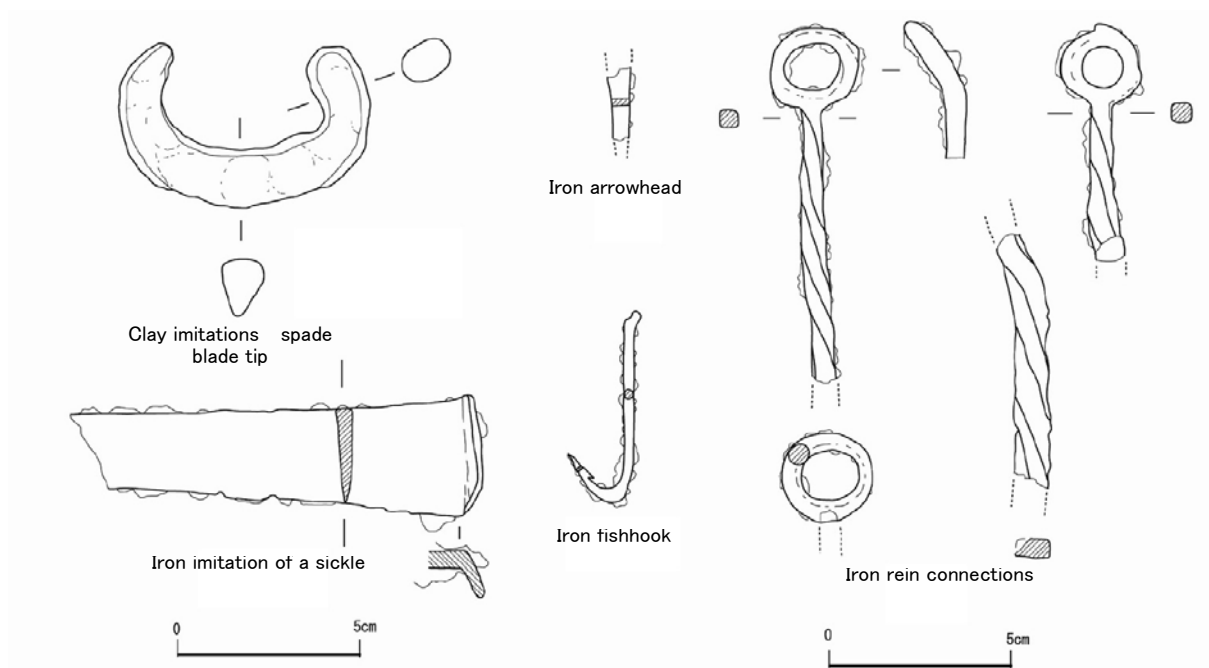


Figure 3 Objects from Unit 6, Spot F of Nakagoki Site No. 1

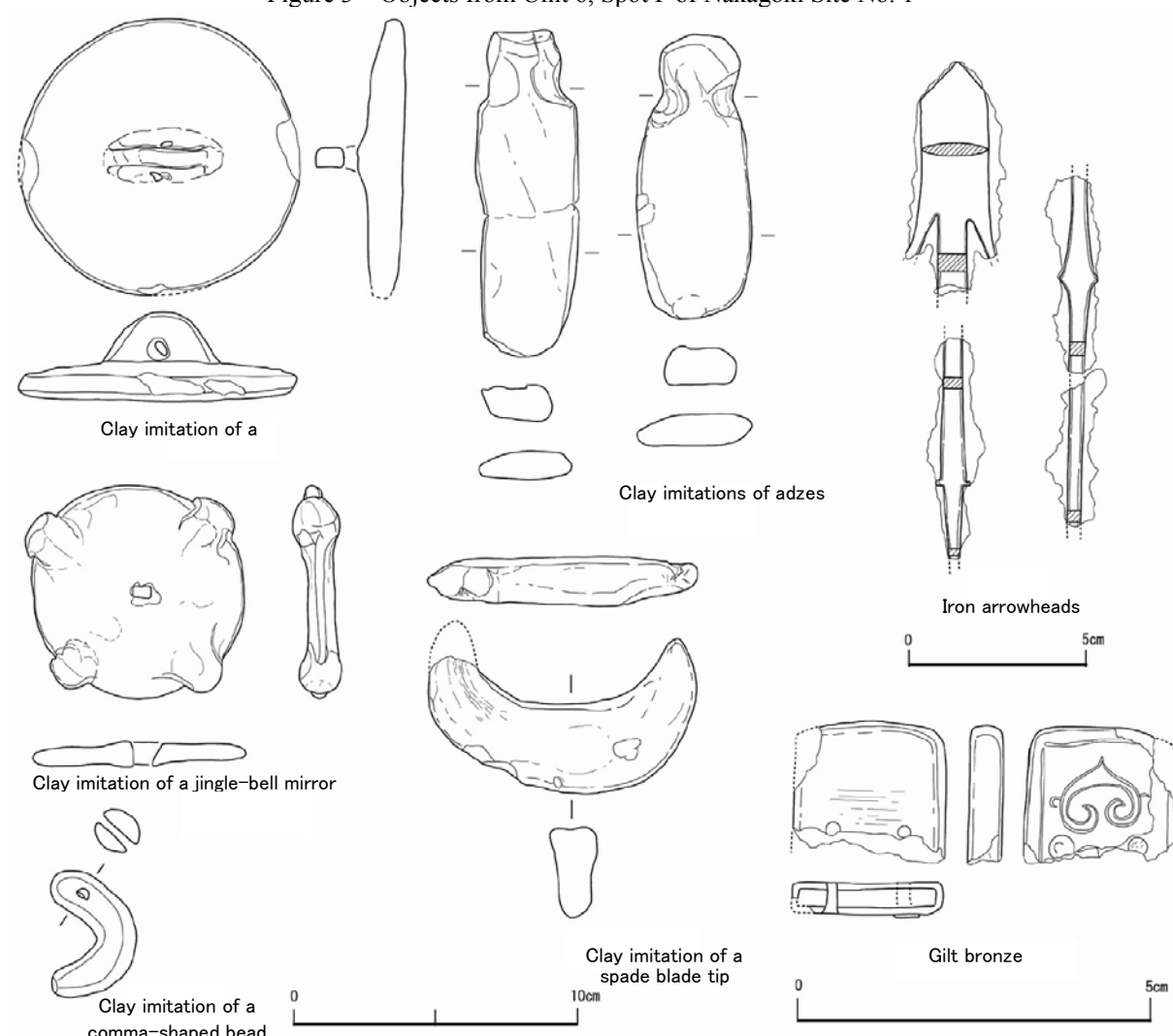


Figure 4 Unearthed objects from the Higashida site

5. The Establishment of Gilt Bronze Imitations of Objects and the Ritsuryō Ritual

The formative phase of Type III

Type III is characterized by the composition of ritual implements comprising a variety of metal and stone imitations of objects. The typical composition can be confirmed at each of the sites No. 1, 5 and 22. Site No. 1 contains objects mainly dating from the 8th and 9th centuries, judging from the types of the unearthened pottery. Sites No. 5 and 22 are earlier than Site No. 1 according to the pottery chronology in the report³¹⁾. At Site No. 5, however, Genkainada-type salt making pottery chronologically dates into the 8th century³²⁾ was used and its dating extends all over the 8th century. The transition phase from Type II-2 to Type III cannot be identified only by the pottery typology.

The reshuffle of soft stone imitations of objects

A clue as to the transition phase to Type III is the excavation of new soft stone imitations of objects including large disk-shaped objects with hole(s). Similar ones can be confirmed in the district of Kashima as *shingun* (deity district, a specific type of district *gun*, one of the provincial administrative units under the Ritsuryō system providing services to a shrine) in *Hitachi no Kuni*, like Munakata district.

It is written in *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* that the Kashima district was established as *shingun* in the year 46th year of the Chinese calendar (*tsuchinototori*, 649) of the during the reign of Emperor Kōtoku in the middle of the 7th century. It is on the list of the deity districts along with the Munakata district and the Tsukushi district upon an administrative measure of Council of State (*daijōkan*) on November 16 in the 7th year of the Yōrō era (723) in the first half of the 8th century³³⁾. From the pit dwelling SB43 at Site No. 28 in the Kuriya-dai group of sites, 55 soft stone imitations of objects including disk-shaped objects with hole(s), flat comma-shaped beads, representations of adzes/axe, knives, wooden clogs (small tables?) etc. and 20 mortar-shaped beads (*usudama*) were excavated together with pottery (parallel to the TK217 type) dating from the middle of the 7th century. Disk-shaped objects with hole(s) include large ones 7.3cm in diameter and 1cm thick. In addition, a new element, such as the wooden clogs (small tables?) is also confirmed and a large number of soft stone imitations of objects not ever seen before are also together unearthed³⁴⁾.

The Kuriya-dai group of sites is located immediately north of the Kashima-jingū shrine just separated from each other by a valley. The location is corresponding to a spot as described in the section of the Kashima district in *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* as follows: “Around the shrine is a quarter where fortune tellers reside.” From the Katano region with the group of sites, ink-inscribed pottery dating from the 8th century was excavated and “the chief of Kashima village” is written on the vessel. The sites are conceivably Kanbe (allotment of households made to shrines under the Ritsuryō system) settlement sites of the Kashima-jingū. In the *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* is the establishment of a *shingun* during the reign of Emperor Kōtoku noted, the increase of Kanbe households from 8 to 50 units, and the construction of the shrine during the reign of Emperor Tenji³⁵⁾. From this description, it can be gathered that the ritual system was reorganized in the middle of the 7th century. In the Kuriya-dai group of sites as a whole, the number of pit dwellings increased in the phase from the middle to second half of the 7th century. This increase, which is chronologically consistent with the above-mentioned description, can be considered to be corresponding to the increase of Kanbe as described in *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki*. Coupled with this increase, it is highly possible that the ritual implements were reshuffled and new soft stone imitations of objects were introduced³⁶⁾.

The introduction of new soft stone imitations of objects can be also confirmed at the Nishi-beppu site in Kumagaya City, Saitama prefecture that had relations with an initial government office in the eastern provinces. This is a ritual site located at a spot with a spring adjoining to the boundary of Hara district, Musashi no Kuni (province) government office. At this site, 217 soft stone imitations of objects were excavated together with pottery dating from the middle of the 7th century. The soft stone imitations of objects comprise representations of the human figure, horses and double-edged swords, combs with wide body and short teeth (*yokogushi*), comma-shaped beads and disk-shaped objects with hole(s) (mortar-shaped beads?) and disk-shaped objects with hole(s) with radial lines carved in³⁷⁾. Representations of the human figure, horses and comma-shaped beads are common to those of ritual sites on Okinoshima. As for combs with wide body and short teeth, there exist similar items in the gilt bronze imitations of objects of Site No. 5.

A big change took place in soft stone imitations of objects within Kashima district as the same *shingun* as Munakata district in the middle of the 7th century. Soft stone imitations of objects similar to those of ritual sites on Okinoshima which date from the same phase can be also identified at the ritual site adjoining to an initial government office. This is related with the shift to the Ritsuryō system in the middle to second half of the 7th century. It may be considered that the introduction of new soft stone imitations of objects seen in the composition of Type III took place against the same background in the same phase.

Metal imitations of objects and the Ritsuryō ritual

What about a change in metal imitations of objects? Iron imitations of objects (or *hinagata* miniatures), like the adzes/axes and chisels (*nomi*) of Site No. 21 (Type II-1), whose lineages date back to the 5th century. However, sites No. 21 and 7 falling under Types II-1 and II-2 are mainly featuring weapons for practical use and tools. At Site No. 8, iron imitations of objects of weapons and tools, which showed a substantial increase, coexisted with objects for practical use. At sites No. 1, 5 and 22 falling under Type III, on the contrary, weapons including swords and socketed spears, and tools including adzes/axes and knives are occupied by miniatures. Moreover, there is a new addition of gilt bronze imitations of objects of spinning and weaving tools, zithers (*koto*) and vessels. It seems to be highly possible that the emergence of gilt bronze imitations of objects marking Type III dates from around the middle to second half of the 7th century in parallel to the reshuffling of soft stone imitations of objects.

It has been pointed out from early on that gilt bronze imitations of objects of spinning and weaving tools including H- or X-shaped frames for winding spun yarn (*kase*), spinning implements (*tatari*) and wooden vessels (*oke*; for storing hemp, offering purpose) are common to *Kandakara jūkyūshu* of the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” (Book of Rituals and Ceremonies of the *Kōtai Jingū*) and *Shimpō nijūsshu* of the *Engishiki* (“Procedures of the Engi era”)³⁸⁾. There is also a possibility of a relation with the following description in the *Tatsuta kaze no kami no matsuri* prayer in the 8th volume of the *Engishiki*.

奉るうずの幣帛は、ひこ神に、御服は、明るたへ・照たへ・和たへ・荒たへ、五色の物、楯・戈・御馬に御鞍具へて、品品の幣帛獻り、ひめ神に御服備へ、金の麻笥・金の櫛・金の棹、明るたへ・照たへ・和たへ・荒たへ、五色の物、御馬に御鞍備へて雑の幣帛奉りて³⁹⁾

Here is a list of offerings to the Tatsuta Shrine. “Shield, tanged spear (*ka*) and a horse with a horse trapping set (*angu*)” to be dedicated to the *hikogami* (male *kami*; god) are consistent with the socketed spears (*hoko*), shields and gilt bronze horse trappings of Type II-2. “Golden *oke*, golden *tatari* and golden *kase*” to be offered to the *himegami* (female *kami*; goddess) are consistent with gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools of Type III. “Saddle (*kura*)” and “golden *oke*, golden *tatari* and golden *kase*” are corresponding to “two saddles” and “one *tatari*, a one *oke* and one *kasegi* (the foregoing three items, gold-colored)” as offerings for the *kaze no kami no matsuri* in the chapter of the Festivals of the Seasons (*shijisai*) in the *Engishiki*⁴⁰⁾. This means that they were actually prepared as offerings. *Kaze no kami no matsuri* along with *ōimi no matsuri* appeared for the first time in the April section of the 4th year of the Emperor Tenmu era (675) in the *Nihonshoki*⁴¹⁾. On the assumption that the ritual prayers, incantations (*norito*) in the *Engishiki* maintain the contents of those days, it is that gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools existed in the second half of the 7th century. This is not contradictory with the assumption that gilt bronze imitations, like stone imitations, were made in the phase from the middle to second half of the 7th century. This chronological view is almost the same as pointed out by INOUE Mitusada whose view is that the emergence of gilt bronze imitations representing spinning and weaving tools dates back to the 7th century, during which the separation from the funeral ceremonies and the germination of the Ritsuryō ritual can be observed. The middle of the 7th century is ground-breaking for the establishment of the composition of Type III, which constituted the ritual implements of the Ritsuryō ritual.

What should be noted here is a high possibility that the items like gilt bronze imitations of objects had already been related with rituals before the second half of the 7th century. Spinning and weaving tools and zithers (*koto*) are recognized to have been related with rituals since the 5th century. It is conceivable that the tendency to enhance the decorative features of ritual implements and offerings as exemplified by decorated Wa-lineage single-edged long swords and gilt bronze horse trappings in the 6th century overlapped with the tendency to shift towards ceremonial objects, which was accompanied by the

diversification and an increase of iron imitations of objects. This trend may have led to the materialization of gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools, zithers (*koto*) and all kinds of vessels. This gave rise to a large number of imitations of Type III common to kinds of divine treasures and Ritsuryō ritual implements as described in the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” and *Engishiki*. The items used in the Ritsuryō ritual are not ones which were newly created in the second half of the 7th century but ones which had have a long tradition since the 5th century.

Then, what are the meanings and functions of the items used in the ritual? In the next chapter, let us consider this question in view of the entire structure of rituals.

6. The Structure of Rituals and the Nature of Sites

The Structure of Rituals in the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*”

How were ancient rituals organized? What kept a detailed record on this matter is the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*” (Record of Rituals for the Imperial Shrine at Ise) (hereinafter “*gishiki chō*”) submitted by *daijingūshi* Ōnakatomi-no-Matsugi in the 23rd year of the Enryaku era (804)⁴²⁾. The structure of rituals in “*gishiki chō*” performed as of the 23rd year of the Enryaku era (804) represents the specific contents of rituals at least in the 8th century, especially the Ritsuryō rituals.

In linkage with ritual sites on Okinoshima Island, decorated Wa-lineage single-edged long swords, socketed spears (*hoko*), shields and gilt bronze horse trappings which are included in the composition of Type II-2 and gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools and zithers (*koto*) which are included in Type III are common to the different kinds of divine treasures and offerings in “*gishiki chō*”. Site No. 5 that belongs to Type III and dates from the second half of the 7th century to the 8th century and Site No. 1 that dates back mainly to the 8th and 9th centuries chronologically overlap with “*gishiki chō*” that dates from the beginning of the 9th century. Not only regarding the handling of ritual implements in the composition of Types II-2 and III, the rites in “*gishiki chō*” should give a direct clue to the reconstruction of the composition of Okinoshima rituals.

The author listed main rituals from “*gishiki chō*” in Table 4 and summarized the proceedings of rituals by referring to “*Daijingū gishikikai*” by Arakida (Nakagawa) Tsunetada.⁴³⁾ The rituals that the author took up are “*toshigoi heihaku (mitigura) Shimpō*” (also *kinensai* celebrated annually on the fourth day of February to pray for a bountiful harvest, relatively large amount of imperial tribute *heihaku* offered on its occasion), “*kanmiso gubu (kanmisosai)*” and “Visit of the *sai naishin nou* (imperial princess) – dedication of the Imperial Court’s offerings on 17th of September”, all of which present offerings and sacred robe, and *tsukinami sai* and *kannamesai* (Ceremony for the Divine Tasting of the Fruits), both of which mainly offered food to the deities (*gusen*). Of these rituals, *kanmisosai* (Deity Raiment Ceremony) and *kannamesai* are rituals stipulated in the the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō codes (*jingiryō*) and helpful in confirming specific procedures for the Ritsuryō rituals. “*Toshigoi heihaku (mitigura) Shimpō*” and “Visit of the *sai naishin nou* (imperial princess) – dedication of the Imperial Court’s offerings on the 17th of September” make it known to us how the offerings of the Imperial Court were treated in the ritual.

Looking at the entire structure of these rituals in table 4, it can be divided into three stages: i.e., 1) “The preparation stage: to prepare the offerings of objects respectively food and beverages (*shinsen*), purify and decorate the ritual place”; 2) “The core part: to dedicate the offerings (*heihaku*) respectively food and beverages (*shinsen*) and offer ritual prayers (*norito*); and 3) “After the ritual: putting away the offerings and the carrying out of the sharing a meal of the offerings after the conclusion (*naorai*)”. It can be considered that sites No. 5 and 1 that date from the 8th century and seem to be the remains of state-related rituals were formed in the above-mentioned ritual process.

If the contents of ritual implements and offerings used for the rituals in “*gishiki chō*” are common to those unearthed at the ritual sites of the Kofun period, it will become possible to apply the contents to rituals before the 7th century and place those ritual sites in the course of rituals as a whole. Based on this, the author would like to infer the meaning and nature of ritual sites on Okinoshima while examining the relation between ritual implements used in rituals as specified in “*gishiki chō*” and ritual finds.

Ritual Preparation and Implements

On the occasion of rituals in “*gishiki chō*” listed in Table 4, the offerings of objects respectively food and beverages (*shinsen*) are manufactured or cooked in the preparation stage. Whereas *kanmisosai* involves the manufacturing of sacred robe (*kamumiso*) and yarn, *tsukinamisai* and *kannamesai* involve even brewing the sacrificial *sake* for the great deity (*ōkami*) respectively the collection of the ingredients and the preparing of the offerings of food and beverages. Besides these, cooking tools and tableware were also specially manufactured, including mortars, pestles, winnowing baskets (*mi*), knives, Haji ware, Sue ware to serve food and wooden boxes. The preparation of sacred robe and yarn, the brewing of the *sake* and the manufacturing of tools related with the offerings of food and beverages were assumed by professionals specializing in their own fields, who were called *kamuhatori* (*kanhatori*), *kan’omi*, *sakatoku-no-monoimi*, *kiyosakatoku-no-monoimi*, *haji-no-utsuwa-tsukuri-no-monoimi*, *sue-no-utsuwa-tsukuri-no-uchibito* and *imikaji-no-uchibito* etc.. They carried out their work undergoing purification.

To make sacred robe, the *kamuhatori* (*kanhatori*) and the *kan’omi* needed a number of spinning and weaving tools. To process rice as the core of the offerings of food and beverages, mortars, pestles and winnowing baskets made by the *haji-no-utsuwa-tsukuri-no-monoimi* were used, and knives to cut ingredients were made by the *imikaji-no-uchibito*.

People called *imikaji-no-uchibito* were to make “*imikuwa* (purified hoes) and *imiono* (purified axes/adzes)”, “long swords and socketed spears (*hoko*) for offering”, “*iminata* (purified hatchets), *imigama* (purified sickles) and *yariganna* (spear-like planes)”, “mirrors” and “*kurogane no hitogata* (iron objects representing the human figure)”, which were used at the *kinensai*, *yamaguchisai* (Yamaguchi Festival), *shōden-shinnomihashira-tsukuri-hō konomotosai*. Iron as material for those items is described as “10 pieces of flat iron” to be used in the ceremony of purifying a building site for a new shrine building, *yamaguchisai* and *konotosai*. From the expression “flat iron”, it can be assumed that iron was supplied in the form of flat iron ingots (*tettei*).

In the preparation stage, the purity of the ritual was secured before the preparation of the offerings of objects respectively food and beverages (*shinsen*). This is proved by prior activities: e.g., shrine virgins called *mikannagi-no-uchibito* deciphered the will of the deities prior to *tsukinamisai* and *kannamesai* and the ceremony of purification was performed on the riverside west of the inner shrine. In particular, a judgment on the will of the deity was made by a shrine virgin playing a zither (*koto*) to decipher whether the persons who would participate in the ritual and food and beverages (*shinsen*) to be offered are pure or impure. The zither (*koto*) played an important role.

Implements used in this stage include spinning and weaving tools to make sacred robe, mortars, pestles, winnowing baskets and knives to prepare food and beverages, (glazed) stoneware “cans” (*tōkan*) (*sueki kame*, Sue ware pot) for brewing the sacrificial *sake*, Haji ware, Sue ware and wooden vessels to serve food and beverages (*shinsen*), and zithers to decipher the will of the deity. These implements were used to conduct spinning, weaving, brewing, cooking and forging. The use of the implements was also a necessary process in order to secure the purity of the ritual.

If the contents of the above-mentioned implements and work are compared with the objects unearthed from ritual sites from the 5th century as previously seen, many similarities can be recognized between them.

Table 4 The structure of rituals in the “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*”

“ <i>Toshigoi heihaku (mītegura) Shimpō</i> ” on 12th of the 2nd month		“ <i>Kanmiso gubu (kanmisosa)</i> ” on 14th of the 4th month		“ <i>Tsukinami sai</i> ” in the 6th month	
Preparation	On the 12th day, the offering envoy and the Grand Shrine Priest enter Jingū-Gaiin or the Outer Shrine of the Jingū Shrine for service.	Preparation	From the first of the 4th month to 14th of the 4th month, the people called Kanhatori (weaver of the sacred cloth) purify themselves physically and mentally and then weave sacred rob with new reddish and shiny yarn and warp from Mikawa, while the people called Kan'omi (spinner of the sacred linen-thread) spin hemp and weave garments (<i>utsuhata-no-miso</i>). (“ <i>Reigika</i> ”, Englishiki)	Preparation	Sacred rice wine and ordinary rice wine for general people are brewed from raw rice provided by the Grand Shrine Priest.
	“ <i>Futotamagushi</i> ” or a thick sprig of the sacred tree is delivered from Ujino-ouchibito to the Grand Shrine Priest.		On 14th of the 4th month, the Grand Shrine Priest, the chief priest, women in charge of weaving sacred rob and spinning sacred hemp cloth and the like enter the Outer Shrine of the Jingū Shrine and wait.		On the night of 15th of the 6th month, at 10 pm, the mikannagi-no-uchibito (shrine virgins) plays a <i>zither (koto)</i> at the second gate to ask for the will of the great deity about the purity of mirrors to be offered at the <i>Tsukinami sai</i> and the purity of offerers.
	Another sprig is delivered to the chief priest, who stands on the left side. Ujino-ouchibito stands with a sprig in hand on the right side.		A thick sprig of the sacred tree is delivered from the Ujino-ouchibito to the Grand Shrine Priest.		On 16th of the 6th month, the mikannagi-no-uchibito goes to the dry riverbed on the west side of the Shrine, where she urges the chief priest and the people called Uchibito and Monoimi to confess their sins. Then, she exorcises them.
Ritual	The chief priest stands at the head of the procession on the left side and the Ujino-uchibito stands on the right side. They are followed by the Grand Shrine Priest, the Uchibito in charge of dedicating offerings, the Uchibito in charge of keeping a horse, the Uchibito in charge of dragging the horse, the messenger and other people called Uchibito in this order. They reach a specified position to offer prayer on the Daisannoju (tertiary grounds of the Inner Shrine). The horse is made to stand about 6m east of the position.	Ritual	A thick sprig of the sacred tree is delivered to the chief priest, and sprigs are similarly delivered to eight women in charge of weaving sacred cotton cloth and eight women in charge of weaving sacred hemp and silk clothes.	Preparation	After that, on the same day, the chief priest and the people Uchibito enter the main sanctuary Chamber for purification and service. The Yamamukaino-monoimi decorates the inside with branches of a <i>sakaki</i> tree called Amano-yaesakaki and also decorates the fence with branches of the tree. Cotton provided by the Grand Shrine Priest is attached to those branches.
	The messenger, the Grand Shrine Priest, the chief priest, the Ujino-uchibito and the Oouchibito kneel in line toward the main sanctuary of the Shrine in the position to offer prayer.		Following two Tang-Dynasty-style boxes of sacred rob, the Grand Shrine Priest, the chief priest, the Uji-uchibito, eight women in charge of weaving sacred rob and eight women in charge of weaving sacred hemp cloth enter the Inner Shrine and reach a specified position to offer prayer on the tertiary grounds of the Shrine.		On the night of 16th of the 6th month, the chief priest and the people of Uchibito and Monoimi take the sacred rice harvested from the paddy for offerings of food and beverages in the morning and evening out of the pure storehouse (sacred rice storehouse). Then, the chief priest and the people of Uchibito and Monoimi are accompanied with the father of the Monoimi to wrap the rice with cotton and hand it in order. They thresh the rice by using a clean mortar, a clean pestle and a clean sieve which were made by the Hajino-utuwaturino-monoimi (people in charge of making Haji ware). Then, the Oomonoimi cools the rice in a clean pot and serve it in a box for offerings of food and beverages made by the Mishi-tukurino-uchibito.
	The Grand Shrine Priest moves forward from the specified position to offer prayer and offers prayer, after which he goes back to the position.		The Grand Shrine Priest steps forward from the position to offer prayer and offers prayer.		On 15th of the 6th month, marine products which the chief priest and the people of Uchibito caught in the sea of boundary between Ise-no-kuni and Shima-no-kuni, and dried abalones and sea breams offered by the Kanbe of Shima-no-kuni and Watarai district are sliced with a small knife made by the Imikajino-uchibito on the desk for offerings of food and beverages made by the Mishiokurino-uchibito and served with salt made by the Mishiokurino-monoimi in a dish made by the Hajino-monoimi and the Suemonotukurino-monoimi.
	The sprig of the Grand Shrine Priest is placed by the father of the Oomonoimi through the Ujino-uchibito on the left side of the gate to the tertiary grounds of the shrine.		The thick sprig of the Grand Shrine Priest is handed over from the Uji-uchibito to the father of the Oomonoimi, who places it for dedication on the left side of the third gate.		The Sakatokuno-monoimi and the Kiyosakatokuno-monoimi brew a sacred rice wine in a pot made by the Suemonotukurino-uchibito and pour it into a Haji ware cup, which is prepared for pure offerings of food and beverages on the night of 16th of the 6th month.
	The sprig of the chief priest is placed by the Miyamorino-monoimi on the right side of the third gate.		The chief priest, the Uji-uchibito, women in charge of weaving sacred rob and women in charge of weaving sacred hemp cloth place their respective sprigs for dedication.		On the midnight of 16th of the 6th month, the chief priest, four Oouchibito people, five Monoimi people, 5 children of Monoimi enter the Inner Shrine with the prepared offerings of food and beverages and the sacred rice wine in hand and offer them to the great deity.
	The sprig of the Ujino-ouchibito is placed by the father of the Jimaturino-monoimi on the left side of the third gate.		After the end of their dedication, the Grand Shrine Priest and the chief priest offer sacred rob in the east treasure house.	Ritual	Before the great deity, the chief priest stands at the head of the procession. Attendants make four bows and four handclaps and moreover four bows and four handclaps and then exist.
After the ritual	After the offering of sprigs, all the attendants worship the deity. They make four bows, two handclaps and one bow. Moreover, they make four bows, two handclaps and one bow.	After the ritual	The Grand Shrine Priest and other attendants return to the position to offer prayer and make four bows, two handclaps and one bow. Moreover they make four bows, two handclaps and one bow.		At this time, the three of the chief priest, the Uji-uchibito and the Hinomino-uchibito offer their own silk yarn made by their respective families and pray for the steady growth of the five cereals (<i>gokoku</i>) cultivated by peasants throughout the country.
	The Grand Shrine Priest and the messenger go to Gainaoraiden (reception hall) and take their respective seats.		Two Tang-Dynasty-style boxes of sacred rob are also offered to the Aramaturino-Miya.		On 17th of the 6th month, at 4am, a morning dinner is offered in the same way as an evening dinner.
	The messenger and people called Uchibito enter the Aramaturino-Miya shrine. The Ujino-ouchibito has a tick sprig of the sacred tree in hand. The father of the Monoimi of the Aramaturino-Miya stands at the head of the procession, followed by the person in charge of carrying the sacred stone, the Uchibito of the Aramaturino-Miya, the Ujino-ouchibito, the chief priest and the Oouchibito, who stand in this order.		On the same day, a total of 20 covers and 22 woven hats made by the Mikasorino-uchibito are offered to the Grand Shrine, the Aramaturino-Miya, the Isanagino-Miya and the Tukiymino-Miya to pray for no stormy wind or rain.	After the ritual	Dinners for the Aramaturino-Miya and the Yodomaturo-kami are prepared by the people of Monoimi and Uchibito in charge in the same way as the Grand Shrine and offered by them together with the chief priest and four people of Uchibito.
	Offerings are placed in the main sanctuary of the Aramaturino-Miya.				After serving the Yodomaturo-kami, the chief priest, the Oouchibito and various people of Monoimi and Uchibito gather at the Naoraiin. Songs and dances are offered at the banquet.

The Composition of Artifacts and the Structure of Rituals at Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island
– With a Focus on Ironware and Metal Imitations of Objects –

“Kannamesai” in the 9th month		“Visit of the <i>sai naishin nou</i> (imperial princess) – dedication of the Imperial Court’s offerings on the 17th of the 9th month	
Preparation	On 15th of the 9th month, cotton made by the people called Momentukurino-uchibito and cotton offered by the Grand Shrine Priest are attached to branches of a <i>sakaki</i> tree, with which the Shrine is decorated.	Preparation	On 17th of the 9th month, at noon, an Imperial princess called <i>sai naishin nou</i> (Itukino-Miya) enters the Shrine. She changes her vehicle from a palanquin to a litter (<i>tagoshi</i>) at the Kawara Goten (Palace) and takes her seat in the <i>sai naishin nou</i> Jiden (Honored guest house).
	The offerings of Yuki presented by the people Kanbe of Shima-no-kuni, offerings presented by peasants at various villages in Watarai district, offerings purified by the chief priest, the people Uchibito and the father of the Monoimi in the sea of boundary between Shima-no-kuni and Ise-no-kuni and moreover, salt made by the people Mishioyakino-monoimi are put together by the chief priest and the people Uchibito. A grand ceremony of purification is held for those offerings on the dry riverbed west of the Shrine. All the purified offerings are dedicated in the offering chamber.	Ritual	Cotton and a sprig of the sacred tree are offered to Saiou through a court lady called Naishi. Itukino-Miya receives it by clapping her hands and takes her seat at the Tamagushi-gomon (inner decorative fence gate). She steps forward and repeats making two bows twice. Afterward, a high-ranking court lady called Myobu steps forward to receive the sprig and places it on the west side of the Mizugaki-gomon through the child of the Oomonoimi. Then, Itukino-Miya goes back to her seat in the honored guest house.
	On the night of the same day, at 10 pm, the <i>·mikannagi-no-uchibito</i> plays a zither (<i>koto</i>) at the second gate and asks for the instructions of the great deity “Amaterasu Oomikami”. On 16th of the 6th month, sins and deeds which the great deity indicates are purified by the <i>·mikannagi-no-uchibito</i> for the chief priest and the people of Uchibito and Monoimi, respectively.	Preparation	Thick sprigs of the sacred tree are delivered from the Ujino-uchibito to the Grand Shrine Priest, the chief priest and the Ujino-ouchibito.
	The chief priest and the people of Uchibito and Monoimi go to the dry riverbed on the west side of the Shrine, where they turn to the direction of the Shrine and confess their respective sins. After that, the <i>·mikannagi-no-uchibito</i> purifies them in the direction of the river and offers prayer.	Ritual	At first, the chief priest stands on the left side and then the Ujino-ouchibito stands on the right side. After them, the Grand Shrine Priest and next the Iminobe hold up offerings. After them, the sacred horse, the Nakaomi as a messenger, Saiou, the people of Uchibito and various officers serving Itukino-Miya enter the Inner Shrine. Various officers serving Itukino-Miya go inside the board fence gate and wait.
	The chief priest leads the people of Uchibito and Monoimi and enters the main sanctuary chamber to clean and purify the inside and then exits. After that, he takes rice ears harvested from the sacred paddy in Uji out of the storehouse and distributes them to the Oomonoimi, the Miyamorino-monoimi, the Jimaturino-monoimi and the Aramaturino-monoimi.		They reach the tertiary grounds of the Inner Shrine and take their respective positions to offer prayer. The Inbe moves about 3m north of the position to dedicate grand offerings and kneel in waiting.
Ritual	Boxes made by the Mishitukurino-uchibito, knives called Imi-kogatana made by the Imikajino-uchibito, vessels made by the Toutukurino-uchibito and Hajino-utuwatukurino-uchibito and salt roasted by the Mishioyakino-monoimi are distributed to various types of Monoimi people. The gifts of Yuki from Shima are also distributed to them.		Afterward, the Nakaomi as a messenger steps forward from the position to offer prayer and kneels in prayer. Then, he returns to the position. Next, the Grand Shrine Priest steps forward from the position to offer prayer and kneels in prayer.
	Those ingredients offered above are cooked and served in vessels. They are carried into the Inner Shrine on the night of 16th of the 9th month. Morning and evening dishes are offered in front of the great deity by the time from 10pm to 2am.	Ritual	The Uji-ouchibito stands up to receive the sprig of the Grand Shrine Priest and places it through the father of the Oomonoimi for dedication on the east side of the gate. The sprig of the chief priest is placed through the father of Miyamorino-monoimi on the west side of the gate for dedication. The four sprigs of the Uji-uchibito are placed through the father of the Jimaturino-monoimi on the east side of the gate for dedication. The sprig of the Uji-ouchibito is placed by himself on the west side of the gate for dedication. After each dedication, they return to the position to offer prayer.
	<i>Shiroki</i> (white rice wine) made by the Sakatokuno-monoimi and Kuroki (black libation) made by the Kiyosakatokuno-monoimi are offered by attaching them to grand offerings of food and beverages. Next, <i>miki</i> (sacred rice wine) made by the Itakurano-monoimi is offered to the deity.		The chief priest in charge of keys makes the child of the Oomonoimi hold the key to the main sanctuary and enters the Inner Shrine. Following them, the Uji-uchibito, the Grand Shrine Priest and the Oouchibito enter in this order.
	After offering them, the chief priest and other attendants make a bow four times, close the gate to the Inner Shrine and exit to the Outer Shrine.		The chief priest opens the door of the main sanctuary and dedicates the Court’s offerings in the main sanctuary. Next, the chief priest and the Uji-uchibito offer sacredsilk cloth. Then, the father of the Oomonoimi opens the east treasure house and offers the saddle of the sacredhorse. After offering them, the Grand Shrine Priest and other attendants return to the position to offer prayer.
After the ritual and Preparation	The chief priest and the people of Uchibito and Monoimi are given a big banquet and Japanese dances are offered. Sings are the same as <i>·Tsukinami sai</i> in the 6th month.	After the ritual	All the messenger of the Court and other attendants worship the deity together by making four bows, eight handclaps and one handclap. They repeat their worship in the same way and then make a bow and exit.
	On the night of the same day, offerings of food and beverages are also offered to the Aramaturino-Miya and the Yodomaturino-kami and a banquet is given to attendants. However, no dance is offered. On this night, new rice and rice wine are taken for the first time.		The Aramaturino-Miya is worshiped by making four bows and one handclap. However, Saiou does not visit the Aramaturino-Miya. Afterward, the messenger and various officers serving Itukino-Miya take their respective seats at the Naoraiin.
	On 17th of the 9th month, at 8am, sacred rice wine and offerings presented by the people of Kanbe throughout the country are taken in from the kitchen.		The chief priest and the people of Uchibito open the door of the main sanctuary of the Aramaturino-Miya and offer the Court’s offerings and sacred silk cloth.
Next, rice ears presented by the people of Kanbe from two Shingun and throughout the country and rice ears presented by the Kanbe of the Kanhatori are hung on inner and outer decorative fences.		The chief priest and the people of Uchibito go to the Naoraiin for a big banquet and make a handclasp in conclusion. Moreover, they go to the fifth gate and further to the fourth grounds of the Shrine to offer a Japanese dance. The Nakaomi as a messenger from the Court, the Iminobe, Saiou, the Grand Shrine Priest, the chief priest, the Oouchibito, the Itukinomiya-kamitukasa (office responsible for all Shintō rituals at the Grand Shrine) and various officers perform dances in this order. Rice wine for the banquet is served to every attendant in an oak leaf by two shrine virgins east of the fourth gate. Next, the wives of the chief priest and Uchibito people and a woman serving Itukino-Miya perform dances. After the end of their dancing, Itukino-Miya provides stipends to the chief priest and the people of Uchibito and Monoimi and returns to the Imperial Villa (<i>rikyūin</i>) by palanquin.	

Spinning and Weaving Tools

The relation between spinning and weaving tools and rituals dates back to the 5th century because they are included in the clay imitations of objects from the layer below Myōgajima mounded tomb No. 5, first half of the 5th century, and the unearthened objects from the Yamanohana site from the 5th century. As shown in table 2, spindle whorls and soft stone imitations of warp beams (*chikiri*) etc. were also unearthened at other ritual sites that date from the 5th century. The close relation between rituals and spinning and weaving tools can be extensively recognized at ritual sites in the Kofun period. The function of those spinning and weaving tools can be judged to make sacred robe, fabrics and yarn by making reference to the details of rituals in “*gishiki chō*”.

At ritual sites on Okinoshima, spinning and weaving tools can be identified with their gilt bronze imitations of objects dating from the 7th century. The description of linkage between the Munakata female *kami* and spinning and weaving work can be found in the description of the Emperor Ōjin era in the Nihonshoki.

三十七年春二月の戊午の朔に、阿知使主・都加使主を呉に遣して縫工女を求めしむ。爰に阿知使主・都加使主等、高麗国に渡りて呉に達らむと欲ふ。...中略...高麗の王、乃ち、久禮波・久禮志、二人を副へて導者とす。是に由りて、呉に通ることを得たり。呉の王、是に、工が兄媛・弟媛、呉織、穴織、四の婦女を與ふ。

四十一年の春二月...中略...是月に阿知使主等、呉より筑紫に至る。時に胸形大神、工女等を乞はすこと有り。故、兄媛を以て胸形大神に奉る。是則ち、今筑紫國に在る、御使君の祖なり⁴⁴⁾。

From this description, it can be understood that the deities of Munakata requested the latest spinning and weaving techniques that were transmitted from the continent and that the details of this fact were orally handed down from ancient ancestors of Mitsukai-no-kimi at the time of compilation of the Nihonshoki. The relation between the deities of Munakata and spinning and weaving technologies is not a story newly created in the second half of the 7th century just before the compilation of Nihonshoki at the time when metal imitations of objects of spinning and weaving tools appeared. Rather, it had already become a traditional thing before that time. On the occasion of the ritual for the deities of Munakata, like the ones at imperial shrines, excellent spinning and weaving techniques were also required for weaving sacred robe, fabrics and yarn to be offered to the goddesses. The use of such crafts dates back to the 5th century, judging from ritual sites like the Yamanohana site where spinning and weaving tools are unearthened.

In this connection, “a metal upright (vertical) loom *takabata*” is included in *Kandakara jūkyūshu* of Izawa-no-miya in the “Shisho-jingu Utushimaturutoki-no-shozoku Kandakara” of “*gishiki chō*” and shows the existence of a loom which seems to be made of gilt bronze. As an inserted note to this description, it is written that “the height is 3 *sun* (about 9cm) and fabrics of five colors of thread appeared for the first time.” It can be presumed to be a gilt bronze imitation of the vertical loom 3 *sun* (about 9cm) in height, which is similar to the gilt bronze loom allegedly unearthened on Okinoshima Island. The note continues that “five colors of thread is weaved.” From this, it can be gathered that five colors of thread was set and being weaved to make fabric⁴⁵⁾. This vertical loom shows the state of making fabrics specifically for the deities. Taking this into consideration, it may be conceivable that a number of imitations of spinning and weaving tools were prepared to symbolize the action of making sacred robe and fabrics in a purified environment specifically for the deities.

Forging and Flat Iron Ingots

Features and finds which correspond to *imikaji-no-uchibito* in “Gishikichō” have been identified even at ritual sites dating from the 5th century. At the Shussaku site in Ehime, unfinished forging products and forging by-products were unearthened from the ritual features. At the Senzoku-dai site in Chiba, iron by-products were unearthened from ritual features and the remains of a small smithery were detected in an adjoining section. These sites have small iron ingots and objects representing a adze in common. It is presumable that prior to ritual, iron articles for ritual, such as objects representing a adze were manufactured at the adjoining feature of the small smithery. Flat iron ingots and objects representing a adze were also unearthened at Site No. 21 on Okinoshima, where a similar situation can be assumed.

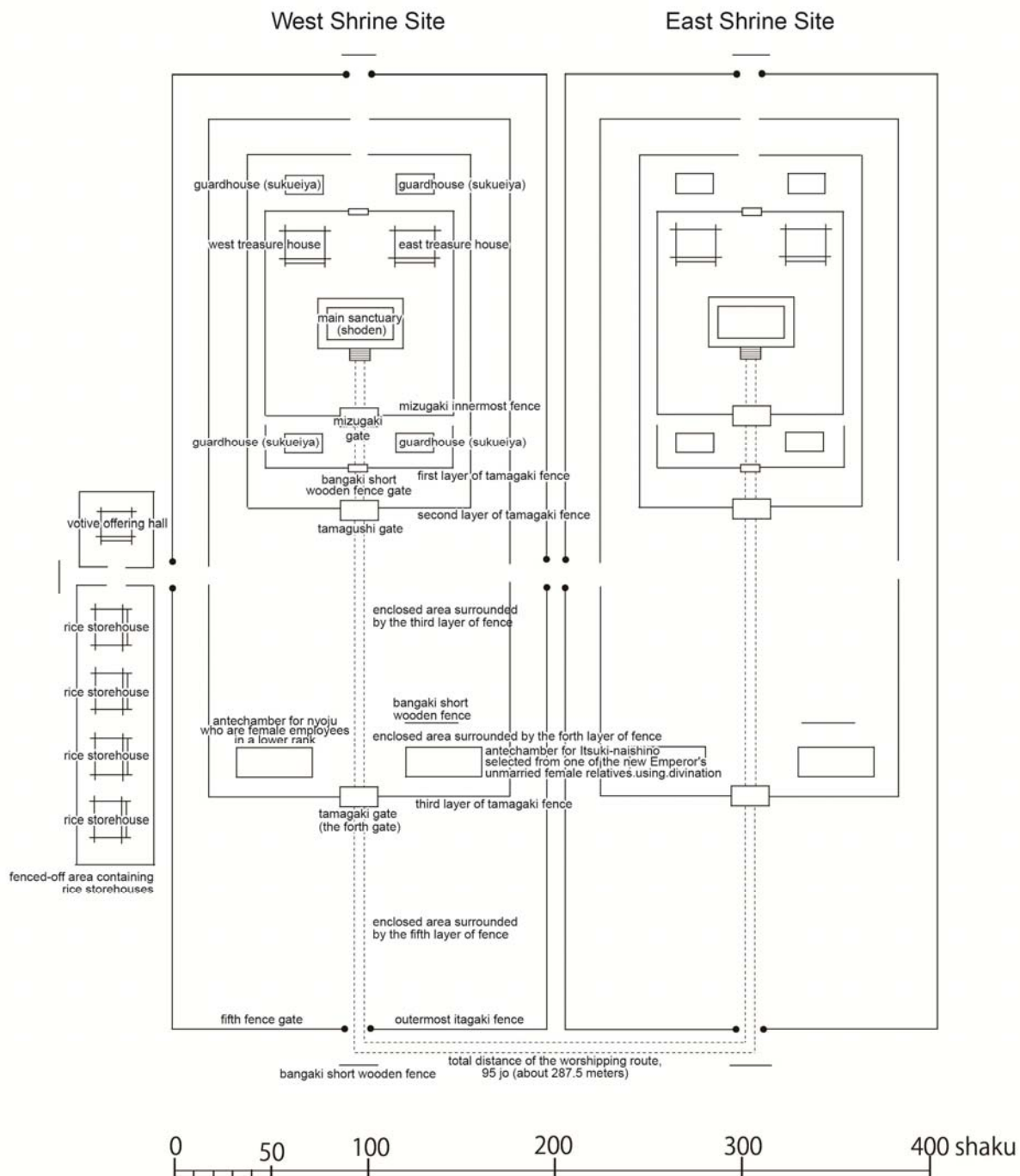


Figure 5 Plan of the presumed outlay of the *Kōtai jingū ōmiyain*
[Source: Mainly derived from “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*”. Toshio Fukuyama (1940): “A Historical Investigation into the Construction of Jingū (Shrine)” Miyatuko-jingūshiō]

This can be considered to have a linkage with the nature of the Shosanmisha-mae site where 16 iron ingots were unearthed altogether. According to “*Gishikichō*”, *imikaji-no-uchibito* in the preparation stage of the ritual weapons, farming implements and tools were manufactured from iron material supplied in the form of flat ingots for the purpose of the ritual. It can be assumed that the Shosanmisha-mae site where flat iron ingots as raw material for those products were unearthed in a large quantity had a special function of preparing ritual implements in a purified environment prior to the performance of rituals.

Food and Beverages offered to the *kami* (*shinsen*) and Cooking Implements

As objects which correspond to cooking implements, clay imitations of mortars, pestles and winnowing baskets as well as gourds and ladles were excavated at the Yamanokami site at the foot of Mt. Miwa in Sakurai City, Nara⁴⁶⁾. Their linkage with the brewing implements in the *Engishiki* is pointed out by ŌBA Iwao⁴⁷⁾. Although the date of clay imitations from the Yamanokami site cannot be confirmed, similar clay imitations of mortars, pestles, gourds and ladles are included in samples from the layer below Myōgajima mounded tomb No. 5. Wooden pestles for practical use were also excavated at the Yamanohana site. It may be considered that the relation between these cooking implements and rituals dates back to the 5th century.

It is also possible to consider that the significance of cooking implements accompanying the ritual resides in the preparation of purified food and beverages (*shinsen*) ["sacrificial offerings" (*minie*)] and that clay imitations of the implements, like those of spinning and weaving tools, symbolized the special preparation of food and beverages (*shinsen*) ["sacrificial offerings" (*minie*)] under clean and pure conditions. On Okinoshima Island, clay imitations of ladles (gourd-shaped) were also gathered from the Shosanmisha-mae site. They are similar to those found at the Yamanokami site and from the layer below Myōgajima mounded tomb No. 5. Coupled with flat iron ingots found in a large quantity, they show such a possibility that the Shosanmisha-mae site was a place related with a preparation stage of the rituals performed around huge rocks of Okitsumiya.

Zithers (*koto*) and Rituals

Another feature of rituals in the preparatory stage described in "Gishikichō" is the use of zithers (*koto*) to decipher the will of the deities, which can be seen in the section of March of the first half of the era of the Empress Jingu in the Nihonshoki. It is that Takeshiuchi-no-Sukune played a zither (*koto*), Empress Jingu played a role as a priest serving the *kami* (*kannushi*) and Nakatomi-no-Ikatsu-no-Omi as a spirit medium (*saniwa*) made a judgment on the will of the deities⁴⁸⁾. It is common to the contents of "Gishikichō" to decipher the will of deities by playing a zither.

As examples of zithers excavated from ritual sites, clay imitations which faithfully reflected board (*itazukuri koto*) and zithers with a resonator box (*sōzukuri koto*) are included in the objects unearthed from the layer below Myōgajima mounded tomb No. 5. Some parts and bridges of zithers were also unearthed at the Yamanohana site. Besides these, zithers unearthed from ritual sites dating back to the 5th century are exemplified by a feature with a water conduit at the Nangō-ō-higashi site in Gose City, Nara prefecture. Plenty of wooden items were unearthed in the vicinity of its features along with soft stone imitations of swords, disk-shaped objects with hole, comma-shaped beads and stone spindle whorls. It is considered to be a ritual site related to water⁴⁹⁾. Kinds of wooden items include a variety of objects ranging from fittings of Wa-lineage long swords, shields and other weapons, armor, wooden ritual implements such as sword-, ship-, arrowhead-shaped, etc. ones, spinning and weaving tools such as reels, upright standing implements to avoid thread from getting tangled up or becoming felted (*tatari*) and loom parts etc., hoes, paddles, basketwork such as winnowing baskets, small wooden tables, mortars, upright held pounding stick (*tategine*), mortars for fire-making (*hikiri usu*) and construction parts of buildings. Zithers and their bridges also accompanied them. The composition of wooden items is common to the clay imitations unearthed from the layer below Myōgajima mounded tomb No. 5 and the objects from the Yamanohana site. It is highly possible that these objects were related with rituals, including zithers and their bridges. Since the linkage between rituals and zithers can be confirmed at least in the 5th century, the important role of zithers in deciphering the will of god can be traced back to the 5th century. Is it not that the zither to decipher the will of deities was linked to gilt bronze miniatures of zithers as ritual implements closely related with the deities at Okinoshima ritual sites and added to divine treasures (*goshinpō* or *shinzai*) along with spinning and weaving tools?

Actions after the Ritual and the Ritual Sites, features

According to the ritual procedures in "Gishikichō" as shown in Table 4, ritual prayers, incantations (*norito*), offerings (*heihaku*), "sacrificial offerings" (*minie*) and a sprig of evergreen *Cleyera japonica* (*sakaki*) to which paper streamers or mulberry fibers are attached (*futotamagushi*) were offered. Worship and handclaps were performed in the core part of ritual. After that, with the dedicated offerings the carrying out

of the sharing a meal of the offerings after the conclusion (*naorai*) was held with the participation of priests (*negi*) and participants of the ritual, *ō-uchibito* and *monoimi*. Then, the ritual ended. The offerings (*heihaku*), "sacrificial offerings" (*minie*) served to the deities were not left unattended but put away and removed according to specified procedures. The banquet-like conclusion (*naorai*) for the ritual participants was held not at the ritual site but a different place called *naoraiin*.

It is conceivable that ritual sites (features) were left by way of the specified procedures and measures after the end of the ritual as shown by the ritual procedures in "Gishikichō". Okinoshima ritual sites are no exception.

Dedication of Offerings (*heihaku*)

First of all, let us refer to "Gishikichō" as to the treatment of offerings. In the cases of *tsukinami sai* and *kannamesai*, "sacrificial offerings" (*minie*) and rice wine offered to the *kami* (*omiki*; *shinshu*) were offered to the deities (*daijin*). On the contrary, in the cases of "toshigoi *heihaku* (*mitigura*) *Shimpō*", *kanmisosai*, and the "Visit of the *sai naishin nou* (imperial princess) – dedication of the Imperial Court's offerings on 17th of September", the dedication of offerings (*heihaku*) and sacred robe, the offer of prayer, worship and handclaps were performed as the core of the ritual in front of the main gate of the *tamagushi* fence (*tamagushi gomon*) in a distance from the main sanctuary (*shōden*) of the shrine. After that, however, whereas *toshigoi* offerings and Court's offerings on 17th of September were dedicated in the main sanctuary of Aramatsuri-no-miya, the sacred robe of the *kanmisosai* and the saddle of a divine horse (*mima*) were dedicated in the east treasure house (*higashi no hōden*). The offerings and sacred robe and the saddle of the horse trappings were put away in the main sanctuary or the treasure house (storehouse) adjoining to it, which is close to the divine mirror as the manifestation of *kami* respectively the divine spirit (*shinrei no mikata*). Thus, the site for rituals is substantially different from the final place of offerings. The kinds of divine treasures of the *Kandakara jūkyūshu* in "Shinō miya anshōzoku yō monogoto" of the "Gishikichō" were enshrined near the divine mirror as well as the Court's offerings. According to "Kōtai mikata jingū Utsushimatsurutokino *gishiki gyōji*", they were installed in a new main sanctuary prior to the transfer of the divine mirror⁵⁰⁾.

Comparison with the Okinoshima Ritual Sites

Many items of the *Kandakara jūkyūshu* are common to the objects of Types II-2 and III from Okinoshima ritual sites. The saddle of the divine horse stored in the east treasure house corresponds to the gilt bronze horse trappings of Type II-2. Of Okinoshima ritual sites, those, where such items were unearthed, are recognized to be places with the same nature as the main sanctuary or the east treasure house of the shrine where the *Kandakara jūkyūshu* and the saddle were enshrined. Accordingly, it is that all the unearthed sites were not necessarily places where the main part of the ritual was performed.

That reminds us of the depositional context of objects on top of rocks and in the shade of rocks. At Site No. 22, gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools and vessels were unearthed in the place surrounded with stones in the shade of rocks. At Site No. 7, Wa-lineage decorated single-edged long swords, shields, quivers and horse trappings were unearthed together in the shade of rocks. As previously mentioned, at Site No. 17 classified into the composition of Type I, bronze mirrors, swords, bracelets and beads seem to have been stowed away between huge rocks. Thus, the situation can be confirmed that important offerings were dedicated together in the vicinity of huge rocks.

Taking into consideration these similarities between the contents of the finds and kinds of divine treasures and beyond this the depositional context, these objects, especially those of Types II-2 and III common to "Gishikichō" can be considered to have been treated in the same way as the *Kandakara jūkyūshu* and offerings. It is presumable that offerings were dedicated near huge rocks where the divine spirit was enshrined after the ritual with offerings and ritual prayers (*norito*) was performed at a place different from the unearthed sites. The places regarded as ritual sites on top of rocks and in shade of rocks are not all the traces of rituals but also include places where important offerings as well as kinds of divine treasures were stored.

The Nature of the Huge Rocks

Then, it becomes necessary to carefully consider the nature of huge rocks at Okinoshima ritual sites. Conventionally, rocks at Okinoshima ritual sites have been expressed, say, as “conspicuous huge rocks to become *yorishiro* (place or object or person inhabited by a *kami*'s spirit when it descends for a religious ceremony or when possessing a person)” and “a landmark for the *kami* to descend from heaven”⁵¹⁾ and generally evaluated as *yorishiro* or *iwakura*, the “rock-abode” (dwelling place) to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily⁵²⁾. In particular, the expression and meaning of *yorishiro* seem to be based on the description in “*Higeko no hanashi*” by ORIGUCHI Shinobu. In this book, ORIGUCHI explains that in ancient times, a permanent shrine building was not necessary because the deity came down from heaven on the occasion of a ritual and went back to heaven after the end of the ritual⁵³⁾. According to this interpretation, divine spirit descends from heaven only when rituals are performed and does not dwell on *iwakura*.

However, if we compare Okinoshima ritual sites with the ritual procedures in “*Gishikichō*”, it is more natural to consider that huge rocks and their vicinities where finds consistent with kinds of divine treasures and offerings are unearthed correspond with the main sanctuary where the embodiment, in which the divine spirit is residing, is kept and its adjoining east and west treasure houses; and huge rocks are *mikata*, where the divine spirit is residing respectively they indicate its presence, rather than *yorishiro* where the divine spirit dwells temporarily. This is a similar notion to the following description including “sitting on the rock (*mikata ishi*)” in “*Kanwatarai-gun jinja gyōji*” of “*Gishikichō*”.

*A place of Koasakumano-yashiro. Kamu-kushitamano-mikoto. Ohtoshino-miko called Sakura-ohtoji. Sitting on the rock Mikataishi. Also, the Kokemushi-no-kami. Sitting on the rock Mikataishi. Also, the child of Ohyama-tumino-mikoto. Asakumano-mizuno-kami. Sitting on the rock Mikataishi*⁵⁴⁾.

The nature of the huge rocks at the Okinoshima ritual sites, which should not be interpreted as *yorishiro* where the deity dwells temporarily, should be re-examined regarding the context of the unearthed objects in comparison with contemporary ritual procedures. Conceivably, it has the nature of *mikata* symbolizing the divine spirit. Were sites on top of rocks and in the shade of rocks not places where precious offerings are finally stored near the divine spirit?

Rituals and Raised Floor Storehouses

According to “*Gishikichō*”, kinds of divine treasures and offerings were dedicated in the main sanctuary, while sacred robe and the saddle of the horse trappings were stored in the treasure house with the raised floor. Rice ears as an ingredient in “sacrificial offerings” (*minie*) were kept in the rice storehouse (*inagura*). Thus, there is a close relation between rituals and storehouses as storage facilities. This linkage, which was not formed in the process of establishing the Ritsuryō ritual, can be traced back to an earlier time according to the latest archaeological data.

Data to prove it are construction parts and features of buildings unearthed from ritual sites. Among ritual sites shown in Table 2, the Yamanohana site, Shizuoka prefecture is accompanied with the unearthing of construction parts of building, including lintel (*magusa*) (or a threshold *kehanashi*: 143 cm long and 10.8 cm wide), rafters (*taruki*) and ladders. At the Nagasuga-jōrisei site, Chiba prefecture, in the context of a water conduit feature door parts to be attached to a lintel (threshold *kehanashi*) (118.2 cm high and 38.1 cm wide), which were reused, were unearthed⁵⁵⁾. Besides these, there are also lintels and thresholds (*kehanashi*, 15.6 cm to 25.6 cm wide) and door parts (132 cm or higher, 36 cm or wider) in the same shape as those of the Nagasuga-jōrisei site were excavated in the vicinity a water conduit feature at the Nangō-ō-higashi site in Gose City, Nara prefecture⁵⁶⁾. All these ritual sites date from the 5th century. The excavation of lintels, doors and ladders enables us to assume that there was a storehouse with the floor raised equipped with a bolted door near the site for rituals.

As the features of buildings which seem to be features of raised floor storehouses with a structure of internal pillars (*sōbashira*) were discovered at the Oshima-kaizuka ritual site, Ukishima, Inashiki City, Ibaraki prefecture and at the Higashida site, Tateyama City, Chiba prefecture. At the Oshima-kaizuka, the remains of a building with internal pillars were detected with a scale of about 4 *ken* x 3 *ken* (span, bay;

distance between pillars, measuring from the center of the pillars) at a spot adjoining to the ritual features. According to the plan of the features in the report Haji ware dating from the 6th century was also unearthed in the detection level⁵⁷⁾. Because of the overlapping it can be assumed that the ritual features date back to around the 6th century. At the Higashida site, four buildings with internal pillars were detected. They partially overlap each other and are facing a large ditch, from which clay imitations of objects dating from the second half of the 6th century to the first half of the 7th century were unearthed in large quantities. Their scale was partially clarified: i.e., two buildings were about 2 *ken* x 3 *ken* and one building was about 3 *ken* x 4 *ken*. Although they cannot be chronologically verified, two of the four buildings had an equal direction of the line of pillars running directly towards the ditch where ritual objects were unearthed. It is considered that the large ditch was functionally interconnected with the buildings⁵⁸⁾. It can be pointed out here that those buildings with internal pillars may have been operated from the second half of the 6th century to the 7th century that is the same phase as the clay imitations and pottery unearthed in the ditch. Because a gilt bronze strep-end fitting with hairline engraving (*kebori no obisaki kanagu*) which seem to be belonging to gilt bronze horse trappings were unearthed in the vicinity of those buildings with internal pillars. It can be assumed that horse trappings offered to the deities were after the ritual put away in nearby located storehouses with internal pillars and raised floors.

Thus, the relation between rituals and raised floor storehouses can be probably traced back to the 5th century, while the original form of the offerings was established in the 5th century and presumably continued even in the 6th and 7th century as exemplified by the Oshima-kaizuka and the Higashida site. It is that on the extension, there was a link between rituals and buildings respectively storehouses with raised floors, including the main sanctuary, treasure houses, rice storehouses etc. as seen in the “Gishikichō”⁵⁹⁾. In the case of Okinoshima rituals, the vicinities of huge rocks, where the divine spirit is residing (*mikata*), may be recognized to be places similar to the main sanctuary, the east and west treasure houses of the *jingū*, all of which were constructed like raised floor storehouses and where divine treasures (*Shimpō*) and important offerings were enshrined. Such recognition probably underlies the fact that Site No. 4 as a ritual site on top of rocks has been called “*okanegura*” (treasury).

Pottery and Rituals – the Banquet-like Conclusion (*naorai*)

On the other hand, large numbers of different kinds of pottery have been unearthed mainly at sites No. 1 and 5 of Okinoshima ritual sites. Compared with the ritual procedures in “Gishikichō”, how can they be placed in the ritual? In the “Gishikichō”, a large number of tableware is utilized in the preparing and offering stage for the “sacrificial offerings” (*minie*) of the *tsukinami sai* and *kannamesai*. The preparation stage of *tsukinami sai* in 6th month is described as follows:

禰宜、内人等祭の月の十五日に、志摩國の神境の海にまかりて、満生る雜の御贄漁り、ならびに志摩の國の神戸の百姓より進上る干たる生なる贄、また、度會郡より進上る贄を、此れを御筥作の内人の作り進上る御贄机に置き、忌鍛冶内人の作り奉る御贄小刀持ちて切り備へ奉り、御鹽焼物忌の焼き備へ進上る御鹽を會(かて)備へ奉り、土師の物忌、陶の内人の作り進上る御坏に奉納れ満て備へ進る。また、酒作の物忌、清酒作の物忌、陶の内人の作り進上る御酒の缶に酒釀み備へ奉る酒を、土師・陶の御杯に納れ満て備へ進る。此れ同十六日の夜に、湯貴の御饌の祭に供へ奉る⁶⁰⁾。

From this description, we can gather how “sacrificial offerings” (*minie*) were offered to the deities (*ōkami*). That is to say, dried foods and raw marine products were cooked and served in Haji and Sue ware (陶) dishes or wooden vessels. Offerings were prepared with the attachment of salt specially roasted by Mishioyaki-no-monoimi. Sakatoku-no-monoimi and Kiyosakatoku-no-monoimi poured from a Sue ware pot (*kame*) with offering sacrificial rice wine into Haji and Sue ware dishes (*sakazuki*).

Haji and Sue ware dishes and Sue ware pots (*kame*) (缶), which were used in those days, are common to the pottery unearthed at Okinoshima sites No. 1 and 5, where Genkainada-type salt making pottery was also found. This shows that salt was directly brought from the salt making site to the ritual site. However, on the the salt-making pottery unearthed at sites No. 1 and 5 no secondary heating at all, which would leave traces of turning red, could be identified.⁶¹⁾ This enables us to assume that salt was put into an unused salt making pottery to carry from the salt making site. In particular, at Site No. 5, it can be reconstructed from

the the depositional context of such pottery that the salt making pottery was placed on vessel stands (*kidai*) in a state of being offered. This is consistent with a description in the “*Gishikichō*” that “salt (*mishio*) which Mishioyaki-no-monoimi purified and roasted” accompanied offerings. It is presumable that like the *tsukinami sai* and *kannamesai* of the Jingū, salt purified and roasted for the ritual was put into a salt making pottery, which was then placed on vessel stands and attached to offerings of food and beverages (*shinsen*) and offered. Accordingly, it is highly possible that like in front of the deity (*ōkami*) in the Jingū, Site No. 5 was a place where these offerings (*shinsen*) were offered close to the divine spirit. It seems that the salt making pottery, the vessel stands and the Sue ware pot with the rice wine were left there even after the end of the ritual for some reason.

According to the ritual procedures in the “*Gishikichō*”, on the other hand, the ritual participants that served the ritual, including the priest (*negi*) and people called *uchibito* moved to the *naoraiin* and had a big banquet-like conclusion after the end of *tsukinami sai* and the offering by the Imperial Court on 17th of September. At the big banquet after the end of offering by the Court on 17th of September, the priest (*negi*) and the people of the *uchibito* were treated with rice wine, who also received rewards. With dances (*yamatomai*) orderly performed etc., one can suggest a banquet-like nature and many kinds of tableware and pottery were used for it. With regard to Okinoshima Site No. 1, among others, it seems to be necessary to consider its nature in connection with this banquet.

Notwithstanding, Site No. 1 was not simply related with the banquet but one can also recognize a remarkable ritual component in that at the site gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools, iron imitations of swords and a large number of soft stone imitations of objects were unearthed. Moreover, the accumulated large quantities of pottery and soft stone imitations of objects at the site strongly suggest that the nature of this spot was to put away the various articles used at ritual places. In the case of Okinoshima ritual sites, it may be considered that Site No. 1, like No. 5, was formed through the re-arranging and accumulating mainly of various kinds of the pottery and soft stone imitations of objects, which were used at the offerings near huge rocks (*mikata*), after the offered food and beverages (*shinsen*) were withdrawn.

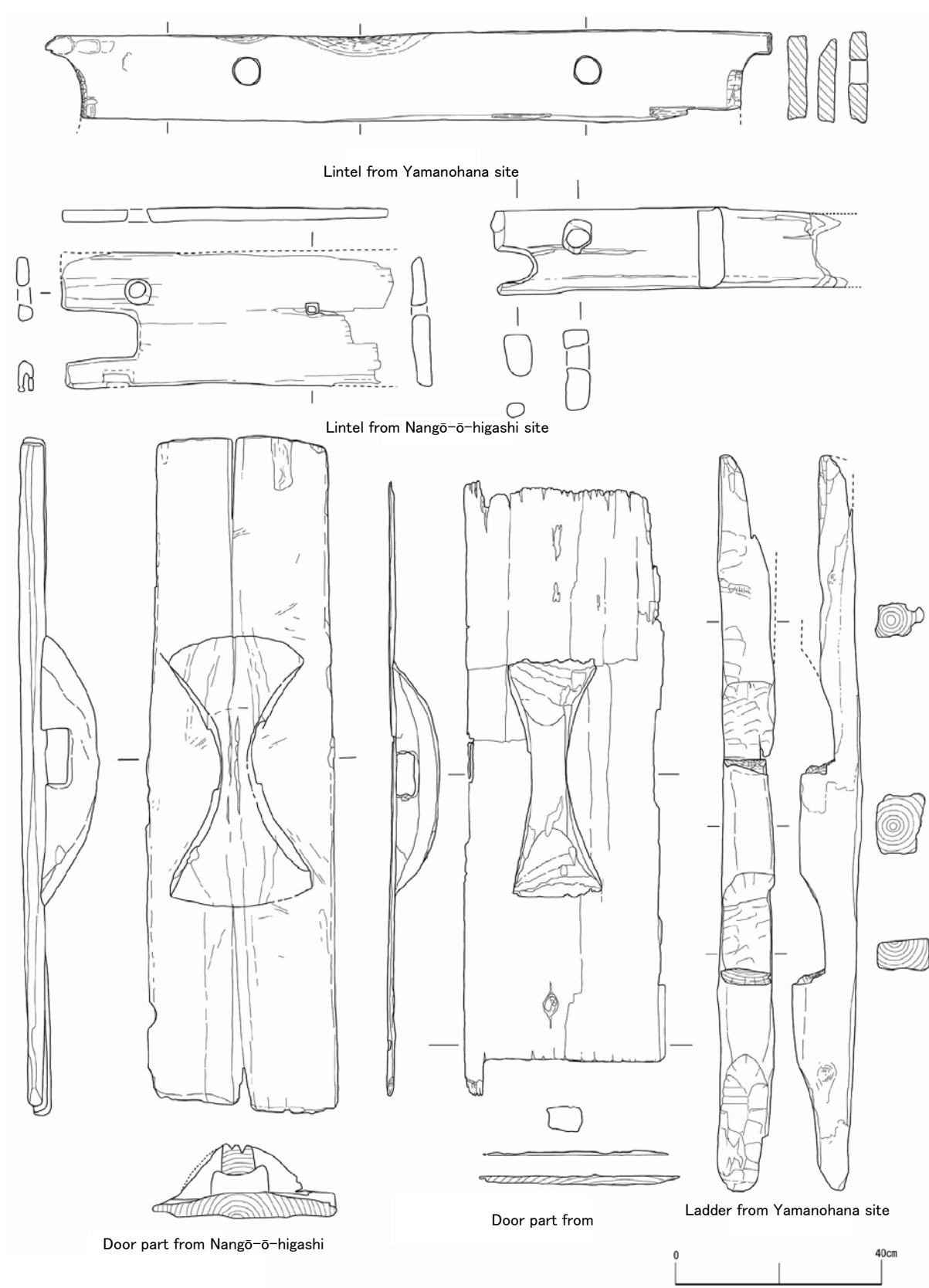


Figure 6 Measured drawings of the unearthed parts of raised floor storehouses

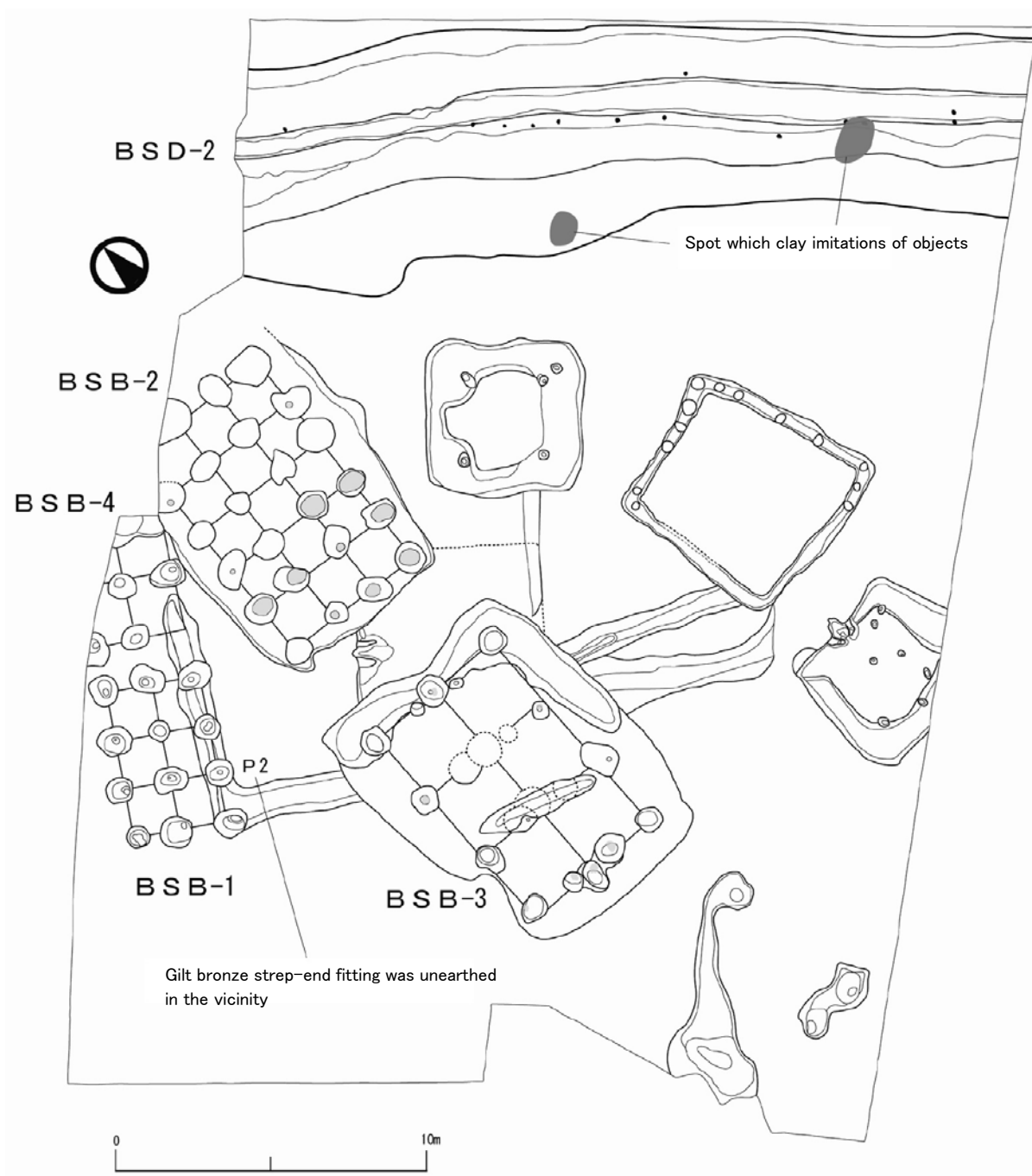


Figure 7 Plan of the arrangement of features of buildings with internal pillars and a large ditch in zone B of the Higashida site

Ritual Procedures in “Gishikichō” and the Historical Background of Okinoshima Rituals

We have compared Okinoshima ritual sites with the ritual procedures in the “Gishikichō” and inferred the nature of Okinoshima rituals. What can be considered to be the background of their similarities?

There is a similarity between the Jingū shrine and the Munakata shrine in that both were the object of state-related rituals. The districts to which these shrines belonged respectively were specially treated under the Ritsuryō system as deity district (*shingun*). With regard to the history of *shingun*, *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* describes Kashima district to which the Kashima-jingū shrine belonged, while “Gishikichō” describes the establishment and history of Take (Taki), Watarai and Iino districts.

◎『常陸国風土記』香島郡条。

難波の長柄の豊前の大朝に馭宇しめしし天皇のみ世、己酉の年、大乙上中臣□子、大乙下中臣部兎子等、惣領高向の大夫に請ひて、下總の國、海上の國造の部内、輕野より南の一里と、那珂の國造の部内、寒田より北の五里とを割きて、別きて神の郡を置きき。…中略…神戸は六十五烟なり。(本は八戸なりき。難波の天皇のみ世、五十戸を加へまつり、飛鳥の淨見原の大朝に、九戸を加へまつり、合せて六十七戸なりき。庚寅の年、編戸二戸を減し、六十五戸に定めしめき。)⁶²⁾

◎『儀式帳』神郡度會・多氣・飯野三箇郡を初むる本記行事。

右、纏向の珠城の朝廷よりこなた、難波の長柄の豊前の宮に御宇(天の下しらす)天萬豐日の天皇の御世まで、有爾鳥墓村に神庖を造りて、雑の神政所と爲て仕へ奉き。しかるに難波の朝廷天の下評を立て給ふ時に、十郷を分けて、度會の山田が原に屯倉を立てて、新家の連阿久多は督領、磯の連牟良助督仕へ奉りき。十郷を分けて、竹の村に屯倉を立てて、麻績の連廣背は督領、磯部の眞夜手は助督に仕へ奉りき。同じ朝廷の御時に、大神の宮の司といふ所を初めて、神庖の司中臣の香積の連須氣仕へ奉りき。是の人の時に、度會の山田の原に御厨を造りて、神庖といふ名を改めて、御厨と號て、即て大神宮司と號き⁶³⁾。

These descriptions suggest that the establishment of *shingun* (評 *ko'ori*) marked a groundbreaking in the era of Emperor Kōtoku in the middle of the 7th century and beyond this the ritual organization of the *jingū* and *jinja* as the center of the districts was also reorganized. This time was a transitional phase with regard towards the composition of Type III at the Okinoshima ritual sites and a transformation took place concerning the rituals. It may be considered that the Munakata district (評) to which the Munakata Shrine belonged was also designated as *shingun* in the era of Emperor Kōtoku from the middle to second half of the 7th century⁶⁴⁾.

Where Jingū shrine and Kashima-jingū shrine are located, in the transitional phase towards the Ritsuryō system the *shingun* (評 *ko'ori*) were established owing to the importance of their rituals and their connection with the Yamato kingly power. Nevertheless, the significance of rituals and the connection were not recognized anew in the middle of the 7th century. It is certain that in the Kuriya-dai group of sites probably a settlement as a dwelling place of Kanbe (allotment of households made to shrines under the Ritsuryō system) was established accompanied by soft stone imitations of objects in the middle of the 5th century and then in the middle of the 7th century the number of pit dwellings (*tateana jūkyō*) tended to rapidly increase⁶⁵⁾. In the history since the middle of the 5th century, the middle of the 7th century can be regarded as a turning point when the Kanbe settlement was established in the *shingun*. With regard to the Jingū shrine, it was handed down that a ritual organization called “*iroiro no kanmatsuridokoro*” had existed before the era of Emperor Kōtoku and had a long tradition since the era of Emperor Suinin. For both the Jingū shrine and Kashima-jingū shrine, deity districts (*shingun*) had been established within a long tradition since ancient times.

Concerning the Munakata district a similar situation is presumable. On the assumption that from archeological point of view the lineages of the Kanbe settlements of the Kashima-jingū shrine and ones in the Kuriya-dai group of sites date back to the middle of the 5th century, there was probably a turning point in the same time, namely from the first half to the middle of the 5th century. This phase is corresponding to the formation stage of Site No. 21 and the composition of Type II-1 in the case of Okinoshima rituals. It is

highly possible that the 5th century was also a turning point concerning the Jingū shrine rituals. It can be considered as follows.⁶⁶⁾ From the second half of the 4th century to the 5th century, the regions of Kashima, Katori and Awa in eastern country (*tōgoku*) on the east side of the Yamato kingly power were given more weight concerning traffic, trading and military activities targeting the northeastern region. On the west side, the importance of the Munakata region and Okinoshima Island increased in connection with the Korean peninsula and China. In this situation, ritual sites which became the core of *shingun* later, such as the Kashima-jingū shrine, the Katori-jingū shrine, the Awa-niimasu shrine and the Munakata shrine were established in a close relationship with the Yamato kingly power. In fact, in Awa district to which the Awa-niimasu shrine belonged, there is a ritual site, the Otakiri-ryō-genji site, which dates from the second half of the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century, and involves the unearthing of iron swords and arrowheads, fragments of iron plates seemingly like flat iron ingots, and various kinds of soft stone imitations of objects.⁶⁷⁾

Is it not right to consider as follows? The east and west regions of the archipelago may have been recognized as pivotal areas in the eastern and western parts⁶⁸⁾ governed (*tenka*) by the Great King Wakatakeru according to an inscription on an iron sword unearthed in the Inariyama tomb, Saitama prefecture. At the same time, the establishment of a place for enshrining the ancestor deity of the Great King or the Emperor may have been under way at Ise. The 5th century was a stage, where the state formation made progress with the five kings of Wa in the center. At this stage, attaching importance to rituals to enshrine deities to secure important points in the state territory as well as the ancestor deities of the kingly power was firmed up. Probably it led to a fundamental framework of the *kami* belief (*jingi shrinkō*) later.

Conventionally, the significance of rituals on Okinoshima has been historically evaluated in connection with kingdoms on the Korean peninsula and Chinese dynasties. However, it is necessary to place them in the process of state formation by the Yamato kingly power in the 5th century and in the archipelago, including the eastern country (*tōgoku*) and Ise. By doing so, it seems that in the context of the Yamato kingly power that attached importance to them, the establishment of deity districts (*shingun*), the true nature of the Munakata/Okinoshima rituals becomes apparent.

7. Conclusion

In the foregoing sections, we have examined Okinoshima ritual sites according to the composition of the finds and the structure of rituals. The author would like to summarize the main points of the examination as follows.

The unearthed objects can be classified by composition into three types, which changed from “Type I composed mainly of items for practical use, including mirrors, different kinds of swords, bracelets and different kinds of beads” to “Type II-1 composed mainly of different kinds of iron weapons, armor, tools, iron imitations of objects and flat iron ingots”, “Type II-2 with the addition of horse trappings, shields and decorated long swords to Type II-1” and “Type III composed mainly of iron or gilt bronze imitations of objects, soft stone imitations of objects and pottery”.

The composition of Type II-1 was formed from the first half to middle of the 5th century. This formation of the prototype of the later offerings (*heihaku*) was owed to new forging and spinning and weaving technologies and iron raw materials which were transmitted from the Korean peninsula. Common iron weapons, farming implements, tools and flat iron ingots can be identified at other ritual sites throughout the archipelago, including eastern country (*tōgoku*).

The composition of Type II-2 was formed by boosting decoration and ceremonial character of Wa-lineage single-edged long swords, socketed spears (*hoko*), shields and quivers which date from the 5th century and adding horse trappings in the phase from the end of the 5th century to the 6th century. The composition became the prototype of divine treasures (*Shimpō*) of the Jingū shrine as described in *Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*.

The composition of Type III was formed in the middle of the 7th century as a turning point in line with

the shift to the Ritsuryō ritual. A set common to the divine treasures of the Jingū shrine was established with the addition of gilt bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools, zithers (*koto*) etc.. Compared with other ritual sites, however, it seems that the tradition that spinning and weaving tools and zithers are linked with rituals existed since the 5th century.

In view of Types I to III, the transition of rituals from “on of top rocks” to “in the shade of rocks”, “partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air” and “in the open air” did not proceed in this order from a chronological point of view. In some cases, multiple compositions of objects are found at one site. In particular, the finds in the shade of rocks, from Type II-2 to Type III, were related with rituals for a long time.

In comparison with the ritual procedures in “*Gishikichō*”, ritual sites on Okinoshima are not all identical ritual places. Rather, presumably they reflect several stages of ritual, namely “the preparation of the ritual”, “the ritual” and “the handling after the ritual”. Groups of huge rocks symbolizing Okinoshima ritual sites were probably not *yorishiro* (place inhabited by a *kami*'s spirit when it descends for a religious ceremony) to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily but probably treated as *mikata* (where the divine spirit is residing respectively indicate its presence) symbolizing the divine spirit.

At the Shosanmisha-mae site, flat iron ingots were unearthed in large quantities, and we may assume it was related with a preparation stage of rituals. At Site No. 5, probably following situation could one imply: offerings of food with salt attached (*shinsen*) and sacrificial rice wine were offered in front of huge rocks as the residing place of the divine spirit (*mikata*), enabling us to imagine the appearance of the rituals.

Many of the sites evolving on top or in the shade of huge rocks were places, where after the end of rituals near the divine spirit items equivalent to offerings and divine treasures were stored. Typical examples are sites No. 16, 17 and 21 on top of rocks and No. 7, 8 and 22 in the shade of rocks. Site No. 5, where gilt bronze imitations of objects sharing with common features with divine treasures of the Jingū shrine were unearthed, probably having basically the same nature as them.

It can be assumed that Site No. 1 where plenty of pottery and soft stone imitations of objects are accumulated in a certain distance from group of huge rocks resulted after the ritual from the clearing up and accumulation of tableware and ritual implements which were used for offerings of food (*shinsen*).

In the 5th century, Munakata/Okinoshima Island were regarded by the Yamato kingly power who was still in the stage of state formation as important ritual places in the western part along with Kashima, Katori and Awa which were places for rituals in the eastern part and Ise as a ritual place for the ancestor deity of the emperor. These places were designated as deity districts (*shingun*) in the phase from the middle to second half of the 7th century.

Finally, the author would like to refer to the problem of the separation of worship or festival (*sai, matsuri*) from funeral or burying (*sō*) in the case of the Okinoshima rituals. INOUE Mitusada indicates that between phase 2 and phase 3 or from the 6th century to the 7th century, when the separation occurred, imitations of objects being exclusively used for rituals appeared, which is connected to the formation of the rites of the Ritsuryō ritual. According to the analysis provided,⁶⁹⁾ however, swords, bows and arrows, shields etc. and other various kinds of weapons and armor, spinning and weaving tools and zithers which were used until the stage of the Ritsuryō ritual. Their lineages can be apparently traced back to the 5th century. Many of the Ritsuryō ritual implements and offerings seem to have a long running tradition since the 5th century. Then, how should we consider the separation of worship or festival (*sai, matsuri*) from funeral or burying (*sō*) as INOUE pointed out? In that case, it is a problem how to understand the concepts of “funeral or burying” (*sō*) and “festival” (*sai, matsuri*). “Festival” (祭 *sai, matsuri*) means the *kami* worship (*kami matsuri*) and “funeral or burying” (葬 *sō*) means burial rites (*sōsō girei*) at the tombs (*kofun*). The status of burial is largely affected by the way how the deceased persons buried in the tombs (*kofun*) were perceived.

According to the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, the ancestors of a clan were addressed as *oya* (祖 ancestors)

or *to'otsuoya* (遠祖・上祖 remote ancestors). These expressions date back to the second half of the 5th century according to the writing of [上祖] inscribed in an iron sword unearthed from the Inariyama mounded tomb, Gyōda City, Saitama prefecture. It is conceivable that tombs (*kofun*) were closely linked with the conception of ancestors (祖). In mounded tombs dating from the 5th century, grave goods in common with items offered at ritual sites were attached to the corpse and centered at the square, platform-like projections near the constricted part (*tsukuridashi*) of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs food and drink were offered. In other words, in the tombs persons, who were ancestors (祖), were buried and worshiped in the same way as the deities.⁷⁰⁾

However, it is conceivable that the form of burial in the tombs rapidly changed as a result of the introduction of the corridor-style stone chambers with horizontal lateral (side) entrance, the end of the keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and the reduced scale of the mounds in the 6th and 7th centuries and the contents of the rites in the Kofun period also changed. By contrast, rituals for the deities (*kami* 神) may have been as a tradition transmitted together with ritual implements and offerings of the 5th century even after the 6th century and incorporated into the Ritsuryō ritual in the process of boosting decoration and ceremonial character of ritual implements. “The separation of worship or festival from funeral or burying” may be considered as a phenomenon which resulted from their clear separation under their contrastive circumstances: i.e., whereas the form of burial and funerary rituals rapidly changed, the worshiping of the deities maintained a strong tradition. The 7th century that INOUE points out as a turning point toward the establishment of the rites may have been just a process of boosting the decoration of offerings and ritual implements. In terms of the establishment of the rites, should we not seek a greater turning point in the 5th century when the items of offerings and ritual implements became fixed?

On the other hand, it can be considered that the conception of the ancestors in the tombs involved a certain awareness of lineage respectively succession concerning the dwelling place and graveyard. It may have given spiritual support to the formation of settlement sites and of groups of mounded tombs which were carried on from the 5th century on. In the Kuriya-dai group of sites in the Kashima district as previously seen, there is the Kyūchū-noko group of mounded tombs as a graveyard, where mounded tombs were continuously constructed in the 6th and 7th centuries.⁷¹⁾ The site served as a graveyard where one carried on with pit graves (*dokō bo*) and graves with cremation even from the 8th century on. Probably, a group dealing with rituals as a predecessor of the Kanbe (allotment of households made to shrines under the Ritsuryō system) came into existence in the Kuriya-dai group of sites in the middle of the 5th century and accordingly, a graveyard was formed. Supported by a certain awareness of lineage, the dwelling place and the graveyard along with the ritual authority may have been inherited from generation to generation. In comparison with the case of the Kashima district, the dwelling place of the group dealing with rituals cannot be identified at this moment in the case of Munakata/Okinoshima rituals. Nevertheless, the Tsuyazaki group of mounded tombs that continued from the first half of the 5th century to the 7th century could correspond to a graveyard of such a group. A turning point in the rituals corresponds to the formation of Site No. 21 classified into the composition of Type II-1.

In this sense, it can be said that the 5th century was the formative phase of the beliefs and practices of Shintō (*shintō shinkō*), the prototype of *kami* worship respectively rituals for the deities of heaven and earth (*jingi saishi*). It is Okinoshima ritual sites that have preserved before and after the formative phase both the state of rituals and the process to the Ritsuryō rituals in a good shape. It is not too much to say that it is the only case of an almost perfect shape of sites and objects which directly indicate the origin of ancient rituals. They have been miraculously maintained owing to deep beliefs and practices as well as the environment of a solitary island far off in the sea.

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- 17) 補注 9)の 10 文献に同じ。
- 18) 『皇太神宮儀式帳』一新造宮御装束用物事。神財十九種「金銅櫛貳基・御鏡貳面。(各徑九寸、)・麻笥貳合。加世比貳枚・鍔貳枚・銀銅櫛壹基・麻笥壹合・加世比壹枚・鍔壹枚・弓貳拾肆枚・矢貳仟貳佰隻・玉纏横刀壹柄・須加流横刀壹柄・雜作横刀貳拾柄・比女靱貳拾肆枚・蒲靱貳拾枚・革靱貳拾肆枚・靱貳拾肆枚・楯貳拾肆枚・戈貳拾肆竿(或竿從枚)。鵝尾琴一面(長八尺八寸、頭廣一尺、末廣一尺七寸、頭鵝尾、廣一尺八寸。)」『神道大系 神宮編一 皇太神宮儀式帳・止由氣儀式帳・太神宮諸雜事記』(1979) 神道大系編纂会 による。ただし、『群書類從』第 1 輯神祇部では、この部分は「寶殿物十九種」とされ、「鵝尾琴一面」は含まれておらず、『大神宮儀式解』では「鵝尾琴一面」が加えられている。
『延喜式』卷 4 神祇 4 伊勢太神宮 神寶廿一種「金銅多多利二基。(高各一尺一寸六分。土居徑三寸六分。)金銅麻笥二合。(口徑各三寸六分。尻徑二寸八分。深二寸二分。)金銅賀世比二枚。(長各九寸六分。手長五寸八分。)金銅鍔二枚。(莖長各九寸三分。輪徑一寸一分。)銀銅多多利一基。(高一尺一寸六分。土居徑三寸五分。)銀銅麻笥一合。(口徑三寸六分。尻徑二寸八分。深二寸二分。)銀銅賀世比一枚。(長九寸六分。手長五寸八分。)銀銅鍔一枚。(莖長各九寸三分。輪徑一寸一分。)梓弓廿四枝(長各七尺以上八尺以下。塗赤漆。附纏縹組。)征箭一千四百九十隻(長二尺三寸。鏃長二寸五分。以烏羽作之。鏃塗金漆。筈塗朱沙。)又箭七百六十隻。(長二尺四寸。鏃。斧。箭以鷲羽作之。以雜丹漆畫之。)玉纏横刀一柄。(柄長七寸。鞘長三尺六寸。)柄頭横着銅塗金長三寸八分(片端廣一寸五分。片端廣一寸。)頭頂著仆鏝一勾。(徑一寸五分。玉纏十三町。四面有五色玉。)著五色組長一丈。阿志須恵組四尺。柄著勾金長二尺。(著鈴八口。琥碧玉二枚。)金鮒形一隻。(長「各

六寸。廣二寸五分。)著緒紫組長六尺。袋一口。(表大暈綢錦。裏緋綾帛。各長七尺。)須加流横刀一柄(柄長六寸。鞘長三尺。其鞘以金銀泥畫之。柄以鶺鴒羽纏之。)柄勾皮長一尺四寸。裏小暈綢錦。(廣一寸。)押鏡形金六枚。柄枚押小暈綢錦。(長三寸一分。廣一寸五分。)四角立乳形著五色組。長一丈。阿志須恵組四尺。金鮒形一隻。(長六寸。廣二寸五分。)著紫組。長六尺。袋一口。(表大暈綢錦。裏緋綾帛。各長七尺。)雜作横刀廿柄。(櫻柄長六寸五分。鞘長二尺七寸。漆塗即裏緋帛并倭文。柄以烏羽纏之。)節別纏小暈綢錦。阿志須恵。(長各三尺三寸。廣各一寸二分。)著緋紺帛緒。長九尺。(廣二寸五分。)姫鞆廿四枚(長各二尺四寸。上廣六寸。下廣四寸五分。矢(挾)口方二寸五分。以檜作之。以錦黏表。以緋帛著裏。)著緒四處。並用紫革。(長各二尺。廣一寸三分。)箭四百八十隻。(以烏羽作之。)蒲鞆廿枚。(長各二尺。上廣四寸五分。下廣四寸。以檜作之。編蒲著表。以鹿皮著頂。以丹畫裏。著緒四處。)並用紫革。(長各二尺。廣一寸。)箭一千隻。(以烏羽作之。)革鞆廿四枚。(長各一尺八寸。上廣四寸五分。下廣三寸八分。以調布黏之。塗黑漆著緒四處。)並用紫革。(長各二尺。廣一寸。)箭七百六十八隻。(以鶺鴒羽作之。)鞆廿四枚。(以鹿皮縫之。胡粉塗以墨畫之。納持麻笥二合。徑一尺六寸五分。深一尺四寸五分。)著緒一處。用紫革。(長各一尺七寸。廣二分。)楯廿四枚。(長各四尺四寸五分。上廣一尺三寸五分。下廣一尺四寸。厚一寸。)杵廿四竿。(長各一丈二寸。鋒金八寸五分。徑一寸四分。本金長二寸八分。徑一寸四分。本末塗金漆。)瑠璃琴一面。(長八尺八寸。頭廣一尺。末廣一尺七寸。頭瑠璃尾廣一尺八寸。)」新訂増補国史大系『交替式・弘仁式・延喜式前篇』による。

- 19) 深谷 淳(2008):「金銀装倭系大刀の変遷」;『日本考古学』第26号 日本考古学協会
- 20) 千家相比古(1980):「第三章考察 III 胡籙について」;『上総 山王山古墳発掘調査報告書』 上総山王山古墳発掘調査団
- 21) 原田大六「第三章 沖ノ島の祭祀遺物」 補注6)文献、『沖ノ島 宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡』に同じ。
- 22) 千賀 久(1991):「馬具」;『古墳時代の研究 8 古墳II 副葬品』 雄山閣
- 23) 『南羽鳥遺跡群III—中岫第1遺跡F地点—』(1999)財団法人印旛郡市文化財センター
- 24) 『館山市東田遺跡』(2008) 財団法人千葉県文化財センター
- 25) 倉野憲司他校注(1958):『日本古典文学大系 古事記 祝詞』 岩波書店
- 26) 秋本吉郎校注(1958):『日本古典文学大系 風土記』 岩波書店
- 27) 坂本太郎他校注(1965):『日本古典文学大系 日本書紀 下』 岩波書店
- 28) 補注26)に同じ。
- 29) 白石太一郎(1993):「玉纏大刀考」;『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 故土田直鎮館長献呈論文集』第50集
- 30) 「神財八種。大刀七柄。(金作一柄。黒作六柄。)楯一枚。(長四尺五寸。)杵一枚。(長一丈六尺。)弓二張。胡録三具。(皮作一具。黒葛作二具。)呉床一具(漆塗、長二尺三寸。)青毛土馬一匹(高一尺、鞍立髪金飴。)鏡一面。(徑三寸、納緋囊。)」『神道大系 神宮編一』による。
- 31) 佐田 茂「考察編 第2章第8節 1号遺跡出土の土器」 補注6)『宗像沖ノ島』に同じ。
- 32) 山崎純男(1994):「6 福岡県」;『日本土器製塩研究』 近藤義郎編 青木書店
- 33) 『令集解』卷十六(選敍令)不得用三等以上親。「(中略)釋云。養老七年十一月十六日太政官處分。伊勢國渡相郡。竹郡。安房國安房郡。出雲國意宇郡。筑前國宗形郡。常陸國鹿嶋郡。下總國香取郡。紀伊國名草郡。合八神郡。聽連任三等以上親也。(後略)」新訂増補国史大系『令集解 第二』
- 34) 『鹿島神宮駅北部埋蔵文化財調査報告書XVII』(1997) 財団法人鹿嶋市文化スポーツ振興事業団
- 35) 補注26)に同じ。
- 36) 笹生 衛(2010):「『常陸国風土記』と古代の祭祀—考古資料から見た鹿島神宮と浮島の祭祀—」;『日本考古学協会 2010 年度兵庫大会 研究発表資料集』
- 37) 『西別府祭祀遺跡』(2000) 熊谷市教育委員会
- 38) 岡崎 敬「総括編 第2章 律令時代における宗像大社と沖ノ島」補注6)文献、『宗像沖ノ島』に同じ。及び補注5)文献など。
- 39) 補注25)文献に同じ。
- 40) 新訂増補国史大系『交替式・弘仁式・延喜式前篇』
- 41) 補注27)に同じ。
- 42) 『皇太神宮儀式帳』の読みと解釈は、『神道大系 神宮編一』及び中川経雅『大神宮叢書 大神宮

- 儀式解 前篇、大神宮儀式解後篇・外宮儀式解』(1970・1976) 臨川書店 を参考にしている。
- 43) 中川経雅(1976):『大神宮儀式解後篇・外宮儀式解』 臨川書店
 - 44) 坂本太郎他校注(1967):『日本古典文学大系 日本書紀 上』 岩波書店
 - 45) 『神道大系 神宮編一 皇太神宮儀式帳・止由氣儀式帳・太神宮諸雜事記』(1979) 神道大系編纂会
 - 46) 高橋健自・西崎辰之助(1920):「三輪町大字馬場字山の神古墳」;『奈良県史蹟勝地調査会報告』7 奈良県
 - 47) 大場磐雄「4 三輪の神奈備」 補注 4)文献に同じ。
 - 48) 「三月の壬申の朔に、皇后、吉日を選びて、齋宮に入りて、親ら神主と爲りたまふ。則ち武内宿禰に命して琴撫かしむ。中臣烏賊津使主を喚して、審神者にす。」 補注 44)に同じ。
 - 49) 『奈良県立橿原考古学研究所調査報告第 75 冊 南郷遺跡群Ⅲ』(2003) 奈良県立橿原考古学研究所
 - 50) 「亥の時に始めて、然即ち、御装束物等、悉く持ち参入て、参入り内院の中の御門にて使ひの中臣、新宮仕へ奉りて遷し奉る状、并に御装束儲け備へ奉る状を告刀申す。かく申し畢て、使ひの中臣一人、ならびに大神宮司、御装束物を持たしめて、新宮に参入て、正殿の御橋の下に侍ふ。(東は使いの中臣、西は大神宮司。)爾の時大物忌先づ参上りて、手付け初め、次に禰宜参上りて、正殿の戸開き奉りて、正殿の内の四角に燈油燃して、御装束具へ進み畢、皆悉く罷り出づ。』『神道大系 神宮編一』にもとづき読み下し。
 - 51) 補注 2)、佐田文献に同じ。
 - 52) 小田富士雄編(1988):『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』 吉川弘文館 など。
 - 53) 「標山系統の練り物の類を通じて考へて見るに、天神は決して常住社殿の中に鎮座在すものではなく、祭りの際には一旦他處に降臨あつて、其處よりそれぞれの社へ入り給ふもので、戻りも此と同様に、標山に乗つて一旦天降りの場に歸られ、其處より天馳り給ふものと言はねばならぬ。神社を以て神の常在の地とするのは勿論、神の依ります處とすることも、尠くとも天つ神の場合に於いては、我々の従ふこと能はざる見解である。
折口信夫「髻籠の話」;『郷土研究』第 3 巻第 2・3 號、第 4 巻第 9 號 1915・6 (『折口信夫全集』第 2 巻 中央公論社 1965)
 - 54) 『神道大系 神宮編一 皇太神宮儀式帳・止由氣儀式帳・太神宮諸雜事記』(1979) 神道大系編纂会 にもとづき読み下し。
 - 55) 補注 9)の 7 文献に同じ
 - 56) 補注 49)に同じ。
 - 57) 補注 9)の 3 文献に同じ。
 - 58) 補注 24)に同じ。
 - 59) 福山敏男(1940):『神宮の建築に関する史的調査』 造神宮司廳
 - 60) 補注 54)に同じ。
 - 61) 筆者が遺物を実見し確認するとともに、宗像大社文化財管理事務局学芸員の重住真貴子氏から御教示を受けた。
 - 62) 補注 26)に同じ。
 - 63) 補注 54)に同じ。
 - 64) 神郡は、『日本書紀』持統天皇 6 年(692)の 3 月壬午(17 日)と閏 5 月丁未(13 日)条に、伊勢神宮の神郡が確認できる。補註 27)に同じ。
 - 65) 補注 36)に同じ。
 - 66) 穂積裕昌(2008):「考古学から探る伊勢神宮の成立と発展」;『第 16 回春日井シンポジウム資料集』春 日井市教育委員会文化財課
 - 67) 補注 9)の 8 文献に同じ。
 - 68) 稲荷山古墳から出土した鉄剣銘の「辛亥年」は A.D.471 年とされ、「獲加多支鹵大王寺在斯鬼宮時吾左治天下」からは 5 世紀後半段階に大王の称号と統治領域を示す「天下」の認識が存在したことを示す。「治天下獲□□□鹵大王」の銘文は、熊本県江田船山古墳から出土した鉄剣にも刻まれており、「天下」の範囲は東国と九州を含めた範囲と考えてよいだろう。
『埼玉稲荷山古墳』(1980) 埼玉県教育委員会

『埼玉稲荷山古墳辛亥銘鉄剣修理報告書』(1982) 埼玉県教育委員会
小川良祐他編(2003):『ワカタケル大王とその時代ー埼玉稲荷山古墳』 山川出版社

- 69) 補注 5)に同じ。
- 70) 笹生 衛(2011):「「祖・おや」の信仰と系譜ー考古資料と集落・墓域の景観から見た古代の祖先祭祀」;『國學院大學研究開発推進機構紀要』第3号
- 71) 補注 36)に同じ。

Stone Ritual Items and the Stones of Okinoshima Island in the Fifth Century

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Abstract: It has long been believed that the archaeological sites of Munakata Okinoshima can be arranged in distinct chronological phases. However, the analysis of stone-made objects found at these sites has shown that some of them were used in different phases. The findings of this analysis have made it likely that these sites were not stand-alone entities but part of a single archaeological site made up of ritual sites and *kura* or storages of votive offerings. The material stones and manufacturing technology have shown that the ritual items and votive offerings, which had been brought in directly from the Kinai district, began to come from different sources in the third score of years of the 5th century. First, ritual items came to be sourced locally while votive offerings remained sourced from the Kinai district. Eventually, stone-made objects were all produced locally using stone from the Sangun metamorphic belt. It has also been confirmed that some stone-made objects from Site No. 1 had been produced locally. Furthermore, a comparison with the Jungmak-dong Ritual Site has substantiated the hypothesis that Munakata Okinoshima was a special place where worshippers visited for the sole purpose of performing rituals, not one of the ports of call where rituals were practiced.

Keywords: stone ritual items, ritual sites, votive offerings, *kura*, Five Wa Kings

1. Stone Ritual Items and Their Material Stones

(1) Lineage of stone ritual items

a) Beginning of the use of green stones for ritual items

Stone ritual items are made chiefly of talc or talc schist. This is because they are easily workable with iron implements; the hardness of talc is 1, that of talc schist, which includes greenstone and serpentine, is approximately 2, while that of iron implements is 5 or 5.6. However, stone-made objects are not derived from talcose materials but from precious stone articles made of green jasper or fine green tuff, both of which measure 6 to 7 in terms of hardness.

In ancient China, there was a mythological world in which different Taoist immortals lived according to a hierarchy, at the top of which were the Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wang mu) in the mountain of Kunlun Shan as well as the King Father of the East (Dong Wang fu). The Taoist immortality thought can be interpreted as a simplified version of the Chinese ruling mechanism with a parallel in geographical worldview, status hierarchy, and social structure. This easy-to-understand thought may well have had no small influence on the nascent phase of the Kofun period, to which the Yamatai kingdom belonged chronologically. It was believed that humans could also attain eternal youth and immortality. The ruling class tried wizardry, elixirs, and other means to attain such a status. And jade was one of the objects used for that purpose.

The mythology had it that Jade abounded at the four corners of the foot of the Kunlun Shan mountain and that people could become a Taoist immortal by drinking the nectar or dew of jade (*yu jiang* 玉漿 or *yu ya* 玉液), which was administered by the goddess dwelling at the top of the Dahua 太華 mountain, *Mingxing yunu* 明星玉女. Jade oil (*yu qao* 玉膏) and jade pistil (*yu xin* 玉蕊) were also believed to constitute the diet for Taoist immortals or an elixir of life. Because it was believed that jade originally belong to the Taoist immortal world and appeared in the world of mortals by chance, jade came to symbolize the status and power of the emperor and feudal lords and became the necessities for them to attain immortality or ward off evils. “*Rites of Zhou (Zhou li)*”, in its chapter called ‘*chun gong zong bo* 春宮宗伯’, states: “以

玉作六器。以禮天地四方。以蒼璧禮天。以黃琮禮地。” This likely had a theoretical influence on the Japanese practice of using blue (green) for worshiping divine spirits.

Under the influence of ancient China, the ancient Japanese placed a high value on the materials and colors of precious stone objects in making prestige goods and treasured items. Green jasper and fine green tuff came to be used as the materials for such objects probably because the tradition of using jadeite since the Jōmon period was influenced by the ancient Chinese tradition of using nephrite. The problem is that no material stone has been found to fill the transitional gap between these hard stones to soft talcose materials for precious stone objects. In fact, green jasper and talc even coexisted for some time. This phenomenon suggests that both were used for precious stone objects and that the material and color failed to serve as criteria for differentiation. Interpreting this puzzling state of affairs requires considering the special importance attached to where the material stone came from. The source mattered especially for the Japanese, a people who has traditionally had a special concept of stone; from them, the materials for treasures and sacred treasures must come from a sacred place. Among such sacred places were Mt. Kasen in Izumo (the eastern portion of present-day Shimane prefecture), which produced green jasper. The ancient Japanese believed that Mt. Kasen was a divine mountain and that the green jasper produced there was sacred stone because it was the product of the divine will. In addition, the places that produced the material for precious stone objects were likely considered to be special places that served as a gate to the Taoist immortal world, as has been discussed earlier. The notion of branding production areas emerged as a result. The brand of Izumo-produced comma-shaped beads and cylindrical beads showed that they were excellent precious stone objects with high spiritual powers. In this context, the talcose rock and serpentine that had been formed in the process of nearby green jasper and fine green tuff being formed in Mt. Kasen assumed a major property that they occurred in the vicinity of such precious hard rocks. When the ancient Japanese entered the sacred mountain by following the course of a river to collect material stone, they found green jasper and talc from two outcrops rather close to each other. They treasured talc likewise because what mattered was not the hardness or color of the material but the fact that the material had been obtained from a sacred place. In view of the influence of precious stone objects, especially the Taoist immortality thought, it is reasonable to assume that these stone materials were treasured as a product of the Taoist immortal world or as a means to attain eternal youth and immortality. In sum, hard stone was supplanted by softer, talcose materials at early stages less likely because the latter were more workable and more likely because they were more precious owing to their geographical brand.

b) The emergence of stone ritual items

The first known example of soft stone used for stone funeral/ritual items, which traditionally used hard stone, can be found in the chair-shaped and comb-shaped objects of the second score of years of the fourth century that have been found in the Mesuriyama tomb in Nara prefecture. The second example is provided by the Tomio-maruyama tomb in Nara prefecture, which yielded many tools made of metamorphic rock, along with bracelets, staff-shaped objects and lidded vessels, all made of hard stone. Stone miniatures of objects emerged as an equal substitute for iron miniatures of objects. This event likely represents a transition to the use of funeral/ritual items made of talc schist. The Samida-takarazuka Tomb, which is considered contemporary with the Tomio-maruyama Tomb, has yielded stone funeral items that have similar characteristics but bear a perforation that is essentially unnecessary for *meiki* [or *ming qi* in Chinese] (objects [grave goods] specially made exclusively for accompanying the deceased person [or for being placed in the grave]). Given its diameter and position, this perforation is likely designed so that this item can be suspended from above. The author believes that this dramatic change in the position in use of *meiki* from being placed on something to being suspended from above marks the emergence of items exclusively designed for ritual purposes. Such suspended objects were typically used in rituals performed in *himorogi* (sacred precincts). Different experts offer different explanations as to when *himorogi* rituals emerged and how they should be interpreted. Stories about subjection ceremony in *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan) tell the memories of rites in which treasures were suspended from above, although they were different from *himorogi* rituals in the strict sense of the word. A hanging perforation in a treasure that served as *meiki* suggests that *himorogi* rituals became part of the cult of the period of the Samida-takarazuka Tomb.

c) The development of stone ritual items

The Jōmon period is characterized by symbiotic beliefs; rituals in this period were meant to pray for ancestral spirits in the belief that communication with the afterlife was possible through the spirits of the deceased. The Yayoi period is marked by the intensification of international exchanges and the resultant introduction of thoughts from the Asian continent amid the changing international situation. The Kofun period witnessed the conceptualization of gods of heaven and earth, the systematization of *Kamimatsuri*, and the unification of ritual procedures probably at the initiative of the central polity. It is likely that these three major moves were completed by the period of the so-called “Five Wa Kings” and these systems gradually assumed local characteristics in many parts of ancient Japan since then. The localization process likely continued until various interventions were made under the *Ritsuryō* system in the Nara period, and different local characteristics remained in the form of ancient rites peculiar to different shrines. Incidentally, by the time Buddhism permeated into Japan in the Heian period, there were three divisions of role: the gods who detested defilement, the Way of Yin and Yang (*Onmyō-dō*) which enshrined *Taishanfujun* (泰山府君) who governed life and death, and Buddhism which formed the life after death. The Japanese accepted the worldview that embraced the afterlife because of their Jōmon-like religious beliefs, that is to say, religious beliefs deep-rooted in the spiritual and cultural climate of Japan.

The stone funeral/ritual items differed in three parts of Japan: the Kantō region, the Kinai district, and the regions to the west of the Kinai district.

In the Kantō region, there were only a few sites that produced stone ritual items that had a direct link with the bead-making of the Yayoi period and the early Kofun period; they were concentrated largely in the ancient provinces of Kōzuke (present-day Gunma prefecture) and Shimousa (the northern part of present-day Chiba prefecture and surrounding areas). The use of stone ritual items began in the Bōsō Peninsula in the southeastern part of the region. This makes it difficult to rule out the possibility that the technology to produce these items was transferred via the ancient Tōkai-dō (land route) or a sea route. In fact, *Kogo-syūi* (the record about the old tradition of the “Inbe” clan) tells of a story that various groups of craftspeople, collectively called “Inbe”, settled in this area. By the third score of the 5th century, hub sites for producing stone ritual items emerged. The number of the stone ritual items increased explosively in the fourth and fifth scores of the century. For this to happen, a number of hurdles must have been cleared. Among them were the development of a broad-based physical distribution mechanism connecting stone-producing areas with stone-supplying areas (areas supplying stone ritual items); the securing of stone-item-producing areas, the production technology, and artisans; the establishment of a mechanism for delivering products to leading chieftains from the production areas; the consolidation of a mechanism for distribution from upper to lower chieftains; and the understanding toward and dissemination of the rituals using such stone items, including their thought, procedures, and prayers. These hurdles could not have been overcome without the establishment of a political system in the Kantō region. And this in turn may not have been possible without the intervention by the Kinai district. In other words, the establishment of such a political system can be interpreted as a reflection of the policy by the Five Wa Kings toward the Kantō region, which was lagging behind in terms of social development as seen from the Kinai district. As a result of such intervention, the area of the Sanbagawa metamorphic belt which straddles the border between Gunma and Saitama prefectures attracted the attention as a major stone producing area. The subsequent river transport of stone came to connect the stone-yielding area with stone-item-producing areas politically. This was how three major areas producing stone ritual items were established: the Kōzuke production area along the Kabura and Kanna rivers with the stone-yielding area in the background; the Shimousa production area along the coast facing the inland sea of Katori-no-umi; and the Shimotsuke production area near Oyama and Yūki cities in the upper reaches of the Nishinire River. It is interesting to note that these three production areas used stone from the Sambagawa metamorphic belt, a material familiar to the *Inbe* clans in the ancient provinces of Awa (present-day Tokushima prefecture) and Kii (present-day Wakayama prefecture and the southern part of Mie prefecture) further to the west.¹⁾

In the Kinai district, recent evidence shows that the material stone was produced in the northern Kinki region and Wakayama prefecture. The traditional notion that the material stone for stone funeral/ritual items produced in the Kinai district all came from the Sanbagawa belt in the Kii province is now refuted. Experts now maintain that only a small portion of the stone from the Kinogawa River basin, which constitutes part of the Sanbagawa belt, was used at the Soga site in the ancient province of Yamato (present-day Nara

prefecture). The X-ray fluorescence chemical analysis of the stone ritual items found in the Kōnami site in Higashiōsaka city and the Ikeshima-Fukumanji site, which straddles Higashiōsaka city and Yao city in Ōsaka prefecture, provides powerful evidence that a greater portion came from an area within the Sekinomiya peridotite body which extends from Seichō to the Mampuku-ji temple in Yōka-chō, Yabu city, Hyōgo prefecture.²⁾ Experts point out a tendency that each consuming settlement made its own production.³⁾ Many questions remain unanswered, however. They include how the centralized power was involved in the bead-making, how the bead-making was integrated into the lives of the powerful families involved and people in the settlements under their control, and how stone funeral items were produced. Some archaeologists regard settlements that have yielded unfinished products as production sites, but only a few byproduct flakes or other archaeological finds have been discovered which clearly show the existence of a bead workshop. This large gap should be filled by further research.

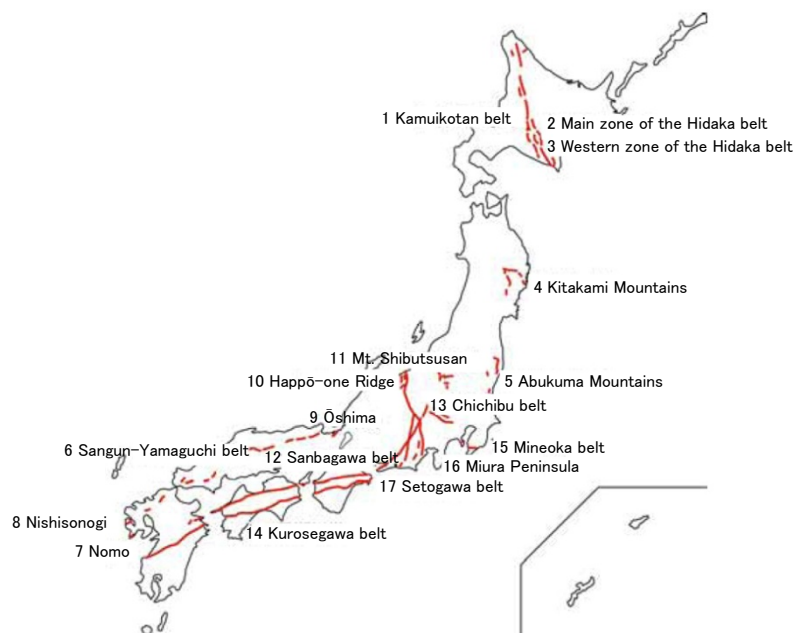


Figure 1 Distribution of metamorphic belts

(2) Talc-producing areas

Mineralogically speaking, talc is a clay mineral made up of magnesium hydroxide and silicate. Its chemical formula is $\text{H}_2\text{Mg}_3(\text{SiO}_3)_4$, $\text{Mg}_3\text{Si}_4\text{O}_{10}$, or $\text{Mg}_3(\text{Si}_4\text{O}_{10})(\text{OH})_2$. Petrologically, talc is an ultrabasic igneous rock formed by the hydrothermal alteration of ultramafic rock, especially serpentine or of basicity tuff or siliceous dolostone. Serpentine is transformed into talc and magnesite, while basicity tuff or siliceous dolostone is turned into talc and calcite through the transformation of dolomite and quartz. Although these two kinds of talc are different in chemical composition, archaeologists collectively call them talc or talc schist. Talc is white or milky white in color and glossy. Talc is formed when fine flake crystals are aggregated with other minerals; it rarely occurs as a single large crystal. Impurities make talc fuliginous or green in color. The Mohs hardness of talc is 1-1.5.

Serpentine, from which talc is formed, can ubiquitously be found in a peridotite complex in the form of an alteration product of pyroxene, amphibole or olivine. It entails chlorite or green schist. Pyroxene is the main component of the ore called jade (or jadeite). Jadeite is formed near a serpentine body.

Quartz in siliceous rocks is the main component of green jasper and chalcedony.

As noted earlier, talc occurs in the vicinity of jade (jadeite), green jasper, agate, rock crystal, fine green tuff, or schalstein.

In Japan, these ultrabasic rocks are known to occur mainly in the following 17 metamorphic belts (39

production areas):

- 1 Kamuikotan belt (Pinneshiri, Horokanai, Mt. Yūbaridake, Mukawa River, Saru River, Mitsuishi)
- 2 Main zone of the Hidaka belt (Horoman, Wenzaru and Pankenūshi)
- 3 Western zone of the Hidaka belt (Tottabetsu)
- 4 Kitakami Mountains (Mt. Hayachine, Miyamori, and Motai)
- 5 Abukuma Mountains
- 6 Sangun-Yamaguchi belt (Tari and Misaka, Ochiai and Hokubō, Sekinomiya, Wakasa, Izushi, Mt. Ōe, Ube, Sasaguri, Kyūragi)
- 7 Nomo
- 8 Nishisonogi
- 9 Ōshima
- 10 Happō-one Ridge
- 11 Mt. Shibutsu
- 12 Sanbagawa belt (Mt. Higashiakaishi, Fujiwara, Shiraga, Ryūmon, Toba, Irisawai, Mt. Kurouchi, the area north of Lake Hamana)
- 13 Chichibu belt (Sanchū graben)
- 14 Kurosegawa belt
- 15 Mineoka belt
- 16 Miura Peninsula
- 17 Setogawa belt

The Sanbagawa belt is a metamorphic belt that extends from the Kantō region to Shikoku region, providing a large amount of stone for stone ritual items. The Sangun-Yamaguchi belt includes some of the stone-yielding areas of the Kofun period. As is discussed in detail later, the information on these stone yielding areas provides especially important input in examining the origins of stone ritual items.

(3) Criteria for observing stone ritual items

a) Basic criteria

The criteria for observing stone ritual items include the shape, the drilling method, the finishing method, the trace that the damage of the production process is not revised, and the material stone.⁴⁾

Characteristic differences in these criteria resulted from the extent to which the producers and consumers sought the standardization of designs and skills. The actual production volume is generally perceived to be inversely proportional to the degree of perfection sought.

Fine products were produced in small quantities because they required meticulous attention, much time, and generally high levels of skills for each item. Due to their scarcity, fine products were valuable and exclusively used by chieftains (the rich) before they came to be widely used.

The subsequent mass production of stone ritual items meant less production time and the minimum number of processes for each item, resulting in crude products. The mass production of inferior articles in turn led to low levels of skills. The diminishing scarcity inevitably reduced the value of the products. Increased consumption meant a broader base of users. Common use at the community level signified a new phase of production.

The factors that determined the fineness or crudeness of the products were at the root of the characteristic differences in the above-mentioned criteria that changed over time. Stone ritual items underwent a major transition from quality to quantity and from fine products to crude products. There was a growing bipolarization between artisans who maintained high production skills and those whose skills degenerated markedly. Behind this bipolarization lay a transition from the exclusive use by the elite to the wider use by common people; a transition from the use for esoteric rituals to the use for exoteric, simplified rituals; and the increase in demand as the result of simplification of rituals.

In sum, the following fundamental changes occurred over time:

- The finished quality deteriorated.
- Skill levels decreased.
- The production time diminished.
- Low-volume production was superseded by mass production.
- The value and scarcity dwindled.
- The limited use changed to a wider use.

These changes and their interrelations are reflected in the stone ritual items that have been found.

b) Criteria in relation to shape

In observing the shapes of stone ritual items, it is important to identify degrading trends in form and skill from the prototypes or nascent products. Stone funeral/ritual items were most stable in shape and exquisite in design at their nascent phase rather than at their flourishing or waning phases. The criteria in relation to shape therefore concern the longitudinal shape, the cross section, and the position of the perforation at each of these phases.

(i) The longitudinal shape

The criterion for the longitudinal shape is the extent of progressive degeneration from the prototype or the nascent product. The degeneration in shape was caused by two major factors: the extent to which the original design was retained and the extent to which design intricacies were omitted. The first factor depended on whether the artisans were fully familiar with how the item in question had been created, including the original design, and thus carefully mindful of its shape. When an already degenerated article served as a model, the original shape was not maintained and the intrinsic value was not understood. The general result was fast degeneration. The second factor depended not only on the time and skills the artisans devoted but also their will to maintain the original shape. They tended to lose such will due to imitative repetitions, allowing the imitations they produced to be used as consumable goods..

(ii) The cross section

The cross section provides a hint as to how much stone was used for producing the article. The amount of stone used in turn indicates how much wastage was allowed in the phase in which the article was made, because a thick and exquisite article required a large and thick piece of stone. In the phase of scarcity in which quality took precedence over quantity, articles were designed to be thick just as their prototypes or so-called precious stone articles. In the phase of mass production, however, articles were compressed so as to minimize wastage and increase workability as a result of a shorter production time and simpler processes under the pressure of the sheer volumes of material stone and finished products required. In this phase, the processes themselves were distinctively different. A thick piece of material stone was first cut into rough pieces or roughly-shaped pieces before being grounded into form. A thin piece of material stone was cut so as to produce only thin flakes before being grounded into shape.

(iii) The position of the perforation

The position of the perforation constitutes an essential criterion in the phase when so-called precious stone *meiki* came to be made of talc and used as a suspended article. As the cross section became thinner and compressed, the perforation moved to a position that allowed the article to be suspended from above, and more than one perforation came to be opened.

c) Criteria in relation to drilling method

There are two methods of drilling: drilling from both sides and drilling from one side. The latter is subdivided into end-to-end drilling from one side and drilling from one side combined with pressure penetration.

(i) Drilling from both sides

Drilling from both sides is a method that placed high value on the finished quality and eschewed the

trace that failed with a perforator around the back end of the perforation that drilling from one side entailed. As it involved the risk of the penetrating passages from both side failing to meet each other accurately, this traditional technique was more time and attention consuming than drilling from one side and thus used mainly for thick articles. Some of the articles found in the Kinai district with a thin and compressed cross-section--in other words, with a degenerated shape--have features characteristic of drilling from both sides, suggesting that the traditional technique was retained for some time.

(ii) Drilling from one side

Drilling from one side was achieved with the help of pressure penetration or by end-to-end drilling per se. Pressure penetration was the method whereby artisans drilled a hole halfway and then pushed the drill so that the applied pressure completed the penetration process. End-to-end drilling was the method whereby artisans drilled a hole throughout in one go. The former required considerable skill; it was technically more difficult than the latter. In either case, drilling from one side entailed the trace that failed with a perforator around the back end of the perforation; therefore, it was not used when the finished quality mattered.

In the case of drilling from one side, a large amount of information is gained by measuring the diameters of the front and back ends of the perforation and observing the trace that failed with a perforator.

As long as end-to-end drilling is concerned, if the diameter of the front end of the perforation matches that of its back end, then the tip of the perforator used must have been cylindrical in shape. Likewise, if the diameter of the front end of the perforation is larger, the tip must have been conical in shape.

In addition, the damaged products from the drilling process or the mark of the tip of the perforator on the inside surface of the perforation associated with the pressure penetration technique would help identify the shape of the tip.

(iii) Perforators

Iron drills were likely used as perforators, as indicated by the Nishiura Site and Magatta Site, both in Tochigi prefecture. The analysis of production sites in these areas has confirmed the existence of cylindrical straight drills, conical drills, tube drills, and screw drills. Cylindrical straight drills and conical drills were not necessarily made of iron. Tube drills have been excavated at the Ōshima-Mitakesan Site in Fukuoka prefecture, which belongs to the historic era. The Magatta Site in Tochigi prefecture provides a confirmed case of screw drills.⁵⁾

d) Criteria in relation to finishing method

(i) Traces of whetstone grinding

Whetstone grinding was a finishing process designed to smooth the surfaces of stone ritual items. It was also used in the shape forming process because the material stone was soft. The characteristics of the finishing and shape forming by whetstone grinding constitute important criteria for observation as they manifest themselves in front and back surface grinding and side surface grinding.

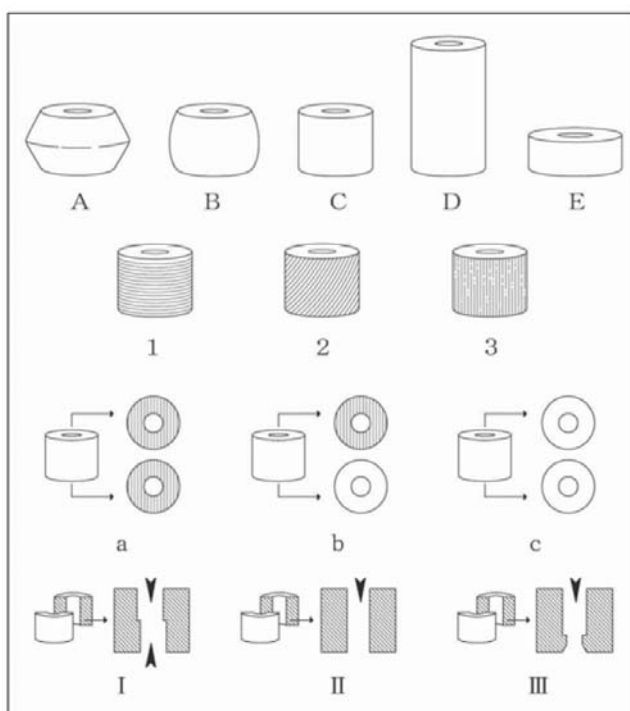


Figure 2 Classification diagram of mortar-shaped beads

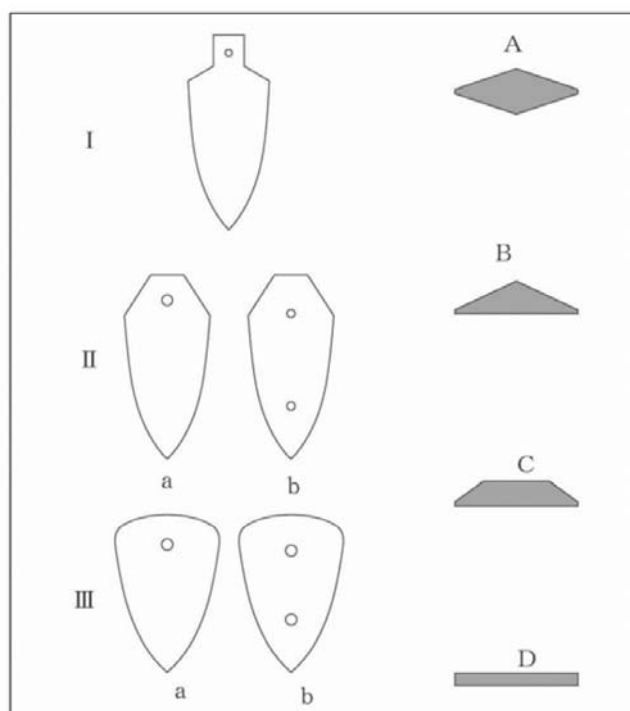


Figure 3 Classification diagram of sword-shaped objects

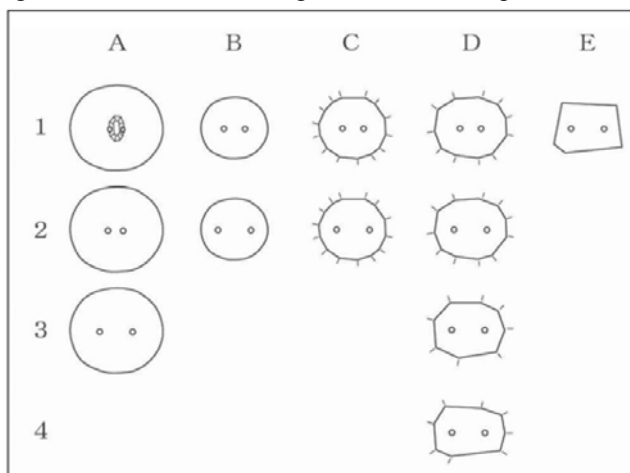


Figure 4 Classification diagram of perforated discs (double-perforated)

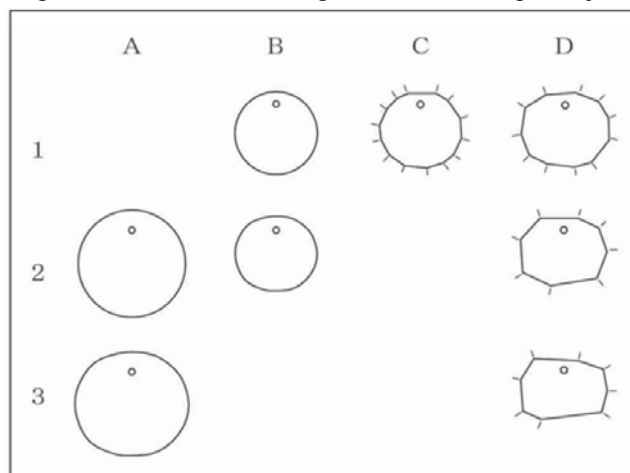


Figure 5 Classification diagram of perforated discs (single-perforated II)

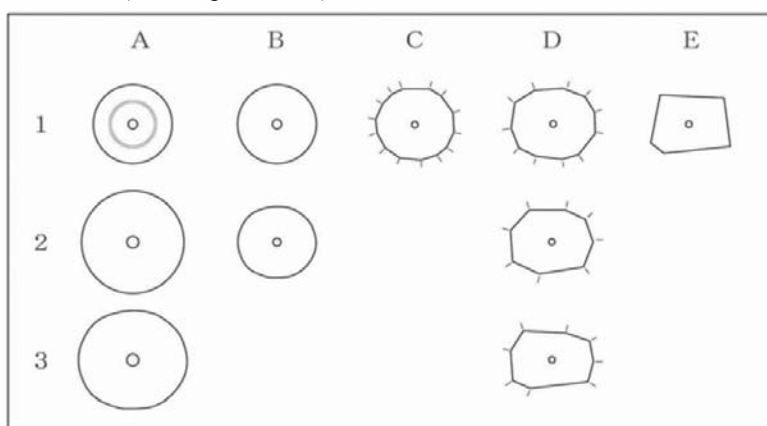


Figure 6 Classification diagram of perforated discs (single-perforated I)

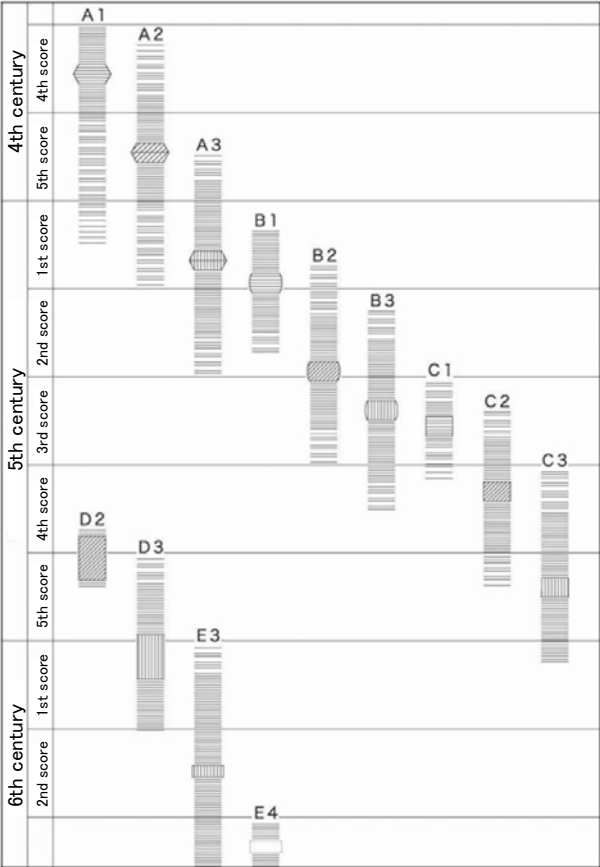


Figure 7 Chronological chart of mortar-shaped beads

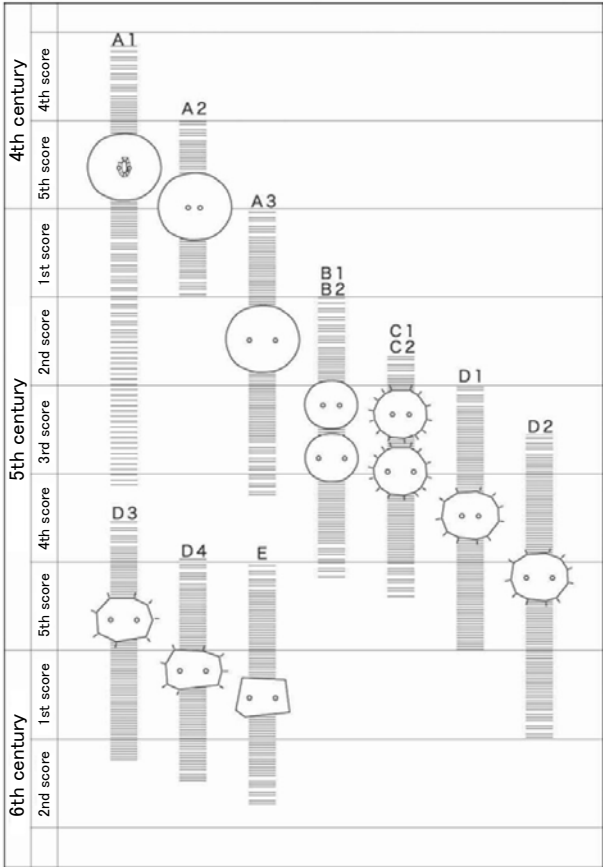


Figure 8 Chronological chart of perforated discs

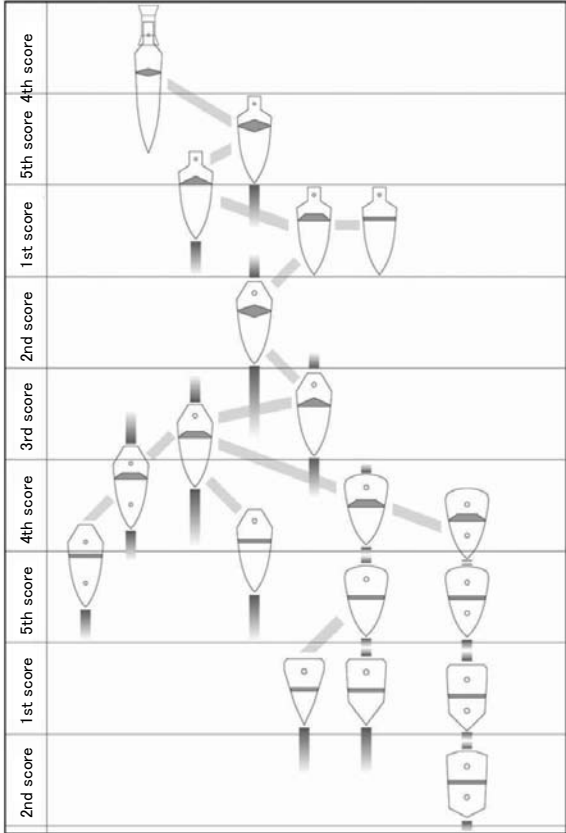


Figure 9 Chronological chart of sword-shaped objects

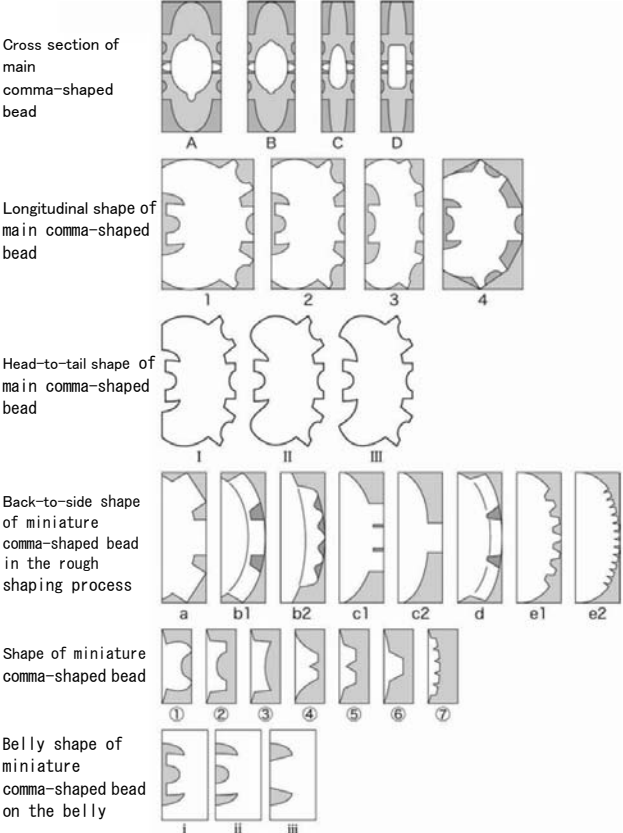


Figure 10 Distribution chart of comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted

A. Front and back surface grinding

The extent of front and back surface grinding depended on the need to erase flaking scars in the process of rough cutting or rough shaping before grinding. Deep and multi-directional grinding was the most scrupulous method for wiping out flaking scars that had been left in the previous process and smoothing out the surface. The presence of flaking scars and the extent of grinding are important criteria for observation. The extent of grinding includes “no grinding.”

B. Side surface grinding

The method of delineating the outline used is clearly reflected in side surface grinding. Longitudinal grinding was designed to avoid forming a ridge along the contour. Oblique grinding is a slightly simplified version of this process. Transverse grinding, on the other hand, tends to make the contour straight and leave ridges on it, although it is easier to form the intended shape due to a small grinding contact area. It is designed to simplify and streamline the grinding process so as to facilitate mass production. Another important criterion is whether or not the flaking scars that had been left in the process of rough cutting or rough shaping have been erased.

In sum, the existence (or non-existence) of flaking scars, and the state of grinding--the directions and the number of strokes of grinding--constitute major criteria in relation to front and back surface grinding. Observers should keep in mind the general trends from many strokes in many directions (grinding traces left) to fewer strokes in fewer directions (further to no grinding traces left), and from longitudinal grinding to transverse grinding (further to no grinding).

(ii) Traces of scraping-grinding

Scraping-grinding was a shaping forming process for the “belly” or the inner curve part of an object in the shape of a comma-shaped object, as well as knife-shaped objects and comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted--a process that could not be achieved with whetstone grinding. This process was technically more difficult and time-consuming than whetstone grinding, making it unsuitable for mass production. It is a traditional technique for grinding stone funeral/ritual items; objects made of metamorphic rock and fine stone ritual items have mostly been finished with scraping-grinding.

In observing objects finished with scraping-grinding, it is important to identify the grinding direction for each part of an object and finishing characteristics. Special attention should be paid to the finishing of details. In the near future, inscriptions left by nicks on the iron-made blade used will likely be counted as a characteristic of a stone-made object. At any rate, such production features characteristic of the tools used and the artisans who made them provide an important clue for identifying these artisans and their workshops, the distribution channels involved, and their technical lineage.

2. The Observation of Stone Ritual Items Found in Okinoshima

(1) Site No. 16 (rituals atop of rocks)

a) Overview

This site was investigated in the second stage of Series 1 investigation (August 1954) and the first stage of Series 2 investigation (August 1957). This site is a flat space on Rock U and Rock V under the eaves-shaped part of Rock T (a). Its altitude is one of the highest among the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island. It is located some three meters northwest of Site No. 17 and about one meter below. The stone-made objects found at this site include an assemblage of comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, and globular beads, all made of jadeite and found between iron single-edged swords and iron double-edged swords or iron adzes; comma-shaped beads and cylindrical beads, all made of talc and found near an iron knife with a curled-fern-frond-shaped hilt; comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, and globular beads, all made of talc and found near iron single-edged swords and ring-shaped bracelets; and an assemblage of comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, barrel-shaped beads, and globular beads, all made of jadeite and found slightly away from other artifacts.

b) Observation

The stone-made objects found are comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, barrel-shaped beads, mortar-shaped beads, and ring-shaped bracelets.

Comma-shaped beads

Four jadeite beads, two green jasper beads, and six talc schist beads have been excavated. They are generally divided into large and small beads. Of the large-size group, three jadeite beads and one green jasper bead are so-called *chōjigashira* in design (having a few incised lines on the head that collectively look like a clove flower). Some of them are milky white in color with whitish gray stripes; others are light green overall. They are all made of jadeite with low transmissivity. Also, they are approximately 3.5 cm in length. They have two or three incised lines. The green jasper beads have a tinge of translucency, suggesting that their material came from around a striped layer of green jasper, and they have three incised lines. The ellipticities of the belly arc of these beads are 0.037 to 0.062. These ellipticities, the quality of the material stone, the incision pattern of the *chōjigashira* 丁字頭 lines, and the shapes and grinding traces all suggest that these beads were made in the 4th century.

The talc schist beads largely come in two sizes: those around 3.5 cm and those 1.7-1.8 cm in length. This suggests that these two sizes were deliberately designed. The smaller ones are semi-elliptical in shape with a rather long major axis. Their shapes and production techniques are identical, indicating that they were made in the same workshop. Some of the smaller beads have a ridge between the belly and the sides but have no clear longitudinal ridge on the belly. Moreover, some of these beads have likely been processed with end-to-end drilling from one side, although the author has not had the opportunity to examine both sides of these beads in the actual observation. One of the larger beads is more like an object in the shape of a comma-shaped object. It has a cross-section that is almost round-angled square, and has a gap in the penetration passage of the drilling from both sides technique at the head. The head-to-tail line is bent inwardly toward the belly. The belly line is rather straight in the middle. This object was made in the third to fourth scores of years of the 5th century.

Mortar-shaped beads

A report of archaeological investigations in Okinoshima states that a total of no less than 220 globular beads, 38 mortar-shaped beads, and two large mortar-shaped beads have been found at Site No. 16 in Series 1 and 2 investigations. A breakdown shows that Series 1 investigation excavated 26 globular beads, one mortar-shaped bead, while Series 2 unearthed 194 globular beads, 38 mortar-shaped beads, and 8 fragments. By present standards, however, all of them can be classified as mortar-shaped beads. The beads are divided by size into three groups, as the plate in the investigation report shows.⁶⁾ The small-size group includes beads with a 3-mm outer diameter, those with a 4-mm outer diameter, and those with a 5-mm outer diameter. The diameter of the perforation ranges from 1.2 to 1.8 mm. The medium-size group includes beads with a 6-mm outer diameter and those with a 6.5-mm outer diameter. The diameter of the perforation is approximately 1 mm. The large-size group includes beads with an outer diameter of 9 to 12 mm. The diameter of the perforation is 2 mm or 2.5 mm. These large beads were produced using the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice. This group also includes products of the stage to break a stone in planned form.

An analysis of the small-size group shows that beads with a 3-mm outer diameter have a shape of a Japanese abacus counter. They also have a clear ridge with longitudinal-to-oblique grinding or transverse grinding scrupulously applied (mortar-shaped bead classification: A-2, A-3). Beads with a 4-mm diameter have a shape of a Japanese abacus counter with no clear ridge. Oblique or transverse grinding has been applied (AB-2, AB-3). Beads with a 5-mm diameter have a shape of a barrel with oblique or transverse grinding applied (B-2, B-3). The material stone is dark bluish-green, seashell color or greenish black. Beads with a shape of a Japanese abacus counter [classification A] tend to be dark bluish-green, while barrel-shaped beads [classification B] tend to be seashell color or greenish black. In sum, the small-size mortar-shaped beads can be classified into three groups: A-2 or A-3, AB-2 or AB-3, and B-2 or B-3. Chronologically speaking, it is likely that beads classified as A were produced in the fourth to fifth score of the 4th century, those classified as AB in the first to second scores of the 5th century, and those classified as B in the third score of the 5th century.

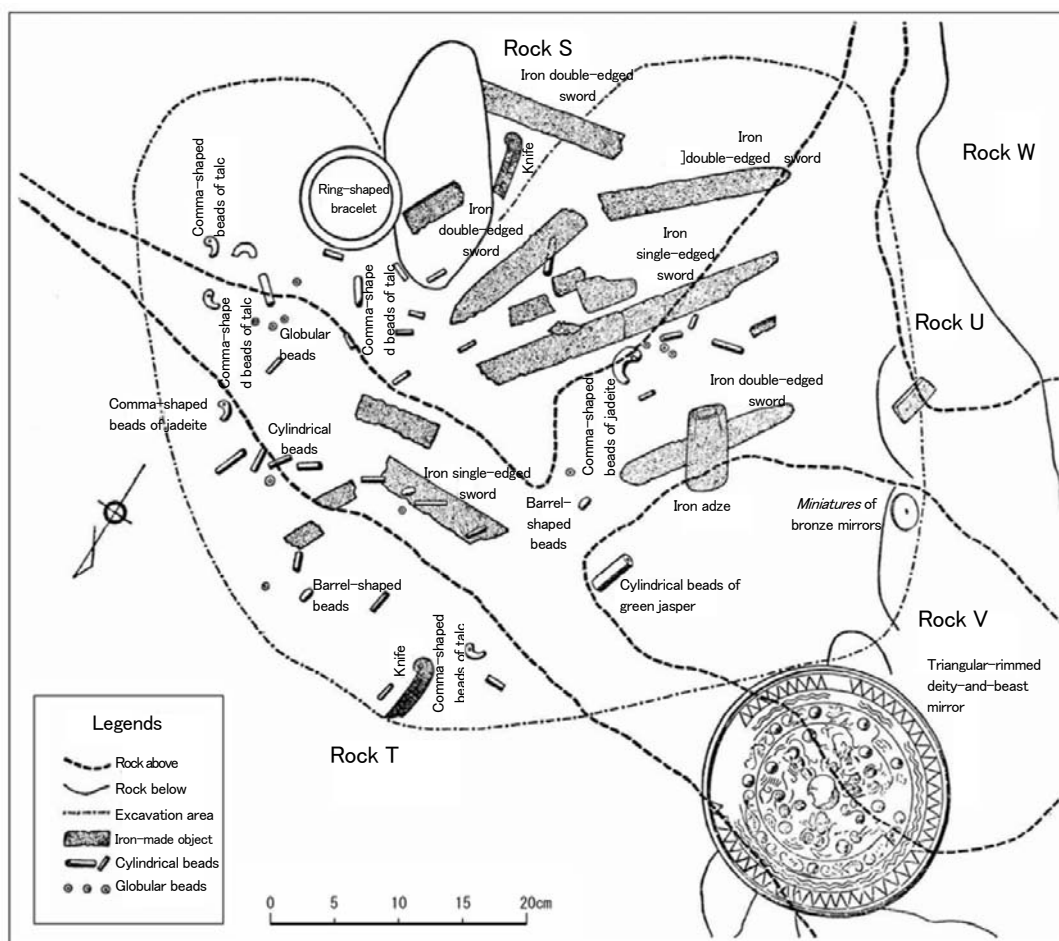


Figure 11 Ground plan of Site No. 16

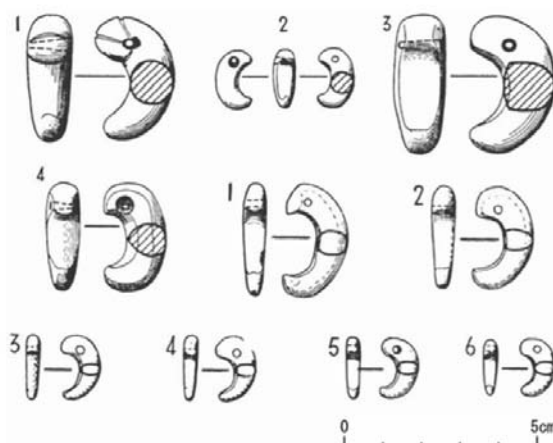


Figure 12 Comma-shaped beads unearthed at Site No. 16

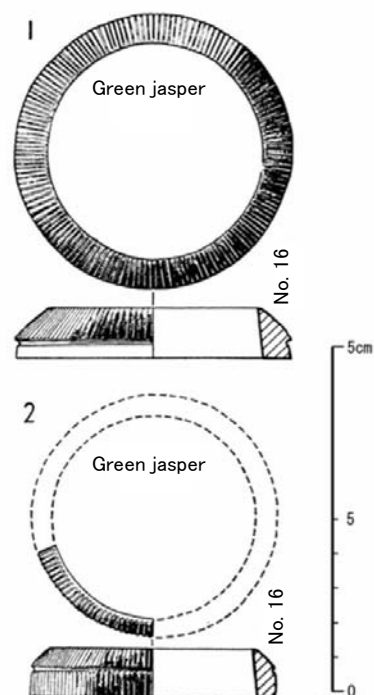


Figure 13 Ring-shaped bracelet unearthed at Site No. 16

The middle-size group is characterized by a rather small diameter of the perforation in relation to the outer diameter as well as a short thickness ranging from 1 to 1.8 mm. The side is of a shape between a Japanese abacus counter and a barrel, although it is rather thin. Transverse grinding has been applied to the upper and lower surfaces separately (AB-3). It can be considered to be produced in the second score of the 5th century.

The beads in the large-size group are similar to those found in the nearby Site No. 8.

c) Comments

The examination described above has confirmed that the comma-shaped beads and mortar-shaped beads found at Site No. 16 range chronologically from the fourth score of the 4th century to the fourth score of the 5th century. As noted in the investigation report,⁷⁾ Site No. 16 is likely “a compound site that straddles different periods”. It has also yielded two ring-shaped stone bracelets. KAMOHARA (1987) classifies the two as I-a1 and II-a1. In view of the archaeological association with these two stone ritual items, he assigns Site 16 to the IV-A period, making the site contemporary to the Kanakurayama Tomb in Okayama prefecture. However, since archaeological association does not necessarily means contemporariness, it might be possible to regard them as belonging to the III period, that is, one period earlier.⁸⁾ It is interesting to note that relics that span different periods and a flat space below the overhang of a gigantic rock make the site more like an small *okanagura* repository, even though it is located atop of rocks.

(2) Site No. 17 (rituals atop of rocks)

a) An overview

The precious stone objects unearthed at this site include comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, barrel-shaped beads, globular beads, mortar-shaped beads, and the stone bracelets including wheel-shaped bracelets and a ring-shaped bracelet.

b) Observation

Comma-shaped beads

A total of three comma-shaped beads have been found, including one bead made of jadeite--white pyroxene in which fine green phenocrysts are distributed evenly--and two beads made of talc schist. The former is different from the latter in shape.

The bead made of jadeite (Figure 15-1) is 21.7 mm in length and 14.3 mm in width. The depth of the inner arc is 4.9 mm long or one third of the whole width, making the whole body look thick. There is a ridge between the belly and the sides. The cross-section is circular to semicircular. The perforation drilled from one side is conical in shape. The ellipticity of the belly (inner arc) is 0.153. The bead was likely made in the fourth score of the 4th century.

The larger of the two beads of talc schist (Figure 15-2) is 24.7 mm in length and 14.2 in width. The depth of the inner arc is 7.0 mm long or a half of the whole width, making the whole body look thin. The cross-section is streamlined from the back to each side and triangular on the belly, giving rise to a longitudinal ridge in the middle of the belly and another ridge between the belly and either side. The drilling was tried two times, and the second attempt completed the penetration. The color is dark-grayish green. The smaller bead (Figure 15-3) is 15.8 mm in length and 8.8 mm in width with its head squared off at the back. The depth of the inner arc is 3.1 mm long or a little less than one-third of the whole width. The cross-section of the belly is elliptical. The large head makes the whole body look unstable. These two large beads made of talc schist are placed on a paulownia board for storage and display where comma-shaped beads unearthed at Site No. 16 are stored.

Wheel-shaped bracelets and a ring-shaped bracelet

Two wheel-shaped bracelets made of green jasper and one ring-shaped bracelet that is white-grayish green in color and made of fine tuff stone have been found.⁹⁾ The **ring-shaped bracelet** has beveled edges at the top, radial lines on the upper slope surface, a side that is slightly curved inward, and rounded edges at the

bottom. The opening is grinded to be small on one end and large on the other. Grinding was applied first to the upper slope surface to cut lines and then to the side. This bracelet is assigned to II-a1 according to the KAMONARA classification.¹⁰⁾

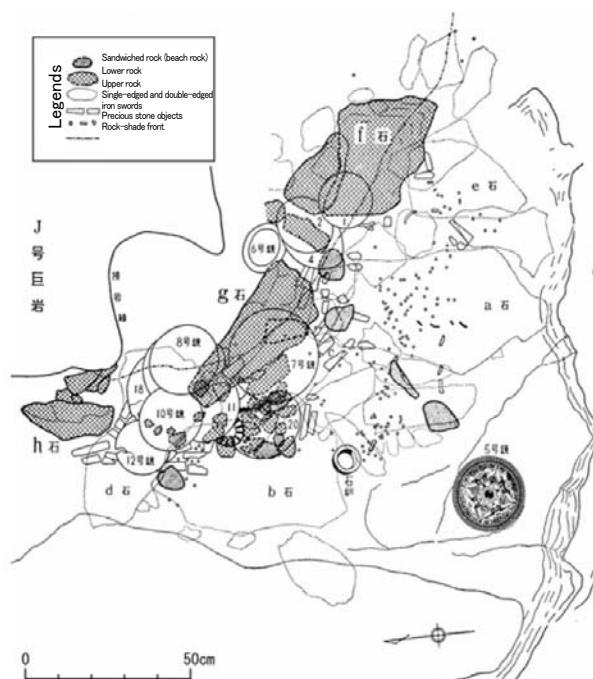


Figure 14 Ground plan of Site No. 17

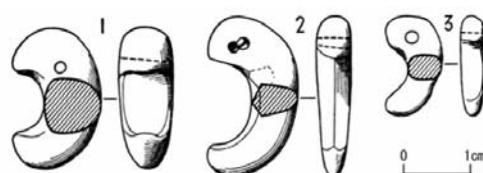


Figure 15 Comma-shaped beads unearthed at Site No. 17

c) Comments

Of the two comma-shaped beads made of talc schist, the larger one bears similarities to the comma-shaped beads made of talc schist unearthed at Site No. 16.¹¹⁾ In this context, the bead that also features a longitudinal ridge on the belly as a result of grinding has similar but smaller parallels at Site No. 16 as well.¹²⁾ The smaller bead made of talc schist has an unbalanced shape in sharp contrast to its similar-shaped parallels found at Site No. 16--a clear sign that it is a late comer. The cylindrical beads excavated at this site are made of green jasper, fine tuff, or talc schist; they can roughly divided into an assemblage of beads of green jasper or fine tuff and those of talc schist. It is likely that the former was lumped with the comma-shaped bead made of jadeite and the latter with the larger comma-shaped bead made of talc schist. The wheel-shaped bracelets and the ring-shaped bracelet are regarded as a part of the assemblage that includes the comma-shaped bead made of jadeite. In sum, the artifacts from Site No. 17 are largely divided into three assemblages. Or if the smaller comma-shaped bead is a late comer that somehow found its way into the site later, the artifacts there are classified into two: a assemblages of the comma-shaped bead of jadeite, the cylindrical beads of green jasper or fine tuff, the wheel-shaped bracelets and the ring-shaped bracelet; and a assemblages of the objects made of talc schist.

(3) Site No. 19 (rituals atop of rocks)

a) An overview

Site No. 19 is located on Rock K, north of Rock I. The difference in elevation from Site No. 16 to the west is about one meter.

b) Observation

The stone-made objects found at this site include 28 comma-shaped beads--two made of jadeite, one of crystal, nine of green jasper, 15 of talc, and one of mica schist; 100 cylindrical beads--76 made of green jasper and 24 of talc; 67 globular beads of talc, one barrel-shaped bead of talc, and one talc ring-shaped bracelet.

Comma-shaped beads (Figure 17)

The specifics of the individual comma-shaped bead found are omitted as they are detailed in the investigation report.

Of the two comma-shaped beads of jadeite, the larger one (No. 1) is 6.3 cm in length and made of white pyroxene with thin phenocrysts deep inside. The smaller one is 1.4 cm in length. Its upper part is greenish white and the lower part is green of high transparency.

The nine comma-shaped beads of green jasper include five dark and deep green beads apparently derived from Mt. Kasen in the ancient province of Izumo,¹³⁾ two light green beads containing chalcedony with the strips on the outer rim, and two beads made of fine tuff. The five beads apparently from Mt. Kasen share the common ellipticity of the belly arc, measuring at 0.214. This raises the possibility that they were made in the same workshop that produced some of the artifacts unearthed at the Izumi-Koganezuka tomb in Ōsaka prefecture. Of the two comma-shaped beads made of fine tuff, the light green one in which brownish black particles are distributed evenly have four *chōjigashira* lines, though they are difficult to discern at a glance.¹⁴⁾

The artifacts made of talc include one object that is clearly classified as an "object in the shape of a comma-shaped bead" but not as a "comma-shaped bead.". It was made from an in-progress, rectangular-shaped flat item produced in the process of rough cutting. The head-to-tail shape was formed by taking advantage of the long sides of the rectangle. The back was ground to form an arc that consists of eight faces. The angles between these faces remained. The belly was carved using a knife-shaped iron tool. The perforation was cut using the method of drilling from one side combined with pressure penetration. The object likely belongs to the fourth score of the 5th century. The objects similar to the comma-shaped beads of green jasper are the item with four *chōjigashira* lines (No. 13) and the well-shaped item 4.03 cm in length (No. 14). The item with three *chōjigashira* lines (No. 16) is well shaped though it is small in size. The other items are comma-shaped beads made of talc schist, and they collectively show signs of a transition from an elliptical cross-section to a compressed cross-section of the belly.

It looks like the comma-shaped beads of jadeite belong to the fifth score of the 4th century to the first score of the 5th century. Those of green jasper belong largely to the second score of the 5th century. Others belong chiefly to the third score of the 5th century.

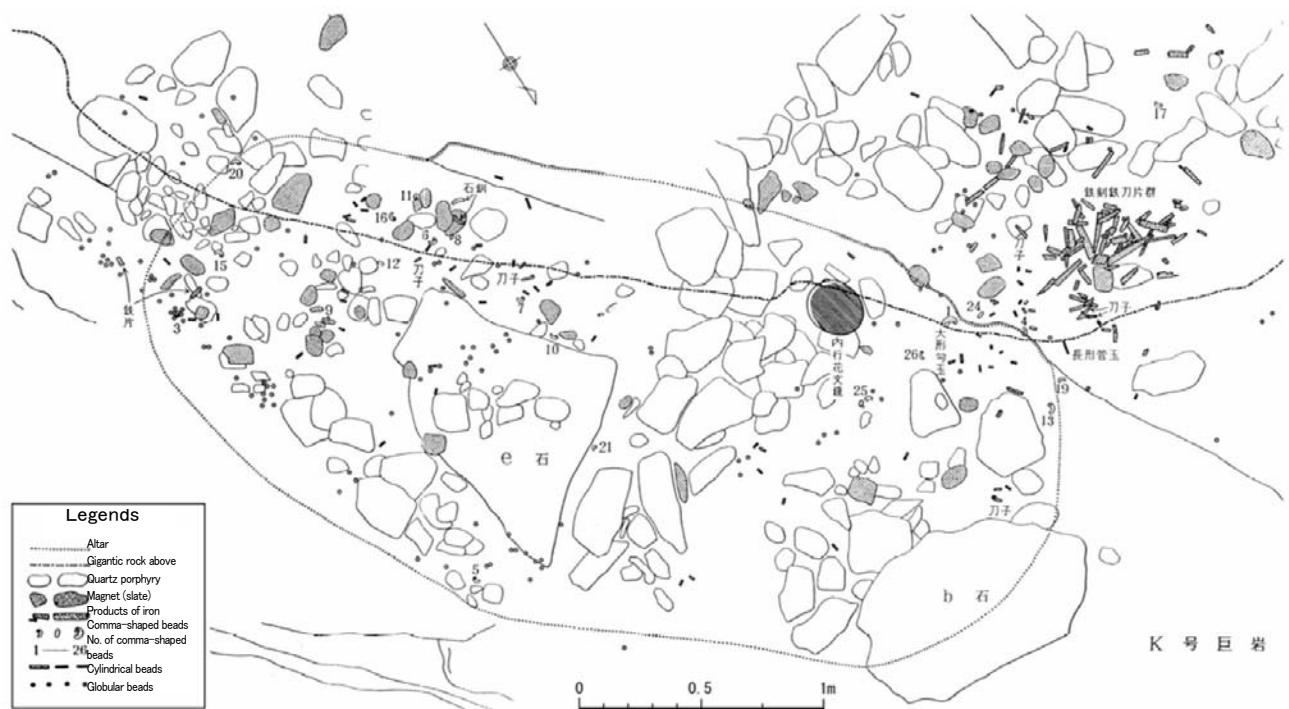


Figure 16 Ground plan of Site No. 19

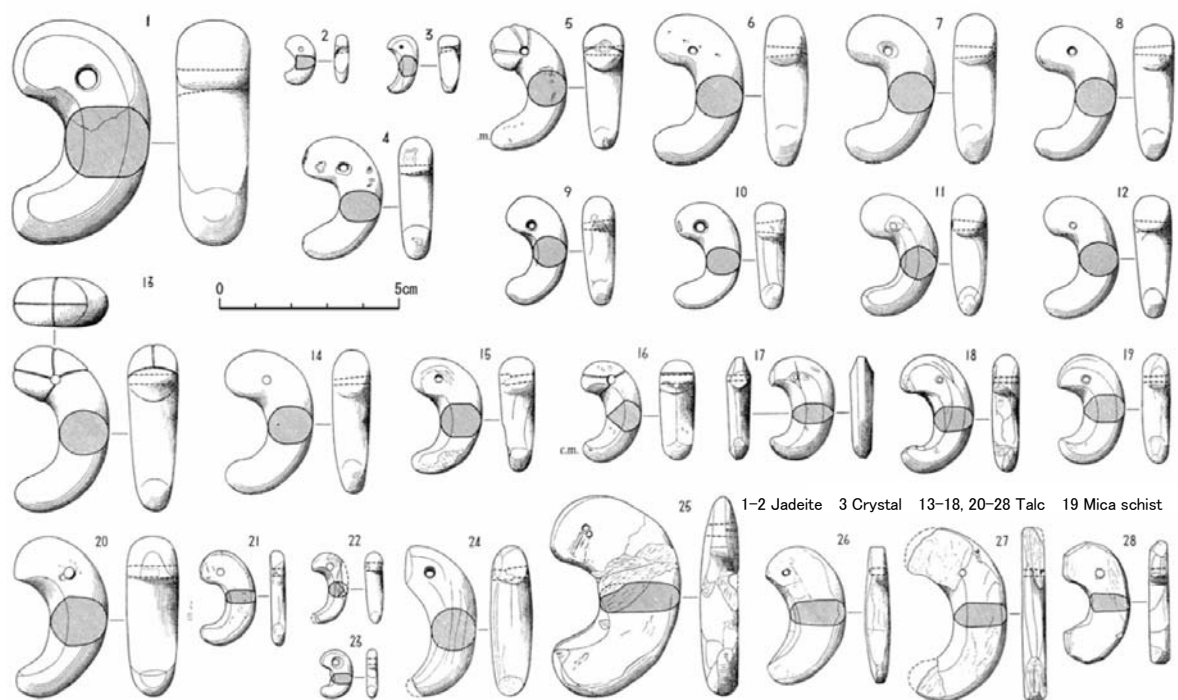


Figure 17 Artifacts from Site No. 19

Mortar-shaped beads and globular beads

The site has yielded 37 globular beads, according to the investigation report. One of them is elliptical object 2.8 mm thick with the axis ranging from 8.2 mm to 8.7 mm. The remaining 36 beads range in size from an object 6.4 mm in diameter and 2 mm thick to one 3.8 mm in diameter and 2.7 mm thick. The mortar-shaped beads found include 14 items whose side is of a shape between a Japanese abacus counter and a barrel (classified as AB), accounting for 25.9%; 17 items whose side is of a shape of a barrel (classified as B), representing 25.4%; and 36 items whose side is of a cylindrical shape (classified as C), constituting 53.7%. They were all transversely ground. Group AB is largely dark bluish-green. Many of B beads are dim green. Group C includes one milky white bead. When the author observed these beads, he assumed that the cylindrical bead separation technique has not been applied as the investigation report suggests. This assumption is not substantiated though, because the author observed them on a chain, not one by one. The material stone, the kinds of grinding applied, and their physical features suggest that Group AB belongs to the second score of the 5th century, Group B to the third score of the 5th century, and Group C to the third to fourth score of years of the 5th century.

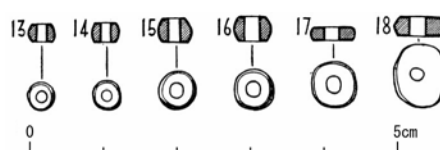


Figure 18 Comma-shaped beads from Site No. 19

c) Comments

Some of the comma-shaped beads and mortar-shaped beads found at this site chronologically belong to one or more of three periods: the second, third and fourth scores of the 5th century. Only a small number belongs to the fourth score it is easy to roughly divide them into the second and third scores. It seems that this site had been formed in more than one time, at least in the second and fourth scores of the 5th century.



Figure 19 Ground plan of Site No. 21

(4) Site No. 21 (rituals atop of rocks)

a) An overview

This site is located on Rock F. The flat space on the rock is rhombic in shape. The four corners look to the east, the west, the north, and the south. At the center of the rock top stood an altar called *iwakura* or the “rock-abode” (dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily), around which *iwasaka* (concept of an area that has been encircled by piles of stones, where a deity is thought to have descended) was set up by fixing the square bounds. In *iwasaka*, a gravel flat space was created.

b) Observation

The stone-made objects found at this site include 35 comma-shaped beads (made of jadeite, green jasper, talc or amber), 41 cylindrical beads (made of jadeite, green jasper or talc), 21,145 mortar-shaped beads made of talc, as well as barrel-shaped beads of talc, perforated discs, sword-shaped objects, adze-shaped objects, and comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted.

Comma-shaped beads

A total of 34 comma-shaped beads have been excavated: four made of jadeite, five of green jasper, three of amber, and 22 of talc. Because the findings of the actual observation by the author are the same as those of the investigation report, only a few kinds are discussed here. It may be worth noting here, though, that it has been found out that the investigation report fails to mention in-progress talc items that completed the rough shaping process or were halfway in the grinding process. These items are at the phase where grinding has been applied to the sides of the roughly-shaped material but not to the ridges between the belly and each side. No hanging perforations have been opened yet. It is likely that the jadeite beads belong to the fifth score of the 4th century to the second score of the 5th century, the green jasper beads to the second score of the 5th century, and the talc beads to the first to second score of the 5th century.

Mortar-shaped beads

The mortar-shaped beads found at this site are now fixed on several paulownia boards for storage and display with each unit of about 100 beads strung on a chain. In this actual observation, the author conducted a sample survey, examining mortar-shaped beads on one of the boards due to time restraints. A total of 5,951 mortar-shaped beads from Site No. 8 are mixed with those from Site No. 21 on these boards. They accounts for 28.14% of the total. At the moment, no work is underway to separate them. Likewise, those from Site No. 17 are also mixed. In the actual observation, the author was able to distinguish them from other beads. In this sample survey, the author has found that out of the 8,981 beads fixed on the single board, which may include some of the 5,951 from Site No. 8, 80 beads (0.89%) have a shape of a Japanese abacus counter with oblique grinding applied to both the upper and lower surfaces (A2), 74 beads (0.83%) have a shape of a Japanese abacus counter with transverse grinding applied to both surfaces (A3), 1,220 beads (13.58%) have a shape of a barrel with oblique grinding applied to both surfaces (B2), 1,233 beads (13.73%) have a shape of a barrel with transverse grinding applied to both surfaces (B3), 5,366 beads (59.75%) have a cylindrical shape with oblique grinding applied to both surfaces (C2), and 1,008 beads (11.22%) have a cylindrical shape with transverse grinding applied to both surfaces (C3). Even the smallest group of A3 includes 74 beads, enough to form a ring with beads from the single group. This in turn makes it likely that beads primarily from the same group were used during a distinct period, although it is impossible to rule out the possibility that beads from two neighboring groups (e.g., A2 and A3 or A3 and B2) were used simultaneously. It is thus reasonable to assume that A2 was produced in the fifth score of the 4th century, A3 in the first score of the 5th century, B2 in the second score of the 5th century, B3 in the third score of the 5th century, and C2 and C3 in the fourth score of the 5th century. This makes it possible to conceive four periods of use:

- (i) The fifth score of the 4th century;
- (ii) The first score of the 5th century;
- (iii) The second to third score of the 5th century; and
- (iv) The fourth score of the 5th century.

]C2 accounts for almost 60%, while C3 represents over 10%. C2 and C3 collectively make up some 70% of

the total. The question is: Does this proportion reflect the golden age of Site No. 21 or rather the state of affairs at Site No. 8? Further research is needed to answer this question.

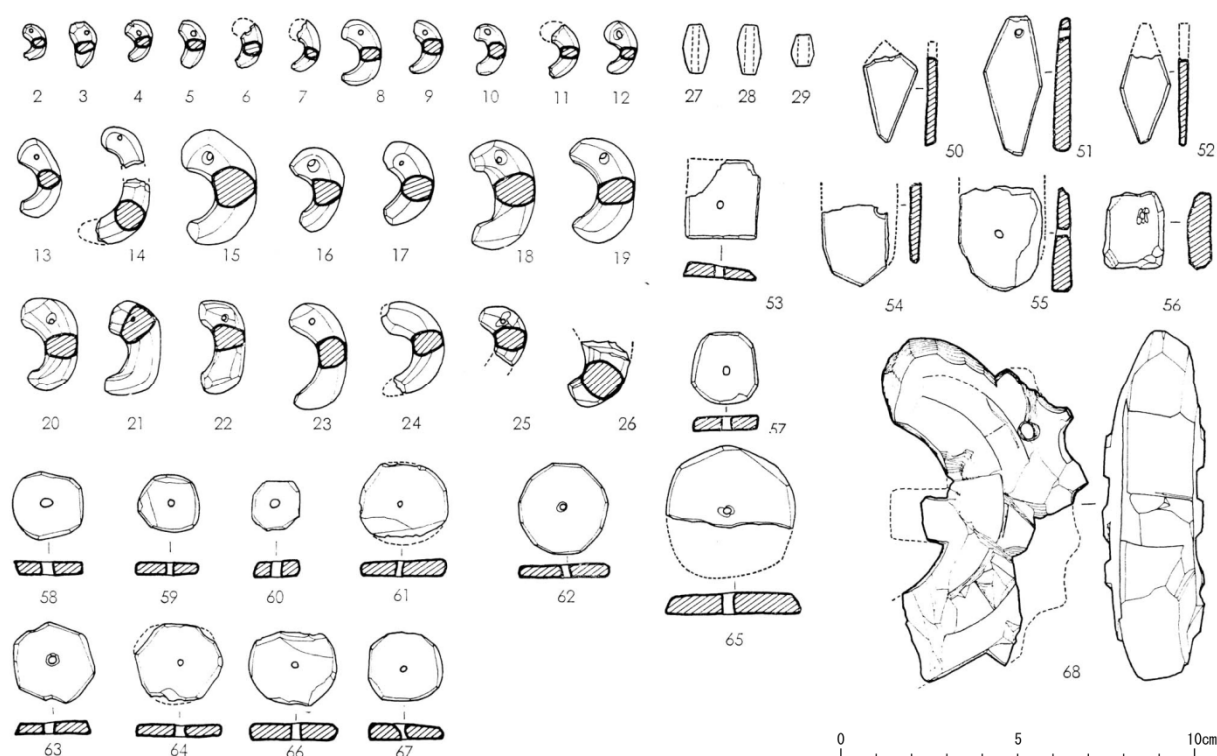


Figure 20 Artifacts from Site No. 21

Perforated discs

All the perforated discs found at this site have only one hole. They are made of seashell color or light gray stone that comes from the Sangun metamorphic belt and includes many black or grayish black phenocrysts, particles or banded textures. This material is essentially the same as the one found in Site No. 1. All the flat surfaces have been smoothed out with coarse grinding. Some discs have a polygonal edge as a direct result of rough shaping with an iron adze-shaped tool. Some are without adjustments to the flaked surface after rough shaping. Some have a perforation that was carved into in a conical shape with an iron sharp-edged tool after initial penetration. Others even maintain a square shape as a result of the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a square. The perforated discs were likely used in and after the fourth score of the 5th century.

A sword-shaped object

Only one sword-shaped object has been found in perfect form at this site. It is rhombic in shape. The side has been transversely ground, while slightly oblique grinding and horizontal grinding have been applied to the tip of the blade and the pommel part, respectively. The plane surface is smooth and has no ridge as the result of longitudinal grinding. It was likely produced in the third to fourth score of the 5th century.

Iron-adze-shaped objects

The iron-adze-shaped object found at this site might be a sickle-shaped object. The identity of this object cannot be confirmed because it is fractured. It is different in shape from the parallel at Site No. 8.

A comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted

One comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted has been found 90 cm south-southwest of *iwakura*. It is made of light green or light gray stone in which many black or grayish black phenocrysts are distributed evenly. The main comma-shaped bead is semicircular in shape. The head is rounded with no signs of rough shaping. The tail is missing. The thick body has an elliptical cross-section. The original miniature comma-shaped bead on the belly is missing, but the base parts that fixed it onto the

main comma-shaped bead have remained. These parts suggest that there was a trapezoidal miniature comma-shaped bead on the belly. The miniature comma-shaped beads on the back have been reconstructed because much part of their belly and the back were missing. The remaining parts suggest that three miniature comma-shaped beads were connected to one another as if to form a belt. On the three, one toward the head and another toward the tail both rise up straight. Their inner arc is regular. But the shape of the boundary between the adjacent miniature comma-shaped beads is a regular arc alike, indicating that it was designed as part of the single entity. The contour line of the side of these three miniature comma-shaped beads on the back is integrated into that of each side of the main comma-shaped bead. This is yet another piece of evidence that the main and miniature comma-shaped beads were designed as a single entity. The side of the belly, as well as that of the back, of the main comma-shaped bead is flat. Miniature comma-shaped beads on each side were created by carving arc-shaped stone-belt blocks into round-angled square units. As it stands, one pair of the units are on the head and another pair in the tail of the main comma-shaped bead. It is likely that yet another pair originally existed at the center of each side reconstructed. It is unlikely that any significant gap existed between these pairs. Unlike their counterparts on the back, the miniature comma-shaped beads on each side rise up smoothly from the main comma-shaped bead, blurring the borders between the former and the latter. The hanging perforation is near the center of the back of the main comma-shaped bead, giving the impression that it differs from the contemporary parallels. This design would rather fit in more with the artifacts from the late 6th century to the 7th century.

c) Comments

In sum, the assemblage from Site No. 21 is made up of comma-shaped beads, mortar-shaped beads, perforated discs, and sword-shaped objects. They generally belong to the period from the fifth score of the 4th century to the fourth score of the 5th century. More specifically, the comma-shaped beads belong to three periods:

- (i) From the fifth score of the 4th century up to the second score of the 5th century,
- (ii) The second score of the 5th century, and
- (iii) The first to second scores of the 5th century.

The mortar-shaped beads belong to four periods:

- (i) The fifth score of the 4th century,
- (ii) The first score of the 5th century,
- (iii) The second to third scores of the 5th century, and
- (iv) The fourth score of the 5th century.

The perforated discs belong to the fourth score of the 5th century onward. The sword-shaped objects belong to the third to fourth scores of the 5th century.

(5) Site No. 6 (rituals in the shade of a rock)

a) An overview

Site No. 6 is located north of Rock C, which is situated south of Rock D. Between Rock C and Rock D lies a flatland. Artifacts have been unearthed in a space--five meters across and three meters from front to back--in the shade of Rock C. These artifacts include weapons such as iron double-edged swords and iron spears with tang, tools such as iron needles and spear-shaped planes, harnesses, iron miniatures of objects, and flat iron ingots.

b) Observation

The stone-made objects include a sword-shaped object, iron-adze-shaped objects, and mortar-shaped beads. They were excavated deep in the west side of the site along with an imitative mirror of iron, gilt bronze thin-necked jars, iron miniatures of sword, and objects made of abalone shells etc.

A sword-shaped object

One sword-shaped object has been unearthed. It was made by grinding the flatly-ground stone slab into a

rhombic shape. Oblique grinding has been applied to the side and front surfaces. It has also been partly applied along the side angle. Grinding traces are not so coarse. The upper part of the rhombus has been carved to form the pommel part. End-to-end drilling from one side has been applied. It is made of whitish gray stone which includes black particles and light-yellowish green phenocrysts. This material is similar to that found at Site No. 21. It was likely made in the third to fourth scores of the 5th century.

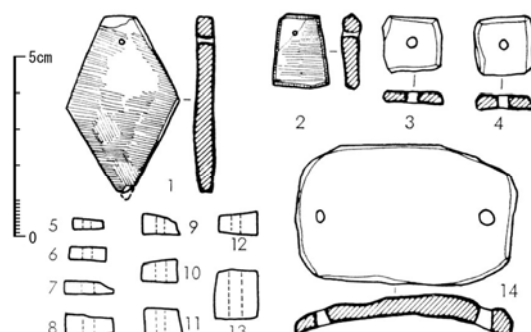


Figure 21 Artifacts from Site No. 6

Iron-adze-shaped objects

The iron-adze-shaped objects found at this site are small in size and trapezoidal in shape. There is a slightly observable convex change line of gradient in the bottom side. The design is so simplified that they could not have been identified as iron-adze-shaped objects without the stone-made objects and the iron miniatures of adze found at Site No. 8. The same holds true for the sword-shaped object. Double transverse grinding has been applied to the flat side, while the side has been ground transversely. It is made of white stone with a high purity of talc.

Mortar-shaped beads

Nine mortar-shaped beads have been found. They are cylindrical in shape and 0.8 - 1.2 mm in diameter. The nearly coarse products have been ground transversely. Also found are two in-progress items that were produced in the process of rough shaping using the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice. The material for both finished and unfinished products likely comes from the Sangun metamorphic belt. It is likely that they were made in the fifth decade up to the fourth score of years of the 5th century.



Figure 22 Ground plan of Site No. 6

An object made from a shell

This object has been produced by making an abalone shell into an elliptical shape similar to a round-angled square and perforating both end. It has a gently arc-shaped cross-section and a tinge of luster on the front side of the arc. The surface is porous due to weathering or submarine erosion. It is 6 cm long and 4 cm in width. The object can be categorized as a shell-made perforated disc (double-perforated). This object, together with those found at Site No. 8, will be discussed in details in the section of Site No. 23.

c) Comments

Site No. 6 has yielded only a small mount of stone-made objects in light of the area of the site and the amount of other artifacts found. In particular, it is questionable whether the amount of mortar-shaped was enough to connect and use, while chiefly using the sword-shaped object and the iron-adze-shaped objects. These objects, if used as *yorishiro* (an object representative of a divine spirit) in a *himorogi* ritual, must have been suspended separately. It is questionable whether this combination was actually used, given that the amount of the artifacts is no larger than that of artifacts from dwelling remains in a common settlement.

(6) Site No. 7 (rituals in the shade of a rock)

a) An overview

Site No. 7 is located on the land of naturally-accumulated sediment in the shade of the southern part of Rock D. The artifacts unearthed from this site include ornaments such as a gold finger ring and bracelets of gold and silver, horse trappings such as a gilt bronze heart-shaped flat pendant harness ornament of a pattern of half-human and half-bird creature with arabesque patterns in openwork, and weaponry such as a visorless keeled helmet, a lamellar armor, socketed iron spears, and iron single-edged swords.

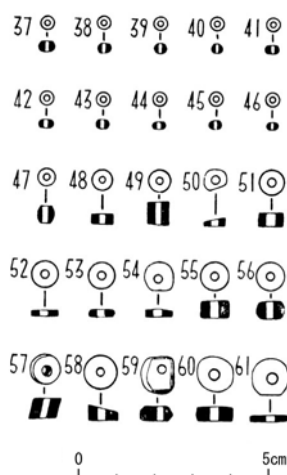


Figure 23: Mortar-shaped beads from Site No. 7

b) Observation

The precious stone objects unearthed at this site include 535 glass globular beads, 15 glass round beads, 13 glass faceted beads, 908 talc globular beads, and 39 talc mortar-shaped beads. The glass objects have been unearthed in four groups, providing valuable information about the actual combination of these artifacts.

The talc-made globular/mortar-shaped beads have been excavated separately in a group, slightly east of the center of the site, suggesting that the wholesomeness of the group has been preserved. By current standards, no distinction is made between globular beads and mortar-shaped beads, both of which are collectively classified as mortar-shaped beads here as well.

Of these mortar-shaped beads unearthed, 250 beads (26.4%) are of a shape between a barrel and a cylinder. They have all been grounded transversely on the upper and lower surfaces (B, C3). The remaining

mortar-shaped beads are all cylindrical in shape with an even width. Most of them have been ground both obliquely and transversely (C2, C3).

Only one bead is made of milky white stone and shaped like a thin Japanese abacus counter. All these pieces of evidence suggest that they were made in the third score of the 5th century.

c) Comments

Site No. 7 has yielded a number of well-preserved assemblages of artifacts. One of them is a group of mortar-shaped beads made of talc schist. These mortar-shaped beads in this group were likely used on a chain. One fourth of them are mortar-shaped beads produced with a technique slightly older than the one used chiefly for this group. This combination likely reflects the actual use back then. It is more reasonable to assume that the combination reflects the differences in the generations of artisans or in technical lineage, rather than to assume that stored items were used together with new ones. It is also worth noting that the mortar-shaped beads were used independently, not together with comma-shaped beads or other precious stone objects.

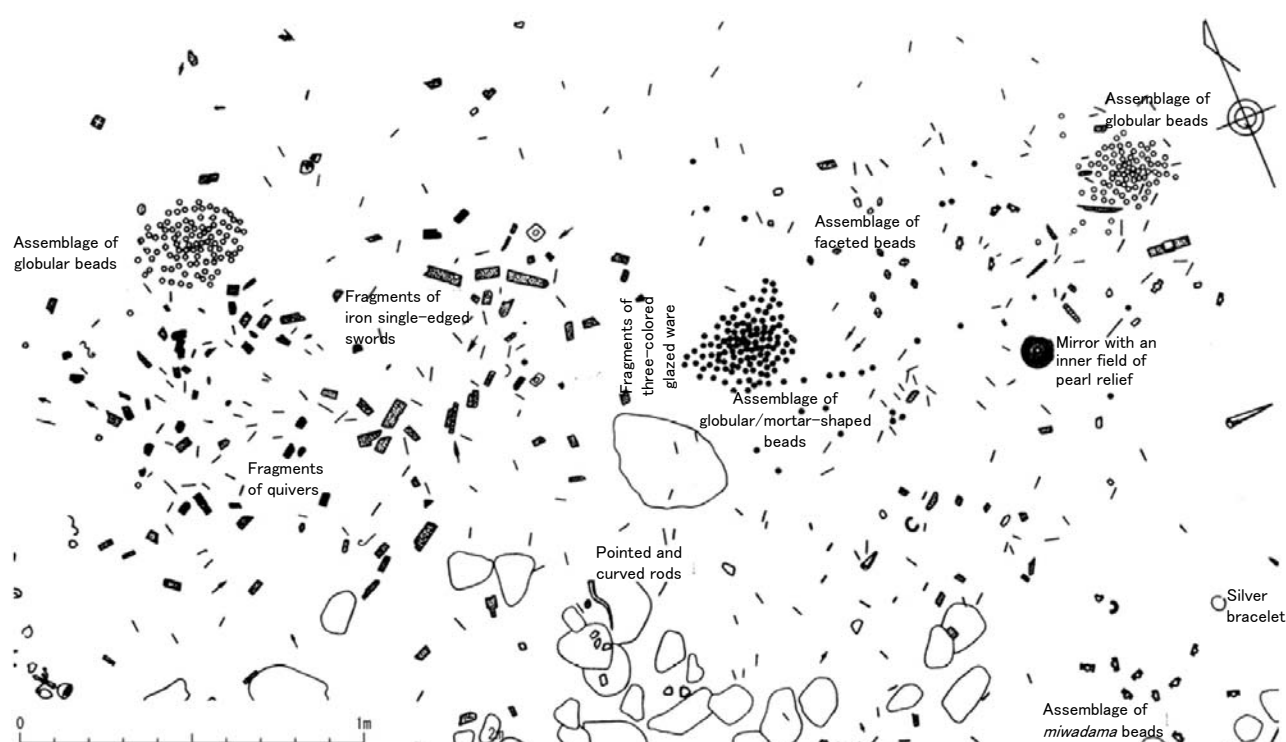


Figure 24 Ground plan of Site No. 7

(7) Site No. 8 (rituals in the shade of a rock)

a) An overview

Site No. 8 is located in the shade of the northern part of Rock D, which is also home to Site No. 7. TLV mirrors, a sheath of socketed pike which added silver decoration to gilt bronze, a miniature of an iron single-edged sword and a large number of glass globular beads have been found in a rectangular area (8-plus meters x 3 meters).

b) Observation

The investigation report states that the artifacts found at this site are made up of one comma-shaped bead of jadeite, one comma-shaped bead of green jasper, one cylindrical bead of green jasper, 32 glass round/globular beads, 338 glass globular beads, 842 millet beads, seven faceted beads. This statement,

however, does not match the inventory of the precious stone objects from this site. The talc objects include 3,409 mortar-shaped beads, 85 perforated discs (small perforated flat beads), and two comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted.

Mortar-shaped beads

Most of the mortar-shaped beads from this site are cylindrical in shape with horizontal grinding (C3) and larger than their parallels from Site No. 7. The material stone came from the Sangun metamorphic belt. The grinding traces suggest that a coarse whetstone was used. The mortar-shaped beads were likely produced in the fourth to fifth scores of the 5th century.

Flat-bead-like objects made from shells

This site has yielded three or more flat-bead-like objects made from shells. Of them, two has been found in perfect form, with fragments of the other(s) scattered at the site. Both of the two complete objects made of abalone shells, one measuring 4.36 cm in length and 3.54 in width, the other measuring 5.21 cm in length and 3.96 cm in width. They have one flat side with a perforation at either end. At the center is a perforation larger than those at both ends. This is likely the result of natural erosion. Their shape suggests that they are shell-made perforated discs (double-perforated).

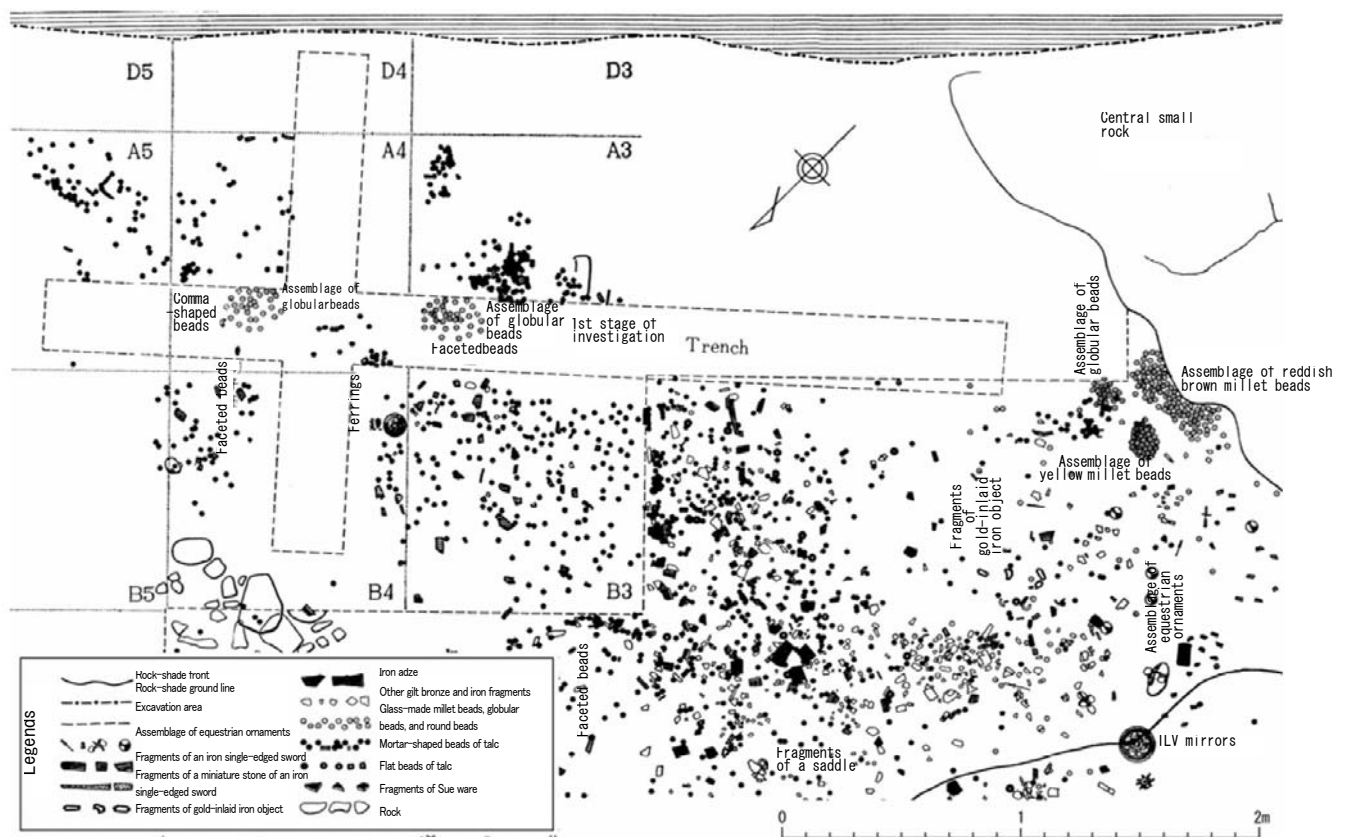


Figure 25 Ground plan of Site No. 8

Perforated discs

The perforated discs found at this site are diverse. Notably, their materials range from dark green stone containing black particles or white talc, to milky white stone containing black phenocrysts and banded textures, and grayish milky white stone containing dark green or gray phenocrysts. Of these discs, double-perforated ones and elliptical or semi-circular single-perforated one are largely made of the dark green stone described above. The assemblage of perforated discs made of stone from the local section of the Sangun metamorphic belt is made in large part of crude products, including in-progress items that were produced in the process of rough shaping using the technique to divide the board of the stone into the shape of a square. Chronologically speaking, they were likely produced in the fourth to fifth scores of the 5th century. Perforated discs made of stone from the Sangun metamorphic belt may have been made in the first half of 6th century.

Iron-adze-shaped objects

Four iron-adze-shaped objects have been found. The four objects have a shape of a tall trapezoid or a trapezoid whose bottom (long) side is oblique. They are perforated near the upper (short) side. The flat side has been ground obliquely. They are made of dark white stone as in the case of the sword-shaped objects found at Site No. 21. The decisive factor for identifying an artifact as an iron-adze-shaped object is that it has a line incised below the center of each oblique side and a straight line connecting these two incised line. They were likely produced in the third and fourth scores of the 5th century.

Comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted

Two comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted have been unearthed at this site. One is characterized by a main comma-shaped bead that has a semi-circular shape and edged head and tail (Figure 26, No. 78). The imaginary straight line connecting the tip of the head and the tip of the tail of the main comma-shaped bead matches that of the miniature comma-shaped bead on the belly. The main bead has an elliptical cross-section. The miniature on the belly is also roughly comma-shaped. In particular, the belly, the head, and the tail are rounded just as the shape of a typical comma-shaped bead. By contrast, the miniatures on both sides and the back are simple in form, looking more like cuboids. The layout lines between these cuboid carvings remain on the surface of the main bead, suggesting the main and miniatures were designed as a single entity. The miniatures on each side are the product of dividing the belt-shaped elevation into smaller parts. The first and second miniatures from the bottom correspond to the first and second miniatures the back by design. The third and fourth miniatures on each side, on the other hand, correspond to the third to fifth miniatures on the back. The fifth to seventh miniatures on each side correspond to the six to eighth miniatures on the back. Just above the seventh (last) miniature on each side is a hanging perforation. In general, miniatures on the back are made by carving the surface of the back of the main bead into cuboid shapes. For this reason, they are usually thinner than the main comma-shaped bead. In this particular comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted, however, the back part is emphasized by cutting off its surroundings. This was done by first putting an iron sharp-edged tool perpendicularly into the body of the main bead to create a line that separated the back from each side and then putting the tool into the body obliquely from the side miniatures. The deep cuts in the shape of a V-gutter demarcate each back miniature, making it trapezoidal in shape. This comma-shaped bead is made of fuliginous stone which contains fine white talc phenocrysts and green schist phenocrysts that are actually dark green in color. The cutting traces of a knife-shaped iron tool are coarse. The second comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (Figure 26-79) is characterized by a main comma-shaped bead that has a semi-circular shape that is slightly long vertically, with its head bent inwardly. The imaginary straight line connecting the tip of the head and the tip of the tail of the miniature comma-shaped bead on the belly is inside of that of the main comma-shaped bead. The main bead has a semi-square cross-section. The belly has been carved flat. Likewise, the border between the miniature on the belly and the main bead has been cut off straight. The four miniature beads on each side are the product of carving the belt-shaped elevation into trapezoidal shapes. To maintain integrity with the miniature on the belly, the area between the two inner miniatures on each side has been carved deeper so that this area is on the same level as the side of the main bead. The set of four miniatures on the back, the miniature on the belly, and the set of four miniatures on each side are located parallel to one another. This indicates that the original elevation on the back, from which the four miniature comma-shaped beads have been created, have been carved in a systematical manner. The miniatures on the back do not correspond to those on each side in layout. They look more like two pairs of comma-shaped projections. Each side of the main bead is flat. The back part of the head and tail has been carved into flat belt-like surfaces, and the areas between them have been carved obliquely. Thus, the area between the ridge demarcating each side and the one demarcating the back has been carved flat. This comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted is made of whitish brown stone in which fine black particles, gray phenocrysts and banded textures are distributed evenly.

c) Comments

It is likely that the mortar-shaped beads were produced in the fourth to fifth scores of the 5th century, the perforated discs in fourth to fifth scores of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century, and the iron-adze-shaped objects in the third to fourth scores of the 5th century. The chronology of these artifacts suggests that most of the stone ritual items were made in the fourth to fifth scores of the 5th century, with a few of them having been produced later.

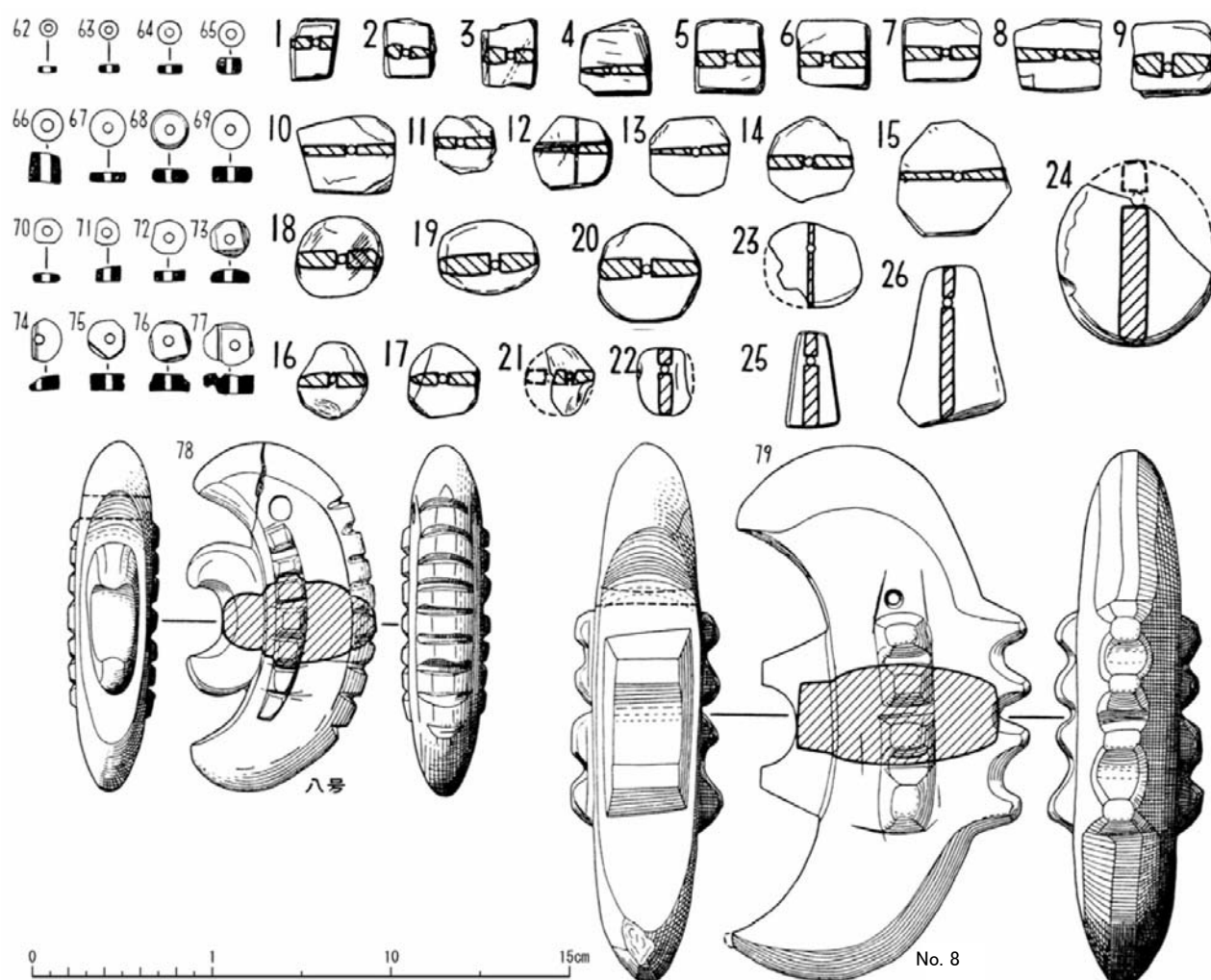


Figure 26 Artifacts from Site No. 8

(8) Site No. 23 (rituals in the shade of a rock)

a) An overview

precious stone objects that have been unearthed at this site include cylindrical beads made of shale, glass globular beads, and mortar-shaped beads of talc. Of the other artifacts found, objects from shells deserve special attention.

b) Observation

Objects made from shells

The shell-made objects are the product of turning an abalone shell into an elliptical shape and perforating each end of the major axis of the ellipse from one side. The cross-section is rather thick, and whetstone grinding has been applied to the sides. The convex surface is porous as a result of erosion due to seawater or marine borers. Some of the shell-made objects bear a perforation around the center of the body as if it has been cut with throbbing pebbles in waves. This indicates that the shells were collected long after the abalones dies. The convex surface has been ground flat, partly glittering like laminas of mother-of-pearl.

c) Comments

Judging by their size and the location of the perforations, these shell-made objects can be classified as shell-made perforated discs (double-perforated). Because double-perforated discs are regarded as a

simplified form of a mirror-shaped object, they were likely created as *katashiro* (representations of objects, used in rites of purification (*misogi* or *harae*) to represent the subject of the rite), that give off a radiance, which could not have been possible with a stone parallel. Both the major and minor axes are limited to a short range, with the former from 4.5 cm to 5.1 cm, and the latter from 3.4 cm to 3.9 cm. This suggests that these shell-made objects have been produced by the same artisan during a short period of time. Attention should be paid to the fact that these measurements are similar to those of the already-mentioned parallels at Site No. 8. One of the reasons that these objects are regarded as double-perforated discs is that a small mirror with an inner field of pearl relief design with a diameter of 6.0 cm has also been excavated at Site No. 23. The fact that the major axis of this mirror matches that of the shell-made object from Site No. 6 is quite suggestive, given that stone ritual items were often designed to match the size of their models. It was not unusual that a larger number of representations of objects were used for rituals for one or more small mirrors. If such a case is confirmed at a ritual site (feature) in the provinces, that means that rituals of special importance were conducted there. It thus transpires that rituals in Munakata Okinoshima were always regarded highly. The fact that the archaeologically associated cylindrical beads, mortar-shaped beads and single-perforated discs unearthed at Site No. 23 likely belong to the same period indicates that the shell-made objects were produced from the fourth score of the 5th century to the second score of the 6th century.

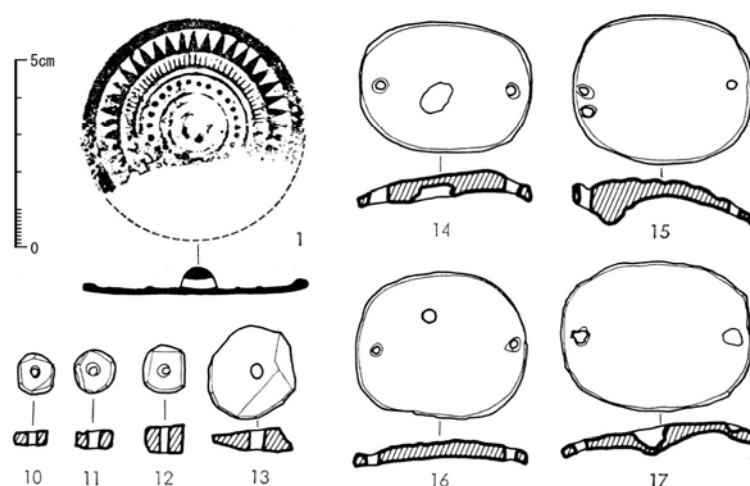


Figure 27 Artifacts from Site No. 23

(9) Site No. 20 (rituals partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air)

a) An overview

The artifacts unearthed at this site include an iron imitative mirror, knife-shaped objects of iron, large talc discs (with one hanging perforation in the upper part), a talc representation of comma-shaped bead, talc mortar-shaped beads, and talc flat beads (square beads).

b) Observation

The large talc discs have a perforation for suspension. On the edge above the perforation is a cutting for a hanging string, rather than a depression created by the friction with a string.

The flat beads (square beads) are the product of the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a square, in which grid split lines are incised on both surface of a stone slab and the slab is split into pieces before working them into an intended shape. They retain burrs generated when the slab was split. Some of them have a cross perforation that was created when the front and the side with burrs were perforated so that the passages would meet at right angles.

c) Comments

Although the talc objects are quite similar with their parallels at Site No. 1, the talc representation of comma-shaped bead is smaller than its parallels there. The mortar-shaped beads are also smaller than their parallels in a later period. From these facts, they seem to predate their parallels at Site No. 1. The iron imitative mirror and knife-shaped objects of iron can be ascribed to the 5th century. This raises the possibility that the assemblage at the site includes artifacts from different periods of time.

(10) Site No. 1 (rituals in the open air)

a) An overview

The investigation report states that the talc representations of objects that have been unearthed at Site No. 1 include objects representing the human figure (*hitogata*) (the plank type and the bar type), objects representing a horse (*umagata*) (the barebacked type and the appareled type), objects representing a boat (*funagata*), comma-shaped beads, comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted, discs (perforated discs, large perforated discs, and imperforate discs). The talc stone objects found are made up of mortar-shaped beads and flat beads, according to the report.¹⁵⁾

Site No. 1 has also yielded a mirror with an octagonal-lobed rim and a pointed rim edge, a *Fuju shimpō* coin (minted by the Imperial Court), and Nara three-colored glazed ware, as well as metal miniatures of objects (bronze representations of a boat, bronze discs, iron discs, iron miniatures of a sword, iron miniatures of an arrowhead, iron miniatures of a socketed iron spear, and bronze bell-like objects), spinning and weaving implements such as *tōjo* (sword-shaped beater), *kasei* (H-(or X-)shaped frame for winding spun yarn), *tatari* (upright standing weaving, spinning implement with up to five branches to avoid yarn from getting tangled up or becoming felted) and *oke* (wooden vessel), bronze bowls and dishes, bronze platters, bronze thin-necked jars, bronze bells, bronze cups, Sue ware (unglazed stoneware) and Haji ware. It is thought that all these artifacts belong to the late 9th century up to the beginning of the 10th century and that they were deposited in two or more rituals.¹⁶⁾ The representations of objects made of stone are attributed to the late Nara period.¹⁷⁾

The representations of objects made of stone derive from stone ritual items, but an analysis of them shows they share more similarities with representations of objects made of wood in the Ritsuryō period. It is true, however, comparative analysis is difficult because stone-made representations of objects in this period are limited to Munakata Okinoshima and surrounding areas.

b) Observation

This section focuses on the artifacts for which comparable parallels are available: objects representing the human figure, comma-shaped beads, a comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted, discs, mortar-shaped beads, and flat beads.

Objects representing the human figure (*hitogata*)

Objects representing the human figure are classified into six types as shown below:¹⁸⁾

- (i) Scrupulously-processed plank-type representations with an even thickness that include those with facial expressions, measuring 8.5 - 9.5 cm in length and around 2.6 cm in width.
- (ii) Scrupulously-processed plank-type representations with an even thickness that do not include those with facial expressions, measuring 7.7 - 13 cm in length, 2.9 - 4.5 cm in width, and 1 cm in thickness.
- (iii) Crudely-processed representations whose shoulders are expressed with short slits. Each end is often cut off. The measurements are 12 - 16 cm in length, 3.3 - 5.2 cm in width, and 1.2 - 2 cm in thickness. This type of representations may come in a plank or bar form.
- (iv) Scrupulously-processed plank-type representations with an even, short thickness, measuring about 9 cm in length and 2.3 - 2.9 cm in width. They are more like a small *igushi* (a sacred wooden representation in the shape of a pointed board).
- (v) Crudely-processed representations that are small in size (5.6 - 6.6 cm in length and around 2 cm in width), thinly carved, and have incised lines.
- (vi) Crudely-processed bar-type representations with poor expressions of the body.

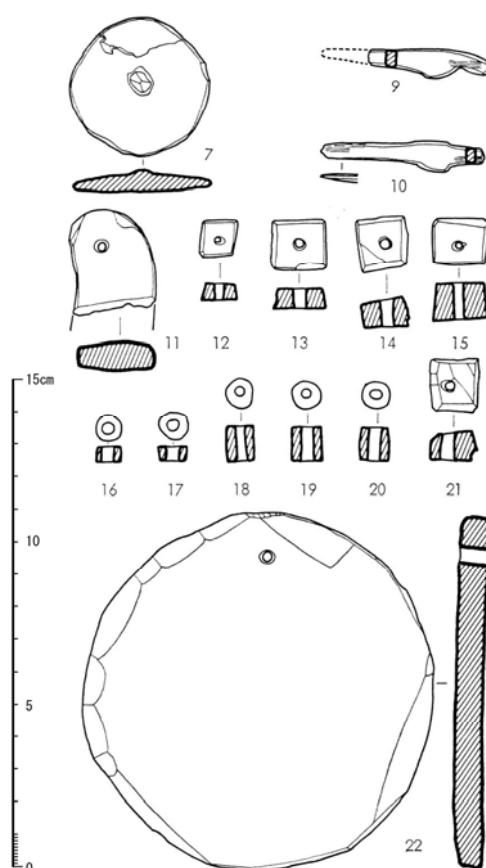


Figure 28 Artifacts from Site No. 20

Soft stone can be carved into virtually any form if substantial time is spent, although it entails the risk of being split along the direction of cleavage. For this reason, the shape and the finished quality of objects made of soft stone depend less on the level of skill and more on the commitment to perfection and the time available. As has mentioned earlier, the representations of objects made of stone at Site No. 1 shares similarities with wooden parallels in the Nara and Heian periods. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that the only difference lies in material. The crudeness common to the stone-made representations of objects at Site No. 1 may stem from two ideas. One is that wood is a less time-consuming material for making representations of objects. The other is that representations of objects are consumables that should be used in only one ritual. This may have helped the process whereby ritual items came to be institutionalized as part of ritual procedures. Seen in this light, stone-made representations of objects and wooden parallels differ only in one aspect: material.

Now the focus is placed on wooden objects representing the human figure. According to ŌHIRA Shigeru, a range of criteria have been proposed for classifying wooden objects representing the human figure in the history of archaeological research on this subject. He argues that they boil down to six criteria:

- (i) The morphological expressions on the head (face);
- (ii) Changes in notches from the neck to the shoulder;
- (iii) The presence or absence of expressions of the arms;
- (iv) The presence or absence of slits in the waist part;
- (v) The presence or absence of a slit in the leg part; and
- (vi) The size.

ŌHIRA maintains that criteria (ii), (iii) and (iv) hold the key.¹⁹⁾ Because the author concurs on this point, the objects representing the human figure are analyzed according to ŌHIRA's classification. In this classification, wooden objects representing the human figure are largely divided into:

- (i) Those whose arms are expressed with slits (Type I);
- (ii) Those whose arms are expressed with notches (Type III);
- (iii) Those whose arms are expressed with both slits and notches (Type II); and
- (iv) Those whose arms are not expressed at all (Type IV).

The subdivisions include:

- (i) Those with sloping, round shoulders (Subtype a);
- (ii) Those with drooping shoulders (Subtype b);
- (iii) Those with square shoulders (Subtype c); and
- (iv) Those with no neck (Subtype d).

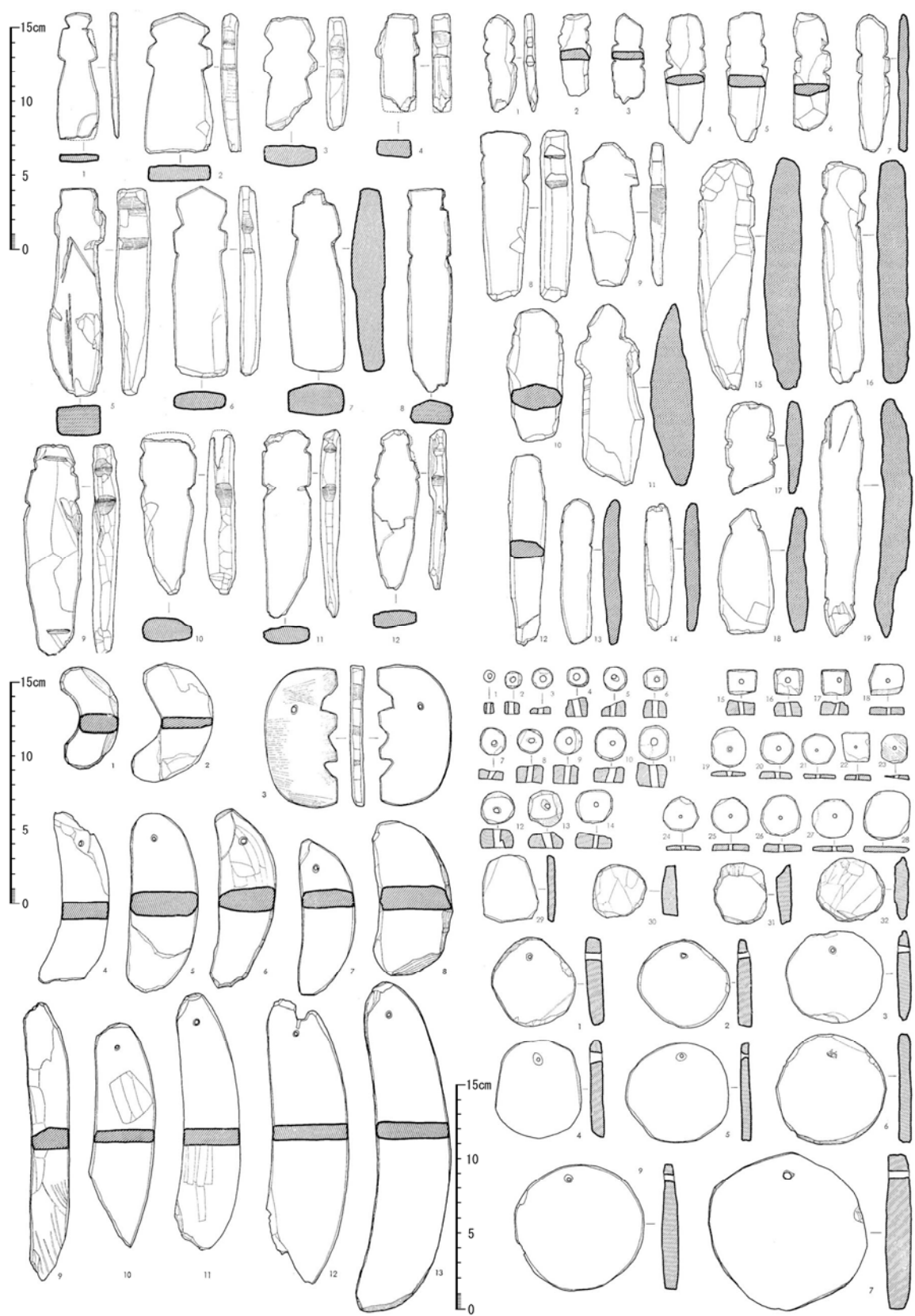


Figure 29 Artifacts from Site No. 1

Of the 43 objects representing the human figure unearthed at Site No. 1 whose drawings are available, 38 objects (88.4%) have their arms expressed in a trapezoidal form; 4 objects (9.3%) are carved rather thin and have linear slits on the sides, with trapezoidal expressions omitted; and one object (2.3%) has had only the head explicitly expressed. About 98% of them belong to Type III, which expresses the arms with notches, although some of them simplify or almost omit such expressions. They have only two types of shoulders: sloping, round shoulders (Subtype a) and square shoulders (Subtype c). The chronology by ŌHIRA assigns Type III-a to the middle third of the 9th century up to the middle third of the 10th century, and Type III-b to the middle third of the 9th century up to the last third of the 10th century.²⁰⁾ Examples of wooden objects representing the human figure whose arms are expressed with short trapezoidal shapes can be found in a number of sites. These include Higashihorikawa, Heijōkyō SD1300²¹⁾, ascribed to the middle third of the 9th century; the gutter SD650 along the east side of the Sakyō-Ichijō-Sambō Ōji street, Heijōkyō²²⁾, ascribed to the second half of the 9th century; and those found in the well SE24 in Area A at the Sugaito Site in Mie prefecture²³⁾, ascribed to the second half of the 9th century. Wooden objects representing the human figure from Higashihorikawa are characterized by the side parts of the trunk below the arms that are expressed in high relief as well as by a layer that demarcates the waist part. By contrast, those from Site No. 1 are not so elaborate. It is therefore reasonable to limit the types of wooden objects representing the human figure that serve as chronological criteria to four types:

- (i) Objects whose hands are expressed in a trapezoidal form;
- (ii) Those whose hands are expressed in a trapezoidal shape with a small head, a sign of degeneration;
- (iii) Those that are carved rather thin and have linear slits on the sides, with trapezoidal expressions omitted; and
- (iv) Those that have only the head explicitly expressed.

The author ascribes Type (i) to the fourth score of the 9th century, Type (ii) to the fifth score of the 9th century, Type (iii) to the first score of the 10th century, and Type (iv) to the second score of the 10th century. However, it is also possible to attribute the differences in the objects representing the human figure at Site No. 1 to different artisans, rather than to different chronological phases, as far as objects that required many artisans to create under time pressure are concerned. In that case, they can be largely ascribed to around the second half of the 9th century.

Objects in the shape of a comma-shaped bead

A total of 27 objects in the shape of a comma-shaped bead have been unearthed at Site No. 1. The investigation report classifies these objects into four types: A, B, C, and D. A more recent study, however, excludes Type B as belonging to comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted (discussed separately later), thus classifying them into three types. This study also divides items that might be unfinished products into C' and D'.²⁴⁾ Type A represents those whose belly is curved inwardly as an object in the shape of a comma-shaped bead intrinsically does. Type C groups those that are shaped like a flat slab, 10-13 cm in length, and have a slightly curved belly. Type D is made up of those that are shaped like a flat and long slab, 15-22.4 cm in length, and slightly curved like an arc. Imperforate objects are classified as those that might be unfinished products.

The comma-shaped objects from Site No. 1 are characterized by an oversized body that fails to meet the morphological criteria to be identified as comma-shaped beads, except for Type A. They are normally shaped like a flat slab. Type A, which meets the morphological criteria to be identified as comma-shaped beads, is 7-8 cm in length and thus larger than usual comma-shaped beads, and has been scrupulously carved with the blade of a knife-shaped iron object. The same technique is also seen in the third to fourth scores of the 5th century. This fact alone does not constitute conclusive evidence that Type A derives directly from comma-shaped objects of this period. It is more reasonable to assume that no other technique could have been available for carving soft stone into the shape of comma-shaped beads. There is a major difference, however, between comma-shaped objects made by artisans who knew the shape of comma-shaped beads and those made by artisans who did not. It is at least safe to say that artisans who produced Type A knew comma-shaped beads and that Types C and D were modeled after a degenerated version that came after Type A. Stone ritual items attributed to the present-day Tōhoku region--especially the Nakadōri area in Fukushima prefecture--in the Kofun period provides valuable clues for elucidating such a degeneration trend. The eastern part of Kōriyama city is covered by the broad-based metamorphic belt of the Abukuma Mountains. This area yields talcous stone; in fact, there is a place called Onjaku-daira

[the literal translation would be “heated stone plateau] in the area. To the south of this area sits the Tatehokoyama Site, where stone ritual items from the ancient province of Hitachi [which covers most of present-day Ibaraki prefecture] and locally produced ones were used simultaneously. In and after the period to which this site chronologically belongs, stone ritual items came to be produced locally. Because locally-produced items were modeled after stone ritual items from Hitachi, no artifacts have been found whose shape shows they chronologically belong to an earlier period. Morphological degeneration was remarkable thereafter; extremely distorted forms due to the ignorance of the prototypes emerged. Seen in this light, the comma-shaped objects found at Site No. 1 in Munakata Okinoshima are thought to have undergone a transition from Type A to Type C, and further to Type D. This transition suggests that rituals were conducted on three or more occasions at this site.

In the Japanese counting system, the number of precious stone objects has traditionally been counted by the numerical unit of *ka* 顆, a unit derived from Chinese. [For example, the word “five” in “five beads” are rendered into “*go* [five] *ka*.”] The unit *ka* is used to count small, rounded objects or fruits. The numerical unit for comma-shaped beads and other precious stone objects is thus reviewed below with reference made to historical literature. The case in point regarding such literature is *Shōsōin-monjo* [document collections of the Nara period held in the Shōsōin –treasure storehouse that belongs to the Tōdai-ji temple–]. *Zōbutsusho-Sakumotsuchō* (造仏所作物帳), one of the section of *Shōsōin-monjo* written in 734 includes the following expression: “*Suishō-dama* [Crystal balls] 6 *mai*, *Ruri-zasshiki-dama* [Polychromatic glass beads] 2142 *mai* (*Maru-dama* [Round beads] 162 *mai*, *Kosashi-dama* [Kosashi beads] 1980 *mai*). These are the kinds of beads that are used to decorate Buddha images and Buddhist altar paraphernalia. The above expression shows that precious stone objects were counted with the numeral unit *mai* 枚. Without doubt, *mai* is the unit for flat objects including pieces of paper, and this unit was used for crystal balls and polychromatic glass beads probably because they were connected with one another on a string for delivery. *Izumo-no-kuni-Keikaichō* [an official accounting book of the ancient province of Izumo], another section of *Shōsōin-monjo* written in the same year, includes the following passages: “*Dōjitsu Shinjō Shinju* 30 *ka* (*jō* 10 *ka*, *chū* 5 *ka*, *ge* 15 *ka*) [On the same day, pearl 30 granule were presented (10 high-class granules, 5 middle-class granules, and 15 low-class granules)]”, “*Dōjitsu Shinjō Suishō-dama* 100 *ka* [On the same day, crystal ball 100 granules were presented].” The use of *ka* may have reflected two aspects: the fact that the Izumo province traditionally produced precious stone objects; and these beads were looked at from the producer’s perspective, not from the perspective of a consumer who received the delivery of beads on a string. Be that as it may, the numerical units *mai* and *ka* were both used contemporaneously for the same kind of crystal beads. Yet another section of *Shōsōin-monjo*, *Chikugo-no-kuni-Shōzeichō* [an official tax record of the ancient province of Chikugo], written in 738, used the unit *mai*. “Based on the order by the *Dajōkan* (Council of State) on 7th month 11th day of Tenpyō 10 (738), *Shiro-dama* (white beads) 113 *mai* were bought, the value was *ine* (rice) 71 *soku* 束 1 *wa* 把 1 *bu* 分; *Kon-dama* (navy blue beads) 71 *mai*, the value was *ine* 41 *soku* 1 *wa* 8 *bu*; *Hanada-dama* (light blue beads or pale blue beads) 933 *mai*, the value was *ine* 47 *soku* 7 *wa* 8 *bu*; *Midori-dama* (green beads) 42 *mai*, the value was *ine* 3 *soku* 1 *wa* 7 *bu*; *Aka-no-magatama* (Red comma-shaped beads) 7 *mai*, the value was *ine* 16 *soku* 8 *wa*; *Maru-dama* (Round beads) 1 *mai*, the value was *ine* 1 *wa* 2 *bu*; *Take-dama* 2 *mai*, the value was *ine* 3 *wa* 8 *bu*; *Magari-no-hanada-dama* (light blue beads or pale blue beads of comma-shape) 1 *mai*, the value was *ine* 1 *soku* 8 *wa*.” Seen like this, the use of the numerical unit *mai* had overwhelmed. Thus, it is conceivable that the precious stone objects including comma-shaped beads were considered to be counted with *mai* in and after Nara period, as “*Aka-no-magatama* (Red comma-shaped beads) 7 *mai*.” The fact that the objects in the shape of a comma-shaped bead of Types C and D from Site No. 1 fail to meet the morphological criteria to be identified as comma-shaped beads and the fact that they are more like a large flat slab in shape might well be explained by the simple theory that artisans who had no idea what comma-shaped beads was actually like produced the ordered numbers of comma-shaped objects for the clients.

Finally, imperforate comma-shaped objects classified as Type C’ or D’, which might be unfinished products, tell a lot of story. First of all, a hanging perforation is essential for comma-shaped beads, which must be suspended in use. The question is: Why do not Type C’ or D’ objects, which may be considered unfinished products, have a hanging perforation even though they display a finished quality no poorer than that of others (although they are crude products)? A hint for this question comes from that fact that Type A objects are also imperforate in spite of their comma-shaped beads-like shape. It is important to recall here that talc-made ritual items did not have a hanging perforation when they also served as lying funeral items originally. In other words, they were “altar-mounted” items. They came to have a hanging perforation as

they came to be used as ritual items. It is thus necessary to assume that Types C' and D' were used as "altar-mounted" items, rather than regarding them as unfinished products. In other words, Types C' and D' may have been used as offerings, not as *himorogi* ritual items to be hung from above in rituals of this period.

A comma-shaped bead with a miniature comma-shaped bead mounted

One comma-shaped bead with a miniature comma-shaped bead mounted has been found at Site No. 1. The investigation report counts this object as a comma-shaped bead, bringing the total number of comma-shaped beads at this site to 28. This comma-shaped bead has a shape of a flat slab with a miniature comma-shaped bead on its belly. The back and each side have no miniature comma-shaped beads, and no traces of them are found. A total of four major steps were involved to make this object. The first step was to carve the straight side of the semi-circular slab with oblique grounding. The second step was to carve the straight side into seven sections with an iron tool having a knife-shaped blade. (First, a line was incised in the center at the half point, and the surface was carved so as to form a V-shape. Second, the head and tail parts of the miniature comma-shaped bead were carved. Third, the jaw part of the head of the main body was made with oblique carving. Forth, a line in parallel with the back line was carved on the belly of the main body. Although the tail was carved out likewise, the line on the belly that is parallel with the back line was carved short.) The third step involves grinding. The back was ground obliquely. The part near the head was ground transversely so as to create a ridge at the end. Double transverse grinding was applied to the central part of the back so as to create a longitudinal ridge along the back line. A series of oblique grinding was applied to each side to create a flat surface. The fourth step involves drilling. First, a hanging perforation was drilled with the method of end-to-end drilling from one side. Then the trace that failed with a perforator was eliminated with an iron tool having a knife-shaped blade, which was moved obliquely in relation to the head as if to carve a straight line. Similar-shaped parallels have been found here and there in the area of Fukuoka prefecture. The specific places that have yielded them include the Hinoo Tomb No.1, the Dazaifu Tofurō Ruin, and the Tsumaru-Gorōmaru Site. Those from the Hinoo Tomb No.1 and the Tsumaru-Gorōmaru Site are two-thirds as large as the one found at Site No. 1. They have a trapezoidal projection on their belly, indicating the degenerated expression of a miniature comma-shaped bead. The one found in the Dazaifu Tofurō Ruin, about the size of the one from Site No. 1, has many cuts on its back that form miniature comma-shaped beads (which are saw-toothed, not comma-shaped). A similar cut pattern can be found in those from Site No. 8 in Munakata Okinoshima. With its belly deeply carved and miniature comma-shaped beads mounted on its back, the Dazaifu Tofurō item is likely one period older than Site No. 1 parallel. What attracts attention here is the fact that this particular comma-shaped bead with a miniature comma-shaped bead mounted belongs to a period for which written sources are available. In other words, there is a high probability that it bore some of the names cited in historical documents including the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) and the *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan). In this context, SANO Hirokazu's "Yasakani-no-magatama" theory is appealing to the author.

Discs

The investigation report classifies the discs from Site No. 1 into three general types: perforated discs, large perforated discs, and imperforate discs. Large perforated discs are subdivided into three subtypes. Subtype A, which is 6 - 7 cm in diameter, about 1 cm thick, and has a perforation 5 mm in diameter at the top; Subtype B, which is 8.3 - 10.6 cm in diameter and has a perforation at the top; and Subtype C, which is 9.6 - 13.7 cm in diameter, 2.3 - 2.6 cm in thick, and has a perforation 1.6 - 1.9 cm diameter at the center.²⁵⁾ In the actual observation, the author has found no major differences in the production process among these three types. The side surface, as well as the front and back surfaces, bears traces of grinding with a coarse whetstone. Some discs have traces of being hit by an iron sharp-edged tool (or a graver according to the investigation report). Others, which are not mentioned in the report, have one clear and thick linear scar at the center or toward the edge as if it were left by a saw-shaped stone implement. Even others are made of low-quality, porous talc schist. These low-quality products suggest inadequate product management as a result of putting quantity before quality. It is possible to assume that low-quality products that were usually discarded may have been put to use under the pressure of scarce material stone.

Some of the imperforate discs from this site have a depression at the center, which might make the expression "imperforate" sound inappropriate. It might be the trace of a leg of compasses that was used to delineate a circle.

Mortar-shaped bead and flat beads

The investigation report distinguishes mortar-shaped beads from flat beads. According to the report, mortar-shaped beads are 0.8 - 2.5 cm in diameter and 0.7 - 1.6 cm in thickness, while flat beads are around 2 cm in diameter and nearly 1 cm in thickness.²⁶⁾ There is indeed an assemblage of obviously thinner beads that must have been made using the same technique and material. It is reasonable to conclude that they were made as a different kind of beads from those described as mortar-shaped beads. The production of mortar-shaped beads involved grinding talc schist into a square slab with a coarse whetstone, incising grid lines on the surface with a cutting tool that was regarded as a saw (whether the material was stone or iron is unknown), splitting the slab along these lines, and grinding the slit pieces into round objects with a coarse whetstone. In the case of many of the mortar-shaped beads from this site, grid lines were incised on both the upper and lower sides and the burrs generated when the slab was split have been ground into a shape of a round-angled square; or the side that was deeply flaked when the slab was split has been left as it was and only the other sides have been ground. Some have been ground coarsely; others have been ground scrupulously. A few of the mortar-shaped beads are of a size that was common in the late Middle Kofun period, with the difference between the outer diameter and the diameter of the perforation is 1 mm or less on one side.

c) Comments

The artifacts from Site No. 1 have been found as a result of trench investigations. They are only part of the wealth of artifacts at the site; many artifacts can be seen even today. They were likely deposited on different occasions as many archaeologists note. What is striking is that they include many poor-quality or unfinished products that would otherwise have been discarded, and even flakes produced in the manufacturing process. The amount of the byproduct flakes found in Okinoshima Island is small compared with that in the remains of a workshop. The results of a series of archaeological investigations to this day suggest, however, that more such flakes will be found. As no large material stone has been found on the island, it is likely that in-progress products after rough cutting--or stone slabs with grid lines incised on the surface in the case of mortar-shaped beads--were brought to the island and processed there. This manufacturing method was rarely seen in the Kantō region, where artisans produced stone items from flakes. To put it the other way around, it was a common method in the Kinai district. The sites in the Chikuzen region where the similar method has been confirmed to have been applied include:

- (i) Matsugae and Matsugashita Sites (from the third score of the 5th century to the first score of the 7th century) in Shime town at the foot of Mt. Wakasugi, which is home to outcrops of talc of the Sangun Mountains;
- (ii) Dwelling Site No. 413, Kyūshū University Chikushi Area Site (the second half of the 5th century);
- (iii) Ritual earthen pits in Yūsu-Mishiro Area Site (the first half of the 5th century);
- (iv) Ryūge-ji B Site, SD14 (the second half of the 5th century);
- (v) Dwelling Site No. 58 in the 18th investigation at the Takabatake Site (the fifth score of the 5th century); and
- (vi) Ushigakuma Site (the fifth score of the 6th century to the first score of the 7th century).

The production of mortar-shaped beads in the Kyūshū region is detailed in a recent study by HIRAO Kazuhisa.²⁷⁾ According to this study, mortar-shaped beads were produced one by one from talc flakes in the Early Kofun period. This nascent technique is known as the technique for repairing form by small destruction. This technique was applied at such locations as the Kaminoshō Site in Sakurai city and the Isonokita Site in Yamatotakada city, both in the ancient province of Yamato and yielding pottery of the second phase of the Furu type. The technique was superseded by the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice in the Middle Kofun period. This new technique was applied at the Matsugae and Matsugashita Sites in Shime town, both of which are ascribed to the third score of the 5th century. This technological conversion, first seen in the Kinai district, took place in the Kyūshū region as well. By contrast, the Kantō region stuck to the technique for repairing form by small destruction, which is regarded as a nascent one originated in the Kinai district.

In East Japan, some stone ritual items were produced, distributed, and consumed at different places. This is the result of the practice of forming a village in which groups of craftspeople with different duties were settled, as told in the *Kogo-syūi*. The political background to this settlement practice was that major local

rulers sought a social structure that was seen in the Kinai district.²⁸⁾ Meanwhile, in the regions where such a social structure was established, especially those in West Japan, demand in a village was essentially met with products produced in that village. Such villages had both the technical capacity to produce ritual items and the capacity to secure material stone on their own, every time the demand for them arose. Generally speaking, the production areas and consumption areas were separated from each other in the Kantō region, while in West Japan, local production was the norm. This local production system was often seen in archaeological sites where the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice was used; in fact, it characterized the production and consumption of stone ritual items in the Kinai district and elsewhere in West Japan. Seen in this light, the presence of the byproduct flakes at Site No. 1 suggests that mortar-shaped beads were locally produced with the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice. This in turn indicates that the Kinai-type production of ritual items was practiced in Site No. 1. Attention should be paid, however, to the fact that the mortar-shaped beads at Site No. 1 do not belong to the Kofun period. In the context of technical continuity, it is important to recall that the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice was employed in the first score of the 7th century at the Matsugaue, Matsugashita and Ushigakuma Sites. Furthermore, it is likely that Okinoshima rituals were financed by government funds, as suggested by *Engishiki*, Japanese governmental regulations compiled in the Engi period (901-923). A volume on divinities of *Engishiki* mentions *Saijin-no-ryō* and *Harae-no-ryō*, both of which were expenditure items for rituals. It is assumable that Government decrees to conduct such rituals were likely communicated to Gunji (district officials) of the Munakata-gun (ancient district) chiefly in the form of orders by the *dajō-kan* (Council of State) via Dazai-fu, the government headquarters in Kyūshū. The author believes that such government orders contained the direction to conduct rituals for Munakata Grand Goddesses according to traditional ritual procedures. It is likely that orders for comma-shaped beads were placed with artisans of the Nara period, who had no idea of what comma-shaped beads were really like but somehow produced stone ritual items according to these orders expressed in the numerical unit of *mai*, using talc schist--the material for ancient ritual items--as their material. Ōshima Island, located between Okinoshima Island and the main island of Kyūshū, may have yielded talc, as suggested by the name of the place “Onjaku” on the island. It is likely that even in the case where material stone was procured from the Sangun metamorphic belt, the offerings found in Site No. 1 were partly produced at the site by artisans who entered the island after practicing purification rituals.

In recent years, an archaeological investigation was conducted on the Ōshima-Mitakesan Site. The details of the investigation findings have yet to be released. Except for the fact that the site sits on the top of Mt. Mitake, from where Okinoshima Island and the Hetsu-miya on the main island of Kyūshū can be seen, the archaeological evidence there suggests that it is primarily the remains of a workshop. For one thing, the artifacts include a larger proportion of unfinished and damaged products as well as flakes than the typical ritual site does. For another, this site has yielded the tips of iron tube drills that seem to have been used as perforators. It is important to recall here that the site is far from the place called “Onjaku” and that it is atop the summit 224 meters above sea level. These facts raise the possibility that a workshop was built as an annex to a ritual site. Or it may be that the site served as a place for producing offerings--as well as purification rituals before landing on Okinoshima--for rituals on the island. Macrographic observation suggests that the talc found at Site No. 1 and the material stone found at the Ōshima-Mitakesan Site is identical. This attests to the long-held notion that the stone ritual items were locally produced. The findings of this macrographic observation will be discussed in detail later.

Finally, the implications of a certain question about objects representing the human figure will be discussed here. Objects representing the human figure are a purification tool that accepts the sin and impurity of people and is washed away down the river etc. The question is: Why were such objects brought to the sacred island of Munakata Okinoshima? Objects representing the human figure come in the form of a gilt bronze product as well as a stone product. In fact, such objects have been excavated at Site No. 5 and Site No. 22. Similar purification tools include *umagata* or objects representing a horse. They served as a tool to drive evil spirits away from the imperial capital. Stone-made objects representing a horse come in two forms: barebacked type and the appareled type. As ARAKIDA Tsunetada explains, these objects are the kind of things that “are used as *sonae-mono* [offerings] and also as *uga-mono* 贖物 [sacrifice objects].”²⁹⁾ In fact, they were used as *rajō ugamono* 羅城贖物 and in Yasoshima-no-Kami-no-Matsuri, one of the imperial enthronement ceremonies. It is thought that the practice of offering these *sonae-mono* and *uga-mono* continued after they were first offered by Prince Takechi-no-Miko or *Nochi-no-Miko-no-Mikoto* as referred to in The *Nihonshoki*. By extension, it is reasonable to assume that at Site No. 1, stone

representations of objects were deposited on different occasions in different periods. This assumption is supported by other offerings found there. In this context, it might be necessary to consider the possibility that such objects were also used for special festivals and rites with imperial messengers attended as well as regular festival, like Yasoshima-no-Kami-no-Matsuri and Tatsuta-no-Kaze-no-kami-no-Matsuri at Tatsuta Shrine in Nara prefecture. The stone-made representations of objects in Munakata have no contemporary parallels throughout Japan. Attention should also paid to the fact that rituals according to traditional procedures were designed to conjure up an image of rituals in which stone ritual items of preceding periods were used.

3. Discussion

(1) Chronology of the Okinoshima sites based on the artifacts found

Figure 30 provides a chronological chart of the ritual and other stone-made items found at ritual sites on Okinoshima Island.

This chart assigns Sites No. 16 and No. 17, which served as a place for rituals atop of rocks, to the fourth score of years of the 4th century up to the third score of the 5th century. Sites No. 19 and No. 21, also places for rituals atop of rocks, are assigned to the fifth score of the 4th century up to the fourth score of the 5th century. No. 6, No. 7 and No. 8, places for rituals in the shade of rocks, are ascribed to the third score of the 5th century up to the first half of the 6th century. Site No. 1, a place for rituals in the open air, belongs to the second half of 7th century and the subsequent historical period. This chart largely supports the long-held notion that the Okinoshima rituals were held first atop of rocks, in the shade of rocks, and then in the open air in a chronological order. This chronological transition, however, was not always a linear, single-track process. In fact, rituals atop of rocks and those in the shade of rocks occurred contemporaneously for some time. It is more reasonable to assume that rituals atop of rocks tend to predate other types of rituals only in a macroscopic sense and that in the 5th century, rituals were held either atop of rocks or in the shade of rocks. In other words, the Okinoshima ritual sites were aligned with one another, which influenced the components of the artifacts from each site. Many archaeologists now think that an archaeological site is an aggregate of archaeological features. In this context, the word “feature” would be a more appropriate term to refer to what is called “site” in Munakata Okinoshima, and all the places traditionally called “sites” should collectively be called a “site.” This notion may make it easier to obtain the overall picture of the Okinoshima rituals.

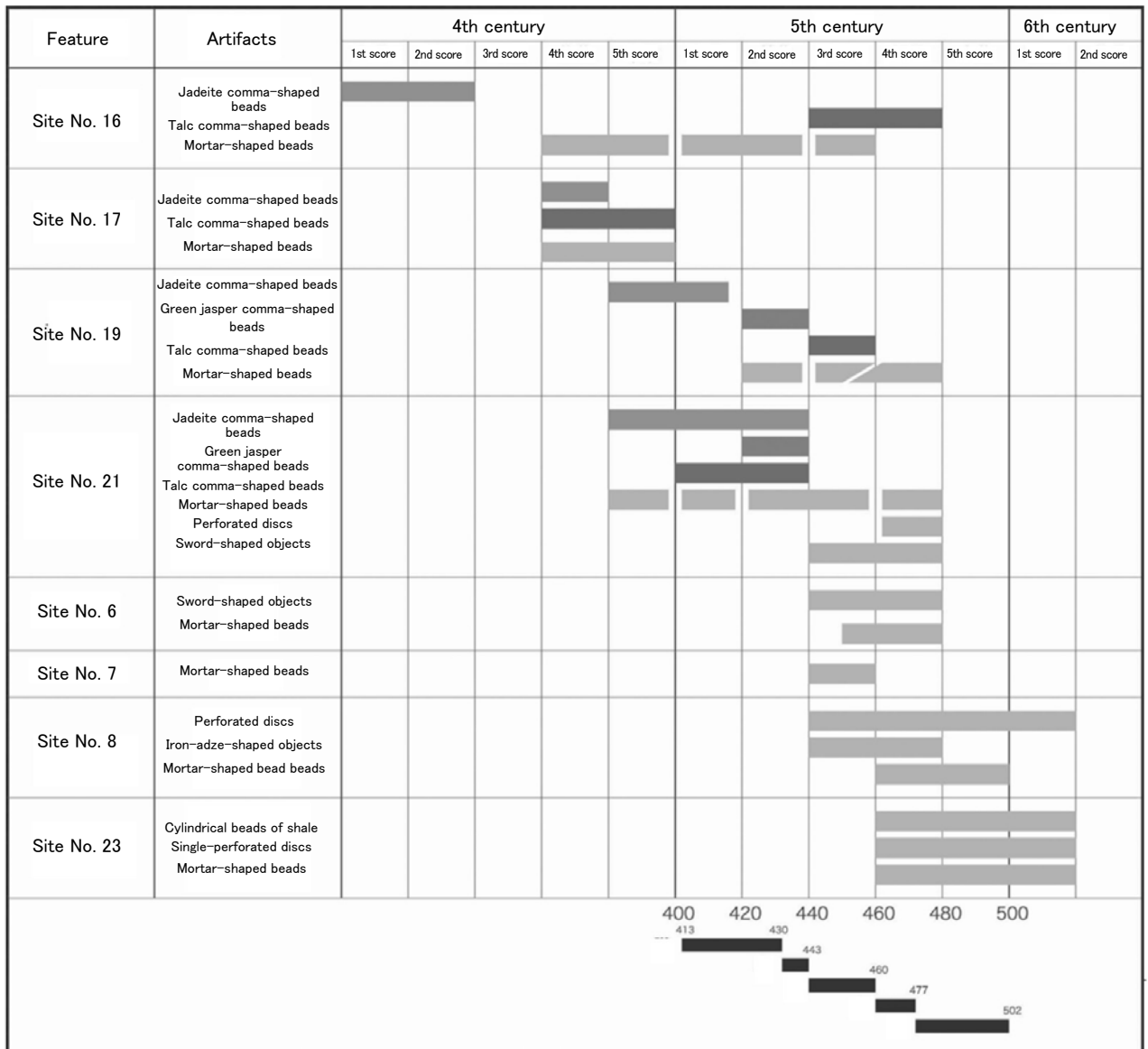


Figure 30: Chronological chart of selected Okinoshima ritual rites

(2) Ritual site and “kura” storehouses

What were Okinoshima rituals like actually?

The investigation report describes Site No. 21 as comprising “an altar made up of rock blocks on the gigantic rock, which served as *iwakura* or “rock-abode” (*yorishiro*); and a large rock slab at the center, which served as a stand against which *himorogi* ritual items were leaned.”³⁰⁾ This report and the subsequent reconstruction of Site No. 21 have to date helped archaeologists to form an image of what the site was really like. The author has, for his part, tried to shed new light on Site No. 21 by focusing solely on the stone-made objects found there. These stone-made objects--or mortar-shaped beads at least--have been found concentrated in four imaginary circular or elliptical zones, as shown in Figure 19. The first zone, located to the northeast, has yielded mortar-shaped beads only. The second zone, located to the north, has yielded sword-shaped objects, comma-shaped beads, and mortar-shaped beads. The third zone, located to the west, has yielded comma-shaped beads and mortar-shaped beads. The fourth zone, located to the south, has yielded comma-shaped beads as well as mortar-shaped beads. Pieces of single-perforated discs have been found scattered. It is more reasonable to assume that they transcended different archaeological phases rather than to interpret them as belonging to one of these zones (groupings). The comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted does not seem to belong to any of these groups. This suggests that it was used solely or as a stand-alone offering. In sum, the stone-made objects that have been found at Site No. 21 can be divided into:

- (i) Four groupings of mortar-shaped beads,
- (ii) Pieces of single-perforated discs that have been found scattered, and
- (iii) A single comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted.

These mortar-shaped beads can be classified morphologically into four chronological phases. Oddly enough, there is a parallel between these four phases and the four groupings of mortar-shaped beads mentioned above. Unfortunately, the location where each mortar-shaped bead has been found cannot be determined, making it difficult to confirm whether this parallel is the product of chance or archaeological association. Few mortar-shaped beads have been found on *iwakura*; most of them were near it on the same Rock F. The investigation report reads: “Three mortar-shaped beads of talc have been found in a small depression, which measures 3 cm in width and 15 cm in length, on the large rock slab at the center of the altar. This suggests that the three beads fell into this depression from a tree branch piece from which they had been hung in a ritual, some time after a ritual was practiced. This branch piece had been leaned against the rock slab.”³¹⁾ Because the report focuses on the “small depression on the large rock slab,” the sentence “this branch piece had been leaned against the rock slab” means that the branch piece was placed on the large rock slab. However, the distribution of mortar-shaped beads suggests that what is thought to be *himorogi* (the branch piece of a sacred tree of *sakaki* with ritual items mounted on it) was actually on Rock F. It is therefore more reasonable to assume that the branch piece was leaned against the *iwakura* at the center of the top of the Rock F. And these belong to different chronological phases. It is also possible to assume that single-perforated discs fell to the ground and were scattered if these discs were designed to be suspended from above as a degenerated form of a mirror-shaped object. Because single-perforated discs have also been found scattered on the *iwakura*, they are thought of as having been associated with the *yorishiro* mounted on the *iwakura*. Or if it is possible to regard the single-perforated discs as spindle wheels, it may have been offered on the *iwakura* and fallen off. If this theory is relevant, a ritual was possibly held somewhere around the *iwakura* where no traces of the previous rituals existed. By extension, it is thought that the stone-made objects were not meant to be offered because they were regarded as on-time ritual items, not as offerings. The practice of leaving *heihaku* (offerings to Gods) or *himorogi* that serves as a *yorishiro* as it is in today’s Shrine Shintō can be trace back to this period of time.

The investigation report describes Site No. 19 as “the result of a construction work in which red soil and gravel were laid on a rugged bedrock for ground leveling, a stone fort was built at one side, an altar was built, and large flat rock slabs were laid out on the altar, which was paved with shore stones.”³²⁾ As expected, only a few artifacts have been found on the large rock slabs that served as the altar or those on which prayers were recited; most of them were offered around these large rock slabs.

Site No. 6 is a rock shelter whose floor is a rectangular in shape (3 m x 2 m) on which rocks measuring 30 -

50 cm in length were laid out to create a ritual site. It seems that an altar was set up on stone-paved purified space, although this structure cannot be confirmed by the drawing in the investigation report. The report describes this site as having “a rectangular altar, measuring 3.8 meters east to west and 2.1 meters north to south on the ground, made up of gravels of quartz porphyry.”³³⁾ The report also states: “the foundation was paved with double layers of such gravels to secure a flat space and prevent the inflow of sediment.”³⁴⁾ Although the positions of the artifacts do not seem what they used to be, they are not found on the center of the altar, suggesting that offerings mindful of the altar were made.

Regarding Site No. 1, the report states: “the large rock slab that was exposed before the investigation constitutes the southeastern corner of the altar. A row of altars under which rag-stones are laid extends to the north and the south.”³⁵⁾ Because the geographical extent of the excavation was limited, it may be inappropriate to reconstruct the ritual site. It is easy to imagine, however, that an altar was set up on the leveled flat ground. Few artifacts have been found east of the row of rag-stones that extends from the large rock slab to the south. From this fact, it is possible that the site has an axis that extends from southeast to northwest in parallel with the trench, and that the area southeast of the large rock slab was the place for rituals. Most of the artifacts have been found in the left and right side of the large rock slab on the further end. It is likely that they were offerings placed at the same position “like a broad-based mountain” in different chronological phases.

As has been discussed above, archaeological sites in Okinoshima Island have few spaces that can be unequivocally recognized as those for worshipping deities, although they are recognized as ritual sites. In short, there are few flat spaces in Okinoshima. The first flat space that visitors to the island will see as they go inland is the largest flat space on the island (Site No. 1 [rituals in the open air]). As they go further inland (and therefore upward), they will arrive at the front court of the present-day Okitsu-miya. As they go even further, they will see a flat space in front of Site No. 7 and Site No. 6. There are no other spaces that are appropriate for conducting rituals. Ancient worshippers secured decent spaces in the shade of rocks or atop of rocks from what was left for them and set up altars there. The general tendency seems that the more challenging a site was, the more committed they were to conducting solemn ceremonies there, and the more the site dates back after all.

Ancient worshippers conducted rituals at these rather small ritual sites and offered ritual items to the deities there. Then they withdrew these items and enshrined them on the island. Site No. 17, located atop of rocks, is an archaeological feature where offerings were placed between rocks and efforts were made to keep offered mirrors in a horizontal position. Seen in this light, the ritual sites in Okinoshima look different from what was so far believed to be. Sites traditionally classified as those for rituals atop of rock are in fact located between rocks or under a small overhang of a rock. Sites traditionally classified as those for rituals in the shade of rocks are actually none other than repositories of offerings. Each ritual site in Okinoshima is what is called *okanagura* (repositories of sacred offerings or treasures) set up from place to place. It is thus more reasonable to regard the ritual sites as *kura* where divine treasures were stored. At the earliest times, offerings needed to be enshrined in the most inconspicuous places. In the second score of the 5th century onward, they were enshrined in places where offerings were enshrined earlier, or in spaces in the shade of rocks that were thought to be most appropriate when they were enshrined. And *okanagura* was the most appropriate *kura* atop of or in the shade of rocks and used in all periods.

Because archaeological sites in Okinoshima have yielded a wealth of sacred treasures, archaeologists and historians traditionally have a preconceived notion that these sites are ritual sites. However, when these sites are thought of as archaeological features that collectively constitute a single archaeological site, then relationships among these sites (or features) can be understood in a more systematic manner. Ritual sites were set up in a manner that makes the best of limited spaces. Divine treasures were enshrined near these ritual sites. And as ritual sites moved to places near the present-day Okitsu-miya, divine treasures came to be enshrined in more inconspicuous locations among gigantic rocks. All these observations provide a context in which Okinoshima sites should be understood.

(3) Materials of stone-made objects found in Okinoshima

The geology in Okinoshima is made up of shale, which entails sandstone that exposes itself in a layered structure as a result of coastal erosion, and quartz-porphry containing biotite and hypersthene, which

constitutes gigantic rocks on the island. This means that the material for stone-made objects, including locally produced ones, were brought to the island from the outside. The question is: Where did the material stone come from? To answer this question, let us focus on workshops of stone ritual items in the vicinity of the island.

As has been already discussed, northern Kyūshū is home to the Sangun Mountains, which yielded material stone. The remains of workshops that used talc schist are concentrated in the Fukuoka Plain near this stone-yielding area. They include:³⁶⁾

- Nishijima Site in Ogōri city
- Matsugaue Site in Shime town, Kasuya county
- Ushigakuma Site in Sue town, Kasuya county
- Yūsu-Mishiro Sites Group in Shingū town, Kasuya county
- Furudaimaike Site in Kasuya town, Kasuya county
- Mizuki-Uranota Site in Dazaifu city
- Takao-Yoshigaura Site in Dazaifu city
- Naka-Nishikomori Site in Ōnojō city
- Akebonomachi-Kokujaku Site in Ōnojō city
- Kasugakōen Kyūshū University Chikushi Area Sites Group in Kasuga city
- Sigidome Site in Sawara ward, Fukuoka city (Series 2 investigation)
- Mitoma Site in Higashi ward, Fukuoka city (Series 2 and 3 investigations)

In Fujiwara, located in the inland area of Munakata city, there is an archaeological site that includes the remains of a workshop, away from the northern part of the Sangun Mountains, that produced stone ritual items. It is called the Fujiwara-Kōyazaki Site. Many dwelling remains--including the remains of Waste Pit SK8--has yielded mortar-shaped beads of talc schist, including unfinished and in-progress products, perforated discs, and in-progress products after rough cutting. The mortar-shaped beads have been produced using the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice. The production process involves incising grid lines on the surface of a stone slab, splitting it into pieces along the lines, cutting a perforation, and grinding the edges into an intended shape. Many of the in-progress products after rough cutting have traces of being hit by an iron adze-shaped tool. This suggests that the mortar-shaped beads have been produced using the technique to divide the board of the stone into in the shape of a lattice and that other objects have been produced using a different technique whereby flakes produced in the process of rough cutting are carved into rough shape. Many of the perforated discs are of a traditional type in technically speaking; they have been produced using the technique of drilling from both sides with multiple grinding applied to both the front and back surfaces. Some of them, however, have a shape of a polygonal ellipse, with its side ground transversely and its hour-glass perforation bored with a conical drill. They show signs of coarse processing or degeneration though they are based on the traditional technique, suggesting that they were produced in the fourth to fifth scores of the 5th century. The material stone is talc schist of a chlorite schist type, which likely came from the Sangun metamorphic belt.³⁷⁾ The Fujiwara-Kōyazaki Site is 15 kilometers away from Sasaguri town in Kasuya county, a town home to an outcrop of this stone today. This raises an intriguing question of what kind of route and method were used to deliver the stone material to the site.

The production of stone ritual items in the region started in the first half of the 5th century at the Nishijima Site in Ogōri city and the Yūsu-Mishiro Sites Group in Shingū town. It flourished between the fourth score of the 5th century and the fifth score of the 6th century. In spite of such local production activity, the mortar-shaped beads found at dwelling remains include those that are made of stone and came from elsewhere than the Sangun Mountains. This requires special attention.

Located about 1.3 kilometers east of the Fujiwara-Kōyazaki Site is the Yoshidome-Kyōden Site, situated in the stretch of hills extending north from Mt. Shintate. The site geographically belongs to the Yoshitake area in the eastern part of Munakata city. Dwelling Site III-1B in the Yoshidome-Kyōden Site has yielded a large amount of mortar-shaped beads.³⁸⁾ These beads come in four types according to stone material:

- (i) Japanese-abacus-counter-shaped with oblique grinding on both the upper and lower surfaces (A2): chlorite schist of a dark bluish gray color which contains a banded texture of a dark white

color

- (ii) Japanese-abacus-counter-shaped with oblique grinding on both the upper and lower surfaces (A2): dark green chlorite schist
- (iii) Barrel-shaped with oblique grinding on both the upper and lower surfaces (B2): dark green chlorite schist with rather low density (resulting in a rather porous surface after grinding)
- (iv) Cylinder-shaped with oblique grinding on both the upper and lower surfaces (C2): seashell-colored talc

Types (i) and (ii) were used for stone ritual items at their initial phases that were buried as grave goods in tombs in the Kantō region or commonly used in the Kinai district. They account for nearly half of the mortar-shaped beads found at Dwell Site III-1B. Of them, Type (i) makes up 70% and Type (ii) amounts to 30%. Type (iii) and Type (iv) constitute about 25% of all, respectively. Chronologically, Types (i) and (ii) are assigned to the first score of the 5th century, Type (iii) to the second score of the 5th century, and Type (iv) to the third score of the 5th century. Given their integrity as a group, these mortar-shaped beads can collectively be ascribed to the fifth decade of the 5th century. These mortar-shaped beads belong to the nascent phase of production in the region. If the notion that the material stone came from the Sangun metamorphic belt is refuted, it is then logical to assume that they were delivered to the region from elsewhere.

An investigation conducted in 2010 covered an archaeological site in Ōshima that is associated with stone-made representations of objects unearthed at Sites No. 1 and No. 8 in Okinoshima, although they belong to a later chronological phase.

The Ōshima-Mitakesan Site is located in the precincts of the Mitake-gu Shrine, a separately-located auxiliary shrine of Nakatsu-miya atop of Mt. Mitake (224 meters above sea level). The geographical area of this site extends as far as to the point where the contour lines that surround the mountain top begin to extend toward the ridge to the northwest. It has long been known as a site where artifacts can be gathered.

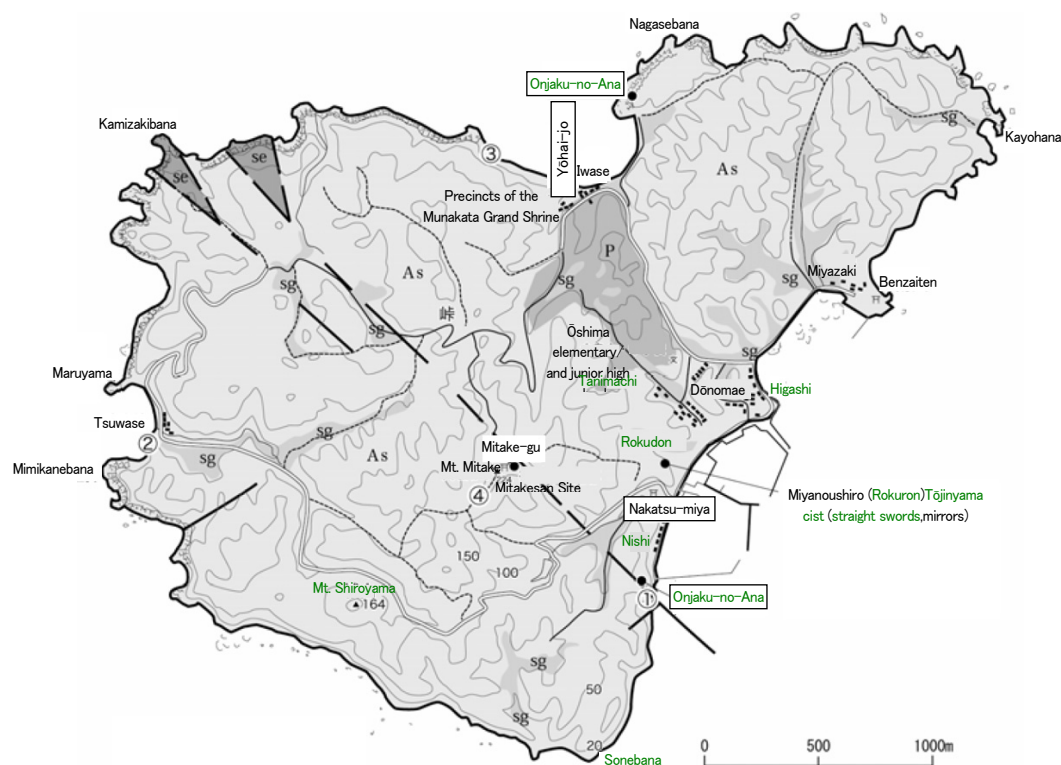


Figure 31 Complete map of Ōshima Island

The site commands a view of both Okinoshima Island (Okitsu-miya) and Munakata Grand Shrine (Hetsu-miya). Although the details of the investigation findings have yet to be released, it is already known that a trench investigation has found a range of stone-made representations of objects--including objects representing the human figures, objects representing a horse, objects representing a boat, disc, and

mortar-shaped beads--along with Nara-style three-colored small jars, a mirror with octogonal-lobed rim and pointed rim edge, metal miniatures of objects, bronze bowls, Sue ware (special raised pedestals, perforated pottery, long-necked jars, dishes, and lids), and Haji ware.³⁹⁾ Through actual observation, the author had the impression that the Ōshima-Mitakesan Site can be regarded as the remains of a workshop if its location is not taken into account. For one thing, the site has yielded many byproduct flakes. Second, the site environment notwithstanding, it has yielded a large amount of damaged products that can be interpreted as unfinished products, compared with Okinoshima. Third, it has yielded two or more tips of tube drills that are likely to have been used as perforators (iron plates that have been worked into a cylindrical shape whose diameter matches those of the perforations of the perforated objects). Both the material stone and products found at this site bear a striking resemblance to those found in Okinoshima, raising the possibility that the stone-made representations of objects found in Okinoshima were made at the Mitakesan Site.

Given the possibility that the Mitakesan Site is the remains of a workshop, it is interesting to note that there is a place called Onjaku-no-Ana in two locations: one north of Iwase where the *Yōhai-jo* (Worship Place for Okitsu-miya) is located, and the other in Nishi, south of the Nakatsu-miya. If the term “Onjaku” refers to what is generally known as talc, then Onjaku-no-Ana can be interpreted to mean “a pit (or cave) from where talc was collected” as the term “Ana” means hole, pit, or cave. Unfortunately, however, what might have been a pit or cave has already collapsed, and these two places, which appear in a map in the investigation report, cannot be actually found now.

There is a relatively depressed zone that extends from the port district in the south, a densely-populated area home to the Nakatsu-miya, up to Iwase in the north, where the *Yōhai-jo* is located. The zone “connects” the mountain mass to the east and the one to the west. Geologically speaking, however, a fault runs from Kamizakibana to Nishi, and Mt. Mitake was the result of the upheaval of this fault. Onjaku-no-Ana in Nishi is just above this fault.

Geologists believe that Ōshima Island belongs to the Shimonoseki Subgroup, the upper part of the Kanmon Group. The geologic formation is largely made up of volcanic conglomerate, tuffaceous sandstone, andesitic pyroclastic rock, and andesite lava, with some intrusions of granite porphyry. Around the contact surfaces is hornfels.⁴⁰⁾ Therefore, the geologic formation of the island may include metamorphic rock.

The author has found, in a field survey, that the area where Onjaku-no-Ana in Nishi is thought to have existed (Figure 31, #1) is just above the fault. He has also found a quartz vein on the rock surface 1.5 meter above the water surface. Outcrops of greenstones were confirmed within the 8 meter radius around it. Asbestoid stones of serpentine as a result of weathering have also been found. In Tsuwase, west of the fault (Figure 31, #2), outcrops of greenstone and those of a quartz vein are located in close proximity, and the author was able to collect boulders of green jasper. He could not find unequivocal metamorphic rock. The area around the *Yōhai-jo* in Iwase, east of the fault (Figure 31, #3), abounds with spotted rock, presenting a lithofacies quite different from the one west of the fault.

Table 1 Results of X-ray fluorescence analysis

Sample number	Type	SiO ₂	TiO ₂	Al ₂ O ₃	Fe ₂ O ₃	MnO	MgO	CaO	K ₂ O	Cr	Cu	Ni	Y	Zn	Zr	Lithologic character
①	Mortar-shaped beads	29.23	1.14	23.24	21.60	0.62	22.95	1.07	–	–	–	0.04	–	0.07	0.05	Chlorite rock
②	Mortar-shaped beads	30.51	1.16	24.25	15.87	0.41	26.40	1.30	–	–	–	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.04	Chlorite rock
③	Mortar-shaped beads	27.71	0.23	24.23	22.55	0.23	24.07	0.53	–	–	–	0.41	0.01	0.01	0.02	Chlorite rock
④	Mortar-shaped beads	59.52	–	4.50	7.48	0.09	27.67	0.47	–	–	–	0.26	–	0.01	–	Talc
⑤	Byproduct flake	58.69	–	5.94	5.81	0.06	28.85	–	0.21	0.12	0.01	0.31	–	trace	–	Talc schist
⑥	Byproduct flake	60.98	–	2.60	6.16	0.05	29.71	–	0.18	0.13	0.02	0.17	–	trace	–	Talc schist
⑦	Byproduct flake	59.96	–	2.90	6.80	0.08	29.45	0.22	0.19	0.07	0.01	0.33	–	–	–	Talc schist

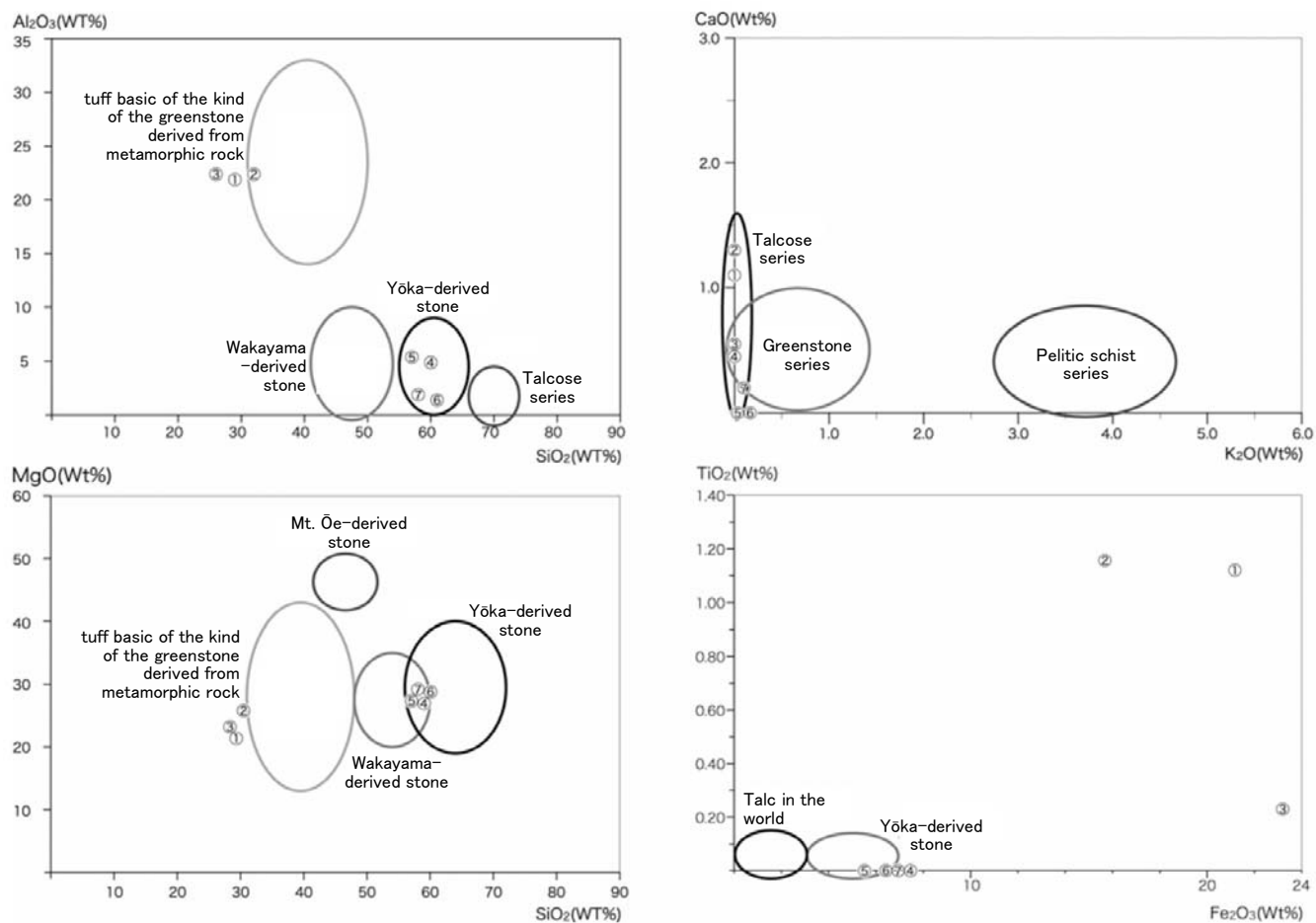
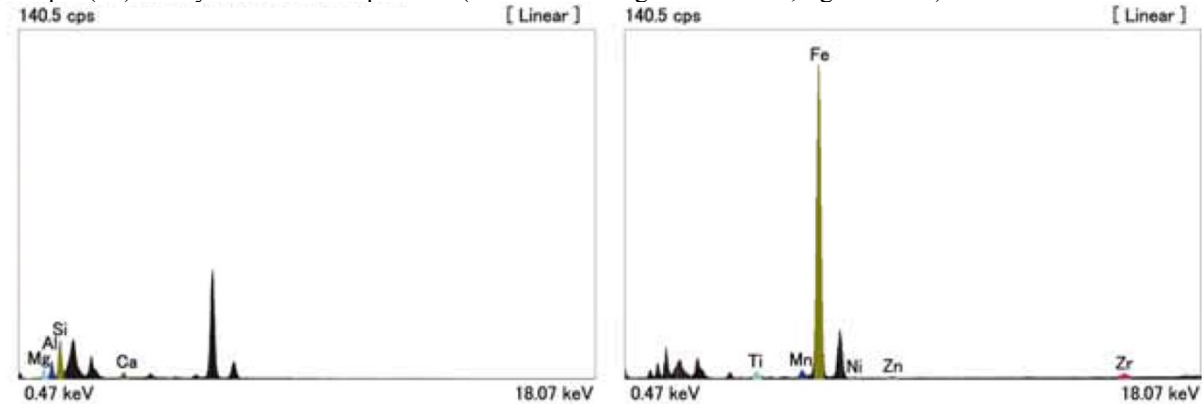
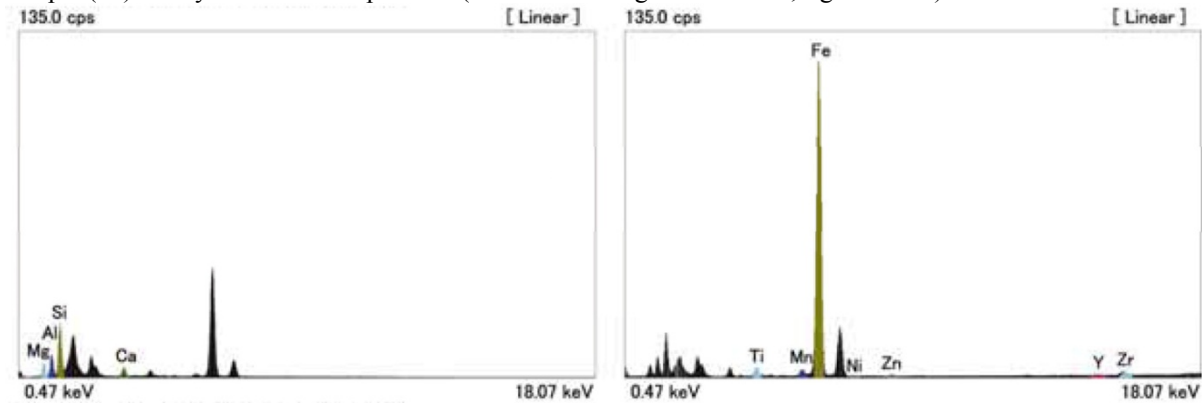


Figure 32 Relationships among the results of the X-ray fluorescence analysis

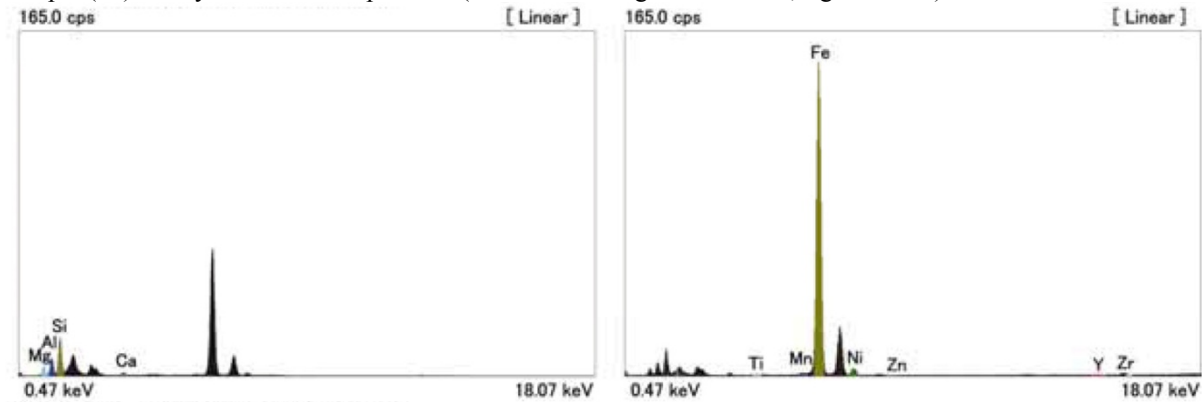
Sample (#1): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)



Sample (#2): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)



Sample (#3): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)



Sample (#4): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)

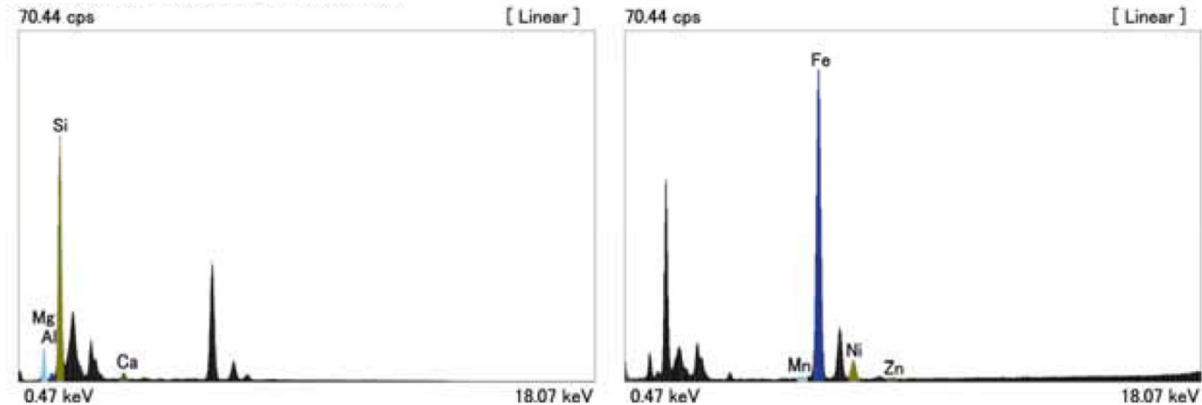
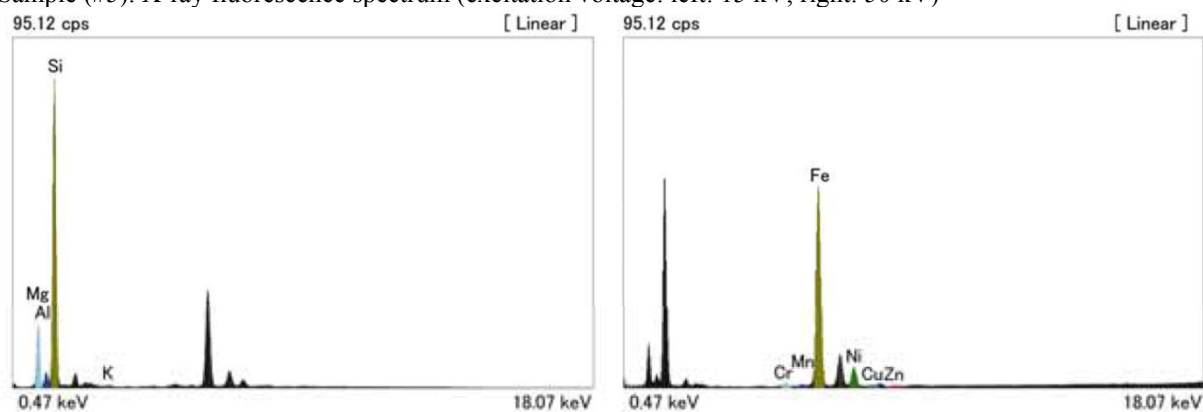
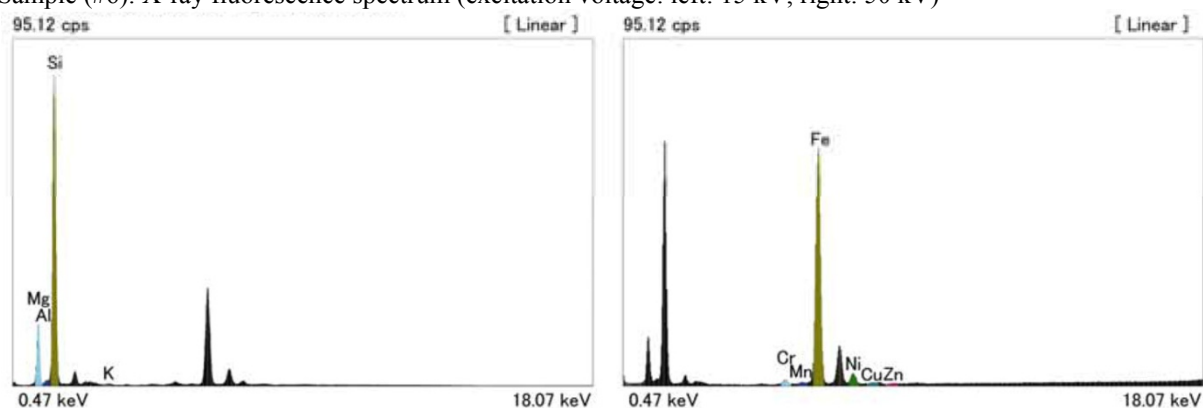


Figure 33 X-ray fluorescence spectrum (1)

Sample (#5): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)



Sample (#6): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)



Sample (#7): X-ray fluorescence spectrum (excitation voltage: left: 15 kV; right: 50 kV)

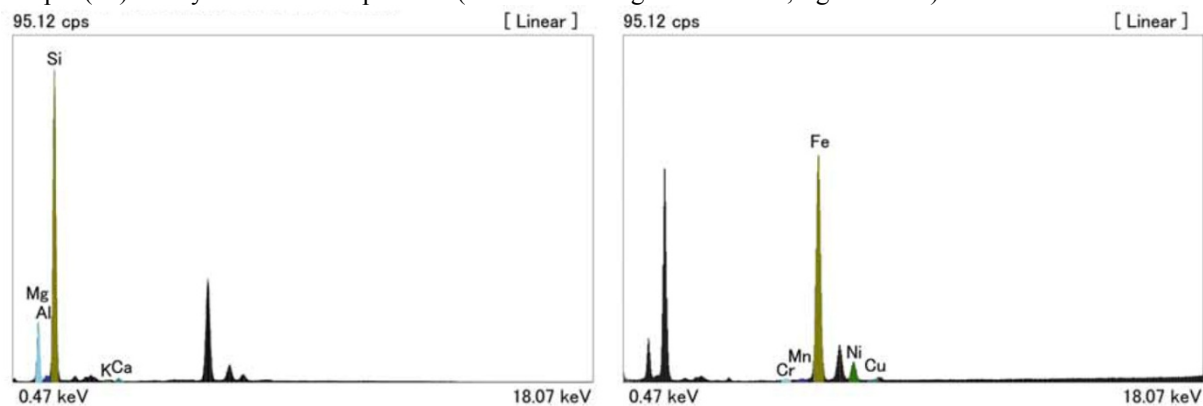


Figure 34 X-ray fluorescence spectrum (2)

Though the summit of the Mt. Mitake is on the fault, the masses of rock cropping out at the archaeological site at the crest are not metamorphic rock. However, seashell-colored sandstone has been found in the stonework that forms the path to the shrine. Although July (the author conducted this fieldwork in July) was an inappropriate time of year for mountain walking, the author searched around it and found outcrops of a quartz vein about 100 meters south of the Mitake-gū Shrine along the ridge that extends south from the Mt. Mitake. Walking further down the ridge, he found greenstones at a point some 300 meters southwest of the Mitake-gū Shrine along the mountain path. At a point around 400 meters southwest of the Mitake-gū Shrine along the path, the author found outcrops of seashell-colored sandstone rock, the kind of rock he found earlier along the path to the shrine (Figure 31, #4). The author picked up one piece, broke it into fragments, and ground one fragment into a shape of a mortar-shaped bead impromptu. The sandstone material was stickier than it looked or sticky enough to withstand processing into shape. Such sandstone rocks, especially those with high density or those in contact with metamorphic rock, might possibly serve as a substitute for seashell-colored talc schist, one of the kinds of rock characteristic of stone objects found at the Mitakesan Site.

Although the author was unable to find the exact kind of stone that has been found at the Mitakesan Site, he confirmed a metamorphic belt that yields greenstone and serpentine around the fault. This makes it impossible to rule out the possibility altogether that the island yields talc schist or chlorite schist.

If it is confirmed that Ōshima Island yields talc, that means that the talc schist used at the Mitakesan Site did not come across the sea from the Sangun metamorphic belt. The author hopes that further investigation will be conducted to verify this possibility.

Table 1 summarizes the results of the X-ray fluorescence analysis of selected stone objects unearthed at related sites in the region. They are mortar-shaped beads from the Fujiwara-Kōyazaki Site (Table 1, #4-7) and flakes generated in the process of producing stone ritual items as byproducts that have been unearthed in 1st to 3rd layer of the Ōshima-Mitakesan Site (Table 1, #5-7). A comparative study on the X-ray fluorescence analysis of talc and talc schist has already been conducted between artifacts found at sites chiefly in the Kinai district and material stone gained from areas yielding talc and talc schist.⁴¹⁾ A comparison between the results of this comparative study and those of this analysis shows Mortar-shaped Beads #1, #2, and #3 are positioned in or around the realm of tuff basic of the kind of the greenstone derived from metamorphic rock in terms of $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3/\text{SiO}_2$. In terms of MgO/SiO_2 as well, these three beads are in or around the realm of tuffa basic of the kind of the greenstone derived from metamorphic rock. In terms of $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3/\text{TiO}_2$, the three are slightly closer to Yōka-derived stone. In terms of $\text{CaO}/\text{K}_2\text{O}$, they are in the realm of talcose. These results suggest that Mortar-shaped Beads #1, #2, and #3 may be talcose chlorite schist. Mortar-shaped Bead #4, on the other hand, is positioned in the realm of Yōka-derived stone in terms of $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3/\text{SiO}_2$. In terms of MgO/SiO_2 , the result is the same. In terms of $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3/\text{TiO}_2$, this bead is near the realm of Yōka-derived stone. In terms of $\text{CaO}/\text{K}_2\text{O}$, it is in the realm of talcose. These results suggest that Mortar-shaped Bead #4 is likely made of talc from Yōka. All these pieces of evidence indicate that mortar-shaped beads found at the Fujiwara-Kōyazaki Site were delivered from the Kinai district.

Byproduct Flakes #5, #6, and #7 are positioned within the realm of Yōka-derived stone in terms of $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3/\text{SiO}_2$. In terms of MgO/SiO_2 , these three flakes are within the overlapped area between the realm of Yōka-derived stone and that of Wakayama-derived stone. However, because Byproduct Flake #6 is on the rim of the realm of Wakayama-derived stone, it should be interpreted to be within the realm of Yōka-derived stone.

In terms of $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3/\text{TiO}_2$, the three flakes are shown to be near the rim of the realm of Yōka-derived stone. In terms of $\text{CaO}/\text{K}_2\text{O}$, they are positioned in and around a point of contact between the realm of talcose and that of greenstone series.

The mortar-shaped beads from the Fujiwara-Kōyazaki Site share a similar material stone with those of the first to second scores of the 5th century that have been unearthed at Sites No. 16 and No. 21 in Okinoshima. This is not by coincidence. In this period of time, the production of mortar-shaped beads was not started yet or in its nascent phase in the region. It is therefore thought that such products were generally brought from the Kinai district. The same holds true for Okinoshima; stone-made objects of up to the third score of the 5th century that have been found on the island were essentially provided by the Kinai district. This reflects

a situation in which not only votive offerings but also ritual items were “directly managed” by the Kinai district. The third score of the 5th century, however, saw an emergence of mortar-shaped beads thought to have been made of stone from the Sangun metamorphic belt with a larger diameter. This signifies a situation in which votive offerings were brought from the Kinai district and one-time ritual items were procured locally--a situation similar to the later one in which imperial messengers were dispatched to a shrine on the occasion of a religious rite. In other words, the Yamato kingly power requested a powerful clan in Munakata to conduct religious rituals and sent votive offerings to them. The local powerful clan in turn served as intermediary ritual masters; they went over to Okinoshima Island and conducted rituals including depositing votive offerings. Naturally, this practice must have involved the dispatch of imperial messengers. This state of affairs likely emerged during a period in which rituals were held at Site No. 21. The third score of the 5th century was when so-called Five Wa Kings ruled. It can be assumed that frequent exchanges with the Korean peninsula and the Chinese continent were made in this period. Such exchanges could not be possible without a stable sea route and stable rule over the neighboring areas. It may be in this period that Minuma-no-Kimi or Munakata-no-Kimi emerged as a ritual clan in the Munakata region.

(4) Okinoshima rituals and Five Wa Kings

To understand what Okinoshima rituals were like in and around the 5th century, let us first take a look at stone-made objects in that period. As Figure 30 shows, it is clear that religious rituals were held and votive offerings were deposited in each period of score years. The minimum chronological unit for mortar-shaped beads is 20 years; there is no way to understand the situation in further details. It is useful to largely divide the stone-made objects into three groups: (i) those of the fifth score of the 4th century up to the second score of the 5th century; (ii) those of the third to fourth scores of the 5th century; and (iii) those of the fourth score of the 5th century to the first score of the 6th century.

Group (i) is largely made up of jadeite objects, green jasper objects, scrupulously-made talc schist objects, and mortar-shaped beads (Types A, AB, and B). These objects have been found at sites (features) for rituals atop of rocks, especially Site No. 16, 17, 19, and 21. Evidence shows that rituals were held at Site No. 19 and 21 while offerings were deposited chiefly at Site No. 16, 17 and 19.

Group (ii) comprises scrupulously-made talc objects, perforated discs, sword-shaped objects, iron-adze-shaped objects, and mortar-shaped beads (Types B, BC, and C). These objects have been found at sites (features) for rituals atop of rocks, especially Site No. 16, 17, 19, and 21, as well as sites for rituals in the shade of rocks, especially Site No. 6, 7, and 8. Evidence shows that rituals were held at Site No. 19, 21, and 6, while offerings were deposited chiefly at Site No. 16, 17, 19, 6, 7, and 8.

Group (iii) consists of cylindrical beads of talc schist and talc-made ritual items that show signs of degeneration, with the latter constituting a majority. These objects have been found at sites (features) for rituals in the shade of rocks, especially Site No. 6, 7, and 8. Evidence shows that rituals were held at Site No. 6 while offerings were deposited chiefly at Site No. 6, 7, and 8.

What characterizes the periods these three groups represent, namely, (i) the fifth score of the 4th century up to the second score of the 5th century; (ii) the third to fourth scores of the 5th century; and (iii) the fourth score of the 5th century to the first score of the 6th century. Let us look at the tributes that the five successive kings of Wa brought to China to see how they are related to these three periods.

The first king Zan (讚) brought a tribute to the Jin dynasty in 413 and to the Liu-Song dynasty in 421, 425, and 430. The chronicle of the Emperor An (安帝) in “*Jin Shu*” or *The History of the Jin* which includes an article in 413 about such tributes, fails to mention the Wa king by name. However, *Zhu-yi-zhuan* (諸夷伝) in “*Liang Shu*”, makes reference to Zan. Although the document fails to mention the king by name regarding the tribute of 430, the author believes that it is Zan who brought a tribute because it predates the death of Zan.

The second king Zhen (珍) brought a tribute to the Liu-Song dynasty in 438 after he ascended to the throne after the demise of his brother Zan.

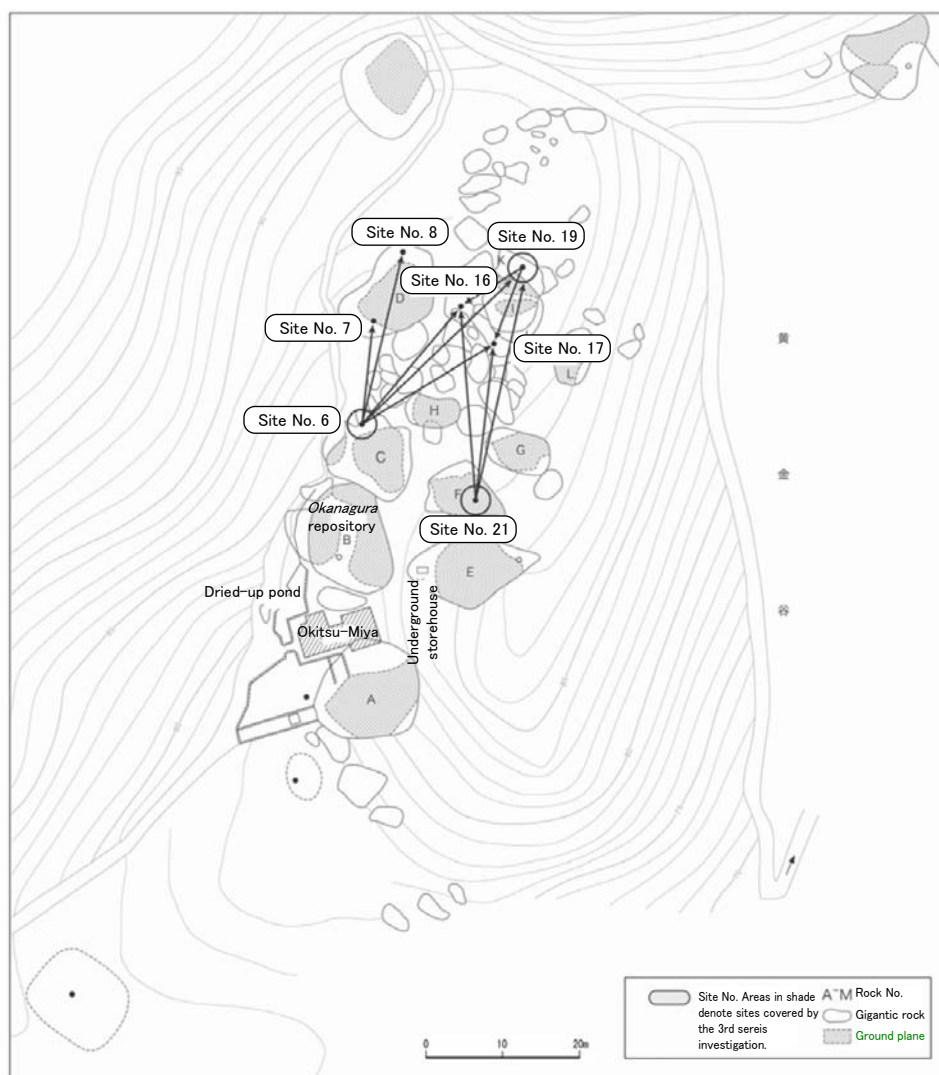


Figure 35 Relationships among Okinoshima sites

The third king Qi (濟) brought a tribute to the Liu-Song dynasty in 443, 451 and 460. Although the relevant article fails to mention the king by name regarding the tribute of 460, the author believes that Qi brought it because the article predates the death of Qi.

The fourth king, Xing (興), brought a tribute to the Liu-Song dynasty in 462.

The fifth king Wu (武) brought a tribute to the Liu-Song dynasty in 477 and 478, to the Nan-Qi dynasty in 479, and the Liang dynasty in 502. Regarding the tribute of 477, the relevant two articles fail to state which Wa king brought it. Because one of these two articles is on the demise of Xing and the other on the enthronement of Wu, it is more reasonable to assume that the tribute of 477 was brought on the occasion of Wu's accession to the throne after the demise of Xing.

The reigns of the Five Wa Kings are as follows:

- The first king Zan reigned from the first score of years to the third decade of the 5th century.
- The second king Zhen reigned in the fourth decade of the 5th century.
- The third king Qi reigned in the third score of the 5th century.
- The fifth king Wu reigned from the fourth to fifth score of the 5th century.

The reigns of three kings matches the three ritual periods in Okinoshima as shown below:

- (i) The fifth score of the 4th century up to the second score of the 5th century: the first king Zan

- (ii) The third and fourth scores of the 5th century: the third king Qi
- (iii) The fourth score of the 5th century to the first score of the 6th century: the fifth king Wu

It thus transpires as follows: Under the reign of Zan, votive offerings and ritual items were all brought to Okinoshima Island directly from the Kinai district. Rituals were held at Site No. 19 and 21 while votive offerings were deposited chiefly at Site No. 16, 17, and 19. Under the reign of Qi, votive offerings were brought from the Kinai district and ritual items were locally procured. Rituals were held at Site No. 19, 21, and 6, while votive offerings were deposited at Site No. 16, 17, 19, 6, 7, and 8. Under the reign of Wu, the example of the preceding period was followed; rituals were held at Site No. 6 while offerings were deposited at Site No. 6, 7, and 8.

There is a ritual site where Wa's missions to China conducted rituals while waiting for a favorable wind to blow on their way to the continent straight across the Yellow Sea. The Jungmak-dong ritual site in Buan, South Korea, that is. This site has yielded mirror-shaped objects, perforated discs, sword-shaped objects, cuirass-shaped objects, sickle-shaped objects, iron-adze-shaped objects, knife-shaped objects, objects in the shape of a comma-shaped bead, as well as mortar-shaped beads.⁴²⁾ It is thought that the material of these stone-made objects came not from the Kantō zone of the Sanbagawa belt⁴³⁾ but from the Kinai district, with the exception of locally produced additional items using locally available shale. These stone-made objects can largely be divided into three phases: (i) the first and second scores of the 5th century, (ii) the third score of the 5th century, and (iii) the sixth decade of the 5th century, although this chronology leaves room for review, and the author leaves detailed analysis to another occasion. These three phases match the reigns of Zan, Qi, and Wu. However, they differ in component from the contemporary parallels in Okinoshima. The stone objects from the Jungmak-dong ritual site that correspond to the Zan phase comprise mirror-shaped objects and sword-shaped objects of a semi-fine quality. There are no contemporary parallels in Okinoshima. Those corresponding to the Qi phase are made up of objects in the shape of a comma-shaped bead, sword-shaped objects, and a large number of perforated discs (double-perforated). While sword-shaped objects in Okinoshima have a shape commonly found in West Japan, the Jungmak-dong ritual site counterparts are of the same original lineage as those found in East Japan. The stone-made objects corresponding to the Wu phase include perforated discs (single-perforated and double-perforated), sword-shaped objects, and a few objects in the shape of a comma-shaped bead. They show little signs of degeneration. The amount of perforated discs (double-perforated) corresponding to the Qi phase is exceptionally large, while that of mortar-shaped beads is exceptionally small. Otherwise, the components are essentially characteristic of the corresponding phases. Clearly, the quality of other unearthed objects is also different from the parallels in Okinoshima. In sum, rituals in Okinoshima and those at the Jungmak-dong ritual site are different in terms of both votive offerings and ritual items.

All these gaps reflect the difference in status between the Jungmak-dong ritual site and Okinoshima. Rituals at the former were rather incidental to sea voyages; priests and other ritual practitioners among the voyagers pray at this port of call for safe navigation with ritual items they had brought with them and those they had procured locally. By contrast, Okinoshima Island is not just a port of call. Priests and other ritual practitioners, including imperial messengers, went over to the island for the sole purpose of conducting rituals. In fact, the island was (and continues to be) a special place requiring visitors to undergo a purification ritual before entry.

Okinoshima was not just a place for rituals for safe navigation along a maritime route; it was so sacred that even rituals for the safe navigation for a tribute mission to China should be conducted independently. This means that such rituals had to be conducted beforehand, or if a mission was on its way to or from China, other people had to go over to the island for such rituals.

4. Conclusion

As has been discussed, the archaeological features and artifacts that have been found suggest that the Okinoshima sites collectively constitutes a single ritual site--a site made up of features, or more precisely, places for conducting a ritual and *kura* that served as a storehouse for votive offerings. Offerings were made more than once at each feature. At the earliest times, votive offerings needed to be enshrined in the most inconspicuous places. Over time, they generally came to be enshrined in *kura* in the shade of rocks. In

that sense, the traditional theory of a chronological transition in location from “atop of rocks” to “in the shade of rocks” still holds. However, such a transition in ritual modality was not a linear, single-track process as traditionally believed; votive offerings were enshrined at the same feature (location) in different archaeological phases.

Under the reign of Zan, the first of the five successive kings of Wa, stone-made objects--including votive offerings and ritual items of the king--were brought to Okinoshima directly from the Kinai district. Under the reign of the third king Qi, votive offerings were brought from the king in the Kinai district and ritual items were procured locally in the Munakata region. This suggests that local powerful clans came to conduct rituals by the third score of the 5th century. It may be during this period that Minuma-no-Kimi or Munakata-no-Kimi obtained control over Okinoshima and the region that later gained the status of *shingun* (a land for deities) in the Japanese main island of Kyūshū. Relationships between the Munakata and Kinai districts, especially those between the Munakata Clan and the Imperial Family are of special importance. The awareness that the Three Goddesses of Munakata were associated with Takechi-no-Miko, who was the first son of Emperor Tenmu, lingered for generations to come, and must have had a tremendous impact on the process of compiling the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*. When these chronicles were being compiled, the Munakata goddesses had the duty to protect the maritime route connecting Japan with the Korean peninsula and the Chinese continent, a duty known as *Chinushi-no-Muchi* (道主貴). The Munakata goddesses must have been the guardians of this important maritime route in the period of the Five Wa Kings as well, because it is unthinkable that this divine duty changed in a short period of 150 years--a short period from the perspective of ancient history. It is likely that the Munakata goddesses came to be worshiped in a wider area of Japan as guardians of routes of transport, especially water transportation, as they can be interpreted as the goddesses of the water because of their divine duty.

The year 1979 marked an epoch in the history of research on Munakata Okinoshima. In that year, the report of a series of investigation was released. The period until then can be described as the first phase of Munakata Okinoshima research. Over the period of more than 30 years, some progress has been made in archaeology. We are now in the second phase in which meticulous analysis and the review of past studies is required.

The mystique of *oiwazu-sama* [a tradition of not speaking of what you have seen or heard on the island] will not lose its value in the face of progress in archaeological research on Okinoshima sites. Rather, getting to bottom of the profound world of ancient rituals has been and will be a daunting challenge just as going through rough waves in the Genkai Sea or moving forward through a thick mist. The author hopes that this paper will help reveal the truth and evaluate Munakata Okinoshima properly so that people from all walks of life will recall the divine duty of the Munakata Grand Goddesses. That would be a reward for the research activity to date.

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- 第19図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 102の左右を合成し、白玉のみ抽出して作図
- 第20図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 103を改編して転載
- 第21図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 88を抜粋して転載
- 第22図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 84より転載
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- 第27図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 120を改変して転載
- 第28図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 98を改変して転載
- 第29図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 39・40・47を合成、FIG. 48~49を抜粋し転載
- 第31図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 147を改変して転載
- 第35図 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊(1979):『宗像 沖ノ島』「本文」 宗像大社復興期成会 FIG. 2を原図して作図

Postscript

On March 11, the Great East Japan Earthquake stroke. I was standing outside the field office for an excavation project when it happened. The temblor was so strong that I felt as if, say, I was standing in a violently swaying train without anything to hold on to. One of my colleagues and I were the only persons who were standing at that time. Other workers squatted down in the parking lot and were trying to hold on to the shaking earth. All I could do was to direct the workers to evacuate from where the power line could fall to the ground. In a stretched moment of several seconds, I saw the roofing tiles tumbling down to the ground, a tuff stone wall falling onto the road, a shed crumbling down with a pillow of dust, and a car almost sliding down the road. When the quake died down, I entered the office to see the desks and chairs scattered all around, a broken clock with their hands indicting 2:48 p.m., and a mechanical pencil stuck on the floor. Outside the office, my car was stuck into a pile of gravel with its bottom touching the ground. I removed the rubble on the road and secured a way out. Then I asked the other colleague to handle the situation at the office, jumped in my car, and rushed to the tomb excavation area on the hills where only temporary workers were at work. On my way along the ridge road, I saw the pavement cracked open at the center, as well as collapsed road shoulders. When I arrived at the excavation area, I saw the main part of the tomb buried halfway under the collapsed earth and the trench cutting through the mound completely collapsed. I learned that the workers had been saved by the bell--or by a call to take a break to be exact. They told me that three winnowers and trowels were buried under the collapsed earth.

The quake registered a strong 6 on a Japanese seismic scale of 0-7. I realized how devastating a quake can be.

I spent the next 24 hours without power, relying only on a radio and a candle. When power was restored, the TV screen displayed images of an "obliterated" Sanriku region. The unprecedented natural disaster, that is. So many souls have departed to the other world. I pray for them from the bottom of my heart. I sincerely hope that the divine power of the Grand Goddesses of Munakata will prevail for each and every one of us and reach out to those who are suffering from the disaster with the spirit of *Chinushi-no-Muchi*.

The Bronze Spearheads Unearthed from Okinoshima Island and the Bronze Items Used for Rituals

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Abstract: The early Yayoi period culture emerged on the coast of the Genkai Sea reached *Munakata* as well. Among the early bronze items, the rare types of the imported bronze weapons flowed into this region exclusively. Due to lack of technique to produce and grind the weapon type bronze wares from the early period, the weapons leave traces of breakage and nicked edges, from which we can presume that they were used in the mimic warfare in the rituals as well as in actual warfare. The bronze spearheads unearthed from Okinoshima Island reveal that they were made in the northern part of Kyūshū and there is a logic y to fully understand the bronze ware culture in *Munakata* region where the weapon type bronze ware is concentrated in large numbers. After the earliest regime was created in “*Ito-koku (state)*” and “*Na-koku (state)*”, the production of bronze ware was deregulated that prompted the production of bronze items in *Munakata* as well and they were shipped to the eastern region. The *Munakata* clan was closely involved in this eastward expansion of the Northern Kyūshū-Style bronze ware.

Keywords: Munakata, bronze items used for rituals, initial regime, Okinoshima Island, eastward expansion of the power of the Northern Kyūshū

1. Introduction

On Okinoshima Island in Munakata City, the relics from the Yayoi period have been discovered to some extent. Among them, one of the important artifacts is the bronze spearhead that was discovered during World War II. The bronze spearhead is owned by an individual in Yamagata Prefecture at present, and since I failed to convince the individual to agree to release it to the public, I couldn't make actual measurement or take a photograph of the spearhead in this study.

The nearest city in Kyūshū from Okinoshima Island is Munakata City and the island belongs to Munakata City by administrative division. In order to understand the bronze spearhead unearthed from Okinoshima Island, we need to be familiar with the facts of the Yayoi bronze ware in this Munakata region. Approach has been made to compile the bronze ware in Munakata region in the past (HANADA 1993, ABE 1993/1997), however, due to lack of understanding about the actual condition of studies on bronze ware in the Yayoi period including the type classification, the previous studies on bronze ware prior to this paper haven't given a full account of the regional characteristics (YANAGIDA 1986-2011).

For this reason, I would like to give an overview of the main sites where the bronze wares were unearthed along the Genkai Sea to the east of Kasuya and on the coast of the Hibiki Sea and discuss the characteristics of the bronze weapons and bronze ware used for rituals in *Munakata* region under the new framework of study on the Yayoi bronze ware.

2. Origin of the Yayoi Culture in *Munakata* Region

In Munakata City, the Taku-matsugaura Site is famous as a site of the initial Yayoi period. Together with the Etsuji Site located on the southwest side in *Kasuya* district, it is the site existed between the latter half of initial Yayoi period and the early Yayoi period. The Taku-matsugaura Site was discovered during the survey on the tumulus complex, and along with the assembled box-shaped Type I wooden coffin tomb (YANAGIDA 2003 a), a stone sword with a handle, a flint arrowhead and a vase were unearthed. In the same way, at the Kubara Site from the early Yayoi period, a stone sword with handle, a flint arrowhead and

a vase were discovered from the assembled box-shaped Type I wooden coffin (HARA 1999).

Bronze Arrowheads and Bronze Chisels from the Imagawa Site in Futtsu City

The Imagawa Site is the settlement site located on the sand dune of the Tsuyazaki Beach facing the Genkai Sea. The bronze chisel was unearthed from the layer (lower layer) containing Itazuke I and the Yuusu earthenware. The collected bronze chisel is thought to have been unearthed from the same layer containing Itazuke I earthenware.

The bronze arrowhead (Figure 1-1) is a bilobate arrowhead with the lobe parts lost and damaged. From this, it is revealed that the part thought to be the “nakago (tang)” isn’t made by grinding the tang but by reprocessing the spine of the blade, and from the cross section of the spine part of the head, it is believed to be made by reutilizing the point of the Liaoning-Style Bronze Sword Type III. It measures 5.55 cm in total length, 1.23 cm in existing width, 0.93 cm in maximum thickness of the spine part and 12.5 g in weight. The bronze chisel (Figure 1-2) measures 4.15 cm in existing total length, 1.35 cm in maximum width, 0.69 cm in maximum thickness and 10.6 g in weight. On one side of the blade there is a slight two-stage slant. The midriff shows a relatively flat elliptical form and if it is a product reproduced from the Liaoning-Style bronze sword, it is the spine on the tip of the protrusion (YANAGIDA 2004).

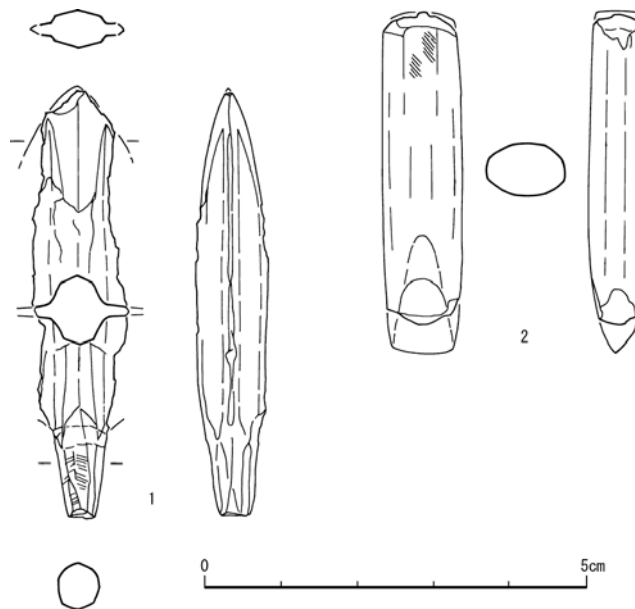


Figure 1 Measured drawing of the bronze arrowheads and the bronze chisel from the Imagawa Site (full scale)

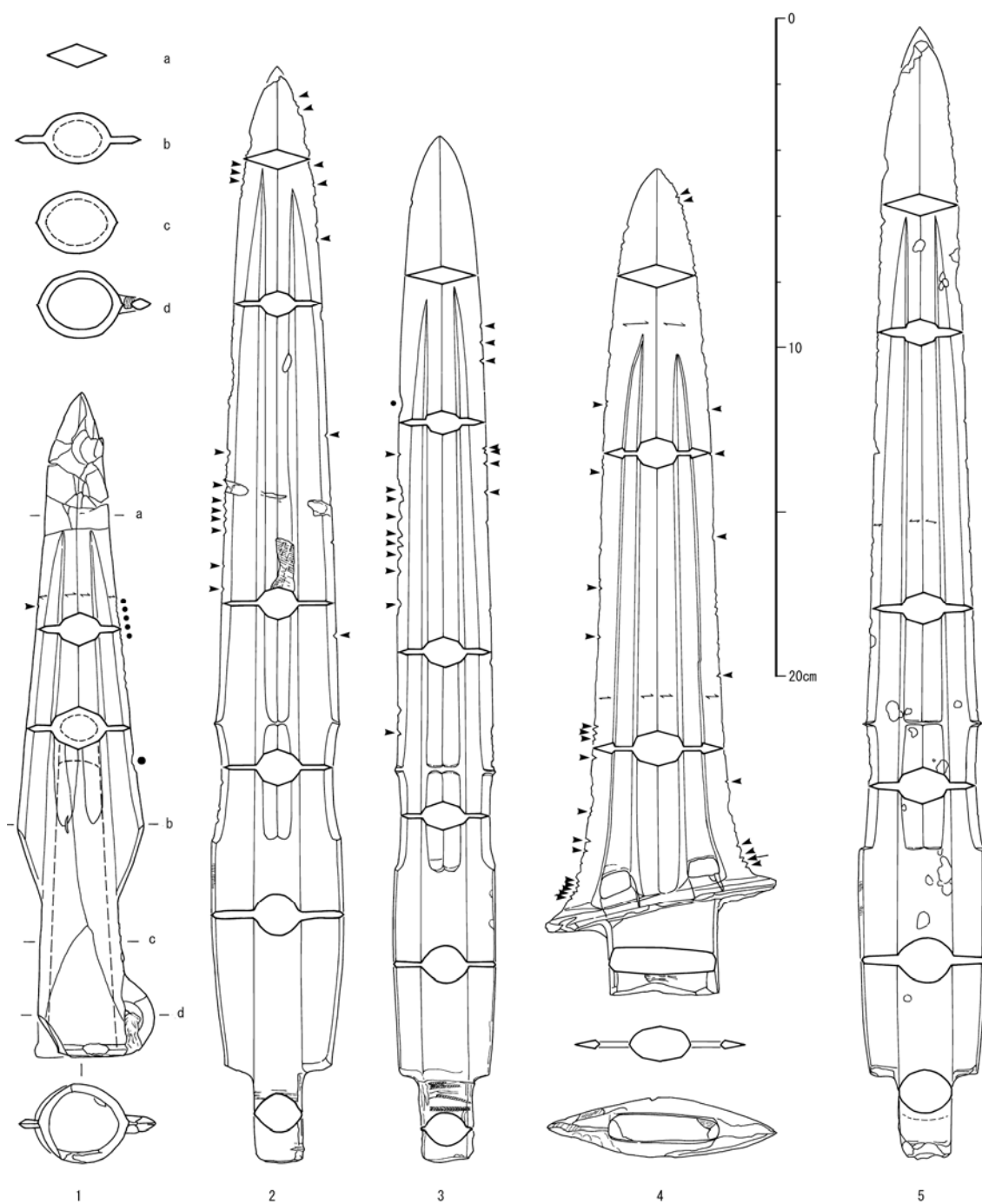


Figure 2 Measured drawing of the bronze spearhead, bronze sword, bronze dagger-axe from the Mawatashi-tsugaura Site (half scale)

3. Actual Condition of the Bronze Ware in Regions Surrounding *Munakata*

(1) Bronze ware in *Kasuya* region

(i) Mawatashi-tsukagaura Site in Koga City, District E, Bronze Spearhead, Bronze Sword and Bronze Dagger-axe from No. 2 Kamekanbo (earthenware jar-coffin tomb)

No. 2 Kamekanbo at the Mawatashi-tsukagaura E District is an independent earthenware jar-coffin tomb existed in the early part of the middle Yayoi period and from the fact that a bronze spearhead, 2 bronze swords and one bronze dagger-axe were discovered as burial accessories inside the coffin, it is assumed that the coffin was buried solely in the burial mound (YANAGIDA 2005 b/2007).

The bronze spearhead is a Type I B (YANAGIDA 2003 c) measuring 20.2 cm in total length, 3 cm in width of the restored “settai (ferrule)” part, 2.4 cm in thickness of the same “settai” part, 0.4 cm in width of the “settai”, 4.8 cm in length of the socket part and 3.8 cm in width of the “machi (lower end of the blade shaft)”. In the wing part, there is a slight inward slant from the “machi” to the lower part of the blade shaft and it is thought to have been produced in the northern part of Kyūshū. In the side loop, there is a residue of a string tied to the handle and a wooden material is attached inside the socket, from which it was believed to have been buried with the handle attached to the spearhead although the portion of the “settai (ferrule)” part was broken. Moreover, old and small nicked edges concentrated on a side the blade (Figure 2-1).

The bronze sword 1 is a Type B Ia measuring 33 cm in existing total length, 33.3 cm in total length of the restored body, 2.6 cm in length of the tang, 1.5 cm in width of the tang, 1.2 cm in thickness of the tang, 3.2 cm in width of “machi (lower end of the metal blade)” part, 3.89 cm in maximum width of the blade base (lower part of the blade above the tang) and 1.41 cm in maximum width of the spine part. The grind of the “kurigata (inward-curving indentation)” of the spine presenting elliptic form shows that a single-stage grind was applied. The traces of usage are seen in the middle of the blade and at the point of the blade with 18 nicked edges (Figure 2-2).

The bronze sword 2 is a Type II A produced in the northern part of Kyūshū which measures 31.2 cm in total length, 2.4 cm in length of the tang, 1.2 cm in width of the tang, 1.0 cm in thickness of the tang, 2.65 cm in width of the “machi (lower end of the metal blade)”, 3.11 cm in maximum width of the blade base (lower part of the blade above the tang), 1.33 cm in maximum width of the spine and the entire wing part shows a slight inward slant. The grind of the “kurigata (inward-curving indentation)” presenting angular form shows that it went through two-stage grinding process. Similar to the bronze sword 1, no nicked edges are found below the blade base (lower part of the blade above the tang) and a total of 17 notched edges from the metal cut are concentrated in the middle of the blade (Figure 2-3, Photo 1).

The bronze dagger-axe is an imported Type I Ab with the robust “nai (tang)” and spine which is presented in my paper (2008 b) measuring 25.2 cm in total length, 22.4 cm in the length of the “en (blade part)”, 4.9 cm in length of the blade point, 18 cm in length of the “hi (groove)”, 7.03 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)”, 1.76 cm in thickness of the “take (projecting guard)”, 1.61 cm in spine width, 1.17 cm in maximum thickness of spine, 3.32 cm in width of the “nai (tang)” fixed to the shaft and 0.95 cm in thickness of the “nai (tang)” fixed to the shaft, and the grind is done for the spine as well. An evidence of a string from the “sen (hole)” to the “take (projecting guard)” when it was unearthed shows that the blade was attached to a shaft at a sharp angle. The issue I want to highlight is that a total of 27 notched edges by a sharp metal blade existed intensively in the lower part of the blade called “ko”. Given that a bronze blade was attached to a shaft at a sharp angle, it is natural that many notched edges appear on the outside (upper side) of the blade, however, apart from this, there are notched edges in four parts of the inside of the blade and seven other places (Figure 2-4, Photo 2) which requires another examination. Incidentally, from the fact that the blade has a sharp (keen) point, it is revealed that the “shinogi (ridge line)” extended to the spine due to the grind of the damaged point. The notably thin blade part is resulted from the repetitive grind and we can see similar examples in the bronze dagger-axe discovered near Pyongyang in North Korea and the Bronze dagger-axe owned by Sugu-okamoto Kuga Estate (YANAGIDA 2008 a).



Photo 1 Nicked edges of the bronze sword 2 from the Mawatashi-Tsukagawura Site



Photo 2 Nicked edges of the bronze dagger-axe from the Mawatashi Tsukagaura Site

(ii) Mawatashi Tsukagaura Site in Koga City, District B, the Bronze Sword from Kamekanbo (earthenware jar-coffin tomb)

It would appear that the earthenware jar-coffin tomb was from the early part of the middle Yayoi period although it is not reported yet. The bronze sword is Type B Ia which measures 34.4 cm in restored total length, 2.5 cm in tang, 1.62 cm in tang width, 1.33 cm in thickness of the tang, 1.59 cm in maximum width of the spine, 1.35 cm in maximum thickness of the spine, 3.28 cm in width of the “machi (lower end of the metal blade)”, 3.82 cm in maximum width of the blade base (lower part of the blade above the tang), 5.7 cm in length of the blade point and 0.66 cm in maximum thickness of the blade point. The irregularity of the “machi (lower end of the metal blade)” part reveals that the two halves of the casting mold moved vertically out of alignment. The mouth of the tang remains unpolished. The grind is done in two stages and the rough edge grind is applied for the blade base (lower part of the blade above the tang) (Figure 2-5).

(iii) Bronze Sword and the Bronze Dagger-axe from Shishibu-Ōishigū in Koga City

On the occasion of the expansion work of the shrine buildings of Ōishigū Shrine on Lunar New Year of Meiji 31 (1898), the little hill behind the shrine was scraped and from the double jar-coffins (with both rims put together to seal) exposed on the scraped surface, a bronze sword and a bronze dagger-axe were unearthed. The sacred object of Ōishigū Shrine is a giant stone with more than 2.5 m on each side and from this it is found that the relevant place was the burial mound composed of several earthenware jar-coffin tombs. The bronze sword became in the possession of the Anthropology Class, Faculty of Science of the University of Tōkyō and disappeared later but the bronze dagger-axe has been stored safely in the Koga Municipal Museum of Historical Materials.

According to TAKAHASHI Kenji(1925), the bronze sword about 32.8 cm in full length is a “bronze sword with a narrow blade” going through 4-stage grinding process. With a long point and narrow blade shaft, it is a bronze sword with advanced grinding technique.

The bronze dagger-axe is a Type I Ab measuring 28.2 cm in total length of the restored body, 24.85 cm in length of the “en (blade part)”, 19.5 cm in length of the “hi (groove)”, 4.7 cm in length of the blade point, 7.3 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)”, 2.16 cm in thickness of the “take (projecting guard)”, 1.45 cm in width of the spine, 1.42 cm in maximum thickness of the spine, 3.55 cm in width of the “nai (tang)” and 0.87 cm in thickness of the “nai (tang)”. Given the robust spine and tang parts, it is considered as an imported article, the spine has “shinogi (ridge line)” by grinding and the tip of the groove is distantly placed. The edge part of the tang side is in the as-cast condition due to the pouring gate of the casting. At present, the most part of the blade is lost and the blade point is disfigured due to grinding after it was unearthed and presents brownish-red color (Figure 3-1).

The bronze sword with a narrow blade and bronze dagger-axe with a narrow blade are said to have somewhat new style and there is little doubt that they are from the latter part of the middle Yayoi period (MORI 1973), however, in my paper, I consider them as old types and the period must be the early part of the middle Yayoi period (YANAGIDA 2005 b, 2007, 2008 b, 2010 b).

(2) Bronze ware in Munakata region

(i) Bronze Spearhead and Bronze Dagger-axe from the Asamachi-takeshige Site in Munakata City

The Asamachi-takeshige Site is a tumulus complex built from the early part of the middle Yayoi period to the late part of the middle Yayoi period composed of wooden coffin tombs and a piece of the bronze spearhead, bronze dagger-axe and small vase dedicated in the No. 28 tomb were unearthed. The bronze spearhead is an example of a piece of blade point which is believed to be dedicated on the cover of the wooden coffin along with a flat-shaped bronze dagger-axe because they were unearthed in a layer way above the floor surface of the coffin.

The bronze spearhead measures 16 cm in length, 2.97 cm in maximum width of the blade shaft, 1.68 cm in maximum width of the spine, 1.29 cm in thickness of the spine, 2.25 cm in maximum width of the point, 0.72 cm in maximum thickness of the point, 1.05 cm in width of the same spine. Although the nicks on the edge are new, the bent and damaged surface is old and there is a mark of core sand (nakagozuna) which is 1.15 cm wide and 0.85 cm thick (Figure 3-2). Comparing this measurement with “bronze sword with a narrow blade”, it corresponds to the 38.1 cm-long bronze spearhead from the Uki-Kunden No. 37 Jar-coffin tomb at a point 16 cm from the tip of the blade point. Moreover, the blade is slightly inclined inward at the bent and damaged part, which proves that both of them are Type II B produced in the northern Kyūshū (YANAGIDA 2003 c, 2011 a).

The bronze dagger-axe is a flat Type III Ac which measures 20.3 cm in total length, 6.61 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)”, 4.4 cm in length of the blade point, 14.2 cm in length of the groove, 3.7 cm in maximum width of the groove, 0.89 cm in width of the spine and 1.0 cm in length of the tang, 1.18 cm in width of the tang, 0.43 cm in maximum thickness of the spine and 0.45 cm in thickness of the “take (projecting guard)”.

It is covered with patina and there are two nicks on the blade other than a new bent and damaged part on the blade point. Also both sides of the straight blade show rounded appearance due to wear and tear, which shows that it was used in rituals, etc. (Figure 3-3, Photo 3) (YANAGIDA 2008 a, 2008 b).

(ii) Bronze Spearhead, Bronze Sword from Kubara, Munakata City

Inside the No. 1 earth-pit tomb (considered as a wooden coffin tomb) at IV district of the Kubara Site in Munakata City, a bronze sword and a bronze spearhead were buried side by side. It is estimated that they belonged to the period ranging from the middle part of the middle Yayoi period to the late part of the middle Yayoi period from the fact that the earthenware of the period was unearthed from the surrounding earth-pit tombs and the irregular earth-pits (ABE 1993).

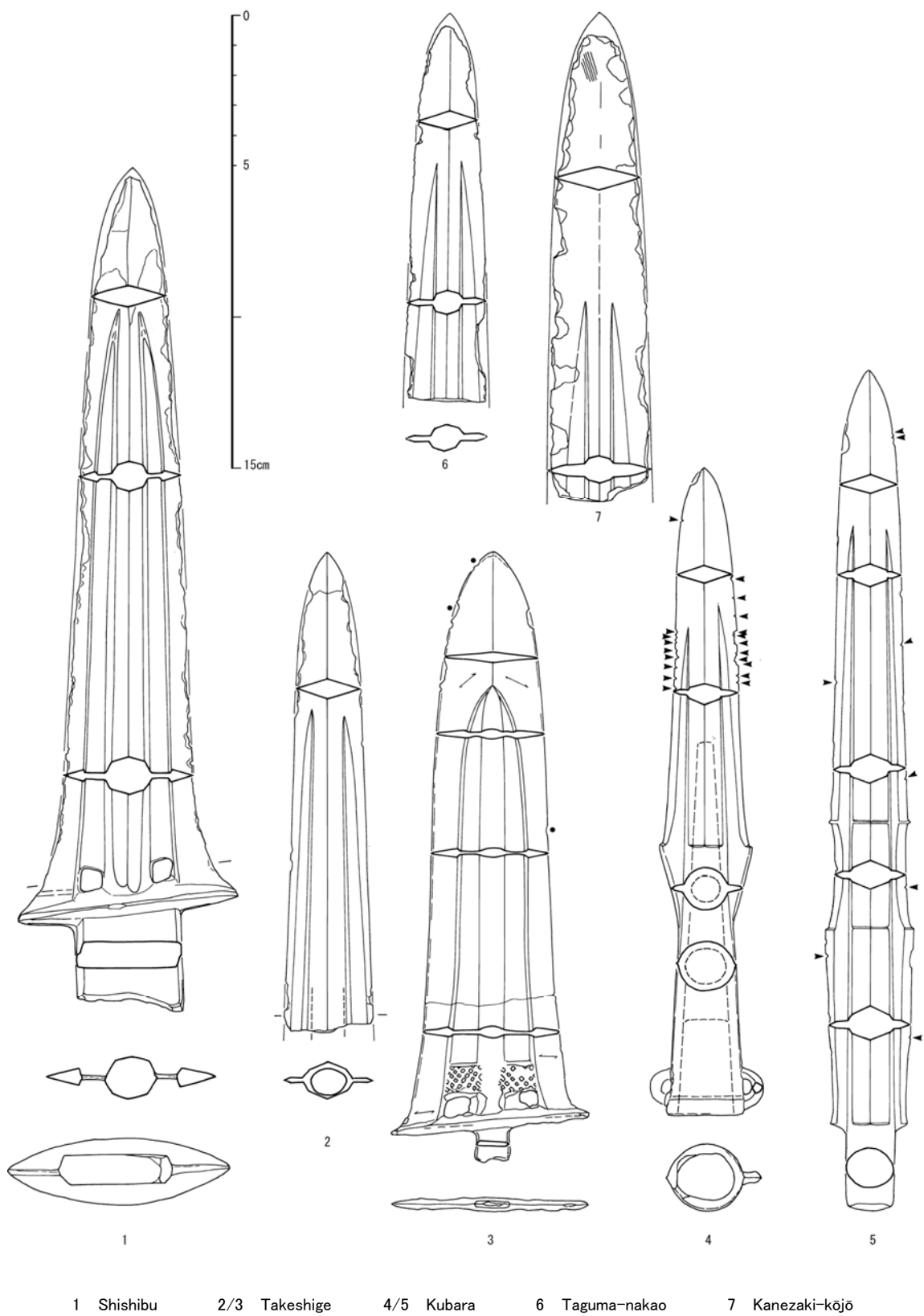


Figure 3 Measured drawings of the bronze dagger-axe from Shihibu, the bronze spearhead and the bronze dagger axe from Takeshige, the bronze spearhead and the bronze sword from Kubara (1/2)



Photo 3 Nicked edge of the Takeshige Type III Ac bronze dagger-axe, lower part is new



Photo 4 Kubara No. 1 nicked edge of the bronze spearhead from the wooden coffin tomb



Photo 5 Rounded protrusion and rough grind the bronze sword from the Taguma-ishihatake No. 3 Tomb

The bronze spearhead is a Type ID small short bronze spearhead which measures 21.5 cm in total length, 6.4 cm in length of the socket, 2.53 cm in maximum width of the socket, 0.6 cm in width of the “settai” part, 3.04 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)” with both loops at the end of the socket. The end of the socket bears “nakago-yonjyō-mizo (tang engraved with 4 grooves)” (TAKEMATSU 2001). This bronze spearhead lacks one of the loops and there are 20 nicked edges in total due to cuts by metal blades on both sides of the blade intensively (Figure 3-4, Photo 4). The core loam inside the socket is removed about 3.2 cm from the bottom but not enough, from which it was not intended for use in actual warfare (YANAGIDA 2003 c, 2008 a).

The bronze sword is a Type B Ia narrow bronze sword which measures 28 cm in total length, 2.6 cm in length of the tang, 1.7 cm in width of the tang, 2.54 cm in width of the machi (lower end of the blade shaft), 2.9 cm in maximum width of the blade base (lower part of the blade above the tang), 1.48 cm in maximum width of the spine and becomes narrow through 4-stage grinding process (Figure 3-5) (YANAGIDA 2007). The material of the bronze sword is white bronze and is covered in bulged rust similar to a Chinese mirror. On the blade shaft, there are 8 small nicked edges caused by a metal blade scattered from the blade point to the blade base (YANAGIDA 2008 a).

(iii) Bronze ware from Taguma-ishihatake Site in Munakata City

Taguma-ishihatake Site is located at 9-37, 2-chome Taguma in Munakata City and is a complex site composed of the settlement existed between the early Yayoi period to the medieval times and burial mounds. Numerous bronze items and accessories were discovered from some of the representative burial mounds. I will give an overview of these artifacts and discuss the characteristics of the bronze ware for use in rituals in *Munakata* region.

The tumulus complex was discovered on the south-west end of the land area of about 15,000 m² under investigation. Regarding the burial remains, 6 tombs were excavated and investigated out of 9 detected tombs and a total of 15 bronze ware items and numerous accessories were unearthed (SHIRAKI 2009). Among the current burial mounds, No. 1 Tomb from which 5 bronze ware items and accessories were unearthed appears as a main tomb. However, No. 4 Tomb and No. 5 Tomb are overlapped among 9 tombs and as No. 5 Tomb is a precedent burial site, I believe that No. 5 tomb is the central burial site. The burial mounds are arranged within a rectangular section and the central part of the rectangular burial mound is No. 5 tomb and it is obvious that only one third of the burial mound has been confirmed so far. In other words, it is presumed that there existed the burial mound consisting of No. 9 Tomb, No. 1 Tomb, No. 5 Tomb and No. 4 Tomb arranged in the north side and at least 12 tombs existed in the west and south side and a total of around 20 burial remains made up the entire burial mound.

Although the excavated burial remains had mainly hollowed-out wooden coffins at their centers, the uninvestigated No. 5 tomb had an assembled wooden coffin.

Here I will mainly introduce the bronze ware items whose drawings were disclosed. The measurements of the bronze ware items are shown below in Table 1, 2 and 3.

At No. 1 Tomb, from the head, 2 pairs of accessories, 4 bronze swords and 1 bronze dagger-axe were arranged with their blade points toward the foot in the hollowed-out wooden coffin. From the measurements, the No. 3 bronze sword is Type II Ba, the No. 1 and No. 2 bronze swords are Type II Bb and the No. 4 bronze sword is so-called a “bronze sword with narrow blade” and it’s impossible to tell whether it is Type B I or Type II A from the photo posted on the summary report. Only the No. 4 bronze sword goes through 4-stage grinding process and it is maybe Type B I, however, given that the SJ 1006 Bronze sword from Yoshinogari Site, the bronze sword alleged to be from Yatake in Shimane Prefecture, bronze sword alleged to be from Shimane Prefecture, the No. 2 bronze sword alleged to be from Ehime Nishibankake are Type II A with 4-stage grinding, it is possible that the No. 4 Bronze sword may be Type II A (YANAGIDA 2006, 2007).

The bronze dagger-axe from No. 1 tomb is Type II Aa and because there is a “shinogi (ridge line)” on the spine and the tips of grooves are largely-spaced, it is believed that the grinding process is advanced.

At No. 2 Tomb, two bronze spearheads and one bronze sword were arranged with their blade points toward the foot inside the hollowed-out wooden coffin. Although there are no measured drawings reported for the bronze spearheads, given that the No. 1 bronze spearhead has a loop on the right side and the wing parts are not inclined inward, it is Type II A and the No. 2 bronze spearhead is Type II B because it has a loop on the right side and the wing part is inclined inward. **The bronze sword** measures 35 cm in total length despite the lost blade point. Moreover, given that the width of the spine with 4-stage grinding is less than 1.4 cm, it is not a large bronze sword.

Table 1 Measurement of bronze spearheads from the Taguma-ishihatake Site Unit/cm

Bronze spearhead	Type	Total length	Width of the point	Width of machi	Length of the point	Width of setai	Length of the socket	Width of the socket	Thickness of the socket	Measurement
No. 2 Tomb/No. 1	II A	25	2	3.4	4	1.1		3		Measured by YANAGIDA
No. 2 Tomb/No. 2	II B	41	2.6	4.1	5.7	0.8		3.2		Measured by YANAGIDA
No. 4 Tomb	II B	43.3	2.5	4.5	7	1	10.5	3.25	2.71	Actual measurements by YANAGIDA

Note: As for the loss and damage, restored values are applied

Table 2 Measurement of bronze swords from the Taguma-ishihatake Site Unit/cm

Bronze sword	Type	Grind	Total length	Width of the blade body	Width of machi	Length of the tang	Width of the tang	Thickness of the tang	Width of the spine	Thickness of the spine	Measurements
No. 1 Tomb/No. 1	II B b	Single stage	42.3	4.9		2.7	1.3		1.3		Summary report
No. 2	II B b	Single stage	43.8	5.8		1.8	1.5		1.2		Summary report
No. 3	II B a	Single stage	38	5		2.2	1.5		1.5		Summary report
No. 4	Unknown	Four-stage	27.5	3.6		1.9	1.6		1.4		Summary report
No. 2 Tomb	Unknown	Four-stage	35	3.2	2.95	2.8	1.6		1.39		Measured by YANAGIDA
No. 3 Tomb	B I a	Four-stage	28.2	2.78	2.52	2	1.41	1.2	1.46	1.17	Actual measurements by YANAGIDA
No. 4 Tomb	B I a	Four-stage	33.6	3.5		2.7	1.5		1.6		Summary report
No. 6 Tomb	II B a	Three-stage	39.9	4.63	3.4	2.1	1.37	1.12	1.42	1.12	Actual measurements by YANAGIDA
No. 7 Tomb	B I a	Four-stage	29.3	2.8	2.75	2.3	1.51	1.3	1.43	1.17	Actual measurements by YANAGIDA

Note: As for the loss and damage, restored values are applied

Table 3 Measurement of bronze dagger-axe from Taguma-ishihatake Site Unit/cm

Bronze dagger-axe	type	total length	width of take	width of the spine	thickness of the spine	length of the tang	width of the tang	thickness of the tang	Measurements
No. 1 Tomb	II A a	24	8.5			2.3	3.2		Summary report
No. 2 Tomb	III A b	12.9	4.9	0.8	4.8	0.7	1.34	0.31	Actual measurements by YANAGIDA
No. 4 Tomb	I A b	28+	8.5			2.2	3.6		Summary report

Note: As for the loss and damage, restored values are applied

The bronze dagger-axe is a small Type III Ab because it is relatively flat and the grooves are wide and there are no designs at the bottom of the blade (Figure 4-1). Moreover, the thickness of the spine and the tang ranks second after the example of Type III Aa from Motomatsubara, Okagaki Town and they are thicker than the items of the same type from No. 2 Kamekanbo at Arita in Fukuoka City and No. 23 Kamekanbo at Kume in Itoshima City, and so a small dagger-axe doesn't necessarily mean a new type. The casting mold of the "sen (hole)" is a rectangular shape but presents a round shape by drilling (Photo 11).

At No. 3 Tomb, one bronze sword was buried with its blade point to a foot direction inside the

hollowed-out wooden coffin along with the human bones, which is an example of a tomb for secondary burial where the human bones were rearranged. In the measured drawing of the bronze sword, it looks like the grind extends to the tang by 5-stage grinding at first glance, but after observing it carefully it is revealed that there is roundness on the spine near the protrusion and the square grinding applied to the “kurigata (inward-curving indentation)” isn’t irregular and the tang from a lateral view shows that the polishing of the “machi” part hasn’t been done. However, it is rare that both sides of the spine near “kurigata” present roundness in spite of the advanced 4-stage grinding process (Figure 4-2, Photo 5).

At No. 4 Tomb, the shaft extended beyond the investigated section and inside the hollowed-out wooden coffin on the north-east side of the mound, one bronze dagger-axe with the blade point to the right, one bronze spearhead and one bronze sword were buried with their blade points toward a foot direction on the left side of the human remains. The bronze spearhead is Type II B because the entire wing parts are inclined inwardly. It would appear that the lower end of the socket bears “nakago-yōnjo (four gutters)” (Figure 5-1).

The bronze sword looks like a Type B Ia according to the measured drawing in the summary report but I couldn’t actually see the object because it was under repair.

The bronze dagger-axe is thought to be an imported Type I Ab given its wide spine and tang, however, according to a photo on the summary report, looks like there is no “shinogi ridge line in spite of the widely-spaced tips of the grooves. It is a type with the blade base of the grooves is directly aligned and is the same type as the bronze dagger axe from Yeongam and Galdong in South Korea and Shishibu in Koga City.

At No. 6 Tomb, the floor part of the hollowed-out wooden coffin was barely remained and one bronze sword and one comma-shaped bead were unearthed. The bronze sword is a Type II Ba according to my paper (2007) belonging to the conventional “Bronze sword with medium-narrow blade class a” with the restored “machi (lower end of the blade shaft)” 3.4 cm wide. What would appear as minor loss and damage is a big “su (pore)” during the molding process and severe big loss and damage on the right side was due to disturbance from the upper layer (Figure 5-2, photo 7).

At No. 7 Tomb, there is a clay pillow on the south side of the hollowed-out wooden coffin and on both sides of the pillow a pair of accessories and one bronze sword with its blade point toward a foot direction beside the upper right arm were buried. The bronze sword is Type B Ia of 4-stage grinding process with numerous tiny pores all over the body.

There are three parts where loss and damage and numerous minute nicked edges due to metal blades exist in succession on the blade (Photo 8-10). Also, the blade point is rounded due to regrinding (Figure 4-3, Photo 7).

(iv) Bronze Dagger-axe from the Tōgō-takatsuka Site in Munakata City

According to the document written by UMEHARA Sueji, it is recorded that “the bronze dagger-axe was unearthed from the stone coffin on November 15, 1936 (Showa 11)” and measuring from its measured drawing, it has 1.5 cm in width of the spine, 3.65 cm in width of the tang and 0.9 cm in thickness of the tang. The bronze dagger-axe has robust spine and tang and therefore it is believed to be an imported Type I Ab. Its hole presents an unclear circle with a diameter of 1 cm.

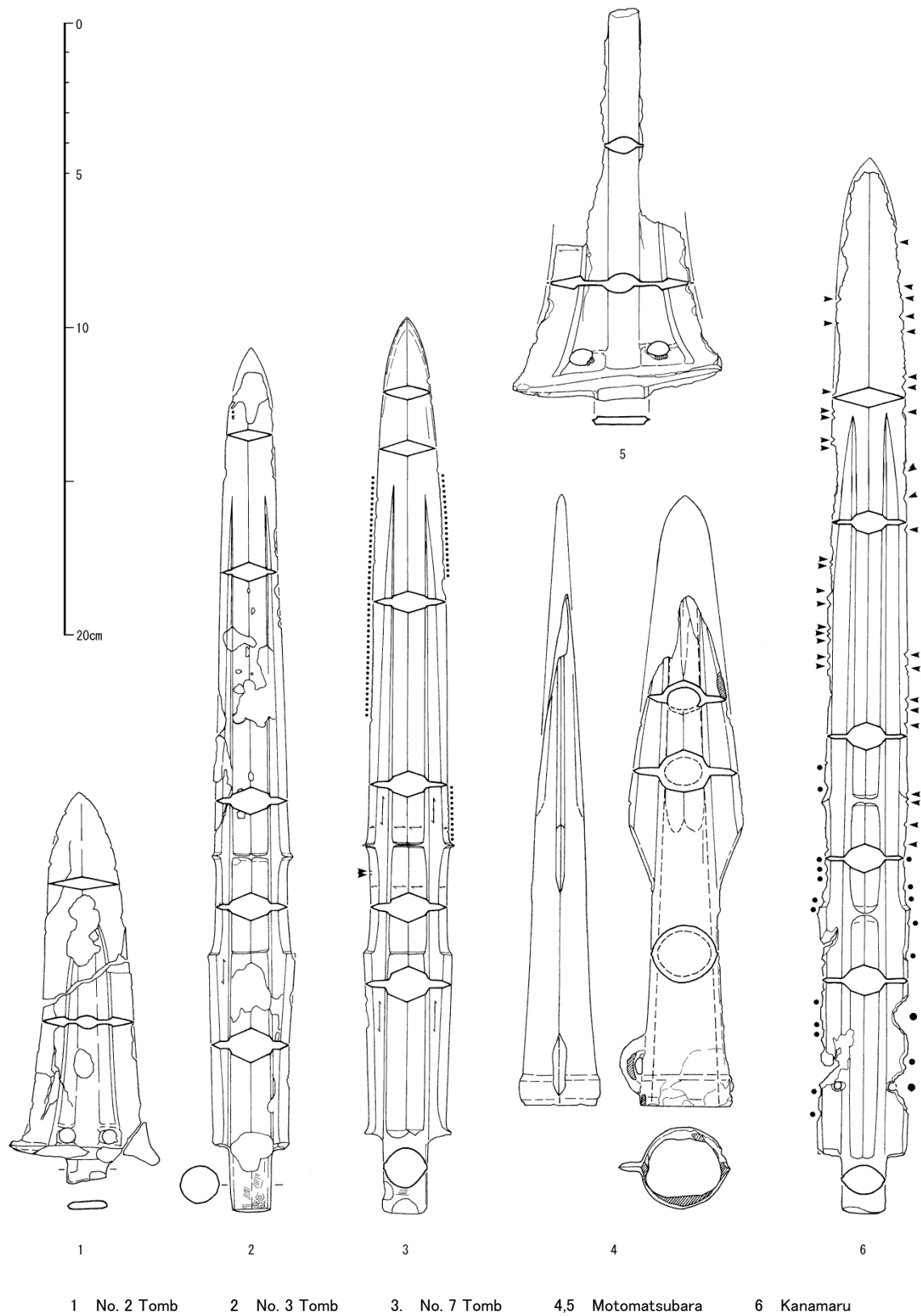


Figure 4 Measured drawings of the bronze spearhead, bronze sword, bronze dagger-axe from the Taguma-ishihatake: *Oka* (half scale)



Photo 6 Large pores on machi part (lower end of the blade shaft) and burrs on the tang of the bronze sword from No. 6 Tomb at the Taguma-ishihatake Site



Photo 7 Regrinding "round polish" of the blade point and nicked edges of the bronze sword from No. 7 Tomb



Photo 8 Nicked edges, grinding in the grooves and pores on the spine of the bronze sword from No. 7 Tomb at the Taguma-ishihatake Site



Photo 9 Nicked edges, grinding in the grooves and pores all over the blade of the bronze sword from No. 7 Tomb at the Taguma-ishihatake Site



Photo 10 Nicked edges, grinding in the grooves and pores all over the blade of the bronze sword from No. 7 Tomb at the Taguma-ishihatake Site



Photo 11 Bronze dagger-axe from No. 2 Tomb at the Taguma-ishihatake Site- No rough grinding seen in the blade point

(v) Blade Point of the Bronze Sword from Taguma-nakao in Munakata City

The blade point of the bronze sword owned by Kansai University Museum measures 12.45 cm in existing length, 2.6 cm in maximum width of the blade body, 0.9 cm in maximum thickness of the spine and the most of its blade is lost and damaged. The restored blade part measures 4.8 cm in length of the point, 2.2 cm in maximum width of the body, 2.85 cm in width of the blade body, 0.89 cm in width of the blade near the tip of the grooves and 0.64 cm in thickness of the same part, 1.08 cm in maximum width of the spine and 0.9 cm in thickness of the same part. Due to inward slant of the blade up to the tip of the grooves, it is similar to the bronze sword uncovered from a King's tomb at the Sugu-okamoto Site owned by Tōkyō National Museum (Illustrated catalogue, p.123 81-7) and falls into Type II Bc according to my papers (2007, 2011a). The two halves of the casting mold were slid from side to side. The lost and damaged parts on the blade are all new and the bent damage of the blade point is old (Figure 3-6).

(vi) Blade Point of the Bronze Sword from the Kanezaki-kōjō Site in Genkai-chō

The blade point of the bronze sword owned by Kansai University Museum is said to have been uncovered “when the lid of a box stone coffin buried in the rice paddy on the east side of Kōjō Shell mounds was opened” (HANADA 1993). It measures 15.5 cm in existing length, 3.3 cm in maximum width of the existing body and 0.89 cm in maximum thickness of the spine and most part of the blade is lost and damaged. If the blade is restored, it measures 9.6 cm in length of the point, 3.2 cm in maximum width of the body, 3.5 cm in maximum width of the blade body, 0.88 cm in width of the spine at the tip of the grooves, 0.96 cm in thickness of the same, 0.96 cm in maximum width of the spine and 0.89 cm in thickness of the same. In terms of the type, it is similar to Type B Ia super-large bronze sword uncovered from the king's tomb at the Sugu-okamoto Site owned by Tōkyō National Museum (Illustrated catalogue, p.123 81-8) (YANAGIDA 2011 a) (Figure 3-7).

(vii) Bronze Sword from the Kōjō-nakaraō Site in Genkai Town

In 1926 (Showa 1), it is said that “3 bronze swords with a narrow blade point” and Yayoi-Style earthenware (from the late part of the middle Yayoi to the early part of the late Yayoi period) were uncovered along with human bones from the assembled stone coffin (HANADA 1993). According to the measured drawings in the document by UMEHARA Sueji, the complete shape measures 34 cm in total length, 32.3 cm in length of the sword body, 1.7 cm in length of the tang, 4.8 cm in width of the restored main body, 1.3 cm in width of the spine, 10.6 cm in length of the blade point, 3.3 cm in width of the point and less than 1 cm in width of the spine at the tip of the grooves. The type is similar to the bronze sword from the king's tomb in Sugu-okamoto site and the bronze sword contained in the document by MOTOYAMA Hikoichi (TSUNEMATSU 2002) and is defined as Type II Bc according to my paper (2007). There is a blade point of the bronze sword with curved chamfering grooves (curved) of the same type in the document by UMEHARA and 3 bronze swords might have been the Type II B.

(viii) Bronze Spearhead from Katō (the Tsurī River) in Munakata City

A piece of the “bronze spearhead with a wide blade” was unearthed along with the early-stage Sue pottery (unglazed earthenware) and Haji pottery from the inclusive layer of the river bed of the Tsurī River (TANAKA 1935). The item is now possessed by Fukuoka Prefectural Munakata High School.

(ix) Bronze Sword alleged to be uncovered in Katsuura, Tsuyazaki Town, Futtsu City

The flat bronze sword alleged to be uncovered in Katsuura, Tsuyazaki Town in Futtsu City is owned by Tenri University Sanko Museum. The flat bronze sword is 46.1 cm long (total length) and is Type II b according to Shōzō IWANAGA (1980 b).

(3) Bronze ware in *Oka*, *Kiku* regions

(i) Bronze Spearhead from Motomatsubara, Okagaki Town

The bronze spearhead collected from Motomatsubara measures 16.75 cm in existing total length. Due to breakage of the spearhead body and the second grinding at that time and regrinding after excavation, its blade point became notably short and therefore it is a subject with notably rare breakage of the spearhead body. According to the existing measurement, it measures 1 cm in width of the “settai (ferrule)”, 2.94 cm in width of the “settai” part, 2.62 cm in thickness of the “settai” part, 7.2 cm in length of the socket and 3.72 cm in width of “machi (lower end of the blade shaft)”. Since the first breakage caused loss and damage of the spearhead body up to the hollow portion, by grinding one side of the blade exclusively and excessively by second grinding, new blade point was formed. As a result, the hollow portion is exposed only on one side. The grinding continued subsequently that causes its cross-section view to show the spine and the blade not in a straight line and leaving round ground edge. Looking at the real thing, unlike the existing measured drawing, the raised-line of the socket isn’t noticeable and the “settai” also is somewhat different, so I conclude that it’s Type II A (YANAGIDA 2008 a). Moreover, the socket part bears “nakago-yonjō-mizo (four thin gutters)” (TAKEMATSU 2001) on the surface and it is believed to be from the northern part of Kyūshū (Figure 4-4). The blade point and loop part and the shadowed area of the measured drawing on Photo 12 shows the ground part after the excavation.

(ii) Bronze Dagger-axe from Motomatsubara, Okagaki Town

The Bronze dagger-axe owned by Kyūshū University Archaeological Study Room bears rusted sand on the body and it would appear that it was uncovered from the remains in the sand dune. The bronze dagger-axe has its blade point, tang and the blade part lost and damaged and it measures 1.84 cm in width of the tang, 0.28 cm in thickness of the tang, 1.1 cm in width of the spine, 0.68 cm in thickness of the spine, 4.7 cm in width of the tip of the grooves and 0.95 cm in thickness of the “take” part. The cross-section of the spine shows that the two halves of the casting mold are slid from side to side and a lot of burrs are remained under the “take (projecting guard)” (Photo 13). The trace of a string binding the handle to the tang indicates that it was a burial accessory in the burial mound. Due to its wide spine and grooves, it is categorized as Type III Aa according to my paper (2008 b) (Figure 4-5).



Photo 12 The bronze spearhead from Motomatsubara, Okagaki Town



Photo 13 The bronze dagger-axe from Motomatsubara, Okagaki Town, burrs remained under the “take (projecting guard)”

(iii) Bronze Spearhead, Bronze Sword, Bronze Dagger-axe from Okagaki Town (old collection of Kyūshū University)

This material consists of a bronze spearhead, a bronze sword and a bronze dagger-axe that had been owned by Kyūshū University Archaeological Study Room and part of them were missing due to the school disturbance. As for the bronze spearhead and bronze dagger-axe, the measured drawings by MORI Teijiro are listed in “Tateiwa Site” and “Matsura-koku”. Regarding the bronze sword, it is listed in the “Tateiwa Site” and also there is the measured drawing by IWANAGA Shōzō (1980 a). According to the “Tateiwa Site”, these three artifacts were unearthed collectively from the same site (OKAZAKI 1977).

The bronze spearhead is owned by Meiji University Museum at present. The bronze spearhead measures 57 cm in restored total length, 13 cm in length of the socket, 3.05 cm in maximum width of the blade point, 5.1 cm in width of the “machi (lower end of the blade shaft)”, 8.2 cm in length of the blade point, 2.38 cm in width of the upper end of the socket, 1.3 cm in width of the “settai”, 3.38 (2.84) cm in width of the lower end of the “settai” (YANAGIDA 2011 a). Since most part of the blade is lost and damaged, the measurements show restored values, however, the lower half of the blade and the “machi” part are slanted inward and it is defined as Type II B according to my paper (YANAGIDA 2003 c, 2011 a). The socket shows wear and tear and the trace of slotting is evident on the “machi” part and the socket surrounding the loop (Photo 14). The core sand (nakagozuna) of the socket is removed up to 20.2 cm from the bottom (Figure 5-3).

According to the IWANAGA Shōzō Drawings (1980 a), the bronze sword measures 53 cm in restored total length, 9.8 cm in length of the point, 1.5 cm in length of the tang, 4.3 cm in width of the point, 6.9 cm in width of the protrusion, 7.6 cm in maximum width of the blade base, 1.5 cm in width of the spine and 1 cm in thickness of the spine. There is the “shinogi (ridge line)” on the part of the spine above the protrusion. Given that the mold for casting the “bronze sword with a middle-broad blade” with the same type category from Hatta in Fukuoka City has the “shinogi”, it is believed that the casted “shinogi” was re-ground.

By measuring the drawing listed in “Tateiwa Site”, since the bronze dagger-axe is missing, it measures 33 cm in total length, 9.8 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)” and 15.3 cm in length of the point. OKAZAKI attempts to include it in the category of the “bronze dagger-axe with a medium-narrow blade”, if you restore the “en (straight blade)” part from the measured drawing, it measures 5 cm in maximum

width of the point and 4.3 cm in minimum width of the body and therefore it is defined as Type IV Ac according to my paper (YANAGIDA 2008 b).

(iv) Bronze Dagger-axe from Okagaki Town

The bronze dagger-axe measures 33 cm in total length, 30.6 cm in length of the “en (straight blade)”, 9.7 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)”, 2.1 cm in the tang, 4.8 cm in minimum width of the “en” part and 5 cm in maximum width of the restored blade point according to the measurement listed in “Tateiwa Site” and is considered the “bronze dagger-axe b with a medium-narrow blade b” (IWANAGA 1980 b), however, given its length of the blade point, width of the blade point, minimum width of the en (straight blade), it should be Type IV Ac according to my paper (2008 b).

(v) Bronze Dagger-axe from Yamada-ōtsubo in Okagaki Town

The bronze dagger-axe is owned by Kyōto University Museum which has the blade point and a portion of the tang lost and damaged and is defined as the “bronze dagger-axe with a medium-broad blade” (ABE 1993). However, IWANAGA Shōzō, although admits its type as “bronze dagger-axe b with a medium-narrow blade”, points to the possibility of being “bronze dagger-axe with a broad blade” (IWANAGA 1980 b).

(vi) Casting mold for the bronze dagger-axe from Yoshiki, Okagaki Town

It is said that 2 casting molds were dug up and one is stored in University of Tōkyō, University Museum and according to the measured drawings by TSUNEMATSU Mikio, the stone material measures 37.4 cm in total length, 13.6 cm in maximum width, 5.7 cm in maximum thickness and the cavity inside measures 36.5 cm in total length, 33.4 cm in length of the “en (straight blade)” part, 17 cm in length of the blade point, 13 cm in width of the “take (projecting guard)”, 7.2 cm in maximum width of the blade point, 6 cm in minimum width of the “en” part, and 1.3 cm in width of the tang of the “bronze dagger-axe with a broad blade” (TSUNEMATSU 2000).

(vii) Bronze Sword, Stone Dagger-axe from Kanamaru, Onga Town

The bronze sword uncovered from No. 2 earth-pit tomb at the Kanamaru Site measures 33.8 cm in total length, 34.3 cm in restored total length, 1.3 cm in length of the tang, 1.46 cm in width of the tang, 0.95 cm in thickness of the tang, 2.9 cm in width of the “machi” part, 1.4 cm in maximum width of the spine and 3 cm in maximum width of the blade base and the entire body is rusted. Given its long body, inward slanted grooves and flattened spine, it is defined as Type II Bb which is a bronze sword with a narrow blade with a rare 4-stage grinding applied on it. The period of this type is after the early part of middle Yayoi period, however, given that it makes the most of the “bronze sword with a medium-narrow blade”, it would be reasonable to define the period after the middle part of the middle Yayoi period.



Photo 14 Slotting on the spine of the machi part and wear and tear of the socket of the bronze spearhead from Okagaki



Photo 15 Twin holes and notable nicked edges of the bronze sword from Kanamaru

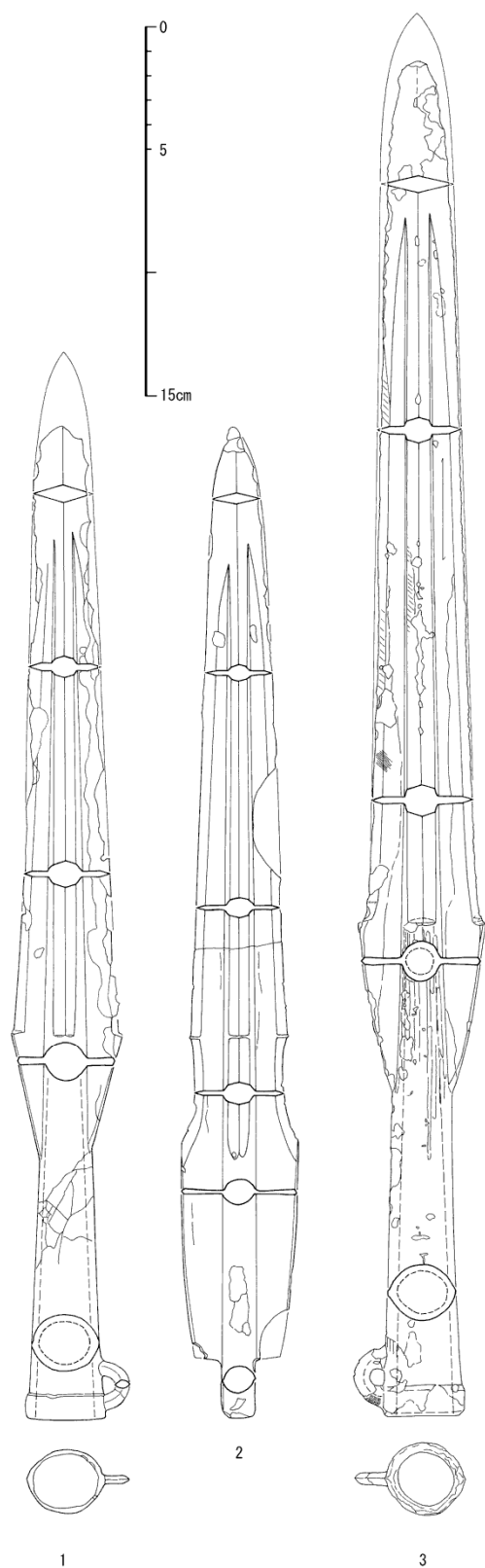


Figure 5 Measured drawings of the bronze spearhead, bronze sword from Taguma-ishihatake and the bronze spearhead from Okagaki Town, measured drawings (one-third scale)

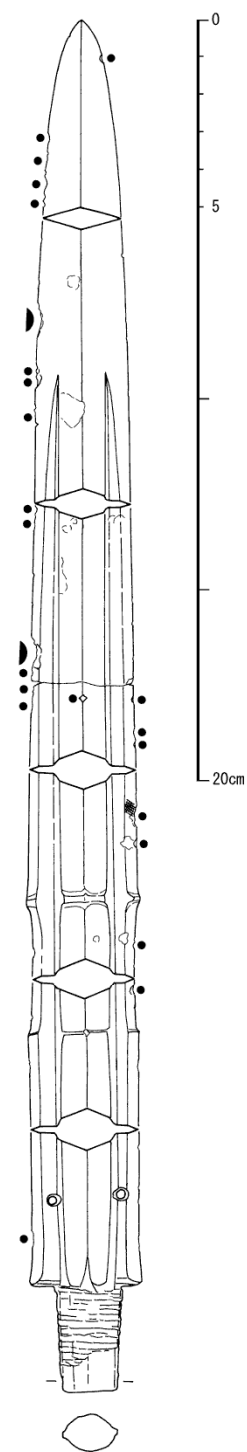


Figure 6 Measured drawings of the bronze sword from the Gokarō-yashiki (residence of the chief retainer) of Kokura Castle (half scale)



Photo 16 Stone dagger-axe with grooves from Kanamaru

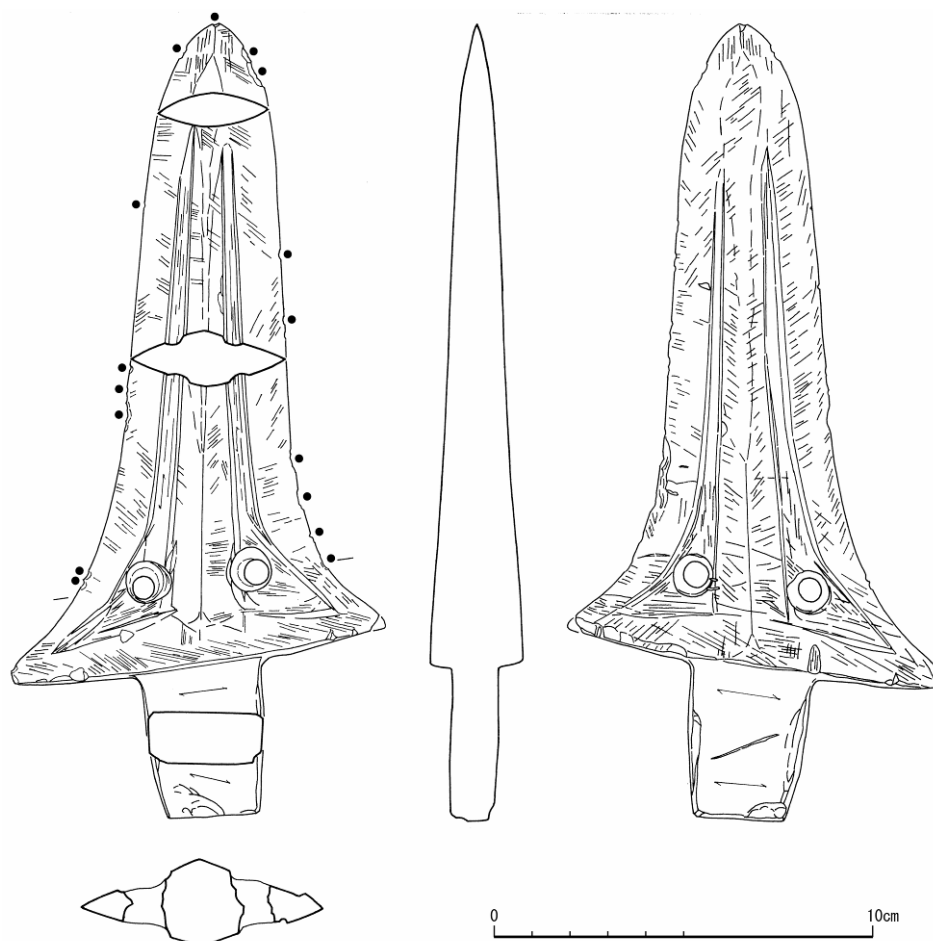


Figure 7 Measured drawings of the stone dagger-axes from Ishimaru (half scale)



Photo 17 Twin holes and strings bound around the tang of the bronze sword from the Gokarō-yashiki (residence of the chief retainer) of Kokura Castle

At the blade base, twin holes are bored 2.1 cm from the “machi” part and because these are different from the twin holes made at the “machi” part, it is the excavation article found at the westernmost point. On the sword body, there are 36 nicked edges due to a metal blade on the blade point side near “kurigata (inward-curving indentation)” and 20 nicked edges due to a blunt blade on the blade base side and two big loss and damages by a blunt object on the side of the blade part (Photo 15). The nicks by a metal blade are burred sharply (Figure 4-6) (YANAGIDA 2008 a).

The stone dagger-axe was buried inside the No.1 earth-pit tomb with the blade point toward the foot direction by the left side wall (TAKEDA2007). If the stone dagger-axe had been attached to a handle, it would have made an acute angle with the handle. The stone dagger-axe measures 20.8 cm in total length, 16.8 cm in length of the en (straight blade), 13.2 cm in length of the grooves, 7.7 cm in width of the base part of the grooves, 2.5 cm in length of the blade point, 9.9 cm in width of the restored “take (projecting guard)”, 2.46 cm in maximum thickness of the “take (projecting guard)”, 4 cm in length of the tang, 3.22 cm in width of the basal portion of the tang, 1.35 cm in thickness of the tang, 2 cm in width of the spine and 2.31 cm in thickness of the spine. The big holes are bored by drill and there is shinogi ridge line on the spine and about 13 cm of the blade point part is re-ground with round finish. As shown in Figure 7, there is a great difference between the thickness of the “take (projecting guard)” and the thickness of the tang, which is a rare ground stone dagger-axe with grooves and is categorized into the oldest type (Photo 16). Given the widened basal portion of the grooves, the ridge line of the spine, robust spine and tang, the stone dagger-axe is considered to have imitated the imported bronze dagger-axe. There are 15 nicked edges in the blade (Figure 6).

(viii) Bronze Sword from the Gokarō-yashiki (residence of the chief retainer) of Kokura Castle in Kita-Kyūshū City

The bronze sword was buried inside No. 1 box-shaped stone coffin tomb doubled over and wrapped in a cloth which is the only weapon type bronze ware in *Kiku* region. It measures 36 cm in total length, 2.8 cm in length of the tang, 1.03 cm in thickness of the tang, 2.94 cm in width of the “machi (lower end of the metal blade)” part, 1.54 cm in maximum width of the spine, 1.07 cm in width of the same, 1.14 cm in maximum thickness of the spine, 9.2 cm in length of the blade point, 2.43 cm in maximum width of the blade point, 1.2 cm in width of the spine, 0.7 cm in thickness of the same which is defined as Type B Ia with 4-stage grinding. There is a trace of strings bound around the tang and there are seven nicked edges in succession and several nicks due to a dull blade on the blade. On the blade base, twin holes are bored without traces of wear and tear (Photo 17). Given the trace of hammering on the spine of the lost part, it would appear that the spine was bent on purpose and then was wrapped in an ultra-fine cloth (Figure 6).

4. Examination of the Bronze Spearhead Alleged to be Unearthed from Okinoshima Island

It was in 1968 when the discovery of the bronze spearhead from Okinoshima Island became known. It was said to be dug out during World War II and excavated on the side of the military road running from the old shrine office to north-west, halfway between the old barrack site and the old shrine office (AKUI, SADA 1979).

It would appear that the site in front of the shrine office where the Yayoi pottery was unearthed is the inclusive layer with the secondary sedimentary structure containing the pottery from the early and middle Jōmon period. The pottery from the early Yayoi period includes the pots with feather-mon design drawn with a pallet and rim fragments of a jar, and the jar is from the middle to the end part of the early Yayoi period. The pottery from the middle Yayoi period includes non-decorated triangular clay-band rim pottery and pots from the early part and a number of jars from the middle to the late part and “ninuri-maken (red burnished)” pottery from the end of the middle Yayoi period. In the late Yayoi period, there are sack-shaped rim jars and vases and jars with bent rims from the first part but only a few pieces of pottery from the end of Yayoi period. Only a piece of the Setouchi-Style rim jar was unearthed (KURONO 1979).

For the measured drawings of the bronze spearhead unearthed from Okinoshima Island there is a report by AKUI, SADA in 1979 (hereinafter called Side A) and the measured drawing by MORI Teijirō listed on “Matsura-koku” edited by OKAZAKI Takashi (1982) (hereinafter called Side B) presenting both sides of the measured drawings.

The bronze spearhead measures 28.7 cm in total length, 4.5 cm in width of the machi (lower end of the blade shaft), 3.4 cm in maximum width of the socket and 9.5 cm in length of the socket (AKUI 1979). Making a supplementary comment on the listed measured drawing, the article measures 3.1 cm in length of the point, 2 cm in width of the point, 0.7 cm in width of the spine at the end of the grooves, 1 cm in width of the “settai (ferrule

)” and the loop was lost and the core sand inside the socket was removed up to 14 cm from the bottom. The characteristic of this bronze spearhead is two pairs of protrusions on both sides of the “machi” part bordering the socket and the raised lines on the “machi” part. One thing that gets my attention is that no “settai” and the raised lines of the “machi” part are drawn on Side B. Since they are drawn on Side A listed in “Okinoshima Island I” (1970), I will discuss the following from the characteristics of Side A.

The bronze spearheads with decoration from Korea belong to the bronze spearhead with multiple grooves existed solely in the V-1 stage among various stages of the burial accessories of the burial mounds in Korea Peninsula (YANAGIDA 2004). Two examples of the bronze spearheads with multiple grooves have the entire socket with protrusion decorated with multiple vertical raised lines and those without protrusions are rich in decorations such as “raimon, inkoku shūsen-mon (lightening patterns and incised line concentration ornament)”. On the other hand, the artifacts with 2 to 4 raised bands on the “settai” part emerged at this period.

Then, comparing the bronze spearheads with multiple grooves distributed mainly in Gyeongju region in Korea and the bronze spearheads uncovered from Okinoshima Island, a pair of protrusions are found in the bronze spearheads with many grooves from Ipsil-ri and Chungdong-ri in Gyeongju region in Korea, however, the raised lines of the “machi” part are not the type with multiple grooves and the trace of the lines are only found in Side B of the casting mold of No. 1 bronze spearhead with their trace from the Hongyō Site in Tosu City (Photo 18). Given that the bronze spearhead from Okinoshima Island has broad “settai” part and is not the type with multiple grooves, I conclude that it is produced in the northern part of Kyūshū (YANAGIDA 2005 a). The cross-section of the wing part from Side A of the measured drawing shows the right wing which is slightly slanted inward, which is also a decisive factor for Type II D of the short body bronze spearhead (YANAGIDA 2003 c).

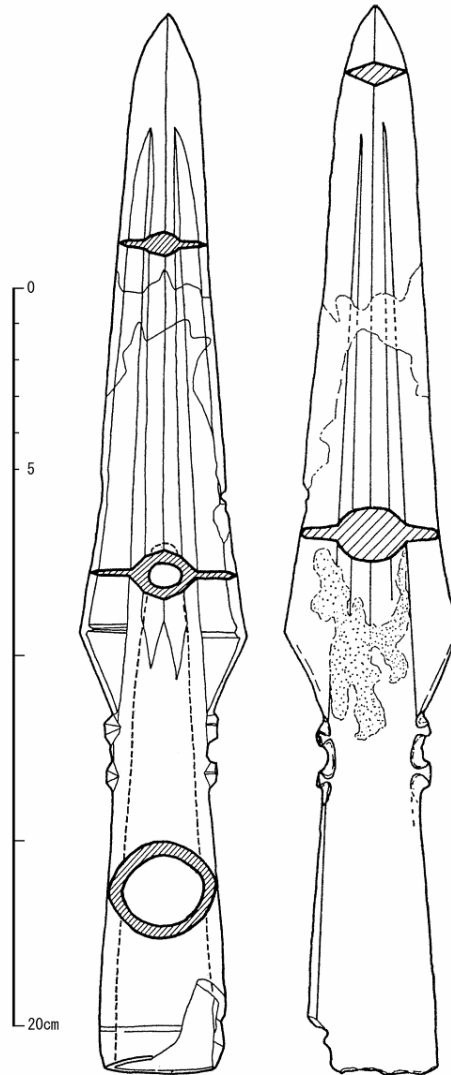


Figure 8 Measured drawings of the bronze spearhead alleged to be from Okinoshima Island (half scale)

Regarding the mold for casting the bronze spearhead from the Hongyō Site, it is believed that the “bronze spearhead with a medium-narrow blade” was made using Side A at first and then the “bronze spearhead with a narrow blade” was made with Side B (GOTO 2000, YOSHIDA 2001), however, in my paper (2005 a), I deem Side B of the casting mold to be used to cast the bronze spearhead with a short body and a medium-narrow blade (Type II D). In other words, since the cross-section of the blade of Side A isn’t slanted inward but bears cast “shinogi” ridge line on the spine and in latter Side B, the “machi” part and the blade part are slanted inward, it is not the “bronze spearhead with a narrow blade” but the bronze spearhead with short body which is Type II D (Figure 9).

5. Inflow, Production, Distribution and Regulation of the Use of Bronze Weapons

(1) Inflow and production of the bronze weapons

In conventional studies, the “narrow-shaped” bronze weapons were considered as imported articles and all the bronze weapons from the early part were believed to be introduced into Japan from abroad. However, as described in my papers, it became evident that of the total bronze weapons flowed into Japan, 0 bronze spearhead, 5 bronze dagger-axes and less than half of the bronze swords (“bronze sword with a narrow blade”) were flowed into Japan (YANAGIDA 2003 b • 2004 • 2005 a • 2006 • 2007 • 2008 b • 2008 c). In the

northern part of Kyūshū, the casting molds of the early period of the bronze weapons t deemed to be “narrow-shaped” have been discovered in Fukuoka City, Saga Plains, Kumamoto City, etc., and the products have been uncovered from the tombs of the chiefs along the coast of the Genkai Sea.

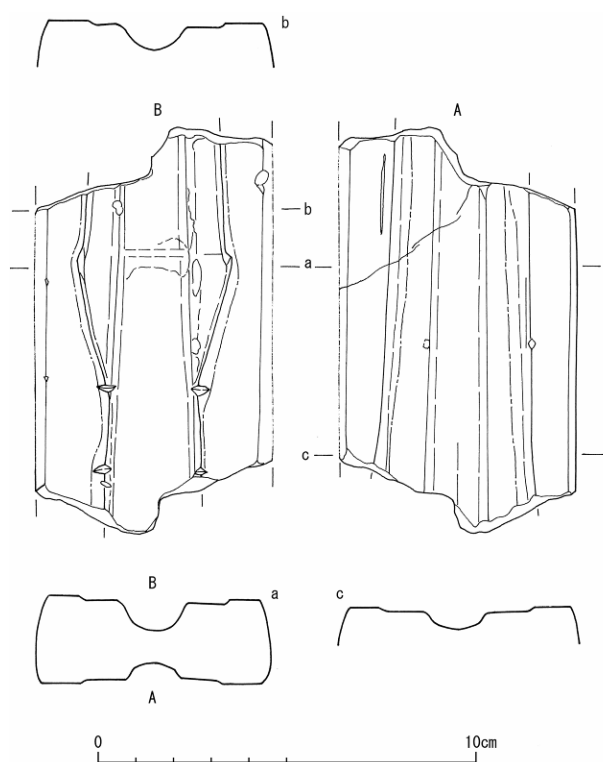


Figure 9 Measured drawing of No. 1 casting mold for the bronze spearhead from Hongyō in Tosu City (half scale)



Photo 18 Machi part and the tier and the protrusion of the spine of No. 1 casting mold for the bronze spearhead from Hongyō in Tosu City

How can this situation be interpreted? In my view, the bronze weapons were already produced in large quantity in the coastal area of the Genkai Sea such as Fukuoka City and its environs where the casting molds of the early period have not been uncovered. It would appear that the strong regime had already emerged in the coastal area and the regulation and control on arms had been placed over a wide range including Saga Plain (YANAGIDA 2005 b • 2007 • 2008 b • 2008 c). In the coastal areas of the Genkai Sea from *Kasuya* and to the east, there are many cases where the weapon type bronze wares were buried with their nicked edges unpolished in the burial mounds. This shows that the grinding was impossible in the relevant areas and just like the production area, the technicians of grinding were also controlled and restricted (YANAGIDA 2006, 2008 b).

Now, I'd like to confirm a few things regarding the inflow of Type B Ia bronze swords. In the area from *Kasuya* and to the east, it's the accepted view at present that the weapon type bronze ware wasn't produced at least until the middle part of the middle Yayoi period. Consequently, the timing of the inflow of Type B Ia bronze swords with 4-stage grinding becomes important. Given that it was impossible to grind the swords with nicked edges in *Kasuya* and to the east at that time, the grinding process would have been progressed before the bronze swords were introduced into *Kasuya* and to the east. This is also true for the imported bronze dagger-axe from Shishibu, Mawatashi-tsukagaura, Taguma-ishihatake. The weapon type bronze wares for actual warfare and weapon-shaped bronze ware that became the ritual implements after the former part of the middle Yayoi period were produced in the Fukuoka Plain and the Saga Plain and while they were buried in the tombs of the chiefs as accessories in the Saga Plain and in the coastal regions of the Genkai Sea, they were used as ritual implements and buried for religious purposes in other regions. Among the weapon type bronze wares, not mentioning the “bronze sword with a medium-narrow blade group a, group b”, the swords with a thick blade categorized as “group c” from the early period were also

produced in the northern Kyūshū. It is possible that the flat “group c” swords like those uncovered from the Kamba-kōjindani Site were produced in Izumo region and also it is confirmed that Type II Bc (East Setouchi-type bronze sword) bronze swords similar to No. 1, No. 10 bronze swords from Kozuro in Hyōgo Prefecture were produced in the same region. In Kinki region, the molds for casting bronze swords have been discovered in Tanou in Hyogo Prefecture and the Kitora River in Ōsaka and the mold for the bronze dagger-axe has been discovered in Hattori in Shiga Prefecture. Regarding the cast products, although portions of the bronze sword have been buried in Kozuro in Hyōgo Prefecture, some portions of the bronze dagger-axe have been buried in the surrounding mountain area of Wakayama Prefecture and other portions have been buried in distant Yanagisawa in Nagano Prefecture. Of them, the molds for casting the bronze dagger-axes deemed to be “Ōsaka Bay type/Kinki type” have been discovered in Hattori in Shiga Prefecture along with the earthenware with Type IV from the middle Yayoi period.

Around *Munakata*, 4 molds for casting the “bronze dagger-axe with a medium narrow blade” and 1 mold for casting the “bronze sword with a medium-broad blade” from *Kasuya* site in Hatta, Higashi-ku in Fukuoka city are known. The bronze dagger-axe with a medium-narrow blade is thought to be Type IV Ac according to the “en” width ratio (YANAGIDA 2008 b). The narrow strips of the casting mold aside, a product in complete shape of the mold “bronze dagger-axe with a medium-broad blade” is known in Yoshiki, Okagaki Town. Considering that these types were produced from the end of the middle Yayoi period to the beginning of the late Yayoi period, it is believed that the bronze dagger-axes were mainly produced in *Munakata* during this period among the weapon type bronze wares.

The mold for casting the “bronze sword with a medium broad blade” from Hatta is in the same category as that of the “bronze sword with a medium broad blade” from Okagaki Town which can be recognized as a transitional type to the bronze sword with a flat blade. It is a matter of importance that by the end of the middle Yayoi period, a variety of bronze swords appeared including the bronze sword with handle from the king’s tomb at Mikumo-minamishōji Site, Type II Bc bronze sword from the king’s tomb at Sugu-okamoto Site, the bronze sword from ST007 Kamekanbo at Kamitsukiguma in Fukuoka City and the Type II Bc bronze swords were concentrated in Munakata City and Genkai Town. In other words, to possess the same type of bronze swords as those owned by the king’s tombs at the center of the Yayoi regime could mean that those places played a role in the hegemony. Incidentally, the east Setouchi Type II Bc bronze swords are flat and are intended for use in rituals.

In this way, it was after the emergence of the initial regime in “*Ito-koku*” and “*Na-koku*” at the late part of the middle of Yayoi period when the bronze weapons underwent a drastic change. When the mirrors from the Former Han achieved the highest rank of the prestige goods, in the kings’ tombs, along with numerous mirrors from the Former Han, bronze spearheads, bronze swords and bronze dagger-axes were buried as accessories and the places of production of the “bronze dagger-axe with a medium-narrow blade” and the “bronze sword with a medium-broad blade” became diffused followed by the “bronze dagger-axe with a medium-broad blade”.

How come Kinki region which started producing the bronze bell-shaped vessels from the early stage couldn’t produce the “narrow blade” weapons for actual warfare? It is obvious that the regulation of the use of weapons for actual warfare was placed in the northern Kyūshū and did this restriction extend to Kinki region as well? Or, does this imply that after the production of Type III “Ōsaka Bay-type bronze dagger-axe”/East Setouchi-type bronze swords, the production of the bronze bell-shaped vessels declined? In the Kamba-kōjindani Site, six bronze spearheads with “medium-narrow blade, medium-broad blade” and a total of 6 bronze bell-shaped vessels including “ryōkanchū (hanging eyelet with a lozenge cross-section type)” Type 1, “gaienchū (outer ridged hanging eyelet type) Type 1 and Type 2 were uncovered together. This proves that the bronze spearheads and the bronze bell-shaped vessels were buried in the same time period and both of them were used in more or less in the same time period.

(2) Distribution and restriction of use

Here, I will show the levels of restriction and ranks regarding the possession of the bronze weapons. Among the bronze weapons with a “narrow blade”, a limited number of the bronze swords and bronze dagger-axes flowed into the northern Kyūshū exclusively. Regarding the products in complete shape of the bronze weapons produced in the northern Kyūshū, while the “bronze spearheads with a narrow blade” and

the “bronze dagger-axes with a narrow blade” were distributed solely in the northern Kyūshū, the large-size “bronze sword with a narrow blade” produced in Kyūshū extended to Kozuro in Awaji Island in East Setouchi. Moreover, regarding the bronze weapons with the “medium-narrow blade” and “medium-broad blade”, the bronze spearheads were distributed in the south-eastern part of Korean Peninsula to the north and in Kumamoto Prefecture and Ōita Prefecture to the south with part of them even reaching Kagoshima Prefecture. And to the east, the distribution area extends to the Kamba-kōjindani Site in Shimane Prefecture on the coast of the Sea of Japan and Kagawa Prefecture and Kōchi Prefecture in Shikoku. As it comes to the bronze dagger-axe, its distribution extends to south-eastern part of Korean Peninsula to the north and one in Shimane Prefecture on the Sea of Japan and several in Kōchi Prefecture have been known (YANAGIDA 2003 a • 2003 c • 2005 b • 2006 • 2007 • 2008 c • 2010 a).

However, in recent years, one “Type c bronze dagger-axe with a medium-narrow blade” produced in the northern Kyūshū (Type IV Ac according to my paper) was unearthed along with the bronze bell-shaped vessels and the “Ōsaka Bay-type bronze dagger-axe” in Yanagisawa, Nakano City in Nagano Prefecture. These articles show wear and tear to various degrees as they were passed down. Regarding the bronze dagger-axes, the place of production of the type called “Ōsaka Bay-type, Kinki type” remains as a big issue to be solved although its ancient forms Type IV Ba/IV Bb (YANAGIDA 2008 c) have been unearthed in the mountain area of Arita City in Wakayama Prefecture and Yanagisawa in Nagano Prefecture. Because two broken pieces of the bronze dagger-axe from Gunma Prefecture (YOSHIDA 2001) are also “Ōsaka Bay-type bronze dagger-axe”, the Type IV Ac bronze dagger-axe made in the northern Kyūshū from Kyūshū becomes a peculiar existence.

Moreover, regarding the weapon-type bronze swords, the products in complete shape of the bronze sword with a “medium-narrow blade” produced in the northern Kyūshū were distributed to Shimane Prefecture, Hyōgo Prefecture, Kagawa Prefecture and Kōchi Prefecture and the reproduced products that were inherited have been discovered in Shidami in Aichi Prefecture, Fujie B in Ishikawa Prefecture, Wakamiya-Wazuka in Nagano Prefecture, however the products in complete shape including the swords with a “narrow blade” didn’t extend to Kinki region. Since there was no trace of producing metal weapons in Kinki region at least until the middle Yayoi period and it is unthinkable that they owned the products in complete shape (YANAGIDA 2007/2008 c/2010 a).

Taken together, among the weapon type bronze wares used in actual warfare, the imported weapon type bronze wares in complete shape had never been flowed outside the northern Kyūshū and only the bronze swords produced in the northern Kyūshū reached as far east as Kozuro in Awaji Island and their reproduced products were distributed to Aichi Prefecture, Ishikawa Prefecture and Nagano Prefecture. Given that among the weapon-type bronze wares produced in the northern Kyūshū by the first part of the late Yayoi period the bronze spearheads with a “medium-narrow blade” and “medium-broad blade” were distributed to Shimane Prefecture and Shikoku, and the bronze dagger-axes were distributed to Nagano Prefecture, it is obvious that the bronze-dagger was the most prevalent weapon type ceremonial bronze ware. Therefore, in terms of the prevalence rate, restriction on the possession of weapons were placed in the order of (i) bronze spearhead, (ii) bronze sword, (iii) bronze dagger-axe and I believe that there was a ranking in the priority of weapon type bronze wares (YANAGIDA 2005 b/2007/2008 b/2008 c/2010 a).

Incidentally, from the fact that *Munakata* owned numerous bronze spearheads, second behind the central part of the regime and also owned Type II Bc bronze spearheads, it became evident that *Munakata* played a role of the hegemony.

(3) Weapon-type ceremonial and ritual implements

The bronze swords are divided into the weapons for actual warfare including the imported Type B Ia bronze swords undergoing three-stage and more grinding process and the domestic Type II Ba undergoing two-stage grinding, and the ritual and ceremonial implements not used in actual war including Type II Bb and Type II C swords that were buried without undergoing more than one grinding process. However, Type II Bc East Setouchi-type bronze swords from No. 1 and No. 10 Kozuro Site were ceremonial implements used for mimic warfare since they underwent 2-stage grinding yet they were buried.

In the northern Kyūshū, while there are few bronze weapons with nicked blades in Fukuoka and the Saga

Plain which served as the production center of the bronze wares, many of the bronze weapons t in *Kasuya* region and to the east and in Kumamoto and Ōita bear nicked edges and the grind on the blade shows roundness (round grinding). In the regions other than the northern Kyūshū where the production of the bronze weapons for actual warfare was prohibited, the imported weapons for actual warfare were used for the mimic warfare in the rituals just like the weapon type bronze ware. Kinki region acquired a technique to manufacture the ceremonial implements of the East Setouchi-type bronze spearhead and “Ōsaka Bay-type bronze dagger-axe” after the middle of the middle Yayoi period. As shown in the picture drawn on the earthenware, the “image of warriors in Yayoi period” is not so much the “regular armed warrior” (MORIOKA2007), as it is “extraordinary armed warrior” depicting the mimic warfare in rituals.

Assuming that the “bronze dagger-axe to be buried as accessories” advocated by HASHIGUCHI Tatsuya (2007) existed, it can be considered as a kind of the ritual implements and if I look for the traces of usage on the bronze-axe with the blade in a good condition, several old nicked edges due to a dull blade can be observed. Since they are not the nicked edges due to a sharp metal blade, I can’t firmly confirm it by the naked eye, the similar nicked edges are found in the bronze dagger-axe from No. 28 wooden coffin tomb from the Asamachi-takeshige Site (Photo 3) as well. Successive tiny nicked edges on the tip of the blade point of the bronze dagger-axe from Takeshige are the marks of contact with a solid object as in the case with the tip end of the blade point of the No. 18 bronze sword from the Uki-Kunden Site in Saga Prefecture. In addition, the entire blade shows roundness due to wear and tear. The wear and tear on the blade and the “shinogi” ridge line is also evident in the bronze dagger-axe from No. 17 Kamekanbo from Uki-Kunden Site.

Therefore, Type III A bronze dagger-axe according to my paper was not merely the “bronze dagger-axe as burial accessories” but also was a weapon type bronze ware in the same category as the small-size bronze spearhead with a single blade body (YANAGIDA 2003c) that was used in the mimic warfare in rituals and owned by a lower-class chief. However, it is significantly different from the Kinki-type bronze dagger-axe which is also a ritual implement and the common property of the community and precedes this.

Most of the bronze weapons t from the Korean Peninsula (IWANAGA 2002) that became the ritual implements could be available as the weapons for actual warfare and the original ritual implements include Type III B bronze dagger-axe (YANAGIDA 2008b), bronze spearheads with a long blade point and a loop after the V-1 stage, Type IC bronze dagger-axe, bronze sword and bronze dagger-axe with deep gutters in the VI-1 stage (YANAGIDA 2004). If the bronze sword with multiple grooves, bronze spearhead with a pattern, and bronze spearhead with multiple gutters in the V-1 stage were defined as ritual implements, we would have to identify all the bronze spearheads with a loop and the bronze dagger-axes as the ritual implements.

The bronze weapons which became the ritual implements were used for the mimic warfare in rituals as well. Assuming that the distinction between ritual implements and ceremonial implements lies in the way of burial, ceremonial implements came after the middle period of the bronze wares with a “medium-narrow blade” and they have regional characteristics. Given that the bronze swords with a narrow blade were buried in Chūgoku, Shikoku region and to the east, it is considered that there were no weapon-type bronze wares in the relevant areas and the ceremonial implements as the common property of the community (YANAGIDA 2008 a).

How many specimens of the tips of the blade points of the bronze weapons does *Munakata* have as proof of the warfare in the region? According to the compilation by HASHIGUCHI Tatsuya (2007), no relics were found after the middle Yayoi period in *Kasuya* region including East ward in Fukuoka City except for the blade point of a bronze spearhead uncovered from No. 28 earth-pit coffin tomb in Takeshige in Munakata City and just a few examples of possibility from Taguma Nakao and Kanezaki Kōjō in Genkai Town. In these sites, the tips of the blade points are long and from the case of the Takeshige Site, it is believed that they are part of the burial accessories respecting the blade tips rather than the traces of the war. Consequently, there were few victims of the actual warfare in *Munakata* region, which provides clear evidence to the assumption that the nicked edges of the bronze weapons were due to the mimic warfare performed in rituals.

6. The Role of Munakata Region

(1) Bronze weapons and ritual implements in *Munakata* and its environs

As mentioned above, I have clarified the characteristics of the tomb system dating back from the early Yayoi period and the bronze ware items as centerpiece of the burial accessories in the coastal area from the Genkai Sea to the Hibiki Sea. Now I will compare *Munakata* region with *Kasuya* and to the west. The big difference is, while *Kasuya* and to the west adopted tomb system based in the earthenware jar-coffin tombs, *Munakata* region is known for its tomb system based in the wooden-coffin tombs and stone-coffin tombs in *Oka* region and to the east. Also, while the tombs of the chiefs at Yoshitake-takagi Site in Nishi-ward in Fukuoka City contain mirrors with multiple knobs and minute patterns, weapons and accessories, the tombs of the chiefs at Mawatashi-tsukagaura in *Kasuya* region don't contain bronze mirrors and accessories. The tombs of the chiefs at Taguma-ishihatake in *Munakata* region, although contain many weapons, there is no mirrors with multiple knobs and minute patterns and the accessories are either earrings or hair accessories and lacks pectorals.

The bronze ware in *Kasuya* and *Munakata* regions are characterized by the existence of the imported bronze dagger-axes not found in the region to the east. Also the imported Type B Ia bronze swords undergoing 4-stage grinding have been found while no imported weapon type bronze wares have been found to the east of Honshū and Shikoku (YANAGIDA 2006/2010 a/2011 c). The imported Type I Ab bronze dagger-axes are concentrated in *Kasuya*, *Munakata* and the bronze dagger-axes are limited to the type with the basal portion of the grooves not spread out (YANAGIDA 2011 b).

Given the fact that no imported bronze items in perfect form were found in areas other than the northern Kyūshū and if they exist at all, they are nothing but the tips of the blade points, it is believed that the ancient Japanese people in the northern Kyūshū moved toward east to bring them. Although it is premature to adopt the distribution theory and producing system theory based on the classification of types and periods before my papers (YANAGIDA 1986 • 2003-2011), while some scholars adopted the new type classification (TERASAWA 2010), other scholars stick to the conventional classification (TERAMAE 2010).

The bronze weapons with numerous nicked edges suggests the possibility that the owner died on the spot or it was impossible to grind the blade in the region. In case of Mawatashi- Tsukagaura where all of the four bronze weapons have nicked blades although the actual warfare might have broken out, it is assumed that the region was unable to grind the blades in the relevant period and the weapons used in actual warfare were also used for a ceremonial purpose such as the mimic warfare. If the nicked edges are dispersed irregularly on the blade it is considered to have been used for actual warfare, if the nicks are concentrated in a limited portion, it is considered to have been used for mimic warfare in rituals. Moreover, we can attest the diversified usage of the weapons in that the mimic warfare involving crossing of two metal blades was limited to the period prior to the middle of middle Yayoi period (YANAGIDA 2008 a).

In the central part of *Ito-koku* and *Na-koku*, Type II Bb bronze swords were never buried as accessories, however, in the Taguma-ishihatake Tumulus Complex in *Munakata*, Type II Ba bronze swords started to be buried as accessories and in *Oka-koku* the uncovered Type II Bb bronze swords underwent 4-stage grinding and had even twin holes. Putting aside the Kanamaru bronze sword with a “medium-narrow blade” (Type II Bb) undergoing 4-staged grinding as a special case in the northern Kyūshū, given that the weapons for actual warfare in the surrounding *Kasuya* region and to the east had notable nicked blades and they were buried without being ground, it is believed that the region wasn't the central part of the northern Kyūshū and had distinctive regional characteristics different from Tsushima. That is to say, being located next to the central part, the region presented the situation similar to the bronze swords in Shidami in Aichi Prefecture in East Japan.

(2) Active role played by the *Munakata* clan

The weapon type ceremonial implements in *Munakata* region and *Oka* region are characterized by the i) bronze sword with twin holes, ii) bronze sword with a flat blade and iii) western limit of the stone dagger-axe with grooves.

Regarding i), two bronze swords with a narrow blade are known in *Oka* and to the east, which are “Kanamaru bronze sword” and “Gokarō-yashiki” sword. Both of them have twin holes on their blades, which shows that the areas are the western limit of the bronze sword with twin holes outside Kyūshū and since the period of origin of “Gokarō-yashiki bronze sword” is at least before the first part of the middle Yayoi, this region should be the place of origin of the bronze sword with twin holes. The Kanamaru bronze sword with twin holes is based on Type II Bb bronze sword with the ridge line in the spine made by grinding the base part (4-stage grinding), which is believed to be associated with the bronze sword in Shidami in Nagoya city and has the regional characteristics similar to Kinki region and to the east where Type B Ia bronze swords weren’t diffused.

Regarding ii), the casting mold of the “bronze sword with a broad blade” from Hatta *Kasuya* and the same type “bronze sword with a wide blade” from Okagaki Town are considered as one of the original forms and considering the bronze sword with a broad sword alleged to be unearthed from Katsuura, Tsuyazaki Town, their direct connection with the Setouchi region can be assumed. The emergence of a variety of bronze swords at the end of the middle Yayoi period is linked to many candidates for the original form of the bronze sword with a broad blade found in the central part and its environs such as the No. 2 casting mold from Hongyō, Tosu City and the No. 2 casting mold from Nakahara, Karatsu City in Saga Prefecture (YANAGIDA 2005 a/2011 a).

Regarding iii), it is pointed out that “The stone dagger-axe was originated in the watershed of the Onga River” and “It was started to compensate for shortcomings of the bronze dagger-axe and expanded” and “Understandably, the stone dagger-axes were distributed to the zone where no bronze dagger-axes were uncovered” (SHIMOJŌ 1977). However, this theory wasn’t convincing in that the period was defined after the end of the early Yayoi period and there was no stone dagger-axes with grooves found in Honshu and Shikoku. However, the studies afterward (NAKAMURA 1994/1997) became accepting of the theory revising the period to the beginning of the middle Yayoi period and the additional discovery of the Kanamaru stone dagger-axe with grooves imitating the imported bronze dagger-axe faithfully even intensified the article’s association with the region to the east. Incidentally, the stone dagger-axe outside Kyūshū is considered to have been produced after the end of the middle Yayoi period.

In *Kasuya* and *Oka* region, after the stage of the “bronze dagger-axes with a medium-narrow blade”, their casting molds were unearthed. If there are only small broken pieces of casting molds uncovered, it is difficult to say that it was a casting mold site, Hatta, Fukuoka city, Tatara-ōmura, Yoshiki, Okazaki Town are definitely casting-mold sites. Hatta and Yoshiki date back to the period between the end of the middle Yayoi to the beginning of the late Yayoi period and Tatara dates back to the middle of the late Yayoi and after. The casting molds of the “bronze dagger-axes with a broad blade” which have been discovered in plenty in the central part are also found in Tatara-ōmura in *Kasuya*. While the distribution of the “bronze spearhead with a broad blade” is concentrated in *Tsushima* and the area north of the northern Kyūshū, the bronze dagger-axes with a broad blade” are distributed in Ōita Prefecture and Kōchi Prefecture at a small scale (YOSHIDA 2008). How can this contradiction between the discovery of numerous casting molds of the “bronze dagger-axes with a broad blade” and the scarcity of products uncovered be interpreted?

The fact that the “bronze dagger-axes with a broad blade” are distributed in the eastern region to a small extent is not unrelated to the distribution of the “bronze dagger-axes with a medium-narrow blade” and their derived form of “Ōsaka Bay-type bronze dagger-axes” in Kinki and to the east. If it is true that the bronze dagger-axe ranked lower among the weapon-shaped bronze wares extended to Kinki and to the east, it was assumed that the same thing was true for the period after the middle of the late Yayoi period. As the copper isotope analysis shows that the raw materials for the bronze bell-shaped vessels after Type 2 “raised-line type” are identical with the “bronze spearheads with a broad blade” and “bronze dagger-axe with a broad blade”, it is possible to think that they are used as the ingredients of the bell-shaped vessels. If the so-called Kinki-Style and San’on-Style were made exclusively from the uniformed ingredients (MABUCHI 1982), given that the northern Kyūshū took control of the sea, it is impossible for Kinki to obtain raw materials directly from overseas. The densely distributed “bronze spearhead with a broad blade” in *Tsushima* and its extension in the southeastern part of Korean Peninsula (*Kuyakann-koku*) proves that the northern Kyūshū took control of the route to overseas (YANAGIDA 2003 c).

Regarding the stone weapons in Kinki region, it is known that the stone swords of the ground stone tools

found in Kinki region are from the new stage of Type I and the bronze swords and bronze dagger-axes are from the new stage of Type III (NISHIGUCHI 1989). If it is true, the stone swords of the ground stone tools didn't imitate the metal weapons but those after the new stage of Type III imitated the bronze weapons or weapon-shaped bronze wares. The stone swords of the ground stone tools with grooves whose cross-section show heptagonal shape didn't imitate the "bronze sword with a narrow blade" but imitated the last stage of Type II Bc (East Setouchi-Type bronze swords) of the "bronze swords with medium-narrow sword". The reason is because in the coastal region of the Inland Sea, while Type B Ia large-size bronze swords, Type II A and II B bronze swords produced in the northern Kyūshū are distributed, the stone swords of the ground stone tools with grooves aren't distributed. Incidentally, the eastern limit of the "bronze swords with a narrow blade" in perfect forms is Type B Ia large-size bronze sword (No. 14) produced in the northern Kyūshū in Kozuro in Minami Awaji city in Hyogo Prefecture (YANAGIDA 2010 b/2011 c). Considering that "Ōsaka Bay-type bronze dagger-axe" is the ancestor of "bronze dagger-axe with a medium-narrow blade", the era was after the Type IV period, accordingly, it would appear that the era for the stone dagger-axe with grooves in the eastern Kinki region is similar to that. (YANAGIDA 2008 b/2008 c/2010 a/2011 c)

The eastward advance of these bronze items and their imitations is associated with the eastward advance of the ancient Japanese from the northern Kyūshū and it is believed that *Munakata*, *Oka*, *Kiku* played a role of this movement. Although the actual condition of the burial mounds containing burial accessories of this region isn't necessarily clarified due to the unpublished survey reports, in the Taguma-ishihatake Tumulus Complex from the beginning of the middle Yayoi period, six investigated tombs were male tombs at least and the lack of female tombs shows that they were the tombs of the chiefs of the army groups. They were probably associated with the Onga army group.

During the last part of the middle Yayoi period, it is believed that Okagaki-Town where Type II B bronze spearheads were discovered, had a dominant power compared to the Saga Plain in the surrounding area of the central part of the original Yayoi regime. Considering that both the Saga Plain without bronze spearheads and *Honami* with bronze spearheads have the mirrors from the Former Han, it is natural to assume that the mirrors from the Former Han have been discovered in *Munakata* and *Oka* region. However, as it stands now, there are no mirrors from the Former and Later Han whose location of the excavation is clarified. As a possibility, it is said that a large-size TLV type mirror with four goddesses was unearthed in Murayamada in Munakata City and a large-size mirror with figures of deities and sacred animals was unearthed in the suburbs of Miyajidake in Futtsushi although both of them have been missing up to the present (HANADA 1999).

Such being the case, in light of the known fact that the mirrors from the Han Dynasty started to be spread eastward after the third period, it is highly likely that *Munakata* played a significant role of carrying out the mirrors from the Former and Later Han including large-size mirrors.

As far as you can see from the cross-section listed on the report (Munakata Grand Shrine Re-Development Association 1979), it is clear that "Shang Fang saku Jūmon'en hōkakukiku shishinkyō (the animal pattern rimmed TLV type mirror with four goddesses and inscription beginning with Shang Fang)", measuring 17.8 cm in diameter unearthed from Okinoshima No. 18 Site, isn't the type of the mirror from the end of the Former Han to the first part of the Later Han due to its sharply curved mirror surface and its rim form and thus it is not the mirror from the Han Dynasty (SHIGEZUMI, MIZUNO, MORISHITA2010). According to the studies of OKAMURA Hidenori (1984, 1993), the mirror's edge is in the shape of Type VB in the TLV type mirror with four goddesses and the mirror's edge of the animal relief adorned mirrors is in the shape of Type II, therefore, if the main decoration takes on the pattern of the ancient TLV type mirror with four goddesses, the mirror's edge can't be Type VII cross-section (Figure 10, Photo 19, 20). Double hanging holes (Photo 21), circular rounded projection, and the semicircle patters adorning the circular cutout cushion (nyūza) are the characteristics of the "fumikaeshi mirror (cast by the use of molds repeatedly made out of a single master mirror)" (Photo 20) (YANAGIDA 2002).



Photo 19 Jūmon'en hōkakukiku shishinkyō (animal pattern-rimmed TLV type mirrors with four goddesses) from the Okinoshima No. 18 Site



Figure 10 The cross section of Jūmon'en hōkakukiku shishinkyō (animal pattern-rimmed TLV type mirrors with four goddesses) from the Okinoshima No. 18 Site (half scale)



Photo 20 Animal pattern-rimmed TLV type mirrors with four goddesses from the Okinoshima No. 18 site bevel rim, sinking comb pattern, inscription band, graphics, circular projection



Photo 21 The twin holes of Jūmon'en hōkakukiku shishinkyō (animal pattern-rimmed TLV type mirrors with four goddesses) from the Okinoshima No. 18 Site

The flat top part of the hanging part also suggests that it was made in the later period. Incidentally, in my view, “Jūmon'en gishison-meī ukiborishiki jūtaikyō (animal relief adorned mirrors with the animal pattern rim and inscription of “Gishison (prosperity of descendants)”)” unearthed from Okinoshima No. 21 Site and “Gishison-meī ukiborishiki jūtaikyō (animal relief adorned mirrors with the inscription of Gishison)” unearthed from No. 173 tumulus at Niizawa in Nara Prefecture whose mirror edges have the same cross-section form, are the fumikaeshi mirrors from the 5th century (YANAGIDA 2002).

Recent investigation of the ancient burial mound of Chausuyama, Sakurai in Nara Prefecture has revealed that more than 80 bronze mirrors were buried as accessories in the Great King class tomb and MORI Kōichi had stated the theory of the “eastward expansion of the influential power of the northern Kyūshū” citing a custom of the burial of numerous bronze mirrors as accessories in the burial mound and stating “curiously enough, there is Munakata Shrines outside the empty moat of the rear circular part of this burial mound” (MORI 1986).

The rituals on Okinoshima Island started in full swing in the middle of the 3rd century, in the period of the “Hakusai sankakubuchi shinjūkyō (imported triangular rimmed ancient mirror decorated with gods and animals)”, and the existence of the Okinoshima bronze spearheads is a reminder of the role undertaken by the *Munakata* clan as guardians of the navigation and a signal that their origin dates back to the middle Yayoi period. Judging from the distribution of the northern Kyūshū-type bronze ware items including the bronze dagger-axes, bronze bracelets with a hook and comma-shaped copperware, it is believed, in my view that the influential power of the northern Kyūshū from the Korea Strait to the eastern Japan was partly shared by the *Munakata* clan, at least for the Hibiki Sea and to the east (YANAGIDA 2008 c, 2010 a).

7. Conclusion

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Formation Processes of the Ancient Jingi Rituals System and the Munakata Shrine

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Abstract: This article aims to clarify the history of ancient Okinoshima Island and the Munakata Shrine by examining the positions of the Munakata Shrine in the context of the ancient Jingi rituals (rituals dedicated to Kami of heaven and earth) system. Therefore, in consideration, first of all, of the fact that one of the noteworthy features of the Munakata Shrine based on historical documents is that the Munakata-gun (Munakata ancient district) where it was enshrined was a shingun (a district dedicated to Kami), the author compared the actual situation of rituals with those in other shrines which are associated with shinguns. As a result, it was understood that profound relation with the emperors from before the second half of the 7th century, when the ancient Jingi rituals system was formulated, defines the subsequent special positioning of the Munakata Shrine. Subsequently, there appears to have been a change in the system around the guardian of the Munakata Shrine in the very early Heian Period. However, such change was a part of the nation-wide trend and they were still in a situation to be able to perform independent rituals even after that change.

Keywords: Shingun, Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system, emperor, external exchanges, guardian of the Munakata Shrine

1. Introduction

It was pointed out early at the stage of the archaeological investigation that the ritual artifacts of Okinoshima ritual sites take on the national color ¹⁾. In addition, a detail comparison between the divine treasures during the 5th to 7th centuries and ritual materials seen in the historical documents was made in recent years, which elucidated the continuity of votive offerings from this period to the Jingi rituals (rituals dedicated to Kami of heaven and earth) based on the Ritsuryō ²⁾. Such a sequence of accomplishments has clarified that the divine treasures of Okinoshima Island were devoted under the influence of a power leading to the imperial court.

In order to develop research concerning rituals of Okinoshima Island, and even those of the Munakata Shrine, it would be an effective method to specify its meanings, origins, and performers by reviewing historical materials. As various restrictions are attached to historical materials, it is not an easy job to review them. However, the author considers that it is able to clarify at least the relative positioning of the Munakata Shrine at the stage in which the Jingi rituals were systematized by the ancient imperial court, and its background, and based on this performance, exhibit the aspect of the rituals.

Therefore, from the historical materials of the period from the reign of the Emperor Mommu to Empress Genshō during which the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system was developed, and also the period over to the early Heian Period (from the end of the 7th century to the early 9th century), the author would like to consider the aspect of the rituals in the ancient Munakata Shrine.

2. Special Features of a Shingun Munakata-gun Viewed from the Actual Status of the Rituals

(1) Shingun and its peculiarities

The full-fledged development of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system is considered to have begun in the reign of the Emperor Temmu (673 to 686) as long as based on historical materials such as the *Nihonshoki* ³⁾. A new relation between the imperial court and the Munakata Shrine, an official shrine later placed in the Jimmyō-Chō of Englishiki, is considered to have been built during this period, but few materials referred to

the shrine itself.

First of all, excluding the Ise Grand Shrine and particular shrines located in Kinai (or the five kuni in the immediate vicinity of Kyōto), we can hardly know the actual situation of individual shrines from this period to the Nara Period from historical materials which specifically show the Shintō shrine system, including the six national histories (*Rikkokushi*). After all, the Munakata Shrine is not an exception to this. However, there is a noteworthy historical material. That is a procedure by the Dajōkan (Council of State), dated on November 16 of the 7th year of Yōrō (723), which is quoted on the *Ryō-no-Shūge*, the compilation of annotation of the Yōrō Ritsuryō⁴⁾.

釋云、養老七年十一月十六日太政官處分、伊勢國渡相郡、竹郡、安房國安房郡、出雲國意宇郡、筑前國宗形郡、常陸國鹿嶋郡、下總國香取郡、紀伊國名草郡、合八神郡、聽_レ連_一任三等以上親_一也、

This procedure by the Dajōkan approved concurrently holding positions of Gunji (administrative officials of gun), including Tairyō as the highest rank, by a family within the third degree of consanguinity⁵⁾ at eight guns which are called a “shingun” in seven ancient provinces of Ise, Awa, Shimousa, Hitachi, Izumo, Kii and Chikuzen (The shinguns in those days are presented in the Table 1 below). Each gun is presumed to have been designated as a shingun based on the relation with a shrine in the relevant region. It is needless to say that the Munakata-gun is the shingun of the Munakata Shrine. As long as this procedure by the Dajōkan is concerned, it appears the approval of holding concurrently positions of Gunji started when this procedure was issued. But it is considered that this was individually conducted in reality. The *Shoku-nihongi* describes that such an approval was issued in the second year of the Emperor Mommu (698) to the Munakata-gun, earlier than other shrines⁶⁾. Namely, we can understand that such an exception was a measure taken at a stage prior to the Nara Period.

Table 1 *Shinguns* where the concurrent title of Gunji was approved and its year

Year	Province	Gun	Shrine with Close Relations
2nd year of the Emperor Mommu (698)	Chikuzen	Munakata	Munakata Shrine
	Izumo	Ou	Kumano Shrine Kitsuki Grand Shrine
4th year of the Emperor Mommu (700)	Kazusa (later Awa)	Awa	Awa Shrine
1st year of the Keiun (慶雲) Era (704)	Ise	Watarai	Ise Grand Shrine
		Taki	
7th year of the Yōrō (養老) Era (723)	Shimousa	Katori	Katori Shrine
	Hitachi	Kashima	Kashima Shrine
	Kii	Nagusa	Hinokuma Shrine Kunikakasu Shrine

The exception on Gunji as described above is shown in a different way also in the kyaku or rule of the 7th year of the Tempyō (天平) Era (735) recorded in “*Ruijū-Sandaikyaku*.”⁷⁾

太政官符

應_レ聽_下以_一同姓人_一補_中主政主帳_上事

右檢_一天平七年五月廿一日格_一稱、終身之任理可_一代遍_一、宜_一一郡不_レ得_レ并_一用同姓_一、如於_一他姓中_一无_レ人_レ可_レ用者、僅得_レ用_一於少領已上_一、以外悉停_レ任、但神郡、國造、陸奥之近_レ夷郡、多嶺嶋郡等、聽_レ依_一先例_一者、(the rest omitted)

弘仁五年三月廿九日

The essence of the kyaku is to prevent concurrently appointing in principle two or more cognominal persons for Gunji. Meanwhile, the kyaku have a conditional clause stating that the shingun is allowed to apply a policy based on the precedents, or, to appoint a cognominal person. In this case, the standards for appointing Gunji have not changed in effect in shingun where concurrent appointments of relatives within the third degree of consanguinity had been admitted before that. After all, the kyaku of the seventh year of Tempyō may be summarized to have confirmed the particularity of the shingun. Although the system

concerning the appointment of Gunji also changed during the Heian Period, the Engi-Shikibushiki, established (but not put in force) in the 5th year of Enchō (延長) (927), also made the exception of the appointment of cognominal persons in shingun from the beginning, its particularity having been inherited from the Nara Period⁸⁾. From what has been mentioned as above, we can understand that the exception of the concurrent appointment of Gunji in Munakata-gun had been fixed as a regulation for appointing Gunji from the formation period of the Ritsuryō system.

As mentioned earlier, the subject eight guns were referred to as “shinguns” in the procedure by the Dajōkan of the 7th year of Yōrō and the “Engi-Shikibushiki”. If we read the procedure by the Dajōkan carefully, we will be able to read that the concurrent appointment of Gunji in certain guns of the shinguns was approved. The concurrent appointment of Gunji is not the effect that should naturally appear as a result of the approval of the establishment of the shinguns, and the existence of shinguns where it is not approved can be assumed. However, another shingun cannot be confirmed until the 9th year of Kōmyō (寛平) (897) when Iino-gun of Ise province became a new shingun. Consequently, the author will explain the matter focusing on the eight shinguns.

Now we have understood the situation above. After understanding this, what we should pay attention is whether there are other specific measures unique to the shinguns. Various matters have been pointed out about special exceptions of the shinguns. However, there is one thing which we must recognize as the basis for reviewing, which is that almost no measures unique to the shinguns other than the special exceptions related to this concurrent positioning of Gunji are confirmed in other shinguns excluding the two guns of Watarai and Taki where the Ise Grand Shrine is enshrined. What we can confirm is merely an example of exception of the Ceremony of Weeping for the Dead in an Imperial funeral for a case when an ex-emperor or a mother of the emperor passes away⁹⁾. The same holds true for Munakata-gun.

Thinking in this way, we will know that understanding the following two points are important matters to clarify the special positioning of the shinguns:

- Reasons for having constructed a system enabling only close family members to hold the political power
- Reasons for positioning the inner gun as a sacred area

Consequently, the author would like to confirm specifically rituals performed in Munakata-gun in the next section. However, if we examine the rituals of the Munakata Shrine individually, we cannot clarify specifically the relationship with the imperial court, in particular. Therefore, the author would like to elucidate noteworthy points in the contemporary rituals by taking many examples of the rituals of the shinguns and generalizing the points selected from thence. The author has put specific items for shrines of which we are able to know its actual situation. However, the shinguns of the Ise Grand Shrine are omitted. We can know the extremely concrete political circumstances in the shinguns such as Gunji's promotions in rank and sharing of miscellaneous duties with the Daigūji (highest-ranking priest) of the Grand Shrine in case of the Ise Grand Shrine, unlike other shrines. However, the author omitted it because such a situation can be evaluated as particularity of the Ise Grand Shrine on the contrary. Some people view in suspicion the way to regard differently the shinguns of the Ise Grand Shrine and other shinguns¹⁰⁾. Still, the author cannot disregard the fact that the Ise Grand Shrine enshrines the ancestral goddess of the imperial family, Amaterasu-ōmikami and receives exceptional treatments in the system of the divine ritual of the imperial court. Consequently, the author cannot help but be prudent to apply the situation of the shinguns of the Ise Grand Shrine to other shrines uncritically, and has excluded it for this manuscript.

(2) Rituals in Shinguns

(A) Ou-gun of Izumo Province

Concurrent appointment in Ou-gun is said to have been approved at the same time with Munakata-gun. Such situation seemed to have a close relationship with the Kumano Shrine enshrined in Ou-gun and the Kitsuki Grand Shrine in Izumo-gun. Both of which are positioned as Myōjin Grand Shrines (the highest rank of official shrines) in the Jimmyō-Chō of the Engishiki, and there is no shrine that stands rivalled with these in Izumo province. The two shrines are also called the “Great Gods of the Two Shrines (二所大神)”

¹¹⁾ in Izumo province, and it is clear that these two are ranked as the important shrines. However, these shrines were not subject to a preparation of offerings to gods for the Tsukinami-sai (monthly festival) and the Niiname-sai (First Fruit Festival) although as many as 40 shrines located in all parts of the country were subject to the preparation. Thus, these two shrines had some aspects which the author finds it difficult to say that they were extremely important shrines in the provided system of the annual rituals by the imperial court.

However, the descriptions at the end of the “*Izumo-no-Kuni Fudoki*” compiled in the 5th year of Tempyō (733) show that the Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko, who apparently held concurrently Tairyō of the Ou-gun, has had an event to do when he assumed the post; extremely special reporting to the emperor of a sacred congratulatory message (神賀詞奏上) .

According to “Engi-Rinjisaishiki,” its outline is as follows: Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko goes to the royal capital and assumes the position. On this occasion, he is bestowed with a thing called Oisachi-no-mono or an imperial donation. The Kuni-no-Miyatsuko performs his ablutions for one year (more than one year in reality) after returning home. After that, he enters into the royal capital with people devoting to rituals who are called Hahuribe (祝部) , and offers articles for presentation to the outside of the royal capital. After returning home again, the Kuni-no-Miyatsuko performs his ablutions and goes Tōkyōto once again. He reports to the emperor of a sacred congratulatory message in the Jingikan (Council of religious affairs) of the imperial court ¹²⁾ .

The problem here is the starting period of this series of reporting of sacred congratulatory messages. In this regard, the view that it started in the period in which the system of official shrines was established, or during the reign of the Emperor Genshō (715 to 724) would be appropriate ¹³⁾ . In fact, an event to bestow Oisachi-no-mono was performed in the Jingikan and a trial reporting of the congratulatory message was arranged by the Jingikan ¹⁴⁾ , and the form thereof was systematized as a divine service in the national organization based on the Ritsuryō. Namely, the reporting of the congratulatory message can be positioned within the framework of the national system of official shrines.

Taking into account the period of the systematization of the reporting of the congratulatory message, although the existence of the procedure by the Dajōkan of the 7th year of Yōrō is a measure responding to the development of the national system of official shrines, the framework of the system toward the shinguns, in considering the descriptions of the *Shoku-nihongi* that the concurrent appointment of Gunji was conducted during the reign of the Emperor Mommu (697 to 707), is considered to have been built in a different dimension of the national system of official shrines. Of course, from a general standpoint, the establishment of the system of reporting divine congratulatory messages as well as the measure to the shinguns is premised on the mounting concern on the origin of gods centering on Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto. Consequently, it is possible to view the former and the latter in a unified way, but the author would like to get a step closer to comprehend this.

This is because an important thing will be emerged by making a deeper comprehension. If the author describes in specific words the status in which the prerequisite recognition had been established in the imperial court before the reign of the Emperor Genshō, it means that the recognition concerning the transfer of the land (国譲り) by Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto and the positioning of Amenohohi-no-Mikoto, the remote ancestor of the Izumo-no-Omi who succeeded the Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko, had been established in the imperial court before the reign of the Emperor Genshō. For example, a divine congratulatory message collected in the Engi-Noritoshiki describes the scene in which Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto (Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto) and others rest in the Yamato province as “guardian deities near to the emperor.” ¹⁵⁾ The message is estimated to have been formed during an age when the imperial palace was located in Asuka or Fujiwara-kyō because of the relationship of the location ¹⁶⁾ . It is needless to say that the capital of the Emperor Genshō was Heijō-kyō (Nara), away from Asuka or Fujiwara-kyō.

Someone has indicated that there is the consciousness toward the strengthening of the authorities of the emperor toward the curse after the reign of the Emperor Saimei (655 to 661) at the background of the mounting concern on gods of Izumo ¹⁷⁾ . Thinking in this way, a contact point between the gods of Izumo and the imperial court can be found in the direct relationship between the emperor itself and the gods of Izumo, not in a mechanism of the imperial court and so on. Such a relation before the reign of the Emperor

Genshō, when the reporting of the divine congratulatory message was systematized, provides ample materials to estimate the possibility of the structure in a form different from the Ritsuryō national system of official shrines. We may consider that the concurrent appointment of Gunji in such a situation is the result of emphasizing the belief based on the relation with the emperor.

(B) Awa-gun of Awa province

Awa-gun is thought to be the shingun of the Awa Shrine. The *Kogoshūi*, compiled in the 2nd year of Daidō (807), describes the Awa Shrine as follows:

阿波忌部所居、便名_二安房郡_一、今安房國、是也、天富命、即於_二其地_一立_二太玉命社_一、今謂_二之安房社_一、故、其神戸有_二齋部_一氏、

The description includes the following sentences.

“Amenotomi-no-Mikoto then founded a shrine of Futodama-no-Mikoto in that place. Now it is called the Awa Shrine.”

It states that Amenotomi-no-Mikoto, a grandchild of Amenofutodama-no-Mikoto, enshrined Amenofutodama-no-Mikoto, the ancestor of the Inbe Clan. The author can point out first of all that a major reason for the establishment of the shingun is that the enshrined deity of the Awa Shrine is the ancestor of the Inbe Clan which had official duties to serve the ritual of the Jingikan.

Moreover, there are historical documents on the *Takahashi-Ujibumi* quoted in the *Honchō -Gatsuryō*, a book describing the annual events in ancient courts of the middle of the Heian Period¹⁸⁾. The documents records a story of Iwaka-mutsukari-no-Mikoto who was in charge of the diet for the Emperor Keikō who visited the Awa-no-Ukishima-no-Miya¹⁹⁾, indicating that the Takahashi Clan, descendent of Iwaka-mutsukari-no-Mikoto, is a clan qualified for attending the Ōnie or Jinkonjiki in which the emperor itself devotes the diet to deities and enshrines them.

However, what I would like to emphasize most here is not the main text but the note below which follows the sentence “began to serve purification rites and the Ōnie.”

云_二安房大神爲_二御食神_一者、今大膳職祭神也、今令_二鑽_二忌火_一大伴部者、物部豐日連之後也、

The outline of the note is “the reason for calling the Awa Grand God as Miketsu-kami (God of Eating) is because he is the god enshrined by the current Daizenshiki or the section in charge of cooking food for the emperor. The Ōtomo-be that are now engaged in setting sacred fire are descendants of Mononobe-no-Toyohi-no-Muraji”.

This portion is merely from a compilation of the 10th century, what is more, a note attached to the quotation thereof. But the description that the god of the Awa Shrine is worshiped as Miketsu-kami of the Daizenshiki in charge of banquets held in the imperial court intrigues the author. In this regard, KAWAJIRI Akio, taking notice of the description of the worshiping the God of Diet by Awa-no-Tojibe in the kyaku of the 3rd year of Tempyō (731) that is collected in “*Ruijū-Sandaikyaku*”²⁰⁾, states that the Awa Grand God was enshrined in the Daizenshiki as is described in this note²¹⁾.

If the author adds more to the above mentioned matters, it is probably assumed that the Awa Grand God was worshiped in Naizenshi or an administrative institution in charge of the emperor’s kitchen, taking into account the indication made by KAWAJIRI and the positioning in the imperial court of the Takahashi Clan worshiping the Awa Grand God as Miketsu-kami. The kyaku of the 3rd year of Tempyō was issued concerning the delivery of a certain goods or food to Naizenshi which conducts cooking for the emperor. At least, we can fully understand from the existence of the *Takahashi-Ujibumi* the deep relations between the Takahashi Clan, which attended the Ōnie-sai conducted by the emperor himself and inherited the head of Naizenshi, the Buzen (奉善), and the Awa Grand God. Therefore, we can judge that the Awa Shrine is related to the rituals concerning the affairs near to the emperor, as is the case of the God of Izumo referred earlier.

(C) Kashima-gun of Hitachi province

The concurrent appointment was approved in the 7th year of Yōrō, slightly late compared to Munakata-gun, Ou-gun and Awa-gun²²⁾. However, according to “*Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki*,” whose original text is considered to be compiled during the Tempyō Era (729 to 749), Kashima-gun was established as a “shingun” of the Kashima Shrine in the 5th year of Taika (649) during the reign of the Emperor Kōtoku, and the period when it was recognized as a shingun may have been earlier²³⁾. But the concrete image of the rituals in the Kashima-gun or of the Kashima Shrine from this period over the Nara Period is not clear.

However, when we come to focus on the peculiarity of the rituals, the author cannot neglect the description of the Miko-gami of the Kashima Shrine (child of the god of the Kashima Shrine) seen in “*Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki*”²⁴⁾. However, this Miko-gami is not seen in shrines of the shingun, rather seen in other shrines. Also, we cannot tell the relation with the ancestor god or God of Kashima through rituals from “*Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki*”.

However, there is a historical material which enables to guess the existence of the certain relation. That is an article of the 8th year of Jōgan (貞觀) (866) recorded in “*Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku*”²⁵⁾.

大神之苗裔神卅八社在陸奥國、菊多郡一、磐城郡十一、標葉郡二、行方郡一、宇多郡七、伊具郡一、日理郡二、宮城郡三、黒河郡一、色麻郡三、志太郡一、小田郡四、牡鹿郡一、聞之古老云、延暦以往、割大神封物、奉幣彼諸神社、

The description above is a part of the remark of the Guji (chief priest) of the Kashima Shrine which is cited in the book. From this, we can understand that there are 38 shrines of the descendant gods of the Kashima Grand God in Mutsu province, and products of the domains of the Kashima Grand Shrine were offered to these shrines as offerings. From this article, we can comprehend the starting period of the tradition of the example of the ritual for the Miko-gami in Mutsu province was during the Enryaku (延暦) Era (792 to 806). But taking into account the description of the Miko-gami in “*Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki*” earlier mentioned, it would be appropriate to consider that they developed the ritual for the Miko-gami which was originally performed in Hitachi province also in Mutsu in tandem with the expansion to the eastern countries by the imperial court²⁶⁾. It would be needless to say that, at this background, there is the existence of military divine efficacy of the Takemikazuchi-no-Mikoto, the god of the Kashima Shrine which is believed to have played a large role as the god of military when Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto transferred the national land.

Now, for the rituals of the Miko-gami in Mutsu, products of the domains of the Kashima Shrine were offered, showing the situation that allowed the implementation of the ritual based on the arrangement by the Shrine. And the Miko-gami seems to have been expanded to a wider area in accordance with the expansion of the management of eastern countries. As a reason for this, circumstances peculiar to the Kashima Shrine that worships Takemikazuchi-no-Mikoto who played a large role in the transfer of the country by Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto are considered after all. When we consider the form of the rituals and the origin of the god of the Kashima Shrine, we can guess that it was also related to the position of the emperor in particular.

HAYAKAWA Mannen points out that those who had the consanguinity may have assumed the positions of Gunji and the chief priest of the Kashima Shrine since the establishment of Kashima-gun²⁷⁾. The Nakatomi Clan, who had administered the rituals in the imperial court before the formation of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system, was responsible for the job. Also from these points, it would be possible to understand that the background of the establishment of shinguns was deeply involved with the central which was different from the formation of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system in a precise sense.

(D) Katori-gun of Shimousa province / Nagusa-gun of Kii province

Besides, Miko-gami of the Katori Shrine, which is the major shrine of Katori-gun of Shimousa province, is seen in the “*Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki*”²⁸⁾ and the Jimmyō-Chō of Engishiki²⁹⁾ like the Kashima Shrine. From this point, the way how the ritual was performed in the Katori Shrine, Katori-gun, may have been

unified with Kashima-gun.

In Nagusa-gun of Kii province, the Hinokuma Shrine and Kunikakasu Shrine that worship Higata-no-Kagami (mirror of shape of the sun) and Hiboko (pike of the sun)³⁰⁾ which were made in order to model the image of the ancestor goddess of the imperial family Amaterasu-ōmikami when she entered into the Ame-no-Iwaya (Cave of Heaven) are enshrined. The origin of these shrines enables us to easily estimate that the relations with the emperors had been recognized extremely deeply.

(3) Features of rituals in a shingun

Although it may not have been well-organized, the author took up for discussion the relations of shrines regarding the shingun in terms of the fields concerning rituals. In either case, we will know that they performed rituals for a deity who was in charge of directly guarding the position of the emperor, or a deity concerning affairs near to the emperor in the age of gods. From this common point, we will know that the imperial court of this period did not aim to grasp uniformly shrines across-the-nation, it gave special treatments for the shrines that had especially deep relations with the emperor, which may maintain the rituals by establishing a sacred area and paying attention so that the administrative organization could be maintained by family members. We understand that such measures had another purpose other than the maintenance of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system comprised of Kinen-sai as a core set.

In addition to this, what we can easily understand from the location of a shingun is that each of them was located in a strategic place of traffic, especially, that of the ocean traffic. There is a theory that assumes the necessity of the ocean traffic or military affairs at the back of the establishment of shinguns³¹⁾. Also, someone points out that the axis between east and west is valued in the Jingi rituals, and that in the formation period of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system (including that in Nara Period) was the Ise Grand Shrine and Kitsuki Grand Shrine³²⁾. The author thinks this viewpoint is persuasive to some extent because all the shinguns are located in a place that would not be surprising even if it is selected. However, concerning which places should be appointed as an important place, realistic elements would also be included. There is an example of the Kehi Shrine of Echizen that is located in a key traffic area but a shingun has not been established there. Consequently, the author has pointed out the verification from the common points only, and will not mention any further than that.

(4) Peculiarities of the Munakata Shrine

Taking into account the situations of various shinguns and kinds of ritual artifacts excavated in Munakata Okinoshima Island, it is clear that another framework other than the national system of official shrines was prepared for the rituals in the Munakata Shrine. Namely, a form of more polite rituals, as it were, is considered to have been required of the Munakata Shrine. And that such a relation had been formed before the formation period of the Ritsuryō system can be known to us albeit slightly from historical materials. The following are examples of articles with high probabilities from the *Nihonshoki*:

- *The Emperor Richū revised the crop yield of farmers in Tsukushi province that had been seized by the Kurumamochi-no-Kimi and made an offering to Mihashira-no-Kami (three gods)*³³⁾.
- *The Emperor Yūryaku planned to send a mission to Munakata-no-Kami and worship it by his own will*³⁴⁾.

These could be called examples which indicate a close relationship with the emperor. In other words, although the divine treasures of Munakata Okinoshima Island indicate exchanges with the continent, the author cannot help but be cautious to summarize it as the national system of official shrines. It is natural that the ancient external exchanges had an extremely political aspect, which had an impact to the rituals of the imperial court as well. One of the examples would be an institutionalization of a “ritual when a mission is dispatched to a foreign country” which is performed in sending a mission abroad³⁵⁾. However, in the ritual of the festival, private offers of the ambassador or those who are ranked lower than it could be offered. The existence of private offers is clearly described in this part only in Engishiki that can be called the basic code of laws of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system.

It is not easy to search the background of this fact, but it would be possible to guess the peculiarity of the

ritual performed in diplomacy. Namely, it seemed to be allowed to perform a ritual outside of the system exceptionally for the sake of aiming the safety of a voyage and the success of diplomacy with many uncertain elements. The author thinks we should be cautious to make a logical leap from the existence of the private offers, but it can be interpreted that the situation which allows the ritual outside of the system generated an offering of divine treasures in a way that strongly reflects the emperor's will. Such a situation will be assumed to be the background of the responses (measures) by the emperor to the Munakata Shrine as referred to in the *Nihonshoki*. When we consider the original type of the description in the *Nihonshoki* which has been earlier mentioned to be a fact that happened in around the 5th century, it corresponds with the age of some divine treasures found in Okinoshima Island.

Munakata-gun that is inextricably linked with the Munakata Shrine was qualified as a shingun in the field of the appointment as Gunji during the reign of the Emperor Mommu. In broader words, this can also be called a portion of the formation of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals system. However, the positioning of the Munakata Shrine as referred to above should be evaluated to be based on the direct and close relation with the emperor from before the formation of such a system. A comprehensive judgment that a shingun was established exceptionally to a shrine that had been performing rituals outside of the category of the Jingi rituals system defined by the Ritsuryō can be made. And based on such a judgment, we can also understand that there was a relation with the emperor originating in the external relations at the background of the development of the Munakata Shrine with a contact point with the continent.

3. Changes in the Munakata Shrine in the Early Heian Period

No institutional change around the Munakata Shrine is seen after the period of the development of the system mentioned in 2 above passed. However, we can understand that the people in Munakata-gun recognized that the rituals were important activity³⁶⁾.

此郷之中有川、名曰山道川、其源出郡北山、南流而會御井大川、昔者、此川之西有荒神、行路之人多被殺害、半渡半殺、于時卜求崇由、兆云、令筑前國宗像郡人珂是古祭吾社、若合願者不_レ起荒心、覓珂是古令祭神社、珂是古即捧幡祈禱云、誠有欲吾祀者、此幡順風飛往、墮願吾之神邊、便即舉幡順風放遣、于時其幡飛往墮於御原郡姬社之社、更還飛來落此山道川邊之田村、珂是古自知神之在處、其夜夢見、臥機謂久郡絡塚利、舞遊出來、壓驚珂是古、於是亦識女神、即立社祭之、自尔已來、行路之人不_レ被殺害、因曰姬社、今以爲郷名、

Kazeko (珂是古) of Munakata-gun had an ability to locate the place of a god who causes a curse and to alleviate the god by performing a ritual. Kazeko might be chosen by chance. But it can also be guessed that the people recognized that the important role in performing a ritual could be played by the people of Munakata-gun. It would be no wonder that people surrounding the Munakata-gun expect that the people living in the gun are outstanding in performing rituals because Munakata-gun is a shingun.

A turning point came to the shinguns as referred to as above in the early Heian period, when a large institutional change occurred.

The *Ruijū-Kokushi* carries the following article, mentioning this happened in October, the 17th year of Enryaku (798)³⁷⁾.

勅、國造、郡領、其職各異、今出雲、筑前兩國、慶雲三年以來、令國造帶郡領、託言神事、動廢公務、雖有_レ其怠、無_レ由勘決、自_レ今以後、不_レ得令國造帶郡領、又國造兼帶神主、新任之日、例皆棄妻、取百姓女子、號爲神宮采女、便娶爲妻、妄托神事、遂扇淫風、稽之國典、理合懲肅、宜_下國司卜一定一女供_上之、

The first half of this article states that holding concurrent posts of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko and Gunryō (Gunji) was prohibited, while the latter half mentions that Kokushi (provincial governor) decides an Uneme (采女) (maid-in-waiting at the court) by divination³⁸⁾. What the author would like to note is the matter written at the first half. That is to say, it referred to specifically the 3rd year of Keiun (706) and the prohibition of the

concurrent posts of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko and Gunryō that had been admitted since the 3rd year of Keiun. It is difficult to explain by replacing all the processes of the changes in the relation between Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko and Ou-Gunryō with the relation between the Guardian of the Munakata Shrine and Munakata-Gunryō. However, the existence of the following order issued by the Dajōkan indicates that there was a policy to revise a close relationship between Gunji and so-called shinshoku in shrines or Shintō priests ³⁹⁾ at the stage of the 19th year of Enryaku ⁴⁰⁾.

太政官符

應_レ停_二筑前國宗像郡大領兼_一帶宗像神主事

右得_二大宰府解_一僞、當郡大領補任之日、例兼_二神主_一即叙_二五位_一、而今准去_二延曆十七年三月十六日勅_一、譜第之選永從_二停廢_一、擢_二用才能_一、具有_二條目_一、大領兼神主外從五位下宗像朝臣池作十七年二月廿四日卒去、自_レ爾以來頻闕_二供祭_一、歷_二試才能_一未_レ得_二其人_一、又案_二神祇官去延曆七年二月廿二日符_一僞、自今以後簡_二擇彼氏之中潔清廉貞、堪_二祭事_一者_上、補_二任神主_一、限以_二六年_一相替者、然則神主之任既有_二其限_一、假使有_四才堪_二理_一郡兼_二帶神主_一、居_二終身之職_一兼_二六年之任_一、事不_レ穩便_一、謹請_二官裁_一者、右大臣宣僞、奉_レ勅、郡司神主職掌各別、莫_レ令_二郡司兼_一帶神主_一、延曆十九年十二月四日

The significance of this order issued by the Dajōkan is that it had shown a disapproval of the concurrent posts of the Guardian of the Munakata Shrine and the Tairyō of Munakata-gun. It is naturally true that the special character of the Munakata Shrine had been lost in that time. But when we read this kyaku, we can understand that the comprehensive appointment policy ⁴¹⁾ concerning the guardian and others shown forthrightly in the description of the *Ruijū-Kokushi* below had an extremely important meaning.

勅、掃_レ社敬_レ神、銷_レ禍致_レ福、今聞、神宮司等、一任終_レ身、侮黷不_レ敬、崇咎屢臻、宜_二天下諸國神宮司、神主、神長等、擇_二氏中清慎者_一補之、六年相替_上、

The portion of「神宮司等、一たび任じ身を終んぬ。侮黷りて敬はず、崇咎しばしば臻れり」in the sentences above demonstrates that the imperial court has a realization of the fact that “Lifetime appointment as the guardian makes rituals negligent”. As a measure to admonish an omission of duty of rituals, the imperial court determined a policy to dismiss from office against a crime of people devoting to rituals called Hahuribe, in the 16th year of Enryaku (797) ⁴²⁾. In the 20th year of Enryaku (801), it issued a kyaku that defined the crimes in rituals and the details of purification for the crime ⁴³⁾. Taking into account these matters, we can understand that the imperial court worked out actively measures against the neglect of rituals during the Enryaku Era. One of the reasons for the prohibition of the concurrent posts of the Guardian of the Munakata Shrine and the Tairyō of Munakata-gun is considered to be a necessity to prompt measures against an omission of duty of rituals.

This period faced large changes in the administration of shrines in all parts of the country, including a change in the way to dedicate heihaku (offerings to gods) for the Kinen-sai of all parts of the country. OGURA Shigeji points out that as nation-wide shrines were incorporated into the national system of official shrines in accordance with the development of the control of rural areas on the Ritsuryō system from the middle to the second half of the 8th century, the existing administrative system of shrines had become unable to cope with the situation ⁴⁴⁾. Taking into account this point, it is primarily considered that the imperial court tightened up on omissions of duty of rituals by the shinshoku in shrines or Shintō priests in building the structure of a new administration of shrines which the imperial court thought of.

Meanwhile, the imperial court issued a rescript in the 17th year of Enryaku that defined to appoint those who were “famous for being very talented in scholarship and the arts and can endure the duties of governing the gun” as Gunji, which the guardian had held concurrently. ⁴⁵⁾ Generally speaking, it is possible to understand that the target of the so-called revision of the provincial administration by the Emperor Kammu spread to the shinshoku in shrines and had an influence over the Munakata Shrine as well. However, as for Gunji, the appointment of hereditary clans began to be approved in the Kōnin Era (810 to 824). But the system of the shinshoku in shrines did not change, including in the Munakata Shrine. The imperial court would have considered that it has worked to some extent.

4. Substantial Management Form of Rituals in the Munakata Shrine

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the system of the shinshoku in shrines as a place to perform rituals for the imperial court, especially, the method to appoint shinshoku was revised primarily in order to prevent an omission of duty of rituals. Subsequently, the kyaku of the 19th year of Enryaku prohibited the Munakata Shrine's concurrent appointment with Tairyō of gun on an individual basis. The effect to the Munakata Shrine due to such a situation which the author can assume would be, first of all, a decline of the substantial rank of the guardian caused by the establishment of his tenure. Second, the expansion of the influence of Kokushi (provincial governor) who played a large role in the Jingi rituals system during the Heian Period and a relative decline of the influence of Gunji would also be considered ⁴⁶⁾. However, how the system of change of the guardians and the prohibition of the concurrent posts of Tairyō of gun actually affected and how they were obeyed are not known. In particular, the system of change of the guardians was applied across the country as the author has previously referred to, and was not exclusively for the Munakata Shrine. In addition, the concurrent posts of the guardian and Tairyō of gun was not clearly guaranteed in the first place for the Munakata Shrine. As is known from the fact that the principle of the concurrent posts with Gunji was not altered, we can say that the Munakata Shrine was given favorable treatment concerning the appointment of the shinshoku. Considering in this way, it is impossible to allege that the Munakata Shrine was forced to face difficulty compared to other shrines due to the change in the appointment of the guardians during the Enryaku Era.

Anyway, historical materials which indicate clearly the status of the administrative management of the Munakata Shrine in the first stage Heian Period are not available. However, it can be guessed that the rituals based on the independent basis for the existence actually continued to be performed. This point will be clarified by focusing on one sentence of the order issued by the Dajōkan ⁴⁷⁾ in the 2nd year of Tengen (979).

謹檢舊例、去天慶年中以往、不置一件宮司、只以神主爲雜執行之長、其時年慶度祭、只臨山海爲先漁獵、

This order admitted to establish a Dai-gūji (Senior chief priest) in the Munakata Shrine, and the quotation above is a part of the Ge (a document to superior) by the Munakata-Gūji in the 2nd year of Ten'en (974), from which this problem was triggered. From this description, we can understand that the guardian was previously the head of miscellaneous matters and conducted fishing and hunting in the sea or mountains ⁴⁸⁾. Namely, it can be guessed that the Munakata Shrine in those days built the environment whereby they could be self-sufficient within the shingun or an area related to it. Although this description itself is considered to be a rhetorical embellishment, the very usage of such an expression means much. This is because, for a shrine like the Munakata Shrine that had been given comparatively favorable treatment, the self-sufficient preparation of rituals chiefly by the guardian can be estimated to have been one form for the maintenance of the shrine. Considering such a form, we can assume rituals not entirely based on the rituals of the Ritsuryō system, and it would be a certificate of the fact the shrine itself was a venue for the rituals deeply rooted on the area.

5. Concluding Summary

The author has discussed from several viewpoints that the Munakata Shrine was a place for rituals outside of the framework of the ancient Ritsuryō rituals in a narrow sense. Of course, we can evaluate that the Munakata Shrine was given preferential treatment by the imperial court in terms of ritual and economy, from other viewpoints including the fact that it held a lot of jinfuko (or Kanbe) (households burdening religion related matters) compared with the shrines in the Saikaido (present Kyūshū region) ⁴⁹⁾. However, it is considered that the shrine was not subject to the administration by the imperial court to detailed and trifling matters, and that there were a lot of phases on its management which required the independent judgments of the shrine ⁵⁰⁾. It is naturally applied to all the other shrines, but it can at least be pointed out that the Munakata Shrine with contacts with the continent, in particular, was in a situation where a unique form of rituals was easier to be born, because the environment to accept easily various cultures was maintained there.

Supplementary notes (partially translated):

- 1) 鏡山猛(1958):「結語」;『沖ノ島一宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡—』 吉川弘文館、p.245
- 2) 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—」;『國學院大學伝統文化リサーチセンター研究紀要』2、p.106-107
- 3) Among various views on the landmark of the formation of the Ritsuryō ritual system, the opinion that has pointed out articulately the importance of the reign of the Emperor Temmu collectively is 岡田莊司(1990)「天皇祭祀と国制機構」;『國學院雜誌』91 (7)、p. 324
- 4) 『令集解』卷十六選叙令・同司主典条令釈。
- 5) According to Article 25 in the Yōrō Gisei-ryō (Statutes on Ceremonies and Protocol) on the five degree of consanguinity, the third degree is comprehended to be “曾祖父母、伯叔婦、夫姪、從父兄弟姉妹、異父兄弟姉妹、夫之祖父母、夫之伯叔姑、姪婦、繼父同居、夫前妻妾子”. Hereinafter, persons within the third degree of consanguinity will be those based on this article.
- 6) Article on March 9 of the 2nd year of the Emperor Mommu of the Shoku-nihongi. The sentence is as follows, and the measure taken is the same as the procedure of Dajōkan of the 7th year of Yōrō.
詔、筑前國宗形、出雲國意宇二郡司、並聽レ連二-任三等已上親一、
However, the 2nd year of the Emperor Mommu is before the implementation of the Taihō Codes (first year of Taihō, 701), and the “Gunji 郡司” in the sentence is considered to be improper unless it is replaced by “Kōri-no-Miyatsuko 評造”. As is indicated by Table 1, the Shoku-nihongi records articles of the approvals of the concurrent posts in the eight shinguns in those days without an omission, but describes all the places where the concurrent posts were approved before the implementation of Taihō Codes as “gun.” Meanwhile, there are names of “E-no-kōri 衣評” (Ei-gun in Satsuma province in later days) in the Volume One of the Shoku-nihongi (Article on July 19 of the 3rd year of the Emperor Mommu) which including the record of Munakata-gun. Thus, the writing style of the same period is not unified. Consequently, the writing style might have been unified by changing the word “Kōri-no-Miyatsuko” to “Gunji” in some original materials used in compiling the Shoku-nihongi and related to shinguns. But, on this point, the author would like to keep this as his estimation only.
- 7) 『類聚三代格』卷七郡司事・弘仁五年三月二十九日太政官符所引天平七年五月二十一日格。
- 8) 『延喜式』卷十八式部上・郡司条。条文は次の通り。通常の郡における任用条件に変化があるが、神郡を特例として扱う点は天平7年格と変わらない。
凡郡司者、一郡不_レ得_レ併_二-用同姓_一、若他姓中無_レ人_レ可_レ用者、雖_二-同姓_一除_二-同門_一外聽_レ任、
神郡、陸奥縁_レ邊郡、大隅馭謨、熊毛等郡者、不_レ在_二-制限_一、
謂_二-伊勢國飯野、度會、多氣、安房國安房、下總國香取、常陸國鹿嶋、出雲國意宇、紀伊國名草、筑前國宗形等郡_一爲_二-神郡_一、
- 9) 『続日本紀』天応元年十二月丁未(23 日)条(光仁上皇崩時)、延暦八年十二月丙申(29 日)条(皇太后崩時)。
- 10) 有富由紀子(1991):「神郡についての基礎的考察」;『史論』44、p.80
- 11) 『出雲国風土記』意宇郡出雲神戸。
- 12) 『延喜式』卷三臨時祭・負幸条、神寿詞条。
- 13) 岡田莊司(2009):「古代律令神祇祭祀制と杵築大社・神賀詞奏上儀礼」;『延喜式研究』25、p.15
- 14) 前掲 12)。
- 15) 『延喜式』卷八祝詞・出雲国造神賀詞。
- 16) 武田祐吉(1958):「解題」;『古事記 祝詞』(日本古典文学大系 1) 岩波書店、p.373
- 17) 岡田、前掲 13)、p.18
- 18) 『本朝月令』・六月朔日内膳司供忌火御飯事。
- 19) It was in the first year of Tempyō-Houji (757) that Awa province was established, separating from Kazusa province for the last time. The Takahashi-Ujibumi is said to have been compiled in the 19th year of Enryaku (800). So there is a discrepancy between the description stating the Awa Grand Shrine is enshrined in Kazusa province and the actual situation. We can consider that only this portion was rewritten, or else, the original text of the Takahashi-Ujibumi was formed before the first year of Tempyō-Houji. Therefore, the author has employed the sentence here.
- 20) 『類聚三代格』卷十供御事・天平三年九月十二日格。
- 21) 川尻秋生(1995):「古代安房国の特質—安房大神と膳神—」;『延喜式研究』10、p. 12
The author thinks that the description in “Kogoshūi” that specifies the relation between the Inbe Clan and Awa-gun should be positively evaluated, taking into account the existence of the wooden tablet

- (mokkan 木簡) unearthed in the Heijō-kyō (found in the 155th investigation (SD4100), 『平城宮木簡』 6—9071), which shows that the Inbe Clan was located in the Shiomi-gō (Shiomi village) in Awa-gun, and the positioning of the shinguns discussed in this manuscript.
- 22) Concurrent appointment of Gunji in Katori-gun of Shimousa province and Nagusa-gun of Kii province was approved simultaneously with Kashima-gun (Article on November 16 of the 7th year of Yōrō in the Shoku-nihongi). The difference with other guns which were given approval in the reign of the Emperor Mommu cannot help but be unclear. ARITOMI Yukiko thinks that the existence of an inconvenience at the time of change of Gunryō was responsible for the difference of the period. 有富由紀子(1991):「神郡についての基礎的考察」;『史論』 44、p84。
- 23) 『常陸国風土記』香島郡総記。
- 24) 『常陸国風土記』行方郡提賀里、当麻郷、名田里。
- 25) Article on January 20 of the 8th year of Jogan of “Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku”
There is a word “以往 i’ou” in the sentences. The author has interpreted this as “以後 igo (after)” as per the original word meaning here. If the author dares interpret it as “以前 izen (before)”, another meaning of “以往” in those days, it could be thought that the period in which the ritual for Miko-gami based on the products of the domains of the Kashima Shrine to be later mentioned started earlier. But there is no evidence to determine that it means “以前 izen”.
- 26) The Jimmyō-Chō of Engishiki also records that Mutsu province had eight shrines whose names began with the name of Kashima, of which the Miko Shrine is located in Ojika-gun and Namekata-gun, respectively.
- 27) 早川万年(1999):「神郡・神郡司に関する基礎的考察—鹿島の場合に注目しつつ—」;『古代東国と常陸国風土記』 雄山閣出版、p.152
- 28) 『常陸国風土記』行方郡鴨野、男高里、当麻郷。
- 29) The Jimmyō-Chō of Engishiki includes the name of the Katori-no-Miko Shrine in Kurihara-gun and that of the Katori-no-Izu-no-Miko Shrine in Ojika-gun, both in Mutsu province.
- 30) 『日本書紀』神代上・7段(宝鏡出現章)一書の1。
- 31) 早川万年(1999):「神郡・神郡司に関する基礎的考察—鹿島の場合に注目しつつ—」;『古代東国と常陸国風土記』 雄山閣出版、p.152
- 32) 岡田莊司(2002):「古代神祇祭祀と杵築大社・宇佐八幡」;『王権と神祇』 思文閣出版、p.24
- 33) 『日本書紀』履中天皇五年十月甲子(11日)条。
- 34) Article on February 1 of the 9th year of the Emperor Yūryaku of the Nihonshoki. Like the preceding item, there is no expression that decides that the description refers to the Munakata Shrine, but the author has employed this because it has extremely high probability. “Munakata Jinja Shi” (『宗像神社史』;History of the Munakata Shrine) takes up these as articles of the Munakata Shrine, and further, states that the description of offering Ehime (兄媛), a female technician of weaving from Kure (呉), to the Munakata Shrine by Achi-no-Omi and others seen in the article of December of the 41st year of Emperor Ōjin of the Nihonshoki is also based on the Emperor’s will. 宗像神社復興期成会編(1966):「祭祀伝承」;『宗像神社史』下 宗像神社復興期成会、p. 15
- 35) 『延喜式』卷三臨時祭・遣蕃国使祭条。
- 36) 『肥前国風土記』基肄郡姫社郷。
- 37) 『類聚国史』卷十九神祇・延暦十七年十月丁亥(12日)条。
- 38) 参考までに、采女任用に関する官符は『類聚三代格』にある(卷一神宮司神主禰宜事・延暦十七年十月十一日官符)。
- 39) Word “Shinshoku (Shintō priest)” is not seen in historical materials of those days, but there are many names of jobs which serve the gods. Therefore, as long as it collectively means such jobs, the author will use the word “Shinshoku” without notice hereinafter.
- 40) 『類聚三代格』卷七郡司事・延暦十九年十二月四日太政官符。
- 41) 『類聚国史』卷十九神祇・延暦十七年正月乙巳(24日)条。
The reason for the prohibition of the concurrent posts of Izumo-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko and Tairyō of Ou-gun is delay in official duties. It is different from that of Munakata in a strict meaning.
- 42) 『類聚国史』卷十九神祇・延暦十六年十月丙寅(14日)条。
- 43) 『類聚三代格』卷一科祓事・延暦二十年五月十四日太政官符。
- 44) 小倉慈司(1994):「八・九世紀における地方神社行政の展開」;『史学雑誌』 103-3、p.78

- 45) 『類聚国史』 卷十九神祇・延暦十七年三月丙申(16日)条。
- 46) There is also a view indicating an expansion of the influence of the mechanism of provincial government or the Kokushi in the Munakata Shrine and Munakata-gun and stating that the substance of the Gunji of shingun had disappeared due to the kyaku of the 19th year of Enryaku.
正木喜三郎(1987):「宗像郡司考―特に国衙支配との関聯を中心として―」;『東アジアの考古と歴史』下 同朋舎出版、p.537
- 47) 『類聚符宣抄』 卷一諸神宮司補任・天元二年二月十四日太政官符。
- 48) “以往 i’ou” has originally the same meaning with “以後 i’go (after).” However, after the quotation, this Ge refers to the trend of the shrine since the Tengyō Rebellion. Consequently, the author interprets “以往 i’ou” as “以前 izen (before)” here.
- 49) The Munakata Shrine had 74 jinfuko according to the Chō (wooden tag) of the 1st year of Daidō collected in the Volume 10 of “Shinshō-Kyakuchokufu-shō.” Except for an example of the Usa Shrine which had maximum 2,460 jinfuko, it had the largest number of jinfuko in Saikai-do.
- 50) For example, a firm policy that Kanbe and shinshoku who directly serve shrines should shoulder in principle the cost for repairing/renovation of shrines was adopted in the beginning of Kōnin Era.
加瀬直弥(2005):「十・十一世紀前半の七道諸国における神社修造の実態―国司との関わりを中心として―」;『神道宗教』199・200、p. 95

Glass Bowl Unearthed from Okinoshima Island

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Abstract: A few fragments of a cut glass bowl have been unearthed from the Munakata Okinoshima Site No.8. They are believed to be parts of a bowl brought there in a complete form. The cut glass products as vessels in the ancient Japanese archipelago are classified into two categories: the imported articles and those made of lead glass (mostly small-sized ones) produced domestically after the seventh century. The imported articles are mostly cut glasses considered to have made in Persia. They are different from twenty-some samples from the Shilla. Probably they have different routes of transportation. In addition, the articles were either unearthed from tombs (grave) and at ritual sites or handed down in temples (including treasures in the Shōsōin treasure repository), and their usages were limited. What was placed in the precious container called “Tamamohi” dedicated to the gods?

Keywords: glass bowl; cut glass; ancient ritual; Tamamohi

1. Glass Bowls Unearthed from the Ritual Sites

(1) Glass bowl and Site No. 8

a) Glass bowl

The first investigation was conducted in 1954 on Site No.8 in the shade of a northwest surface of the huge rock which is situated in the north of the sites group as No.D huge rock (megalithic group), and from the cross-shaped trench there, one fragment was unearthed and in the following second investigation, another fragment was discovered in the distant southwest part of the small rock situated centrally. In the subsequent investigations, contrary to the expectations, “*the remaining fragments of the glass bowl weren’t discovered after all*” (Munakata Shrine Revival Association 1961: p.234) And the two fragments from the first and second investigations “*are jointed by an identical piece (substance) made of glass with a pale greenish hue and numerous air bubbles. On the outer surface of the vessel measuring 3 mm in thickness, round relief patterns with approximately 2.8 cm in diameter and 3 to 5 mm in height are cut out. The diameter of the top-side of a round relief pattern is slightly smaller than that of the bottom-side attached to the vessel and the top-side of the round pattern is concave like a concave lens. At a distance of 7 mm from one of the round relief pattern which remains intact, small parts of a round relief pattern are remained in two places. Given the distance between these round relief patterns, streaks sweeping in one direction on the inner surface of the vessel and the curve form of the broken pieces, they are presumed to be parts of a glass bowl with an upper row of nine round facets and a lower row of seven round facets. The round relief patterns which remain intact belong to the lower row and the lower part of the round pattern is thicker (5 mm) than the upper back (3 mm). The diameter of the upper end of the bowl of the existing fragment is measured 11 cm approximately, and the diameter of the whole bowl would have been measured around 12 cm*” (Munakata Shrine Revival Association 1958: p.221) according to an archaeologist HARADA Dairoku and he placed the reconstruction picture of the object in the article.

Naturally, they gained recognition among the experts on ancient glasses and FUKAI Shinji introduced this reconstruction picture in the report and described that the glass bowl was made by mold blown technique and patterned with concave (hollow) round facets and as a similar example, he cited the bowl unearthed in spring of 1961 from the tomb, which was attributed to the Parthia or Sassanian Persian period in the Alborz Mountain Range in Gilan province situated northwest of the Iranian Plateau [FUKAI 1962]. After a review of several other similar examples, he stated that if the diameter was 12 cm as mentioned in the investigation report, it would have been an artifact larger than the above-mentioned artifact from Gilan measuring 9.5 cm in diameter. Regarding the height of the vessel, he also stated that “*Probably the bowl was decorated with two rows of wheel-cut facets and it is estimated that the total height including the pedestal was about 6.5 cm. Therefore, it is also estimated that the item was a glass bowl with a horizontally flat pedestal support*

shorter than the artifact (8.0 cm in height) unearthed from Gilan province” (FUKAI 1962; p.208).

Although it is a fragment of less than 5 cm in height and width, as part of a cut glass decorated with the wheel-cut facets made by mold-blown technique, it is the only existing, one-of-a-kind artifact on the Japanese archipelago, which deserves attention.

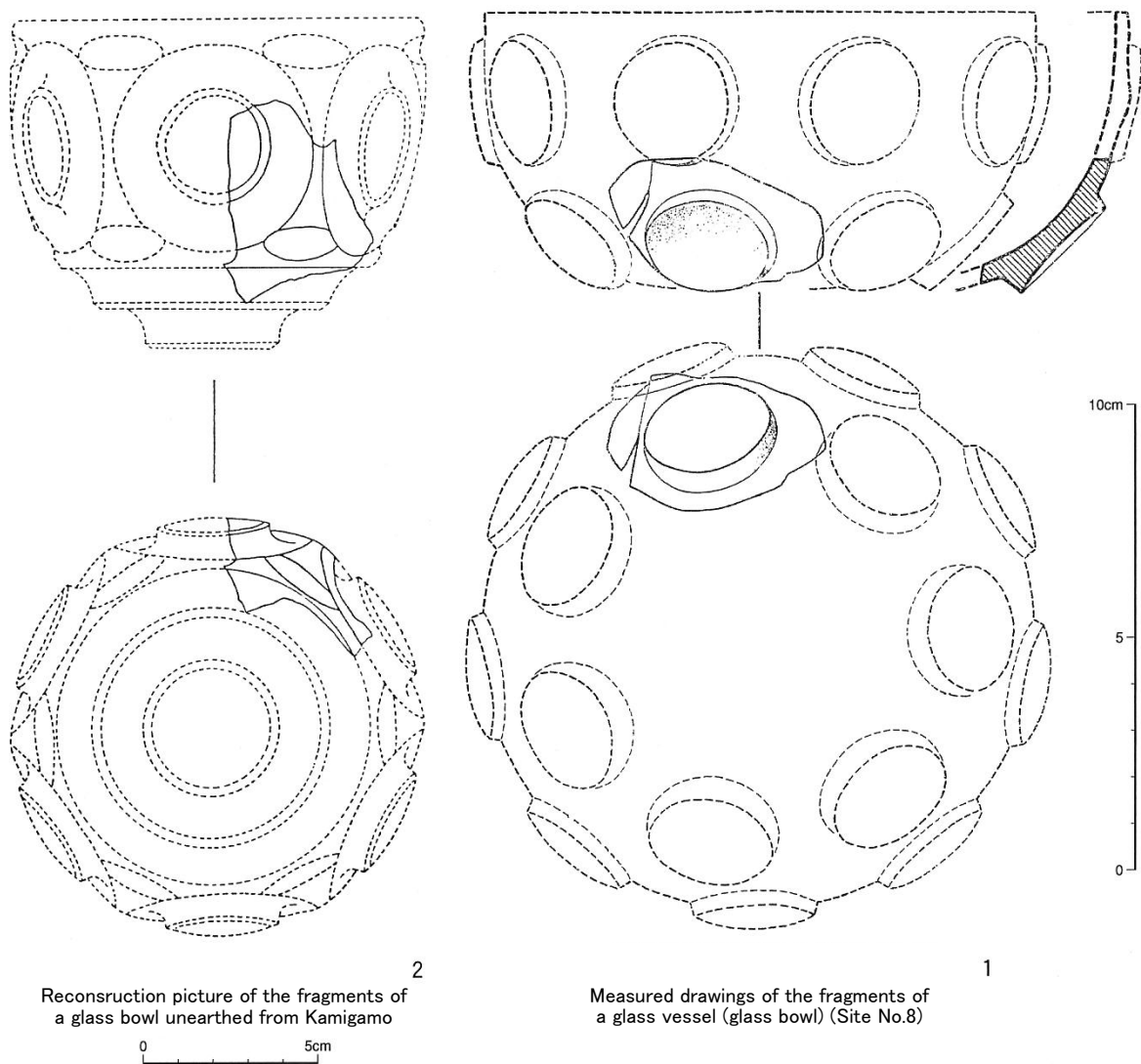


Figure 1 (right) A bowl unearthed from the Munakata Okinoshima Site No.8 [Munakata Shrine Revival Association 1958]

Figure 2 (left) A bowl unearthed from Kamigamo [FUKAI 1968]

b) Site No.8 and faceted glass beads

The Site No.8 is where long-term investigation was conducted on a continual basis, and there were several other issues. One of them is that it is a huge rock prominently located along the route leading from Okitsu-miya to the lighthouse. In addition to the excavation by high school students, it is subject to illegal digging and theft due to its location and therefore it appears to be ransacked considerably. As far as the author can see from the condition of unearthed relics appeared in the investigation report, the relics are classified into three groups, which are as follows. The first group is concentrated in the cross-shaped trench and its western part that was surveyed in the first investigation, the second group is found in the area around the central small rock and the third group is found in the southwest of the site. The southwest part seems to be overlapped with Site No.7 to some extent. Among them, one fragment of the glass bowl was found in the northeast group (the first group) and another fragment was found in the central group. In the northeast group, in addition to a piece of mirror with images of dragons around the knob seat, a piece of small silver bead and 13 pieces of faceted glass beads were found as one-of-a-kind relics. Although silverware or silver and copper products are often found in mounded tombs as grave goods from the fifth century, only a few silver ingot or silver granules have been discovered. Except for the silver granules dated to the fourth century found at Nangō-ōhigashi site in Gose city, Nara prefecture, they are mostly around the second half of the seventh century, including a round bead without a hole which appears to have been hung from the belt unearthed from tombs dated to around the middle of the seventh century, such as the Ishinokarato tomb in Nara prefecture etc. and a silver plate (also presumed as a golden plate and made in the reign of the Emperor Temmu: 673 to 686) unearthed from the Ōshima-Izumihama ritual site point C, Tōkyō metropolis.

Also, there are few similar examples of faceted glass beads, which present a green hue due to the lead glass and undergo silvering. One familiar example is, however, the beads wrapped around the bottom of the coronet placed on the “statue of Amogha Paaza” at Sangatsu-dō (Hokke-dō) in Tōdai-ji Temple.

With all these facts, it is reasonable to think that the relics from Site No.8 were not gathered there from the one-time ritual, but collected from several rituals. The adjacent Site No.7 also contains relics dated to the Late Kofun period, however, considering the combination of flat pendant horse harness ornaments and crupper bosses, at least 6 sets of horse trappings were supposed to have existed by HARADA Dairoku [Munakata Shrine Revival Association 1958]. Crupper strap dividers with spangles are known in the Kannonyama tomb in Gunma prefecture, Kinreizuka tomb in Chiba prefecture, Fujinoki tomb in Nara prefecture etc, and the former two tombs are keyhole-shaped tombs with round square mound dated to the newest period, around the third quarter of the sixth century. In the past, the author believed that the relics found at Site No.7 were from the one-time ritual but it appears appropriate to think that they were gathered from several rituals.

Also, although the concentration of the small glass beads suggests the possibility that they were hung from a tree branch, they look too compactly concentrated. The dispersion of mortar-shaped steatite beads at Site No.21 were initially predicted that strands of mortar-shaped beads hung over a tree branch were dispersed, however, from the massive illegal digging of relics including fragments of mirror, we can't simply conclude that they were left as they were after the ritual was performed. In case of Site No.7, it has been estimated that the ritual was performed at the point and the small glass beads were hung to the right and left of the site, however the alternative view is that the beads in a sack were placed there. Also there is a possibility that it was roughly determined where to place horse equipment and ironwork and so on within the site. A saddle which is decorated and dedicated at the Kasuga Festival at Kasuga Grand Shrine in Nara prefecture is stored again in a divine storage once the festival is finished. And every year, the saddle is placed at the same place at the festival. The author thinks that if those ritual articles were placed for several ritual occasions, they would be placed with an overlap at the predetermined place.

(2) Glass bowl picked from the shrine grounds of Kamigamo Shrine

It is a fragment of a glass bowl picked by BANDŌ Zempei at the back (north side) of the main hall of Kamo-wake-ikazuchi Shrine in 1964.

The report describes that “*the archaeological site of Jōmon period isn't limited to the golf course area but*

is extended to near the ground of the main hall. In order to make a thorough investigation of the distribution range of the fragments of pottery, the author closely examined the bamboo grass bush to the north of the ground of the main hall.

*This bamboo grass bush is located in an area called Omaedai on the outside of the earthen fence surrounding the ground of the main hall. Behind the main shrine, along the northern side of the earthen fence, there is a corridor about 3m in width and outside the corridor, there stretches out the remains of the ruined old earthen fence. The remains of the earthen fence are the irregular laying-up of clay and tiles, which are about 2.5 m in height and 2-3 m in width at present. (*snip*). The author picked a fragment of a vessel coincidentally on the occasion of the collapse of the fence on Jan.3, 1964. At first the author considered it to be a fragment of Sue ware, but the washing at a later date revealed that it was a fragment of a glass vessel.” (*snip*) “2. The unearthed fragment of the glass vessel. This is a more or less rectangular shape with measurement 6.0 cm by 4.2 cm at present. As the broken surface is weathered to the same degree as the two sides of a fragment, it appears that the breakage occurred in very ancient times. It is an opaque white glass with a very light blackish brown hue. When the author compared this with several glass vessels displayed at Tōkyō National Museum in May 1965, the observation shows that its color tone was more similar to that of a faceted glass bowl unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan than the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No. 126 tomb. (*snip*) Regarding the pattern on the surface of the glass vessel, part of the round pattern in relief is existent. If the author gives a explanation placing the remaining half of the round pattern in relief at the lower left, a unit design is composed of a round pattern in relief and a thick groove surrounding it, and there appears to be, above the unit, another round pattern in relief and a groove separated by a 3 mm flat belt on the narrow part (the rest omitted)” [BANDŌ and MORI 1966].*

The reconstruction picture of this glass bowl was drawn by MORI Kōichi in the document and besides this, there is a reconstruction by UMEHARA Sueji [UMEHARA 1967]. Also, there is another reconstruction by FUKAI Shinji [FUKAI 1968], and according to the reconstruction of the whole image by FUKAI, it is assumed to be a double-decker pedestal style bowl measuring about 9.3 cm in total height whose rim about 11.4 cm in diameter, decorated with 6 double round facets about 5.8 cm in diameter..

In the journal, along with the explanation about the bowl, written materials on the items excavated from Gilan province in the northwest of Iranian Plateau as well as classification of the cutting method are presented as will be discussed hereinafter.

Regarding this discovery point, MORI Kōichi states that “the point where the fragment of this bowl was picked is located about 25 m north-northeast of the main hall of Kamo-wake-ikazuchi Shrine, and we can easily guess that this is a holy place for performing rituals in ancient times. Moreover, before the early years of Tenpyō period, the shrine was actively used for congregation of a number of rituals and it was so flourishing that the government often needed to restrict those activities” and noticed that the site had features similar to the Okinoshima Site No.8 [BANDŌ and MORI 1966].

In addition, MORI suspected in the same report that the glass bowl reportedly unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan might have been introduced to Seirin-ji Temple constructed by Kawachi-no-Aya (西文) Clan, descendants of Wani (王仁) who became naturalized citizen of ancient Japan from Paekchae of Korea. Considering the glass bowls inherited in Shōsōin treasure repository, it can be said that some bowls weren't buried but introduced into Japan.

(3) Glass bowl unearthed from Jike Site in Ishikawa prefecture

The Jike Site in Ishikawa prefecture is located along the Sea of Japan, to the west of Ouchi-gata Lagoon and was formed on a sand dune which grew to be enclosing Ouchi-gata Lagoon, situated around 1 km southeast of Keta Shrine. Although it was discovered during the prior survey of the road construction and since then small-scale point investigation has been conducted in the surrounding area, the whole picture hasn't been clarified yet. The investigations have been conducted on the sand dune from the ritual division of the northwest part to Sunada division of the southeast part, along the Noto Expressway. There is an embedded-pillar building remains group in the northwest part and another group in the central part. Although there are pit dwelling remains from the prior period, it seems to have been the area where the Shintō priests lived, evolving from the seventh century to the eighth and ninth centuries. The site contains

25 small-size mirrors ranging from small mirrors decorated with marine mammals and grapevines to undecorated mirrors, and many other relics including a Nara-style three-colored small jar, metal belt fittings including rectangular-shaped belt plaque and roundish belt fittings, bronze coins minted by the central government such as “Wadō-kaichin”, “Nyōeki-shimpō”, “Jingū-kaihō”, “Ryūhei-eihō” and “Fuju-Shimpō”, bladed weapons such as sword, metal fitting of a decorative sword called “kazaritachi” and beads. In its surroundings, there are a kiln sites group and salt production sites where relics including ironware were unearthed.

From the pit dated to the latter part of the second quarter of the eighth century situated to the south of the site, a fragment of a glass vessel less than 2 cm on a side was discovered. “Wadō-kaichin” was unearthed along with this, and a glass crucible was also unearthed nearby. A passage from the report states that “*A fragment of a glass vessel unearthed from SBT04 in the southern half of Sunada division is an important material among the materials unearthed from the Jike Site and be it ever so small, it is indicated that it might be a fragment of the base of a small bottle made of Roman glass. A glass crucible was also unearthed from the surroundings of SBT04 and SBT28 in the northern part of Sunada division and it is believed that there was a glass workshop in Sunada division during the second quarter of the eighth century*” [Hakui City 2010].

Regarding the fragment of a glass vessel, “*A small piece of a glass vessel is unearthed from the cover soil of SBT04 (11A8). It is a triangular fragment with sides measuring 1.4 × 1.4 × 1.6 cm. On the slightly curved surface, there are three minuscule round projections 1 mm in diameter and 0.5 mm in height approximately, and seven minuscule millet-like projections less than 0.5 mm in diameter and less than 0.2 mm in height. The thickness of the container wall is 1.2 mm. The glass surface presents yellowish ash gray hue and one end of the triangle shows a conchoidal fracture. According to the instruction of EMOTO Yoshimichi, the glass vessel is made from soda glass. Also according to the instruction of YOSHIMIZU Tsuneo, it is highly possible that the fragment is a portion of the part near the bottom of a Roman small glass bottle and what appears to be the projections might be air bubbles. EMOTO Yoshimichi at the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties offered a helping hand for analysis of the glass vessel. Also, YOSHIMIZU Tsuneo gave me instructions by actually observing the glass.*” [KOJIMA 1988]

In addition, the green glass glaze left on the inside of the glass crucible is made from lead glass according to the analysis by EMOTO Yoshimichi.

And as a conclusion following the above-mentioned passage, KOJIMA says as follows: “*It is identified that both SBT28 unearthing a glass crucible and SBT04 unearthing a glass vessel date back to the Jike III-1 period (in the middle of the eighth century). Also, SBT04 and 11A7 from which the bottom part of a crucible was unearthed are grids which lie next to each other. In other words, when glasswork craftsmen dispatched from the capital were working on the glasses, the Roman glass vessel existed in the Jike Site. While there is a possibility that the glass vessels were stored for ritual use, there is also the possibility that the craftsmen brought the pieces of broken glass to use as materials for glasswork (cullets). Although it is doubtful that the fragments of soda glass vessels could have served as the materials for lead glass that had been produced in crucibles, the author is attracted to the Cullet theory. In order to produce glasses on the Jike Site, the materials were necessary and it is possible that the craftsmen brought the fragments of glass vessels as cullets along with crucibles from the capital. The glass beads without holes unearthed from the ritual division show some convincing evidence that they were parts of the glass products produced in crucibles.*”

Sorry to KOJIMA, the author claims that it is a small glass bottle associated with Keta Shrine. Furthermore, the author doesn’t believe that the small pale-blue glass beads unearthed from the ritual division were produced in the crucibles. Regrettably, there are no analytical values of the glass beads. The glass production usually means making lead glass on the archipelago in this period. However, it is believed that the raw materials of the glass products such as those unearthed from the Miyajidake tomb in Fukuoka prefecture were imported.

Measuring only 1.2 mm in thickness of the container wall, it seems unlikely that this glass vessel could be a big vessel. However, the author believes that it is a little different from the glass bottle from Ōbishima Island in Okayama prefecture or a reliquary container made from green glass as described herein below.

About 800 meters to the east-southeast of Keta Shrine, there are the remains of Yanagida-shakode ruined temple, which is thought to have been built at the end of the seventh century, no later than the beginning of the eighth century. It seems unlikely that the said glass vessel was the reliquary container associated with this temple.

Incidentally, although some say that the rituals of Keta Shrine were performed mainly in the ritual division or the Sunada division in those days, the central part of the shrine was in the location where the building of the shrine is situated at present since then and it is different from the area of this Jike Site where a group of Shintō priests resided. Although some rituals would have been performed there, it seems unlikely that the rituals of Keta Shrine as a whole were performed in the Jike area.

(4) Ōbishima-Sunominami Site

Ōbishima Island in Kasaoka city in Okayama prefecture is situated in the middle part of the Seto Inland Sea, the west part of the Kasaoka Islands dividing Mizushima Sea and Bingo Sea. At high tide, two currents crash together in this place and at low tide they ebb away in both directions. The population of the island is about 140. There is a sand spit extending from the eastern part of the island toward KŌbishima and the ritual artifacts were discovered from the starting point of the sand spit. The surrounding area abounds with huge stones. In 1962, the relics were discovered from the grounds of an elementary and junior high school and after that the investigation was conducted by KAMAKI Yoshimasa from Kurashiki Archaeological Museum and others. The items excavated include 3 hachiryō mirrors with octagonal-lobed rim (in the shape of a water chestnut flower), 1 hakkamirror with a frame of eight petals, 1 fragment of other mirror, more than 22 copper bells, metal belt fittings, accouterments of sword, ritual mirrors, coins (42 “Wado-kaichin”, 5 “Mannen-tsūhō”, 22 “Jingū-kaihō”, 12 “Ryūhei-eihō”, 8 “Fuju-Shimpō”, 4 “nyōeki-Shimpō”, 1 “Jōwa-shōhō”, 3 “Jōgan-eihō”, 5 “Engi-tsūhō”, 1 “Kengen-taihō”, etc.), 13 or more Nara-style three-colored small jar, green-glazed stoneware, stone belt fittings, 3 or more small glass jars, Sue wares, 3 or more sets of miniatures of stove, 2 glass ear ornaments 1 glass round bead, 1 jasper cylindrical bead, etc. The small glass jars unearthed are not in a complete form and three fragments including a rim, owned by the Agency of Cultural Affairs, present a green hue and are weathered, and there are three fragments including a rim and one piece of a trunk, owned by Kasaoka city. No base part of a small jar has been found.

Also, two items which are considered to be cylindrical glass items or ear ornaments lack the upper side part, which is like a trumpet in shape. They might be attached to the base of the small jar.

The body diameter of the jar is from 3 to 4 cm and the short rim edge is slightly curved inward and it appears that no lid is attached. All of them are supposed to have been made of lead glass.

In this site, a three-colored small jar was contained in a big pot of Sue ware and the usage of three-colored small jars attracted attention. Although author has mentioned this site as the ritual sites on the island within the Seto Inland Sea in the past, the author still believes today that the presence of the small jar contained in a big pot and the existence of sets of miniature stoves and part of a costume such as sekitai belts suggest that they were associated with a purification ceremony in which these articles were respectfully brought to the middle of the sea and left there after the ritual instead of floating them on a river.

The author guesses that these small glass jars were the ones offered as redemption along with Arayo and Nigiyo (clothes offered to the gods) just like the Nara-style three-colored small jars.

2. Glass Bowls Found in Other Places than the Ritual Sites in the Archipelago

(1) Glass bowl reportedly unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan

It is a glass bowl known to be owned by Seirin-ji Temple in Ōsaka around the Kansei 寛政 era in Edo period, which went missing later and then was rediscovered or became widely known in 1955 after the war. It is now owned by Tōkyō National Museum.

In the article of “Seirin-ji Temple in Furuichi district” in the “Kawachi Meisho-zue (Collection of pictures of places of interest in Kawachi province)” published in Kyōwa 享和 1 (1801), it is described that eighty years ago (probably during the Kyōho 享保 era) when the area was hit by a flood, it caused mudslides at the tomb of Emperor Ankan and from there many articles including cinnabar and a glass bowl was also unearthed. The finding was also mentioned in “Shūkozu” and “Kōko-nichiroku” by FUJIWARA Sadamoto (aka TOU Teikan) and “Ichiwa-ichigen” by ŌTA Shokusanjin, etc. The circumstances of the rediscovery are described by ISHIDA Mosaku [ISHIDA 1950] and also mentioned by FUJISAWA Kazuo [FUJISAWA 1950] and UMEHARA Sueji [UMEHARA 1951].

The glass bowl is very similar to the cut glass bowl preserved in Chūso (middle section) of the Shōsōin treasure repository in terms of the size, style and materials. It is a transparent glass with pale brown tinge, measuring 11.9 cm in mouth diameter, 8.6 cm in height, 3.9 cm in bottom diameter and 0.4 cm in rim thickness. The numbers of five-rowed facets from the top is 18, 18, 18, 7 and 1 (bottom). This glass bowl has one row fewer than that of Shōsōin and has smaller round facets and due to the spaces between each facet they do not form hexagonal patterns. It is said to be made of alkali soda glass. It had been split into 10 fragments and they were glued together with Japanese lacquer. Incidentally, there is a problem with age determination by supposing to be unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan and as indicated above, MORI Kōichi had doubts and proposed that the bowl wasn't unearthed but inherited to Seirin-ji Temple originally.

(2) Cut glass bowl in the Shōsōin treasure repository

Quoting a passage written by TANIICHI Takashi, *“It is made of transparent glass with a slightly pale brown tint and formed with the glassblowing technique. The rim shows roundness due to fire polishing around the rim. The fire -polishing method proves that a ponte (holding rod) was used for glassmaking and a trace of ponte at the center of the base was vanished by cutting facets after a process of gradual cooling. The facet-cutting is applied using a grinder with curvature radius of 3.5 cm. The bowl is composed of 6 rows of facets numbering 18, 18, 18, 18, 7, 1 from the top and the facets present hexagonal pattern in a place where the facets are overlapped densely. (The rest is omitted)”* [TANIICHI 1999].

Incidentally, it is believed that the glass bowl was produced in the center of Sasanian Persia such as Kish and because a similar style cut glass shallow bowl was also unearthed from the tomb of Wang Shi liang 王士良 (entombed in 565) in Xianyang, Shanxi province in China, in 1988, the production date was identified as sixth century [TANIICHI 1999].

It is 12 cm in mouth diameter, 8.5 cm in height, 3.6 cm (3.9 cm?) in base diameter, weighs 485 g and is made out of alkali soda glass.

Six other glass vessels are known in the middle section of Shōsōin treasure repository, of which one is a fragment of a base of a bowl. Besides, there are some other fragments of a glass vessel. The following is a brief explanation about the articles in complete form.

1) Cobalt-blue glass cup

It is a cobalt-blue transparent glass, 8.0 cm in height, 8.6 cm in mouth diameter and is made by adding cobalt oxide and formed with the glassblowing technique. The rim shows roundness due to fire -polishing and is outward-flared. It has a slightly raised round base and the body part is decorated with three rows of loop patterns (0.35 cm in diameter) made with a blue thread. The number of loop patterns is 8 in the upper neck part, 8 in the middle row and 6 in the lower row. The joints of the loop patterns all point downward. A pedestal made of gold-plated silver is attached to the glass body.

2) Glass bottle

It is 27.0 cm in height, 14.0 cm in body diameter, and 8.0 cm in base diameter and weighs 633 g. It has a low bellied form with its maximum body diameter lied at one-third height from the bottom. Above a tapered neck, the rim of a pouring spout is everted. The handle is attached to the middle part of the body and arched over the neck. The color is transparent white.

3) Glass pedestal dish

It is 10.5 cm in height, 29.2 cm in mouth diameter, 6.6 cm in length of the pedestal, 12.1 cm in base diameter and weighs 1,225 g. It is a light brown transparent glass. The dish part and the pedestal part are joined together by glassblowing. The lip of the dish part is round and curved outward and the inner base is wide and flat. The pedestal is hollow and is slightly curved, spreading toward the bottom and the bottom is folded out shortly. Due to weight of the dish part, the joint surface is projected into the inner bottom part

4) Twelve-lobed oblong drinking cup of green lead glass

It is 22.5 cm in major axis, 10.7 cm in minor axis and 5.0 cm in height and weighs 775g. It is said to be the only glass vessel made of lead glass stored in the Shōsōin. It has convex and concave fluted bands on the inner and outer surfaces. The outer convex section is carved with herringbone patterns. It is transparent with greenish tint and is supposed to be cast by a mold.

5) Cobalt-blue glass jar

It is 9.0 cm in height, 11.7 cm in mouth diameter, 8.3 cm in body diameter, and 4.5 cm in base diameter and weighs 118 g. It is a blue glass spittoon made by adding cobalt oxide. It has a low-bellied shape with its maximum body diameter lied at the lower part and the largely flared-out rim is attached above the narrow neck. It is cobalt-blue with a tinge of red-purple in color and made of alkali lime glass. According to “Tōdai-ji Bettō Shidai (History of Tōdai-ji Temple administrators)”, Taira-no-Munetsune offered a cobalt-blue glass spittoon to Tōdai-ji Temple in the Chian 治安 1 (1021). If it was the same as this jar, it was delivered to Shōsōin during the eleventh century.

(3) Glass vessels unearthed from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No. 126 tomb

Cut glass bowls brought to Japan range from a hemispherical bowl unearthed from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No. 126 tomb in Nara prefecture to the cut glass bowls as imperial treasures stored in the Shōsōin and apart from them, there are glass plates, bottles and cobalt-blue glass dish decorated with circle patterns etc.

Of the articles dating back to the earlier times, there are a bowl and a plate unearthed from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No.126 tomb in Nara prefecture. This mounded tomb is somewhat unusual in the tomb group. It has a rectangular shape which is long in the east-west direction, measuring approximately 22 m (long side) by 16 m (short side) and only 1.5 m in height. There is a rectangular burial pit at the western half portion which is elevated and a wooden split-log coffin is placed into the center of that. Many relics were found in and around the coffin. Outside the coffin, a straight sword and a bronze hinoshi (iron) and several lacquered platters were found and inside the coffin, there were metal fittings with openwork carving made of pure gold which appear to be the metal fittings on a crown. On both sides of the head portion, there was a pair of gold spiral pendants in which glass rods were stored. According to the report, the rods have a shape like jitō (traditional earring) and one side is thicker, measuring about 9 cm in length and 6-7 mm in thickness. They are severely weathered. On the left side of this head portion, there was a dark-blue glass picture plate, and a transparent cut glass hemispherical bowl was placed on the plate. In addition, many gold and silver finger rings, gold and silver bracelets, a set of gilt bronze metal fittings for leather belt with pendants with openwork carving, jade comma-shaped beads, gold and silver round beads and glass round beads which contain gold leaves, glass beads with vertically-striped pattern and other glass beads were unearthed. Also, there is a small-size bronze mirror 65 mm in diameter. Although the patterns on the back of the mirror are not clarified, it is an exceptional article to some extent.

The glass bowl “has a bowl shape as if the upper one-third of a sphere were cut off and a small mouth-neck portion that was folded in and then out were attached. It is barely blue but almost colorless transparent glass. Despite the cracks, the bowl had been buried in a complete form. Although uneven mouth causes the some difference in measurement, it measures 7.8 cm in mouth diameter, 8.7 cm in maximum body diameter, 6.7 cm in height and approximately 1.5 mm in thickness showing eggshell-thin glass body.” [Archeological Institute of Kashihara 1977] From the belly to base, there are 108 round facets arranged in neat rows.

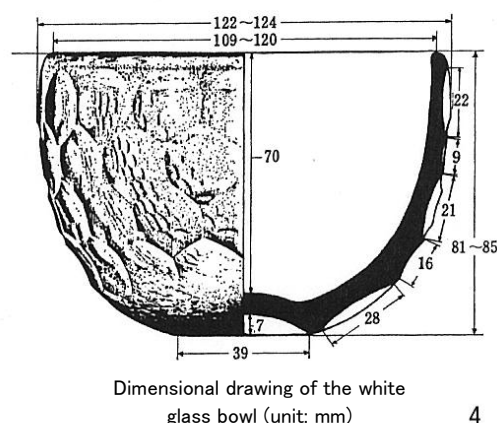
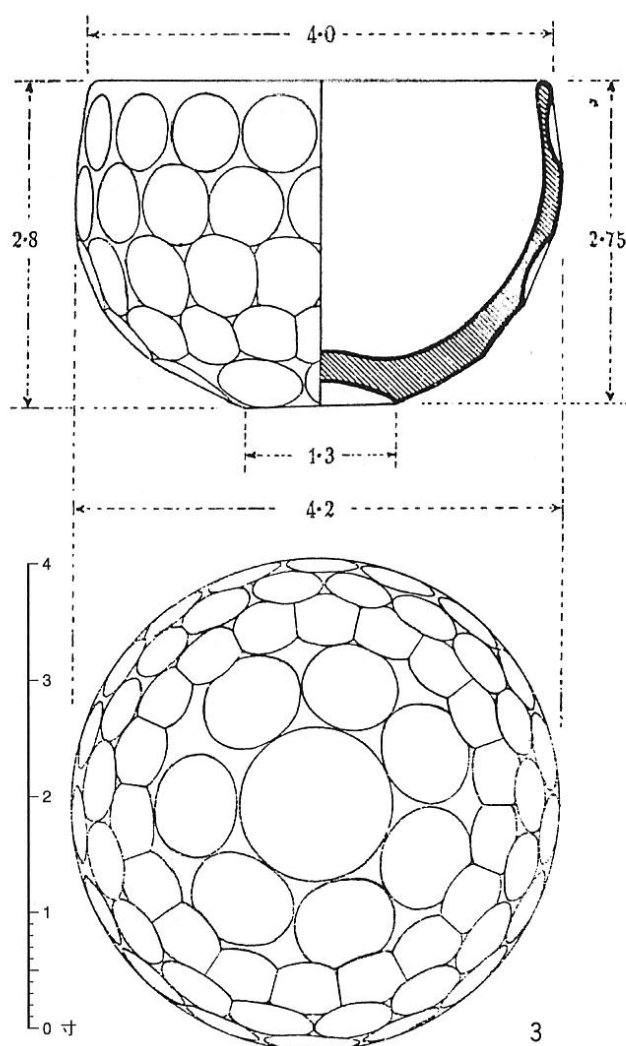


Figure 3 (left) White glass bowl in the Shōsōin [Office of Shōsōin Treasure House, Imperial Household Agency 1965]

Figure 4 (above) Glass bowl reportedly unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan [FUJISAWA 1950]

According to TANIICHI Takashi, “*Hemispherical cut glass bowl is the general term for a bowl that is molded into thin bowl shape by glassblowing and cut off at a position below the rim in which you make a recess and decorated by cutting facets on the surface of the body after the gradual cooling.*” [TANIICHI 1985]

A concurrently unearthed plate is a navy blue glass, 14.1-14.5 cm in mouth diameter, 3 cm in height of the whole plate. The pedestal was formed from the main body and the outer bottom of the plate is lower than the pedestal. The inner surface is adorned with patterns all over including birds, trees and human figures as confirmed.

Incidentally, it is estimated that the bowl is made of soda-lime glass and the plate is made of alkali lime glass. [ODA 1977]

The tomb is supposed to date to the second half of the fifth century [Archeological Institute of Kashihara 1977].

(4) Glass vessels unearthed from the stone chamber in the square (“front”) part of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku

Two glass vessels, a water-white glass plate and a bright blue jar, were unearthed in 1872 and they were buried again.

“On September 7 in 1872, the starting point of the slope in the south of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku, so-called the Daisen-ryō, in Ōtori district in Izumi province was collapsed and the stone coffin inside the stone packing was revealed. In all directions of the stone coffin, several articles were placed including two glass vessels. One of them is a sort of jar in bright blue color and the other is a sort of plate in water-white color (the rest omitted).” [KUROKAWA 1910]

This set of glass vessels are same as those unearthed from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No.126 tomb and given that they date back to the close period, it is estimated that the articles were brought into the archipelago in a similar situation.

It is not known whether the jar unearthed from the square (“front”) part of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku was a cut glass or not and there is a possibility that it was not a cut glass if the jar was dark blue-colored. Considering the combination of two articles (transparent bowl and dark blue plate) unearthed from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No.126 tomb is opposite of that from the tomb of Emperor Nintoku, however, it is possible that they were brought to the archipelago together at the same time. It seems that there was a relationship between two figures buried in these tombs during their lifetime, to say the least.

(5) (Addition) Cinerary glass urn containing bones of Fumi-no-Nemaro

It has a nearly spherical body with a short, straightened-up neck covered with a lid with a sacred gem handle. It measures 17.2 cm in total height, 15.2 cm in body height, 16.5 cm in body diameter and 6.1 cm in mouth diameter. It is a green lead glass jar which was unearthed from Uchimaki village, Uda district in Nara prefecture. Although there are several cinerary urns made of green glass, there are few ones of this size. The epitaph unearthed simultaneously was inscribed that *“General in the Jinshin era. Director of the Left Headquarters of the Imperial Palace Guards, with Senior Fourth Rank Upper Grade, Fumi-no-Nemaro-no-Imiki passed away on September 21 Keiun 4 (707) 壬申年將軍左衛士府督正四位 上文祢麻呂忌寸慶雲四年歲次丁未九月廿一日卒”* and it shows that he passed away in the Keiun 4 (707). This glass jar dates back around the beginning of the eighth century.

Other cinerary urns include the one unearthed around the Miyajidake tomb in Fukuoka prefecture, which does not have a spherical body like that of Fumi-no-Nemaro but has a stout jar form measuring 11.2 cm in height. The rim is straight up and covered with a lid. It was placed in a jar cast in copper and the urn was put in two pieces of pot-type earthenware. Anyway, it is a rather large glass jar, different from the usual small-size reliquary container.

Among the well-known reliquaries, the container discovered from the foundation stone for the central pillar of the pagoda of the reported remains of Sūfuku-ji Temple in Shiga prefecture is a green glass vessel measuring 3 cm in height, 3.1 cm in body diameter and 1.5 cm in mouth diameter. This also has a nearly spherical body with a short, straightened-up neck with a gold lid. The Sūfuku-ji Temple is believed to have been founded in the seventh year of the reign of Emperor Tenchi (668) and this small glass jar is supposed to have been manufactured in the middle of the seventh century.

A reliquary that was discovered from the foundation stone for the central pillar of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji Temple in October 1949 and reburied later had been also placed in a gold ovoid container with openwork carving. The diameter of the gold container is deemed as 6.6 cm.

Besides this, there are several articles deemed as reliquaries and they require further investigation since not all of them are made of green glass. However, the author will discuss this matter on another occasion due to their different dates of production. The only thing the author wants to mention here is that articles made with green glass by glassblowing have some relationship to the Korean Peninsula.

3. Conclusion

(1) Glass production and imports of glassware in the Japanese archipelago

Although it is not clear at what point in the Yayoi Period the production of glass beads in northern Kyūshū started, it certainly appears that up to around B.C. 200 in the Middle Yayoi Period, uniform comma-shaped beads had been produced in clay molds along with globular beads. A vast amount of flatglass discs with a circular hole in the center as well as mirrors and metal fittings discovered from the No.1 earthenware jar-coffin of the Mikumo-minamishōji Site dating to the second half of the Middle Yayoi Period are thought to be part of the grave goods sent from the continent soon after the announcement of death. In parallel, comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, globular beads, etc. are thought to have been manufactured in the archipelago.

Lead glass was used to make glass products in the Yayoi Period which is replaced by alkali glass in the Kofun Period when objects like comma-shaped beads were not necessarily formed in a mold and bracelets also came to be produced and in the sixth century, lead glass was used again to make glassware. Although this is mostly because the glass manufacturing relied on imports for raw materials, the volume of production across the country seems to have been considerable. It also appears that lead glass had remained as a major material from sixth century to the Nara Period. During the course of its development, the manufacturing of glass vessels by glassblowing in the archipelago started.

As for imports of the glass vessels, the earliest examples are the jar and plate from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No.126 as well as the jar and plate from the stone chamber in the square (“front”) part of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku. They are followed by thick cut glass bowls including one from the Munakata Okinoshima Site No. 8, one from Kamigamo Shrine in Kyōto, the glass bowl in the middle section of the Shōsōin, the bowl reportedly unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan. They appear to also include the cobalt-blue glass cup with the loop patterns in the middle section of the Shōsōin. In addition, there is a group of the glass bowl and the glass pedestal dish in the Shōsōin and apart from them, there is the twelve-lobed oblong drinking cup of green lead glass. TANIICHI Takashi gives a detailed account of respective objects coupled with the results of excavations in recent years [TANIICHI 1999].

Come to think of it, four examples from Okinoshima, Kamigamo, the tomb of Emperor Ankan and the middle section of the Shōsōin are cut glass vessels. Furthermore, a jar from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No.126 tomb, which is called a hemispherical cut glass bowl by TANIICHI Takashi, has five rows of round facets on the body. While the uppermost row, middle row and lowermost row remain unfinished the second and the fourth row have polished facets. The facets in the bottom remain scabbled as well. In other words, these articles are crafted with great skill. Although the one from the tomb of Emperor Nintoku is unclear, the fact that most of them are cut glass vessels attracts attention. In contrast to this, among twenty-some glass vessels in the Korean Peninsula centering on Gyeongju, Shilla, there are only one or two cut glass examples and those in the peninsula have clearly different features from those in the archipelago. It is uncertain whether it is due to requests from the demand side or differences in the supply side, differences in traders, or difference in the import routes. Although scholars of the past have paid attention to this problem, any appropriate conclusion has yet to be achieved.

If the articles unearthed from the square (“front”) part of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku and from the Niizawa-senzuka tomb group No.126 tomb were the products of the fifth century, it is worth paying attention to the circumstances around the fourth century. There are suggestive factors including an anecdote of a deity of Munakata wanted a female weaver from Wu 吳 about exchanges with the southern China in those days. As the so-called five kings of Wa’s bringing tribute to the Southern Dynasty, the exchanges between Wa (ancient Japan) and Liu Song evolved into the full-blown stage and the southern China culture must have had the strong influence on the archipelago afterward. Thus, it is possible that there was a different route other than a northern route via Shilla. However, regarding the glass articles uncovered from Munakata Okinoshima, Kamigamo and the tomb of Emperor Ankan and a white glass bowl stored in the Shōsōin, it is impossible to draw a quick conclusion whether they were from a southern route in an earlier period or from a different route in a later period.

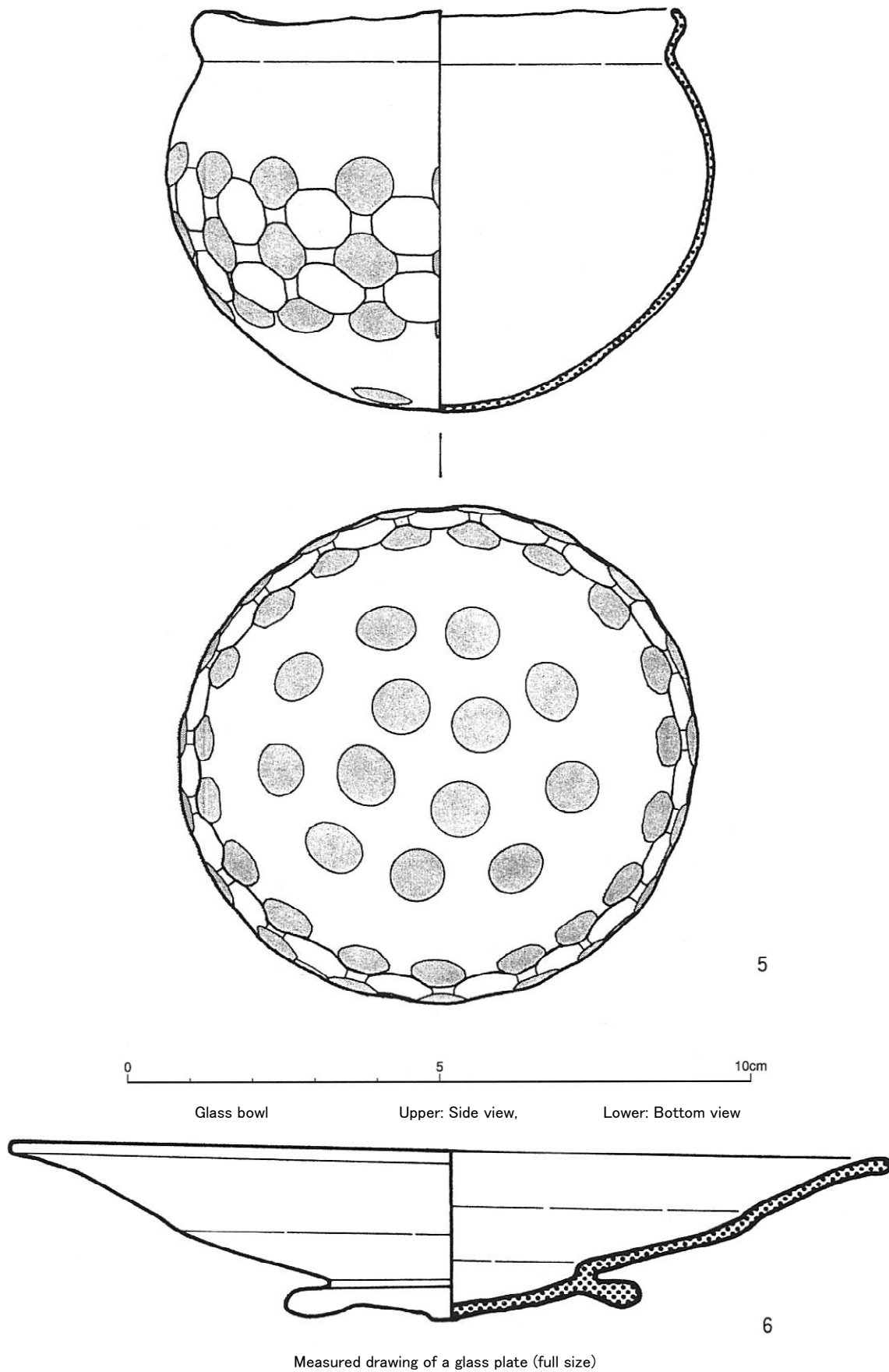


Figure 5 (above) and Figure 6 (below) [Archaeological Institute of Kashihara 1977]

There has been an increase in the excavations of ancient glass bowls in China in recent years and it is becoming possible to connect these dots. Furthermore, as in the case of plate glasses from Miyajidake tomb in Fukuoka prefecture and those from the remains of Mireuk Temple in Iksan in Paekche, imports of raw materials for green glass in large quantity started in the sixth century and products made of lead glass including globular glass beads became the mainstream in the archipelago. It means that the glassblowing technique had become available for the first time in the archipelago manufacturing reliquaries or cinerary urns. As a result, glass beads came to be called “On-fukidama (blown beads)”.

Incidentally, YOSHIMIZU Tsuneo has been studying on many ancient glass vessels including those stored in the Shōsōin while working on reproduction of those articles. He advocates the theory that a cluster of glass vessels found in Shilla were brought via Datong in China [YOSHIMIZU 2001, YOSHIMIZU 2009]. The author finds this hypothesis quite convincing. On the other hand, as SUGAYA Fuminori stated by quoting a passage from the text by TANAKA Toshiaki, it appears that the Shilla in the middle of the fifth century was still under the strong influence by the Goguryo. This may explain why a large amount of glass articles from the end of the fifth century to the sixth century were collected [SUGAYA 2008]. In this view, the author asserts that aside from a route via Shilla, there was another route by way of the southern sea by which glass vessels were brought along with aromatic trees, etc. , considering every glass vessel in the archipelago has high quality..

(2) Glassware in the ritual sites

The usage of ancient glass vessels in the archipelago are classified into the following three types: 1) grave goods as in the case of the square (“front”) part of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku, Niizawa-senzuka No.126 tomb, 2) those used in the ritual sites such as Munakata Okinoshima Site No.8 and Kamigamo and 3) those preserved in the Shōsōin. It is not clear whether the articles reportedly uncovered from the tomb of Emperor Ankan should be included in the grave goods of 1).

The glassware whose excavation situation is obvious is limited to that of the Niizawa-senzuka No.126 tomb, however, it is impossible to make a judgment from only one example whether the glass vessel would be a sort of spittoon or something like a small jar of Haji ware for special-purpose or like a stone lidded vessel found in mounded tombs of the Early Kofun Period.

The glass vessels as treasures in the Shōsōin of 3), which are stored in the middle section, are furniture of Tōdai-ji Temple and some of them were offered to the Shōsōin in different times. Among them, the white glass bowl is identified as an imported article in the sixth or seventh century, although it is different from those uncovered from Okinoshima and Kamigamo in the method of manufacture. While there are some items stored in the Shōsōin whose original purpose of use and usage were elucidated, it is not clear how the glass vessels were used.

There is a drawing indicating the usage of glass vessels and TANIICHI Takashi discussed this in his writing: *“Regarding the Buddhist wall paintings in East Asia, there are studies and reports by scholars including An Jia Yao on Mogao Caves in Dunhuang and Blain, D. on the ancient wall painting of the image hall at Hōryū-ji and fortunately, the author had opportunities to conduct investigations on glass vessels drawn on the wall paintings at Mogao Caves in recent years.*

According to the investigation by the author, the number of drawings including glass vessels on the walls identified is 80 in 50 caves. There are a variety of shapes of the glass vessels in the drawings including dish, platter, bowl, lidded vessel and bottle. (fingers or patterns on clothes behind a vessel are portrayed as if they were seen through the glass).” In the following part, individual drawing in the caves is presented and discussed [TANIICHI 1993].

The wall paintings at Mogao Caves in Dunhuang are introduced by dividing the historical periods into Sui, early-Tang, prime-Tang, middle-Tang, late-Tang, Wudai, Sung, Xi-Xia and Yuan. Although the usage of these containers aren’t explained in detail, from the passages such as “plants and flowers put in the container” and “method of representing ornamentals in the containers” with the pictures presented, many of them were considered to have been used as flower vases.

Regarding the ancient wall painting of the golden hall at Hōryū-ji Temple, it is described that “*in a painting drawn on the wall No.1, a platter placed on the right-hand palm of the left flanking attendant Bodhisattva for the main Buddha is expressed as a transparent container with double rim and plants are put inside the container*” [TANIICHI 1993, p.182]. In the picture, you can see a flat plate. Following that, “*a transparent glass container of the Type II bottle with grainy patterns is expressed on the right-hand palm of the right flanking attendant Bodhisattva and at the root of the neck a loop with decorative patterns is attached*” and you can see a small jar with a lid on the palm. Also, it is described that “*Aside from the glass vessels, the transparency is expressed in a sacred gem placed on the left palm of the main image of Buddha on the wall No. 10 (considered to be Bhaiṣajya-guru. However, it isn't clear whether it is a representation of a glass item or not.*” Considering a sacred gem placed on the left palm of Bhaiṣajya-guru is conventionally supposed to be a medicine bottle it appears that this one was also a representation of a small glass jar. It is remarkable that artifacts such as a jar and a dish on the images of the palms of Bodhisattva are depicted as glass objects.

Going further into the past, among the human figurine *haniwa*, some *haniwa* considered to be shamaness with a sash on have a sword in their hands, however, others hold a dish or a bowl with both hands as an offering. This represents their respect toward a person buried in the tomb who is a central figure and receives a ritual service. There is an anecdote in the “Kojiki” about Emperor Yūryaku that goes like this: When the Emperor held a banquet (Toyo-no-akari) under the lush zelkova tree (Momoe-tsuki) in Hatsuse, Mie-no-Uneme (maid-in-waiting from Mie) offered a dish to him and accidentally poured sake into the cup without noticing a zelkova leaf falling in the cup. She was about to be killed as punishment for her act but escaped death by reciting a poem. The poem which the Uneme recited, the responding poem by the Empress and the poem recited by the Emperor are known as “Amagatari-uta” that appears to have been often recited whenever the banquets were held. Thus, it seems that the acts of dedicating drinking cup were conducted occasionally.

There is another anecdote in the “Kojiki”: when Yama-sachihiko arrived at the palace of the sea god, he waited for the sea god's daughter (Toyotama-no-hime) sitting on a sacred Japanese Judas tree (Katsura) planted by the well near the gate of the palace of the sea god (Wadatsumi-no-kami). The maids-in-waiting who came out to draw water from the well spotted him. Yama-sachihiko begged for some water. One of the maid-in-waiting poured water in a container (Tamamohi 玉器) and extended it to him. Yama-sachihiko, instead of drinking the water, picked up a bead worn around the neck, put it in his mouth and spitted it out in the container. Then this bead stuck on the container and was impossible to be unstuck. The maids-in-waiting brought it to Toyotama-no-hime. This anecdote in “Kojiki” tells of a special (unusual) act of dedicating water in the Tamamohi and putting a bead worn around the neck in the Tamamohi.

Rare glass vessels brought from far-distant foreign countries were dedicated symbolically at the rituals as special containers.

The author states that these foreign glass vessels were used in the first-rate rituals in those days such as those performed in Munakata Okinoshima No.8 Site, Kamigamo Shrine in Kyōto and also were dedicated to the Great Buddha at Tōdai-ji Temple later. They must have been the “Tamamohi” mentioned in “Kojiki”.

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-Yong¹ once commented that it seems there used to be similar rituals both in Korea and Japan.²” 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 started³. 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 1⁴, earth-placating goods were found under the pillar base stone within the remains of a dwelling in the Bronze Age. Earth-placating goods⁵ 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 found⁶. Such examples include the Goseong Dongoe-dong site⁷, which is famous for the excavation of bronze implements with bird-design at the Three Kingdoms period and the Sancheong Oksan-ri site⁸ 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.

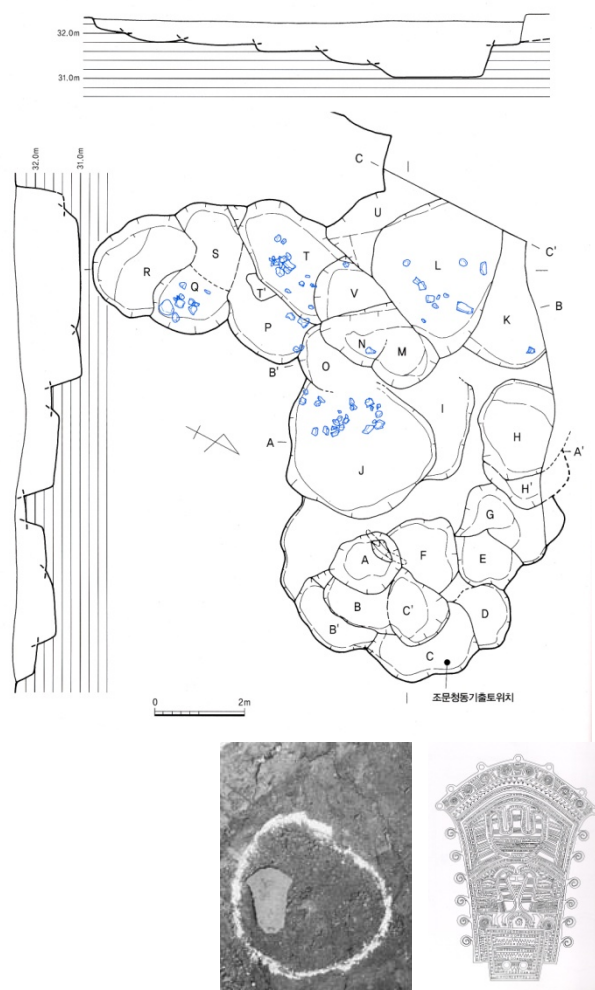


Figure 1 Features of ritual pits at the Goseong Donggoe-dong site
(Jinju National Museum (2003) : 『固城東外洞遺跡』)

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 site⁹ 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 site¹⁰ 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 site¹¹ 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, Daegu¹² 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, Gyeongsan¹³, 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 site¹⁴ 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 site¹⁵, the Dadae-dong Bonghwa-san site¹⁶ and the Bucheon Gogang-dong site¹⁷.

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 site¹⁸. The Hanam Iseong-sanseong (mountain fortress)¹⁹ and Yeongam Wolchul-san site²⁰ 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 site²¹, 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-dong²² 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.

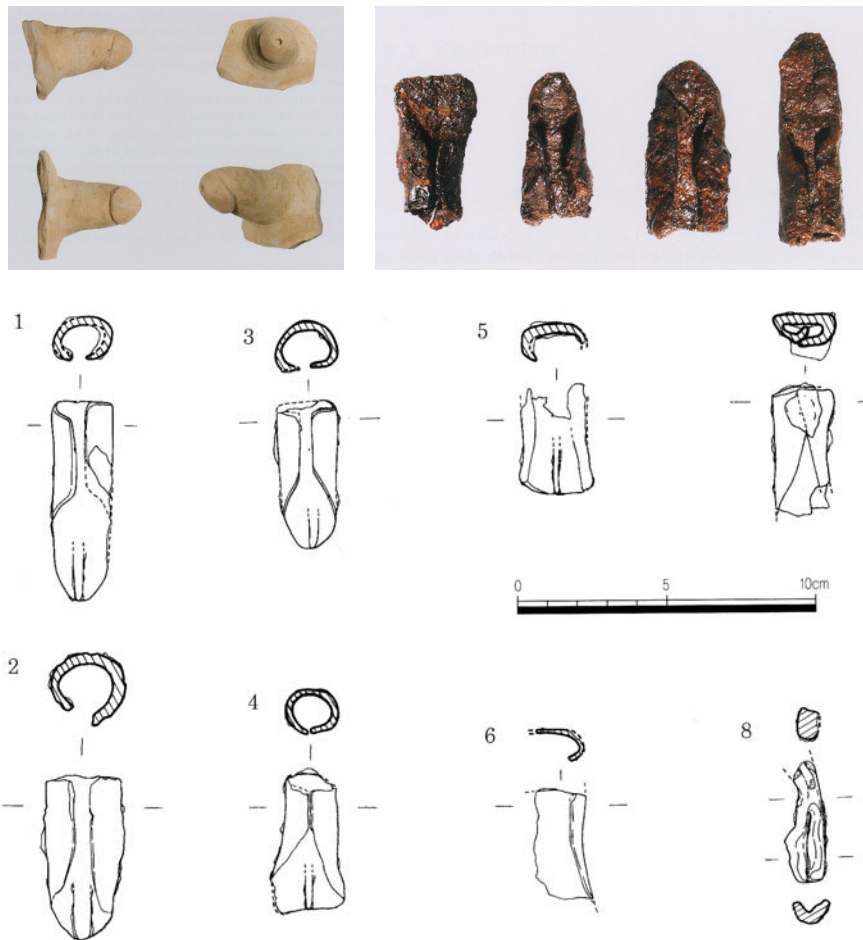


Figure 3 A Penis-shaped handle of pottery and iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools (Buyeo National Museum (2007) : 『扶餘論峙祭祀遺跡発掘調査報告書』)

As remains of rituals in production of pottery, the author can name Gyeongju Songok-dong kiln site²³ 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 site²⁴ 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 site²⁵, the Hapcheon Jeopo-ri site²⁶, and the Goryeong Jisan-dong site²⁷.

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 site²⁸ and the Hapcheon Yeongchang-ri site²⁹, 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.

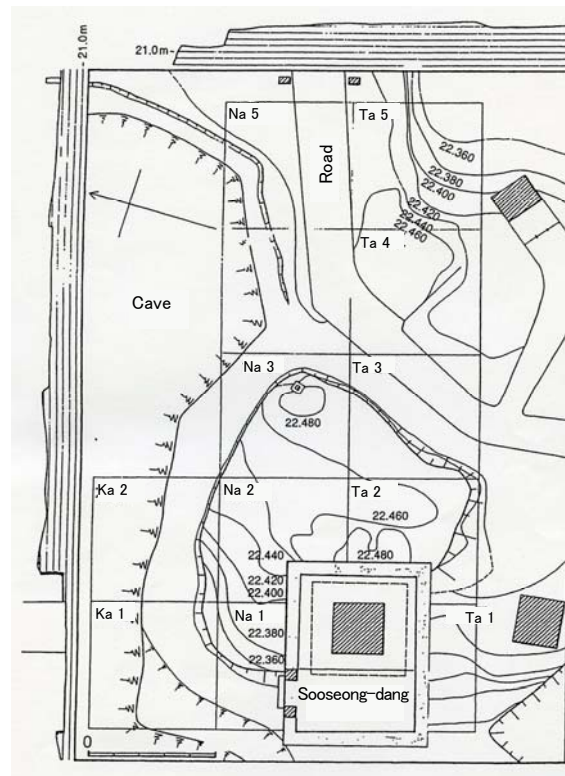


Figure 4 Landform of the ritual site at Jungmak-dong, Buan (Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

(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 jars³⁰. 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 century³¹.

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 collectively³² (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.

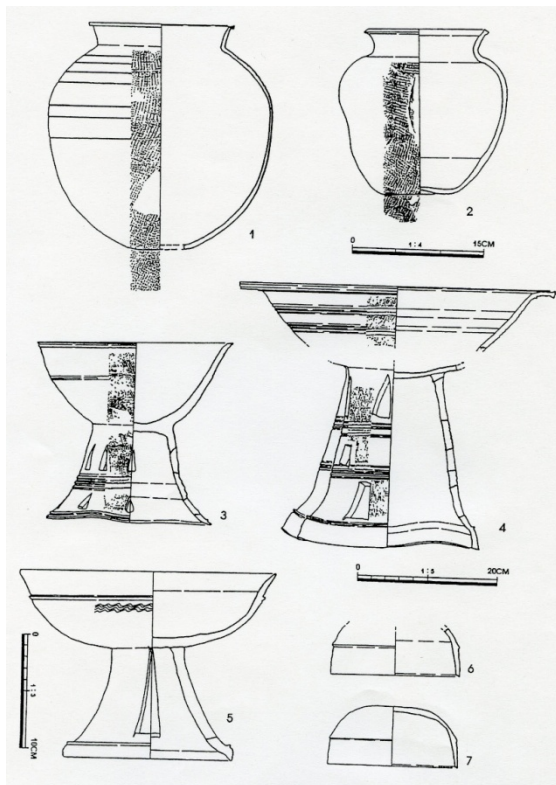


Figure 5 Pottery unearthed in the ritual site at Jungmak-dong, Buan (Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

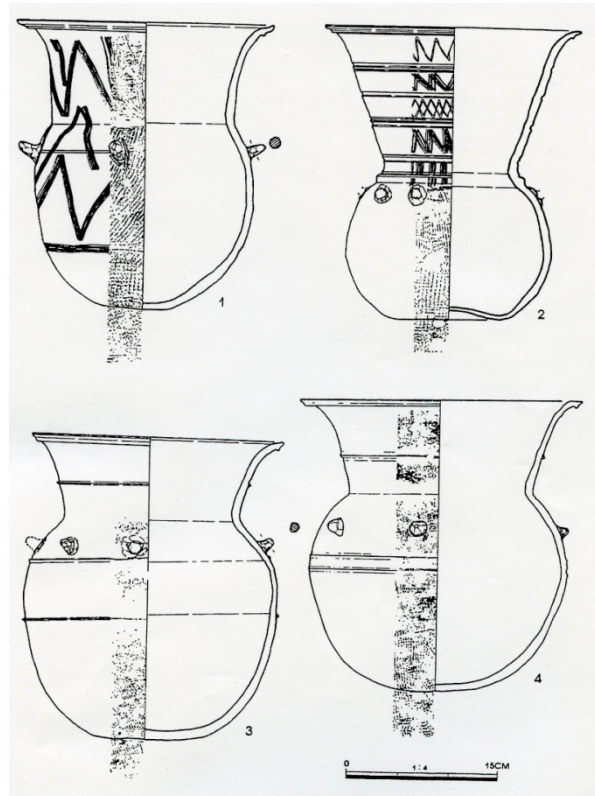


Figure 6 Jungmak-dong-style pottery (Chonju National Museum(1994):『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

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 site³³ (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 period³⁴. 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)³⁵.

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 pots³⁶. 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).

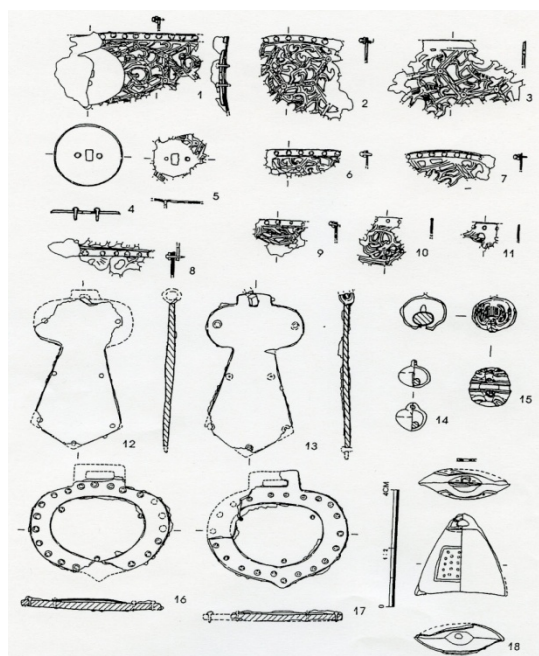


Figure 7 Harness unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site (Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

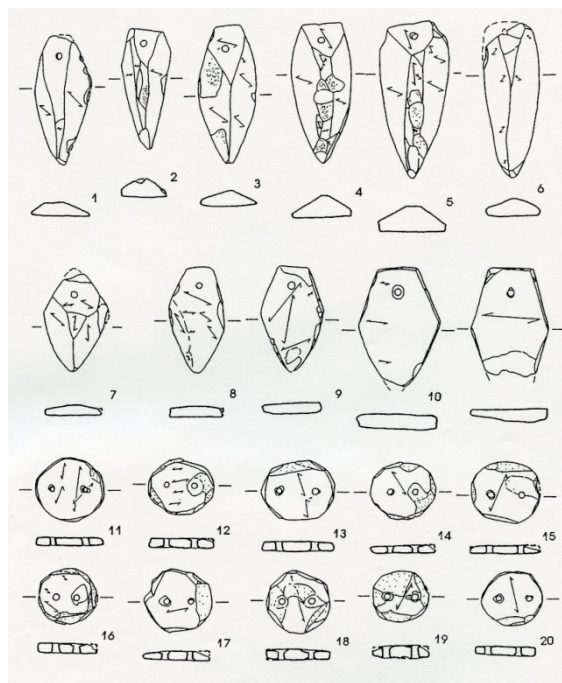


Figure-8 Soft stone imitations of objects unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site (1) Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

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 used³⁷. 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 delayed³⁸, while others say that the types changed from a to b, and then to

c³⁹.

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 polity⁴⁰.” 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.

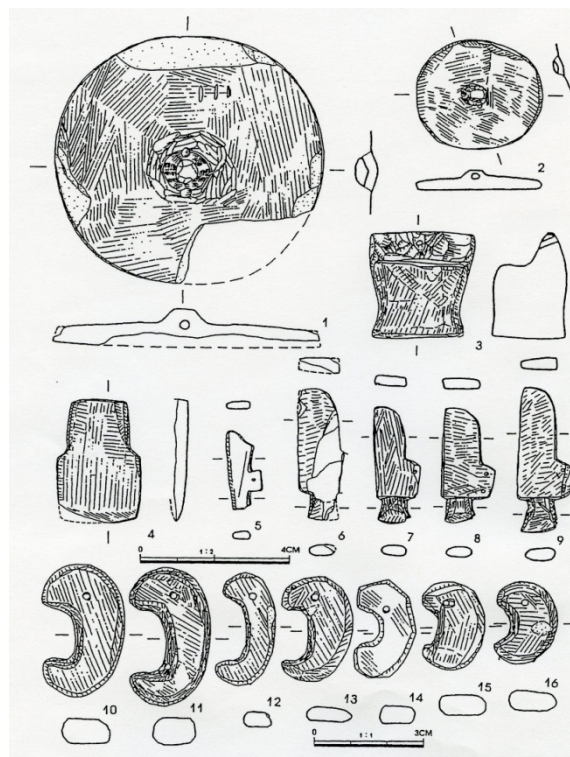


Figure 9 Soft stone imitations of objects unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site (2) (国立全州博物館 Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞 祭祀遺跡』)

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 site⁴¹. 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 Wa⁴². 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 performed⁴³. 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 compelling⁴⁴. But some say that it is the Mokji (目支) that was a force of the whole Chungcheong-do⁴⁵. 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 state⁴⁶. 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 Kyūshū⁴⁷ and that with the early Sue ware of Japan have already pointed out⁴⁸. 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 century⁴⁹. 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 region⁵⁰. 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 site⁵¹ 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).

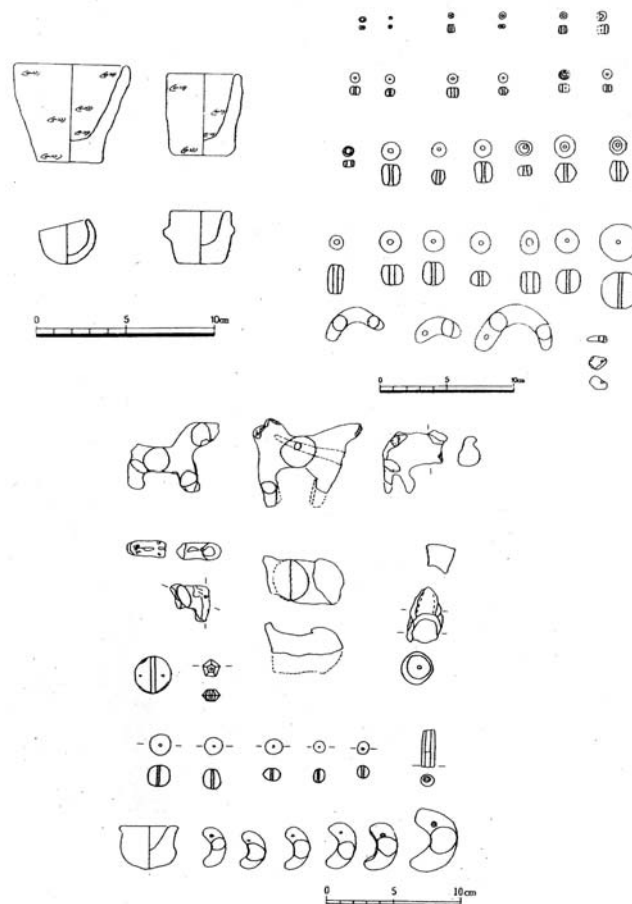


Figure 10 Clay imitations unearthed in Gimhae Buwon-dong site (Dong-a University Museum (1981): 『金海府院洞遺跡』古蹟調査報告書 4 冊)

In the Dongnae Nangmin-dong shell midden⁵² 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 site⁵³ and horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines in the Yeongam Wolchul-san ritual site have been reported⁵⁴. 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-sanseong⁵⁵, in which horse-shaped iron figurines were unearthed, etc. Concerning Wirye-sanseong⁵⁶ 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.

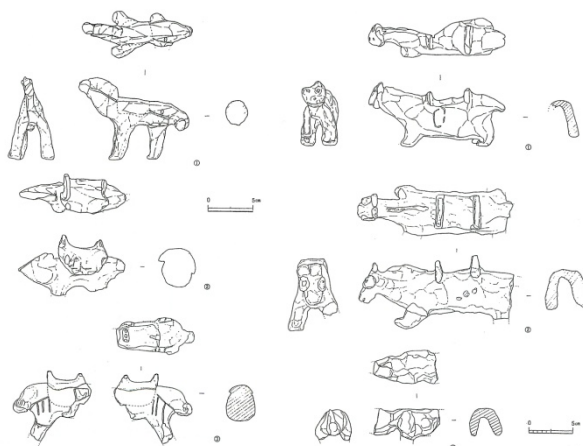


Figure 12 Horse-shaped clay figurines unearthed in the Yeongam Wolchulsan site
(Museum of Mokpo University: Yeongam-gun (1996): 『靈巖月出山祭祀遺跡』)

In the Iseong-sanseong⁵⁷ 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.

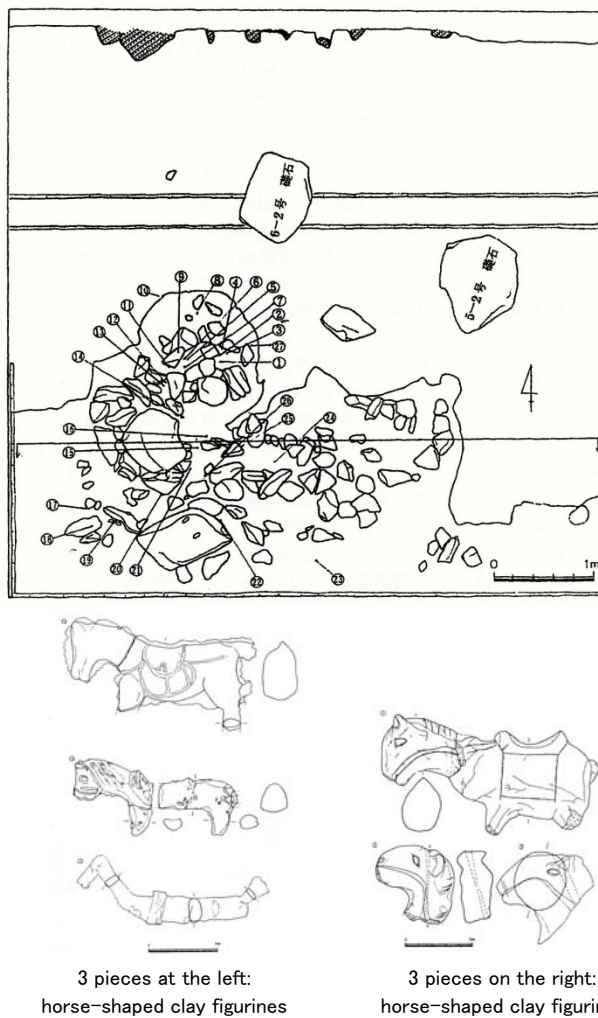


Figure 13 Situation of the excavation of horse-shaped imitations in Ritual Site No. 1 of the Iseong-sanseong (Museum of Hanyang University (1987): 『二聖山城一発掘中間報告書』)

4. Silla Earthen Figurine

(1) Excavation

Irregularly-shaped pottery (including decorative pottery) and earthen figurines⁵⁸ (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 excavation⁵⁹, 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 pieces⁶⁰. 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 attached⁶¹.

Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage conducted an excavation from 1996 to 2000 in the whole area of Songkok-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, Songkok-dong⁶². 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』)

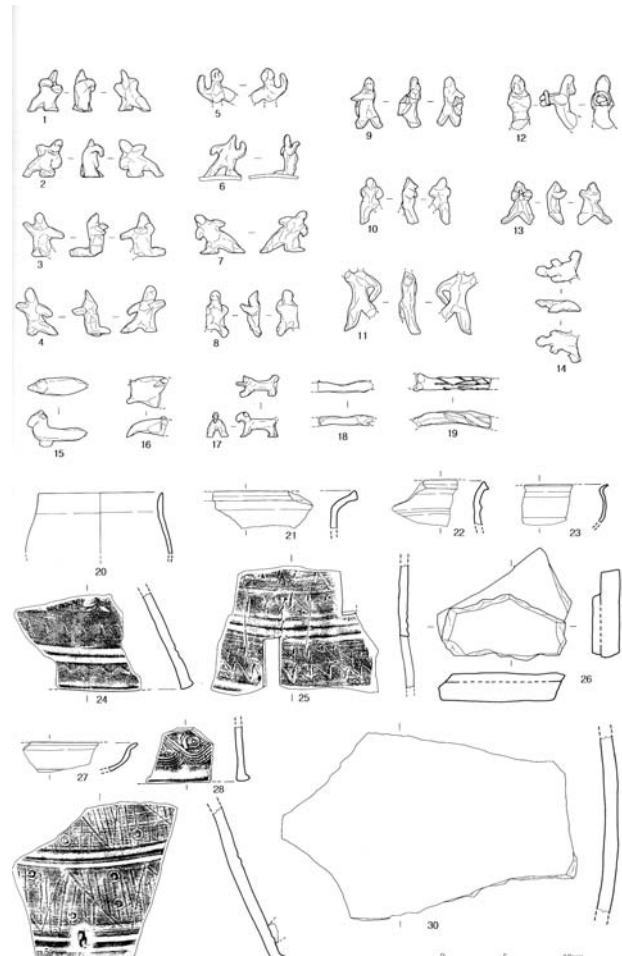


Figure 15 Unearthed artifacts in No. VI-19 (VI S53) Songok-don Mulcheon-ri site (Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (2004): 『慶州谷洞・勿川里遺跡慶州競馬場予定敷地A地区』)

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 important⁶³. 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 before⁶⁴.

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 century⁶⁵, 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 pottery⁶⁶.

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)⁶⁷. 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 began⁶⁸.

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 Ichadon⁶⁹ 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 mound 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 character⁷⁰ (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 century⁷¹ (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 century⁷². There is an opinion stating that an origin of iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools in Japan is those of the Korean Peninsula⁷³. 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.

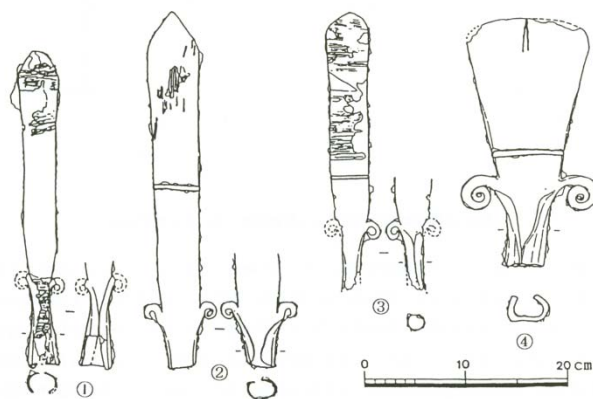


Figure 16 Socketed iron spears with a character of ritual ware and iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures unearthed in Ulsan Hadae Site No. 46 (Seo Yongnam/Lee Hyeon joo (1997): 「三韓・三国時代鉄器の儀器的性格に関する一考察」; 『伽耶考古学論叢』2、駕洛国史蹟開発研究院)

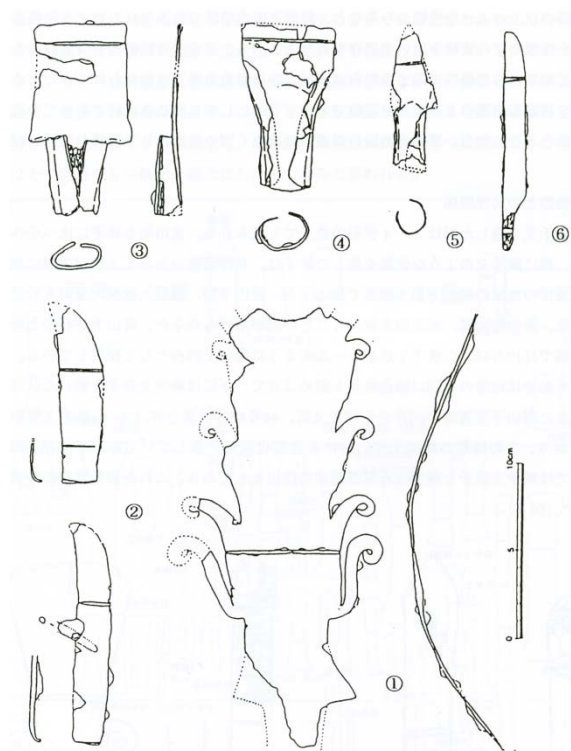


Figure 17 Iron miniatures of agricultural and industrial tool and iron ritual implement with thorn-like figure unearthed in Tomb No. 1 of Goryeong Kwaebin-dong Mounded Tomb Group (Foundation of Yeongnam Cultural Properties Institute (1996): 『高靈快賓洞古墳群』; 嶺南埋藏文化財研究院學術調查報告書第3冊)

(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 level⁷⁴.

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.

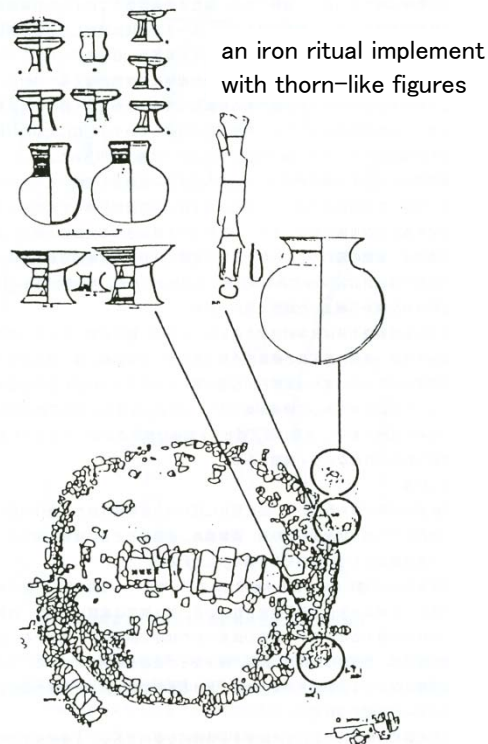


Figure 18 An iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures and pottery unearthed in the Goryeong Jisan-dong Ritual Feature No. 35 (金東淑 Kim Dongsook (2000): 「新羅・伽耶墳墓の祭祀遺構と遺物に関する研究」; 慶北大学校考古人類学科文学硕士学位論文, p. 25)

(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.

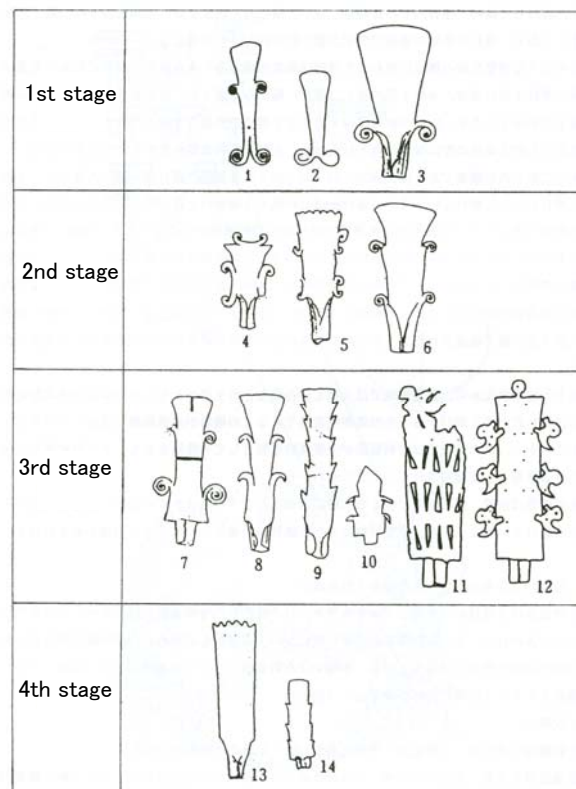
As processed iron sheets were used as materials for bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, it is considered to have a different character in principle from the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures of other regions. This fact can be confirmed also because only this region 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 Goryeong⁵.

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 tomb 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*”⁷⁶. This article suggests iron production in the south eastern part of the Korean Peninsula⁷⁷. 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)⁷⁸, 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)⁷⁹.

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 Tataru (多多羅) in “Nihonshoki”, and the possibility of iron production is also backed up because “Tataru” (traditional steel making method of Japan) is a terminology related to iron-making technology in Japanese⁸⁰.

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 production⁸¹. Such a comprehension would be sufficiently possible, also considering the excavation of the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures.

In case of the Daegaya⁸², 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 name⁸³. 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 Dara⁸⁴ 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 pottery⁸⁵. 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 Daegaya⁸⁶. 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 region⁸⁷. 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 prefecture⁸⁸. 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 characters⁸⁹, 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 wares⁹⁰. 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 regions⁹¹ (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,⁹² 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 region⁹³. 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 Okinoshima⁹⁴.



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 dynasties⁹⁵. 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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- 同上 (1991):『二聖山城—3次発掘調査報告書』
- 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。

- 59 朝鮮総督府（1932）：『大正十三年度古墳調査報告』慶州金鈴塚飾履塚発掘調査報告
- 60 国立中央博物館、国立慶州博物館をはじめ、各私立大学校、そして日本の東京国立博物館に所蔵されている。
- 61 小泉頭夫（1986）：『朝鮮古代遺跡の編歴—発掘調査三十年の回想』 六興出版、p.47—50
- 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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- 63 小泉頭夫（1969）：『新羅の土偶』；『考古学ジャーナル』38、小泉頭夫（1986）：『朝鮮古代遺跡の編歴—発掘調査三十年の回想』 六興出版
- 64 浜田耕作（1927）：『朝鮮の新羅焼』；『民族』2—3（『東亜考古学研究』1943年所収）
- 小泉頭夫（1969）：『新羅の土偶』；『考古学ジャーナル』38
- 65 鄭澄元・申敬激（1983）：『東萊福泉洞古墳群』I
- 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』
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- 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』、仁濟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。

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- 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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