

**“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”**

**Study Report**

**II / 1**

***English Translation***

**2012**

**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, Munakata Taisha, a Shinto shrine that developed from the rituals on Okinoshima Island, and a group of mounded tombs associated with the Munakata clan and maritime people who undertook the rituals. Worship of Okinoshima Island and rituals at Munakata Taisha have been protected and passed down by local people of the Munakata region from ancient times to the present. The group of mounded tombs also remains in a good state of conservation, giving testimony to the characteristics of the place and people at that time. While we can learn many things from this property, we have the responsibility to pass down the value of this precious property to future generations. It was in this recognition that the World Heritage Promotion Committee of “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region” was set up in January 2009 to pursue World Heritage List inscription as a means to protect and pass down the value of this property.

In order to achieve World Heritage List inscription, it is necessary to define the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. A study project started in order to verify the value of this property and Study Report I was published in the fiscal year 2010. In order to facilitate the further development of research, building on the achievements of this Study Report I, seven Japanese researchers of archaeological history, cultural anthropology, traditionology, etc. were commissioned in the fiscal year 2011 to write papers with a view to shedding new light on the study of Okinoshima Island. This publication, Study Report II-1, is a compilation of those papers.

This report successfully contributes to proving the value of this property and at the same time makes a great step forward with the study of this property with a special focus on Okinoshima Island. I sincerely hope that this report will stimulate interest among young researchers too 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, 2012

OGAWA Hiroshi  
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 commissioned in the fiscal year 2011 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 and Mr NISHI Kazuhiko, Cultural Properties Specialist.

### Members of the Experts' Committee:

NISHITANI Tadashi (chair)	Director, Kyūshū Historical Museum
SATO Makoto (vice-chair)	Professor, University of Tōkyō
INABA Nobuko	Professor, Tsukuba University
OKADA Yasuyoshi	Professor, Kokushikan University
KINDA Akihiro	President, National Institutes for the Humanities
MIWA Karoku	Executive Director, Kyūshū National Museum

### International experts who attended the Third International Conference:

Gamini WIJESURIYA	Project Manager, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IM Hyo-jai	Emeritus Professor, Seoul National University
WANG Wei	Director, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Christopher YOUNG	Head of World Heritage and International Policy, English Heritage

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. Munakata Taisha cooperated for this study, including on-site visits.
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.



## Table of Contents

<b>1. Re-examination of the Okinoshima Ritual Sites. Part II</b> .....	<b>1</b>
ODA Fujio Emeritus Professor, Fukuoka University	
<b>2. Study on Ancient Rituals in Japan and the Rituals on Okinoshima Island – with a Focus on the Flow of Studies on the Ritual Sites and its Relations with the Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island –</b> .....	<b>49</b>
SASŌ Mamoru Professor, Kokugakuin University	
<b>3. Kamimatsuri and Sacred Offerings by the Ancient Kingly Power/State Seen in Literary Records – The Historical Background of Okinoshima Rituals –</b> ....	<b>75</b>
NISHIMIYA Hideki Professor, Aichi University of Education	
<b>4. Okinoshima Island in the Time before Surveys by the Munakata Shrine Revival Association</b> .....	<b>105</b>
SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu Emeritus Professor, Kokugakuin University	
<b>5. Okinoshima Island from the Perspectives of Folklore Study (Traditionology) – Formation and Development of Jingi Rituals in Ancient Japan –</b> .....	<b>121</b>
SHINTANI Takanori Professor, Kokugakuin University	
<b>6. Ocean Civilization in East Asia and the World of Maritime People – Foundation of the Munakata/Okinoshima Sites –</b> .....	<b>159</b>
AKIMICHI Tomoya Emeritus Professor, Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN) Inter-University Research Institute Corporation, National Institutes for the Humanities, Japan	
<b>7. Establishment of <i>Shaden</i> in Japan and Munakata Shrine</b> .....	<b>183</b>
YAMANO Yoshiro Expert Committee Member, Fukuoka Prefecture Cultural Property Conservation Council, Doctor of Engineering	



# Re-examination of the Okinoshima Ritual Sites. Part II

ODA Fujio

Emeritus Professor, Fukuoka University

**Abstract:** This paper continues from my previous paper and re-examines the ritual sites, addressing the following four issues: (i) consideration of a reconstruction of the altar at Site No. 21 and correction of the report; (ii) presumption of the involvement of the person interred in the Katsuura-Minenohata mounded tomb in rituals at Site No. 21, based on the mirrors of the same type unearthed at the mounded tomb and Site No. 21; (iii) examination of the manners of offering the ritual objects in rituals atop rocks and rituals in the rock shade and of the process of the formation of the rectangular altar; and (iv) discussion about when and how the glass bowl with round protrusions unearthed at Site No. 8 was brought to Okinoshima Island.

**Keywords:** ritual atop rocks, ritual in the rock shade, altar, Site No. 21, Site No. 8, Site No. 17, Site No. 6, Site No. 22, Katsuura-Minenohata mounded tomb, mirrors of the same type, deity-and-beast mirror with an image band in which the images face the same direction, glass bowl with round protrusions

## Introduction

In the previous paper, the author summarized the outcomes of the reports of the archaeological surveys of the Okinoshima ritual sites that were conducted three times in the period from 1954 to 1971, giving a critical description from the standpoint of the present stage of research. Then, reference was made to the results of archaeological research in the Munakata region that has since been making progress up to the present in an attempt to look into the realities of local rituals in the Munakata region around the time when the state-related rituals were started on Okinoshima Island; the development of the chieftain class was discussed in a timeframe up to the appearance of the Tōgō-Takatsuka mounded tomb, a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb, in the second half of the 4th century. In other words, the previous paper was for the clarification of the local developments in prehistoric periods leading to the emergence of rituals on Okinoshima Island. In this paper, the author intends to re-examine the period after the state-related rituals started on Okinoshima Island.

## 1. Reconstruction of Site No. 21, associated with Rituals atop Rocks

Site No. 21, which was studied in the third round of archaeological survey of Okinoshima, attracted attention as the site representing the latest limit of the stage of rituals performed atop rocks. Based on the content of votive objects, the site is dated to the mid-5th century at the latest.

This site is situated atop Rock F; the discovery of which was made because the top of this towering gigantic rock, although slightly slanted, appeared almost flat and fairly spacious. It made us make up our mind: “Let’s give it a try and climb the rock”. Rock F is located on the right side, when approached from Okitsu-miya through between Rock B (also known as “Okanagura”) and Rock E behind the shrine building, at an altitude of around 85 m at the back of Rock E. The height of the rock to the top is approx. 3 m on the northern side, which is the lowest point, and approx. 5 m at the southern end. The top of the rock forms a triangular plain measuring approx. 8 m in the east side, approx. 6 m in the southwest side, and approx. 5 m in the northwest side, which translates into an area of approx. 20 m<sup>2</sup>. It slopes from southeast to northwest with a flat center. In the lowest part of the rock on the north side, there is a feature that looks like stairs of three steps, which was probably used to climb to the top, but it does not seem to have been made artificially. In the central part, small crushed stones are artificially laid out, marking the periphery of a rectangular altar, at the center of which is placed a piece of relatively large uncrushed stone. When we reached the top of the rock for the first time, it was covered with humus that had been accumulated over the years and only the top of the uncrushed stone at the center and a part of the line of crushed stones in the higher area on the

south side were exposed. As we removed the humus, the rectangular alignment of crushed stones became evident and the ritual artifacts were found scattered within the enclosed plot. The crushed stones marking the periphery were found in their original configuration (particularly on the northwest side and the northeast side) and also, in not a few parts, found displaced outward or inward off the line. What caught our particular attention was a somewhat large uncrushed stone placed in the western corner on the lowest part of the slope. When a rectangular altar like this is set up on a sloped surface, the lowest corner is the most fragile. In such corner, a large stone is placed with its longer side perpendicular to the slope (or leaning when the altar is tall), as is also in the case with Site No. 1. It is the engineering technique applied to the most fragile part. The width of the periphery made of small crushed stones is thought to have been 20-30 cm. The enclosed area had probably been made flat with soil and sand mixed with crushed stones, which presumably were exposed to wind and rain many times over a long period of time and washed away repeatedly together with the aligned crushed stones. The report describes: “The altar, if reconstructed taking into consideration carved rock surface clearly seen on the northwest and southwest sides, is a rectangle with its long axis oriented northwest-southeast (N-45°-E), measuring 2.5 m x 2.2 m inside and 2.8 m x 2.5 m from the outermost end to the other end. Almost at its center is placed a large stone about 1.1 m long, 0.8 m wide, and 0.5 m thick” (p. 222). On the other hand, in the figure presented in the report depicting the altar as reconstructed (solid line in Figure 102), the large stone on the western corner mentioned earlier corresponds to the middle of the southwestern line of the rectangle. This, however, does not accord with the above-mentioned description that indicates the rotation of the axis by approx. 45 degrees. The above-mentioned image of reconstruction described in the report should have been a rectangle whose long axis measures 2.8 m from the outermost end to the other end (broken line in Figure 5). The altar is then directed almost east-west and north-south. In addition, there is a description in the report saying: “On the west corner is placed a relatively large stone measuring 0.7 m x 0.45 m x 0.5 m”; it is known that this stone refers to the same large stone on the west corner mentioned earlier. This is by all means considered to be a discrepancy between the description and the figure. Also the shape of the altar reconstructed at the archeological site was a rectangle with this large stone at the west corner (PL. 100 of Report II and Figure 2 of this paper); correction must be made to conform to the reconstruction represented by the broken line in Figure 5 of this paper. Furthermore, attention should be paid to the detailed photograph of the crushed stone alignments of the western half of the altar presented in PL. 101 of Report II (Figure 4 of this paper). It shows in detail the crushed stone alignment extending from the large stone on the west corner in the right part of the photo to the upper left (boundary in the south) and the broad alignment of crushed stones extending to the lower left and then turning to the upper left (the altar’s boundaries in the west and north). With regard to the former, alongside the boundary the rock is carved inside of it to some extent and crushed stones are aligned. Similarly with regard to the latter, it can be seen that basic work had been done to carve and dent the rock slightly under the band of the crushed stones. In relation to this, there is a description in the report saying: “The altar, if reconstructed taking into consideration carved rock surface clearly seen on the northwest and southwest sides” (page 222), which matches the above-mentioned photograph very well. The reason why such basic work is seen is probably that it was an idea to provide a countermeasure to respond to the situation in which the northern and western sides of the altar are more vulnerable to washout because the top surface of the gigantic rock is inclined toward the north.

There is also a row of quarry stones extending westward from the west corner stone; based on this row, it is possible to reconstruct a rectangular part approx. 80 cm wide and approx. 2 m long along the outer part of the western fringe of the altar (broken line in Figure 5). This outer rectangular section is vulnerable to collapse because the top surfaces of the huge rock is leaning northward. Still, the part of the outer section near the stone at the southwest corner is well preserved. This is probably because the rock surface is cut in an L shape along the fringe as shown at the lower right of the above photo (Figure 4 of this paper). This outer section corresponds to the part the Report describes as “a part that can be thought of as a separate section around a relatively large stone placed” on the west corner. This outer section (“separate section”), however, is not delineated in the reconstruction of the altar in the Report. Such a rectangular appendage composed of surface-covering stones has been found attached to the front foot of a circular-shaped mounded tomb in a recent archaeological survey of tombs of Kaya<sup>1)</sup>. This must be the front facility for worshipping the tomb. In the case of Site No. 21, it must have been reasonable for the builders of the rectangular altar to set up the rectangular appendage (“separate section”) along the west side, which must have been the front part of the altar as the top surface of the rock is the lowest in the north and the highest in the east. The officiating priest likely worshipped from this appendage.

Regarding the altar and the relatively large block stone at its center, the Report reads: “The stone-arranged altar on the rock was the “rock-abode,” a dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven during the rite, or *yorishiro* (an object representative of a divine spirit). The large stone at the center served a stand against which *himorogi* (a temporarily erected sacred space or “altar”) was leaned.” To be more precise, the altar was *iwasaka* (a stone altar or cairn erected for the purpose of invoking the presence of a *kami* or deity), which corresponds to the ritual area in a narrow sense, and the large stone at the center was the *yorishiro* to which the deity was thought to descend (*shinza*), analogous to “rock-abode.” During the survey, we observed that a few mortar-shaped steatite beads had fallen into a porous hollow on the surface of the central large stone. The Report reads: “three mortar-shaped steatite beads have been unearthed from a small depression, 3 cm wide and 15 cm long, on the top surface of the large stone at the center of the altar. This suggests that the three beads were hung from a branch piece of an evergreen tree (*Cleyera japonica*, etc.) that was leaned against the large stone among other beads in a ritual and fell into the depression sometime after the ritual” (p. 223). The ritual artifacts have not been found scattered around within the altar alone. “Beads have been unearthed also from the area that can be described as the separate section at the west corner,” the Report notes on page 3. Among the small beads that were thought to be on a string and hung from the branch piece leaned against the *himorogi* are small glass beads as well as mortar-shaped steatite beads (Figure 3).

Based on the large stone at the southwest corner as well as the beads unearthed from the outer section on the west side (separate section), the reporter stated: “It is likely that a relatively large stone was placed at each of the four corners and a tree branch piece was erected at each corner as in the central section. If that was the case, the outer section represents the original form of ritual in which four pillars were erected” (p. 223). It is reasonable to assume, however, that the large stone at the southwest corner was designed to control a possible collapse of the lowest corner part on the slope and that not all the four corners were designed that way. This holds true for Site No. 1 on Okinoshima<sup>2)</sup>. A stone comparable to the large stone at the southwest corner of the altar has not been found at any of the other three corners at Site No. 21. It would be premature to conclude that this outer section is directly linked to the present form of ritual in which a pillar is erected at each of the four corners to demarcate a temporary ritual area.

In fact, the altar was reconstructed based on the observations as discussed above. The Report described this site as “the ruins of the rock-top altar best preserved among the counterparts [on Okinoshima] (p. 223).

Many beads as discussed above as well as metal objects were found scattered in the altar ruins, especially around the large stone at the center. These finds, in fragments or whole, are listed below by type, although the details are discussed in the Report:

Bronze mirrors:	6 (Figure 3, upper)
Beads:	35 comma-shaped beads (jadeite, jasper, steatite, and amber) 41 cylindrical beads (jadeite, jasper, and steatite) 303 small glass beads (Figure 3, middle) Mortar-shaped steatite beads (Figure 3, lower) A steatite, comma-shaped bead with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted
Bracelets:	Bronze and iron
Weapons:	Iron double-edged swords, iron single-edged swords, ferrules, and iron arrowheads
Tools:	Iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond, iron knives, iron sickles, spear-like planes, and iron adzes (forged and cast)
Defensive equipment:	Visorless keeled helmets
Flat iron ingots	
Metal miniature objects:	Iron single-edged swords, iron chisel-shaped objects, and iron adzes
Iron disc-shaped objects with a hole	
Iron rings	
Steatite objects:	Disc-shaped objects with a hole, and representations (of adzes and double-edged swords)
Pottery:	Haji ware (small, hand-formed pottery, bowls, bases, small, and round-bottomed jars with a flaring rim, and steaming vessels)

The bronze mirrors were found in small fragments. After the third round of survey, an art work collector in Fukuoka City presented us a range of artifacts that were said to have been brought from Okinoshima around 1960. A few pieces among them matched some of the mirror fragments. The following six mirrors have been found to belong to Site No. 21, according to *Munakata Okinoshima*,<sup>3)</sup> (p. 309).

1. Beast-band mirror with eight small round projections (imported) made of white copper (No. 1 in Figure 3)
2. Turtle-dragon mirror (duplicated) made of white copper (No. 4 in Figure 3)
3. Mirror with a curvilinear and circular pattern (duplicated) A knob attached (No. 2 in Figure 3)
4. Mirror with a checkered or latticework ornamentation (duplicated)
5. Mirror with a checkered or latticework ornamentation (No. 3 in Figure 3)
6. Undecorated mirror

The above-listed items of votive offering are largely divided into three types: (i) those common to tomb grave goods; (ii) ritual items such as metal miniature objects, steatite objects, and steatite beads; and (iii) flat iron ingots and others brought from the Korean Peninsula. The tomb grave goods and flat iron ingots suggest that these items date back to the middle of the 5th century or older. Another fact that attracted attention is that the kind of ritual artifacts that became the mainstream in the subsequent form of rituals had already emerged by this phase.

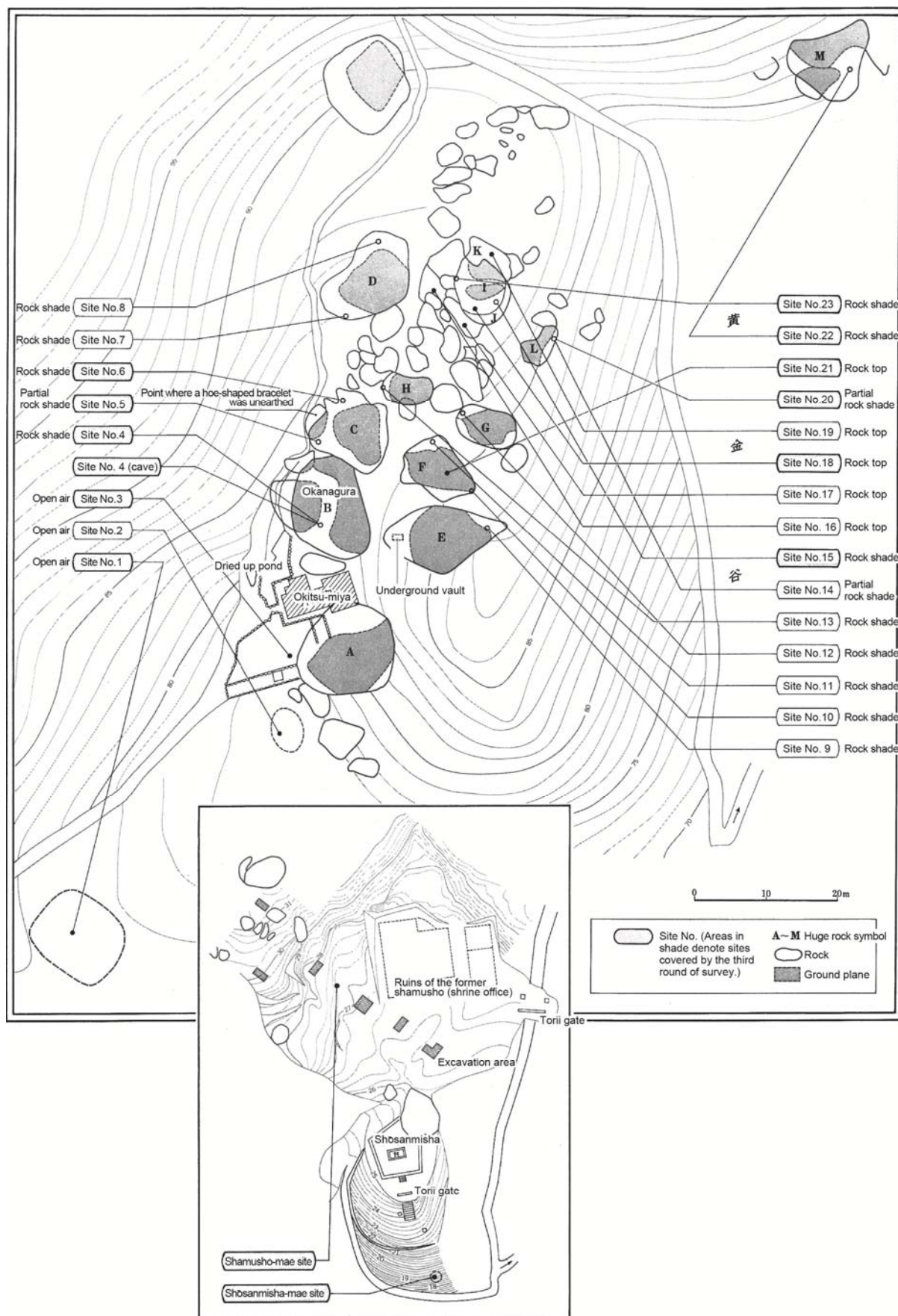


Figure 1 Distribution map of Okinoshima archaeological sites  
(Source: *Munakata Okinoshima*)





The state of the altar (viewed from the east)



A scene of Site No.21 and the reconstructed altar (viewed from the south)



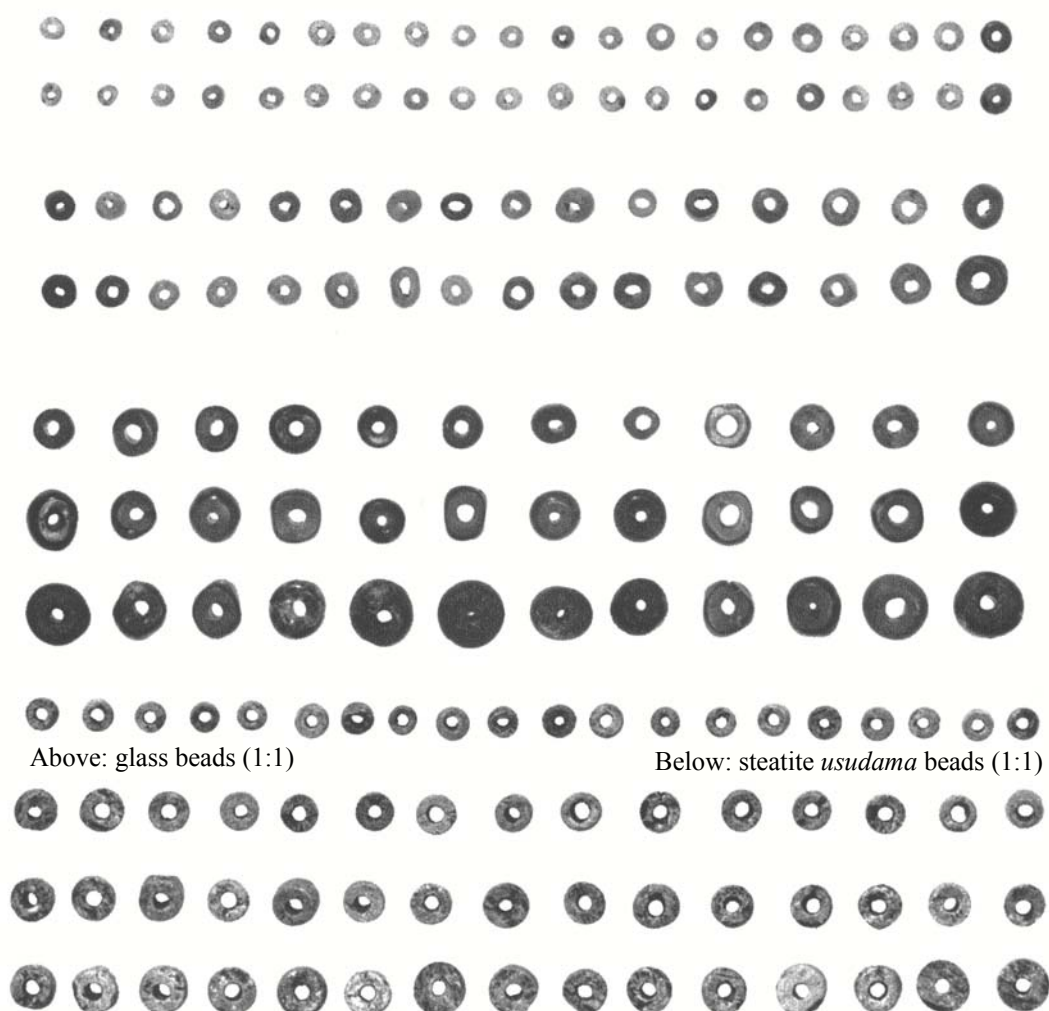
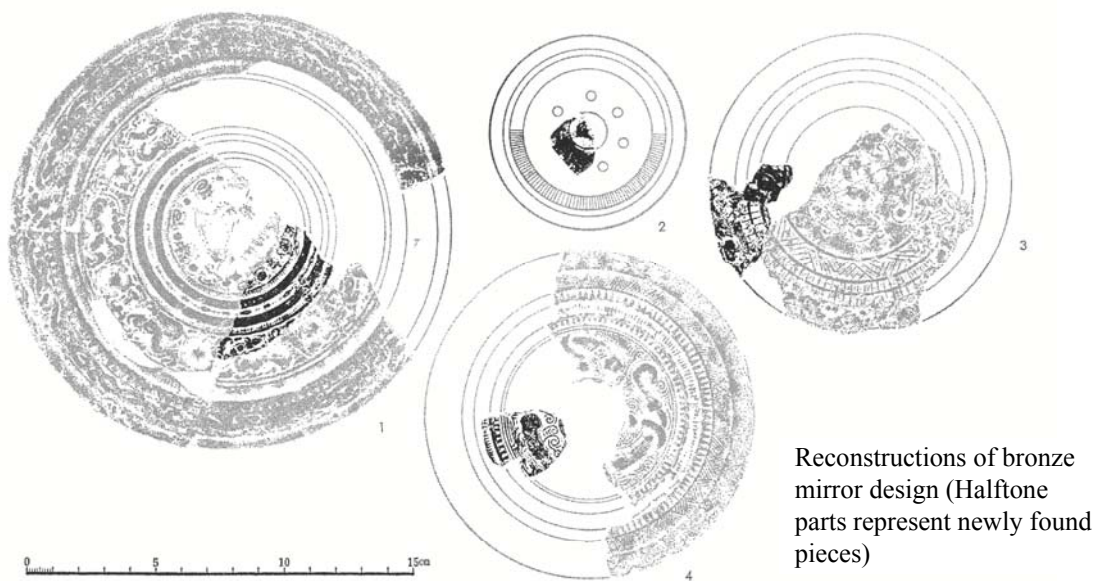


Figure 3 Ritual artifacts from Site No. 21: bronze mirrors and beads



Figure 4 The western half of the altar of Site No. 21 and its outer section (viewed from the northwest)  
(Source: *Munakata Okinoshima II*, PL. 101)



Figure 5 Measured drawing of Site No. 21 and a reconstruction of the altar (the broken line represents the reconstruction proposed by the author)  
 (Source: *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Figure 102 with corrections added)



## 2. The Tombs of Chieftains over a Few Centuries and the Rituals on Okinoshima

Phase I of the ancient rituals on Okinoshima, i.e. rituals atop rocks began in the second half of the 4th century. The group of the contemporary tombs of ancient chieftains in the Munakata region is often represented by the Tōgō-Takatsuka tomb (keyhole-shaped with a round rear mound), as is well known. This particular tomb seems to be the last among the tombs of chieftains in the middle reaches of the Tsuru River. The location of such a tomb group was transferred to the Katsuura district, north of Fukutsu City along the coast facing the Genkai Sea in the 5th century. During the 7th century, the location moved southward along the coast to the Miyaji and Tebika districts.

The Katsuura district is home to two major groups of ancient tombs. One group, known as the Mutajiri tomb group, dates back to the second half of the 6th century or later. It is distributed along the stretch of hills that extends northwestward from Mt. Tsushimami to Katsuurahama and further to Kōnominato. These hills, about 50 m above sea level and facing the Tsuru River to the east, are home to as many as 200 such tombs by some estimates <sup>4)</sup>. The first group of tombs is divided into smaller tomb groups. The other major group of tombs, which dates back to as early as the 5th century, is distributed along the tract of slightly elevated land that extends southward from Katsuurahama in the west of the stretch of hills described above. Flanked by this tract of land and the Genkai Sea is farmland that was built by reclaiming tidal flats that had been formed by a sandbar. The farmland, the product of the reclamation works that began in 1666, is no higher than 4 m above sea level and extends to the Tsuyazaki tideland. The Katsuura-minenohata tomb, the Katsuura-inoura tomb, and other keyhole-shaped tombs with a round rear mound dated to the 5th century are concentrated in the northern part of the tract of slightly elevated land, nearer to Katsuurahama (about 15 m above sea level). The archaeological survey of the region, conducted in 1975 as a government subsidized project, covered the Katsuura-minenohata tomb (formerly known as tomb No. 41) and the Katsuura-inoura tomb (formerly known as tomb No. 10) <sup>5)</sup>. An additional survey was conducted between 2005 and 2008 to determine the extent of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb, again, subsidized by the central government <sup>6)</sup>.

The **Katsuura-minenohata tomb** is a keyhole-shaped tomb with a round rear mound. Measuring 100 m in total length, the tomb is situated along a ridgeline extending westward, with its front part facing west. Located to the east is the Katsuura-inoura tomb, with its front part facing southwest. This keyhole-shaped tomb with a round rear mound is 70 m in total length. When the Katsuura-minenohata tomb was built, an inlet reached as near as 0.6 km to the south. The Genkai Sea was located 0.3 km to the west. The burial mound was later flattened in the south of the centerline of the front part and the northeastern portion of the round rear part. Fortunately, however, its corridor-style stone chamber with a horizontal side entrance is well preserved. The stone chamber extends southwestward from the center of the round rear part and opened toward the waist of the keyhole-shaped burial mound. Based largely on the paving stones identified on the northern and western slopes, the archaeologists partially reconstructed the burial mound, with the slope of the first tier tilted 30 degrees and a terrace 16.4 m above sea level and 2 m wide. They then put forward a total reconstruction. They assumed that the original burial mound was “100 m in total length, with the round rear part measuring 48 m in diameter and 6.3 m in height, the front rectangular part 45 m in width, 57 m in length, and 6.7 m in height, and the waist part 28.5 m in width. It is oriented to N79W. The front part had a three-tier structure. The round rear part had likely a three-tier structure as well, although it has been altered, making it difficult to determine from the survey map alone” (pp. 87-88).

The stone chamber is a single corridor-style chamber that opens southwestward. The main burial chamber part is 4.3 m long, 2.5 m (at the back wall) to 2.15 m (at the horizontal entrance) wide, and 1.8 m high. Its box- or cuboid-like structure includes the walls made up of piles of stones that slightly lean inward as well as two ceiling stones placed side by side. This stone chamber is characterized by the fact that the ceiling is supported by two rectangular stone columns placed at two points that divide the centerline of the rectangular floor into three almost equal segments. On both sides of the stone column nearer to the back wall lie short walls that separate the innermost section where the body was laid down. Podiums are used as the foundation for the walls. The podiums of the back and right walls of the innermost section each are single stones two-thirds as tall as the respective walls. The podium of the left wall is a single stone half as tall. A single stone shorter than 50 cm is used for the podium of either of the left and right walls of the front half section of the main burial chamber part. Between these stone podiums and the ceiling are relatively large blocks of quarry stone neatly piled. Small gravel is used to fill the gaps between these

blocks. The entrance, 1.7 m wide, is slightly nearer to the west [left] side. A rectangular stone column is placed inside on either side of the entrance like a gatepost.

A lintel stone is placed between the top of either column and the ceiling stone. Yet the left column is 1.2 m tall and little shorter. Additional stone is placed to fill the gap. Two chambranle stones are placed side by side on the floor between the two columns (placed about 1.2 m apart from each other). The inside chambranle stone is placed slightly to the right. The outer chambranle stone is placed slightly higher and to the left. Outside the entrance is a passage to the outside of the burial mound. The wall on either side (3.2 m long on the west side and 2.8 m on the east side) is increasingly shorter at the other end, where the wall is none other than the foundation stone. (The passage is 1.8 m wide at the end.)

Such a stone chamber structure is traced back to the preceding tomb groups in the western coastal area of the Chikuih region facing the Genkai Sea, such as the Sukizaki tomb <sup>7)</sup>, the Yokotashimo tomb <sup>8)</sup>, the Kamaduka tomb <sup>9)</sup>, and the Marukumayama tomb <sup>10) 11)</sup>. It is also largely accepted among archaeologists that these ancient corridor-style stone chambers can be traced back as far as to the tombs of the Hanseong Paekche period in the Korean Peninsula <sup>12)</sup>. A preceding case in which stone columns were erected within the stone chamber can be found in tombs of Goguryeo in the peninsula <sup>13)</sup>. Although the builders of this particular tomb likely obtained the idea from these tombs, they designed the stone columns primarily to shore up and stabilize the ceiling stones. The use of stone columns to support the inward-leaning walls is also seen in the Sukizaki tomb. This technique might as well be studied in the wider context of the architecture of the corridor-style stone chambers in their introductory phase in the region. The practice of painting the whole interior--ranging from the walls to the ceiling--with a red pigment is another characteristic of the ancient corridor-style stone chambers, whose entrance was usually closed with a slab of stone leaned against the outside of the gateposts, on which a lintel stone was placed.

None of the artifacts from the stone chamber of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb were unearthed in their original forms because they had already fallen victim to looting. The unearthed fragments suggest, however, that the stone chamber originally housed great many artifacts. The unearthed items, whose details are discussed in the report <sup>6)</sup>, are listed below:

#### 1. Bronze mirrors

A total of 8 mirrors: one fine-line-type beast-band mirror, two deity-and-beast mirrors with an image band in which the images face the same direction, two mirrors with interconnected arcs (duplicated), two beast image mirrors (duplicated), one mirror with round projections (duplicated)

#### 2. Accessories

<Pieces of gilt bronze headdresses> (gold spangle decorations, gilt bronze fittings for openwork carving, gilt bronze floral-patterned fittings, etc.)

Ring-shaped, engraved bronze bracelets

<Beads>

A total of 15,427 glass beads: round beads, multi-layered beads, small beads, and millet beads

Comma-shaped beads (jade and amber), cylindrical beads (jasper), barrel-shaped beads (amber), and round beads (amber)

#### 3. Weapons

<Swords>

More than 40 single-edged long swords with a straight blade that come with a decorative accessory made of deer antler; one sword with a simple ring pommel that comes with a silver decorative accessory, four iron double-edged swords (of which three comes with a decorative accessory made of deer antler)

<Iron arrowheads>

A total of 285 iron arrowheads: 52 of a *ryūyō* type, 14 of a *watakuri ryūyō* type, 62 of a *tokuritsu kata ryūyō* type, and 147 of a single-edged type

#### 4. Defensive equipment

Fragments of cuirasses (made of horizontal iron strips riveted together); scales

5. Horse trappings

Small fragments of a pair of ring stirrups with wood-core and iron plate lining, small fragments of one or more pairs of stirrups with dipper-shaped cover for the toes with wood-core and iron plate lining; and others

6. Tools

Fragments of iron knives

7. Pottery

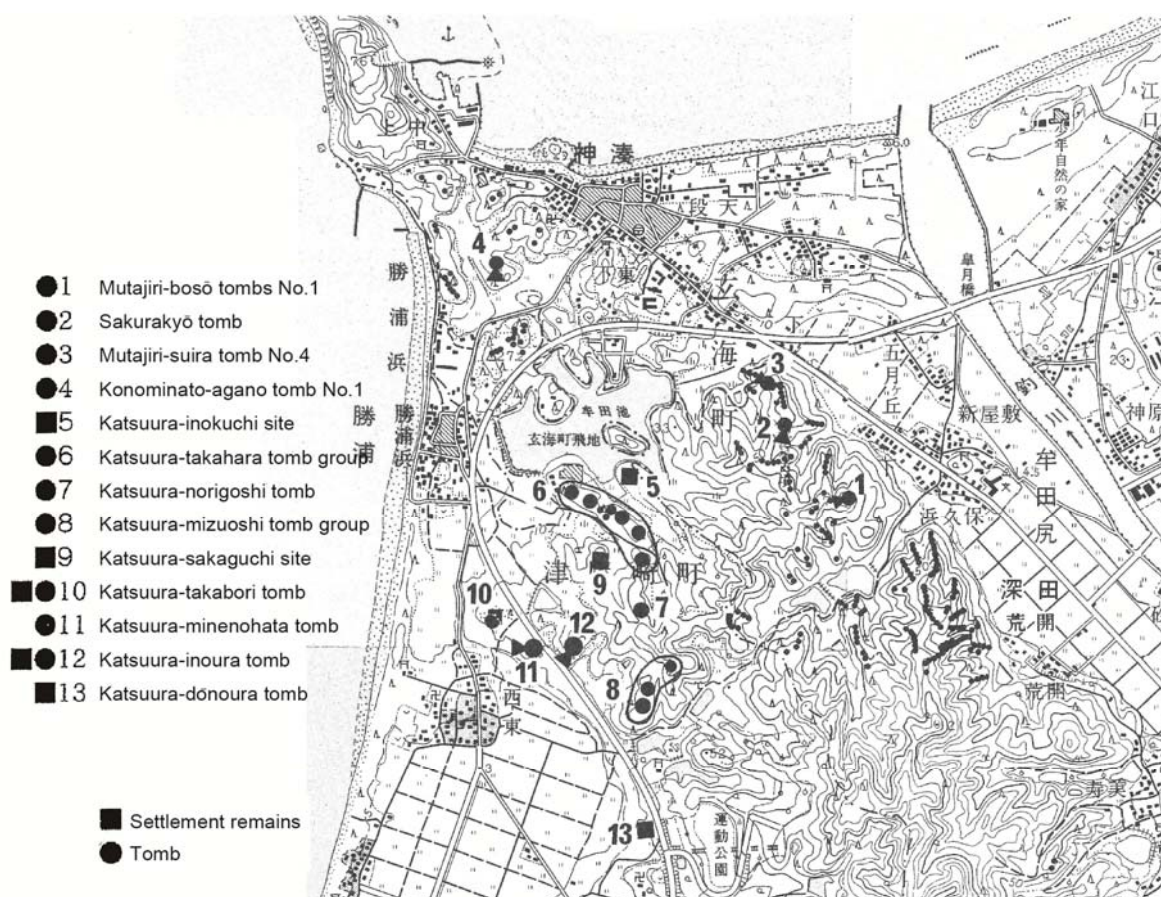
Many fragments of Sue ware and Haji ware

Cylindrical haniwa (ceramic clay figure) were also excavated from the burial mound. They were dated to Phase V of the chronology compiled by Dr. KAWANISHI Yukihiro <sup>14)</sup> based on some of their characteristics, including the signs of being fired in a tunnel kiln, a circular openwork, and vertical brush finishing on the outer surface. The reporter also dated the haniwa to around the second half of the 5th century after concluding that they, as well as the large Sue ware pots unearthed from the same burial mound, belong to the TK23 type or the TK47 type <sup>6)</sup>. He made some comments on the array of artifacts unearthed from the stone chamber. Regarding the bronze mirrors, the reporter said that the team “identified three mirrors of the same type and five made-in-Japan mirrors” <sup>6)</sup> (p. 44). He noted that based on the theory of Dr. KAWANISHI Yukihiro regarding mirrors of the same type, the number of unearthed mirrors that were determined to be the same type as fine-line beast-motif mirrors was increased by one to seven. Likewise, he said that the number of unearthed mirrors that were determined to be the same type as Group C of deity-and-beast mirrors with a band of images arranged in parallel was increased by one to 27. The reporter stated that two mirrors with interconnected arcs among the five made-in-Japan mirrors date back to as early as the Early [Kofun] period and two beast image mirrors among the five display characteristics typical of the Middle [Kofun] period. He went on to say that a tomb in which eight mirrors--including three large mirrors of the same type measuring more than 20 cm in diameter--had been buried as grave goods is unusual among the contemporaneous tombs in Kyūshū. “It [the Katsuura-minenohata tomb] is similar to the Eta-funayama tomb <sup>16)</sup> in Kumamoto Prefecture in this respect,” <sup>6)</sup> he noted (p. 44). The reporter then commented: “In terms of the standard of the mirrors buried as grave goods, the tomb is one of the greatest tombs of the second half of the 5th century in Northern Kyūshū” <sup>6)</sup> (p. 44).

Among the accessories discovered in the stone chamber, a gilt-bronze openwork-carved headdress with spangles has been reconstructed based on many pieces of gilt bronze fittings. It is assumed that the original headdress was similar to gilt-bronze openwork-carved headdresses with a dragon motif, the type of headdress that has been found in the Eta-funayama tomb and elsewhere. The reporter went as far as to say “it is an imported article from Paekche and dates back to the Hanseong period” <sup>6)</sup> (p. 45), drawing a parallel with similar artifacts from the Eta-funayama tomb.

A large amount of weapons were also found in the stone chamber of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb, including more than 40 single-edged long swords with a straight blade that come with a decorative accessory made of deer antler and 285 iron arrowheads. In the category of defensive equipment, a cuirass made of horizontal iron strips riveted together was identified. As for horse trappings, a pair of ring stirrups and a pair of cup-shaped stirrups, both with wood-core and iron plate lining, were found. The study team concluded that the ring stirrups correspond to the type of TK73 to TK216 according to the Sue ware chronology, drawing an analogy with those unearthed from the Tsukinooka tomb in Ukiha City and the Zuiō-ji tomb in Chikugo City <sup>6)</sup> (p. 76). The team concluded that the cup-shaped stirrups predate their counterparts from the Katsuura-inoura tomb, saying “they are one of the oldest cup-shaped stirrups ever unearthed in Japan” <sup>6)</sup> (p. 79).

Other artifacts unearthed from the burial mound are the fragments of the pedestal part of pedestaled dishes, the dish part of large vessel stands, and the upper part of large pots, which are all Sue ware <sup>6)</sup> (pp. 30-31). The team concluded that the large pots belong to the TK23 type given the design of the rim and that they are associated with an added burial <sup>6)</sup> (p. 89).



Chronology of the tombs of chieftains of the 5th century in the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group

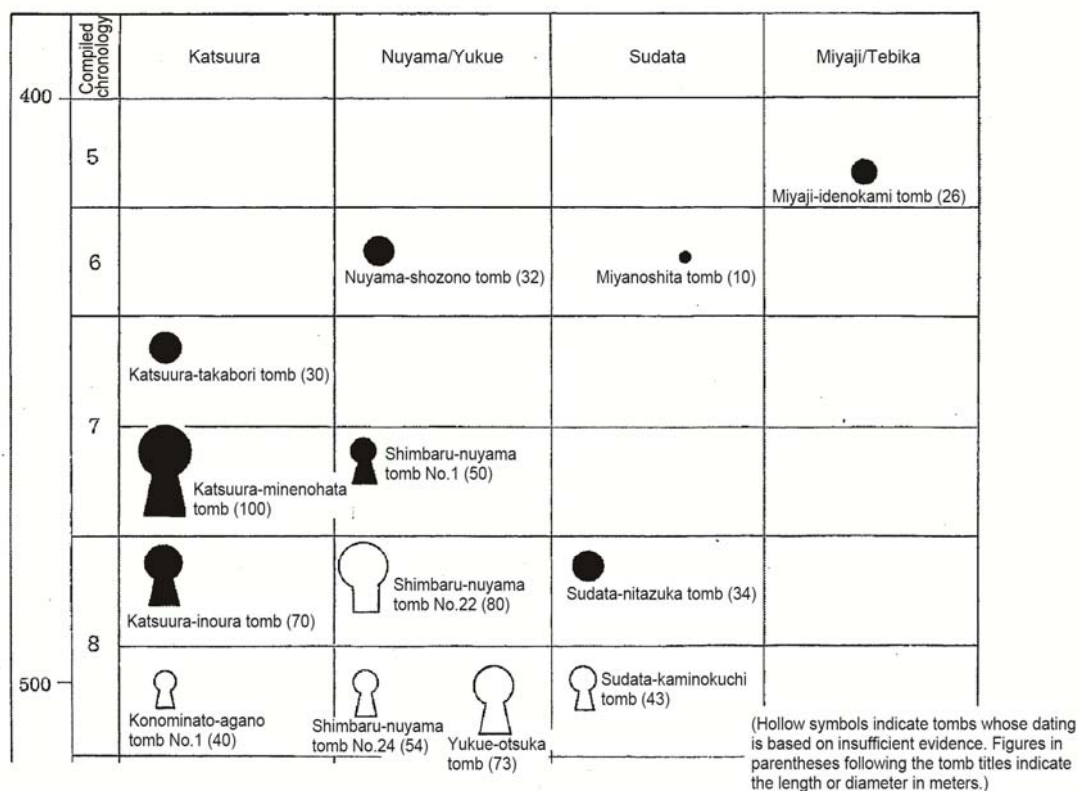
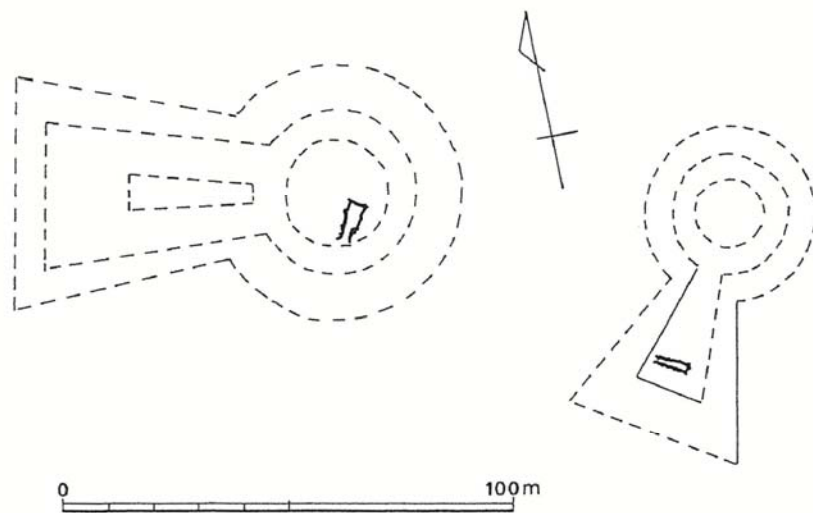
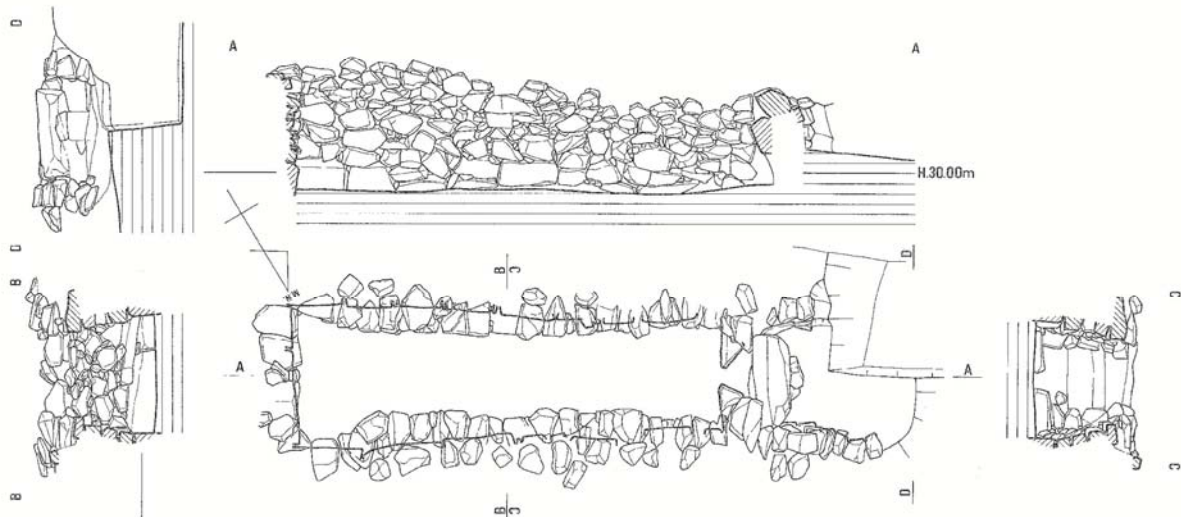


Figure 6 Distribution map of archaeological sites in the Katsuura district and a chronological chart of the tombs of local ancient chieftains  
(Source: *Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Group II*, 2011)



Positional relationship between the Katsuura-minenohata tomb (left) and the Katsuura-inoura tomb (right)



Measured drawings of the stone chamber of the Katsuura-inoura tomb

Figure 7 The Katsuura-minenohata tomb and the Katsuura-inoura tomb in the Katsuura district and measured drawings of the latter's stone chamber  
(Source: *Shimbaru-Nuyama Mounded Tomb Group*)



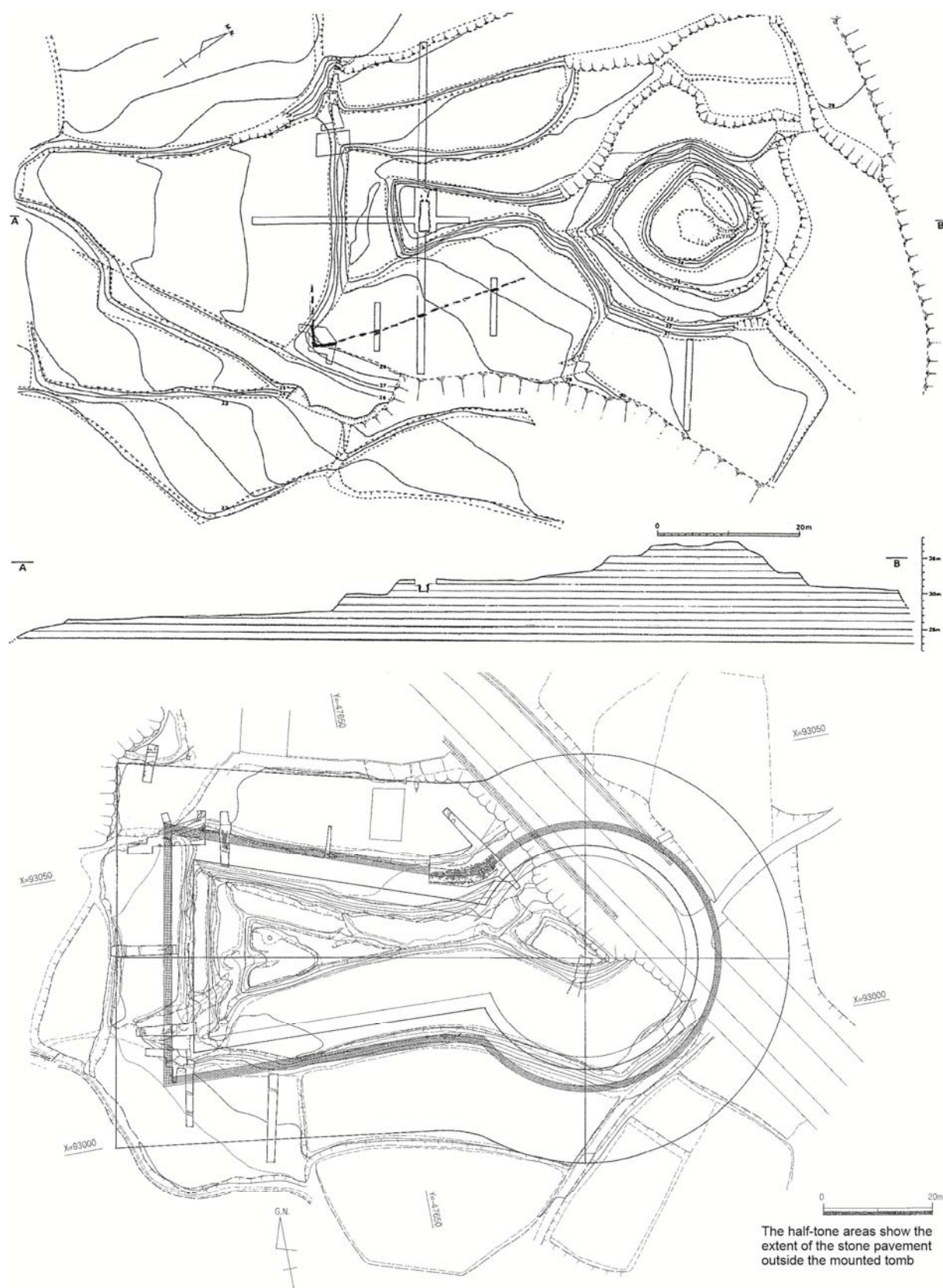
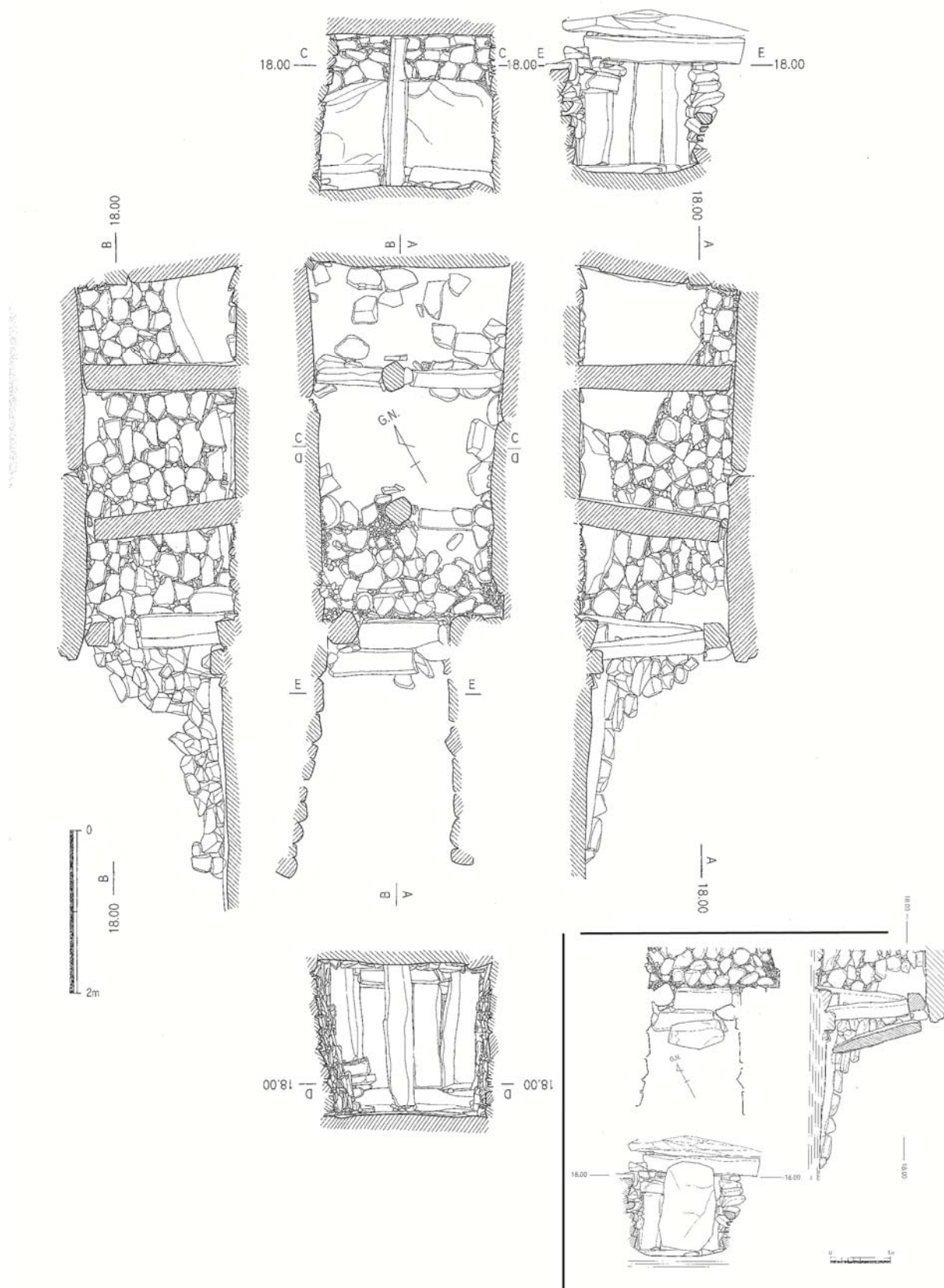


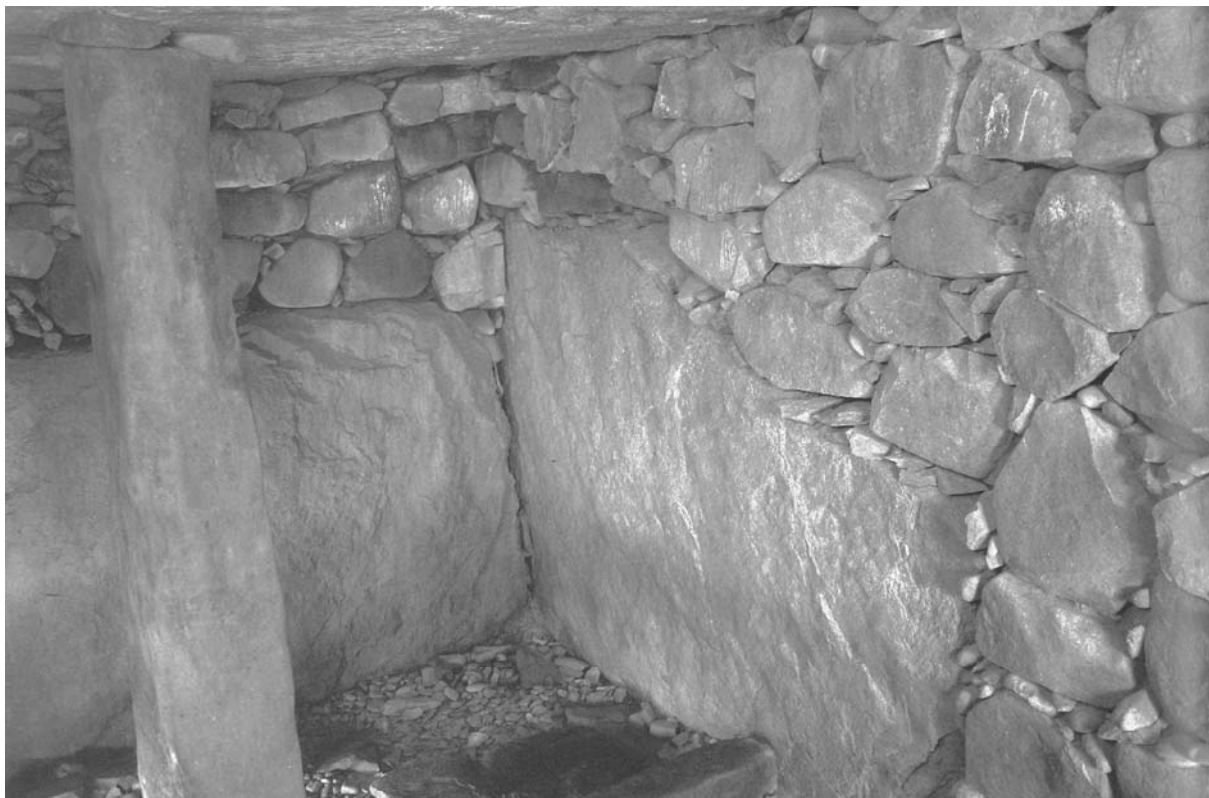
Figure 8 Measured drawings and reconstructions of the Katsuura-inoura tomb (upper) and the Katsuura-minenohata tomb (lower)  
(Source: *Shimbaru-Nuyama Mounded Tomb Group and Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Group II*, with some corrections added)



Drawings that show how the entrance to the stone chamber was closed.

Figure 9 Measured drawings of the stone chamber of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb  
(Source: *Shimbaru-Nuyama Mounded Tomb Group II*)





The right and back walls inside the main burial chamber part (viewed from the west)



The left and back walls inside the main burial chamber part (viewed from the south)

Figure 10 The stone chamber of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb  
(Source: *Shimbaru-Nuyama Mounded Tomb Group II*)

By putting all these accounts on archaeological sites and artifacts<sup>17)</sup>, the study team concluded that the Munakata region “followed the Genkai Sea western coastal region” in introducing a corridor-style stone chamber. Touching upon the use of podiums in a stone chamber, the team stated: “It [the Katsuura-minenohata tomb] could not have predated Shimbaru-nuyama tomb No. 1 because the former used stone materials larger than those used in the latter, which belongs to the TK208 type.” “It was the first tomb to have introduced a corridor-style stone chamber in the Munakata region,” the team noted. The artifacts “can largely be divided into two groups that belong to different periods, and those belonging to the middle of the 5th century were buried at the time of the initial burial.” The haniwa and Sue ware were thought to have been buried at the time of the added burial. Based on all these observations, the team concluded that the Katsuura-minenohata tomb “is a mounted tomb of Munakata-no-Kimi built in the middle of the 5th century.” Contextual analysis of the grave goods suggests that “the horse trappings the likes of which are those of Kaya as well as the gilt bronze crowns of the Hanseong Paekche period” were buried at the time of the initial burial.

The preceding paragraphs have intently focused on the details of the Katsuura-minenohata tomb, which is considered to be one of the oldest tombs of local ancient chieftains in the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group. This is because how this particular tomb relates to Phase I of the four chronological phases of the Okinoshima ritual sites is a major question to be addressed.

The unearthed pieces of the imported mirror that had been offered to Site No. 21 on Okinoshima (identified as a “beast-band mirror with eight small round projections” in the Report) have turned out to be part of a mirror with a wide band bearing a beast motif and a “*yi zi sun*” inscription when it was reconstructed by uniting the fragments with the pieces that were found more recently<sup>3)</sup> (p. 520). It has also been revealed that mirrors of the same type were also unearthed from ancient tombs in Kumamoto and Miyazaki prefecture. This contrasts sharply with the situation surrounding the Okinoshima ritual sites of the second half of the 4th century (Sites Nos. 16-18) when rituals atop rocks emerged. The mainstream mirrors during this period were triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors, the type of mirrors that have been unearthed from ancient tombs in and around the Kinki region. In short, the mirrors of Phase I are quite different before and after the period of circa 400 CE. As has already discussed, the study team discovered, in the Katsuura-minenohata tomb, a mirror that is the same in type as what Dr. KAWANISHI Yukihiro classifies as Group C of deity-and-beast mirrors with a band of images arranged in parallel<sup>15)</sup> (or deity-and-beast mirrors with an image band in which the images face the same direction according to the Report). This mirror represents the 27th of its kind unearthed there. Mirrors of the same type have also been found in ancient tombs in a wide area, ranging from the Kanto region to Southern Kyūshū (the Eta-funayama tomb in Kumamoto and Mochida tomb group in Miyazaki). Interestingly enough, mirrors with a wide band bearing a beast motif and a “*yi zi sun*” inscription have also been found in Southern Kyūshū. What is too significant to disregard is that archaeologists have unearthed a mirror of Group C almost in complete form from the Katsuura-minenohata tomb that is presumed to be the same type as the one found in Site No. 21 on Okinoshima<sup>18)</sup> (No. 2 in Figure 11). If this presumption is correct, the Katsuura-minenohata tomb and Site No. 21 share the same type of mirrors. This deserves special attention. The next logical step would be to shed fresh light on the mirror with a wide band bearing a beast motif and a “*yi zi sun*” inscription that was found at Site No. 21. As shown in the above chart that describes how mirrors of the same types are distributed, a total of four mirrors of the same type as the ones unearthed from Site No. 21 had been found in Kumamoto and Miyazaki at the time of compiling the Report. Dr. KAWANISHI Yukihiro has identified eight mirrors of this type as “Group A of half-relief beast-motif mirrors.”<sup>19)</sup> They include two mirrors from Site No. 21 on Okinoshima. One of the mirrors, privately owned, is 17.82-17.85 cm in diameter (Plate 99). The other, in the possession of the Munakata Shrine, is 17.52-17.59 cm in diameter (Plate 100). The former is in complete form (No. 1 in Figure 11), while the latter is broken and described in the Report. The above discussion is summarized in the table below.

	Okinoshima Site No. 21	Katsuura-minenohata tomb	Mirrors of the same type in Southern Kyūshū
Mirror with a wide band bearing a beast motif and a "yi zi sun" inscription (Group A of half-relief beast-motif mirrors)	2		Kunigoshi tomb Mochida tomb No. 1 and Yamanobō tomb: 2
Deity-and-beast mirror with an image band in which the images face the same direction (Group C of deity-and-beast mirrors with a band of images arranged in parallel)	1	2	Eta-funayama tomb Mochida tombs Nos. 24, 25

Table 1 Distribution of mirrors of the same time as those unearthed from Okinoshima sites (of the rock-top ritual phase) (Source: *Munakata Okinoshima I*, p. 521)

Mirror type	Okinoshima	Kyushu/Inland Sea	Kinai
Triangular-rimmed mirror with images of two deities and two beasts (imported)	(Okitsu-miya) (21.7 cm)		Akagō mound, Suzuka City, Mie
Triangular-rimmed mirror with images of three deities and three beasts (duplicated)	Site No. 16 (20.5 cm)	Site No. 18 (20.4 cm)	Shikinzan, Ōsaka - Dodoike, Kyōto Otabiyama, Ōsaka
Triangular-rimmed mirror with images of three deities and three beasts (duplicated)	Site No. 17 (24.3 cm)		
Modified ryōhō mirror (duplicated)	Site No. 17 (22.1 cm)	Site No. 18	
Triangular-rimmed mirror with images of two deities and two beasts (imported)	Site No. 18 (22.2 cm)	Miyashu tomb, Kudamatsu City, Yamaguchi	Kuwana City, Mie
Mirror with a wide band bearing images of three deities and three beasts (duplicated)	<Presumed> Site No. 18 (21.8 cm)	Saitobaru tomb No. 2, Saito City, Miyazaki	
Mirror with a wide band bearing a beast motif and a "yi zi sun" inscription (imported)	Site No. 21 (17.6 cm) (2 mirrors)	Kunigoshi tomb, Shiranuhi-machi, Kumamoto  Mochida-hakaritsuka, Takanabe-cho, Miyazaki  Yamanobō tomb, Shintomi-cho, Miyazaki (2 mirrors)  (Believed to have been unearthed in) South Korea	





1. Mirror with a wide band bearing a  
beast motif and a "yi zi sun"  
inscription (privately owned)  
<Kawanishi Group A>



2. Deity-and-beast mirrors with an image  
band in which the images face the  
same direction (presumed)  
<Kawanishi Group C>

Figure 11 Two bronze mirrors identified as have been unearthed from Site No. 21 on Okinoshima  
(Source: Note 15, Plates 31 and 99)

When the Wa Government (Five kings of Wa) paid tribute to the Southern Dynasties in China during the 5th century, it imported bronze mirrors. They are represented by deity-and-beast mirrors with an image band and pictorial mirrors (mirrors with mythical images in raised flat relief), according to Dr. KOBAYASHI Yukio.<sup>20)</sup> The fact that such bronze mirrors “have been unearthed in a rather large quantity from Kumamoto and Miyazaki prefectures” suggests that “exchanges between Central Kyūshū and the Kinai region were established for the first time”<sup>20)</sup> during this period. Given the degree of Kyūshū’s dependency on the Wa Kingdom as evidenced by the inlaid and inscribed single-edged long swords with a straight blade unearthed from the Eta-funayama tomb, as well as the outcome of the Iwai Rebellion by Chikushi-no-Kimi in the 6th century, Dr. Kobayashi notes that “the Wa Kingdom increasingly strengthened its rule over Kyūshū during the second half of the 5th century”<sup>20)</sup> (p. 105). In light of the fact that peaked helmets with a visor of the 5th century have been found in a wide area, ranging from the Kanto region and the Kinki region (unearthed from the front part of the Mausoleum of Emperor Nintoku, as well as the Nekozuka tomb) to Kyūshū (great ancestor from the Tsukinooka tomb)<sup>21)</sup>, Dr. Kobayashi touches on “the management of the [Korean] Peninsula by the Wa Kingdom in the middle of the 5th century”<sup>20)</sup> (p. 106).

Dr. OKAZAKI Takashi<sup>22)</sup> states that “it may be reasonable to accept the possibility that the Five Kings of Wa imported, from the Eastern Jin Dynasty or the Song Dynasty in its early years, deity-and-beast mirrors with an image band,” one type of mirrors unearthed from the Eta-funayama tomb and the Katsuura-minenohata tomb. Touching on the envoys these kings sent to the Southern Dynasties in China in 413 CE onward, Dr. Okazaki argues that “these envoys may have requested large quantities of mirrors from the Eastern Jin and Song dynasties” as “the bulk import of Chinese mirrors had long been suspended following the fall of the Daifang Commandery. If that is the case, these deity-and-beast mirrors with an image band were brought to Japan in the first half of the 5th century. When Dr. KOBAYASHI Yukio’s comments discussed above are also considered, it would not be illogical to assume that mirrors similar in type as those found in Site No. 21 on Okinoshima and the Katsuura-minenohata tomb were brought to Japan by the middle of the 5th century.

When two phases of burial at the Katsuura-minenohata tomb are considered in light of all these discussions above, it is possible to argue that the grave goods buried there at the time of the initial burial include imported mirrors of the same types, duplicated mirrors or mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes, gilt bronze headdresses, and large quantities of weapons, defensive equipment, and horse trappings. Sue ware and haniwa have been identified as belonging to a new phase of artifacts. The fact that both have been unearthed from burial mounds makes it more likely that they belong to the phase in which the landscape surrounding the burial mound were improved or rituals began to be performed some time after the initial burial.

The Katsuura-minenohata tomb (100 m in total length) is one size larger than the Tōgō-Takatsuka tomb (a 64 m-long keyhole-shaped tomb with a round rear mound), which is contemporaneous with the first half of Phase I of the Okinoshima rituals. Its key internal feature is the corridor-style stone chamber. The cuboid- or box-shaped structure can be traced back to ancient corridor-style stone chambers commonly found in the western coastal area of the Chikuhū region facing the Genkai Sea. It is a new type of stone chamber that features components typical of those in the Korean Peninsula, especially Goguryeo, including two stone columns as well as podiums on which piles of quarry stone blocks were laid. The artifacts found there also are commensurate with the greatest tomb of a local chieftain, as has already discussed. It is highly likely that this particular chieftain was involved in rituals at Site No. 21, which is thought to belong to the final stage of the rock-top ritual phase in Okinoshima.

The **Katsuura-inoura tomb**<sup>5)</sup> is a keyhole-shaped tomb with a round rear mound situated in the east of the preceding Katsuura-minenohata tomb. It is 70 m in total length, with its 37 m-wide front part facing southeast and its round rear part 7 m in height and about 37 m in diameter. The highest point of the mound is 37 m above sea level. With no surrounding moat, the mound has paving stones on its slopes where pieces of cylindrical haniwa have been found. Archaeologists surveyed the main burial facility at the front part. They found a pit-style stone chamber with a horizontal entrance. The stone chamber lies at right angles to the centerline of the keyhole-shaped mound. It opens northwestward. The cuboid- or box-shaped chamber is 4.2 m long and 1.35 to 0.95 m (at the horizontal entrance) wide. It is 1.3 m high as the ceiling stones have been taken away. For the four walls, long stone materials are placed so that they serve as podiums. Small quarry stones are piled up on them so that the walls lean inward. The horizontal entrance is

closed with two long pieces of stone about the size of a podium piled laterally. The inside walls of the stone chamber is painted with red pigments. In front of the entrance lies a passage about 1 m long with a wall on each side. The passage constitutes the forecourt. Although the stone chamber has already be looted, an inventory of artifacts is provided as shown below <sup>5)</sup> (p. 37) (see Table 2 on the next page):

Table 2 List of artifacts unearthed from the Katsuura-inoura tomb  
(Source: *Shimbaru-Nuyama Mounded Tomb Group II*)

(1) Pottery	5 or more Sue ware items (unearthed from outside of the stone chamber) 5 or more Haji ware items (unearthed from the mound)
(2) Haniwa	A piece of cylindrical haniwa
(3) Weapons	11 iron halberds 2 ferrules 6 non-halberd ferrules approx. 3,000 iron scales of lamellar armors 51 gilt bronze-lined scales of lamellar armors      Pieces of cuirasses Two sets of triple projections at the top of a visorless keeled helmet (including pieces of a visorless keeled helmet made of horizontal iron strips riveted together) A single-edged long sword with a straight blade Over 160 iron arrowheads
(4) Tools	2 iron adzes
(5) Horse trappings	A three-ring bell 10 iron flat pendant harness ornament with gilt bronze lining A pair of stirrups with dipper-shaped cover for the toes with wood-core and iron plate lining A pair of ring stirrups with wood-core and iron plate lining 22 iron riveting fittings with gilt bronze lining 10 gilded riveting fittings      10 belt buckles 2 bridles A few <i>iso</i> fittings with gilt bronze lining 2 bronze saddle-arch buckles A few saddle fittings Others
(6) Accessories	A sexfoil-shaped fitting

#### Artifacts unearthed from dwelling sites at the foot of the Katsuura-inoura tomb

(1) Pottery	10 or more Haji ware items
(2) Accessories	A steatite comma-shaped bead 2 steatite cylindrical beads 3 small glass beads

Although no measured drawings or descriptions are provided, photographs of these artifacts are available, which gives a general picture of the Katsuura-inoura tomb. The reporter dated this tomb to the second half of the 5th century based on the stone chamber structure and artifacts described above. Compared with the Katsuura-minenohata tomb discussed earlier, this burial mound is much shorter, by a margin of 30 m, and lacks such artifacts as bronze mirrors, gilt bronze headdresses, and beads, as well as swords in the category of weapons. Obviously enough, this mound is lower in status than the Katsuura-minenohata tomb. This suggests that the chieftain interred in the preceding Katsuura-minenohata tomb had closer relations with the Yamato polity. As the chronology suggested earlier shows, the chieftain was likely involved in rituals at Site No. 21 on Okinoshima (the second half of Phase I). A comparison with the Tōgō-Takatsuka tomb, which is 64 m long and corresponds to the starting period for Okinoshima rituals (the first half of Phase I) makes it more certain that the Katsuura-minenohata tomb was much higher in status.

During the starting period for Okinoshima rituals, triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors, both



imported and duplicated, were often offered around Huge Rock I, together with other offerings. More specifically, these offerings were made at Sites Nos. 16, 17, 18, and 19. Among these sites, Site No. 17 stands out because a total of 21 bronze mirrors were concentrated there. They include large mirrors with a diameter of more than 20 cm as well as extra-large mirrors, among which are triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors and TLV mirrors with the Four Deities that were duplicated (produced in Japan with after continental prototypes). Such an impression array of finds is quite rare in ancient tombs in the Fukuoka Plain or even the wider area of Northern Kyūshū. This suggests that these mirrors from Site No. 17 were introduced to Okinoshima with the direct involvement of the Yamato polity. Such introduction is closely associated with the fact that the Yamato polity intensified its exchanges with the southern part of the Korean Peninsula at the end of the 4th century. Historians agree that extra large mirrors that belong to the second half of the Early [Kofun] period have largely been found in strategic locations along the Inland Sea route and coastal sea route that reached to the Korean Peninsula, including the Tsuruyama-maruyama tomb in Okayama, the Yanai-chausuyama tomb in Yamaguchi, and the Okinoshima ritual sites.<sup>(23)</sup> All these observations add to the body of evidence that what has long been said about the nature of the Okinoshima ritual sites is really the case.

Be that as it may, the rise in status from Tōgō-Takatsuka tomb in the second half of the 4th century to the Katsuura-minenohata tomb around the middle of the 5th century likely had an impact on how the chieftains interred there (the Munakata clan) involved themselves in rituals on Okinoshima. Prof. MITSUHASHI Tadashi, who have studied the Japanese ancient system of worshipping the deities of heaven and earth,<sup>(24)</sup> pays attention to the system of Kami-no-Matsuri of the 5th-8th years of the reign of Emperor Sujin when he reconstructs rituals of the Kofun period.<sup>(25)</sup> According to Prof. Mitsuhashi, “legend has it that Emperor Sujin identified many deities that had to be worshipped and designated people to serve them.” This suggests that “the ritual system of the Yamato kingly power was taught to these people.” He says: “It may be described as the **contracted ritual system** whereby the great king (emperor) of the Yamato kingly power identified deities that needed worshipping and put suitable people in charge of conducting rituals designed to worship these deities.” Prof. Mitsuhashi notes that this system gave rise to clans that worshipped particular deities. In some cases, however, the great king (emperor) himself conducted such rituals. A good example comes from a legendary account in which Emperor Jinmu himself went up to the upper waters of the Nifu River and worshipped the deities of heaven and earth in what is known as *Daiō Shinsai* or a ritual by the great king himself during the period leading up to his enthronement, or more precisely, in the 9th month of the Tsuchinoe Uma year.<sup>(26)</sup> It is reasonable to assume that in their nascent period, the rituals on Okinoshima were similar in nature to *Daiō Shinsai* because it is likely that they were guided by central government officials at the behest of the great king. In fact, some archaeologists argue that the Yamato polity was directly involved in the rituals on the island at the beginning of Phase I in light of the need to instruct how to perform rituals that used bronze mirrors.<sup>(23)</sup> It is assumed that as the Munakata clan, which was in charge of worshipping local marine deities, became increasingly skilled in ritual performance, the imperial family had more confidence in the clan. If that was the case, the clan likely gained more political power and saw its status as the ritual officiating clan improved, providing more opportunities for the contracted ritual system. The author believes that the interred in the Katsuura-minenohata tomb was a chieftain who was involved in such rituals in their development phase.

### 3. From Rituals atop Rocks to Rituals in Rock Shades

Archaeological features of the rock-top ritual phase are concentrated on and around Huge Rock I, namely Sites Nos. 15-19 (see Figure 4 in the first part of the paper). Situated in the north of Okitsu-miya, Huge Rock I enjoyed the status as the highest ritual sites above sea level until the third round of survey was conducted. Among these features (ritual areas), the first half of this section focuses on those that have already been surveyed and sheds new light on them with a view to learning what they looked like when the artifacts were offered there.

On **Site No. 16**, the Report reads <sup>(27)</sup>:

“Two large broken rocks, i.e. Rocks (a) and (b) hang over the foundation rock that constitutes the main part of the site. Between them is a small hollow space, barely large enough for a person to crawl into. In front of this hollow space lies a small flat horizontal space measuring roughly 2.3 m east-west and 1.2 m

north-south. At the center sits Rock (f), a smooth rock about 1.4 m long and 1.0 m wide. A copious amount of natural stones, large and small, lie between the rocks. Many of the artifacts were buried there.”

The eastern part of Huge Rock I is situated on the top parts of Rock T (a) and Rock S (b). To the east lies Rock W (f). The offered artifacts were scattered on the surface under the hollow space between them, as well as the surface under the adjacent empty space that opens northeastward. Stone U and Stone V were placed on the latter surface. A little below them is a relatively large stone. A modified triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror was partly showing with its back upward below Rock V as if it edged northwestward (forward). This led to the subsequent discovery of the site. Natural stones, large and small, are piled up on the surface tilted northwestward (forward) under the empty space to form a shape that looks more like an irregular flight of stairs, making the surface under the border between the empty space and the hollow space look as if it is made up of natural stones. It seems that after the offering rites stopped to be performed, these natural stones partly became loose and gave way and some of the artifacts were carried away down the slope in the process. The offered artifacts were originally placed on the surface under the empty space on which Stone U and Stone V sit and on the surface under the adjacent hollow space. Describing the structure of this offering-making section, the Report states that the hollow space “constitutes a rock shade that protects the surface under it from rain and dew. This surface, on which Rocks (a) and (b) sit, is part of the top surface of a foundation rock with an inclination of about 20 degrees.” It notes “a thin artifact-bearing layer 10-15 cm thick” on the surface. This layer “looks like it has partly given way, exposing and carrying away some artifacts down the slope” (*The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*, p. 199). The offered artifacts found there are divided into seven categories: mirrors, weapons, tools, other metal objects, accessories, steatite objects, and miscellaneous artifacts (*The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*, p. 202).

**Site No. 17** in the south of Site No. 16 is situated on Rock (A), which supports Huge Rock J from below. The offering-making area is partly in the shade of Huge Rock J, which supports Huge Rock I from below. The discovery of this archaeological site all started when mirrors were found showing itself from this rock shade part. In an area on the top surface of Rock (A) above which Huge Rock J extends (measuring about 1.5 m long and 1.5 m wide), the votive offerings were found to be covered by relatively large broken pieces of quartz porphyry (Stones (a)-(e)) and other stones. As the top surface of Rock (A) is tilted eastward, Stones (a) and (b) were located lower down the slope from where they had originally been placed. Stones (b), (c), and (d) maintained their positions, serving their original purpose of covering the artifacts. The slight dislocation of almost all the artifacts that had been concentrated there is thought to have caused by four major factors. The first factor of course is that the top surface of Rock (A) is tilted southeastward. Second, the mirrors had been piled up. Third, the swords on which these mirrors had been placed were broken. The fourth factor is the weight of stones that had been placed on these artifacts. As described in the Report, “one-fourth of the artifacts were hidden from sight under the shade of Huge Rock J. The remaining three-fourths were laid bare on Rock (A). These artifacts include mirrors, swords, knives, wheel-shaped steatite bracelets, a ring-shaped steatite bracelet, iron bracelets, comma-shaped beads, barrel-shaped beads, and small beads. The artifacts have been found...in a small area of about 2 m<sup>2</sup>. The largest vertical gap among the artifacts is 38 cm” (*The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*, p. 12). The Report attributes the dislocation of the artifacts discussed above primarily to “the natural slide of underlying stones along the slope of Rock (A) (op. cit., p. 13).

The votive offerings from this archaeological site are mirrors, swords, and beads, all concentrated in one place. This shows that these offerings were made at once in a single ritual, as archaeologists agree. The concentration of as many as 21 mirrors offered in one place is unrivaled by any other cases of grave goods in ancient tombs in the mainland of Kyūshū. This substantiates the assumption that the Yamato kingly power was behind the officiating priest. The extremely small offering-making area on the rock made it necessary to offer these objects in a physically concentrated manner. The reporter concluded by stating: “the huge rock on which first rituals on Okinoshima Island were held as the *yorishiro* for Munakata goddesses to descend to is Huge Rock I, which sits on Huge Rock J, which in turn is supported partly by Rock (A) (op. cit., p. 27).

**Site No. 18** is situated on the southwestern tip of Huge Rock I, which is about 2 m directly above Site No. 17 (see Figure 13). Rock (C) on this site, roughly measuring 2 m in length, 1 m in width, and 50 cm in height, is too formidable for humans to move by hand. It must have been placed using a level or other tools (op. cit., p. 149). The four mirrors whose existence was known at the time of the survey were “placed

in a row with their mirror plane facing upward below Rock (C). Ring-shaped steatite bracelets were also placed in a row on the same horizontal plane as the mirrors.” Therefore, “it is reasonable to assume that these rows were in parallel with each other, over which Rock (C) was laid.” As gravel is “seen among the block stones in the north of Rock (C),” it is assumed that “Rock (C) was placed on the surface that had been covered with piles of stones or paved by stones (op. cit., p. 150). This archaeological feature was destroyed in 1956 without being surveyed. Its artifacts include four triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors (of which one is an imported mirror with images of two deities and two beasts), a ring-shaped jasper bracelet, and three small glass beads. This inventory of artifacts, which had been taken away from the island, was learned after the third round of survey was completed<sup>28)</sup>. Of them, the artifacts whose origin has been ascribed to Site No. 18 include a ring-shaped steatite bracelet, a wheel-shaped steatite bracelet, and pieces of three duplicated mirrors (a triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirror, a TLV mirror with images, and a triangular-rimmed mirror).

**Site No. 19** is located in the north of Huge Rock I, opposite to Site No. 17. It is situated on Huge Rock K, on which Huge Rock I sits. Huge Rock K is tilted southward and its northeastern tip constitutes a cliff. A facility assumed to be an altar was discovered in this northeastern top surface of Huge Rock K. According to the Report, “indications are that the builders of this site prepared the groundwork by filling a deep gulf on the surface with mountain soil and gravel; piled stones to form a mound on the surface of the foundation rock where it begins to tilt westward; solidified the top surface thus made with relatively large stones, earth, and stones; and lay gravel on it” (op. cit., p. 172). This altar is roughly rectangular in shape. The longer centerline is 3.5 m odd, extending from Stone (b) in the northwest to Stone (k) in the southeast. The shorter centerline is 1.7 m odd, extending from the rock shade part under Huge Rock I in the northeast to the open air part on the top surface of Huge Rock K in the southwest. The survey team later covered with this area with Stones (a)-(k) to reconstruct the original state in which these stones had been laid over the offered artifacts. Most of the sloping part of the altar in the west is in the shade of Huge Rock I. “This rock shade part is “on the slope of the foundation rock (Huge Rock K) with an inclination of about 30 degrees above the stone mound that demarcated the western end of the altar. This is where a mirror with eight interconnected arcs was discovered. This mirror was found on the gravel scattered below the stone mound with its mirror plane facing upward as if it had been placed purposefully. Moreover, it lay at an angle of about 33 degrees, in parallel with the sloping surface of the foundation rock. Verdigris was attached to the gravel on which the mirror lay” (op. cit., p. 172). In addition, large jadeite comma-shaped beads were found about 30 cm down the slope. Regarding these artifacts, the Report states: “it is likely that they were laid at what had originally been the base of the stone mound in the shade of Huge Rock I...it is possible to assume that ancient people first laid gravel to make the surface flat, offered the mirror and the beads side by side, placed iron objects down the slope, and laid grave around them” (op. cit., p. 173).

The preceding paragraphs have reviewed Sites Nos. 16-19 of the rock-top ritual phase with focus on the structures and ritual artifacts of these ritual features. At any of these sites, the offering-making area was selected and made flat by laying stones on the slope. This area is situated on one end of the top surface of Huge Rock I that sits on the huge foundation rock in the case of Site No. 18, or on the huge foundation rock in the shade of Huge Rock I in the case of Sites Nos. 16, 17, and 19. As far as Site No. 17 is concerned, an unstable area was selected for making offerings, where as many as 21 mirrors were concentrated. At Sites Nos. 16 and 19, which accommodated a relatively large offering-making area, the votive offerings were arranged in parallel rows. At all these four sites, large and small broken pieces of stone were placed so that the artifacts would not be exposed. The rock-top ritual phase that started in the second half of the 4th century is thought to have ended with Site No. 21, which was discussed earlier in Section 1. It is possible to identify the series of developments in this phase: rituals atop rocks started with Nos. 17 and 18, developed at Sites Nos. 16 and 19, and ended with Site No. 21, which is dated to about the middle of the 5th century. At Site No. 19, an altar roughly in the shape of a rectangular was formed. At Site No. 21, an altar roughly in the shape of a square was set up and a large block stone was placed at the center as *yorishiro*, suggesting that a further developed form of ritual was in place.

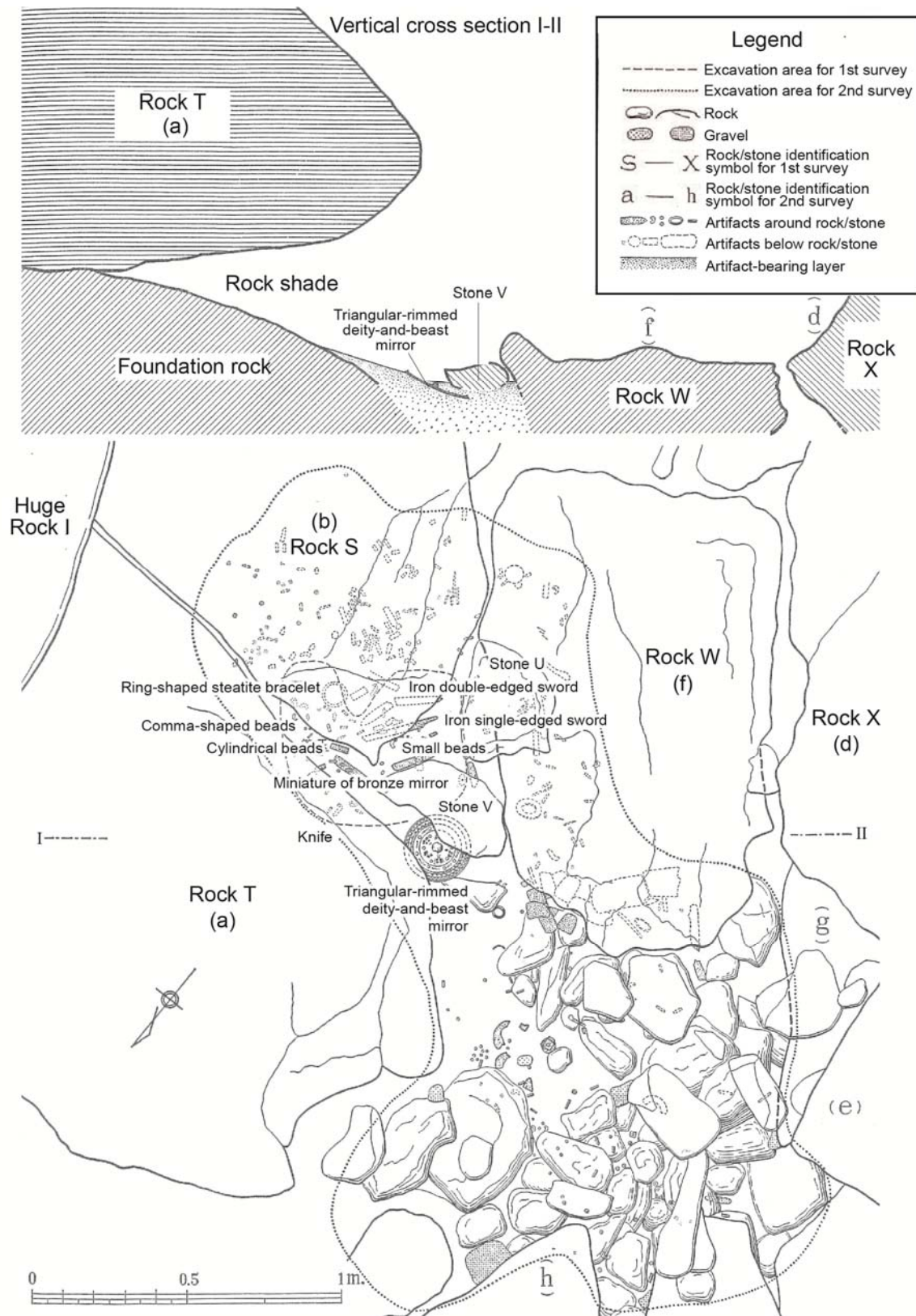


Figure 12 Excavation area of Site No. 16  
(Source: Figure 84 in *The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*)



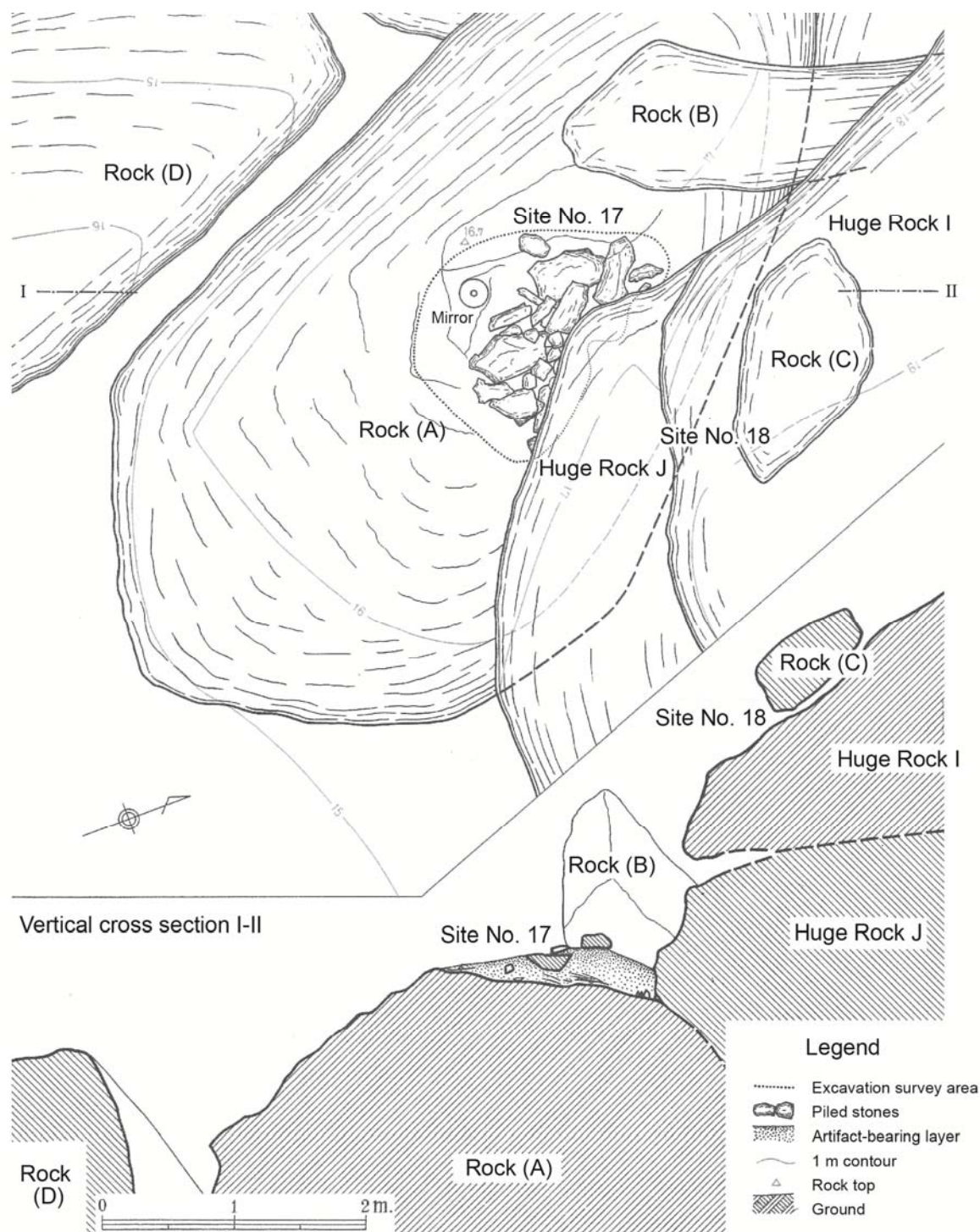


Figure 13 Topography in and around Sites No. 17 and No. 18  
(Source: Figure 2 in *The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*)

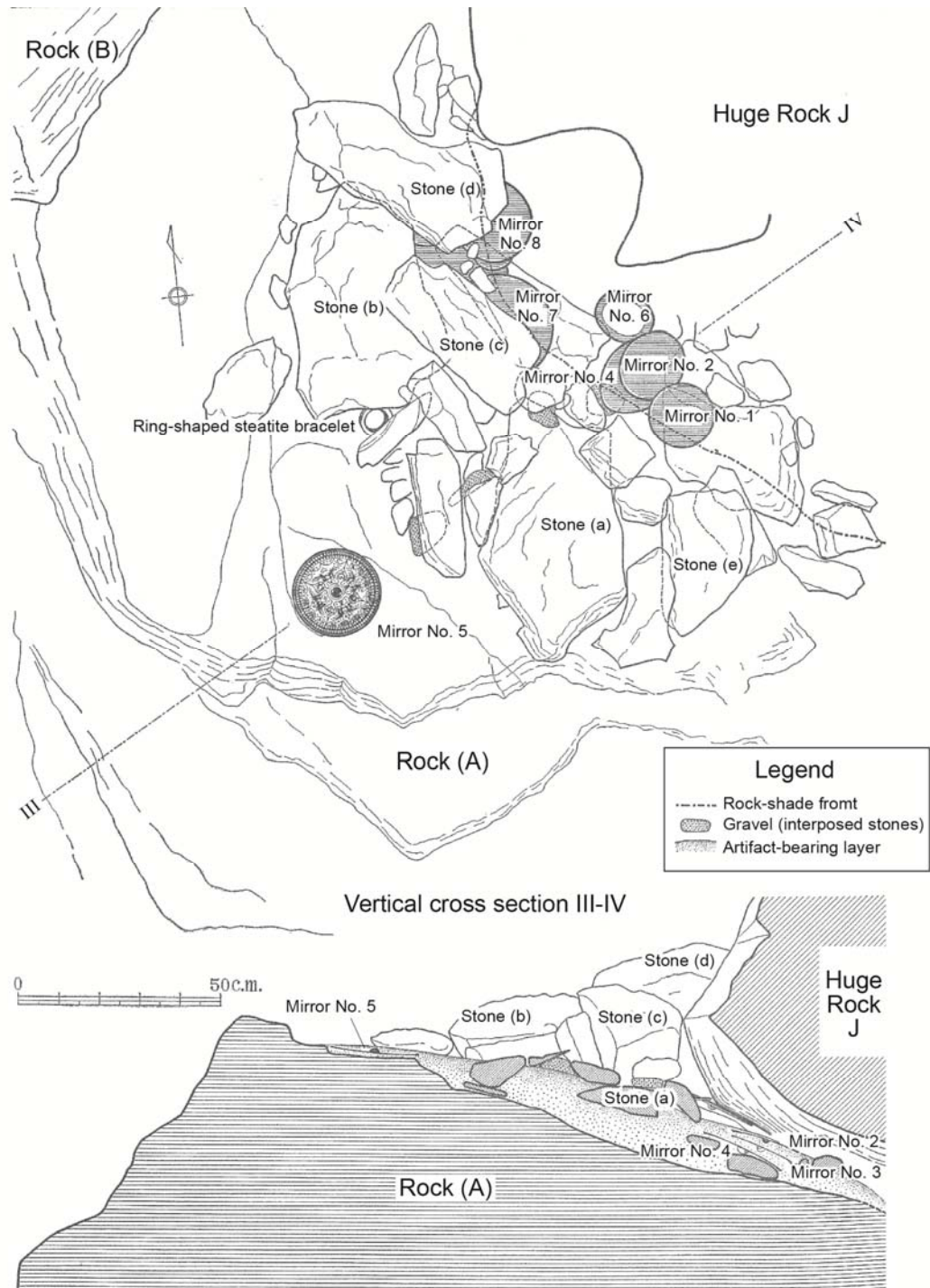


Figure 14 Piles of stones at Site No. 17  
(Source: Figure 3 in *The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*)



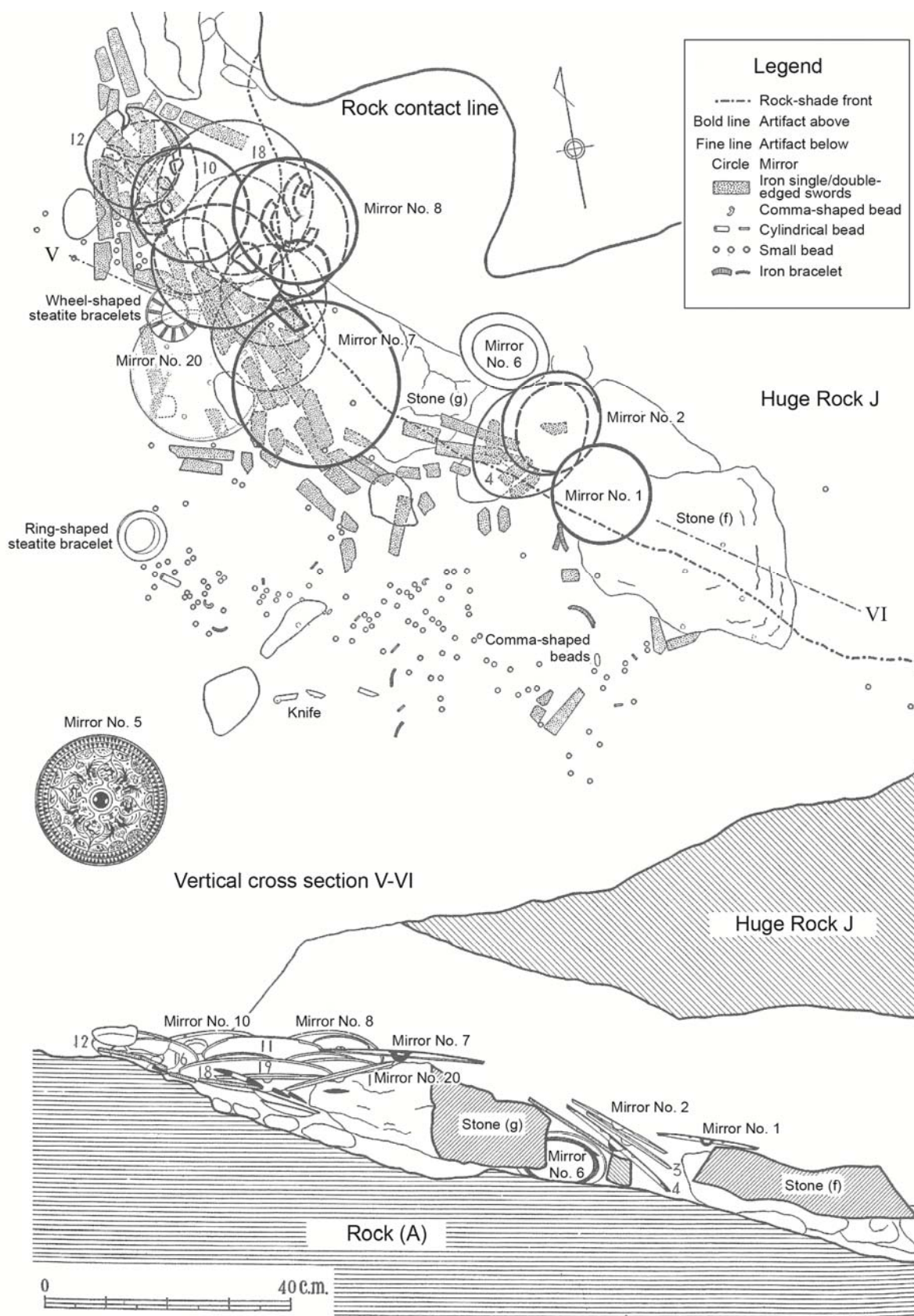


Figure 15 Distribution of artifacts at Site No. 17  
(Source: Figure 5 in *The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*)

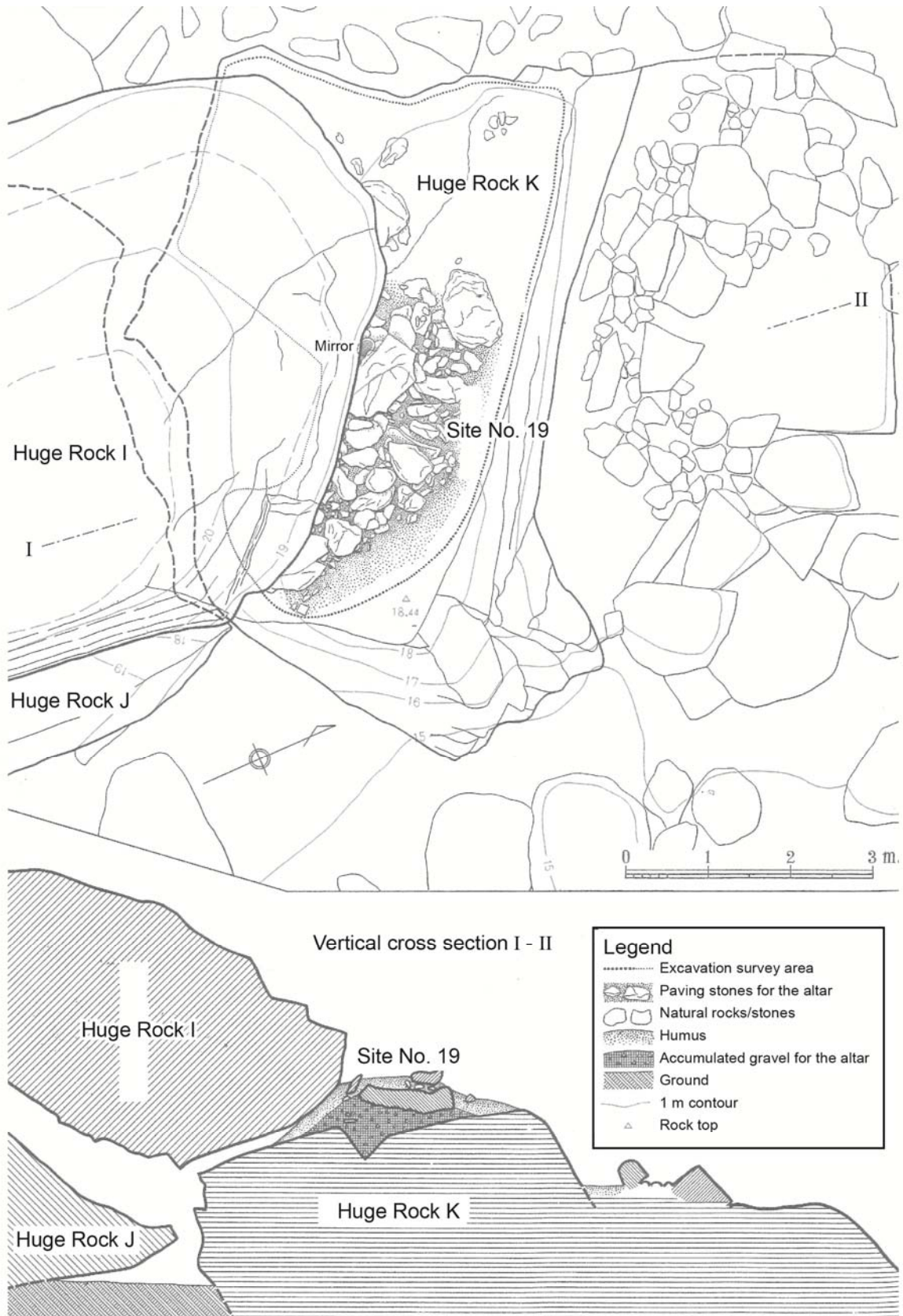


Figure 16 Topography in and around Sites No. 19  
(Source: Figure 67 in *The Sequel to Okinoshima Island*)



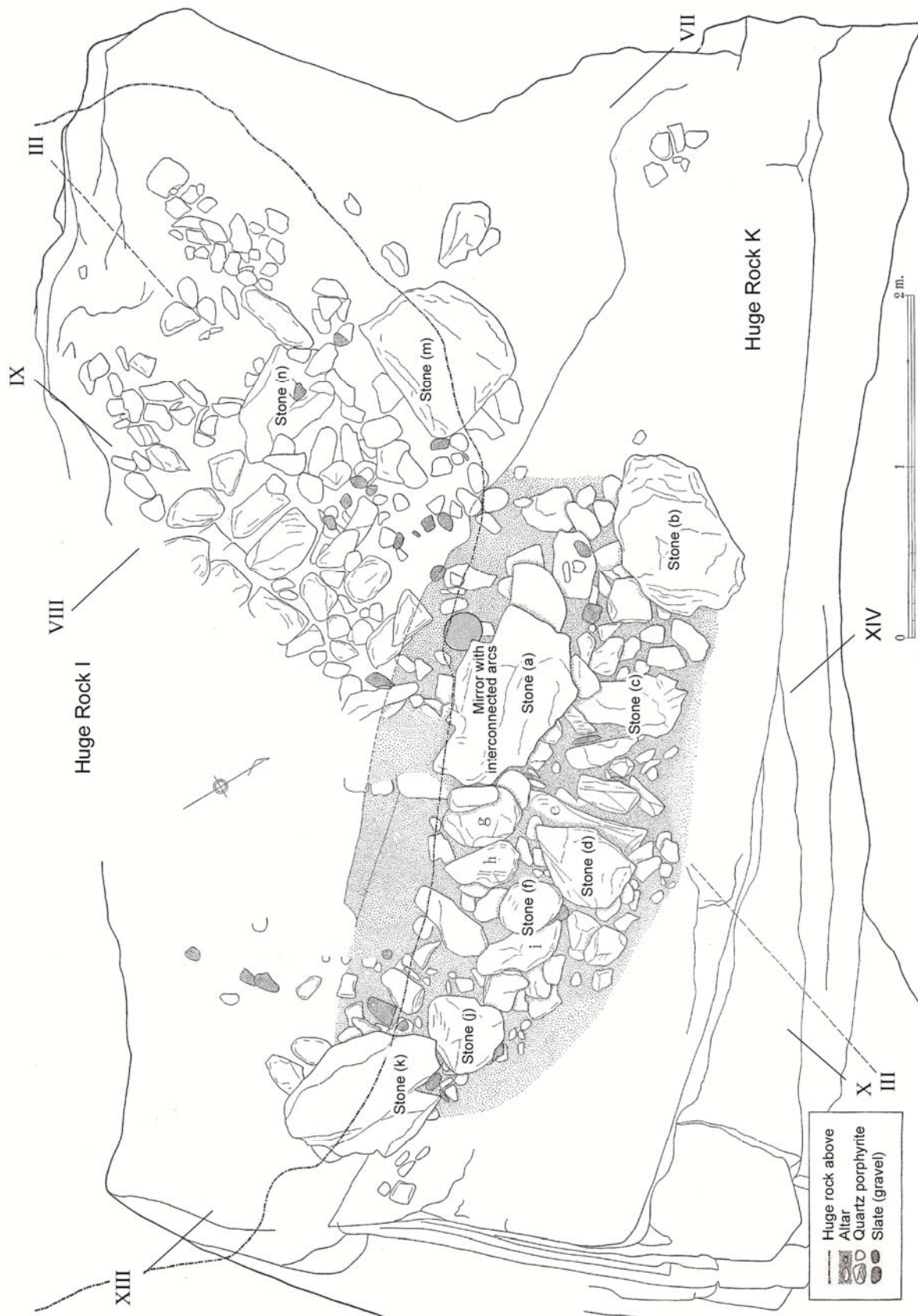


Figure 17 Ground plan of the altar of Site No. 19  
(Source: Figure 68 in *The Sequel Okinoshima Island*)

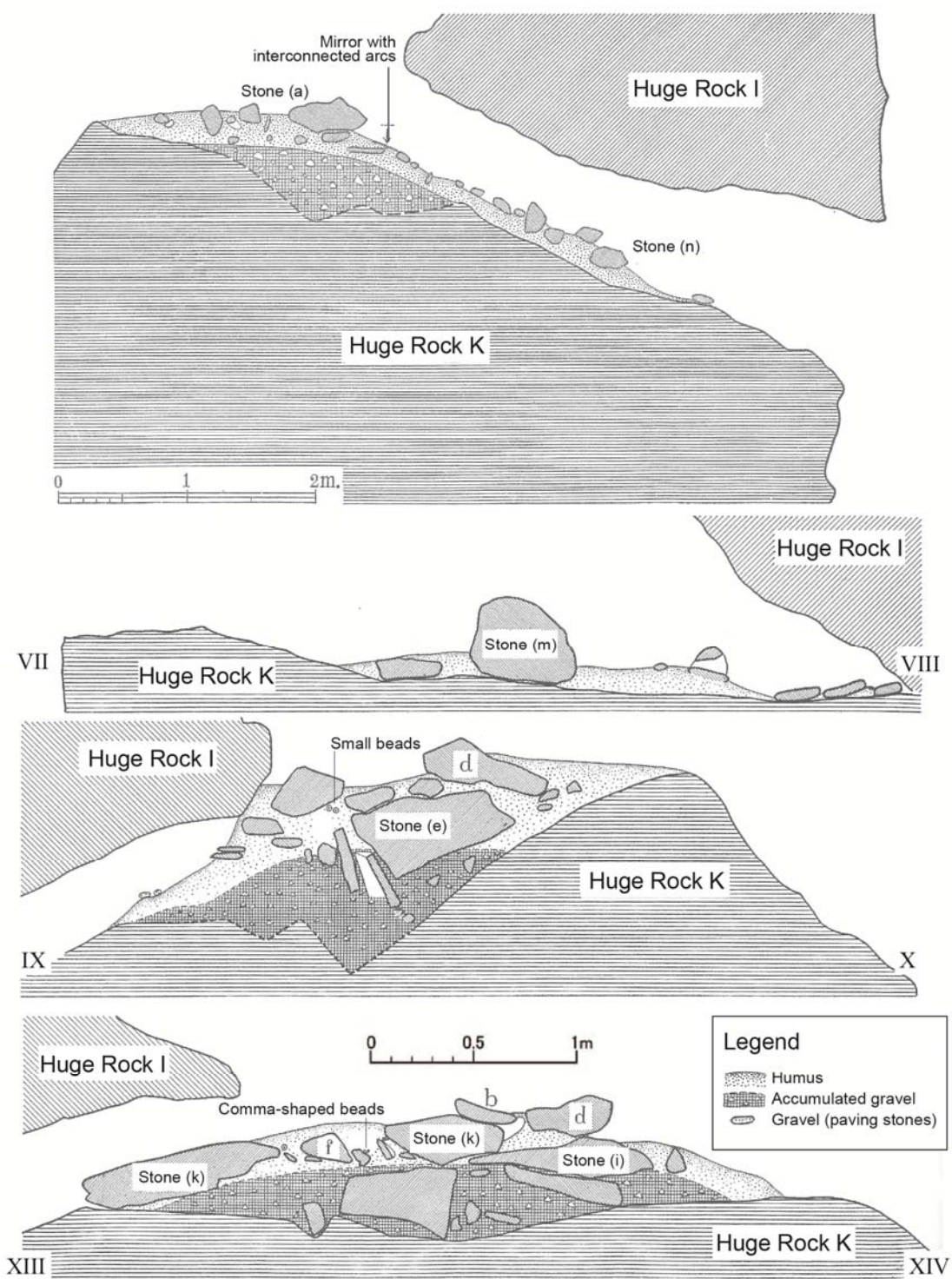


Figure 18 Vertical cross section of Site No. 19  
(Source: Figures 70 and 71 in *The Sequel Okinoshima Island*)

The second half of this section (Section 3) focuses on the rock-shade ritual phase, which followed the rock-top ritual phase. Among the Okinoshima ritual sites of this phase, Sites Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 22 have already been surveyed to the extent that their details are almost fully revealed. At Sites Nos. 7 and 8, the ritual area was established in a deep shade of a huge rock, but neither had a section that can be described as an altar. Yet, indications are that arrangements were made so that votive offerings would not go outside the rock-shade front. The foundation surface was generally flat, although broken pieces of stone were sometimes found there. This may be the reason why there was no need to establish an altar and clearly demarcate it. The following paragraphs focus on Sites Nos. 6 and 22, which had clear lines of demarcation.

**Site No. 6** is situated in the deep northern shade of Huge Rock C, which towered 10.5 m above the ground (see Figure 1). It can be reached by climbing the path in front of Okitsu-miya. The path passes Huge Rock B, which is popularly known as “Okanagura” and home to Site No. 4, and then leads to Huge Rock C, about 85 m above sea level. The northern shade, which is formed by an overhang that rises from the foundation part with an inclination of about 50 degrees, is 5.1 m long from east to west, and 3.1 m wide from north to south. Here, “an altar roughly rectangular in shape measuring 3.8 m east-west and 2.1 m north-south was established” (*Munakata Okinoshima*, p. 198). Although the fringes of the altar feature had already been disturbed, the survey team successfully identified the extent of the altar based on the remaining rows of gravel pieces as well as an L-shaped ditch-like feature, which is 0.8 m wide and located to the north and to the west. The survey team, including the author, actually demarcated the extent of the altar (see the photo [on the right] in Figure 19). Unfortunately, however, the team failed to draw the lines of demarcation on the ground plan that show measured drawings. This ditch-like feature serves as drainage: its northern part slopes away westward as the west part of the foundation surface is tilted lower. Likewise, and its western part slopes away southward. It is assumed that the foundation surface of the altar was made up of gravel pieces, earth, and sand. Indications are that it covered the entire rock shade part to make the best of the limited space while arrangements were made so that it would not extend significantly off the rock shade front. Such arrangements are also observed in other rock shade sites such as Sites Nos. 7 and 8.

**Site No. 22** was discovered in the third round of survey. It is located to the northwest away from the group of huge rocks concentrated in the north of Okitsu-miya. In fact, it is farthest from this group among the other ritual sites in Okinoshima. Site No. 22 is 90 m above sea level and 70 m away from the Okitsu-miya shrine building. As the highest ritual site above sea level in Okinoshima, Site No. 22 commands a sweeping view of the Genkai Sea blow. The ritual site, facing south, slopes down sharply toward the Ōgondani valley except for the rock shade part. Looking toward the rock shade, there is a huge rock each on the left and right sides. “The huge rock [Huge Rock M] stands on them with its overhang greatly projecting at an angle of about 30 degrees. The height from the foundation part to the overhang is 3.8 m...The rock shade is surrounded by huge rocks on its east, west, and north sides.” And “ancient builders took advantage of the two huge rocks at the base to build large and small piles of quartz porphyry stones on the southern part, which collectively constitute an altar-like feature. This feature is roughly rectangular in shape, 4.8 m long in the north-south direction and 2.8 m wide.” In addition, this “altar borders on the foundation part of the huge rock on its west side, where a 1 m x 1 m square area surrounded by stones sticks out. The interior of this square area constitutes a pit about 50 cm deep”. The survey team removed the earth, sand, and gravel inside this stone square part (“separate section”) and found “mortar-shaped beads and flat disc-shaped bead, both made of steatite, along with gilt bronze and iron miniature objects, in such a state as if they had been thrown into this part” (op. cit., p. 236). Also, Sue ware vessels such as dishes with a cap, jars, and large pots were placed on the open air part on the edge of the altar. This range of artifacts is more or less similar to those typical of the succeeding phase of half-rock-shade-and-half-open-air rituals (Site No. 5). Indications are that this site dates back to as late as the 7th century, placing it at the last stage of the rock-shade ritual phase.

On the other hand, only a small amount of artifacts were found at Site No. 6, possibly because it had already been disturbed. Among the noticeable artifacts are gilt bronze objects (bronze bowls and miniatures of vessels), horse trappings (gilt bronze crupper strap dividers with spangles), steatite beads, Sue ware (jars and vessel stands). Mirrors were not found. In some aspects, Site No. 6 has something in common with Site No. 7, which features, among other artifacts, gilt bronze objects of Silla origin. In other aspects, it is more associated with Site No. 5. It is more likely that Site No. 6 predates Site No. 22. It is even possible to assume that it dates back to as early as the end of the 6th century. Noting these different aspects, the reporter stresses “the possibility that two or more rituals were performed.” Site No. 6 is “rather recent in the

rock-shade ritual phase (op. cit., p. 207).

The preceding paragraphs have reviewed the rituals atop rocks (Phase I) and rituals in rock shades (Phase II), with focus on changes in both the offering-making area (ritual area) and the form of ritual, as well as changes in specific offered artifacts. Sites Nos. 17 and 18 have been identified as belonging to the rock-top ritual phase whose beginning dates back to the second half of the 4th century. They correspond to the tombs of the Early [Kofun] period in terms of artifacts that are centered on mirrors, weapons, and beads. At Sites Nos. 16 and 19 that followed, the ritual area was set up on a rather large and stable space (as exemplified by rectangular altar-like features) rather than on a small and unstable space on a foundation rock as in the preceding sites. Offered artifacts were found in parallel rows rather than concentrated (piled up). In general, votive offerings had been covered with stones so that these artifacts would not be exposed. This idea was likely to prevent them from sliding away and hide them from the eyes of the generations to come. The ritual area at Site No. 21, which has been identified as belonging to the last period of the rock-top ritual phase, was more elaborate. A square altar was set up with large and small pieces of gravel on the open-air top surface of a huge rock and a block stone was placed at the center as *yorishiro*, a space on which deities were believed to descend. The offering-making area at preceding ritual sites needed to be covered with stones because the offerings were accessible to the ritual participants. In the case of Site No. 21, its location on a rather flat surface of a towering rock made the offerings inaccessible to the participants, who remained at the bottom of the rock. Only the officiating priest climbed up to the square altar for religious services. The fact that the participants had no way of knowing how the votive offerings were placed on the altar rendered it unnecessary to cover them with stones. In this way, a clear distinction was established between the divine space inaccessible to the public and the space for ritual participants. This suggests that the status of the officiating priest had been firmly established by that time as the intermediary between two distinctive spheres.

The rock-top ritual phase was supplanted by the rock-shade ritual phase in the second half of the 5th century. Archaeological surveys have identified Sites Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 22 as belonging to this particular phase and dated them to the middle of the 6th century or later. The transition from the rock-top ritual phase to the rock-shade ritual phase must have been an intermittent process. At least, it is safe to say that there was a period of void that lasted more than half century between the two phases. This contrasts sharply with the transition from the rock-shade ritual phase to the half-rock-shade-and-half-open-air ritual phase, which was likely a gradual but steady process that involved transitory aspects that displayed the natures of both phases, as typified by Site No. 22. There are a few rock-shade sites that have yet to be surveyed on a full-fledged scale. They are known to be inferior to Sites Nos. 6-8 in terms of the scale of rock shade. Although they were somewhere in the transitional process toward the half-rock-shade-and-half-open-air ritual phase, these sites give the impression that they represent a regress in the process in terms of their scale and the artifacts involved. Is the key to understanding this seemingly paradoxical phenomenon hidden in the unsurveyed rock-shade sites? In what situation the three Korean states were in between the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century? In what internal situation the Yamato polity found itself in back then? Were its external relations in the doldrums or even on the decline? Did the rebellion by Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai between 527 and 528 in Japan play a part? These factors should be taken into account in elucidating the transition from the rock-top ritual phase to the rock-shade ritual phase. This transition should also be explained in the context of the belief system of primitive Shinto. These issues are outside the scope of this paper and should be considered in other occasions.

Rituals in rock shades flourished from the 6th century to the first half of the 7th century, corresponding to the period from the Late Kofun period to the first half of the terminal stage of the Kofun period. During this period, the ritual style was in place whereby a rectangular altar was erected on the ground in a rock shade and offerings were made within the altar. The practice of establishing a rectangular altar built on the similar but less developed practice that emerged in the second half of the rock-top ritual phase. The range of votive offerings in this period was often common to the range of grave goods buried in tombs of the Late Kofun period. Such commonality was conspicuous in and after the rock-top ritual phase, which corresponds to the Early or Middle Kofun period. The term “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” represents such a state of affairs <sup>29)</sup>. At the same time, however, it is important to take heed of the proposition put forward from the viewpoint of ritual archaeology, which has recently been advocated by Dr. SASŌ Mamoru and others. Specifically, Dr. SASŌ states: “By the middle of the 5th century, the set of offerings to deities was established by following or building on the range of tomb grave goods that were common until the Early



Kofun period. These grave goods are represented by iron weapons and defensive equipment, agricultural and other tools, and fabrics”<sup>30)</sup> (p. 50).

Imported artifacts were offered during the first half of the rock-shade ritual phase. They include gilt bronze artifacts (accessories and horse trappings) and iron tools (cast bronze and iron adzes), all of which had an origin in Silla, at Site No. 7, as well as a glass bowl with round protrusions made in the Middle East (Iran) at Site No. 8. Such an impressive array of rare treasures from abroad suggests how highly the Yamato polity valued rituals on Okinoshima Island.

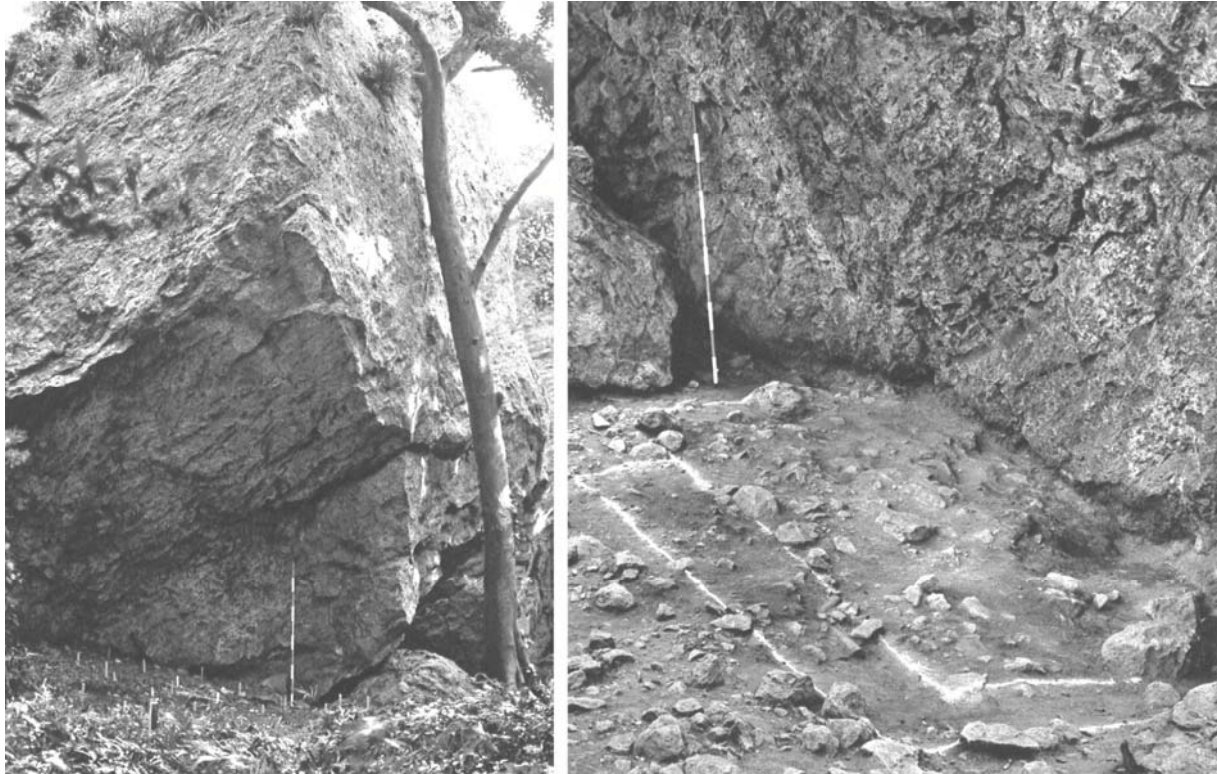


Figure 19 Site No. 6  
 Left: A complete view of the site and Huge Rock C Right: Altar-like feature (after the survey)  
 (Source: *Munakata Okinoshima*)



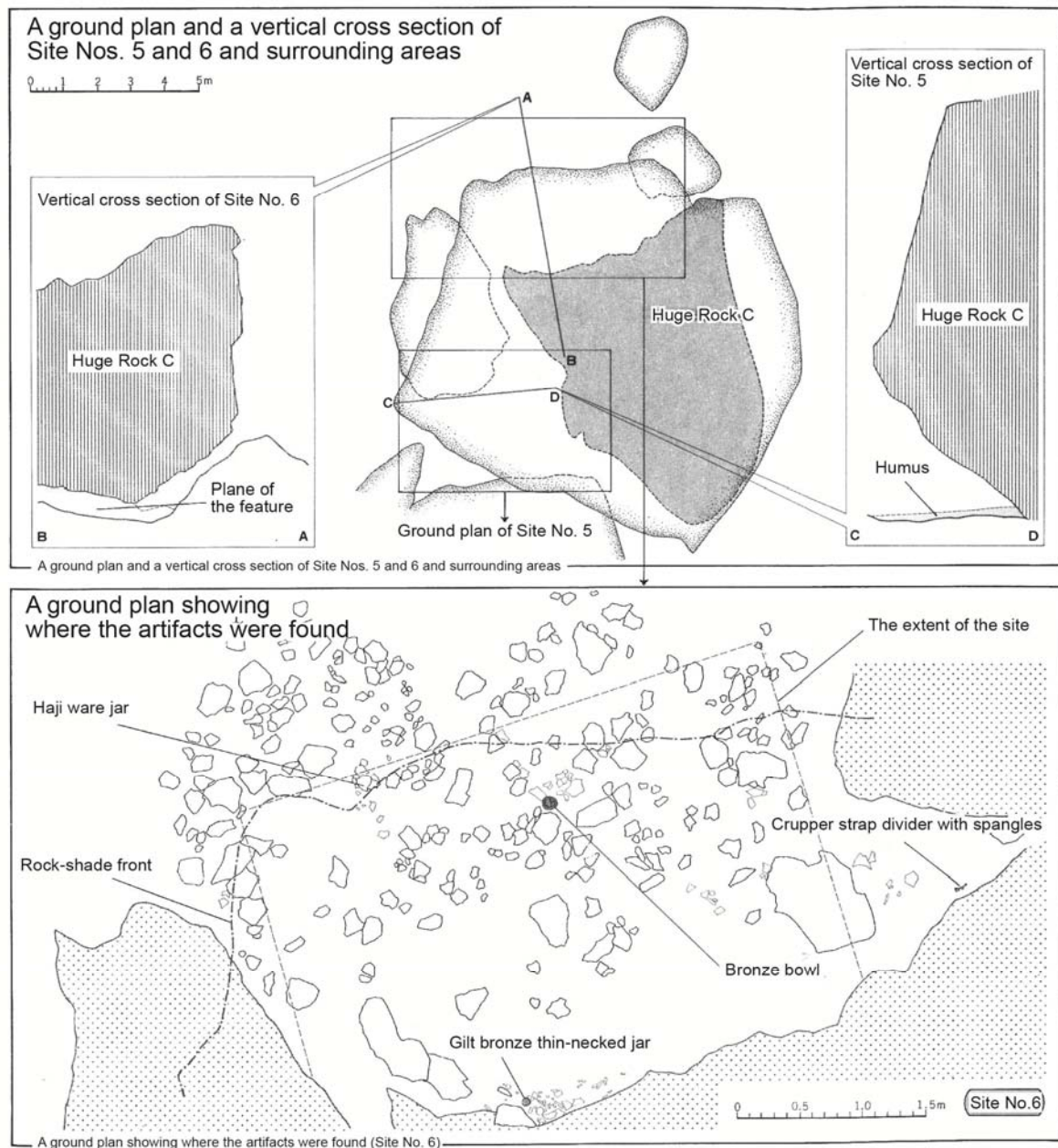


Figure 20 A ground plan and a vertical cross section of Site No. 6, as well as a ground plan showing where the artifacts were found  
(Source: *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Figures 83 and 84)

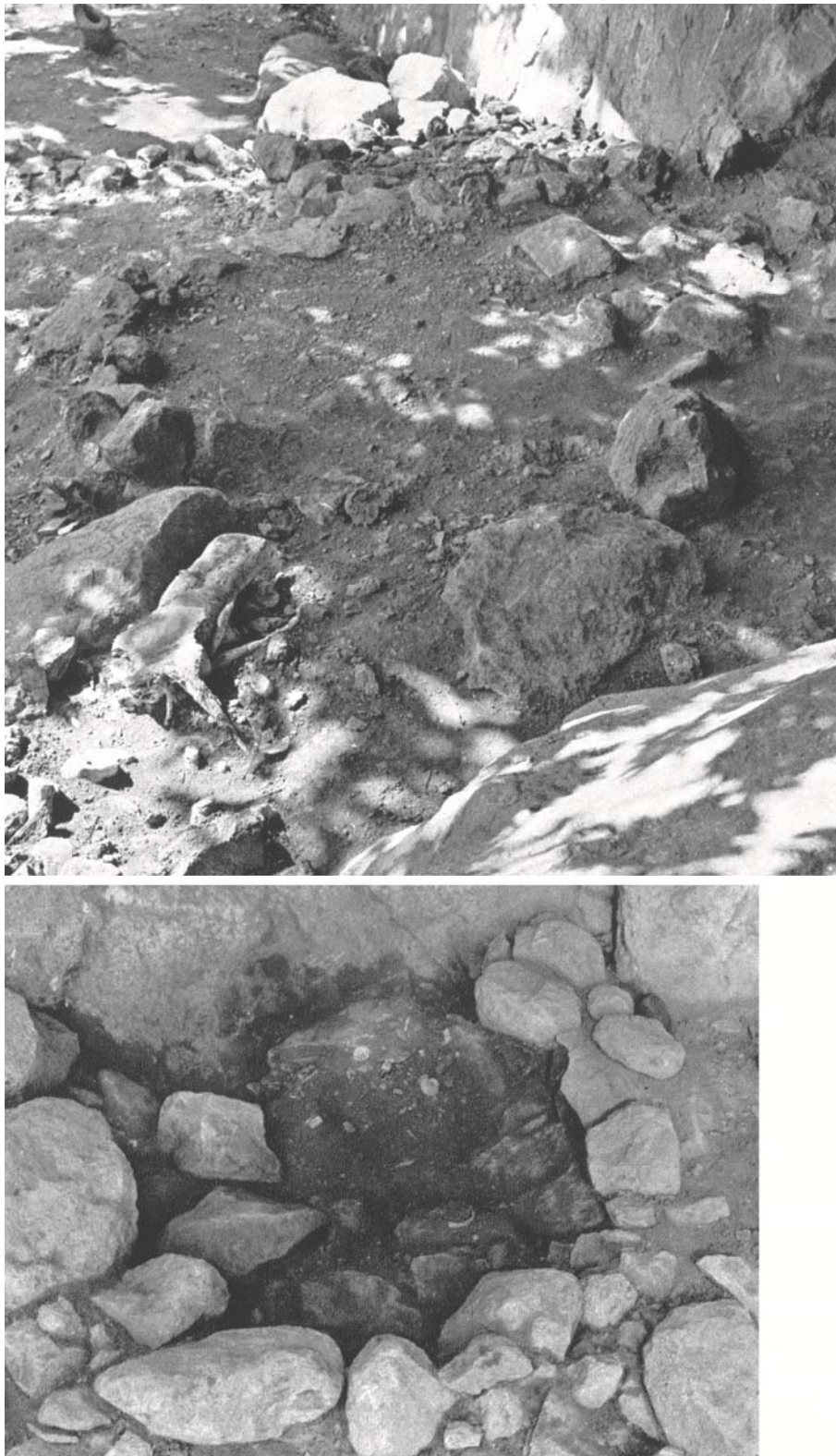


Figure 21 Site No. 22  
Top: A complete view of the altar-like feature after the survey  
Bottom: Separate section (a square area surrounded by stones)  
(Source: *Munakata Okinoshima*)

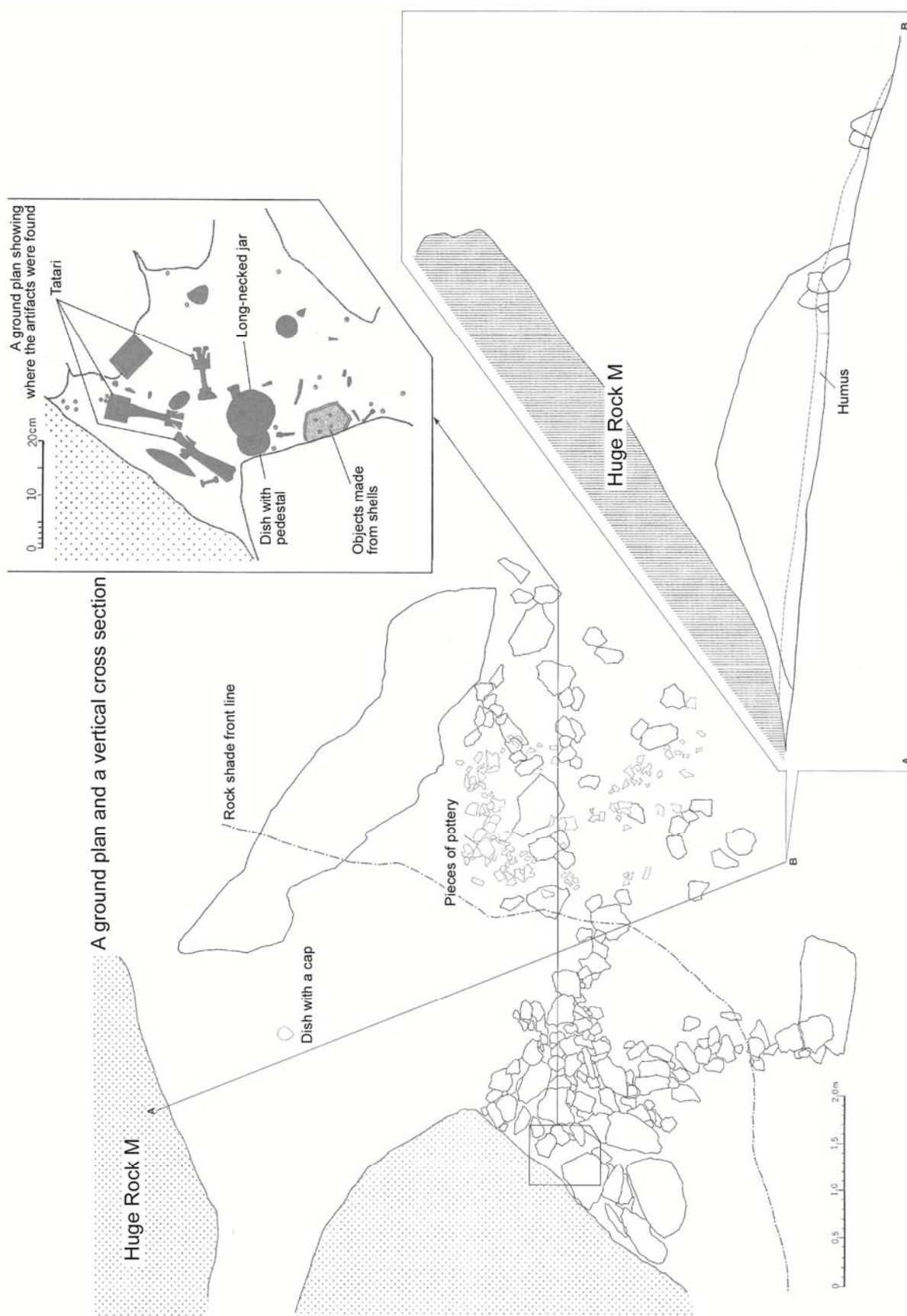


Figure 22 A ground plan and a vertical cross section of Site No. 22  
(Source: *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Figure 112, with addition)



#### 4. An Examination of the Glass Bowl Unearthed from Site No. 8

*Okinoshima*, one of the reports on the archaeological surveys on the island, carries an article titled “Pieces of a glass vessel,” together with measured drawings of a reconstruction, in Section 9, Chapter 3 (No. 1 in Figure 23). These pieces--two pieces in total--were discovered in the northeast and southwest of a small rock at the center of Site No. 8. The two pieces were found to match at one side and be part of a single glass vessel. The Report provides the following description:

“Each piece is 3 mm thick, faint light green in color, with a significantly large number of bubbles locked inside. On its external surface, [the large piece] has a round protrusion 2.8 cm in diameter and 3-5 mm high. The diameter is shorter--though very slightly--at the top than at the bottom. The top surface of the round protrusion is curved inward like a concave lens. The piece has also tiny portions of two [adjacent] round protrusions spaced 7 mm apart from this complete round protrusion. The space between the round protrusions, arc marks stretching in the same direction on the internal surface, and the shape of the curve on the surface all indicate that the pieces were part of a crystal glass bowl with nine and seven protrusions in the upper and lower horizontal rows, respectively. The complete round protrusion [on the larger piece] belongs to the lower row. The elevation of the projection is higher at the lower end (5 mm) and lower at the upper end (3 mm). The internal diameter at the upper end of the piece is calculated at about 11 cm. This suggests that the internal diameter at the rim of the bowl is about 12 cm” (p. 221). This length is common to the glass bowl unearthed from the tumulus believed to be the tomb of Emperor Ankan<sup>31)</sup> (No. 9 in Figure 25, and No. 13 in Figure 26) and the clear cut glass bowl of the *Shōsōin* treasure repository<sup>32)</sup> (No. 10 on the right, Figure 25, and No. 12 in Figure 26). These glass bowls have wheel-cut facets curved inward. By contrast, the round decorations of the glass bowl from *Okinoshima* are projected. The *Okinoshima* glass bowl looks more like the deep-blue glass cup of *Shōsōin* (No. 10 on the left in Figure 25), which has projected round decorations stuck onto the surface. The Report notes, however, that *Okinoshima* glass bowl was made by glass casting. It then proposes a reconstruction of this bowl, saying “though the height of the bowl is unknown, it should be about 6 cm if the round protrusions are in two rows and more than 9 cm if they are in three rows” (p. 222).

It is worth noting here that the decorated cut glass bowls of the tomb of Emperor Ankan (reign: 531-535) and *Shōsōin* “were brought to Japan simultaneously. However, the former was soon buried in the tomb. The latter were inherited from generation to generation until the 8th century when it was offered to the Great Buddha [of Nara] and has been preserved as a treasure of *Shōsōin* since then”<sup>32)</sup> (p. 11).

These imported glass bowls from the Middle East had long been represented solely by these glassworks, which may be collectively referred to as the Ankan type, until the discovery of these glass pieces, which represents another type of imported glass bowls from the region and may be referred to as the *Okinoshima* type. In recent years, there have been an increasing number of studies and cases that suggest that the *Okinoshima* type, as well as the Ankan type, originates from Iran (No. 2 in Figure 23, and No. 7 in Figure 25). The first study to do so was published in 1962 by Prof. FUKAI Shinji<sup>33)</sup>. Based on the field study by a team of archaeologists from Tōkyō University and other evidence, Prof. Fukae concluded that the decorated cut glass bowls of the Ankan type originate from Gilan Province and surrounding areas. He dated them to the second half of the 6th century at the latest. As an artifact quite similar to the *Okinoshima*-type glass bowls, which feature projected decorations, Prof. Fukae presented a complete product that “was unearthed in the spring of 1961 from a tomb of the period of Parthia and the Sassanid dynasty located in the Alborz Mountains in Gilan Province in the northwestern part of the Iranian Plateau”<sup>33)</sup> (p. 195). He notes that those of the Ankan type were also unearthed from these mountains. About this particular vessel, Prof. Fukae provides the following description (No. 4 in Fig 24):

It is a bowl-shaped vessel with a pedestal and a slight narrowed rim part. It measures 8.0 in height, 9.5 cm in the outer diameter at the rim, and 0.4 cm in thickness at the rim. On the surface, there are two horizontal rows of round protrusions: seven in the upper row and seven plum-shaped projections the size of a finger tip. The round protrusions in the upper row are spaced about 1.3 cm apart, with each measuring 3.3 cm in diameter and 0.3-0.5 cm in elevation. The diameter is slightly shorter at the top than at the base. The top surface is curved inward like a concave lens”<sup>33)</sup> (pp. 197-198).

Prof. Fukae dated the glass bowl found in Gilan Province to the pre-Islamic period as no similar works of



the Islamic period (in the second half of the 7th onward) have been found. He concluded that the glass bowl found in Okinoshima was made in the same place as the one found in the tomb in Gilan Province and dated the former to the 6th to 7th century at the latest. This concurs with the author's view, although the diameter at the rim is slightly shorter in the latter than in the former. Touching on the subsequent change in design from the perspective of fine arts, Prof. Fukae states: "They [Persian glass craftsmen] gradually learned how to enhance the beauty by cutting the decorations inward. This technical advancement reflects the fact that wheel-cut facets came to gain more aesthetic acclaim than round protrusions <sup>33)</sup> (p. 204)."

Glass cups and bowls have also been found in royal tumuli of the Old Silla period in the Korean Peninsula, including those in Gyeongju, South Korea, such as the Kumgwan-chong tomb, the Kinreizuka tomb, the Sobong-chong tomb, and the Chonma-chong tomb, as well as the north and south tombs at Hwangnam-dong No. 98 <sup>34)</sup>. These glass vessels, most of which are of the Roman glassware, are said to be likely brought to Silla in the same period. Tortoise-patterned cups as unearthed from the Chonma-chong tomb (No. 8 in Figure 25) "have not been found elsewhere in Asia but have rather often been unearthed in South Russia, West Asia, and Europe" <sup>34)</sup> (p. 64). Those unearthed in West Germany (from ancient cairn tombs) and those attributed to Syria are known. Archaeologists say they have been unearthed from sites dated to the 4th century. The cut glass bowl unearthed from the north tomb at Hwangnam-dong No. 98 <sup>34)</sup> "has two horizontal grooves, above, below, and between which are cut facets with a pattern of beads" <sup>35)</sup>. Not surprisingly, it is believed to be of the Roman glassware. Archaeologists say that the likes have not been found in other tombs of Old Silla, let alone in Japan or China <sup>36)</sup>.

What has been found in Japan was a piece of a glass bowl with facets cut in a double-circle pattern. It was discovered in 1964 in the precincts of Kamigamo Shrine in Kita Ward, Kyoto City <sup>37)</sup> (No. 5 in Figure 24). This glass bowl has ornamental round protrusions like the one found in Okinoshima but "the surface has also grooves cut with a stone grinder with a small semi-cylindrical cross section" <sup>38)</sup> (p. 83). The discovered piece bears a large facet cut in a double-circle pattern. The reconstruction has a total of six facets on its side. Similar glass bowls have also been found in Iran (No. 6 in Figure 24). However, the discovery of such bowls in China or Korea has not been reported. In her recent study on the eastward introduction of glass originating from West Asia, Ms. MIYASHITA Saeko <sup>39)</sup> observed that the glasswork found in Kamigamo Shrine and those unearthed from ancient tombs in Iran were of the same type and she characterized the tortoise-patterned cup unearthed from the Chonma-chong tomb as "having a shape typical of Iranian glassworks" <sup>39)</sup> (pp. 68 and 72).

It had long been believed that glass bowls of an Okinoshima type have not been found in China or the Korean Peninsula. All that changed when an ancient tomb was excavated in Guyuan, Ningxia Province <sup>40)</sup>. It is known as the tomb of Li-Xian, senior general and senior governor of the Northern Zhou Dynasty, and his wife. Li-Xian was interred there in 569. Among the many grave goods discovered there is a crystal glass bowl (No. 3 in Figure 23, and No. 11 in Figure 26) whose description is provided as shown below [the original in Chinese]:

Bluish green in color and straight at the rim part, it [this glass bowl] has a circular bottom and a short base. On the outer surface are two horizontal rows of round protrusions: 8 in the upper and 6 in the lower. The upper and lower protrusions are arranged so that they are [generally] not along the same vertical circumference. Through each of the transparent protrusions, you can see three protrusions on the other side. With the diameter measuring 9.5 cm at the rim part and 9.8 cm around the body part at the maximum, [the bowl] is 8 cm tall and 6.8 cm deep inside.

This ancient tomb has also yielded wall paintings and gold and silver jars from the Western Regions (the Sassanid Empire of Persia) that fill the archaeological missing link in the period of the Northern Zhou Dynasty. This particular crystal glass cup was likely introduced to China through the same route as well. This find is quite relevant in that it helps confirm the theory that glass vessels of an Okinoshima type were introduced to Japan via China in the second half of the 6th and onward. The author introduced this theory soon after a summary of the study report on the tomb of Li-Xian <sup>40)</sup> was published <sup>41)</sup>. Since then, this theory has not been challenged as far as he knows.

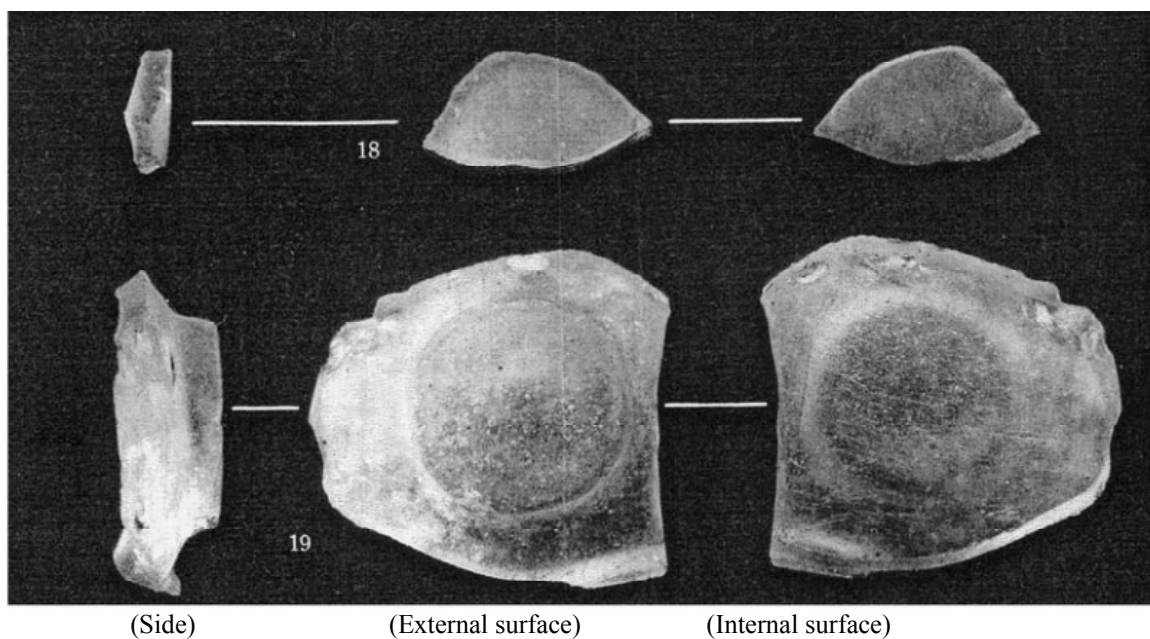
Building on the discussions as discussed above, Mr. YOSHIMIZU Tsuneo makes it clear that glass artifacts in East Asia can be divided into two groups: (i) Roman glassware as unearthed from tombs of the Old Silla

in South Korea and Niizawa-senzuka Tomb No. 126 in Japan; and (ii) Sassanian glassware as found in the legendary tomb of Emperor Ankan, the *Shōsōin* treasure repository, Okinoshima, and Kamigamo Shrine in Japan as well as in the tomb of Li-Xian and his wife in China <sup>42)</sup>. It is believed that the first group was produced from the 4th to 5th century around the Mediterranean Sea and that its eastward route went north from the Black Sea, went to South Russia, followed the (Northern) Steppe Route, reached North China, and arrived at Silla <sup>43)</sup>. The fact that no glasswork of this group has been found in Goguryeo or Paekche suggests, it is argued, that the Old Silla culture from the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century assimilated the Greece and Roman cultures, which were quite different from the Goguryeo and Paekche cultures of a Chinese origin. After Silla unified the Korean Peninsula, the argument goes, the Chinese culture became the mainstream, which put an end to the inflow of the Roman culture and paved the way for the Persian culture to arrive via China. It is known that Sassanian glassware passed the Pamirs, entered China (via the Silk Road) and came all the way to Japan. Support for the theory that Sassanian glassware was introduced to China from the Western Regions also comes from Fan Ni, a poet of the Western Jin Dynasty (251-311), who wrote: "...went cross the formidable desert of Taklamakan and passed over the rugged mountains of the Pamirs" in his poem "Liuli Wan Fu (poem of the crystal glass bowl)" <sup>42)</sup>.

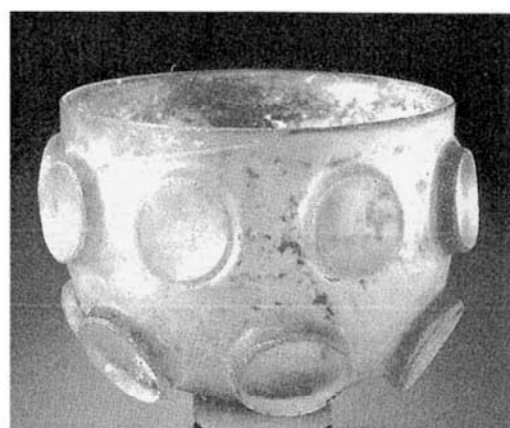
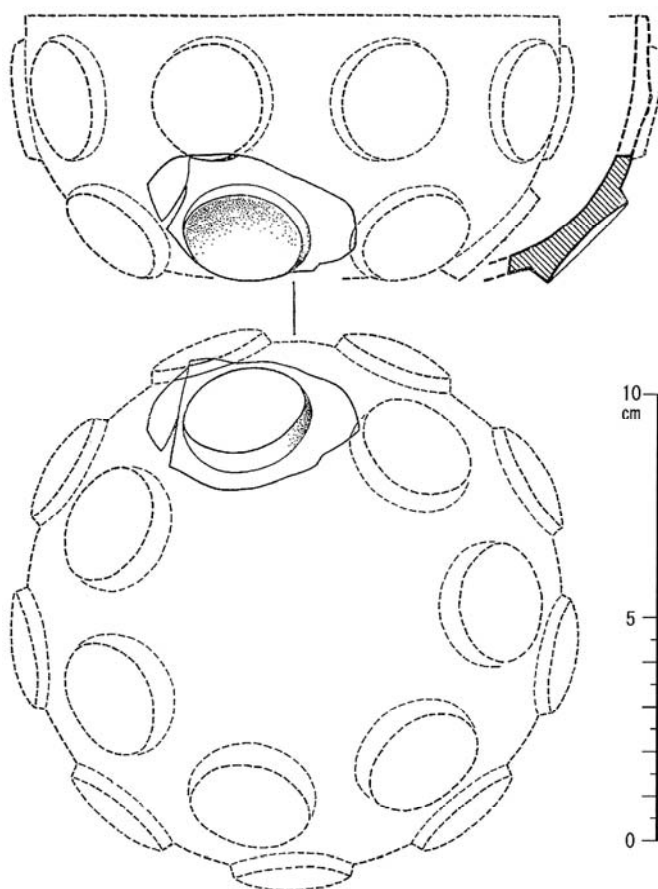
Section 4 has thus focused on the fact that this extremely rare object among the imported artifacts of the Kofun period was offered during the rock-shade ritual phase and discussed how it was brought to Okinoshima Island.

**Conclusion:** This second part of the paper has reexamined the rock-top ritual phase and the rock-shade ritual phase by taking advantage of the latest academic achievements following the 1979 publication of the research report titled "*Munakata Okinoshima*." The scope of the reexamination has extended to the final stage of the rock-shade ritual phase, which began to show the transitory aspects that led to the half-rock-shade-and-half-open-air ritual phase, which is now said to have corresponded to the nascent period of ritsuryō ritual. This and subsequent phases remain to be reexamined. Focus has also been placed on the glass bowl unearthed from a rock-shade ritual site as it is an extremely rare artifact the likes of which are not found in the earlier phase.

March 15, 2012



1. Glass bowl unearthed from Okinoshima Site No. 8  
(Upper: photo of the pieces; lower: measured drawings of a reconstruction)



2. Cut glass bowl with round protrusions  
unearthed in Iran  
In the possession of MIHO MUSEUM



3. Crystal glass cup unearthed from the  
tomb of Li-Xian and his wife of the  
Northern Zhou Dynasty, China  
(Interred in 569)

Figure 23 Glass vessels (1)

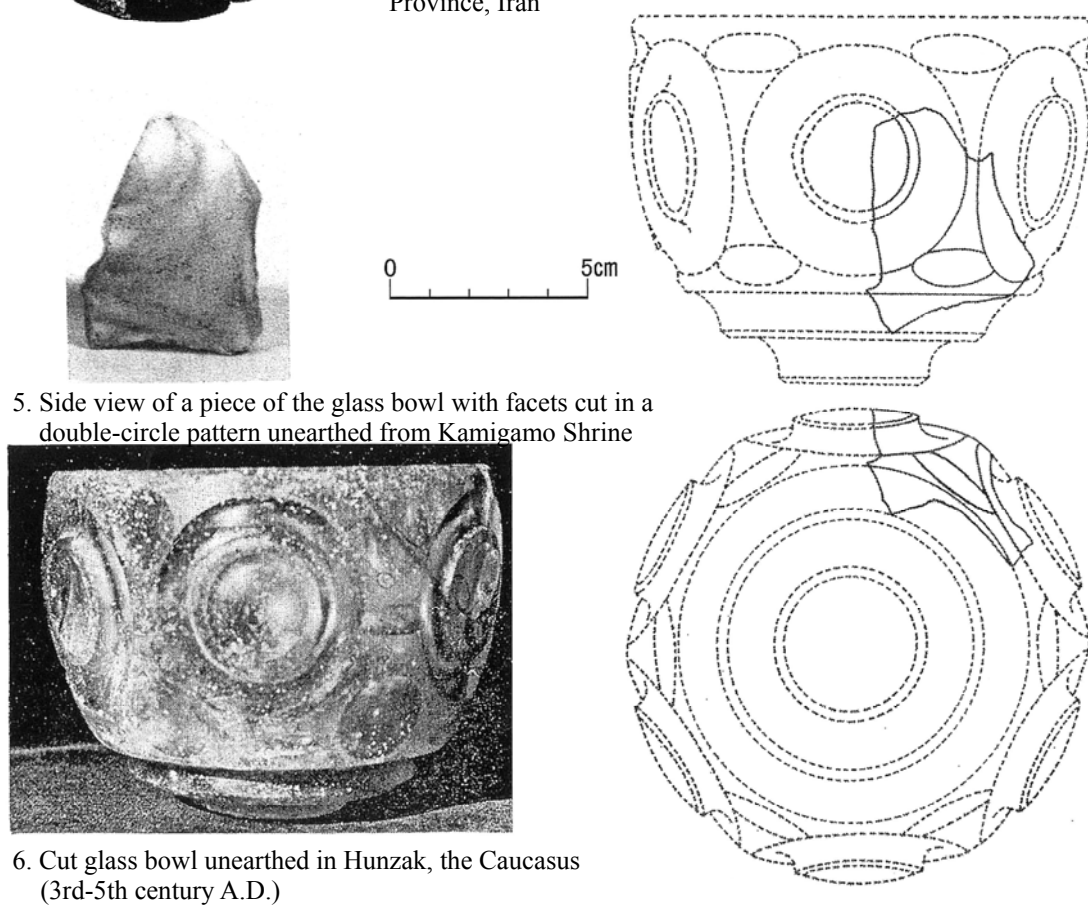
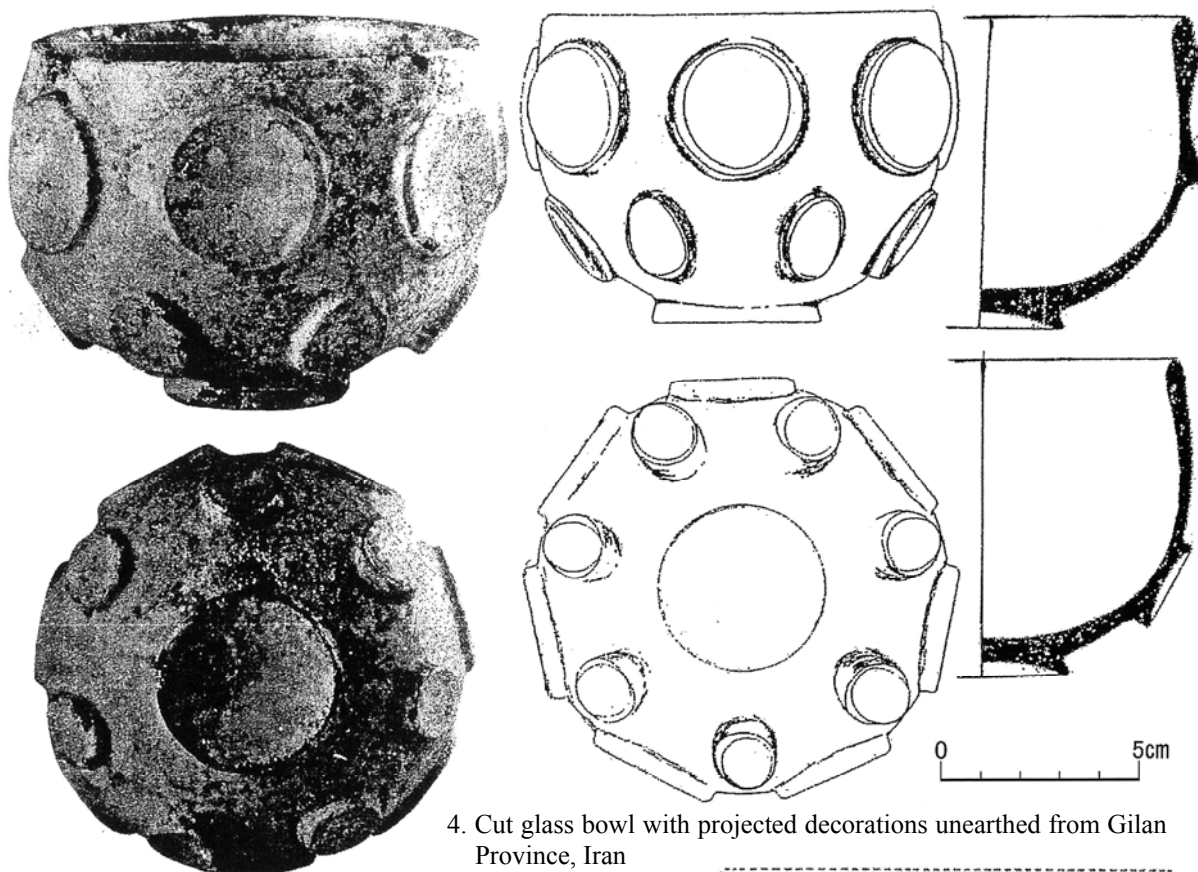
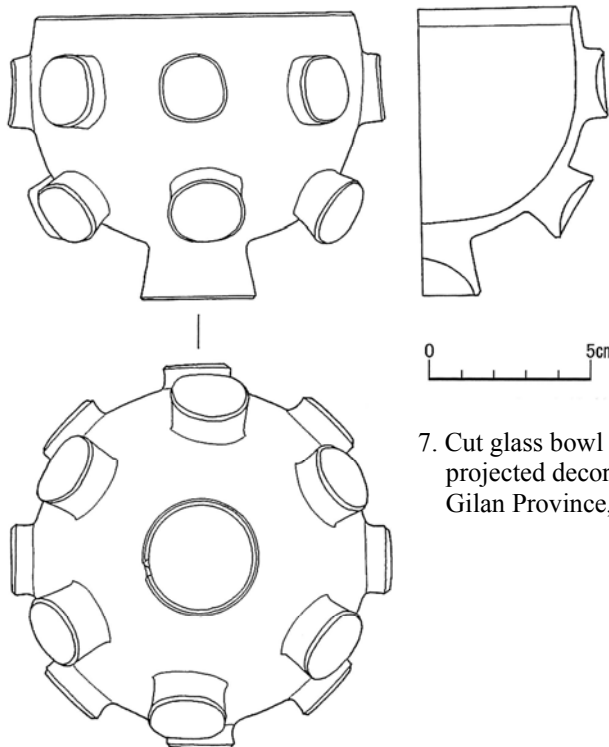


Figure 24 Glass vessels (2)

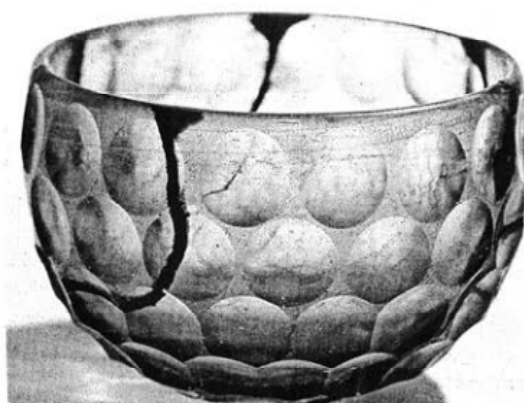




7. Cut glass bowl with projected decorations  
Gilan Province, Iran



8. Tortoise-patterned cup from the Chonma-chong tomb in Gyeongju, South Korea

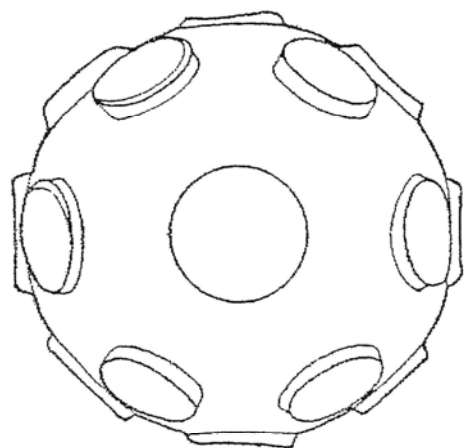
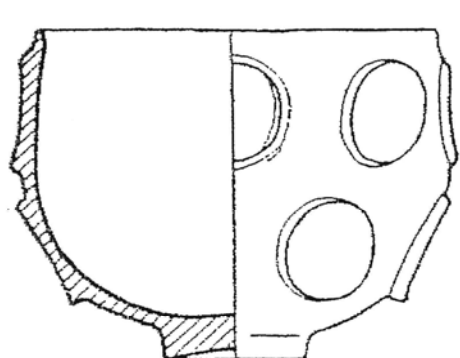


9. Decorated cut glass bowl unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan

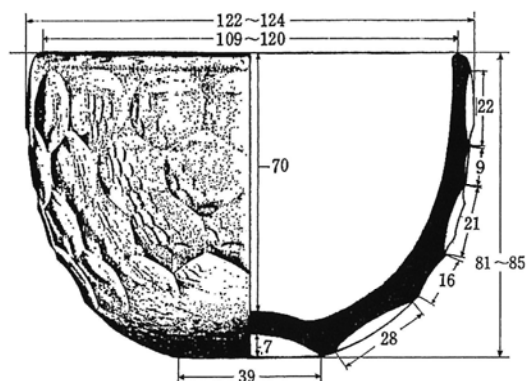


10. Heirloom objects of *Shōsōin* in Nara (left: deep-blue glass cup; right: clear cut glass bowl)

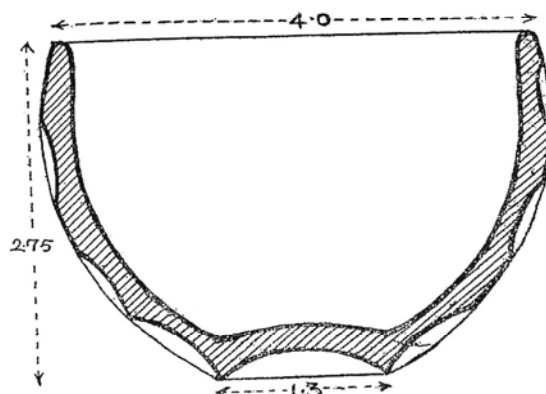
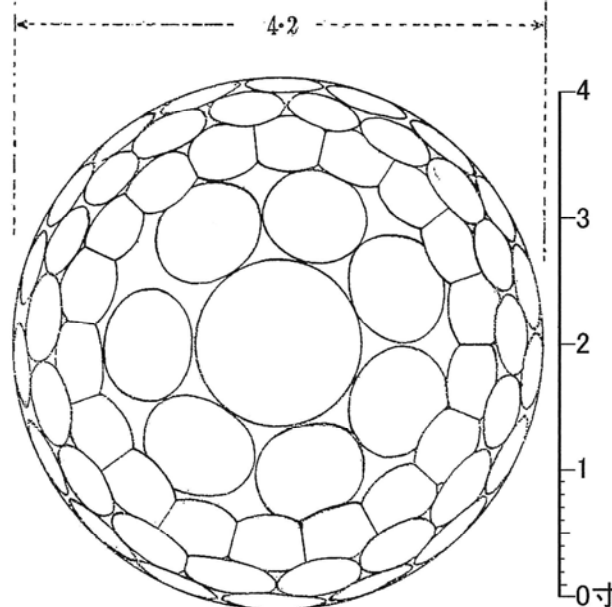
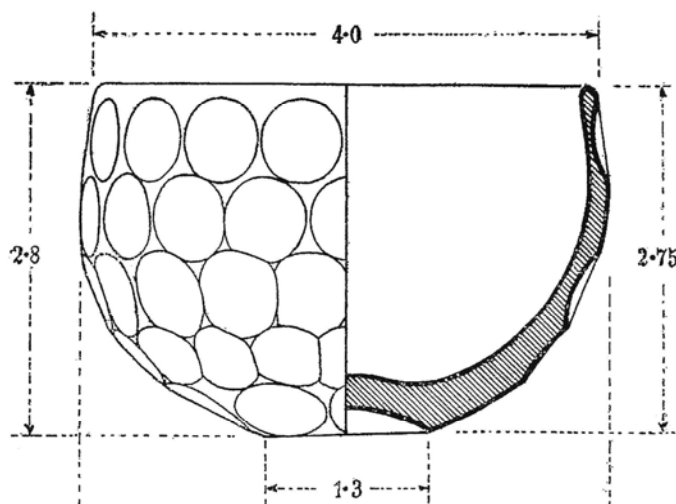
Figure 25 Glass vessels (3)



11. Crystal glass cup unearthed from the tomb of Li-Xian and his wife of the Northern Zhou Dynasty, China



12. Measured drawing of the clear cut glass bowl of *Shōsōin* (unit: mm)



13. Measured drawings of the glass bowl unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Ankan (Original drawings by FUJISAWA Kazuo [upper and middle] and UMEHARA Sujie)

## Notes (not translated):

- 1) (財)大東文化財研究院『高霊池山洞第73・74・75号墳発掘調査―第1次(封墳調査)現場説明会―』2007年11月  
なお、神道における社殿形成以前の礼拝場所について記述された次の文章も参考されるところである。『日本史小百科・神道』161頁上段・東京堂出版2003年版)『建築物としての本殿が形成されるのは、後世のことで、山や海の彼方等、神の住まう異界を礼拝するための拝殿がまず成立したと推測されるが、その拝殿も、発生は、人々が横に並んで拝礼することのできる長方形の「拝み板」といった簡単なものであったと考えられる。』(第六章「神籬・磐境から社・宮へ」の項)
- 2) 第三次学術調査隊『宗像沖ノ島』1979年宗像大社復興期成会
- 3) 『宗像沖ノ島』I 309頁・515～524頁、II PL. 103・120・121
- 4) 宗像市史編纂委員会『宗像市史』第1巻(通史編)1997年
- 5) 石山勲・川述昭人『新原・奴山古墳群』(福岡県文化財調査報告書第54集)1977年
- 6) 池ノ上宏・吉田東明編『津屋崎古墳群II(勝浦峯ノ畑古墳)』(福津市文化財調査報告書第4集)2011年
- 7) 杉山富雄・柳沢一男編『鋤崎古墳―1981～1983年調査報告書―』(福岡市埋蔵文化財調査報告書第730集)2002年
- 8) 松尾禎作「横田下古墳」(『佐賀県史蹟名勝天然記念物調査報告』第10輯)1951年
- 9) 石山勲『釜塚』(前原町文化財調査報告書第4集)1981年
- 10) 柳沢一男『丸隈山古墳II』(福岡市埋蔵文化財調査報告書第142集)1986年
- 11) 小田富士雄「古墳時代の北部九州と壱岐島・序説」(壱岐市「壱岐古墳群」指定3周年記念国際シンポジウム『巨石古墳の時代―東アジアにおける壱岐古墳群の位置―』2012年2月)
- 12) 小田富士雄「横穴式石室の導入とその源流」(『東アジア世界における日本古代史講座』第4巻)1980年学生社、のち小田『九州古代文化の形成』上巻収録1985年学生社  
森下浩行「日本における横穴式石室の出現とその系譜―畿内型と九州型―」(『古代学研究』第111号)1986年古代学研究会  
同上「九州型横穴式石室考―畿内型出現前・横穴式石室の様相―」(『古代学研究』第115号)1987年古代学研究会
- 13) 『朝鮮遺跡遺物図鑑』5(高句麗篇3)『同』6(同4)1990年、同図鑑編纂委員会(北朝鮮刊ハングル版)
- 14) 川西宏幸「円筒埴輪総論」(『考古学雑誌』64巻2・4号)1978～79年、のち川西『古墳時代政治史序説』収録1988年塙書房
- 15) 川西宏幸『同型鏡とワカタケル―古墳時代国家論の再構築―』第一部第二章(三)・第五章(二)、2004年同成社
- 16) 菊水町史編纂委員会編『菊水町史・江田船山古墳編』2007年
- 17) 以下「」を付した引用文は註6)文献89頁に拠る。
- 18) 註15)文献48頁(3)および図版31
- 19) 註15)文献第一部第五章(三)および図版98～107
- 20) 小林行雄「倭の五王の時代」(『日本書紀研究』第2冊1966年、のち小林『古墳文化論考』1976年(平凡社)収録、本稿引用文は後者に拠る。
- 21) 小林行雄「中期古墳時代文化とその伝播」(『古墳時代の研究』第七章)1961年青木書店
- 22) 以下「」を付した引用文は註2)文献I・474頁に拠る。
- 23) 辻田淳一郎『鏡と初期ヤマト政権』第6章第3節2007年すいれん舎
- 24) 三橋正『日本古代神祇制度の形成と展開』2010年法蔵館
- 25) 以下の「」を付した引用文は註(24)文献の第一篇第一章―9頁―に拠る。
- 26) 註24)文献第一篇第一章二参照
- 27) 『続沖ノ島』第五章第一節―197～9頁―に拠る。
- 28) 註2)文献「総括編」付記・新出資料
- 29) 小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡の時代とその祭祀形態」(『宗像沖ノ島』I・報告編第4章)254～266頁1979年
- 30) 笹生衛「古墳時代における祭具の再検討」(『日本古代の祭祀考古学』第一部第一章)10～58頁、吉川弘文館2012年初出2010年
- 31) 石田茂作「西淋寺白瑠璃碗」(『考古学雑誌』36巻4号)1950年、なお写真は同誌36巻3号口絵

掲載。

藤澤一夫「安閑天皇陵発見の白瑠璃碗」(『史迹と美術』207号) 1950年

梅原末治「安閑陵出土の玻璃碗に就いて」(『史迹と美術』209号) 1951年

- 32) 正倉院事務所編『正倉院のガラス』8～11頁 1965年 日本経済新聞社
- 33) 深井晋司「沖ノ島出土瑠璃碗断片考」(東京大学『東洋文化研究所紀要』第27冊) 1962年
- 34) 由水常雄「朝鮮の古代ガラス」(由水・棚橋淳二『東洋のガラスー中国・朝鮮・日本ー』) 1977年 三彩社
- 35) 註(34) 文献図版 29・本文 65頁
- 36) 註(34) 文献本文 66頁
- 37) 坂東善平・森浩一「京都市上賀茂の白瑠璃碗の破片」(『古代学研究』44号) 1966年 古代学研究会
- 38) 由水常雄「日本の古代ガラス」〔註34) 文献〕 1977年
- 39) 宮下佐江子「正倉院「白瑠璃碗」の源流ー古代ペルシアのカットグラスをめぐってー」(『考古学雑誌』95巻1号) 2011年
- 40) 寧夏回族自治区博物館・寧夏固原博物館「寧夏固原北周李賢夫婦墓発掘簡報」(『文物』1985年第11期)
- 41) 小田富士雄「日本出土品から見た日・羅交渉」(『朝鮮学報』第122輯) 1987年 朝鮮学会、のち小田『九州考古学研究・文化交渉篇』収録 1990年 学生社
- 42) 由水常雄『ガラスと文化ーその東西交流』(NHK 人間大学の第5回(新羅の謎)・第6回(日本の中のローマとササン)、1996年10～12月テキスト) 1997年 日本放送出版協会
- 43) 由水常雄「古新羅古墳出土のローマン・グラスについて」(『朝鮮学報』第80輯) 1976年 朝鮮学会





# **Study on Ancient Rituals in Japan and the Rituals on Okinoshima Island**

## **- with a Focus on the Flow of Studies on the Ritual Sites and its Relations with the Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island -**

SASŌ Mamoru  
Professor, Kokugakuin University

**Abstract:** Traditionally, in the archaeological studies on Japan's ancient rituals, the view of kami (deities) and rituals have been restored based on the idea of "yorishiro/ogishiro" (object representative of a divine spirit) introduced by cultural traditionology and with the idea of "himorogi" (temporarily erected sacred space) and "iwakura" (rock-seat). The view of considering massive rocks in the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island as "iwakura" where a divine spirit descends from heaven is based on this understanding. However, when the makeup of the unearthed objects from the ritual sites is compared with the information of the ancient ritual utensils and ceremonies described in the "Register of the Ceremony of Kōtai-jingū Shrine", it is presumed that there were different views of kami (deities) and the ritual styles from the traditional way of thinking. That is to say, it is more consistent to understand the massive rock of the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island, where a lot of votive offerings were enshrined and food offerings were dedicated as "mikata" which is an object representative of a divine spirit represented in the "Gishikichō" (register of the ceremony) rather than as "yorishiro" of deity and "iwakura". Also, by taking into consideration the descriptions of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki together with the location of Okinoshima Island, one can read a view of kami (deities), in which deities are seen in the island itself and/or in the workings of the natural environment. In the same way, from the rituals on Okinoshima Island with an aspect of the state ritual, we can get a picture of the ancient state which was associated with the natural environment through rituals.

**Keywords:** views of kami (deities), yorishiro, mikata (symbol of divine spirit), ritual procedures, natural environment

## **1. Introduction**

What are the ancient rituals? To answer this question, it is necessary to clarify the following points; 1. How did they think of deities as object of worship (view of kami)? 2. What kind of utensils (ritual utensil) did they use and what procedures (ritual procedure) did they follow? 3. What is the significance of worshipping (object of rituals)? In Japan, a range of studies have been conducted from various fields including the Shinto theology, philology, literature, folklore, etc. to give answer to these questions. These studies go back a long way to the Edo period when the study of ancient Japanese literature called Kokugaku started. However, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the historical investigation based on the philology started by MIYAJI Naokazu and the studies of folklore (cultural traditionology) by YANAGIDA Kunio and ORIKUCHI Shinobu played the central role of them.

Against this background, Ōba Iwao wrote the "Discussion on the Shinto-Archaeology" in 1943<sup>1)</sup> and presented the direction of the studies of ancient rituals by archaeological approach systematically. Later, the results were compiled into the "Ritual Sites" <sup>2)</sup> which has influenced the interpretation of the rituals at the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island greatly. Therefore, in this paper, I will overview the flow of the studies on the ancient rituals by archaeology and confirm the influence given to the interpretation of the rituals on Okinoshima Island. Also in this time when there are substantial amount of archaeological materials regarding rituals, I will discuss how these studies can be evaluated and reexamine the rituals on the Okinoshima Island from the above-mentioned three perspectives; 1. Views of kami (deities), 2. Ritual utensils and ritual procedures, 3. Object of rituals.

## 2. Flow of the Studies of the Ritual Sites and the Ritual Sites on Okinoshima Island

### Rituals in the Kofun (mounded tomb) period and Shinto archaeology

It was Ōba Iwao who discussed the ritual sites as evidence of the ancient rituals, the ritual artifacts that were used there and this type of remains and relics systematically and advocated the Shinto-Archaeology. First, I would like to overview the flow of the history of its academic field by citing the articles of Mr. Ōba.

Mr. Ōba, in the beginning of the Showa period, during the excavation works of the Kisamisenda site in Shimoda City in Shizuoka Prefecture started to imagine a specific appearance of the rituals in the Kofun period. The background is described in the “Discussion on Shinto-Archaeology” published in 1943 in detail and comparing the rituals with the unearthed objects and documentary records such as the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and the Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan) and the “Man’yōshū” (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves) he assumed as follows:

In the Kojiki, there is a passage which goes like this: “After producing various ritual utensils, a sakaki tree named iotsumasakaki was uprooted and it was dedicated with upper branch decorated with “Yasakanomagatamano-misumarunotama” (necklace with comma-shaped beads), middle branch decorated with “yatano-kagami” (sacred big mirror) and the lower branch hung with “shiranikite” (yuu cloth made of fibers of bark of kouzo tree) and “aonikite” (hemp cloth). (omitted) It seemed like a common way to deck the branches of sakaki tree with a mirror and beads in rituals in a prehistoric period, (omitted), as previously estimated by Dr. Takahashi, the reason why almost every steatite imitations among the relics mentioned above have small holes is because they were attached to the branches of a sakaki tree in this manner. (omitted) Probably numerous pieces of pottery were sacred vessels for sacred sake called “itsuhe” and they are thought to have been produced and used in rituals and discarded after completion of the rituals. (omitted) Also, of the numerous beads unearthed, some of them would be equivalent to take-dama (bamboo beads), akadama (red beads) and aodama (blue beads) (ritual greetings of Izumo-no-kuninomiya-suko, the high priest of Izumo Taisha Shrine to the Emperor)<sup>3)</sup>.

In response to this, in the “Ritual Sites” published in 1970, the image of the rituals in a prehistoric period was built in the following way.

That is to say, people of that time selected a sacred ground in a certain place and hung stone sword, beads and mirrors on branches of a sacred tree (similar to sakaki) and invited a divine spirit with this as himorogi (temporarily erected sacred space) and placed and arranged numerous pieces of Haji-ware and small unglazed pottery on the ground in front of himorogi and put the food and alcohol offerings in these vessels and performed a solemn ritual. After completion of the ritual, the ritual paraphernalia was collectively buried so that it didn’t have to be polluted. The second ritual and the third ritual were conducted on the same ground. Then the paraphernalia was buried in the same place. Since the paraphernalia was made at each ritual, after the rituals were repeated several times, a great number of paraphernalia was buried. What I just described was a pattern commonly performed in many regions, however, according to places and natures of rituals, their content and forms were different<sup>4)</sup>.

Here, a prehistoric (Kofun period) ritual style of making a sacred sakaki tree decorated with the stone imitations as himorogi, summoning divine spirits to the himorogi and dedicating food and alcohol offerings to deities in Haji ware and small unglazed pottery (hand-made without using a potter’s wheel) is specifically described. A view of a divine spirit as being summoned to himorogi and the perspective of placing the imitations such as steatite imitations and small unglazed pottery (handmade ware) as important ritual utensils of the rituals in the prehistoric period (Kofun period) are clearly expressed and these two elements have been followed for a long while when conducting archaeological analyses of the ancient rituals and rituals in the Kofun period in particular.

In 1966, Mr. Masamichi Kamei, in the report of the Tatehokohama site in Shirakawa City, Fukushima Prefecture, titled “Mount Tatehoko”, drew up a chronology of the ritual site by dividing the timeline ranging from the last stage of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century into six stages from the first period to the sixth period. Also there, the criteria for determining the stage are the existence or

non-existence of the stone imitations and earthen imitations and their combinations<sup>5)</sup>. In the chronology, you can see the course of history from the first period (the last stage of the 4<sup>th</sup> century) when bronze mirrors, beads, bracelets played the central role to the second and third periods (from the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century) when the numerous soft stone imitations was used, then to the fifth period (from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) when the number of soft stone imitations declined and a variety of earthen imitations were added to the sixth period (from the first half of 7<sup>th</sup> century to middle 7<sup>th</sup> century) when the new soft stone imitations such as human-shaped effigies, horse-shaped effigies and boat-shaped effigies emerged. The transition from the soft stone imitations to various earthen imitations is believed to correspond to the diversified views of kami regarding the ritual object and later Mr. Kamei made a modification of the timeline of the period of the earthen imitations by pushing it back to the fifth century<sup>6)</sup>.

This chronology is the research achievements which prominently developed Mr. Ōba's Shinto Archaeology and studies on the ancient rituals in that it showed an overview of the overall transition of the ritual sites in the Kofun period and presented the points of controversy including the change in the views of kami (deities), relationship between the formation of ancient nation "Yamato court" and the unified rituals and ceremonies and the issues of differentiation between funeral and ritual that have been discussed to the present.

### **Positioning of the rituals on the Okinoshima Island**

Because the site lasted for an extended period of time, in the chronology of Mr. Kamei, the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island are categorized as ritual site in terms of a timeline. It is described that "the sites (ritual sites on Okinoshima Island) have contents being comparable to the famous mounded tombs in Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Kyoto and Nara: Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi) or exceeding them and have distinctive elements compared with other sites"<sup>7)</sup> and stresses the aspect of the state rituals different from other ritual sites mainly composed of soft stone imitations and earthen imitations from the unearthed objects including abundant metal objects, horse trappings and harness, imported goods. Regarding the peculiarity of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, Mr. Ōba also pointed it out from the unearthed iron imitations including iron single-edged swords, iron knife, iron axes<sup>8)</sup> and Mr. Mitsusada Inoue who discussed the historical background assumed that they were dedicated by the "Yamato polity" paying attention to the existence of flat iron ingot<sup>9)</sup>. Since Ōba and Kamei associated major ritual utensils used in rituals in the Kofun period with the soft stone imitations and earthen imitations, the rituals on Okinoshima Island accompanied by abundant metal objects and flat iron ingot as iron raw material in particular was gradually positioned as a distinctive state ritual connected to the Yamato polity.

### **Ritual forms and a view of kami (deities)**

Mr. Ōba mentioned a concrete image of the rituals on Okinoshima Island in the "Matsuri (divine ritual)" published in 1967 as follows:

The forms of the rituals held on this island varied at different periods of times. In early times, the rituals were performed by dedicating the best-quality treasures to divine spirits and hanging beads on the branches of a sacred tree and in later times, with the growing power of deities, the dedicated articles grew in numbers including rare treasures from foreign countries and newly imported utensils and they were arranged and placed close together and after the magnificent ceremony was performed by setting a divine seat in the middle of the shade of a rock and dedicating food and alcohol offerings, the used pottery were separately buried as a whole and the offerings were left alone without touching as the belongings of deities. In other words, it should be interpreted that these articles have been left untouched to the present without being looted and without anyone taken them away due to the divine power for thousand and several hundred years since then<sup>10)</sup>.

Here, Mr. Ōba showed a theory of setting a divine seat in the shade of a rock and making it a ritual place. The practice of hanging beads on the branches of a tree like himorogi, performing rituals while arranging the dedicated products and divine offerings and burying the pottery as a whole is similar to the image of the prehistorical rituals (Kofun period) described in the "Ritual Sites". There was recognition of considering the shade of a massive rock as a ritual place from an early stage as described by Mr. Dairoku Harada in the report titled "Okinoshima" issued in 1958 as follows: "The artifacts at the ritual sites were arranged in an



orderly fashion as if the arrangement of the relics that were placed in the mounded tomb as mortuary goods were substituted with those decorated at the altar in the rock shadows”<sup>11)</sup>. We can say that Ōba, going a bit further with this theory, restored the form of the ancient rituals of Okinoshima comparing them with his own image of rituals.

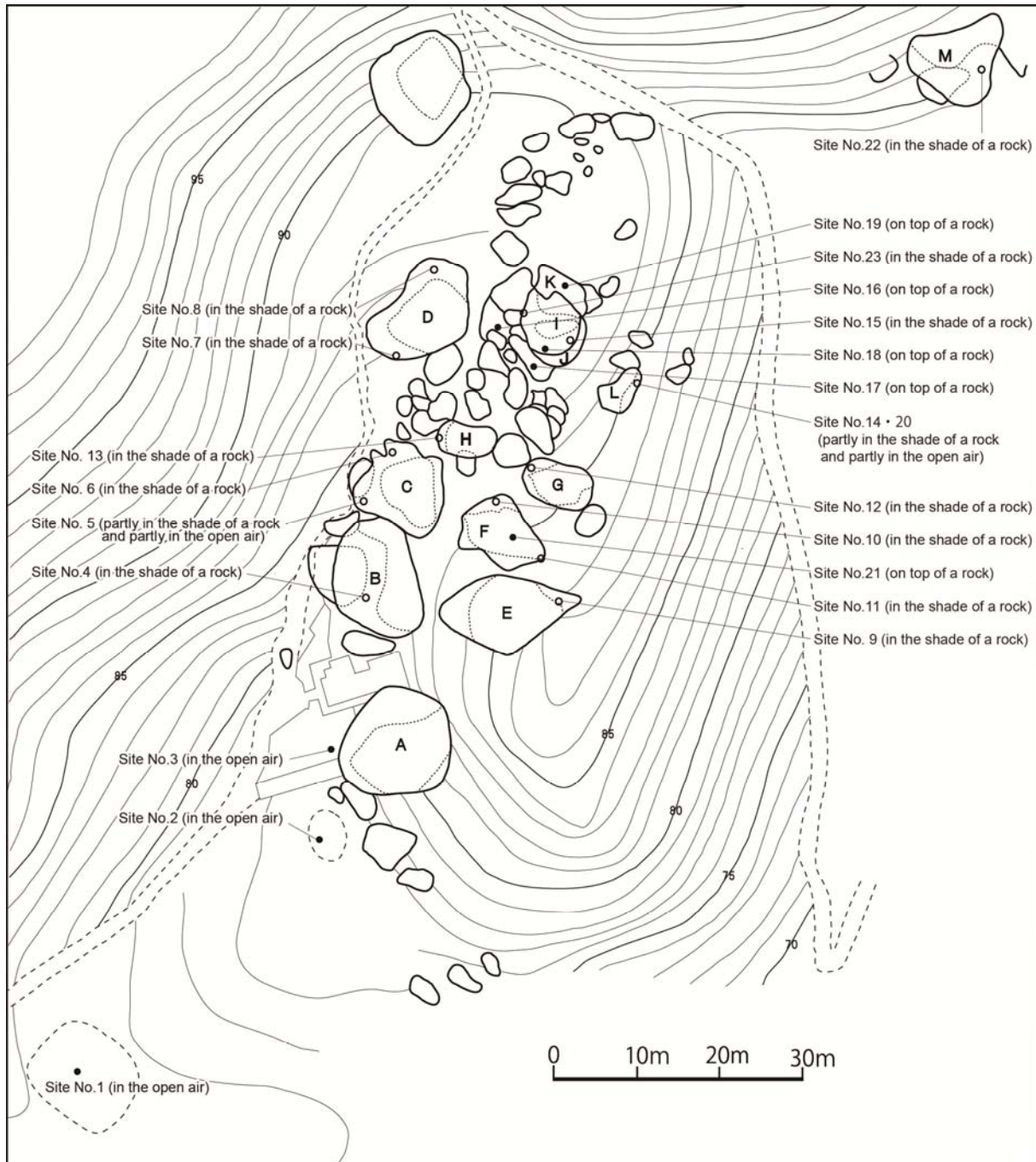


Figure 1 Overall view of the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island  
 (created from the report “Okinoshima Island in Munakata” (1979))

After that, in 1979, the report “Okinoshima Island in Munakata” summarizing the excavation of the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island was published. Mr. Fujio Oda conducted a comprehensive arrangement and analysis of the sites and relics for the report and the studies on the rituals on Okinoshima Island evolved greatly and a basic frame of interpretation regarding the present-day rituals on Okinoshima Island was presented<sup>12)</sup>. Mr. Oda conducted a detailed analysis based on the unearthed objects and the locations of the sites and categorized the evolution of the rituals on Okinoshima Island into four stages from 1. Rituals performed on massive rocks, 2. Rituals performed in the shade of a rock, 3. Rituals performed partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air to 4. Rituals performed in the open air. At the same time, it is particularly significant that he clarified how the relics went through a transformation from the stage centered on bronze mirrors, bracelets, weapons for practical use and beads to the stage which shows a decline in the number of bronze mirrors and addition of iron imitations and soft stone imitations and emergence of horse trappings and harness, gilt-bronze miniatures of spinning and weaving tools and vessels (replicas) and the steatite (soft stone) human-shaped, horse-shaped and boat-shaped imitations sequentially. Eventually, he achieved considerable results in that the transition from the Kofun period to the Ritsuryō period was elucidated from the relics and remains of the ritual sites.

This report also provides a concrete estimate of the rituals and views of kami (deities). The typical example is the interpretation of Site No. 21 in the stage of rituals performed on massive rocks. Regarding the well-preserved Site No. 21 where rituals were performed on a massive rock as a typical example of rituals at the “iwakura/iwasaka” (rock-seat/rock border), Mr. Hajime Matsumoto makes an assumption as follows:

In the rituals performed atop the rock on Okinoshima Island, the mortuary goods found in the early-stage mounded tomb correspond to the articles dedicated to the deities and serve as ritual utensils to call down the deities. The rituals to call down the deities were diversified by making steatite miniatures that were hung on a rock as himorogi and tied to sacred branch of sakaki. (omitted) In the ancient rituals, ancient people worshipped natural things as objects in which divine spirits dwell with a sense of awe before great power of nature. A small stone-stacked altar on a massive stone is a spiritual medium called yorishiro (iwakura) to call down the deities and a big stone at the center is a himorogi to put up a sacred sakaki. This is a type of the vertical descent of deities from heaven narrated by mythology. At this moment Site No. 21 is a representative site showing a form of the vertical descent of deities<sup>13)</sup>.

This description follows the idea of ancient rituals by Mr. Ōba cited above and makes an assumption of his view of kami (deities) with vertical descent form based on that. This ritual form and the view of kami (deities) became a specific image of the rituals on Okinoshima Island<sup>14)</sup>.

### **Differentiation between funeral and ritual**

Another important point in question regarding the studies on ritual sites and the rituals on Okinoshima Island is the issue of differentiation between funeral and ritual. The commonality between the unearthed objects in the early stage in the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island and the mortuary goods found in the mounded tomb has been pointed out since the first volume of the report was issued<sup>15)</sup>. As the trend of the transition of the unearthed objects that shows increase in the number of miniature iron swords and axes and the emergence of the replicas of gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools and vessels and steatite human-shaped, horse-shaped and boat-shaped imitations (effigy) over the time was clarified, the issue of differentiation between funeral and ritual was raised. The study by Mr. Mitsusada Inoue organized this issue in reference to the continuity with the Ritsuryō ritual. It concluded that from the undifferentiated state of funeral and ritual in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century, a differentiated state of funeral and ritual was created with the emergence of articles “exclusively for rituals” such as gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century similar to the sacred treasures placed in Jingū shrine and a form of “ancient rituals” was established<sup>16)</sup>. It is no exaggeration to say that this notion serves as a guideline for discussing the establishment of the ancient rituals even today.

Full-fledged studies on the ancient rituals through the archaeological resources have already a long history since the survey of the Yosami Senda site conducted in 1927 by Mr. Ōba Iwao. Against this background, the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island have been considered the most important ritual sites in the study of the course of the establishment of the ancient rituals, transformation of the views of kami (deities) and the

issue of differentiation between funerals and rituals, because the history of the sites and relics can be traced for lengthy periods of time from the later 4<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of 10<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, as to the rituals on Okinoshima Island, their peculiarity as state rituals has been stressed due to abundance in unearthed objects. In the next chapter, I would like to review the features of the rituals on Okinoshima Island from the perspective of the composition of the relics and the view of kami (deities) by adding the recent new materials regarding the ritual sites and relics.

### 3. The Composition of the Ritual Artifacts and the Establishment of the Ritual Sites

#### Background of the composition of the artifacts in ritual sites

Mr. Ōba Iwao who advocated the Shinto Archaeology positioned the stone and earthen imitations and hand formed pottery at the center of the ritual utensils in the Kofun period. However, the increased volume of resources on ritual sites and relics since the latter half of the 1970s required us to conduct an overall review. In particular, it became evident that apart from the stone imitations, there were a fixed number of iron products discovered in some of the ritual sites with good state of preservation that existed from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century in the early stage. The typical examples include Senzokudai site in Kisarazu City, Chiba Prefecture and Shutsusaku site in Masaki Town, Ehime Prefecture and there are more than 20 examples that date back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century from Tōgoku (the eastern part of Japan) to Saigoku (the western part of Japan)<sup>17)</sup>. The iron products include swords for practical use, weapons such as iron arrowheads, halberds, tools such as knives, axes, planes, agricultural tools including U-shape edged hoe/spade and curved blade sickles, iron-made imitations, ax-shaped imitations and flat iron ingots as iron raw materials. In addition, the spindle whorls and unglazed vessels called Sue-ware from the early period are often discovered and it is assumed that these articles occupied an important place in the rituals this time<sup>18)</sup>.

The whole picture of the utensils used in the rituals of that time can be presumed by comparing the articles including many wooden products unearthed from the Yamanohana site (Hamamatsu City, Shizuoka Prefecture) and the Nangō Ōhigashi site (Gose City, Nara Prefecture) that are ritual sites from the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the earthen imitation groups unearthed from the lower layer of the mounded tomb No.5 in Myogajima, Iwata City, Shizuoka Prefecture whose period of creation is determined to be the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The Table 1 shows the relics unearthed from these three sites that are categorized by function. According to the table, in addition to mirrors and beads, there are weapons and defensive equipment including swords, arrows (quivers) and shields, agricultural tools and tools such as axes, sickles, spades, and a series of spinning and weaving tools and koto (Japanese zither) as musical instrument, kitchen utensils including pestle and mortar, ladles and ignition mortar and a small table for putting the offerings to deities are confirmed in respective places. Moreover, sword-shaped objects and boat-shaped objects are confirmed and from the spinning and weaving tools, it is presumed that there were fabrics made with them. Since these artifacts are commonly found in three ritual sites, it would be right to think that they were necessary articles in the rituals held during the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19)</sup>.

Among the ritual sites where a fixed amount of iron weapons and agricultural tools and tools were used, there is the Aokizita site No.2 in Sakaki Town, Nagano Prefecture that was built between the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20)</sup>. Also from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, there were ritual sites accompanied by horse trappings and harnesses in Tōgoku (the eastern part of Japan) as well and from the Higashida site in Tateyama City in Chiba Prefecture, the gilt-bronze metal fitting attached to a belt was unearthed and from the Unit 6 of Point F in the Nakanokoki site No. 1 in Narita City, Chiba Prefecture, the iron bits were unearthed<sup>21)</sup>. From this, it can be estimated that the horse trappings and harness were added to a set of ritual utensils of the 5<sup>th</sup> century by the later 6<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 1 Classification table of the unearthed objects from the ritual sites dating back to the fifth century

	Artifacts unearthed from the Nango Ōhigashi site	Artifacts unearthed from the Yamanohana site	Earthen imitations unearthed from the layer of the Myōgajima Tomb No.5
accessories	steatite disc-shaped object with hole (single hole, double holes), comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, agate comma-shaped beads, bamboo comb	steatite disc-shaped object with hole, comma-shaped beads with miniature, comma-shaped beads, flat comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, green agate comma-shaped beads, agate round beads, crystal round beads, glass comma-shaped beads, small beads, bamboo combs	mirror, comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, small beads, rings, earrings, bracelets
weapons and defensive equipment	wooden sword handle rim, sword scabbard, tip of a scabbard, shield, arrow, sword-shaped object, double-edged sword-shaped object, arrowhead-shaped object, object in the shape of an arrow attachment specially made to make a whistling sound?, Steatite double-edged sword-shaped object, double-edged sword-shaped unfinished product	fragments of an iron sword, wooden long sword handle, scabbard, tip of a scabbard, arrow, sword-shaped object, double-edged sword-shaped object, arrowhead-shaped object, steatite knife-shaped object	long sword, double-edged sword, arrows, quiver of arrows, armor, shield, archer's left-wrist protector
agricultural tools	wooden handle of a hoe, handle of a sickle, rice year cutting tool?	wooden hoe with two-pronged fork, flat hoe, handle of a hoe, side hoe, spade, sickle handle, shoe boards worn in wet paddy	hoe and spade, sickle
tools	ax helve	wooden ax helve, handle of a knife	axe, adze, short ax helve
spinning and weaving tools	wooden spool, upright standing weaving and spinning implement stand, warp beam in a lower position (warp beam, cloth beam), inner tube (warp thread separation bar), loom parts, back strap, soft-stone and clay spindle whorl	wooden sword shuttle, spool, a type of a reel, upright standing weaving and spinning implement, upright standing weaving and spinning implement stand, cloth beam, warp beam (warp winding roller), loom parts, weaver's seat, back strap, wooden and clay spindle whorl	spindle whorl, sword shuttle, warp threads spool, loom, warp beam in an upper position
musical instruments	wooden koto (Japanese zither), koto bridges	wooden koto, koto bridges	koto made of a block of board, koto with a resonance trough, bar-shaped koto, end-blown flute, cross blown flute
A tool for showing the dignified appearance	long-handled fan (sashiba) shaped wooden figures	wooden ceremonial staff (baton), lid	staff, lid
utensils and other objects	wooden pedestal (desk), chair, mortar?, pestle called tategine?, large mallets, wooden maul, oar, carrying poles, wood sinker, ignition mortar, ignition pestle?, Wooden sandal	wooden pedestal (desk), small table stand (desk stand), oar, large mallets, hook-shaped hanger, knitting stand, ladle, a pestle called tategine, wood thinker, ignition mortar, pestle	small table, mallet, mortar, pestle, ladle, gourds, spoons, wood sinker, oar, bench, handle, board, stick, cone



pottery and containers	wide-mouth jar/narrow-mouthed jar/crucible/pedestaled dish of Haji ware, dish cover/container/ pedestaled dish/vessel stand/ jar/wine server?/bowl with a handle of Sue ware, Korean-type clay jar/wine server/pedestaled dish/bowl/ ancient rice steamer/pot?, wooden boat-shaped container/trough, basket, winnow?	wide-mouthed jar/narrow-mouthed jar/crucible/pedestaled dish of Haji ware, dish cover/container/pedestaled dish/narrow-mouthed jar/wine-server/wide-mouth jar/ancient rice steamer/vessel stand of Sue ware, wooden trough/bent wood box/box	cup-shaped container, bowl, plate, pedestaled dish, narrow-mouthed jar, wide-mouth jar, cover
others	wooden boat-shaped object, phallus-shaped object, tribute-shaped object?	wooden boat-shaped objects	boat, human-shaped objects (warrior, male, female, neuter gender, children), animals shells (boar, dog, water bird, hen, Japanese abalone, fan-shaped shells (Mimachlamys nobilis), phallus-shaped objects, stamps

### Commonalities with the votive offerings in the Ritsuryō Ritual

The contents of these items (artifacts unearthed from ritual sites) have a lot in common with the votive offerings in the divine rituals of four seasons stated in the “Engishiki” (set of ancient Japanese governmental regulations), especially with the votive offerings in the important ritsuryō rituals (the ritual system of the ritsuryō state). Weapons and defensive equipment, agricultural tools, wooden sword-shaped effigy which are unearthed from ritual sites correspond to bows and arrows, spear, shield, spade and sword-shaped effigy used in Toshigoi-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for good harvest) and Tsukinami-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for peace of state), and “iron” believed to be flat iron ingots as iron raw material is stated to be used in Hanashizume-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray the prevention of epidemics), Saigusa-no-matsuri (divine rite of Ohmiwa clan), Ohimi-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for favorable growth of rice plant), Kazakan-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for protecting the rice crop from storm and flood damage) along with bows and shafts (arrow bamboo). As to the horse trappings and harness, saddles are confirmed in Ohimi-no-matsuri, Kazakan-no-matsuri and Jingū Kanname-sai (autumn harvest divine rite). Fabrics including silk textile, hemp and silk were often used in the festivals of four seasons. Also in the “Fudoki of Hitachi Province”, a long sword, halberd, iron bow/arrows, koro (quiver), plate iron/wrought iron (flat iron ingot), harness, saddle, mirror, silk textile are stated as offerings dedicated by Emperor Suijin to Ameno-Ohkami in Kashima (the deity of war) and most of them correspond to the articles unearthed from the ritual sites mentioned above.

Based on the above examples, it can be inferred that a set of ritual utensils that had been established by the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century including weapons and defensive equipment, agricultural tools and tools, flat iron ingots as iron raw materials and fabrics was added by the horse trappings and harness by the 6<sup>th</sup> century and became the direct origin of “heihaku” (offerings to deities) in the ritsuryō rituals. It can be supposed that there was an influx of iron raw materials and introduction of new technology such as forging, spinning/weaving and pottery from the Korean Peninsula from the late half of the 4th century into the 5th century as the background factors of this establishment and they were realized by activated human exchanges between Japan and the Korean Peninsula and mainland China. The set of these offerings to deities (heihaku) were articles of the highest quality made with the latest technology and materials imported from mainland China and the Korean Peninsula<sup>22)</sup>.

### Relationship with the rituals on Okinoshima Island

Let me take another look at the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island from this perspective. The landmark of the rituals on Okinoshima Island started from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century was the establishment of Site No. 21 in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The location of the site moved from the massive rock No.I which is the highest point among the sites and its environs to the top part of the massive rock No.F to the south. The composition of the relics shows a decline in the number of bronze mirrors, increase in the number of iron weapons/defensive equipment and tools and emergence of axe-shaped iron imitations, stone imitations such as double-edged sword-shaped effigy, disk-shaped object with hole, and comma-shaped beads with miniature. This change is associated with the formation of the set of offerings for the rituals composed mainly of iron weapons/defensive equipment, agricultural tools/tools in the archipelago. Among the iron imitations cited by Ōba to show the peculiarity of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, mainly ax-shaped objects have been unearthed from the Senzokudai site in Tōgoku (the eastern part of Japan) and from the Shussaku site in Saigoku (the western part of Japan) and from this, it may be presumed that Site No. 21 in Okinoshima was established from the early part to middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century around the same time when the form of the ritual sites were clarified in the archipelago<sup>23)</sup>.

The ritual sites that can be traced back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century in the archipelago are limited to a few definite examples such as Isonokami Shrine kinsokuchi (tabooed land) and the details of the transition of the ritual sites from the 4<sup>th</sup> century to 5<sup>th</sup> century are not well known. Regarding the ritual site on Okinoshima Island, you can confirm the state of transition from the composition of relics that share similarity with the mortuary goods in the early-stage mounded tombs constructed in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the composition of relics that are in common with the ritual sites in the archipelago around the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, in other words, the course of the establishment of the divine rites among the rituals that are common with the mounded tombs through abundant features and relics.

### Re-examination of funeral and divine rite

There is an issue of differentiation between funeral and divine rite in relation to this. It is necessary to organize the concepts of funerals and rituals once more to discuss this issue.

In the era from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century when the ritual sites were established, there were also changes in the mortuary goods of the tombs and ceremonies. The mortuary goods were added to by elaborate soft stone imitations and the iron weapons/defensive equipment and the agricultural tools/tools grew in number. As in the example of the Gyōjyazuka mounded tomb in Kakogawa City, Hyogo Prefecture, a new form of ritual in which food and alcohol offerings using various earthen imitations were made on the narrow terrace of the hill-grave became visible<sup>24)</sup> and this form was developed into the group of representational haniwa (earthen figures) using food and alcohol offerings as motif in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Burying the mortuary goods such as weapons, agricultural tools/tools in a tomb started in the latter period of the Yayoi period<sup>25)</sup>. The food and alcohol offerings also have a counterpart to the genealogy of narrow-mouthed jars and vessel stands since the latter period of the Yayoi period<sup>26)</sup> and the iron weapons/defensive equipment, agricultural tools/tools and flat iron ingot as iron raw material that were placed in a tomb as mortuary goods are basically in common with the iron products from the ritual sites that had been established by the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and as the same goes with the food and alcohol offerings. Therefore, it is believed that the method of the divine rite was established from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the same form as the tomb ceremony where the precious artifacts and the food and alcohol offerings were made.

Right after that in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the connection between the mounded tomb and an idea of “tōtsu-oya” (remote ancestor) became ascertained by the characters “tōtsu-oya” inscribed on the iron sword inlaid with gold with the inscription of the year xin-hai which was unearthed from the first main burial facility of the Inariyama mounded tomb in Sakitama mounded tomb group in Gyōda City, Saitama Prefecture<sup>27)</sup>. The year xin-hai was believed to be the year A.D. 471 and the genealogy from the ancestor Oohiko to the 8<sup>th</sup> descendant was described. The characters “tōtsu-oya” and “oya” were used in the Kojiki, the Nihonshoki and the “Fudoki” to denominate the persons who were the original ancestors of the

genealogy of the ancient clans and they show the consciousness of genealogy reaching into 8<sup>th</sup> century (Nara period when “Kojiki”, “Nihonshiki” and “ancient Fudoki” were compiled from the original ancestor.

The Sakitama mounded tomb group constitutes a group of burial mounds ranging from the Inariyama mounded tomb built in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the Tobaguchiyama mounded tomb built during the 7<sup>th</sup> century and in the initial Inariyama mounded tomb, the iron sword inscribed with the characters “tōtsu-oya” and the genealogy of eight generations was buried as mortuary goods. It can be presumed that the mounded tombs in future generations were built based on the shape and place of this Inariyama mounded tomb and the continuing mounded tombs were established with the backing of a certain genealogy consciousness with “tōtsu-oya” as the starting point. In other words, the mounded tomb and the mounded tomb group are places to entomb and worship people “successive ancestors” who belong to the genealogy from “tōtsu-oya” and the tomb rituals in the 5<sup>th</sup> century were closely connected to the concept of “tōtsu-oya” and “oya” and the formation of the genealogy consciousness based on that.

From the first main burial facility of the Inariyama mounded tomb, where the iron sword with the inscription of the xin-hai year was unearthed, the iron weapons/defensive equipment/tools and horse trappings and harness were unearthed and from the narrow terrace on the west side, the Sue pottery for dish, pedestaled dish with the form of type TK23 to type TK47 in the Suemura kilns and Haji pottery for dishes and narrow-mouthed jars were excavated, which illustrated the tomb rituals in common with the divine rites since the 5<sup>th</sup> century where the iron weapons etc. were dedicated along with the food and alcohol offerings. Eventually, it would be right to think that the rites for “tōtsu-oya”, “oya” and the rites for “deities” derived from the natural environment were performed in a similar style of dedicating valuable articles and food and alcohol offerings although they existed in different category<sup>28)</sup>. Supposing that the rites for the dead in the tomb are called “funeral”, they refer to the rituals for “tōtsu-oya” and “oya” where the offerings (mortuary goods) were placed near the deceased body and food and alcohol offerings were made along with them.

After that, the ritual utensils in the divine rites were inherited to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and moved into the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In the rituals on Okinoshima Island, the utensils began to assume decorative and ceremonial characters with the increased number of imitations and while maintaining the tradition since the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, the steatite imitations were added in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and they were inherited to the Ritsuryō period. On the other hand, regarding the mounded tomb as a place of performing rituals for “tōtsu-oya” and “oya” ancestors, it is believed that the mounded tombs underwent many changes in styles during the 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries including the introduction of the corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance, end of the keyhole-shaped tomb with rear mound and introducing of cremation graves and the rituals for the ancestors also changed along with that and the separation from the divine rite became obvious. The differentiation between funeral and divine rites during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries indicated by Mitsusada Inoue seems to correspond to this phenomenon.

### **Genealogy of the “Oya (ancestors)” and succession of the rights to perform divine rites**

The consciousness of “ancestors” and the genealogy defined in the 5<sup>th</sup> century formed the mounded tombs as continuous grave area and a similar situation can be inferred for the rituals on Okinoshima Island and the surrounding area of the Munakata Shrine. Located to the west of Hetsu-Miya, one of the shrines that make up Munakata Shrine is the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group where the mounded tombs were continuously built from the Katsuura Minenohata mounded tomb presumably made in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the Miyajidake mounded tomb and the Tebika-Namikiri-Fudou tomb made in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the cremation graves also existed<sup>29)</sup>. It is believed that the grave area was clearly formed by a certain genealogy consciousness given that the mounded tombs were made continuously from around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, it is significant that this tomb group and the grave area were established in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It is estimated that the Okinoshima Site No. 21 had been established just before that moment when the Okinoshima rituals faced a significant change and there was a deep connection between the establishment of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and the formation of Site No. 21.

It is reasonable to consider that the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group is the grave area of the Munakata-no-kimi (Munakata clan) from its positional relationship with Munakata Shrine<sup>30)</sup> and the formation of the tomb group shows the establishment of the genealogic consciousness of the Munakata clan.

According to the “Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)” written in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Munakata-no-kimi was designated as a clan in charge of religious services for three goddesses at Munakata Shrine and from this can we conclude that the grave area of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and the rights relating to rituals at Munakata and Okinoshima were inherited due to its genealogy consciousness?

The inheritance of the rights relating to religious services based on this genealogy consciousness is believed to be connected to the “tradition of rituals entrusted and performed by shrines” which is indicated by Kaoru Fujimori. Mr. Fujimori argues that it was a custom of the ancient rituals to entrust performance of rituals to respective clans in charge of religious services at respective shrines while the Ritsuryō state provided them with “heihaku” (offerings to deities) by analyzing Hanashizume-no-matsuri and Saigusa-no-matsuri<sup>31)</sup>. The genealogy consciousness of the Munakata clan presumed by the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and the inheritance of the rights to perform rituals for the deities of Munakata Shrine can be understood in the framework of this “tradition of rituals entrusted and performed by shrines”. It may be said that the tradition has its origin in the formation of Site No. 21 with changing ritual styles around the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the authentic start<sup>32)</sup> of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group by constructing the Katsuura Minenohata mounded tomb in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century right after that. It is estimated that the soft stone imitations unearthed from Site No. 21 were replaced by those using locally quarried stones in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and to back up this estimation, the local power groups were believed to be involved in the execution of the rituals<sup>33)</sup>. The relations between the Okinoshima Site No. 21 around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the Katsuura Minenohata mounded tomb (Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group) symbolize the establishment of the rights to perform the rituals on Okinoshima by Munakata-no-kimi (Munakata clan) and it is believed that the original form of the Munakata rituals leading to the descriptions in “Kojiki and Nihonshoki” was prompted by this.

#### 4. Ritual Utensils and Ritual Procedures Seen from the Unearthed Objects

##### Consistency with historical materials

In what way were those unearthed objects from the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island used in the ritual places and left in the sites? Were the rituals like those indicated by Mr. Ōba or described in the report “Okinoshima”? In order to verify this question, it is necessary to restore the forms of the ancient rituals. First, I would like to search for clues about how to restore the rituals based on the composition of the relics mentioned above.

It is presumed from the unearthed objects from the Yamanohana site and the Nangō-Ōhigashi site and groups of earthen replicas from and from the lower layer under the Myōgajima mounded tomb No.5 made in the 5<sup>th</sup> century that the items of the ritual utensils were basically consistent with the offerings made to deities described in the “Engishiki” as well as with the “Kōtai-jingū Gishikichō”, a register of ceremonies of Kōtai-jingū shrine (hereinafter called as “Gishikichō”), established in 804<sup>34)</sup>. The single-edged long sword of Wa (Japanese) style, bow/arrow (quiver), shield, spinning and weaving tools, Japanese zither correspond to the divine treasures at Kōtai-jingū Shrine and it is right in thinking that their origins can be traced back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century when the original form of heihaku (offerings to deities) was established.

Regarding the composition of the gilt-bronze replicas such as a spinning and weaving tools and a Japanese zither from the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island whose similarity with the divine treasures at Jingū shrine, as Hiroyuki Kaneko indicated, not only is it necessary to think that the divinity of the goddess at Jingū shrine affected the ritual sites on Okinoshima<sup>35)</sup>, it is also necessary to understand it within the framework of the entire ritual utensils established in the 5<sup>th</sup> century when the ritual sites were clarified<sup>36)</sup>.

In addition, a mortar and pestle and a pedestal are also described in the “Gishikichō” as cooking utensils of food offerings and the equipment to put offerings on and the horse trappings and harness unearthed from the Okinoshima Site No.7 is added to heihaku in the “Gishikichō” and flat iron ingot unearthed from the Okinoshima Site No. 21, Shōsanmi Shrine Front site and the ritual sites built during the 5<sup>th</sup> century are described as “iron” as raw material for making ritual utensils.



Assuming that the rituals using common utensils also have similarities and commonalities in their structures and ritual procedures, the ritual procedures described in “Gishikichō” using the utensils in common with the unearthed objects from the ritual sites dating back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century could be considered as having elements that date back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, comparing rituals at Jingū shrine with those on Okinoshima shows that shingun (a district dedicated to deities) were established in both places in ancient times and it is highly probable that the rituals had the state characteristics with similar dedicatory divine treasures and the ritual procedures were similar in both places.

### Restoration of ritual procedures

Here, I would like to overview the ritual procedures of major rituals of Jingū shrine in “annual events and monthly accounts”<sup>37)</sup> in “Gishikichō”. The three most important seasonal divine rites at Jingū shrine are Tsukinami-no-matsuri performed in June and December and Kannae-no-matsuri in September and the main part of the ceremony is presentation of food offerings to the grand deity. In addition, the prayer service for a good crop and presentation of heihaku to deities in February, the presentation of kanmiso sacred robes to deities in April and September and heihaku provided from the Imperial Court associated with Kanname-sai are intended to offer kanmiso and heihaku to deities. The procedures of these rituals basically consist of the 1. Preparation stage of a ritual, 2. performance of a ritual and 3. Handling at the conclusion of a ritual.

In the rituals that place dedication of food offerings at its center, a series of processes from collection of ingredients for food offerings to cooking are conducted meticulously by shrine priests such as negi, uchibito (a position lower than negi) and monoimi in the preparation stage. The cooking utensils including a mortar, a pestle, a winnow, small sword and even salt are specially made and prepared. Here forging work and cooking using various utensils are conducted. Also, prior to cooking, teachings of deities regarding the sins and impurities of the shrine priest in charge of dedicating offerings are given by strumming on Japanese zither. The rituals end with dedicating food offerings and sacred sake to the grand deity at the Inner Shrine of Jingū shrine by Shinto priests headed by negi and the food offerings and sacred sake are withdrawn and the priests including negi who performed the rituals participate in naorai event held at the conclusion of a ritual.

The rituals that dedicate kanmiso robes and heihaku are slightly different in their structure. In case of offering sacred kanmiso robes and thread to the deity, first 1. The sacred robe and utsuhata hemp garment are made by kanhatori (weaver of the sacred silk cloth) and kan’omi (weaver of the sacred hemp cloth). In this process, a series of spinning and weaving tools are used. 2. The main ceremonial site is an open space which is the enclosed area surrounded by the third layer of fence in front of the tamagushi gomon gate at a certain distance from the main sanctuary at the center of the Inner Shrine. Here, heihaku (offerings to deities), a sacred horse adorned with trappings and harness and kanmiso robes are presented and the core part of the rituals including recitation of Shinto prayers and offerings of futotamagushi (branch of a sacred tree with paper and *yu* strips attached) are performed. After completion of these rites, the shrine priests headed by daigūji (the highest position of the shrine) and negi (senior priest) enter into the central part of the Inner Shrine and open the doors of the main sanctuary and eastern treasure house and place the dedicated articles including sacred robes, heihaku and saddle inside. Then they leave the Inner Shrine and return to the enclosed area surrounded by the third layer of fence and after worshipping to the deity, they retire to join in the naorai event.

Here it should be noted that the ritual place to recite Shinto prayers and dedicate heihaku, etc. and a place to store the heihaku are eventually different. The offerings such as heihaku are eventually stored in a place near the sacred mirror representing the existence of divine spirits located in the center of the Inner Shrine. The divine treasures that are purveyed in the sengu transfer ceremony (construction of a new shrine) are also placed inside the main sanctuary and stored near the mikata (symbol) of divine spirits.

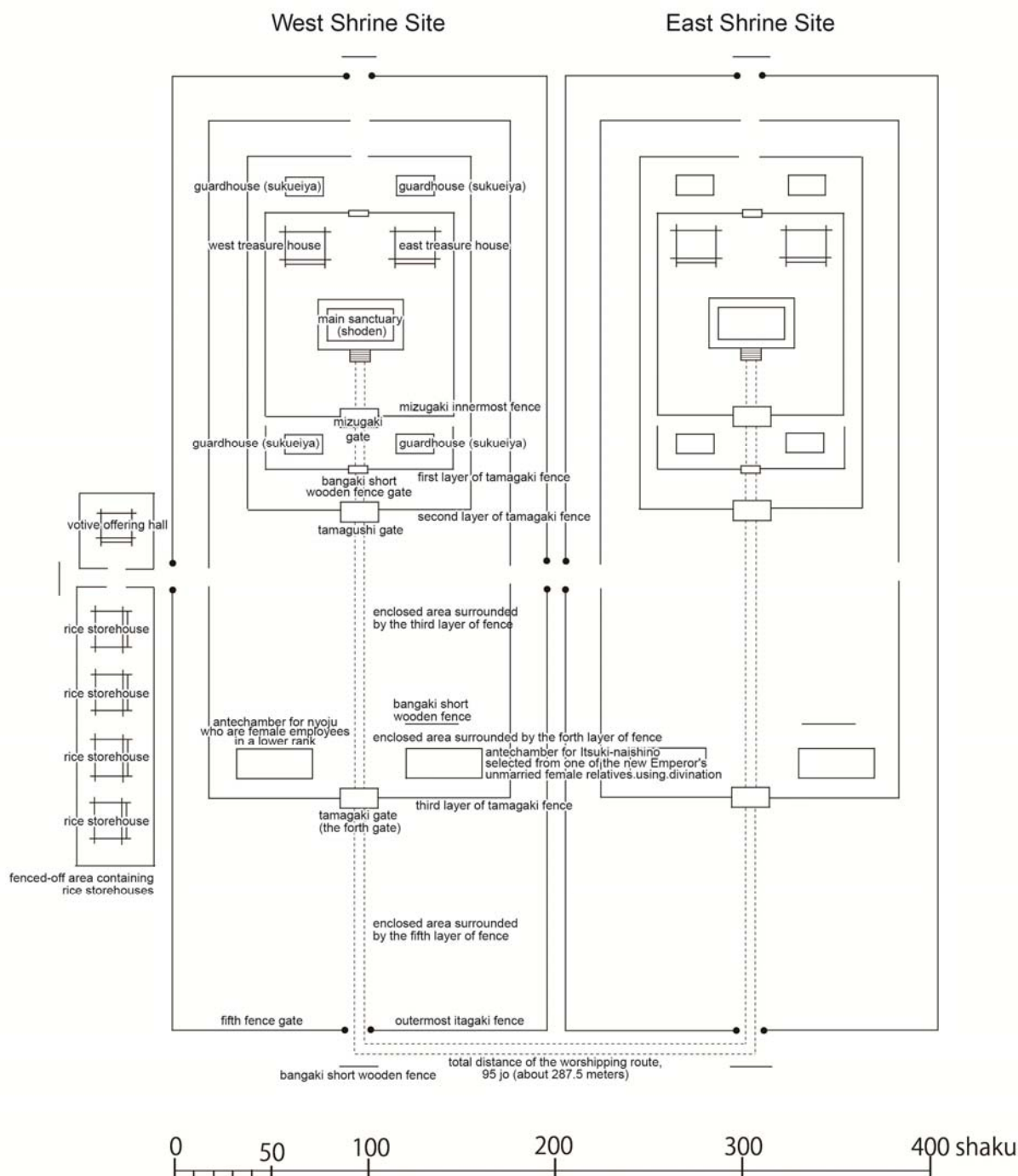


Figure 2 The estimated layout drawing of Ōmiyain at Kōtai-jingū Shrine [created mainly by reference to the *Register of the Ceremony of Kōtai-jingū Shrine Issued in the Enryaku Period*. Toshio Fukuyama (1940): from the *Historical Studies on the Construction of Jingū* published by the Jingū Administrative Office]

### Rituals in the garden and divine warehouse

Generally, when we talk about the establishment of a shrine and its history, the completion of construction of a shrine building has been the priority issue. However, as long as the shrine building is a constituent element of the ritual place, its presence and establishment should be discussed in the context of the structure of rituals and ritual procedures as a whole<sup>38)</sup>.

When the “Gishikichō” was prepared, Jingū shrine already became a place equipped with shrine buildings. However, the register specifies that the recitation of Shinto prayers and dedication of the kanmiso robes and heihaku shall be performed in the enclosed area surrounded by the third layer of the fence, which is the garden outdoors. On the other hand, the main function of the main sanctuary is to enshrine the divine mirror as mikata and store the divine treasures and heihaku and it has floors raised from the ground. The east and west treasury houses and the offering hall that store kanmiso robe, heihaku, horse trappings and harness have similar structures and there was also a fenced-off area containing rice storehouses called “mikurain”. It is believed that in the ancient ritual places, a storehouse with an elevated floor to facilitate the storage function was a highly important facility.

This is not limited to Jingū shrine and a similar situation can be observed as well in Isonokami-jingū shrine. The ritual place of Isonokami-jingū shrine is established on a point where Furu River flows out from the hilly area to the Yamato Plains and there is a high possibility that the divine storehouses housing numerous weapons existed from the early stage. In Isonokami-jingū shrine, iron products, the seven-branched swords and iron shields made between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries have been transmitted from generation to generation without being buried underground<sup>39)</sup> and from this perspective alone, the above speculation can be convincing.

Moreover, from the ritual sites dating back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century including above-mentioned Yamanohana site, Nango-Ōhigashi site and Nagasuka-Jōrisei site in Tateyama City, Chiba Prefecture, the building materials that suggest the existence of a storehouse with an elevated floor including a door material with a hole of a bolt, lintel which is a horizontal support of a door and materials for a ladder are unearthed. As stated above, it is highly possible that there were storehouses with an elevated floor in many ritual places in the archipelago at least after the 5<sup>th</sup> century and it is also conceivable that the storehouses served to store valuable things such as offerings and even enshrine the articles that could be the mikata of divine spirits according to circumstances<sup>40)</sup>.

#### **Actual condition of the ritual places**

The ritual procedures described in “Gishikichō” reveal that the execution of rituals involved not only the storage function but also tasks including producing and preparation of offerings and cooking of food offerings. From the ritual sites dating back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century where the flat iron ingot was unearthed such as Senzokudai site and Shussaku site, the trace of forging work can be confirmed along with the trace of producing the steatite imitations and it is conceivable that the tradition of the ritual procedures in “Gishikichō” dates back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41)</sup>. It should be considered that the ritual places after the 5<sup>th</sup> century were not the “simple facilities of sort which were removed after completion of rituals”<sup>42)</sup> pointed out by Mr. Ōba once, but a collective entity consisting of a facility to produce and prepare heihaku (offerings to deities) and cook food offerings and a storehouse with an elevated floor for storing valuable heihaku. This is likely to be applicable to the ritual places in different parts of the archipelago from the features of the ritual sites and the unearthed products in many parts in the archipelago.

#### **Comparison with the rituals on Okinoshima Island**

Here I would like to consider the correlation between the ritual procedures at Jingū shrine described in the “Gishikichō” and the rituals on Okinoshima Island<sup>43)</sup>. First, regarding the preparation stage of the rituals, the relation of the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island with the Shōsanmi Shrine Front site facing the ocean can be conceived. From the Shōsanmi Shrine Front site, sixteen samples of flat iron ingot as iron raw material were intensively unearthed and the baked clay replicas of a ladle (gourd-shaped) as kitchen utensils were also collected. This indicates that the site might have been a place for producing iron ritual utensils and cooking food offerings to deities for the rituals performed around a massive rock located deep in the woods on Okinoshima Island.

#### **Rituals of dedicating food and alcohol offerings to deities**

The rituals centering on the dedication of food and alcohol offerings such as Tsukinami-sai and Kanname-sai described in the “Gishikichō” are relevant to the situation of excavated objects from the Okinoshima Site No.5. From Site No.5 which is a typical example of the ritual sites partly in the shade of a

rock and partly in the open air, sake cups and food vessels of Sue ware and Haji ware were unearthed collectively, from which it is possible to reconstruct the state of sacred sake and food offerings dedicated to deities. In addition, the Genkai Sea style salt-making pottery placed on a pedestal has been unearthed<sup>44)</sup>. According to the section Tsukisanmi-sai described in “Gishikichō”, food offering, sacred sake and sacred salt baked by misaki monoimi (young girl serving to bake salt) were made in front of the grand deity which is consistent with the status of pottery unearthed from the Okinoshima Site No.5. It is estimated that the location of Site No.5 with rituals performed partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air corresponds to the central part of the Inner Shrine of Jingū shrine, in front of the grand deity. While it is stated in the Tsukinami-sai in “Gishikichō” that the food offering and sacred sake had to be withdrawn after completion of dedication and worshipping, at the Okinoshima Site No.5, those sake cups and food vessels that should have been withdrawn must have been left for some reasons.

### **Dedication and storage of heihaku (offerings to deities)**

In relation to the rituals that feature dedication of heihaku, etc., they are believed to be associated with the status of objects including copper mirrors, weapons/defensive equipment, tools, iron and gilt-bronze imitations that are collectively unearthed from the ritual sites on top of massive rocks, the ritual sites in the shade of rocks, the ritual sites partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air. These objects are in common with the divine treasures described in “Gishikichō” and the “heihaku” specified clearly in the historical materials. As mentioned above, “Gishikichō” specifies that on occasion of offering of kanmiso robes and heihaku, the dedication and recitation of Shinto prayers shall be performed in the enclosed area surrounded by the third layer of fence which is a wide space at a certain distance from the main sanctuary enshrining the sacred mirror as mikata, and after completion of the rituals, the kanmiso robes and heihaku shall be carried to the enclosed area surrounded by the mizugaki fence at the center of the Inner Shrine and shall be stored in the Main Sanctuary or in the adjacent East Treasure House. Following the ritual procedures, it is possible to interpret that the copper mirrors, iron weapons/defensive equipment, metal imitations unearthed from the rituals sites on a massive rock and from the ritual sites in a shade were displayed and dedicated in a flat place located at a certain distance from a massive stone where people who execute rituals (ritual executing members ) could line up in order and worship and after that these artifacts were carried by the main ritual executing persons (including Munakata-no-kimi who are associated with the clan in charge of religious services) to the massive rock and its environs and they were eventually buried near the divine spirits. The relatively smaller number of pieces of pottery unearthed from the massive rock and its environs would be ascribed to this point.

### **The ritual forms of Site No. 5 and Site No. 22**

Regarding the above-mentioned points, I want to confirm the details of the objects from the status of excavation from Site No. 5 and No. 22 where the metal imitations and pottery were collectively unearthed<sup>45)</sup>.

The Site No.5 is a ritual site partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air surrounded by the massive rocks of No.B and No.C and pottery including a big wide mouth jar of Sue ware, the Genkai-Sea style salt-making pottery placed on a pedestal, long-neck bottles/pedestaled dishes of Sue ware have been unearthed maintaining the original position along the north wall of the massive rock No. B. From the innermost part of the rock shade sandwiched by the massive rocks No.B and No.C, iron single-edged sword, iron miniatures of single-edged sword, spears, and knives, gilt-bronze miniatures of five-stringed Japanese zither, spinning and weaving tools, vessels have been intensively unearthed.

On the other hand, Site No.22 is located in the shade of a rock of the south side of the massive rock No.M where an altar-style flat surface is arranged by stacked stones. From the part in the foreground of the rock shade (south side), the shards of pottery such as the wide mouth big jar and narrow-mouthed jar of Sue ware are intensively unearthed. On the other hand, the unearthed iron miniatures of single-edged sword, spear, gilt-bronze miniatures of spinning and weaving tools, vessels and shell objects were stored in an approximately 50 cm-square enclosure surrounded by stones that adjoins the massive rock in the back of the rock shade.



In both Site No. 5 and Site No. 22, it can be confirmed that the food vessels for making offerings such as jars with wide mouth and a bottle with long neck of Sue ware, pedestaled dishes are intensively unearthed from the part in the foreground of the rock shade and the gilt-bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools, Japanese zither and iron miniatures of weapons are intensively unearthed. It is likely that the part in the foreground of the rock shade front corresponded to the place presumed to be in front of the grand deity where food and alcohol offerings are made in “Gishikichō” and the part in the back of the rock shade acted as main sanctuary and treasure house that housed divine treasures and heihaku. In this view, the massive rock and its environs are deemed to perform two functions of dedicating food and alcohol offerings and storing divine treasures and heihaku and they correspond to the area within the mizugaki fence where the main sanctuary and offering hall are located in a Jingū shrine. From the above-mentioned correspondence in ritual procedures, it seems necessary to consider the characteristics of “mikata” as representation of divine spirits just as the sacred mirror enshrined in the main sanctuary is called as “mikata” when discussing the characteristics of massive rocks. I would like to reconsider the interpretation of this view of kami (deities) in the following section.

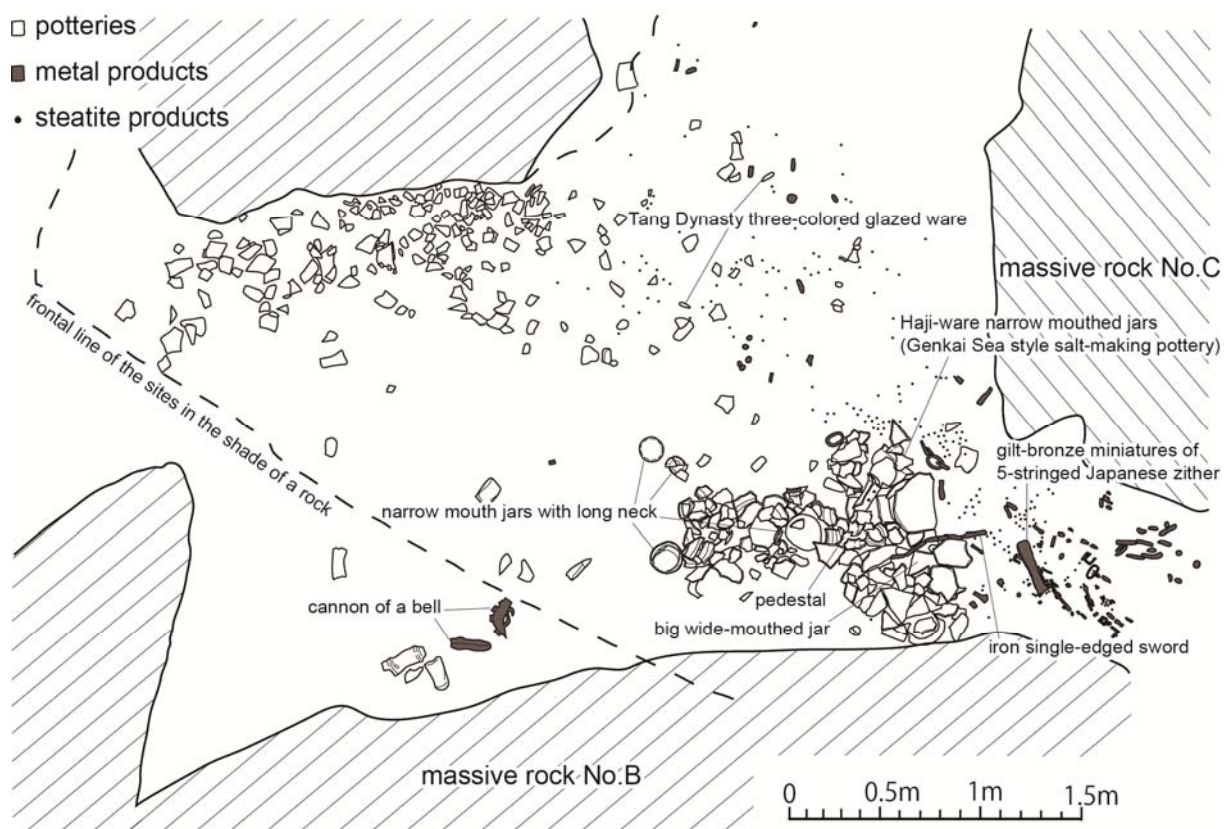


Figure 3 Status of excavation of the objects from Site No. 5  
 [created by combining the map of excavation state in the report *Okinoshima Island in Munakata* (1979)]

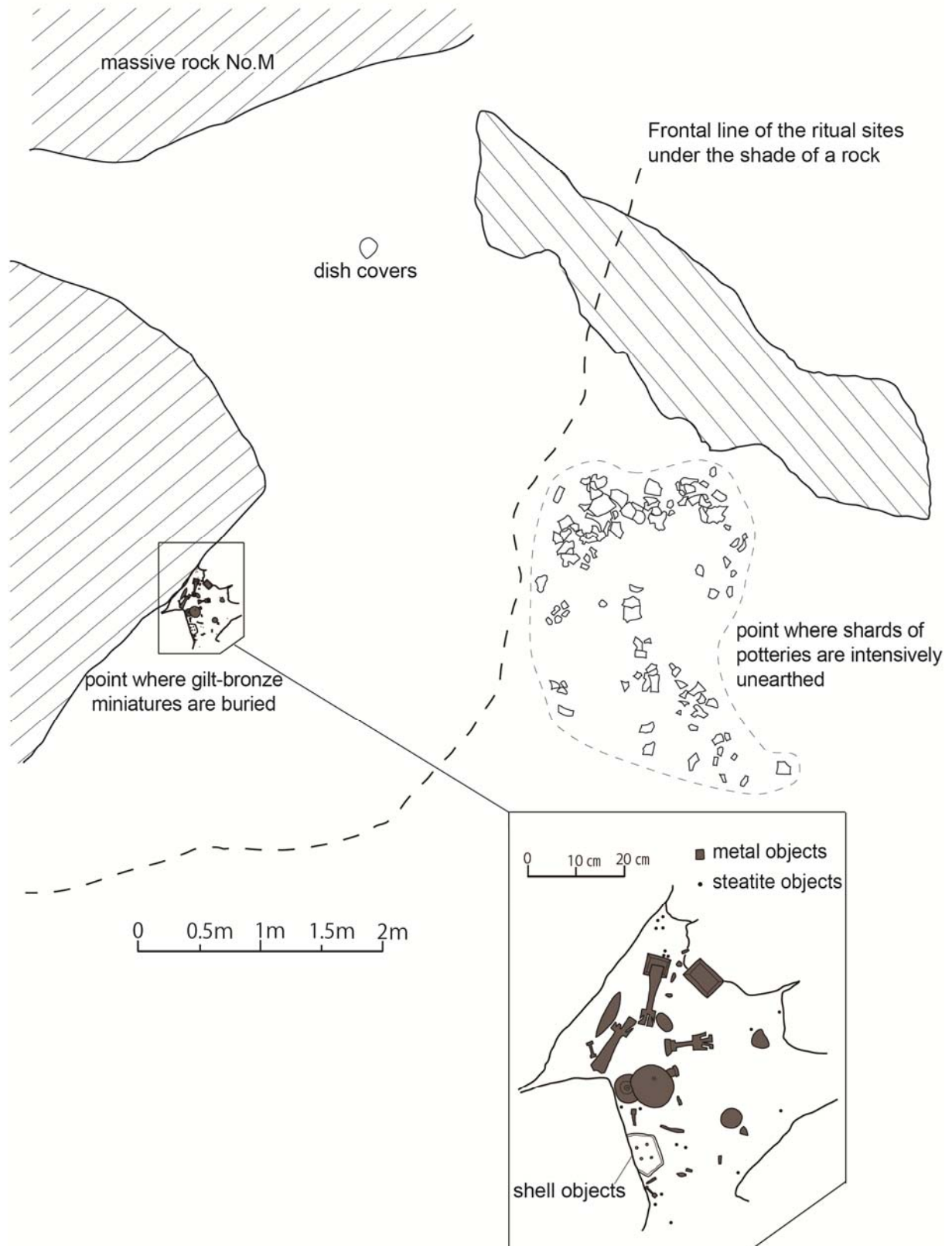


Figure 4 State of excavation of the objects from Site No. 22  
[created by combining the map of excavation state in the report *Okinosima Island in Munakata* (1979)]

## 5. Views of Kami (Deities) in the Rituals on Okinoshima Island in Munakata and their Objective

### Yorishiro (an object representative of a divine spirit), iwakura (rock-abode), and a view of kami (deities)

Conventionally, in the rituals on Okinoshima Island, it has been assumed that deities are viewed as coming down to earth from heaven vertically with Site No. 21 as “rock-abode (yorishiro)” as cited from the report “Okinoshima”<sup>46)</sup>. In this view, deities are conceived as being incorporeal that descend from heaven and a massive rock is “a distinctive huge rock to serve as yorishiro (an object representative of a divine spirit)” and a “sign of the descending deities”<sup>47)</sup> and is generally conceived as “yorishiro” and “iwakura”. Then, it will be necessary to reaffirm what these “yorishiro” and “iwakura” are.

Mr. Ōba shows the following view about iwakura in the “Ritual Sites”.

This notion comes from the awareness that a certain stone is possessed by divine spirits and a belief that the spiritual power dwells in the stone. Accordingly, the classical concept of “stone deity” and “rock-abode” derives from this notion and the area surrounded by stones then came to signify a sacred place occupied by deities and likewise, the so-called “iwasaka” (border rock) and “shiki” (stone site) correspond to this. (omitted) The above-mentioned spiritual stones correspond to the stone deity and the rock-abode in the classics and in terms of their configuration, although they are various in size, (omitted) they cannot necessarily be defined by a certain standard. I believe, after all that this is due to the result of action by everyone from every part in ancient times who invoked omnipresent innumerable divine spirits in the universe and performed rituals in their own way<sup>48)</sup>.

Mr. Ōba recognizes the rock-abode as divine seat to invoke and worship divine spirits that are omnipresent in the universe and there is no doubt in my mind that the form of vertical descent of deities from heaven assumed by Site No. 21 is based on this very notion. And this is closely related to the concept of “yorishiro/ogishiro” indicated by the “Story of a bamboo basket whose unwoven edges resemble a beard” published in Taisho 4/5 (1915/1916) by Shinobu Orikuchi.

It would be troublesome to see the descent of the deity to unexpected places; therefore, it is necessary for the deity to have a “yorishiro” as obvious landmark and for persons to have an “ogishiro” to invite spirits.

As long as we attempt to attract divine spirits with vague and diffusive nature into one point, it is only natural that the deities won’t descend unless adequate “yorishiro” is prepared<sup>49)</sup>.

Orikuchi believes that the divine spirits possess “vague and diffusive” characters and it is indispensable to prepare “yorishiro/ogishiro” to attract those divine spirits into one point to worship them and the image of “calling the omnipresent divine spirits to worship” suggested by Mr. Ōba overlaps with this concept. However, it should be noted that the “yorishiro/ogishiro” is an analytical concept created by Orikuchi from his observation of folklore and ideas<sup>50)</sup>, not from the verification based on the present historical and archaeological studies. In other words, the presumed view of kami (deities) in the rituals on Okinoshima Island that the deity comes in a vertical descent from heaven and the idea of considering the massive rock as “yorishiro/iwakura” are solely based on the idea of Orikuchi about “yorishiro/ogishiro” and the understanding of Mr. Ōba in response to the idea and it is not necessarily the case that the view really reflects the ancient view of kami (deities), at least.

### Three Goddesses of Munakata in the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and the Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)

Then how can we assume the view of kami regarding Three Goddesses of Munakata at that time? First, let’s confirm the description regarding Three Goddesses of Munakata in the “Kojiki” (Record of Ancient Matters) and the “Nihonshoki” (Chronicles of Japan).

#### • “Kojiki” (Record of Ancient Matters) First Volume

Amaterasu-ōmikami, first received the “totsuka-no-tsurugi (ten-hand long sword)” worn by

Susanoo-no-Mikoto and broke it into three pieces and while shaking the beads necklace, rinsed them clean in the fresh water from the sacred well, chewed on the pieces thoroughly and spat them out. And born from the mist of her breath was “Tagirihime-no-mikoto” also known as Okitsushimahime-no-mikoto. Then “Ichikishimahime-no-mikoto” was born. She is also known as Sayorihime-no-mikoto. Then “Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto” was born. (omitted) Tagirihime-no-mikoto stays in Okutsu-miya in Munakata. Next, Ichikishimahime-no-mikoto stays in Nakatsu-miya in Munakata and then Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto stays in Hetsu-miya in Munakata. These Mihashira no kami (three deities) are three great goddesses which Munakata-no-kimi worships<sup>51)</sup>.

▪ **“Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)”, text from the sixth paragraph of main chapter in the first volume**

Amaterasu-ōmikami solicited Susanoo-no-Mikoto for his “totsuka-no-tsurugi” and broke it into three pieces and rinsed them clean in the fresh water from the sacred well, chewed on the pieces thoroughly and spat them out and from the mist sprayed out, a deity was born who was named as Tagorihime. Then Tagitsuhime was born and next Ichikishimahime was born. They were collectively called three goddesses. (omitted) They became the deities worshipped by Munakata-no-kimi in Chikushi.

▪ **“Nihonshoki” text from the first addendum in the sixth paragraph in the first volume**

The Sun-goddess (omitted) solicited Susanoo-no-Mikoto for the “tosuka-no-tsurugi” worn by him and ate it and called a baby born there Okitsushimahime. Then a baby born by eating “kokonotsuka-no-tsurugi” (nine-hand sword) was named as Tagitsuhime. And a baby borne by eating “yatsuka-no-tsurugi” (eight-hand sword) is named as Tagorihime. They are collectively called Three Goddesses. (omitted) Therefore, the Sun-goddess who created three goddesses, made the goddesses descend to the Tsukushi Cay. And she gave them a lesson saying; “You three goddesses, make a descent to the road and help the descendants of Amaterasu and order the descendants of Amaterasu to worship you”.

▪ **“Nihonshoki” text from the second addendum in the sixth paragraph**

Eventually, Amaterasu-ōmikami floated the Yasakani-no-Magatama (string of comma-shaped jewels) in the fresh water from the sacred well, chewed on the edge of a bead and spat it out. And shaped from the mist of her breath was named as Ichikishimahime. This is a deity who stays in Okutsu-miya. Then Amaterasu chewed on the inside of a bead and spat it out. And a deity formed from a mist of her breath was named “Tagorihime”. She stays at Nakatsu-miya. And she chewed on the base of a bead and spat it out. And a deity was named “Tagitsuhime”. She stays at Hetsu-miya (by the shore). They are collectively called Three Goddesses.

▪ **“Nihonshoki” text from the third addendum in the sixth paragraph**

Then, the Sun goddess created a child named by eating the “totsuka-no-tsurugi (ten-hand long sword)” as “Okitsushimahime-no-mikoto”, also known as Ichikishimahime-no -mikoto. Also the Sun goddess created a child by eating the “kokonotsuka-no-tsurugi” (nine-hand sword) named as “Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto”. Also the Sun goddess created a child named as “Tagirihime-no-mikoto” by eating the “yatsuka-no-tsurugi (eight-hand long sword)” (omitted) Then the Sun goddess ordered three goddesses she created to descend to Usa-no-shima located in Ashihara no Nakatsukuni (the middle country of reed plain). At present they stays in the north road in the sea. They are called as Michinushi -no-Muchi (the highest deity of the road). This is the deities worshipped by Minuma -no-kimi<sup>52)</sup>.

What is narrated in the “Kojiki” and “Nihonshoki” in common regarding the origins of Three Goddesses of Munakata is that they are described as being created by ukei (vow) between Amaterasu-ōmikami and Susanoo-no-Mikoto and they made descend from heaven to the earth and became the deities staying on the island and by the beach. As for terms meaning the existence of deities, such Chinese characters as “坐 (stay)”, “居 (dwell)” “在 (exist)” are used and it appears that when the “Kojiki and Nihonshoki” were compiled, the divine spirits of three goddesses were considered not as being descended from heaven at each ritual occasion but being permanently resided on the island and along the beach where rituals were performed.

### Topographic environment and divine spirits

In relation to this, regarding Minuma-no-kimi/agatanushi (appellation of clan) deemed as a clan in charge of religious services for the deities of Munakata according to the third addendum in the sixth paragraph of the “Nihon Shoki”, there is a description suggesting the view of kami (deities) of the clan (Minuma-no-agatanushi) in the story of the Emperor Keiko in “Nihon Shoki”.

On the seventh day of the seventh month in autumn in the year 18 of the Emperor Keiko, the Emperor reached Yame Agata (southern part of Fukuoka prefecture). Then, he crossed the Fujiyama and got the view of the Awa-no-saki which was located at south side. The emperor said, “The mountain range scene seen from here is magnificent and beautiful. Probably the deity dwells there”. In response to this, Minuma-no-agatanushi-saruōmi replied, “There is a goddess. Her name is Yametsuhime. She always lives in the mountain.” Therefore, it became the origin of the name of the Yame Agata<sup>53)</sup>.

The Emperor Keiko was impressed by the beauty of the range of mountains and asked if there was a deity and the Minuma-no-agatanushi replied that a deity named Yametsuhime always stays in the mountain. The topographic environment of beautiful mountain ridge is one of the conditions for existence of divine spirits and from here, we can perceive the view of kami (deities) that the divine spirits always stay in the topographic environment meeting such conditions. The Minuma-no-kimi (Agatanushi) who was considered as the clan in charge of religious services for the three goddesses of Munakata along with Munakata-no-kimi in the “Nihonshoki” had such a view of kami (deities) when “Nihonshoki” was compiled. The view of kami (deities) which is closely related to the topographic environment can be seen in the “Code on Shinto prayers read by the head orator” collected in the eighth volume of “Engishiki”<sup>54)</sup>. In the verses contained in the Shinto prayers for Kinen-sai and Tsukinami-sai, “sumegami staying at the foot of the mountain” signifies a being that provides timbers from mountains and “sumegami dwelling at the watershed” signifies a being that controls the water source indispensable for agriculture and they are regarded as the objects for rituals. Also, in the Shinto prayers for Hirose-ohiomi-no-matsuri divine rite, “sumegami dwelling at the foot of the mountain in six Agata (farms of Emperor) in the Yamato province” is considered as the beings who govern (possess) the foothill of the mountains and discharge “sweet water” downstream swiftly for irrigation from there. “Mikumari-no-kami” (water-dividing deities) inhabiting the watershed divide water and “Yamanokuchi-no-kami” at the foot of the mountain flow water swiftly toward Yamato Basin with rice paddies and provide timbers of various sizes. From these verses, it is inferred that people recognized the existence of deities in natural environment and phenomena themselves resulting from a distinctive topographic environment<sup>55)</sup>. At the same time, it is conceived that not only did people venerate the productive functions of the deities such as providing water for agriculture and timbers but also feel that there was something awe-inspiring about the beauty of a mountain range from the understanding of Yametsuhime (goddess) in the “Records of Emperor Keiko”.

Moreover, as stated at the beginning of the Shinto prayer for Hirose-ohiomi-no-matsuri, “The deity enshrined at the confluence of rivers at Hirose District is named Wakaukanome-no-Mikoto who is a tutelary of foodstuffs” and the confluence point of major rivers in the Yamato Plain including Hasse River, Katsuragi River and Asuka River was designated as the ritual place for worshipping “Wakaukanome-no-Mikoto” as a deity of rice plants and foodstuffs. The rituals for the deity of rice plants and foodstuff were performed in the specific topographic environment where several rivers with volume of water are confluent and the natural phenomena (workings) appropriate to its divinity emerges, in other words, in the specific natural scenery.

In addition, the above-mentioned Toshigoi-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for good harvest) and Tsukinami-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for peace of state) and Hirose-ohiomi-no-matsuri (divine rite to pray for favorable growth of rice plant) formed the basis for the ritsuryō rituals performed by the Imperial Government and the heihaku dedicated in these divine rites have a lot in common with the set of offerings that were established during the 5th century. In this regard as well, it is inferred that while the view of kami (deities) indicated by the Shinto prayers for these rituals occupied a big position in the state rituals, it maintained tradition since the Kofun period<sup>56)</sup>.



### Views of kami (deities) in rituals on Okinoshima Island and the topographic environment

Based on the above-mentioned points, I would like to consider the view of kami (deities) for Three Goddesses of Munakata once again. The various views regarding the names of Three Goddesses have already been compiled in the “Munakata Shrine History”. Among Three Goddesses, “tagitsu” in Tagitsu-hime-no-mikoto/tagitsu-hime is the same as “tagitsu” stated in an “oharae-no-kotoba” (purification prayer) as “A deity named Seoritsu-hime-no-kami resided in the swiftly flowing river running down violently from the head of tall mountains and short mountains”, which means the state of violently flowing current with bubbling-up water. In the same way, “tagiri/tagori” in Tagiri-hime-no-mikoto/Tagori-hime signifies a violent movement of water and both are a deification of natural phenomenon. “Itsuki” in Ichikishimahime-no-mikoto/Ichikishimahime means “itsuki” (worshipping) and it is a deification of an act of rituals. However, the correspondence between three goddesses and the three shrines including Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya, Hetsu-miya isn’t definite in “Kojiki and Nihonshoki” and in the “Munakata Shrine History”, it is estimated that due to an ever-greater role played by Hetsu-miya as the ritual place, a system of placing Tagori-hime in Okitsu-miya, Tagitsu-hime in Nakatsu-miya and Ichikishimahime in Hetsu-miya as stated in the main text of the Nihonshoki<sup>57)</sup> was established.

However, the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki were compiled in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century which coincides with the times from the 7<sup>th</sup> century to 8<sup>th</sup> century when the ritual Site No. 5 partly in shade of a rock and partly in the open air was established and the same ritual form with Site No.5 can be confirmed in Site No. 22 as well. Moreover, from Site No.1, the pottery made during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries has been unearthed in large quantity and in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the rituals for worshipping Okitsushimahime at Okitsu-miya were conducted vigorously. Therefore, it is unlikely that the confusion and change of names of the goddesses were due to higher priority given to Hetsu-miya as a place for rituals. There was already some confusion of the names of three goddesses from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century when the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki were compiled. Probably, the deities of Munakata had already had a long history and tradition of being the objects of worship and over those years the confusion of the names of the goddesses happened.

Rather, the important point in considering the divinity of Three Goddesses of Munakata is the topographic environment consisting of two islands and a beach and the relationship with natural phenomena represented by the movement and workings of water associated with the names “tagiri/tagitsu”.

In particular, it is worth noting that “Okitsushima-hime-no-mikoto/Okitsushima-hime” is a combination of an island name (Okitsushima) and a suffix “hime-no-mikoto/hime” (literally female (goddess)). This is analogous to the name of a deity “Yametsu-hime” composed of a place name “Yame” and a suffix “hime”, whom Minuma-no-agatanushi (who is the local government) replied that she always resided in the beautiful mountain. This suggests the situation that people deified Okinoshima which is a solitary island floating loftily in the Genkai Sea with a distinctive topographic environment and worshipped the island itself as deity and believed that the deity always inhabited the island. In the same way, the natural condition of the island with inexhaustible spring water is believed to have been an important element to deify the island itself which is situated on the sea route to the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, I believe that the appellation “Ichikishimahime”, the goddess of the island where strict taboos are imposed and purification rites are performed was referred to as a deity inhabiting Okitsushima in the Nihonshoki and became also known as Okitsushimahime. Moreover, the combination of Hetsu-miya near the mouth of Tsuru River with Nakatsu-Miya on Oshima situated off the coast represents the topographic environment with port function suitable for the marine traffic and by adding Okinoshima, this topographic condition is believed to have played a significant role in the marine transportation to and from the Korean Peninsula. This corresponds to the third addendum to the sixth paragraph of “Nihonshoki” regarding the name of three goddesses of Munakata and their deification; “They are enshrined in the north road in the sea. They are called Michinushi-no-Muchi (the highest deity of the road).

In this way, in the rituals on Okinoshima Island, it is inferred that people didn’t recognize the divine spirits as descending to the rock-abode of a massive rock each time the rituals were performed but recognize the island itself as deity and believed that the deity always inhabited the island. Ancient people felt the existence of deities in Okinoshima itself and performed rituals with the massive rock group in the middle of the south side of the island as the symbol of its divine spirits. This belief, as the “Gishikichō” expressed, seems to signify “mikata (the symbol of the deity) in the stone”<sup>58)</sup>.

### The object of rituals and its significance

Then, for what purpose were the rituals on Okinoshima Island performed? As I've mentioned before and as has already been stated by the earlier scholars, it is certain that marine traffic is deeply involved. For example, Mr. Ōba mentioned "the support of divine spirits in marine traffic" as "an element of worship of islands" and stated as follows:

In marine traffic, (omitted), the islands on the sea not only serve as temporary anchorage to avoid wind sea but also serve as the purpose of prayers for the divine spirits inhabiting there wishing them traffic safety and their support and from there pious faith in the island deities is shown. The best example is Okinoshima, one of the three shrines of Munakata, (omitted), although there are different descriptions as to the origin of its main enshrined deity in "Kojiki and Nihonshoki", it is obvious that the deity constitutes one of three goddesses and the shrine became a place of worship for Munakata-no-kimi since ancient times. Due to its location on a sea route between Japan and Korea, it naturally follows that the island long served as the protector of the safety of navigation and the honorary title of Michinushi-no-Muchi (the highest deity of the road) is attributed to this<sup>59)</sup>.

This vision doesn't conflict with the view of kami (deities) of Three Goddesses of Munakata examined in this paper. However, it is believed that there was a historical background during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century which affected the clarification of the rituals on Okinoshima Island. Especially, the important position of Munakata region and Okinoshima on the shortest route linking Yamato with the Korean Peninsula as indicated by Taichiro Shiraishi contributed to the development of the rituals with state character by combining Okitsu-miya on Okinoshima with Nakatsu-miya on Ōshima and Hetsu-miya near the estuary of Tsuru River and it will be necessary to consider the historical background that the Yamato kingdom prioritized this shortest route<sup>60)</sup>.

On the other hand, the clarification of the ritual sites from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century is not confined to the examples in the rituals on Okinoshima Island and Isonokami Shrine kinsokuchi (tabooed land) in the nucleus of the Yamato kingdom. The recent research and study have revealed that the ritual sites accompanied by iron products and soft stone imitations were established in distant places from Munakata and Yamato in Tōgoku (the eastern part of Japan) including the Ōfunatsu district of the Jyōri site in Kyūchū, Kashima City, Ibaraki Prefecture on the shore of Lake Kasumigaura/Kitaura, the Ojima shell mound in Inashiki City, Ibaraki Prefecture and the Kotaki-Ryōgenji site in Minami-bōso City, Chiba Prefecture at the tip of the Bōso Peninsula and indicated their relationship with the waterborne traffic linking Tohoku and Kanto Region with Yamato<sup>61)</sup>. In other words, similar rituals were established and developed in the western end of the Japanese archipelago facing the Korean Peninsula and in Tōgoku (the eastern part of Japan) adjacent to the Tohoku Region in the era from the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as indicated by the characters "大王" (great king) and "治天下" (reign under the sky/under the reign of ...) inscribed on the iron sword unearthed from the Inariyama mound tomb in Gyoda City, Saitama Prefecture<sup>62)</sup>, the consciousness of state territory focused on the Yamato kingdom that the whole country was ruled by the great king emerged. And in the western frontier and the eastern frontier of the kingdom, the rituals in the early-period ritual sites including Okinoshima were performed. The rituals on Okinoshima Island had great historical significance not only in their relationship with the Korean Peninsula and Mainland China but also in the formation of the state in the archipelago.

After that, in a region where the initial ritual sites were located in Tōgoku (the eastern part of Japan), Kashima District on the shore of Lake Kasumigaura and Kitaura and Awa District at the tip of the Bōso Peninsula were treated as shingun (a district dedicated to deities) like Okinoshima in Munakata District from the second half of the 7th century to the beginning of the 8th century and the rituals with traditions dating back to the 4th and 5th century were inherited as rituals prioritized by the Ritsuryō state. It seems unlikely that this is an accidental coincidence and it is rather conceivable that the Ritsuryō state recognized the significance of the rituals performed in the eastern and western frontiers of the state territory in the 4th and 5th century and followed them.

## 6. Conclusion

The conventional studies on the ancient rituals have been conducted with such keywords as “yorishiro/ogishiro” presented by Shinobu Orikuchi and “himorogi”, “iwakura/iwasaka” presented by Orikuchi’s successor Ōba Iwao. The same goes for the rituals on Okinoshima Island and as a result of consideration on the ritual forms by applying a massive rock to “yorishiro” and “iwakura”, the view of kami (deities) that sees deity as making vertical descent from heaven has been assumed.

However, another look at the archaeological materials and historical documents with an open mind shows a different aspect. It is a view of kami (deities) that finds the divine spirits in the natural environment and its workings themselves. A similar view of regarding things including natural environment with special “workings” that are awe-inspiring as deities was indicated by a Japanese classical scholar of Edo period Norinaga Motoori in his writings titled “Kojiki-den” (Commentary on the Kojiki)<sup>63)</sup>. The history of rituals for these deities narrates how people thought about and engaged with the natural environment. Ancient people considered Okinoshima, a rocky island floating lofty on the sea itself as a deity and found divine powers in the working of the marine traffic which was important for the state and continued to perform rituals.

This view of kami (deities) and rituals on the Okinoshima Island were closely connected with the formation of the state and from here a certain form of rituals linking the natural environment to the state emerges. The following imperial edict issued on July 27<sup>th</sup> in Jōgan 6 (864) in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century contains a suggestive content regarding the relationships between the natural environment, the state and the rituals. It was the time when the ancient rituals on Okinoshima Island were about to come to an end.

In order to protect the country and prevent and quell natural disasters, it is indispensable to worship deities of heaven and earth and respect the divine rite. For this reason, the edicts have been proclaimed repeatedly along with the warnings. However, from what I hear, bokusai (governors) of provinces don’t respect the ordinances and leave the execution of rituals to kannushi (Shinto priest), negi (vice-priest) and hafuri (lower-rank priest), damage the shrines and neglect rituals. It is worrying that due to this, the myojin deity will give us divine punishment and the state will suffer from the disasters<sup>64)</sup>.

Just before this imperial edict was issued, according to record of July 17<sup>th</sup> in Jōgan 6 in “The True History of Three Reigns of Japan”, Mt. Fuji had a major eruption causing great damages and the government, considering this as divine punishment, performed ritual to calm down the divine wrath. Five years later, in Jyōgan 11 (869), there was a major earthquake accompanied by great tsunami in Mutsu Province and in Jyōgan 13 (871), Mt. Chōkai in Dewa Province erupted and in Jyōgan 16 (874), Kaimondake volcano erupted in Satsuma Province. The Ritsuryō government performed rituals at Ōmonomi Shrine on Mt. Chōkai and Hirakiki Shrine on Kaimon volcano to quiet down the divine wrath and thanks for the divine protection.

For ancient people and the state, not only did the natural environment bring many blessings to people but caused serious disasters as well and they saw divinities in its workings<sup>65)</sup>. Due to this, the state and people tried to carry out the rituals strictly. It is necessary to understand the ancient rituals on Okinoshima Island in this context. The ritual sites on Okinoshima Island have conveyed the beliefs of ancient people who saw deities in the natural environment with a sense of awe and the traditions of the region and the nation to the present in rich natural environment and peculiar natural scenery.

### Notes and references (not translated):

- 1) 大場磐雄『神道考古学論攷』葦牙書店 1943、1971 雄山閣で再版
- 2) 大場磐雄『祭祀遺蹟—神道考古学の基礎的研究—』角川書店 1970
- 3) 大場磐雄「一四南豆洗田の祭祀遺蹟」註1 文献に同じ。
- 4) 大場磐雄「第一部祭祀遺蹟の研究」註2 文献に同じ。
- 5) 亀井正道「第五章祭祀遺跡の年代」『建鉾山』吉川弘文館 1966

- 6) 亀井正道「浜松市坂上遺跡の土製模造品」『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告第7集共同研究「古代の祭祀と信仰」』国立歴史民俗博物館 1985
- 7) 註5)に同じ。
- 8) 大場磐雄「11 お言わず島—沖ノ島」『まつり考古学から探る日本古代の祭—〈解説付新装版〉』学生社 1996 (1967年版の再版)
- 9) 井上光貞「第二編古代沖の島の祭祀」『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会 1984
- 10) 註8)に同じ。
- 11) 原田大六「第三章第十節祭祀遺物の特徴」『沖ノ島宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡』宗像神社復興期成会 1958
- 12) 小田富士雄「第4章沖ノ島祭祀遺跡の時代とその祭祀形態」『宗像沖ノ島』宗像大社復興期成会 1979
- 13) 松本肇「第3章第9節21号遺跡4. 小結」註12文献に同じ。
- 14) 例えば、アサヒグラフ別冊『戦後50年古代史発掘総まくり』においても、21号遺跡の祭壇復元写真を掲載し、本文中で21号遺跡について「この巨岩上の「広場」の中央に、組み石が方形（中略）に置かれ、組み石の真ん中に約一メートル四方、厚さ五十センチの大石があった。この大石は、神が降臨する場所としての「磐座」の意味をもたせていたらしく、石の真ん中には長さ十五センチ、幅三センチのくぼみがつけられていた。「この大石の上に、神が宿るところを表す神籬を立て、木には玉類を飾っていたのではないか」としている。  
「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」アサヒグラフ別冊74『戦後50年古代史発掘総まくり』朝日新聞社 1996
- 15) 註11)に同じ。
- 16) 註9)に同じ。
- 17) 笹生衛「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—」『日本古代の祭祀考古学』吉川弘文館 2012 (初出2010)
- 18) 註17)に同じ。
- 19) 笹生衛「古代の祭りと幣帛・神饌・神庫—古墳時代の祭祀遺跡・遺物から復元する祭具と祭式—」『延喜式研究』第27号 2011
- 20) 『南条遺跡群青木下遺跡Ⅱ・Ⅲ』坂城町教育委員会 2007
- 21) 『館山市東田遺跡』(財)千葉県文化財センター2008『南羽鳥遺跡群Ⅲ—中岫第1遺跡F地点—』(財)印旛郡市文化財センター 1999
- 22) 註17)に同じ。
- 23) 笹生衛「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡における遺物組成と祭祀構造—鉄製品・金属製模造品を中心に—」『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告Ⅰ』「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議 2011 註17) 文献に収録。  
沖ノ島祭祀遺跡以外で九州地方における鉄鋌を伴う祭祀遺跡については、小田富士雄氏が鉄鋌奉供祭祀として言及している。  
小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡の再検討—4～5世紀宗像地方との関連で—」同上。
- 24) 『行者塚古墳発掘調査概報』加古川市教育委員会 1997
- 25) 禰宜田佳男「生産経済民の副葬行為を弥生文化」・大久保徹也「古墳文化（前期）」『季刊考古学第70号特集副葬を通してみた社会の変化』雄山閣 2000
- 26) 近藤義郎「第6章集団墓地から弥生墳丘墓へ」『前方後円墳の時代』岩波書店 1983
- 27) 『埼玉稲荷山古墳』埼玉県教育委員会 1980  
『埼玉稲荷山古墳辛亥銘鉄剣修理報告書』埼玉県教育委員会 1982
- 28) 笹生衛「「祖・おや」の信仰と系譜—考古資料と集落・墓域の景観から見た古代の祖先祭祀—」註17) 文献、初出 2011
- 29) 『津屋崎古墳群Ⅰ』津屋崎町教育委員会 2004
- 30) 津屋崎古墳群内では、5世紀から6世紀にかけて勝浦、新原・奴山、生家・大石、須多田の近接した地区で、複数系列の墓域を形成したが、7世紀代に古墳群南端の宮司・手光地区で宮地嶽古墳・手光波切不動古墳が出現し、8世紀の胸形君につながる胸形君徳善の墓の候補とされている。  
重藤輝行「宗像地域における古墳時代首長の対外交渉と沖ノ島祭祀」註23文献に同じ。および註29)に同じ。
- 31) 藤森馨「鎮花祭と三枝祭の祭祀構造」『神道宗教』第211号神道宗教学会 2008
- 32) 註29・30)に同じ。
- 33) 篠原祐一「五世紀における石製祭具と沖ノ島の石材」註23文献に同じ。
- 34) 註23) 笹生論文。

- 35) 金子裕之「アマテラス神話と金銅製紡織具—祭祀関連遺物」『列島の古代史 7 信仰と世界観』岩波書店 2006
- 36) 加瀬直弥氏による平安時代の神宝の整理・分析によると、一代一度大神宝や住吉大社に捧げた神宝には、杵・剣（大刀）・弓箭といった武器とともに紡織具（平紋麻桶・線柱、麻樋筥・・杵・杼頭）が含まれており、5 世紀代に形成された祭具セットの伝統が平安時代の神宝類に継承されていた可能性は高い。  
加瀬直弥「古代朝廷と神宝との関係について」『國學院大學伝統文化リサーチセンター研究紀要』第 4 号 2012
- 37) 『皇太神宮儀式帳』の読みと解釈は、『神道大系神宮編一』（神道大系編纂会 1979）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』（臨川書店 1970・1976）を参考にした。
- 38) 神社・社殿の成立に関しては錦田剛志氏が、これまでの諸説を細かく整理し、多様な系統で社殿が成立していた可能性を指摘し、「多様な信仰対象、神観念の存在、そこに起因する多種多様な祭場の立地、構造、形態、祭祀具、祭式等のあり方がそれを物語るのではないか」としている。  
錦田剛志「『古代神殿論』をめぐる研究動向と課題—考古資料の解釈とその周辺—」『古代出雲大社の祭儀と神殿』学生社 2005
- 39) 大場磐雄『石上神宮寶物誌』石上神宮 1929
- 40) 註 19) に同じ。  
なお、石上神宮に祭られる神剣「節霊」の出現について『日本書紀』神武天皇即位前紀では、「時に武甕雷神、登ち高倉に謂りて曰く、「予が劔、號を節霊と曰ふ。（節霊、此をば赴屠能彌哆磨と云ふ。）今當に汝が庫の裏に置かむ。取りて天孫に獻れ」とのたまふ」とあり、神霊を象徴する器物が置かれる場所として庫（倉）が認識されていたことを物語る。  
坂本太郎他校註『日本古典文学大系日本書記上』岩波書店 1967
- 41) 註 19) に同じ。
- 42) 註 2) に同じ。
- 43) 註 23) 笹生論文。
- 44) 山崎純男「6 福岡県」『日本土器製塩研究』近藤義郎編・青木書店 1994
- 45) 佐田茂「第 3 章第 4 節 5 号遺跡」・松本肇／弓場紀知「第 3 章第 10 節 22 号遺跡」註 12) 文献に同じ。
- 46) 註 12) に同じ。
- 47) 佐田茂『沖ノ島祭祀遺跡』ニュー・サイエンス社 1991
- 48) 註 2) に同じ。
- 49) 折口信夫「髯籠の話」『郷土研究』第 3 巻第 2・3 號、第 4 巻第 9 號 1915・1916（『折口信夫全集』第 2 巻中央公論社 1965）
- 50) 岩田重則「第一章「髯籠の話」と「柱松考」の民俗学方法論」『墓の民俗学』吉川弘文館 2003
- 51) 倉野憲司・武田祐吉校注『日本古典文学大系古事記祝詞』岩波書店 1958
- 52) 坂本太郎他校註『日本古典文学大系日本書記上』岩波書店 1967
- 53) 註 52) に同じ。
- 54) 註 51) に同じ。
- 55) 江戸時代の代表的な国学者、本居宣長は『古事記伝』で「さて、凡て迦微（かみ）とは、古の御典等に見えたる、天地の諸の神たちを始めて、其の祀れる社に坐ます御霊をも申し、又人はさらにも云わず、鳥獸草木のたぐい、海山など、其余何にもまれ、尋常（よのつね）ならずすぐれたる徳（こと）のありて、可畏き物を迦微とは云なり」とする。古典理解から、人や鳥獸草木、海山の自然環境まで「尋常ならずすぐれたる徳」（特別な働き）があり、畏れ多いと感じさせるものは迦微（神）であるとの考え方を示している。  
本居宣長『増補本居宣長全集第 1 古事記傳神代之部』吉川弘文館 1902
- 56) 岡田莊司氏は、祈年・月次祭、廣瀬大忌祭の祝詞にみえる御県神 6 所、山口神 6 所、水分神 6 所は、その分布から飛鳥地方を中心に配置されており、祈年祭祝詞が 7 世紀後半の飛鳥淨御原宮の祈年祭班幣に用いられていたことを指摘する。このことから、その祝詞に記された神観には、少なくとも 7 世紀後半以来の伝統があったと考えられよう。  
岡田莊司「第四章神今食と新嘗祭・大嘗祭—天皇祭祀と国制機構—」『大嘗の祭り』学生社 1990
- 57) 「第四章祭神」『宗像神社史上巻』宗像神社復興期成会 1961
- 58) 例えば、『皇太神宮儀式帳』「管度會郡神社行事」には「小朝熊神社一處。神櫛玉命の兒、大歳の



兒、櫻大刀自と稱す。形石に坐します。また苔虫の神。形石に坐します。また大山罪命の子、朝熊水の神。形石に坐します」とある。

『神道大系神宮編一皇太神宮儀式帳・止由気宮儀式帳・太神宮諸雜事記』（神道大系編纂会 1979）により読み下し。

- 59) 註 4) に同じ。
- 60) 白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」註 23 文献に同じ。
- 61) 笹生衛「祭祀遺跡の分布と変遷から見た東国神郡の歴史的背景—安房国安房郡の事例を中心に—」註 17) 文献、初出 2010
- 62) 註 27) に同じ。
- 63) 註 55) に同じ。
- 64) 武田祐吉・佐藤謙三訳『読み下し日本三代実録〈上巻〉清和天皇』戎光祥出版株式会社 2010
- 65) 岡田莊司氏は、「天皇祭祀は災害への対応を組み込むことで、その全体像が構築できることになる。神道論もまた、自然と災害とを組み入れることで、古代人の意識の中に触れることが可能となる」とし、祭祀と自然災害との深い関係性について言及する。災害も自然環境のマイナス面での働きであり、その働きにも神を見ることは、ここで検討してきた神観のあり方とも整合する。岡田莊司「古代の天皇祭祀と災い」『國學院雑誌』第 112 卷 9 号 201

# **Kamimatsuri and Sacred Offerings by the Ancient Kingly Power/State Seen in Literary Records – The Historical Background of Okinoshima Rituals –**

NISHIMIYA Hideki  
Professor, Aichi University of Education

**Abstract:** With regard to Okinoshima rituals, there are many opinions which refer to archaeological relics abundant both in quality and quantity originating in a long period from the fourth to ninth centuries in an effort to get some clue about the form of ritual in the Kofun period and “Ritsuryō rituals” (Ritsuryō system is the legislation of the ancient state of Japan). However, literary records of rituals on Okinoshima Island are hardly found. Isn’t it the present state of study on this subject that Okinoshima rituals have not been fully examined in terms of how similar or different they are to or from religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system and the form of Kamimatsuri by the Yamato kingly power which can be seen in literary records? Then, the author would like to review the historical position of Okinoshima rituals in the ancient kingly power/state as the rituals of Munakata Goddesses (Shrine). In doing so, the author will try to reconstruct them based on literary records concerning Kamimatsuri and sacred offering by the Yamato kingly power and ritual tools represented by archaeological relics. The author will also clarify the similarities and differences of Munakata Goddesses (Shrine) rituals and Okinoshima rituals to and from religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system that the author has discussed before.

**Keywords:** Kamimatsuri, Ritsuryō religious rituals, sacred offerings, ritual tools, sacred treasures, sacred stuff, Okinoshima rituals, Munakata Goddesses (Shrine), the Yamato kingly power

## **Introduction**

How should we understand Okinoshima rituals? As a result of a scientific study conducted in three phases, three voluminous reports were published and tell us about rituals and ritual relics on Okinoshima Island thoroughly <sup>1)</sup>. In the third report on the study, Mr. OKAZAKI Takashi summarized the study in a proper way and discussed main subjects to such a sufficient extent that nobody could add anything to his discussion <sup>2)</sup>. Almost at the same time as the publication of the third report, Mr. INOUE Mitsusada <sup>3)</sup> conducted a philological study concerning the relation between Okinoshima rituals and archaeological remains. His study has a great impact on subsequent other studies on Okinoshima rituals <sup>4)</sup>. It is quite natural that Okinoshima rituals are positioned according to what a great number of ritual relics tell us because the study on this subject began with almost intact archaeological relics enormous both in quality and quantity and the archaeological discovery of a unique ritual site with gigantic rocks <sup>5)</sup>.

Moreover, as a matter of fact, we cannot find any article in literary records which clearly describes that religious rituals were directly performed right on Okinoshima Island though archaeological relics preserved on Okinoshima Island date back to the 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. It should be noted that despite the above-mentioned fact, many people discuss Okinoshima rituals in connection with rituals conducted by the Yamato kingly power and state that a precursory form of “Ritsuryō rituals” can be seen in them exclusively from archaeological relics without direct literary evidence.

The author once analyzed the religious rituals of the Ritsuryō state and “sacred stuff” and argued that rituals conducted by the Yamato kingly power mainly from the 6<sup>th</sup> century should be understood in a form called Kamimatsuri, which was the process of conversion to religious rituals <sup>6)</sup>. Therefore, in this paper, a little apart from archaeological relics on Okinoshima Island, the author will examine Munakata Goddesses and the Munakata Shrine by making reference to literary records relevant to Okinoshima rituals. After that, the author will examine the relation between Kamimatsuri and sacred offerings mainly before Ritsuryō religious rituals and ritual tools represented by the names of archaeological relics and literary articles on sacred treasures and sacred stuff. Based on such examination, the author will try to reconstruct Kamimatsuri and religious rituals which were performed in Okinoshima Island and the Munakata Shrine.

## 1. Munakata Goddesses Seen in Literary Records

In this chapter, first of all, the author would like to review literary articles on Munakata Goddesses and the Munakata Shrine.

### (1) Three Goddesses of Munakata in Kojiki and Nihonshoki Mythologies

Munakata-no-kami (the goddess of Munakata) appears in an article on a pledge called Zuijumeiyaku in the mythology of “Kojiki” (Record of Ancient Matters) and “Nihonshoki” (Chronicles of Japan). In the following, these mythologies will be specifically summarized according to historical records.

#### A. “Kojiki”

- When Amaterasu-Ōmikami asked her younger brother whether he had a wicked heart or not, Take-susanowo-no-mikoto suggested making it clear by divination called “ukehi”.
- Facing the river of Ameno-yasukawa between them, Amaterasu-Ōmikami asked for a long sword called “Totsuka-no-tsurugi” hung on the waist of Takehaya-susanowo-no-mikoto and broke it into three pieces. She purified the pieces in a well called Ame-no-manai. When she crunched them and spat them out, goddesses appeared there. They were called Tagirihime-no-mikoto (also called Okitsushima-hime-no-mikoto), Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto (also called Sayorihime-no-mikoto) and Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto, respectively.
- Haya-susanowo-no-mikoto purified a string of comma-shaped beads called “Iyasaka-no-magatama” bound around the left bundle of hair of Amaterasu-Ōmikami in the well of Ame-no-manai. When he crunched those beads and blew them out, appeared a god called Masakatsu-akatsukachi-hayahi-ame-no-oshihomimi. Similarly, a god was born from a string of beads bound around the right bundle of hair and called Amenohohi-no-mikoto. A god was also born from a string of “beads” bound around her hair ornament and called Amatsuhikone-no-mikoto. A god born from a string of “beads” bound around her left hand was Ikutsuhikone-no-mikoto. A god born from a string of “beads” bound around her right hand was Kumano-no-kusubi-no-mikoto.
- Amaterasu-Ōmikami said to Haya-susanowo-no-mikoto, “Five boys who were born later are mine because they were born from my own seeds (beads). Three girls who were born earlier are yours because they were born from your own seeds (sword).”
- Then, Tagirihime-no-mikoto who was born earlier is enshrined in the Okutsu-miya of Munakata; Ichikishimahime-no-mikoto is enshrined in the Nakatsu-miya of Munakata; and Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto is enshrined in the Hetsu-miya of Munakata. These three goddesses are Grand Goddesses worshiped by Munakata-no-Kimi.
- Haya-susanowo-no-mikoto said to Amaterasu-Ōmikami, “I am innocent. A child whom I had is a girl. Therefore, according to our vow, I have necessarily won.”

On the other hand, in the chapter of the “Zuijumeiyaku” (the pledge of holy beads), Part 6 of “Nihonshoki”, there are four different stories orally passed down from generation to generation, namely B. the principal text, C. the first version, D. the second version and E. the third version. Each of these different stories will be outlined as follows.

#### B (the principal text)

- In response to the suspicion of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, Susanowo-no-mikoto suggested vowing to the god with her.
- Susanowo-no-mikoto said in the “vow”, “I will have a child. If it is a girl, then I have an impure mind. If it is a boy, then I have a pure mind.”
- Amaterasu-Ōmikami broke “Totsuka-no-tsurugi”, a sword of Susanowo-no-mikoto into three pieces and rinsed them in the well of Ame-no-manai. By crunching those pieces, she had three girls called Tagorihime, Tagitsuhime and Ichikishimahime, respectively.
- Susanowo-no-mikoto had five boys by crunching “Yasakani-ihotsu-misumaru-no-tama”, a bead necklace of Amaterasu-Ōmikami after rinsing it in the well of Ame-no-manai.
- Amaterasu-Ōmikami said, “If you ask about the roots of their birth, the necklace is mine. Those five gods are my children.” Then, she raised them by herself.
- Saying “Since the sword belongs to Susanowo-no-mikoto, three goddesses are your children”, she gave them to Susanowo-no-mikoto.

- These three goddesses are ones worshiped by Munakata-no-Kimi in Tsukushi.

#### C (the first version)

- In response to the suspicion of Hinokami, Susanowo-no-mikoto sworn a “pledge” with her.
- Hinokami said, “If your mind is pure, a child whom you will have must be a boy.”
- A child whom Hinokami had by eating “Totsuka-no-tsurugi” was named Okitsushimahime, one whom Hinokami had by eating “Kokonotsuka-no-tsurugi” was named Tagitsuhime and one whom Hinokami had by eating “Yatsuka-no-tsurugi” was named Tagorihime.
- Susanowo-no-mikoto had five gods by eating “Ihotsu-misumaru-no-tama” bound around the neck after rinsing it in the well of Ame-no-nunai. Their birth proved that Susanowo-no-mikoto won.
- Hinokami made her own three goddesses descend from heaven to “Tsukushi-no-shima” and said to them, “You, three goddesses should descend from heaven and settle yourself in Michinonaka (the middle of the route). Then, you should help the descendants of the gods and be deified for them.”

#### D (the second version)

- In response to the suspicion of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, Susanowo-no-mikoto made a “vow” to the god with Amaterasu-Ōmikami.
- Susanowo-no-mikoto said in the vow, “Please believe that if I have a girl, I have an impure mind and if I have a boy, I have a pure mind.” After digging the well of Ame-no-manai at three sites, they faced each other. Amaterasu-Ōmikami said to him, “I will give you my sword and you should give me your “Yasakani-no-magatama” (a large comma-shaped bead).”
- Amaterasu-Ōmikami floated “Yasakani-no-magatama” on the well of Ame-no-manai. When she cut the end of the necklace off with her teeth and blew it out, Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto (a goddess who resides in the distant seas) was born. When she cut the middle of the necklace off with her teeth and blew it out, Tagorihime-no-kami (a goddess who resides in the middle seas) was born. When she cut the tail of the necklace off with her teeth and blew it out, Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto (a goddess who resides on the shore) was born.
- Susanowo-no-mikoto floated the “sword” that he held on the well of Ame-no-manai. When he cut the point of the sword off with his teeth and blew it out, five gods were born from his breath.

#### E (the third version)

- Facing the river of Ameno-yasukawa between them, Hinokami made a “vow” to the god with Susanowo-no-mikoto”.
- Hinokami said, “If your mind is not against me, a child whom you will have must be a boy. If it is a boy, I will recognize him as my child and make him govern the Plains of High Heaven.”
- A child whom Hinokami had by eating “Totsuka-no-tsurugi” is Okitsushimahime-no-mikoto (also called Ichikishimahime-no-mikoto). Also, a child whom she had by eating “Kokonotsuka-no-tsurugi” is Tagitsuhime-no-mikoto. A child whom she had by eating “Yatsuka-no-tsurugi” is Tagirihime-no-mikoto.
- Susanowo-no-mikoto had six boys from “Ihotsu-misumaru-no-tama”.
- Then, Hinokami came to know that Susanowo-no-mikoto was innocent. She recognized the six boys as her children and made them govern the Plain of High Heaven.
- Three goddesses borne by Hinokami descended from heaven to Usajima in Ashihara-no-nakatsukuni (the ancient Japanese land) and were going on the northern sea route. They were called Michinushi-no-Muchi, which is a god worshiped by Mizunuma-no-Kimi in Tsukushi.

The above-mentioned different versions of the traditional myth need to be positioned in the whole of the myth about the Plain of High Heaven. At the moment, however, the author considers that the different versions of the myth may be roughly classified into Category I the principal texts of “Kojiki” and “Nihonshoki”, Category II the first and third versions of “Nihonshoki”, and Category III the second version of “Nihonshoki” according to their components such as “Amaterasu-Ōmikami” or “Hinokami”, the seeds of three goddesses, the exchange of seeds and children, the description of descent from heaven and the ritual clan. The author would like to take the notion that the rate of embellishment relatively decreases in the order of II, III and I<sup>7)</sup>.

Above all, it should be noted that Three Goddesses were called “Michinushi-no-Muchi” (a god of journey) because they descended from heaven to “Tsukushi-no-shima” and told to enshrine the descendants of the

gods in the middle of the (sea) route” according to C classified as Category II or because they descended to “Usajima” and were now in “Uminokitano-michinonaka” (in the middle of the northern sea route) according to E. In C, it is written that Hinokami said: “You, three goddesses should descend to the middle of the route, help the descendants of the gods and be enshrined for them” (original text). With regard to “the route” in the text, it is seemingly reasonable to take the notion that it is a sea route from northern Kyūshū to the Korean Peninsula<sup>8)</sup>. In the subsequent sentence, if you take the version stating that “help the descendants of the gods and be enshrined by them”<sup>9)</sup>, it is that three goddesses were enshrined by the descendants of the gods, namely the emperor (great king); and it tells or at least the editor of “Nihonshoki” recognized that Three Goddesses of Munakata were enshrined by the kingly power.

In E, it is written that three goddesses descended to Usajima in Ashihara-no-nakatsukuni (the ancient Japanese land) and were settling themselves “in the middle of the northern sea route”. It is meant by “the middle of the northern sea route” that they were in the middle of the northern sea route from northern Kyūshū to the Korean Peninsula. As in the first version, it means that Okinoshima was regarded as the middle of the northern sea route at latest at the time of editing “Nihonshoki”.

As for the names of the so-called Three Goddesses seen in A, Tagirihime-no-mikoto means a woman of fog because “giri” is equal to “kiri” (fog). Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto means a woman of an island dedicated to gods because “ichiki” is a change of sound from “itsuki” (dedication to gods). Tagitsu-hime-no-mikoto means “a woman of torrent” because “tagi” means a torrent or a rapid current<sup>10)</sup>. Tagorihime seen in the “Nihonshoki” is pronounced like takōrifime. It is presumable that Tagirihime was an old form of Tagorihime because the sounds of ki and kō are alternated. She is equal to takirifime or Tagirihime-no-mikoto in the third version<sup>11)</sup> and common to Tagirihime-no-mikoto in A. That is to say, they are a goddess who embodies fog, a goddess of dedication and a goddess who embodies a torrent, respectively. B is a tradition which was regarded as orthodox at the time of compilation. Compared with that of A, it refers to a different order of birth. C is the same as the third one. This is one of reasons for arguing that they were written in the same system of tradition.

Next, as for places where these three goddesses were enshrined, they are referred to only in A and D in their respective ways of identification. In A, it is comparatively stated which goddess was enshrined at which shrine: i.e., “Okutsu-miya”, “Nakatsu-miya” and “Hetsu-miya”. Accordingly, no doubt, it was thought at latest at the time of compilation that Takirihime (Okutsushimahime) was enshrined in the Okutsu-miya, Ichikishimahime (Sayorihime) in the Nakatsu-miya and Takitsu-hime in the Hetsu-miya. In D, it is written that Ichikishimahime resides in the distant seas, Takorihime in the middle seas and Tagitsu-hime on the shore. In the version, goddesses are different from the above-mentioned goddesses. Judging from the description that they were born from the fog of breath, the order of fog, torrent and dedication in B is the most understandable<sup>12)</sup>.

The ritual clan is identified as Munakata-no-Kimi both in A and B though they are written in different *kanji* characters “胸形君” and “胸肩君”, respectively. In E, it is Mizunuma-no-Kimi different from the former two. Minuma-no-Kimi is the head of a powerful family based in Mizuma Village, Minuma District, Tsukushi Province (presently Takamizuma, Mizuma-cho, Kurume City). There is a traditional story in the “Nihonshoki” as follows: On the fourth of September, the tenth year of the Emperor Yūryaku era, when a mission led by Musa-no-suguri-ao arrived at Tsukushi carrying geese presented by the Wu dynasty, a dog which belonged to Mizuma-no-Kimi bit them to death. Minuma-no-Kimi atoned for such sin by presenting wild geese and a breeder or a raiser for them<sup>13)</sup>.

## (2) Munakata Grand Goddesses from the Second Half of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century to the 5<sup>th</sup> Century

An important article on Munakata Goddesses is found in the section of February, the 41<sup>st</sup> year of the Emperor Ōjin era in the “Nihonshoki”. When a mission led by Achi-no-omi came from the Wu Dynasty to Tsukushi, Munakata Grand Goddesses asked for skilled women. Then, they presented Ehime, a weaver to Munakata Grand Goddesses. It is written that this weaver is an ancestor of Mitsukai-no-Kimi who is now in Tsukushi Province. When Achi-no-omi went to Tsu (Settsu) Province with the accompaniment of three women and arrived at Muko District, the Emperor Ōjin passed away. Then, Achi-no-omi presented the three women to the Emperor Nintoku. It is written that the descendants of those women are now Kure-no-kinunui and Kaya-no-kinunui. This article is related to an article in the section of the first day of February, the 37<sup>th</sup> year of the same era in the “Nihonshoki”. The latter article states that Goddesses



dispatched Achi-no-omi and Tsuka-no-omi to the Wu Dynasty and requested the presentation of sewers. It is written that a mission led by Achi-no-omi went to Koryo and finally reached the Wu Dynasty with a guide. He was given four skilled women, namely Ehime, Otohime, Kurehatori and Anahatori<sup>14)</sup>.

In the Ōjin chronicle, the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, it is written that Shōko-Ō (照古王), King of Paekche presented a male horse and a female horse together with Achikishi and also presented “Tachi (sword) and Ōkagami (large mirror)”. When “a wise person” was requested to Paekche, the king presented “手人韓鍛、名卓素、亦吳服西素二人”. Kinshōko-Ō (近肖古王), King of Paekche is a king almost in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. With regard to the “sword and the large mirror” in the text, there is an article about the presentation of “one Hichishitō (iron sword) and one Hichishikyō (mirror)” in the section of the first day of September, the 52<sup>nd</sup> year of the Empress and Regent Jingū era in the “Nihonshoki”. This sword corresponds to Hichishitō (iron sword) stored in the Isonokami-jingū Shrine. If the year written in *kanji* characters on the gold inlay “秦□四年” means “東晋太和四年”, it is equal to the year 369. If the presentation of “手人韓鍛、名卓素、亦吳服西素二人” is in the same age, it may be thought to be a story in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. If the ten celestial stems are carried down by two cycles, the 52<sup>nd</sup> year (the year of Mizunoe-Saru) of the Empress and Regent Jingū era will correspond to the year 372, which is not very different from the year “秦□四年” when an iron sword was presented<sup>15)</sup>.

However, the 37<sup>th</sup> and 41<sup>st</sup> years of the Emperor Ōjin era are the year of “Hinoe-Tora” (306) and the year of “Kanoë-Uma” (310), respectively. If the ten celestial stems are carried down by two cycles, they will correspond to 426 (the year of Hinoe-Tora) and 430 (the year of Kanoë-Uma), respectively. The year 426 (Hinoe-Tora) corresponds to “元嘉三年” in the Song Dynasty of China. In the description of Wa-koku (ancient Japan) in “Ibando” (episodes of foreigners), Volume 97 of “Song-shu”, there is such a sentence as “元嘉二年讚又遣司馬曹達、奉表獻方物”<sup>16)</sup>. The year of “元嘉二年” is equal to the year 425, one year different but close to the year 426 (Hinoe-Tora). If so, it is that the article in the Ōjin chronicle describes a story in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The above-mentioned story of the mission to the Wu Dynasty of China is extremely similar to the article of the day Tsuchimoto-U of April, the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Yūryaku era. The latter describes that a mission led by Musano-suguri-ao was sent to the Wu Dynasty. On the day Tsuchinoe-Tora of January, the 14<sup>th</sup> year (470) of the same era, the mission led by Musano-suguri-ao stayed at Sumiyoshitsu together with the mission from the Wu Dynasty. They were accompanied by weavers called Tanasuenotenito, Ayahatori and Kurehatori and sewers called Ehime and Otohime whom the Wu Dynasty presented. In March, Ehime as a sewer was dedicated to Ōmiwa-no-Kami; Otohime was made to be the progenitor of Aya-no-Kinunuike; and Ayahatori, Kurehatori and sewers were made to be the progenitors of Asuka-no-kinunuike and Ise-no-kinunuike.

However, the article on Munakata Grand Goddesses can be seen only in the Ōjin chronicle. Even if the article in the Ōjin chronicle had been based on the article in the Yūryaku chronicle, it would be meaningless as a traditional article unless it has some background relevant to Munakata Grand Goddesses. If you think about the background of the traditional story that Munakata Grand Goddesses requested the Wu Dynasty to present skilled women, it is conceivable that Munakata Goddesses played a role in diplomatic negotiations between ancient Japan and the Wu Dynasty of China and then skilled women were offered in return for the role. Because it is written that Ehime is the ancestor of Mitsukai-no-Kimi in Tsukushi Province, the article seems to suggest that the clan which deifies Ehime is Mitsukai-no-Kimi. According to the description of Tsukushi Province in Section 44 of Shinmei-ge, Volume 10 of “Engishiki”, there is “the Orihata Shrine” (Myōjindai) along with the three seats of the Munakata Shrine in Munakata District. It would be better to think this shrine to be the shrine referred to in the traditional story<sup>17)</sup>.

Next, let us see a traditional story in the section of the first day of March, the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Richu era in the “Nihonshoki”. According to the story, three goddesses in Tsukushi appeared in the Imperial Court and said, “Why do you deprive me of my people? I shall humiliate you now.” Therefore, the Emperor conducted a prayer but not a religious ritual. According to the article of the day called Kinōe-Ne of October, the same year, the Empress Kurohime suddenly passed away on the day Mizunoto-U of September. The Emperor was unable to mitigate divine punishment and repented of her death. When he asked about the cause of the punishment, someone said, “Kurumamochi-no-Kimi went to Tsukushi Province and inspected entirely Kurumamochi-be (a department in charge of palanquins) and deprived it of people called

“Kamuhe-no-tami”. Absolutely, that is this sin.” When the Emperor summoned Kurumamochi-no-Kimi to the Court and asked him about the allegation, he admitted it as a fact. Then, the Emperor blamed him and said, “Although you became Kurumamochi-no-Kimi, it is the first of your sins to have inspected the farmers of the Emperor without authority. It is the second of your sins to have deprived the divine people of Kurumamochi-be that had been already allocated to the god.” Then, the Emperor imposed “Ashi-harae and Yoshi-harae” (the obligation of offenders to purify) on him and ordered a purification ceremony at Nagasu-no-saki (Kawabe District, Settsu Province). The Emperor issued an official document to the effect: “In the future, you must not control Kurumamochi-be in Tsukushi.” He expropriated the whole of Kurumamochi-be and redistributed it to Three Goddesses.

According to the section of the first day of February, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Yūryaku era in the “Nihonshoki”, Ōshikōchi-no-Atai Katabu and a lady of the Court were sent for the worship of Munakata Goddesses. When Katabu and the lady went to a place called Kamuniwa to perform a ritual, he raped her there. When the Emperor heard the incident, he said, “We should refrain from praying for happiness by worshipping the god.” Then, the Emperor ordered Naniwa-no-Hidaka-no-Kishi to kill Katabu. However, Katabu had already escaped. The Emperor ordered Yuge-no-muraji-Tōyoho to search here and look for him. At last, he was arrested and cut to death at Aihara in Mishima District.

According to the section of March, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Yūryaku chronicle in the “Nihonshoki”, the Emperor intended to conquer Silla by himself. However, the god admonished him and said, “Don’t go.” After all, the Emperor was unable to accomplish his intention. He also ordered his lords to fight, who, however, was finally defeated in a desperate fight. Judging from the context, it is highly possible that the oracle god was a Munakata Goddess. It may be clear that Ōshikōchi-no-Atai Katabu and a lady of the Court were sent by the great king for Kamimatsuri in order to win a war against Silla.

What we can know from these articles is that Munakata Goddess was venerated by the kingly power at latest in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; and a lady of the Court and an official in charge of rituals were sent and performed a ritual. Prior to the war against Silla, the goddess might have given divine revelation in respect to external relationships.

Accordingly, it is conceivable that from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Munakata Grand Goddesses had religious authority/power by showing the divine will on the start of external relationships (including wars) between the Japanese kingly power and China and the Korean Peninsula. They were venerated and offered skillful women and divine people in return for their role.

### **(3) Priests, Shrines and Divine Ranks after the Emperor Temmu Era**

Afterwards, however, it is in much later years that articles which directly refer to Munakata Goddesses can be found. One of them is an article (“Shinshō Kyakuchokufu-shō”) that the number of households under the control of the Munakata Shrine in Tsukushi is 74 units in the first year of the Daidō era (806). Another one is an article (“Shoku-Nihonkōki”) that Munakata Goddesses in the eighth order of merit were granted the rank Ju-goi-no-ge on the day Hinoe-Tora of April, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Jōwa period.

Nevertheless, there are some articles indirectly related with Munakata Goddesses in the period until the appearance of the above-mentioned articles. The first of them is the article of the day Mizunoto-Hitsuji of February, the second year of the Emperor Temmu era (673) in the “Nihonshoki”. It tells us that before the year, the Emperor Temmu got married with Amako-no-Iratsume, a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen and had Prince Takechi-no-Miko. Prince Takechi-no-Miko is the father of Nagaya-Ō and Suzuka-Ō and took charge of all armed forces to suppress the Jinshin Revolt. Takechi-no-Miko was appointed Dajō-daijin (prime minister) on the day Kanoe-Tatsu of July, the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Empress Jitō era (690) and passed away on the day Kanoeinu of July, the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the same era (696). He was an influential figure called “Nochi-no-Miko-no-Mikoto” as against Kusakabe-no-Miko. Munakata-no-Kimi was granted the family name of Ason on the first day of November, the 13<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Temmu era (684), partially because he had such a relationship<sup>18)</sup>.

By the way, in the section of Yamato Province, Shinmei-jo 6, Volume 9 of the “Engishiki”, it is written that “the three seats of the Munakata Shrine (Nami-Dai, Tsukinami-niiname)” are located in Shikinokami

District, Yamato Province. According to Dajōkan-fu (an official document issued by the supreme governing body) dated October 16, the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Gangyō era (881), there is an article that the Munakata Shrine at Tomiyama in Shikinokami Country, Yamato Province began to station a priest after the model of the principal shrine in Chikuzen Province and appointed Takashina-no-Nakamori to the post. It is also written that there has been a gradual increase in the quantity of sacred treasures and manorial sites which the members of the clan have offered since the Emperor Temmu era; however, they are now often negligent and punished by the goddesses<sup>19)</sup>. From this article, we can know that it was branched from the Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province. Above all, we can know that the members of the clan had offered sacred treasures and manorial sites since the Emperor Temmu era. It is conceivable that such dedication was also necessarily offered to the Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province. The article suggests that the members of the Munakata clan offered sacred treasures on one occasion or another. It also suggests that sacred treasures were offered by not only the state but also the supporters of the shrine. As for sacred treasures, the author will describe it in the later section.

In the Nara period, there is an article that the governor of Munakata District in Tsukushi Province also held the post of the Munakata Shrine priest. In the section of the day Tsuchinoto-Mi of March, the second year of the Emperor Mommu era in the “Shoku-Nihongi”, it is written that descendants within the third degree of relationship by blood were permitted to inherit the governorship of Munakata District, Chikuzen Province and Ou District, Izumo Province. According to Dajōkan-shobun dated November 16, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Yōrō era (723), descendants within the third degree of relationship by blood were permitted to inherit the governorship of eight divine counties, including Munakata District, Chikuzen Province. Other inclusive counties are Watarai District and Take District, Ise Province, Awa District, Awa Province, Ou District, Izumo Province, Kashima District, Hitachi Province, Katori District, Shimousa Province and Nagusa District, Kii province<sup>20)</sup>. That is to say, among shrines across the state, the Munakata Shrine had a special force in the area because the district which the shrine belonged to was a divine district serving Munakata Goddesses. It seems that there was a special custom of a new priest abandoning his wife on the first day of his office<sup>21)</sup>. Afterwards, throughout the Nara period, the director of Munakata District submitted a letter of sacred offering to the Emperor and received the rank Ge-jugoi-no-ge and things<sup>22)</sup>. By Dajōkan-fu dated February 22, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Enryaku era (788)<sup>23)</sup>, it was determined to appoint the Munakata priest from the members of the Munakata clan who should be “incorruptible and virtuous” and qualified for ritual. The term of his office was six years. On February 24, the 17<sup>th</sup> year of the Enryaku era (798), Munakata Ason Iketsukuri passed away. He had served as both the director of Munakata District and the priest of Munakata in the rank Ge-Jugoi-no-ge. After that, it is said that the performance of rituals was discontinued<sup>24)</sup>.

In view of the above-mentioned records, the author cannot but say that the relationship of Munakata Goddess with the kingly power was relatively low after the 6<sup>th</sup> century according to literary records, though a direct religious relationship between the Yamato kingly power and Munakata Goddess may possibly originate in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the 5<sup>th</sup> century was a turning point. In the Nara period, it seems that as a sole ritual clan for the Munakata Shrine, the Munakata clan administered rituals in the divine district of Munakata as their economic basis and grabbed both authority and power in such a way that the priest also assumed the governorship of district. It may be natural to think that their ritual administration began before the 7<sup>th</sup> century. However, with regard to the dispatch of Japanese envoys to Sui and Tang Dynasties which were important in external negotiations and the Hakusuki-no-e war, there is no article which suggests that Munakata Goddesses were directly venerated by the kingly power. To the author’s knowledge, there is no article found, either, to the effect that Japanese envoys went to Sui and Tang Dynasties via Okinoshima Island. It can safely be said that sailing to China via the islands of Iki and Tsushima and the Korean Peninsula was a safe navigation route before the use of the south route directly leading to China. It is imaginable how tough even sailing to Tsushima Island was. For example, according to Nos. 3860 to 3869 in Volume 16 of “Man’yōshū” (the oldest existing anthology of Japanese poetry) and their notes, Munakatabe-no-Tsumaro, a farmer in Munakata District, Chikuzen Province was Chōsen as a boatman for navigation to Tsushima Island. When he went to ask Shirō-zu-Arao to sail instead of him, Arao accepted his request saying, “Although we live in different counties, we have shared the same boat for a long time.” After all, however, Arao died. Even sailing from Minerakusaki in Mutsu District, Hitachi Province to Tsushima Island had the risk of death. Although he is described to be a farmer, he might have had experience in rowing, judging from the sharing of the same boat. Moreover, he might have been a fisherman. According to the section of March 9, the 18<sup>th</sup> year of the Jōgan era (876) in the “Nihon-sandai-jitsuroku”, when a crew of 165 members carried rice to Tsushima Island, it was rare from

old times that all of them could arrive there safely. They left Hizen early in the morning and reached Iki Island at night. They did the same between the islands of Iki and Tsushima. However, their boats repeatedly drifted pass and sank in often cases<sup>25)</sup>.

Judging from these facts, the author considers it highly possible that the position of Okinoshima Island in Kamimatsuri by the Yamato kingly power relatively declined and in the meantime, Kamimatsuri was conducted by Munakata as a ritual clan in their own way. This possibility is typically suggested by the fact that the ritual of Munakata was not introduced into the Ritsuryō religious ritual. That is also the case for the Izumo-jingū Shrine. There was probably such a strong tendency that the form of religious faith in a given region originating in at latest the 5<sup>th</sup> century was firm enough to be maintained in the region. In the case of shrines for which a divine district was located, it seems that the form typical of the region was adopted except in the case of the Ise-jingū Shrine. The rituals of the Ise-jingū Shrine were stipulated as religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system; the ancestors of the Emperor were enshrined in the Shrine; and an Imperial messenger of sacred offering was sent on an important occasion of the state. During the Emperor Jitō era, the name of shrine was written on an extraordinary sacred offering in only a few cases: e.g., “Ise, Ōyamato, Sumiyoshi and Kii Great Gods” (the article of the day Kanoe-Tora of May, the 6<sup>th</sup> year of the Jitō era (692) in the “Nihonshoki” and “Ise, Sumiyoshi, Kii, Ōyamato and Unatari” (the article of the day Kinoinu of December of the same in the “Nihonshoki”). In the Nara period, sacred stuff was offered to the Kashii Mausoleum in Chikuzen Province in a certain situation: e.g., when external relationships became very tense<sup>26)</sup>.

For the Yamato kingly power and the Ritsuryō state, the Munakata Shrine was just one of no less than 3134 shrines throughout the state which were finally listed in the “Engishiki”, though it was included in the coverage of sacred stuff allocation as a basis for regular festivals. As far as the “Shoku-nihongi” is concerned, the Munakata Shrine was not the object of dedication which had a function different from that. But if it is complemented to make sure, it should be said that the absence of description in “Shoku-nihongi” does not mean complete absence. It is quite conceivable that very rare things which someone like Japanese envoys brought from the Tang Dynasty of China may have been delivered in the form of extraordinary dedication. It is also conceivable that the Munakata Shrine was offered by the priest the gifts<sup>27)</sup> from the Court because the Munakata priest, like the Izumo priest, was granted by the Court higher ranks and gifts on the occasion of succession. If you think of Kamimatsuri and ritual relics on Okinoshima Island in that sense, you should think first of Kamimatsuri by the Munakata clan and the religious faith of fishermen who caught fish in the coastal area and seas near Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya. After that, it may be fundamental to consider that ritual relics on Okinoshima Island were sacred offerings to Munakata Goddesses in the form of extraordinary dedication by the Court or the remains of things like sacred treasures which the Munakata clan obtained from the Court or on their own.

## 2. Kamimatsuri and Sacred Offerings in the Yamato Kingly Power Era

In this chapter, the author would like to take up relevant articles on Kamimatsuri and sacred offerings in the “Nihonshoki” and “Kojiki” for review as a prerequisite for the consideration of ritual relics on Okinoshima Island. Although the main purpose is to review Kamimatsuri and sacred offerings in the Yamato kingly power era, the author would like to also take up Kamimatsuri, sacred offerings and ritual tools seen in the “Fudoki” (records of the culture and geography of a province) and “Man’yōshū” in later times as reference material for understanding the forms of rituals performed by governors and individuals which are different from Kamimatsuri and religious rituals by the kingly power and state. Also, the author would like to refer to their relationships with ritual tools as archaeological relics.

As everybody knows well, all the above-mentioned historical documents were compiled or reported in the Nara period. That is why everybody must be prudent in seeing a direct connection between historical facts described in chronicles and old articles on emperors in the period from the mythological age until at least before the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28)</sup>. However, it is presumable that King Bu took control over the area ranging from Kanto to Northern Kyūshū of the Japanese Islands at latest in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It is described in Chinese documents that ancient Japan had negotiations with China in the Five Kings period of Wa and the Himiko era. Accordingly, as far as articles before the 5<sup>th</sup> century including traditional myths are concerned, the author will not regard them as historical facts but identify the “form” of Kamimatsuri and

sacred offerings described in such articles and focus his examination on how different they are from religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system.

### [Mirrors, Beads, *Yu*, *Sakaki* Trees, Swords]

First of all, the author would like to give some examples of using mirrors, beads, *yu* and *sakaki* in connection with Kamimatsuri. Swords are also included in the category [weapons] described in the next section but taken up here because they are often described along with mirrors and beads as the Three Sacred Treasures of the Imperial House.

Sacred offerings to the gods which can be imagined from traditional myths in the “Nihonshoki” and “Kojiki” are offered in such a form as a *sakaki* tree with roots on which a mirror and an agate bead are hung and pieces of *yu* (Ao-nikite, Shiro-nikite) are suspended. Such a form may be safely regarded as a “model” of sacred offerings typical of the Yamato kingly power because such a set of offerings are not found in religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system. Presumably, it was also a primitive form of sacred stuff as Mitegura<sup>29)</sup>. In the historical period according to “Nihonshoki”, though it was still an age of tradition, sacred offerings were set up on the head and oars of a boat as the symbol of authority and power which the local governor held.

For example, in the section of the day called Tsuchinoe-Tatsu of September, the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Keikō era, the Emperor went to the coast of Saba in Suō facing the south and sent an official for inspecting the situation. When Governor Kamunatsusohime knew the approach of the official, she received him in such a manner that “拔<sub>二</sub>磯津山之賢木<sub>一</sub>、以上枝挂<sub>二</sub>八握劍<sub>一</sub>、中枝挂<sub>二</sub>八咫鏡<sub>一</sub>、下枝挂<sub>二</sub>八尺瓊<sub>一</sub>、亦素幡樹<sub>二</sub>于船舳<sub>一</sub>”. This means that she dug up roots of *sakaki* trees and hung a sword on the upper branch of each tree, a mirror on the middle branch and beads on the lower branch and raised a white flag on the head of each boat.

Next, in the section of the day Mizunoe-Uma of January, the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chuai era in the “Nihonshoki”, for the appearance of the Emperor in Tsukushi, Kumawani as the progenitor of Oka-no-Agatanushi prepared as follows: “拔<sub>二</sub>取五百枝賢木<sub>一</sub>、以立<sub>二</sub>九尋船之舳<sub>一</sub>、而上枝掛<sub>二</sub>白銅鏡<sub>一</sub>、中枝掛<sub>二</sub>十握劍<sub>一</sub>、下枝掛<sub>二</sub>八尺瓊<sub>一</sub>”. This means that he dug up roots of *sakaki* trees and hung a mirror on the upper branch of each tree, a sword on the middle branch and an agate bead on the lower branch before he received the Emperor on the coast of Saba in Suō.

In the same section of the same chronicles, when Itote as the progenitor of Ito-no-Agatanushi in Tsukushi heard the appearance of the Emperor, he performed “拔<sub>二</sub>取五百枝賢木<sub>一</sub>、立<sub>二</sub>于船之舳<sub>一</sub>、上枝掛<sub>二</sub>八尺瓊<sub>一</sub>、中枝掛<sub>二</sub>白銅鏡<sub>一</sub>、下枝掛<sub>二</sub>十握劍<sub>一</sub>”. This means that he dug up roots of many *sakaki* trees and raised them on the head and oars of each boat after hanging an agate bead on the upper branch of each tree, a mirror on the middle branch and a sword on the lower branch. With those things, he received the Emperor at Hikoshima in Anato. According to the said article, the reason why he presented them to the Emperor is his wish that the Emperor may rule over the whole state by giving all details of policy like the beautifully bent Yasakani-no-magatama (a big comma-shaped bead): the Emperor may clearly look at mountains, rivers and seas like a white bronze mirror; and that the Emperor may conquer the whole state with the sword called Totsuka-no-tsurugi.

With a symbolic conception of ritual as described in the article, the cession of the ritual privilege is described as obedience to the great king and also the Yamato kingly power. It is presumable that the ceded sacred offerings like those became some of sacred treasures possessed by the Yamato kingly power.

Although that is a symbolic article, the use of a sword instead of *yu* is a large difference from traditional myths. The sword probably implied obedience. As far as the article is concerned, it was not necessarily regulated which branch the sword should be hung on.

According to the article of this 40<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Keikō era in the “Nihonshoki”, when Yamato-Takeruno-Mikoto entered Mutsu Province from Kazusa Province, a large mirror was hung on the king's boat on the sea route via Ashiura. Yamato-Takeruno-Mikoto is a son of the Emperor and only a “mirror” was hung on the boat. However, this is a notable case that the mirror was hung on the king's boat for the son treated like the Emperor.

Thus, the “form” of traditional sacred offerings is a set of an agate bead, a mirror and a sword, which are what we call, the “Three Treasures of the Imperial House”<sup>30)</sup>. As already stated, there is great variance in that a sword is not included in the myth but added to offerings in the articles after the Emperor Keikō era regarded as a historical period by the editor of “Nihonshoki”. It should be noted that “the Three Treasures of the Imperial House” are not only the regalia of emperorship. If they are hung on a *sakaki* tree, they will become sacred offerings provided for what we call Kamimatsuri. Conversely, it may be said that this fact tells the real nature of the “Three Treasures” of the Imperial House”.

In this connection, it is probably the following article that described them for the first time not as the above-mentioned symbol but the “form” of prayer with a sword and a mirror actually offered to the gods.

In the first half of the Empress and Regent Jingū chronicle in the “Nihonshoki” (the day called Kinōe-Tatsu of April, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chuai era), it is written that “既而皇后則識神教有禊、更祭祀神祇、躬欲西征、爰定神田而佃之、時引難河水、欲潤神田、而掘溝・・・・皇后召武内宿禰、捧劍・鏡、令禱祈神祇”。 This means that the Emperor wished to select a divine paddy in order to conquer the west and make a channel to draw water from the river of Nanokawa to the paddy. Then, he called Takeuchi-no-Ukune to pray for the “gods” with a sword and a mirror. In this way, he offered two items. It is written that a mirror and a sword were offered to the “gods” to pray for. It is also described that when “gods” were enshrined, a divine paddy were selected and cultivated. As stated later, this implies the offering of rice harvested from the divine paddy to the gods.

The mirror, among others, the symbol of the soul of Ōhirume-no-Mikoto (the first version, the chapter of four gods’ birth, Part 5, Volume 1 of Jindaiki) then the sword and the bead also became the symbols of the gods (the principal text and the first, second and third versions, the chapter of Zuijumeiyaku, Part 6, Volume 1 of Jindaiki). According to the section of April, the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the Emperor Yūryaku era, in the “Nihonshoki”, Takuhatahime whose honesty was doubted by the Emperor owing to a false charge buried a mirror in the upper reaches of the Isuzu River and died an unnatural death. The mirror sent off a rainbow and became a divine mirror. Thus, the mirror is described to have had a mysterious power. According to the section of May, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Yūryaku era in the same, Okahi-no-Sukune returned home in order to go into mourning for Oyumi-no-Sukune. However, he hated to work with Kinooiwa-no-Sukune for the Imperial Court and wished to stay in Tsuno Province by offering Yata-no-kagami, a large mirror to Ōtomo-no-Muraji for prayer. This case tells us that a mirror probably as a treasure of Okahi-no-Sukune’s family was used in swearing by god in order to decline an offer to serve the Court<sup>31)</sup>.

Thus, a mirror, especially a large one was thought to have a mysterious power. That is why it became the symbol of the god in traditional myths. On the other hand, it can be seen that praying with a mirror offered was a physical technique of Kamimatsuri. It seems that the agate bead and the sword were also perceived in the same way as the mirror. As already stated in Chapter I, for instance, the agate bead was described to be the symbol of Munakata Goddesses and male gods in the chapter of Zuijumeiyaku, Part 6, Volume 1 of Jindaiki. In the section of “作日矛”, Volume 7 of “Shaku-nihongi”, there is such a description as “先師（卜部兼文）説云、胸肩神軀、為玉之由、見風土記”。 This is an incomplete sentence cited from “Chikuzen-no-kuni Fudoki”. This sentence states that the object of worship housed in the Munakata Shrine was a bead. In this respect, we can see that at least in the Nara period, a bead was thought to be the object of worship housed in the Munakata Shrine and the symbol of Munakata Goddesses<sup>32)</sup>.

Whereas mirrors, beads and swords have remained as real ritual tools and their replicas, organic substances such as *yu* and *sakaki* tree branches have probably not remained.

### [Weapons]

Next, let us see cases of using weapons in connection with Kamimatsuri.

Although swords were mentioned in the previous section, other weapons were also used as sacred offerings. In the section of the day Tsuchinoe-Tora of March, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Sujin era, the Emperor received divine revelation from the god in his dream as follows: “以赤盾八枚・赤矛八竿・祠墨坂神、亦以黒盾八枚・黒矛八竿、祠大坂神”。 According to the section of the day Tsuchinoto-Tori of April of the same, a ritual was performed. In the paragraph of the Emperor Sujin, “Kojiki”, too, there is such a sentence as “於坂之御尾神及河瀬神、悉無遺忘以奉幣帛也”. A shield and a halberd were offered to the god.



With regard to the offering of weapons, there is an important article on Kashima District in “Hitachi-no-kuni Fudoki”. In the Emperor Sujin era, the following things were offered as “sacred stuff”: “ten swords, two halberds, two iron bows, two iron arrows, four “Koro”, a number of iron sheets, a number of wrought iron pieces, a horse, a saddle, two Yatanokagami mirrors, and several five-colored silk rags”. In this story, the local people tell that the Emperor offered the above-mentioned stuff to the shrine in which Amaterasu-Ōmikami was enshrined in Kashima Province. This traditional story specifies the details of “stuff”, which include old components such as many iron products as compared with those in the Ritsuryō period<sup>33)</sup>. They are characterized by many weapons as shown by the description of weapons and iron materials, including a number of iron sheets and a number of wrought iron pieces, and horses, harness and mirrors. Although it is not known whether they were offered in the Emperor Sujin era or not, it may be safe to regard them as a “form” of offering “stuff” in the Yamato kingly power period. If they are things which had been offered to the Kashima Shrine, the article deserves much attention in that they might have been offered by the great king to the Munakata Shrine ranked almost the same as the Kashima Shrine owing to the location of the divine district.

In the section of the day Tsuchinoto-U of August, the 27<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era, the “Nihonshoki”, there is such a traditional story that when the Emperor ordered a “ritual officer” to divine whether offering weapons to the gods is good or not, the result of divination was good fortune. Then, he offered “arrows and swords” to various shrines. With this event, “Jingi” (the gods of Shinto) began to be worshiped with “weapons” offered. The “ritual officer” means an administrator of Kamimatsuri before the appointment of the Council of Religious Affairs. The “form” of offering weapons to “the gods of *Shinto*” seems to be the “form” of sacred offerings in the Yamato kingly power period before the presentation of gifts at religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system.

According to the first half of the Empress and Regent Jingū chronicle (the day Kinoe-Tatsu of April, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chuai era), the Empress Jingū called Takeuchi-no-Sukune to pray for the opening of a channel by offering mirrors and swords to “the gods of *Shinto*”. As a result, a rock was struck by lightning and water could flow through the rock torn by kicking. In the first half of the Empress and Regent Jingū chronicle (the day Tsuchinoto-U of September, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chuai era), it is written that when warriors did not gather well, the Empress Jingū had a shrine called Ōmiwa-no-yashiro constructed in Chikuzen Province and offered “swords and halberds”. Then, many warriors voluntarily gathered one after another. This is also a “form of Kamimatsuri offering weapons to the shrine.

Afterwards, on the fourth day (Mizunoto-Mi) or someday after the day of July, the first year of the Emperor Temmu era in the “Nihonshoki”, it is written that Takechi-no-Agatanushi Kome was suddenly possessed by a divine spirit. Before he came to his senses, he said the name of the god and told the Emperor to offer “horses and various weapons” to the Imperial mausoleum of the Emperor Kamuyamato-Iwarehiko. Then, the Emperor sent Kome to the Imperial mausoleum for the offering of “horses and weapons” and also performed a religious ritual at two shrines by offering “sacred stuff”. It may be considered that “horses and weapons” are an example of offerings to the Imperial mausoleum but equivalent to offerings to the gods because the god told him to offer those things to the Imperial mausoleum. However, offerings to shrines are differentiated by the offering of “sacred stuff”, which probably means fabrics.

As seen above, we can know that shields, halberds, arrows, tachi swords and *tsurugi* swords, namely “weapons” became sacred offerings. However, we cannot know from literary records when the offering of them began in the chronology. If it is presumed from sacred offerings in the religious ritual under the Ritsuryō system, it may be said that offering them was a “form” of offerings to old gods before that, namely offerings to the gods of Kamimatsuri in the Yamato kingly power period<sup>34)</sup>. It is also imaginable that weapons were mainly used in praying for military affairs. “Weapons” including shields, halberds, arrows, *outou* swords and *tsurugi* swords also became ritual tools in both real and imitated forms.

#### [Vessels]

Next, let us see examples of using vessels in connection with Kamimatsuri. In the section of the day Tsuchinoe-Tatsu of September, the year called Tsuchinoe-Uma, the first half of the Emperor Jinmu chronicle in the “Nihonshoki”, the use of vessels is symbolically described. Despite being a little long, let us see it.

When the Emperor Jinmu was hindered on his way, he prayed by himself and went to bed. Then, the god of heaven appeared in his dream and told him to make “80 pieces of Ameno-hiraka” (flat dishes) and “Itsuhe” (a sacred bottle for libation) of soil in the shrine of Ameno-kaguyama and worship “Tenshin-Chigi” (the gods of heaven and the indigenous gods of provinces). The god also told him to do “Itsuno-kashiri” (putting a curse on earthenware made of his enemy’s soil). The god continued that if he did so, he could naturally conquer his enemy. When the Emperor was about to do so, Otoukashi also told that the Emperor could conquer his enemy easier if he took clay from Ameno-kaguyama to make “Ameno-hiraka” and worship the gods in the shrines called “Amatsuyashiro-Kunitsuyashiro”. Then, the Emperor told Shiinetsuhiko and Otoukashi to disguise as an old man and an old woman, respectively and go to Ameno-kaguyama surrounded by his enemy. They took clay there to make “Yaso-Hiraka, 80 pieces of Ameno-takujiri (simple earthenware) and “Itsuhe” (earthenware for liberation) and worshiped “Tenshin-Chigi” in the upper reaches of the Niu River. The Emperor abstained from drink/meat and purified himself in the dry riverbed of the Toda River. Then, he prayed for divination on success or failure in “cooking food on Yaso-Hiraka without water” or “sinking Itsuhe in the Niu River to make fish get drunk and float”. Then, he dug up roots of *sakaki* trees growing well in the upper reaches of the Niu River and worshiped “various gods”. This is the origin of setting “Itsuhe” in the ritual. The Emperor said, “I am now becoming “Utsushiwai” (possessed by the divine spirit) of Takamimusubi-no-Mikoto to perform a ritual” and appointed Michinoomi-no-Mikoto to be “the master of funerals” and named the latter “Itsuhime”. The installed “Hanihe” was named “Itsuhe”. Divine names were given to fire, water, foodstuff, firewood and grass. On the first day of October, the Emperor attempted to get protection from the gods by licking foodstuff in the “Itsuhe”. In the section of the day Kanoto-I of February, the year Tsuchinoto-Hitsuji, too, it is written that in September of the previous year, the Emperor gathered clay from Ameno-kaguyama in secrecy and made “Yaso-Hiraka”. Then, he purified himself, avoided taboo and worshiped various gods. As a result, he was able to conquer the whole state. This story is accompanied by naming a place: i.e., the place where he gathered clay was named Haniyasu.

The above-mentioned story tells the origin of things: i.e., that event is the origin of installing “Itsuhe” as a “form” of Kamimatsuri. Hiraka (Ameno-Hiraka) and Itsuhe are vessels for the worship of “Tenshin-Chigi”, while earthenware for cursing is Takujiri (earthenware for rituals made by making the center of rounded clay hollow with the tip of a finger)<sup>35)</sup>.

Next, according to the section of the day Tsuchinoto-Tori of August, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Sujin era in the “Nihonshoki”, the Emperor intended to appoint Ikagashikoo, the progenitor of Mononobe-no-Muraji to the post of “Kaminomono-akatsuhito”. He prayed for divination, which resulted in good luck. Then, according to the section of the day Tsuchinoto-U of November, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the same, the Emperor ordered Ikagashikoo to handle “ritual things” made by Mononobe-no-Yasote<sup>36)</sup>; and he appointed Ōtataneko to be the master of rituals for Ōmononushi-no-Ōgami and Nagauchi to be the master of rituals for Ōkunitama-no-Kami. After that, the Emperor wished to worship other gods and prayed for divination, which resulted in good luck. Then, he also worshiped “numerous gods” and established “Amatsuyashiro-Kunitsuyashiro” and “Kamudokoro-Kamube”. As a result, a plague subsided and staple grains became ripe. This is an example of Kamimatsuri using vessels made by Mononobe-no-Yasote in the ritual for Ōmononushi-no-Kami and Yamato-no-Ōkunitama-no-Kami against the prevalence of a plague and also worshipping other gods. In this context, the editor of the story seems to have distinguished “allocated sacred offerings” and “ritual things” which were made by Mononobe from “sacred stuff” made by Inbe.

On the other hand, in the paragraph of the Emperor Sujin, the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, there is such a description as “仰<sub>二</sub>伊迦賀色許男命<sub>一</sub>、作<sub>二</sub>天之八十毗羅訶<sub>一</sub>”. This means that the Emperor established shrines to worship “Tenshin-Chigi” (the gods of heaven and earth). In doing so, Hiraka was used as a vessel. Accordingly, this passage may have been written on the assumption that Hiraka was made by Mononobe, though “Yasote” (many people).

In the paragraph of the Emperor Kōrei, the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, it is written that “Inbe” was installed before the mouth of a river in Harima and a mission left Harima in order to persuade Kibi-no-kuni to obey the Emperor. This event tells us that “Inbe” was used as a vessel for worshipping the god of the boundary between Harima and Kibi.

According to the section of the day Mizunoe-Ne of September, the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Sujin era in the “Nihonshoki”, “Inube” was installed on the slope of Takesuki at Waji in order to suppress a rebellion raised by Takehani-yasuhiko. This is an example of installing “Inbe” on the slope. It may have been also meant to pray for victory. In the scene of treason by Takehaniyasu-no-miko in the paragraph of the Emperor Sujin, the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, too, it is written that when a mission led by Hikokunibuku-no-Mikoto, the progenitor of Wani-nŌmiwas dispatched, “Inbe” was installed on the slope called Wanizaka before the departure for battle. This is also a “form” of Kamimatsuri performed with the same intention<sup>37)</sup>.

On the other hand, in the paragraph of the Emperor Chūai, the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, there is such a story that the Empress Jingū was possessed by a divine spirit and gave divine revelation to Takeuchi-no-Sukune saying, “If you wish to conquer provinces in the west, offer “sacred stuff” to the gods of heaven, the indigenous gods of provinces and the gods of the mountain, the river and the sea; settle the Three Gods of Sumiyoshi in a boat; put the ashes of “a good tree in a ‘gourd’ and scatter a large number of chopsticks and “Hirade” to float in the sea; cross the sea by going on them”. “Hirade” is a vessel like a flat dish made of several oak leaves bound with bamboo pins and used on a religious occasion<sup>38)</sup>. A large number of chopsticks and “Hirade” were also offered to the god of the sea. Presumably, real chopsticks and “Hirade” may have been also used as sacred offerings.

In this connection, vessels used in the process of ritual by the kingly power are also seen in old poems, included in the “Man’yōshū”<sup>39)</sup> in as a later age as the Nara period.

Ōtomo-no-Sakanoue-no-Iratsume wrote a poem to worship the deity of his clan as follows: “久堅之 天原  
從 生来 神之命 奥山乃 賢木之枝尔 白香付 木綿取付而 斎戸乎 忌穿居 竹玉乎 繁尔  
貫垂 十六自物 膝折伏 手弱女之 押日取懸 如此谷裳 吾者祈奈牟 君尔不相可聞」(ひさか  
たの 天の原から 天下られた 先祖の神よ 奥山の 榊の枝に しらか付け 木綿取り付けて  
斎瓮を 斎ひ掘り据ゑ 竹玉<sup>40)</sup>を しじに貫き垂れ 鹿じもの 膝折り伏して たわやめ  
のおすひ取りかけ かくだにも 我は祈ひなむ 君に逢はじかも) (Volume 3, No.379)”.

This poem depicts his worship like this: “Shiraka” and *yu* were hung on branches of a *sakaki* tree, “Iwaibe” was set in a hole dug in the ground, and strings of bamboo beads<sup>40)</sup> were suspended; and he kneeled in prayer like a deer with “Oshihi” on his shoulders.

There is an envoy to this poem as follows: “木綿疊 手取持而 如此谷母 吾波乞嘗 君尔不相鴨」  
(木綿疊 手に取り持ちて かくだにも 我は祈ひなむ 君に逢はじかも) (Vol.3, No.380)

This envoy tells us that Kamimatsuri was performed with a thing called “Yuudatami” (a folded piece of *yu*) held by hand. According to the left-hand note to the poem, it was composed on the occasion of “worship” of the deity of the Ōtomo clan in November, the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Tempyō period (733).

When Ishida-no-Kimi passed away, Niu-no-Kimi wrote a poem. A part of the poem is cited here as follows: “・・・夕衢占問 石ト以而 吾屋戸尔 御諸乎立而 枕辺尔 斎戸乎居 竹玉乎 無間貫垂 木  
綿手次 可比奈尔懸而 天有 左佐羅能小野之 七相菅 手取持而 久堅乃 天川原尔 出立而  
潔身而麻之乎・・・」(・・・夕占問ひ 石占もちて 我がやどに みもろを立てて 枕辺に 斎瓮  
を据ゑ 竹玉を 間なく貫き垂れ 木綿だすき かひなに掛けて 天なる ささらの小野の 七ふ  
菅 手に取り持ちて ひさかたの 天の河原に 出で立ちて みそぎてましを・・・) (Vo. 3, No.420).”

This poem depicts how his funeral was held: “Mimoro” (an altar) was installed in the house, “Iwaibe” was set beside the bed and lots of bamboo beads were closely suspended; and a cord of *yu* was hung on the arms and “Nanatsusuge” was held by hand.

In the first year of the Tempyō period (729), when Hasetukabe-no-Tatsumaro, an official in charge of documents on allocated rice paddies in Settsu Province committed suicide, Ōtomo-no-Minaka, a judge wrote a poem as follows: “・・・立西日從 帶乳根乃 母命者 斎忌戸乎 前坐置而 一手者 木  
綿取持 一手者 和細布奉 平 間幸座与 天地乃 神祇乞禱・・・」(・・・立ちにし日より た  
らちねの 母の命は 斎瓮を 前に据ゑ置きて 片手には 木綿取り持ち 片手には 和たへ奉  
り 平けく ま幸くませと 天地の神を乞ひ禱み・・・) (Vol.3, No.443).

When his mother prayed for the gods of heaven and earth, “Iwaibe” was used.

When a Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty of China left Naniwa into the sea in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the Tempyō period, the mother presented the following poem to her child: “客二師往者 竹珠乎 密貫垂 齋戸尔 木綿取四手而 忌日管 吾思吾子 真好去有欲得”(・・・旅にし行けば 竹玉を しじに貫き垂れ 齋瓮に 木綿取り垂でて 齋ひつつ 我が思ふ我が子 ま幸くありこそ”(Vol.9, No.1790).”

This depicts that when a child went on a journey, his mother prayed with bamboo beads and *yu* hung on “Iwaibe”.

There is also a similar poem like this: “菅根之 根毛一伏三向凝呂尔 吾念有 妹祇縁而者 言之禁毛 無在乞常 齋戸乎 石相穿居 竹珠乎 無間貫垂 天地之 神祇乎曾吾祈 甚毛為便無見」(菅の根の ねもころごろに 我が思へる 妹によりては 言の忌みも なくありこそと 齋瓮を 齋ひ掘り据ゑ 竹玉を 間なく貫き垂れ 天地の 神をそ我が祈む いたもすべなみ) (Vol.13, No.3284).”

This is another example of prayer for the gods of heaven and earth by setting “Iwaibe” in a hole dug in the ground and hanging closely strings of bamboo beads.

“玉手次 不懸時無 吾念有 君尔依者 倭文幣乎 手取持而 竹珠 之自二貫垂 天地之 神 叫曾吾乞 痛毛須部奈見 (玉だすき かけぬ時なく 我が思へる 君によりては 倭文幣を 手に取り持ちて 竹玉を しじに貫き垂れ 天地の 神をそ我が祈む いたもすべなみ) (Vol. 13, No.3286).”

This is an example of prayer for the gods of heaven and earth with Shizunusa (a sort of cloth) held by hand and strings of bamboo beads closely suspended.

“・・・君尔依而者 言之故毛 無有欲得 木綿手次 肩荷取懸 忌戸乎 齋穿居 玄黄之 神祇二衣吾祈 甚毛為便無見」(・・・君によりては 言の故も なくありこそと 木綿だすき 肩に取り掛け 齋瓮を 齋ひ掘り据ゑ 天地の 神にそ我が祈む いたもすべなみ) (Vol.13, No.3288).”

This is an example of prayer for the gods of heaven and earth with a cord of *yu* hung on the shoulders and “Iwaibe” set in a hole dug in the ground.

“久佐麻久良 多妣由久吉美乎 佐伎久安礼等 伊波比倍須恵都 安我登許能敵尔」(草枕 旅行く君を 幸くあれと 齋瓮据ゑつ 我が床の辺に) (Vol.17, No.3927).”

This poem was presented by Ōtomo-no-Sakanoue-no-Iratsume to Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi in July, the 18<sup>th</sup> leap year of the Tempyō period (746). In this poem, too, “Iwaibe” was set beside the bed.

In Volume 20, there are poems written by Sakimori (soldiers garrisoned at strategic posts in Kyūshū) from various provinces dispatched to Tsukushi (presently a part of Kyūshū) in shifts in February, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Tempyō-Shoho period (755).

Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi wrote a poem to depict a sad separation of Sakimori from his family on February 8 as follows: “・・・事之乎波良婆 都々麻波受 可敵理伎麻勢登 伊波比倍乎 等許敵尔須恵弓・・・」(・・・事し終はらば 障まはず 帰り来ませと 齋瓮を 床辺に据ゑて・・・) (Vol.20, No.4331).”

This poem also depicts “Iwaibe” set beside the bed. A poem written by Sasabe-Hiroshima in Yuki District, Shimousa Province enables us to imagine the posture of the father and the mother of Sakimori praying with “Iwaibe” like this: “於保伎美能 美許等尔作例波 知々波々乎 以波比弊等於枳弓 麻為弓枳尔之乎」(大君の 命にされば 父母を 齋瓮と置きて 参み出来にしを) (Vol.20, No.4393).”

Thus, we can see the physical technique of Kamimatsuri privately performed by families and the position of vessels: i.e., they prayed with a cord of *yu* hung on the shoulders and Shizunusa held by hand. Saihe was set near the bed and strings of bamboo beads were closely suspended. It is not hard to imagine that these forms were customary and even the form of Kamimatsuri before the Nara period was also like that.

In Ruijūkarin, an anthology, there is a poem which Hinokuma-Owakimi wrote when Takechi-no-Miko passed away: “哭沢之 神社尔三輪須恵 雖禱祈 我王者 高日所知奴”(泣沢の 神社に神酒据ゑ 祈れども 我が大君は 高日知らしぬ) (Vol.2, No.202).”

This poem tells us that prayer was accompanied by libation. As a matter of course, “Iwaibe” should have been used for libation. The following poem tells us that when the priest offered libation, many spits called Imigushi were also put up.

“五十串立 神酒座奉 神主部之 雲聚玉蔭 見者乏文”(斎串立て 神酒据ゑ奉る 神主の う ずの玉陰 見ればともしも) (Vol.13, No. 3229).”

In this connection, offering libation to the gods was also important as shown in the section of the day Kinoto-U of April, the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Sujin era in the “Nihonshoki”. It is written that Ikuhi in Takahashi-mura was appointed to be an official in charge of libation to the great god.

On the other hand, there is also an example of using vessels in connection with Kamimatsuri in the “Fudoki” compiled in the Nara period.

According to the section of “Tsukushi-no-shima”, Volume 5 of “Shaku-nihongi” maintained by the Maeda Family, there is an incomplete story included in the “Chikugo-no-kuni Fudoki”. In old times, there was a harsh god, who let half of passer-bys go alive and killed the remaining half. At one time, Tsukushi-no-Kimi and Hi-no-Kimi followed divination and told Mikayorihime as the progenitor of Tsukushi-no-Kimi to worship the god. As a result, nobody was hurt by the god, who began to be called Tsukushi-no-kami<sup>41)</sup>. The phrase “depending on the jar” in this story symbolizes the jar as a subject of possession by the god and implies that the jar could get possessed by the god. An article on Taka District in “Harima-no-kuni Fudoki” describes as follows: “甕坂は、・・・一家云へらく、昔、丹波と播磨と、国を境ひし時に、大きな甕をこの土に掘り埋め、国の境と為しき、故れ、甕坂と曰ふ”.

From this passage, we can know that a large jar was buried as a mark of the provincial boundary in a hole. This is also probably a form of worshiping the god of the boundary. According to the article on Ibaragi-no-sato in Naka District in “Hitachi-no-kuni Fudoki”, a snake of the god was moved from a clean “cup” to “Hiraka”, a jar on the altar “Matsuridono”. This tells us that cups and jars were used as divine vessels.

With regard to parties related to Kamimatsuri, there is an incomplete story included in “Yamashiro-no-kuni Fudoki” (the section of “Yatagarasu”, Volume 9 of “Shaku-nihongi”). When gods were invited to a party held for all 7 consecutive days and nights, a ritual was performed toward heaven with “cups of rice wine” offered. In this way, cups of rice wine were indispensable to Kamimatsuri. Needless to say, rice wine was significant as the contents of the cup.

As a matter of course, rice wine and other organic substances have not remained, while the above-mentioned vessels have remained in the forms of real objects and replicas.

### [Boats and Paddies]

Next, the author would like to take up boats and rice paddies as sacred offerings. According to the section of the day Tsuchinoto-U of September, the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chūai era in the “Nihonshoki”, the Empress Jingū was possessed by a divine spirit and stated that as “sacred stuff” in a ritual for the conquest of Silla, the Emperor should offer his “Imperial boat” and the “rice paddy” (called Ōta) contributed by Anatonoatai-Hondachi. After all, however, the Emperor did not believe her statement and passed away. The same story is included in the note to the first half of the Empress and Regent Jingū chronicle in the same (the section of the day Kanoto-I of December, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chuai era). In the scene of the possessed Empress Jingū, the god said, “As “sacred stuff”, offer me the boat of “Mima-no-Mikoto” and the “rice paddy” presented by Anatonoatai-Hondachi.” The god called himself “Uwatsutsu-no-o, Nakatsutsu-no-o and Sokotsutsu-no-o” and moreover Hayasanobori. The Empress offered them as instructed by the god. In the principal text, too, it is written that the three gods of “Uwatsutsu-no-o, Nakatsutsu-no-o and Sokotsutsu-no-o” told the Empress to enshrine the harsh god in Yamadamura of Anato. Then, the Empress appointed Hondachi to be a priest responsible for enshrining the harsh god and a “small shrine” was constructed in Yamadamura. According to the section of February, the first year of the Empress

and Regent Jingū era in the same, “Uwatsutsu-no-o, Nakatsutsu-no-o and Sokotsutsu-no-o” said, “Our peaceful souls will reside in Nagao of Nunakura of Ōsu to watch boats going and coming.” Then, they were enshrined there.

According to the section of March, the 5<sup>th</sup> year (659) of the Emperor Saimei era in the same, when Abe-nŌmiwas dispatched to Emishi-no-kuni (the northern part of ancient Japan) for conquest, the god of the district was worshiped with “one boat” and “five-colored fabrics” offered.

Thus, the Emperor and Abe-no-Omi as a subject of the Imperial Court offered paddies and probably real boats to the gods. Offering paddies depicts the origin of divine paddies and rice is indispensable to Kamimatsuri. This means that rice was presented in an indirect way. On the other hand, boats in this case are sacred offerings as evidence for the conquest of enemies by the kingly power in the battle field crossing over the sea and described as real boats. This shows that boats were actually or conceptually offered to the gods. That is also the reason why a boat-shaped effigy was created as a ritual tool.

### [People and Horses]

There is also a case that people were offered to the gods. In the section of October, the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Nintoku era, there is a traditional story of construction of Manda-no-tsutsumi, an embankment. In the dream of the Emperor, a god appeared and said, “If you offer the two people of Kowakubi of Musashi and Mamuta-no-Muraji-Koromonoko of Kawachi to “Kawa-no-kami” (the god of water) for worship, you will be certainly able to close it.” Then, he found those people out and prayed for the god of the river. Because Kowakubi cried and sank in the water, the embankment was completed on one side. However, Koromonoko sank a gourd in the water and prayed saying “I have come here because the god of the river haunted me and wanted me as sacred stuff (human sacrifice). If the god wants me, please sink this gourd to the bottom of the water. If you do so, I will know that I am a genuine god and enter the water by myself. If you cannot sink the gourd, it will show that I am a false god. Why can I ruin myself in vain?” Then, suddenly, a whirlwind occurred and forced the gourd sink in the water. However, the gourd rolled over the waves and floated farther without sinking. After all, Koromonoko did not die and the embankment was also completed on the other side. Despite being known as an article on human sacrifice, it is also actually an article on sacred offerings. This story tells us that in the face of hard construction work, the presentation of people to the god became a traditional story. In other words, we can see a conception of prayer for the god by offering human sacrifice. This is also the reason why a human-shaped effigy was created as a ritual tool.

There is a case that horses were offered to the god in an article on Kashima District in the aforementioned “Hitachi-no-kuni Fudoki”. It is a traditional story in the Emperor Sujin era. “One horse” is included in “sacred stuff”. On the day called Mizunoto-Mi (4<sup>th</sup> day) or a later day of July, the first year of the Emperor Temmu era (672) in the Nihonshoki”, Takechi-no-Agatanushi Kome was possessed by a divine spirit and said the name of the god. He told that “horses and various weapons” should be offered to the imperial graveyard of the Emperor Kamuyamato-Iwarehiko. Then, he became conscious. The Emperor sent Kome to the Imperial mausoleum for the presentation of “horses and weapons”. Also, he ordered Kamimatsuri to be performed at two shrines with “sacred stuff”. This story enables us to draw an analogy<sup>42)</sup>.

In this connection, there is also an article which shows the existence of human-shaped and horse-shaped effigies made of clay in the section of Saga District, “Hizen-no-kuni Fudoki” as follows: “佐嘉郡、・・・一云へらく、・・・この川上に荒ぶる神あり、往来の人半ばを生かし半ばを殺しき、ここに県主等の祖大荒田、占問ひき、時に、土蜘蛛大山田女・狭山田女あり、二の女子云ひしく、『下田の村の土を取りて、人形・馬形を作りて、この神を祭祀らば、必ず応和（にき）びなむ』といふ、大荒田、すなはちその辞に随ひ、この神を祭る、神、この祭をうけて遂に応和びき、・・・”.

When Kamimatsuri was performed with human-shaped and horse-shaped effigies made of clay in the village of Shimoda, the harsh god calmed down. This is the only article that describes the use of human-shaped effigies made of clay and clay horses. The use of them seen in the article was intended to calm down the harsh god. This story was probably derived from the fact that real people and horses were actually used.

However, it should be noted here that their use differs from the use of human-shaped effigies made of metals and clay believed to absorb impurity in the so-called purification ceremony<sup>43)</sup>.



Their use enables the shift from real people and horses to ritual tools, including human-shaped and horse-shaped effigies made of clay or wood or any other materials.

### [Divine Clothes and Looms]

In the text of the chapter on the start of treasure mirrors, Part 7 of the second half of the Jindai chronicle in the “Nihonshoki”, the weaving of “Kan-miso” (divine clothes) for Amaterasu-Ōmikami is described in the scene of a weaving house called Imihatadono. In the first version, Wakahirume-no-Mikoto is depicted to weave divine clothes called “Kan-miso” in Imihatadono and present them to the god.

Similarly, in the first volume of the “Kojiki”, too, there is a scene that Susanowo-no-mikoto went into raptures over his victory. When Amaterasu-Ōmikami was weaving “Kan-miso” in the house of Imihataya, Susanowo-no-mikoto pierced the roof of the house, split the nails of a horse separated from heaven and threw the horse down into the house. A female weaver of heaven was surprised at it and killed herself by thrusting her private part with a weaving tool. This is another article which describes the weaving of “Kan-miso” which should be offered to the god<sup>44)</sup>.

The section of Shisawa District in the “Harima-no-kuni Fudoki” contains an article which describes divine clothes: “土間村。神衣、土の上に付きき。故れ、土間と曰ふ”。In the section of Kii District, “Hizen-no-kuni Fudoki”, there is an interesting traditional story as follows: “姫社の郷。・・・昔者、この川の西に、荒ぶる神あり、行路く人、多に殺害され、半ばは凌ぎ半ばは殺にき。時に、崇る由をトへ求ぐに兆へて云はく、『筑前国の宗像の郡の人、珂是古をして、吾が社を祭らしめよ。若し願ひに合はば、荒ぶる心を起こさじ』といへば、珂是古を覓ぎて神の社を祭らしめき。珂是古、すなはち幡を捧げて祈禱みて云はく、「誠に吾が祀を欲りするにあらば、この幡、風の順に飛び往きて、吾を願ひする神の辺に墮ちよ」といふ。すなはち幡を挙げ、風の順に放ち遣りき。時に、その幡飛び往きて、御原の郡姫社の社に墮ち、更還り飛び来て、この山道川の辺の田村に落ちき。珂是古、自づから神の在ます処を知りき。その夜、夢に臥機〈クツビキ〉と絡塚〈タタリ〉と儼ひ遊び出で来、珂是古を押し驚かすと見き、ここに織女神と知る、すなはち社を立てて祭る、尔より已来、路行く人、殺害されず、因りて姫社と曰ひ、今以ちて郷の名と為す。”

According to this story, on the occasion of divine punishment by the harsh god in Himekoso-gō, Kii District, a person called Kazeko in Munakata District, Chikuzen Province was told by divination to enshrine the god. When he let a flag blown away by the wind, it fell at Himekoso in Mihara District, where he was able to find the whereabouts of the god. In that night, “Kutsubiki” and “Tatari” appeared in his dream with dancing and playing and woke Kazeko up by pressing him down. Thereby he knew that the goddess of weaving appeared. Both “Kutsubiki” and “Tatari” are weaving tools<sup>45)</sup>.

In a traditional story of Nagahatabe-no-Yashiro in Ōta-gō, Kuji District in “Hitachi-no-kuni Fudoki”, an old man tells that when Sumemima-no-Mikoto descended from heaven as a descendant of the gods, a goddess who accompanied her in order to weave “Miso” (divine clothes) was called Kanihatahime. The goddess reached the hill of Hikitsune in Mino Province via the two peaks in Hyūga, Tsukushi Province. Afterwards, in the Emperor Sujin era, she had a weaving house called Hatadono constructed. Cloth which she wove for the first time became a costume as it was without sewing and was called Uchihata. In the story, the old man continues that at the present time, it is offered as “神調” (Kami-no-tsuki) every year. When a silk rag is woven, it can be easily seen by other people. Then, it was woven in the dark room with the door closed and therefore called “Karatsuori”. This story tells us that “divine clothes” were woven for the goddess (or her descendant) descending from heaven and offered to the goddess (Kanihatahime-no-Mikoto) of the Nagahatabe Shrine<sup>46)</sup>.

Thus, in many cases, clothes were woven for the goddesses and presented to them. It seems that women customarily served the goddesses in that way.

As already stated in Chapter I, it is written in the section of the Emperor Ōjin in the “Nihonshoki” that when Munakata Grand Goddesses asked Wu Dynasty for skilled women, Ehime was offered. In the Emperor Yūryaku chronicle, it is written that Ehime, a sewer who came from Wu Dynasty was dedicated to Ōmiwa-no-Kami, Ayahatori and Kurehatori, sewers became the progenitors of Asuka-no-Kinunuike and Ise-no-Kinunuike, respectively. On the analogy of the foregoing story of the Nagahatabe Shrine, these

stories might have been based on the fact that fabrics were also offered as part of ritual in specific shrines, including Ōmiwa-no-Kami and Munakata Grand Goddesses (or the Hataori Shrine). When these stories are taken into consideration, the act of making and presenting clothes for the goddesses by weaving does not seem to be a special case limited to the Ise-Jingū Shrine where weaving-related items are included in the regulations for Kan-miso-no-matsuri<sup>47)</sup> and the after-mentioned sacred treasures. Rather, it is quite imaginable that the act of weaving and offering divine clothes is also performed in other specific shrines of goddesses across the state and led to the presentation of weaving-related items and weaving tools to the goddesses on the occasion of Kamimatsuri. It seems that replicas of the components of real weaving tools were converted to ritual tools. Although they have remained, offered sacred clothes and stuff probably hardly remain, because they were organic substances and the latter was usable for other purposes.

#### [Koto]

According to the first half of the Empress and Regent Jingū chronicle (the section of March, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Chūai era), the Empress Jingū entered the Itsuki-no-miya and served as priest. She is depicted to pray as a priest. She told Takeuchi-no-Sukune to play the *koto* (Japanese harp) and appointed Nakatomi-no-Ikatsunomi to Saniwa (a person who should listen to the god and tell the divine will). In the paragraph of the Emperor Chūai in the “Kojiki”, too, it is written that the Emperor Chūai played the *koto* and Minister Takeuchi-no-Sukune wished the will of the god in the purified garden called “Saniwa”. When the Empress Jingū told the will of the god, the Emperor regarded it as false and stopped playing the *koto*. As Takeuchi-no-Sukune requested the Emperor to continue playing the *koto*, he resumed playing the *koto* reluctantly. However, the sound of the *koto* died away soon<sup>48)</sup>.

It is presumable that the *koto* was also used in Kamimatsuri seemingly as a means of attracting the god. Later than this story, the *koto* was also used as a means of knowing the will of Amaterasu-Ōmikami at the regular event of September according to an article on annual events in “the Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū”<sup>49)</sup>.

### 3. Sacred Treasures and Stuff

In the previous chapter, sacred offerings and Kamimatsuri-related things have been itemized. Similarly, there are also sacred treasures included in the items of dedication to the shrines (emperors). Despite being offerings to the gods (emperors), sacred treasures are not mainly intended to pray for something. Rather, the main purpose of them is to stock themselves in a shrine or a special treasury. They are stocked for Kamimatsuri but not an integral part of Kamimatsuri. However, things written to be sacred treasures give us a clue in that they are similarly offered to the gods/goddesses. The author would like to refer to historical records in terms of what was regarded as a sacred treasure.

According to the section of the day Tsuchinoto-Tori of July, the 60<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suijin era in the “Nihonshoki”, when the Imperial Court wished “Izumo-no-Kandakara” (the sacred treasures of Izumo Province), a child was possessed by a divine spirit and said some words, in which a “mirror” was seen with a person of Izumo praying. According to the section of the day Kanoe-Tatsu of August, the 26<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era in the same, Mononobe-no-Tōchine-no-Ōmuraji was dispatched by the Imperial order to Izumo Province for the inspection of “sacred treasures”. When he reported the result, he was entrusted with the administration of the treasures. In the section of October, the 39<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era in the same, it is written that Inishiki-no-Mikoto made “a thousand swords” in the upper shrine near the Uto River in Chinu and offered them to the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine. After that, he assumed the administration of the sacred treasures in the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine. In a note to “Aru-ni-iwaku”, Inishiki-no-Mikoto summoned Kawakami, a blacksmith to make a thousand swords, which were presented to Oshisaka Village, from which they were offered to the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine. Afterwards, according to the section of the day Kanoto-U of February, the 87<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era in the same, when Inishiki-no-Mikoto got old, he entrusted his younger sister Ōnakahime with the administration of the “sacred treasures”. Then, Ōnakahime conferred the “sacred treasures” on Mononobe-no-Tōchine-no-Ōmuraji. It is written that this is the reason why Mononobe-no-Muraji has continuously administered the “sacred treasures” to date. In the same section, it is also written that in old times, there was a person called Mikaso in Kuwata Village, who had a dog, which bit a badger to death. In the stomach of the dog, “Yasakani-no-magatama”, a large comma-shaped bead was found and offered to the shrine. It is written that the comma-shaped bead is now placed in the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine.

These articles are traditional stories. In the section of the day Kanoe-Tatsu of August, the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the Emperor Temmu era (674), Osakabe-no-miko was dispatched to the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine in order to polish the “sacred treasures” with grease. On that day, the Emperor Temmu ordered, “Immediately return all sacred treasures which were originally stocked in the divine treasuries of various families to their descendants.” Some researchers interpret those “treasures” as weapons. However, according to the aforementioned section of the day Kanoto-U of February, the 87<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era, comma-shaped beads were also offered to the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine. There is also a traditional story in the after-mentioned section of the day Tsuchinoe-Uma of July, the 88<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era in the same, which tells that the “sacred treasures” of Amenohiboko were presented. Things like treasures were also presented later. This is shown by the description that Tosa-no-Ōkami presented “one holy sword” to the Emperor in the section of the day Hinoe-Uma of March, the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Temmu era.

At any rate, things written to be “sacred treasures” include mirrors, swords (*katana*) and beads, which are consistent with sacred offerings as described in Chapter II.

Sacred treasures are not limited to Wa-koku (ancient Japan). Some articles also describe sacred treasures which came from overseas.

In the section of March, the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era in the “Nihonshoki”, there is a traditional story of Amenohiboko, Prince of Silla. He brought seven kinds of treasures, namely “one Hafuto-no-tama, one Ashitaka-no-tama, one Ukaka-no-akashi-no-tama, one Izushi-no-katana, one Izushi-no-hoko, one Hi-no-kagami and one Kuma-no-hikirogi”. These were treated as “divine things” in Tashima Province. A note refers to eight treasures, namely “Hahoso-no-tama, Ashitaka-no-tama, Ukaka-no-akashi-no-tama, Izushi-no-tōsu, Izushi-no-yari, Hi-no-kagami, Kuma-no-himorogi and Isasa-no-tachi”. There is some difference in contents: i.e., the latter contain more swords. In the section of the day Tsuchinoe-Uma of July, the 88<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Suinin era in the same, it is written that when the Emperor wished to see the “sacred treasures” of Amenohiboko, Prince of Silla, a great grandchild of Amenohiboko called Kiyohiko presented the Emperor with the treasures (“one Hafuto-no-tama, one Ashitaka-no-tama, one Ukaka-no-akashi-no-tama, one Hi-no-kagami, one Kuma-no-himorogi and one Izushi-no-katana”), which were stocked in the “divine treasury” of the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine<sup>50</sup>). However, the “Izushi-no-katana (Tōsu)” naturally disappeared and reached Awaji Island. Then, the people of the island thought it a god and enshrined it, which is still worshiped, according to the article.

This describes “sacred treasures” seen in a traditional story of Amenohiboko. What is more, they are “sacred treasures” brought from Silla and consist of a bead, a small sword, a halberd, a mirror and a Kuma-no-himorogi. With regard to “Kuma-no-himorogi”, among them, there is such a view that it is the meat of a bear<sup>51</sup>). If so, the editor might have written the item with a Silla style of Kamimatsuri in mind.

In the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, this story is written to have happened before the Emperor Ōjin era. When Amenohiboko, a child of the King of Silla chased his wife who left him, he was prevented by “the god of crossing” from entering Naniwa and then stayed in Tashima Province. Things which Amenohiboko carried with himself were a total of eight items written as follows: “玉津宝（珠二貫）・振<sub>レ</sub>浪比礼・切<sub>レ</sub>浪比礼・振<sub>レ</sub>風比礼・切<sub>レ</sub>風比礼・奥津鏡・辺津鏡” These are called the eight Ōkami of Izushi. “Beads, mirrors and Hire” are listed as “sacred treasures” from Silla. Of these, “Hire” is cloth which has the power of curse and not seen as a sacred treasure anywhere else.

It is not hard to imagine that precious and rare things like treasures presented for diplomatic purposes also became “sacred treasures”.

According to the section of March, the 46<sup>th</sup> year of the Empress and Regent Jingū era in the “Nihonshoki”, when Shima-no-sukune was dispatched to Tokujun State, he heard from the King of Tokujun that three persons of Paekche came to his state “in July, the year of Kinoue-Ne”<sup>52</sup>) and that the King of Paekche wished to start commerce with “Japan”. Then, he sent two of his attendants to Paekche for the expression of gratitude to the King of Paekche. Shōko-Ō, King of Paekche was delighted by them and presented one of the attendants called Nihaya with “five-colored silk, square arrows and flat iron ingot”. These items were practical but rare high-class things in Wa (ancient Japan). When presenting them, Shōko-Ō said with opening the “treasury”, “I have “rare treasures” like these here and wish to present them to the Emperor. I

will entrust them to his envoy now and continuously offer things to the Emperor in the future.” As already mentioned in Chapter I, according to the section of the day Hinoe-Ne of September, the 52<sup>nd</sup> year of the Empress and Regent Jingū era in the same, Paekche presented “one Hichishitō (sword) one Hichishikyō (mirror) and various precious treasures” to the Emperor. This article is considered to have been written on the basis of historical records, such as “Kudaraki” (the Record of Paekche). “One Hichishitō” is said to be “Hichishitō” kept in the Isonokami-jingū Shrine. From these, we can know that after the presentation, they were dedicated as sacred treasures to the Isonokami-Jingū Shrine.

As we have seen above, silk, square arrows, flat iron ingot, and special swords and mirrors are written as gifts from Paekche. After those things were presented to the kingly power, items similar to sacred treasures may have been dedicated to the Isonokami-jingū Shrine as shown by the dedication of “Hichishitō” to the Shrine. Some of them might have been used by the kingly power itself or given to its subordinates depending on the quality and quantity of materials.

On the other hand, in the section of the Emperor Ōjin, the middle volume of the “Kojiki”, it is written that Shōko-Ō, King of Paekche presented “one female horse and one male horse” and “*tachi*” (sword) and “*ōkagami*” (large mirror) to the Emperor. The latter two items are thought to be “Hichishitō” and “Hichishikyō”, respectively which are seen in the “Nihonshoki”. According to this article, “horses” and “a sword and a large mirror” are gifts from Paekche.

By the way, the sacred treasure regulations of the Ise-Jingū Shrine on the renewal of the shrine are well-known. In the section of 27 sacred treasures, Volume 4 “Ise-Dai-Jingū” in the “Engishiki”, 21 kinds of treasures include gilt bronze *tatari* (weaving tools), gilt bronze *oke* (bowls), gilt bronze *kasei* (spools), gilt bronze *thumi* (spindles), silver bronze *tatari* (weaving tools), silver bronze *oke* (bowls), silver bronze *kasei* (spools), silver bronze *thumi* (spindles), bows made of *azusa* trees, Tamamaki-no-tachi (sword), gold crucian-carp-shaped Sugaru-no-tachi (sword), gold crucian-carp-shaped Kusagusa-no-tachi (sword), Hime-yuki, Gama-yuki, Kawa-yuki, Yuki (arrow cases), shields, halberds, Tobino-o-no-koto (kite-tail-shaped *koto*). These items can be largely classified into weaving-related items, weapons and *koto*. They are sacred treasures which should be dedicated to the Ise-Jingū Shrine in which the descendants of the gods are enshrined. In terms of materials, they are the highest class of things which display the prestige of the kingly power/state. All of them can be also classified into the above-mentioned category of sacred offerings. If sacred offerings are retained in the shrine (god), they will become sacred treasures and may become the body of the god.

According to “the Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū”, 19 items of sacred property are specified for costume worn on the occasion of shrine renewal: gilt bronze *tatari* (weaving tools), mirrors, *oke* (bowls), *kasei* (spools), *thumi* (spindles), silver bronze *tatari* (weaving tools), *oke* (bowls), *kasei* (spools), *thumi* (spindles), bows, arrows, Tamamaki-no-tachi, Sugaru-no-tachi, Kusagusa-no-tachi, Hime-yuki, Gama-yuki, Kawa-yuki, Yuki, shields, halberds and Tobino-o-no-koto. Besides these, the following eight items of sacred property are included in the twenty items of costume worn on the occasion of renewal of Aramatsuri-no-miya shrine: swords, shields, halberds, bows, Yanagui (arrow cases), blue-hair clay horses and mirrors. The fourteen items of costume worn on the occasion of renewal of the Tsukiyomi-no-miya shrine include 16 items of sacred property: Kanetsukuri-no-tachi, Kuotsukuri-no-tachi, *kogatana* (small sword), bows, Yanagui (arrow cases), shields, halberds, mirrors, bells, *tatari*, *suzuri* (ink stones), blue-hair clay horses, silver pails, saddles, five-colored beads and large pails. Seventeen items of costume worn on the occasion of renewal of the Takihara-no-miya shrine include 11 kinds of sacred things: boxes, silver *tatari*, silver pails, silver *kasei* (spools), silver cosmetic boxes, bells, bows, swords, Yanagui (arrow cases), halberds and blue-hair clay horses. Fourteen items of costume worn on the occasion of renewal of the Izawa-no-miya shrine include the following items: gold *tatari*, gold pails, gold *kasei* (spools), gold loom, mirrors, Kuotsukuri-no-tachi, bows, Yanagui (arrow cases), and Tomo (an item of archery). Thus, the items of sacred property vary from shrine to shrine.

These items of sacred property (sacred treasures) needed on the occasion of shrine renewal ranging from the Aramatsuri-no-miya to Izawa-no-miya include the following things besides the sacred treasures of the Kōtai-Jingū seen in the above-mentioned “Engishiki” and “the Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-Jingū”: bells, *Suzuri*(ink stones) blue-hair clay horses, saddles, five-colored beads, cosmetic box, Yuki(arrow cases), Tomo (an item of archery) and Yanagui(arrow cases), and weavers (tools) including looms, *oke* (bowls),

Thumi(spindles), Kasei (spools), Tatari and pails It is quite conceivable that regardless of materials, these items may have been offered in the forms of real objects or replicas to not only the Ise-Jingū Shrine but also other shrines on the occasion of Kamimatsuri.

The above-mentioned items are similar or equal to sacred treasures. In fact, sacred stuff used in religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system tells us another aspect of sacred offerings.

Sacred stuff offered from the Emperor to the gods by way of prayer was called Mitegura. The contents of sacred stuff seem to be described in detail in the ceremonial statement. According to the first volume of “Engishiki”, for example, the items of sacred stuff for Toshigoi-no-matsuri (an annual harvest festival) were classified into A. cloth/fabrics, B. weapons, C. deer horns, D. hoes, E. rice wine, F. fish and shellfish, G. seaweeds, H. salt, I. ritual tools, J. straw mats, and K. horses. They were ranked in six classes according to the rank of each shrine within the coverage of stuff allocation<sup>53)</sup>. However, in the 17<sup>th</sup> year of the Enryaku period, local shrines were mostly separated as the gods of annual harvest worshiped by local officers. Sacred stuff in that case was only yarn and *yu* in Category A. This fact tells that sacred stuff was fundamentally composed of fabrics. The number of gods covered by such offering reached 3132 seats in later times according to “Engishiki”. They were worshiped in the form of “shrine”, whether large or small.

On the other hand, when someone other than the emperor offers something to the god, it was called *Nusa* as the author has discussed before<sup>54)</sup>. According to “Man’yōshū”, there were many cases of going over peaks, including mountains and slopes. The objects of sacred offering were the gods of the sea, the rapids, heaven and earth and shrines. Specific items of *Nusa* seem to have varied with the location of offering and the benefits of worship. The fundamental form of *Nusa* was fabrics (or yarn) of hemp and *Shizu* (a sort of cloth). From that, such cloth products as “sleeves” began to appear in *Nusa*. Mirrors could have been also included<sup>55)</sup>.

In the case of Rinjisai (extraordinary festivals) seen in the third volume of “Engishiki”, there are ritual offerings different from those in the so-called Shijisai (seasonal festivals). Some examples will be given below in connection with ritual tools mentioned in this paper.

For example, in the case of rituals concerning the gods of the mountain, the tree and the land enshrined in the Ise-Jingū Shrine, there are some things different from ordinary sacred offerings. For instance, in the case of No. 20 Yamaguchi-no-kamimatsuri in Volume 4 the Ise-Jingū Shrine of the “Engishiki”, there are “iron human-shaped effigies, mirrors, halberds, long *kogatana*, hatchets, sickles, five-colored thin silk, *yu* (stringy fibers of atree), hemp, rice, rice wine, skipjacks, abalones, dried fish, small sea plants, salt, chicken, hens’ eggs, pottery and earthenware”. In the case of No. 21 Sai-shōden-shinchū-no-matsuri, hatchet is replaced with axes and small sword and plane are added. In the case of No. 22 Chinsai-miyaji, plane is included, instead of hoe. According to the affairs of events for the renewal of the shrine in “the Record on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū”, in the case of Yamaguchi-kamimatsuri, there are “iron human-shaped effigies, mirrors, halberds, swords, 忌 hatchet, 忌 sickle, small sword, five-colored thin silk, *yu* and hemp” and “rice wine, rice, skipjacks, abalones, small fish, small seaweeds, salt, chicken, hens’ eggs, pottery and Haji earthenware”. In the case of Irisomagi-honsai, mirrors are replaced with iron mirrors; halberds are replaced with iron halberds; 忌 hatchet are replaced with 忌 sickle; and Tathuge • 忌 hatchet • plane are added. Also, small fish is replaced with dried fish; and small sea plants are replaced with small seaweeds. Next, in the case of Miyaji-chinsha (sai), 忌 hatchet are replaced with 奈岐 sickle; 忌 sickle are replaced with sickles; spades/hoes/axe and silk are added; and small sea plants are replaced with sea plants.

In other words, the tools of carpenters and farmers, including axe, sickle, plane, spades, Tathuge and hatchets are not all included in sacred offerings in the religious ritual under the Ritsuryō system. Those items could have become sacred offerings in Kamimatsuri to worship the gods of the mountain, the tree and the land.

According to No. 11 Chin-shingū-chisai, Volume 3 Sanrinjisai of the “Engishiki”, when a site for constructing a new palace was purified, ritual offerings included “gold, silver, bronze, iron, small crystal ball, silk, five-colored fabrics, *Shizu*, *Jōfu*, *Yōfu* (cloth offered instead of labor), *yu*, hemp, swords, bows, arrows, hoes, other hoe, sickles, deer skin, citrus trees, rice, *sake*, rice plants, abalones, skipjacks, dried fish, seaweeds, small sea plants, salt, Motai, Yokobe, cups, gourds, Kashiwa, mats, silk clothes, hemp clothes, Kuri-no-kazura-no-kouburi (wreath of black creeper) and horses”. Of these, “gold, silver, bronze and iron”,

which can be also regarded as sacred offerings, are all raw materials and consistent with the recognition of flat iron ingot actually offered to the gods.

The above-mentioned sacred offerings can remain in the forms of real ritual tools or replicas depending on materials and conditions.

## Conclusion

In Chapter I, The Goddesses and Shrine of Munakata seen in literary records have been reviewed. In Chapter II, discussion has been focused on the “form” of Kamimatsuri and sacred offerings in the era of the Yamato kingly power and their relation with ritual tools. In Chapter III, sacred treasures, Mitegura, Nusa and sacred offerings have been reviewed in relation to religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system. Finally, the author would like to summarize the above-mentioned review and discussion by combining all knowledge obtained from each chapter in a comprehensive way.

1. Although the relation between Munakata Goddesses and the Yamato kingly power may originate in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century according to literary records, the 5<sup>th</sup> century is an epoch-making period<sup>56)</sup>, and it may be considered that their relation with the kingly power declined after the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In this view, Munakata Grand Goddesses had religious authority at latest in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when they indicated the divine will about the start of external negotiations (including wars) with China and the Korean Peninsula. It was probably a reward for their role that skilled women and people called Kanbe were offered to them.

2. In the Nara period, it seems that the Munakata Shrine based in the divine district of Munakata had a priest who also assumed district governorship and the Munakata clan as a ritual clan administered rituals in the Munakata Shrine. It may be taken for granted that such practices were also prevalent before the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

3. However, there is no article which describes that Munakata Goddesses were directly venerated by the kingly power on the occasion of dispatch of Japanese envoys important in external relationships to Sui and Tang Dynasties. To the author’s knowledge, there is no article, either, which describes that Japanese envoys went to Sui and Tang Dynasties via Okinoshima Island. Even if the existing “Fudoki” records are reviewed, it is merely written that Matsuura District in Hizen Province was an anchorage site. It is presumable that landing or passing the Korean Peninsula via Iki and Tsushima Islands was a safe navigation route before the use of the direct south route<sup>57)</sup>. In other words, Munakata Goddesses were not directly recognized by the kingly power as the god/goddess of navigation.

4. From this point of view, the author considers that the position of Munakata Goddesses in Kamimatsuri by the Yamato kingly power relatively declined after the 6<sup>th</sup> century, during which it is highly possible that the form of Kamimatsuri adopted by the Munakata clan as a ritual clan was merely performed on their own. This may be typically proved by the fact that the rituals of Munakata were not introduced into religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system. This is also the case with the Izumo-jingū Shrine. There was probably a strong tendency of entrusting local shrines with the performance of rituals because the form of religious faith originating in at latest the 5<sup>th</sup> century was firmly established in each region. In the case of Jingū shrines for which divine counties were located, their respective forms of faith were probably maintained except in the case of the Ise-Jingū Shrine in which the ancestor gods of the Imperial Family are enshrined.

5. Munakata Goddesses do not appear in literary records even before and after the Hakusuki-no-e war in the Emperor Tenchi era and also in the periods of the Emperor Temmu and the Empress Jitō. When the time turned to the Nara period, the Sumiyoshi Shrine was emphasized as the god of navigation. When external relationships became tense, Kashii-byō (Imperial mausoleum) in Chikuzen Province caught attention and the object of dedication to the god was shifted to the mausoleum.

6. Despite being included in the coverage of sacred stuff allocation fundamental for the Ritsuryō state, the Munakata Shrine was just one of 3134 seats of shrines across the state. As far as “Shoku-nihongi” is concerned, the Munakata Shrine was not covered even by extraordinary dedication to the god which had a different function from sacred stuff allocation. However, if it is somewhat complemented to make sure, the



absence of description in “Shoku-nihongi” does not mean complete absence.

7. In the Nara period, the Munakata Shrine was highly recognized in such a way that the Munakata priest, like that of the Izumo Shrine, received a higher rank from the Imperial Court on the occasion of succession. The following reasons for such recognition can be pointed out: the Munakata Shrine served as the deity of the kingly power in the 5<sup>th</sup> century during which the Yamato kingly power held the reins of government; the mother of Prince Takechi-no-Miko came from Munakata; and Three Goddesses of Munakata are described in connection with the ancestors of the Imperial Family in the mythologies of “Kojiki” and “Nihonshoki”. These facts show that the Munakata Shrine occupied the status of traditional god (shrine) in the state. As the god of external negotiations seen from the state’s point of view, however, the role of the Shrine seems to have dimmed<sup>58)</sup>. Rather, didn’t the Shrine serve as a local god venerated by deeply religious people in the divine district of Munakata?

8. The form of Kamimatsuri, physical techniques and sacred offerings before the start of religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system have been considered according to historical documents with the focus on specific items known from literary records. Specifically, there are mirrors, beads, Yu(stringly fibers of a tree), *sakaki* trees, swords, weapons, vessels, boats, rice paddies, people, horses, divine clothes, looms and *koto*. Besides these, sacred treasures similar to sacred offerings have also been reviewed. Finally, the author has discussed sacred stuff and offerings in religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system and sacred offerings seen in Rinjisai (extraordinary festivals) as described in the “Engishiki” and the rituals of the Ise-Jingū Shrine. Sacred offerings were mostly real objects as ritual tools, which were shifted to replicas later and became ritual relics. It should be noted that some of them have remained, while others have not remained depending on their materials. The above-mentioned discussion will probably give a clue when considering not only ritual relics but also ritual sites on Okinoshima Island.

9. The three seats of the Munakata Shrine in Munakata District, Chikuzen Province are also described as Myōjindai. After the 17<sup>th</sup> year of the Enryaku period, sacred stuff composed of only “3 units of yarn and 3 units of *yu* for each seat” was allocated to them by the governor of Tsukushi Province. Before that year, in the case that sacred stuff was allocated by the Council of Religious Affairs, sacred stuff might have been composed of silk, five-colored thin silk, Shizu, Yu, hemp, Youfu (cloth offered instead of labor), Shizu 纏刀形, silk 纏刀形, cloth 纏刀形, four-seat purification stands, eight-seat purification stands, shields, spear heads, bows, arrow cases, deer horns, hoes, rice wine, abalones, skipjacks, dried fish, seaweeds, slippery seaweeds, small sea plants, salt, wine jars, 葉薦 for wrapping”. On the occasion of Myōjinsai included in Rinjisai as the status of the shrine in the Heian period, the three seats of the Munakata Shrine were offered “silk, *yu*, yarn, five-colored thin silk, Yu, hemp and 薦 for wrapping”. On the occasion of grand prayer, silk was more added and cloth instead of yarn was offered.

10. Official offerings to the gods/goddesses in religious rituals are as described above under the Ritsuryō system. Of them, cloth/fabrics, wooden products, fish/shellfish, seaweeds and salt are things which could not remain as archaeological relics. Things which could remain are probably limited to iron hoes and earthenware jars for rice wine. However, those things are not consistent with ritual relics found on Okinoshima Island. This means that they are not the sites of the above-mentioned religious rituals under the Ritsuryō system.

11. Things not included in the above-mentioned items may have become extraordinary sacred offerings. There is no record left which describes extraordinary dedication to the Munakata Shrine in the Nara period. However, it is recorded in the 9<sup>th</sup> century as described below. According to the section of the day Kinoto-Hitsuji of July, the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the Jōwa period (842) (“Nihonkiryaku”), to mitigate divine punishment, the Emperor sent Imperial messengers of dedication to various shrines, including the Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province. On February 15, the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Teikan period (870) (“The Three Greatest Documentaries in Japan”), the Emperor admired the cooperation of the Munakata Shrine and called it “My Imperial God” and prayed for successful entry in Silla. These articles show that extraordinary dedication was performed in the case of divine punishment and prayer. Needless to say, sacred stuff was brought from the Imperial Court in that case.

Based on the above-mentioned discussion, the author can reconstruct Okinoshima rituals in the period from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries as follows:

External negotiations between Wu Dynasty and the Yamato kingly power began in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Rituals accompanying such diplomacy were performed through the governor of the Munakata region.

The Yamato kingly power took the reins of government all over ancient Japan in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. As they actively promoted external negotiations with the Korean Peninsula, Kamimatsuri may have been directly aimed at Munakata Goddesses. However, Kamimatsuri seems to have been performed on Okinoshima Island through the Munakata clan by the request of the kingly power which wished to pray for successful negotiations.

For a while after the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Kamimatsuri was not directly entrusted by the kingly power. Rather, Kamimatsuri was performed on Okinoshima Island on the initiative of the Munakata clan.

Kamimatsuri began to be re-arranged by the Yamato kingly power in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Subsequently, religious rituals were established under the Ritsuryō system in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In this context, sacred offerings were allocated to the three seats of the Munakata Shrine through the priest of Munakata. Sacred offerings from the Imperial Court or the governor of province (after the 17<sup>th</sup> year of the Enryaku period) to Okinoshima Island should have been received by the priest of Munakata going to the Court in person. Besides this, the Munakata Shrine may have become an object of extraordinary dedication by the state. There is an article that an Imperial messenger of dedication was sent to the Munakata Shrine in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, it is possible that ritual relics on Okinoshima Island include sacred offerings extraordinarily dedicated to the Shrine in the period from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Apart from the above, the Munakata Shrine was the object of worship as the god/goddess of the Munakata clan and therefore, rituals may have been performed for the sake of rice cultivation or fisheries. In that case, the priest may have landed on Okinoshima Island to perform a ritual. In other words, as the Munakata clan, people may have delivered Nusa to the Munakata Shrine, namely Nakatsu-miya on Okinoshima Island on their own. In addition, fishermen who lived around Munakata and deified Okinoshima Island may have offered Nusa in their own ways.

If ritual relics on Okinoshima Island are considered in that sense, what should be considered first may be ritual relics (tools) relevant to Kamimatsuri and rituals by the Munakata clan which venerated Three Goddesses of Munakata and also ritual relics (tools) which embody the religious faith of fishermen who lived on Okinoshima Island or in the coastal area near the Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya of the Munakata Shrine. After that, it may be safe to consider that ritual relics (tools) on Okinoshima Island are the remains of sacred stuff extraordinarily dedicated by the Imperial Court to Munakata Goddesses or sacred offerings or things like sacred treasures which the Munakata clan received from the Imperial Court or obtained by their own means. The author considers that the Munakata Shrine and moreover, Okinoshima rituals had, as it were, the triple structure of Kamimatsuri or ritual at the three levels of the kingly power/state, the clan and fishermen; and ritual relics on Okinoshima Island should be understood from the above-mentioned point of view<sup>59)</sup>.

## Notes (not translated):

- 1) 『沖ノ島 宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡』(吉川弘文館、一九五八年)・『続沖ノ島宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡』(吉川弘文館、一九六一年)・『宗像沖ノ島』(宗像大社復興期成会、一九七九年)。
- 2) 岡崎敬「総括編」(注1)『宗像沖ノ島』所収)。
- 3) 井上光貞「古代沖の島の祭祀」(『日本古代の王権と祭祀』所収、東京大学出版会、一九八四年)。なお、文献史学の立場から岡田精司「航海と外征の神」(『神社の古代史』所収、一九八五年)に、要をえた概説がある。
- 4) 例えば小田富士雄編『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』(吉川弘文館、一九八八年)、佐田茂『沖ノ島祭祀遺跡』(ニュー・サイエンス社、一九九一年)、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、二〇〇五年)。
- 5) 例えば注4)書及び笹生衛「宗像沖ノ島祭祀遺跡における遺物組成と祭祀構造」(『日本古代の祭祀考古学』所収、吉川弘文館、二〇一二年)、『宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺跡群』研究報告Ⅰ』(二〇一二年)。
- 6) 『律令国家と神祇祭祀制度の研究』(塙書房、二〇〇四年)、「神祇祭祀」(『列島の古代史7 信仰と

- 世界観』所収、岩波書店、二〇〇六年)。
- 7) 亀井輝一郎「ヤマト王権と宗像」(『宗像市史 通史編第二巻 古代・中世・近世』所収、一九九九年)、五～十一頁。
  - 8) 『日本古典文学大系 日本書紀 上』(岩波書店、一九六七年、以下岩波版と略称する)、一〇八頁。『日本古典文学全集 日本書紀 1』(小学館、一九九四年、以下小学館版と略称する)、六九頁。
  - 9) 注 8) 岩波版『日本書紀 上』(一〇八頁注六)には「天孫の降臨の際に助け奉り、天孫の為に人人から物をうけよの意であろう」とするが、井上光貞監『日本書紀 上』(一九八七年、中央公論社、一〇八頁)に「天孫を助け奉って、天孫によってまつられよ」とあり、注 8) 小学館版『日本書紀 1』(六九頁)に「天孫をお助け申し上げて、そして天孫によって祭られなさい」とあるのに従う。
  - 10) 西宮一民校注『古事記』(新潮社、一九七九年)、三六一～三六二頁参照。
  - 11) 注 8) 岩波版『日本書紀 上』、五五九頁、注 1 - 七〇。
  - 12) 『先代旧事本紀』巻四地神本紀は神名が多紀理比売命・多岐都比売命が田心姫命・湍津姫命となっているが、順番などは『古事記』に倣っているとみてよい。
  - 13) 池辺彌『倭名類聚抄郡郷里驛名考證』(吉川弘文館、一九八一年)、七一四頁によれば三潯郡には鳥養郷がある。なお、『古事記』上巻には大国主神が胸形奥津宮の多紀理毗賣命を娶って阿遲鉏高日子根神と高比賣命(亦の名は下光比売命)を生み、前者は今、迦毛大御神という、とある。ここでも胸形奥津宮の多紀理比売命とあり、阿遲鉏高日子根神は出雲国の神で、迦毛大御神とあるところから鴨神、つまり葛城郡の鴨神社の祭神とされている。この伝承から出雲と胸形の関係が深かったことをみるのは容易であろう。出雲と宗像の関係が深いことに関しては亀井輝一郎「沖ノ島と宗像神・宗像神主・宗像覚書」(『福岡教育大学紀要』第五十九号、二〇一〇年)参照。
  - 14) 『日本書紀』応神天皇二十年九月条には倭漢直の祖阿知使主、その子都加使主並びにおのが輩十七県を率いて来朝したという、倭漢(東漢)氏の祖先渡来伝承がある。一方、『古事記』中巻応神天皇段では、百済国主昭古王が阿知吉師(阿直史らの祖)に託して馬を献上したことがみえており、呉服の西素らを貢上し秦造の祖(弓月君)・漢直の祖(阿知使主)らが渡来したとある。しかし、「この呉服の来朝を書紀が記す場合、雄略紀のような資料で流用したか、また倭漢氏(その祖か阿知使主・都加使主父子)が身狭村主青らの雄略紀のごとき伝えを自己の祖先伝承に組み込み入れたかともいう。『姓氏録』左京諸蕃下に「牟佐(むさ)村主、呉孫権ガ男、高ノ後也」とある一方、「坂上氏系図」所引『姓氏録』逸文の阿智王の条に大鷦鷯天皇(仁徳)の時阿智王が牟佐村主ら多くの村主を率いて渡来したことを記すように、早くから阿知使主を祖とする伝承ができていたので、本条のような工女渡来伝承も架上されたか」(注 8) 小学館版『日本書紀 1』、四九四頁、注八～一一)とあり俄には決しがたい。なお、『日本書紀』応神天皇十四年二月条には百済王が縫衣工女を貢じ、真毛津といい、これが今の来目衣縫の始祖ともある。
  - 15) 注 8) 小学館版『日本書紀』、四六〇頁、注一二・一三参照。
  - 16) 『宋書 八 傳』(中華書局)、二三九四頁。『新訂魏志倭人伝・後漢書倭伝・宋書倭国伝・隋書倭国伝』(岩波書店、一九八五年)、一二三頁。
  - 17) なお、伴信友『神名帳考証』(文化十年)も織幡神社に関係するとする(虎尾俊哉編『訳注日本史料 延喜式上』(集英社、二〇〇〇年)七一頁、「織幡神社」)。ちなみに、御使君は他見しない。
  - 18) なお、この時車持君も朝臣姓を賜った。『新撰姓氏録』右京神別に宗形朝臣、『同』河内神別に宗形君があり片隅命の後とある。
  - 19) 『類聚三代格』巻一。なお、元慶四年三月二十七日官符で官社に預かったとある。
  - 20) 『令集解』選叙令 7 同司主典条の釈説の引用。
  - 21) 『類聚国史』巻十九、延暦十七年十月丁亥条引用。注 23) も参照されたい。
  - 22) 奈良時代を通じて、和銅二年五月庚申に筑前宗形郡大領外従五位下宗形朝臣等杼が外従五位下を、天平元年四月乙丑に宗形郡大領外従七位上宗形朝臣鳥麻呂が神斎供奉の状を奏上し外従五位下や物を賜ったことがみえ、天平十年二月丁巳に筑紫宗形神主外従五位下宗形朝臣鳥麻呂が外従五位上を、天平十二年正月庚子に宗形朝臣赤麻呂と車持朝臣国人が外従五位下を、天平十二年十一月甲辰に外従五位下宗形朝臣赤麻呂が外従五位上を、天平十七年正月乙丑に外従五位上宗形朝臣赤麻呂が外正五位以上を、天平十七年六月庚子に大領外従八位上宗形朝臣与呂志が外従五位上を授けられ、神護景雲元年八月辛巳に、宗形郡大領宗形朝臣深津と妻無位武生王が金崎船瀬を造る功により外従五位下・従五位下を授かっている。また、宝龜九年四月庚寅に、宗形郡大領外従八位上宗形大徳が外従五位下を授けられている(以上『続日本紀』)。
  - 23) 『類聚三代格』巻七、延暦十九年十二月四日太政官符所引。なお、その後の宗像郡大領と神主をめ

ぐる問題について少しみておこう。延暦十七年三月十六日、ついに宗像郡大領は譜第の選を永らく停廃し、才能ある人材を充てることになった（『同』巻四、延暦十七年六月四日太政官符所引・『同』巻七、延暦十九年十二月四日太政官符所引）。延暦十七年十月十一日太政官符（『同』巻一）によれば、出雲国造が神主を兼帯し新任の日に嫡妻を棄て多く百姓の女子を娶り、神宮采女と称して妾とすることが横行し、妄りに神事に託して淫風をあおいでいるのはよくないので、もし妾を娶って神事に供奉することがやむをえない場合は、国司が密に一女を卜定して封し、多くの女を妾に点じてはならない、もしこの制に違反すれば事の科に従うように、とあり、筑前国宗像神主もこれに準ぜよ、とある。また一日違いの『類聚国史』巻十九によれば、勅として国造・郡領はその職が特殊であるが、今出雲・筑前国では慶雲三年以来国造が郡領を帯び神事を託言し、ややもすれば公務を廃し怠慢があっても勘決の由がなく、今後国造帯郡領と国造兼帯神主は新任の日に例えば皆妻を棄て百姓女子を取り、神宮采女と号し娶って妻とし、妄りに神事を託し遂に淫風をあおるのは、国典にかんがみ理は懲肅すべきなので、国司が卜定して一女を供せよ、とある。言わんとするところは同じでも、『類聚国史』の方が慶雲三年以来と具体的である。また、延暦十九年十二月四日太政官符（『同』巻七）によれば、太宰府の解を得るに、宗像郡大領補任の日に例えば神主を兼ね五位を叙すが、今延暦十七年三月十六日の勅に譜第の選永く停廃に従い、才能ある者を選び用いることが具に条目にある、とあるが、大領兼神主外従五位下宗像朝臣池作が十七年二月二十四日に卒去し、これより以来頻りに祭祀を欠き、才能の試をへるに未だその人をえない状況で、しかも延暦七年二月二十二日太政官符に、今より以後かの氏中の中の潔清廉貞で祭事に堪える者を選び、神主に補任し六年相替となったが、そのようにすれば神主の任はすでにその限りあり、仮に才能があつて郡をおさめ神主を兼帯することに堪えることがあつても、終身の職にいて六年の任を兼ねるのは穏便ではないので官裁を請うところ、その結果勅により郡司神主の職掌をおのおの別とし、郡司は神主を兼帯することがないようにせよ、と決まった。これによって、宗像大領が宗像神主を兼帯することが禁止されたのである。なお、延暦十九年十二月二十二日太政官符の理解については、拙稿「律令国家に於ける神祇職」（注6）書所収）一八九～一九〇頁参照。

- 24) 注23)の延暦十九年十二月四日太政官符所引。
- 25) なお、対馬・壱岐には防人が派遣されていた。『続日本紀』天平九年九月癸巳条によれば、筑紫防人を停止し筑紫人に壱伎・対馬を守らせている。また、承和八年八月十七日太政官符によると、弘仁年中の疫病で対馬嶋の百姓が減少したため島の防人に筑紫人を充てており（『類聚三代格』巻一）、承和十年八月戊寅でも、島の防人は旧により筑紫人を充てることになっている（『続日本後紀』）。『日本三代実録』貞観十二年六月十三日条によれば、筑前・肥前・壱岐・対馬などの国島に対して不慮に備えるように勅がくだっている。なお、『延喜式』巻二十六・主税上によると、島司や防人の糧のため毎年二千石の米を筑前・筑後・肥前・肥後・豊前・豊後などの国から送ることになっていた。
- 26) 『続日本紀』天平九年四月乙巳条に新羅無礼の状を告げるため「伊勢神宮・大神社・筑紫住吉・八幡二社及香椎宮」に遣使奉幣が、天平宝字三年八月己亥条に新羅を伐つべき状を奏するため「香椎廟」に遣使が、天平宝字六年十一月庚寅条に新羅を征し軍旅を調集するために香椎廟に遣使奉幣を行っている。
- 27) 亀井注13)論文、一二頁。なお、亀井氏は、宗像神主の就任儀礼＝祭祀（権）継承儀礼が沖ノ島で執行されていたのではないかという大胆な推測を行っている（同論文一五頁）。論拠は出雲国造の「(神火)火継式」であるが、それが後世のものであれ伝承がある（平井直房『出雲国造火継ぎ神事の研究』〈大明堂、一九八九年〉）にもかかわらず、宗像神社にはそのような神事が伝承しておらず、何よりも宗像には国造の存在は見あたらないところからすれば、いまだ推測の域をでないように思われる。ただし、このことは、新任の宗像神主が沖ノ島に継承の報告祈禱を行っていた可能性を否定するものではない。少なくとも、班幣・奉幣があつた場合、神主は宗像神三座、つまり沖ノ島の神一座にも幣帛を届ける義務があつたからである。
- 28) 『日本書紀』や『古事記』の編纂が帝紀旧辞として六世紀の中頃から編述されていたことについては、すでに津田左右吉（『津田左右吉全集第一巻』〈岩波書店、一九六三年〉）。但し、初出は『古事記及日本書紀の研究』〈一九二四年〉以来の研究があるからである。なお、津田の帝紀旧辞論に関する問題点について、最近のものとして仁藤敦史「帝紀・旧辞と王統譜の成立」（『史料としての『日本書紀』』所収、勉誠社、二〇一一年）を例示しておきたい。
- 29) 拙稿「日本古代社会に於ける『幣帛』の成立」（注6）書所収）。
- 30) 簡単に三種の神器記事を振り返っておきたい。『日本書紀』第九段天孫降臨章の第一の一書に天照

- 大神から瓊瓊杵尊に八坂瓊の曲玉と八咫鏡・草薙剣の三種の宝物を賜ったとあり、第二の一書には天照大神が宝鏡を天忍穗耳尊に授けたとある。第八段宝剑出現章本文に草薙剣がみえ、第一の二書・第一の三書・第一の四書にもみえる。崇神紀に天皇がその勢いのため、天照大神を豊鍬入姫命に託し笠縫邑に祭り、垂仁紀の伊勢五十鈴川上にたてたこと、景行紀と景行記に伊勢神宮の祭主倭姫命が日本武尊に草薙剣を授け、尊が途中で病死したため、剣が尾張に留められたことがみえる。また『古語拾遺』には皇孫に八咫鏡と草薙剣二種を授けたとあり、崇神天皇が天照大神と草薙の剣を笠縫邑に遷すにあたり、さらに鏡を鑄て剣を造り、それを護身御璽とし、これが現在踐祚の日に献上する神璽の鏡と剣とする異伝を載せる。養老神祇令 13 踐祚条には神璽として鏡と剣がみえる。『日本書紀』持統天皇四年正月戊寅条は、天皇即位儀における神璽剣鏡の記事である。また、天子のみ印として鏡・剣が現れるのは、『日本書紀』継体天皇元年二月甲午条で、初めて天子の鏡・剣の璽符を大伴金村大連が奉ったとあり、神事ではないこともあろうが忌部ではなく、律令制では見あたらない大伴氏が奉っているところや、二種しか挙がっていない点も注意される。また、三種ということでは『播磨国風土記』賀古郡の記事によれば、刀に勾玉と鏡をつけて、景行天皇が求婚にいった例がある。これも王権の象徴的行為の描写なのかもしれない。なお、三種の神器、特に草薙剣についての研究は多く論旨からずれるため、注 8) 岩波版『日本書紀』(五七七～八頁、注 2 一一九)・黛弘道「三種の神器について」(『律令国家成立史の研究』所収、吉川弘文館、一九八二年)及び岡田精司「草薙剣の伝承をめぐって」(櫻井徳太郎編『日本社会の変革と再生』所収、弘文堂、一九八八年)を例示し、後考に委ねたい。
- 31) また、鏡には魔除けの効能(『常陸国風土記』久慈郡)や、形見としても用いられた(『肥前国風土記』松浦郡)。なお、形見としての鏡は『万葉集』(巻十二一二九七八・巻一三一三三三四・三三一六)に例がある。
- 32) 『新訂増補 国史大系 8 日本書紀私記・釈日本紀・日本逸史』所収、吉川弘文館、一九六五年、一〇二頁。神代紀第六段瑞珠盟約章の第二の一書では、玉から三女神が生まれたとあるが、御神体の玉との関係についての説明は、なかなか難しい。これがもし事実とすれば、奈良時代には遅くとも神話伝承の宗像神が玉から生まれたということと関連して御神体に玉が選ばれていたということか、いつの時点か宗像神社の御神体に玉が先に選れていたとしても、それと神話伝承の物実としての玉と関係があるのか否か不明だからである。さらに、本論で述べたように玉には物実としての一般的な観念があり、宗像神社特有の御神体というわけではないからである。なお、「宗像大菩薩御縁起」(『新編日本古典文学全集 5 風土記』(小学館、一九九七年)五八五頁)によれば、「宗像太神、自<sub>レ</sub>天降居<sub>ニ</sub>崎門山<sub>ニ</sub>之時、以<sub>ニ</sub>青蕤玉<sub>ニ</sub>、置<sub>ニ</sub>奥宮之表<sub>ニ</sub>。以<sub>ニ</sub>八尺蕤紫玉<sub>ニ</sub>、置<sub>ニ</sub>中宮之表<sub>ニ</sub>、以<sub>ニ</sub>八尺鏡<sub>ニ</sub>、置<sub>ニ</sub>辺宮之表<sub>ニ</sub>、以<sub>ニ</sub>此三表<sub>ニ</sub>、成<sub>ニ</sub>神体形<sub>ニ</sub>、納<sub>ニ</sub>置三宮<sub>ニ</sub>、即隱之、因曰<sub>ニ</sub>身形郡<sub>ニ</sub>」(同風土記云、一云、天神之子有<sub>ニ</sub>四柱<sub>ニ</sub>、兄三柱神教<sub>ニ</sub>弟大海命<sub>ニ</sub>曰、汝命者、為<sub>ニ</sub>吾等三柱御身之像<sub>ニ</sub>、而可<sub>レ</sub>居<sub>ニ</sub>於此地<sub>ニ</sub>、便一前居<sub>ニ</sub>於奥宮<sub>ニ</sub>、一前居<sub>ニ</sub>於海中<sub>ニ</sub>、一前居<sub>ニ</sub>於深田村高尾山辺<sub>ニ</sub>、故号曰<sub>ニ</sub>身形郡<sub>ニ</sub>、云々、) 後人改曰<sub>ニ</sub>宗像<sub>ニ</sub>、共大海命子孫、今宗像朝臣等是也、云々」とあり、玉と鏡が御神体であったことが記されている。なお、文中の「風土記」が奈良時代の『風土記』かどうか、また記述が詳細なことや縁起文中ということもあり、俄には従いがたい。
- 33) 注 29) 論文と同じ。
- 34) 注 33) と同じ。なお、『常陸国風土記』久慈郡薩都里項には「其社、以<sub>レ</sub>石為<sub>レ</sub>垣、中種属甚多、并、品宝、弓・梓・釜・器之類、皆成<sub>レ</sub>石存之」とある。兵器だけでなく釜や器などの形態の巨岩ともとれるが、石製模造品を意味している可能性もあろう。なお、御岩山から石器・土師器・須恵器などが発掘されており、祭祀遺跡があり、奇岩怪石も多いといい、それを見立てたという(注 32) 後掲書、四一三頁、注一五参照)。
- 35) 注 8) 小学館版『日本書紀 1』、二一三頁、注二三。古事記中巻の崇神天皇段に疫病を鎮めるため「天之八十毗羅訶」が作られた記事がみえる。なお、『古事記』上巻の大国主神の国譲りの場面に、神殿を造り天の御饗を献上するおり、櫛八玉神が鵜となって、海底の「波邇」(粘土)をくわえてきて「天八十毗羅訶」を作り、海布の柄を刈って燧臼を作り、海尊の柄で燧杵を作って発火させ祝福した、とあり、特別な容器として平瓮が用いられていることがわかる。
- 36) 現行諸本には「八十手所」とある。注 8) 岩波版『日本書紀 上』では物部の「八十平瓮」の誤写とする(二四一頁、注二七)が、小学館版『日本書紀』には「八十手所」を底本のまま訓読するのに従う(二七四頁、注 10) 参照)。
- 37) 『日本書紀』允恭天皇四年九月戊申条に、盟神探湯をするさい味樞丘の辞禍戸神に「探湯瓮」を据えて、諸人は木綿手紐をして釜に行き盟神探湯をした、とある。カミマツリそのものではないが、呪具として瓮が用いられている例である。ここにみえる瓮は、釜と同じと考えと甕を指すので

- あろう。『古事記』下巻允恭天皇段にも「玖訶瓮」を据えてとある。なお、「日本書紀私記」（甲本）弘仁私記序の注に、「今大和国高市郡有<sub>レ</sub>釜有<sub>レ</sub>是也」とあり、このときの釜が今も大和国高市郡にあるという（注32）後掲書、一〇頁）。
- 38) 注10)『古事記』、一七七頁、注一五。
- 39)『万葉集』は『新編日本古典文学全集（1～4）万葉集』（小学館、一九九四～一九九六年）の訓みによる。
- 40) 小円筒状の管玉をさすという。竹玉は天平十年度「筑後国正税帳」に「竹玉式枚 直稻参把四分」とある（『復元天平諸国正税帳』（現代思潮社、一九八五年）二四一頁）。ただし、数や値段から考えて「しじに貫き垂れ」るものではなく、高級品の玉だと思われる。
- 41) 注32) 前掲書、七六～七頁。
- 42) 祈年祭のおり伊勢神宮と度会宮には特に馬一疋が、御歳社には白馬・白猪・白鶏が加えられた（『延喜式』巻一・四時祭上4 祈年祭官幣条）。
- 43)『延喜式』巻三臨時祭14 羅城御贖条に使用されるリストに「奴婢八人」「馬」が含まれているのは、かつて特別な人間や馬にケガレを背負わせて犠牲とした名残かもしれない。
- 44)『古事記』中巻崇神天皇段の三輪山伝承に赤土を床前に散らし、「閑蘇（へそ）の紡麻（を）」を針に通して、衣のすそに刺すという場面があり、残った麻が「三勾」（みわ）だったのでその地を「美和」という、とある。この伝承は三輪（山）で麻紡ぎが行われていたことが背景にあるのであろう。
- 45)「臥機」（クツビキ）は「足にくくりつけた緒を引いて操作するから沓引の意か」とあり、「絡塚」（タタリ）は「台に柱を立て、四角形の枠に糸を巻きつける道具。糸繰り台」とある（注（32）後掲書、三一六～七頁、注一四・一五）。
- 46) 神調の奉獻先については、佐々田悠「律令国家の地方祭祀構造」（『日本史研究』五一六号、二〇〇五年）参照のこと。
- 47) 養老神祇令4 孟夏条・7 季秋条、『延喜式』巻四伊勢大神宮8 神衣条9 機殿祭条。伊勢神宮の神衣祭については、拙稿「古代伊勢国の糸・絹」（『日本古代の王権と社会』所収、塙書房、二〇一〇年）を参照されたい。
- 48)『日本書紀』允恭天皇七年十二月朔条に天皇が琴を弾き、皇后が舞いをする記事がみえ、時の風俗に、舞いが終わると自ら座長に向かい娘子を奉るとある。
- 49) 以下、『神道大系 神宮編一』所収（神道大系編纂会、一九七九年）による。
- 50) 注8) 小学館版『日本書紀1』、三三四頁注一に従う。
- 51) 注8) 小学館版『日本書紀1』、三〇五頁注一三。
- 52)「甲子年」は神功皇后摂政四十六年（丙寅）から考えると二年前の四十四年となり、『日本書紀』の紀年では二四四年にあたるが、干支二運下げると年代が合うので、三六四年のこととなる（注8) 小学館版『日本書紀1』、四五一頁、注二三参照）。
- 53) 拙稿「律令国家の神祇祭祀の構造とその歴史的特質」（『延喜式』に見える祭料の特徴と調達方法）注6) 書所収）。
- 54) 注29) 論文と同じ。
- 55) 注29) 論文と同じ。
- 56) 従来、沖ノ島祭祀遺跡が四世紀後半に遡ることが指摘されていたが、近年沖ノ島祭祀とヤマト王権との関わりが、沖ノ島などの考古学的な年代観から四世紀の第3 四半期にさかのぼることが言われている（白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」注（5）後掲報告書所収）。四世紀代について沖ノ島あるいは宗像神との関係は記・紀ではうかがえず、今後も含めて考古学の成果に負うところが大きい。百済と倭国の国交の成立と沖ノ島祭祀の開始が一致するとなると、その時点で沖ノ島の王権によるカミマツリが開始された可能性も十分に考えられるであろう。ただし、倭・韓の海上渡航ルートとしては、壱岐・対馬ルートが中心であり、なにゆえそこからはずれた沖ノ島でカミマツリが行われるのか、依然難しい問題である。在地での宗像地域での沖ノ島のカミに対する信仰が古くから強く、それをヤマト王権が朝鮮半島支配の対外交渉神として位置付け、強力に後押ししたとしか考えられない。
- 57) 詳しい航海記事は見あたらないが、例えば『日本書紀』舒明五年正月甲辰条に「大唐高表仁等帰<sub>レ</sub>国、送使吉士雄摩呂・黒麻呂等、到<sub>二</sub>対馬<sub>一</sub>而還之」、『同』齐明天皇五年七月戊寅条所引「伊吉連博徳書」に「（己未年）八月十一日、発<sub>レ</sub>自<sub>二</sub>筑紫大津之浦<sub>一</sub>、九月十三日、行<sub>二</sub>到百濟南畔之嶋<sub>一</sub>」とある。また、例えば『肥前国風土記』松浦郡褶振峰項に大伴狭手彦連が船出して任那に渡ったとき、弟日皇子がここの峰から褶を振った伝承がある。遣唐使の行路については、東野治之『遣



唐使』(岩波書店、二〇〇七年) 参照。

- 58) この点、岡田注 3) 書にも「中央政権の宗像大社に対する信仰が変わり、その地位が著しく低下するのではないか」と述べられている(八十八頁)。
- 59) 付言すれば、従来から注目されており、誰もが訪れれば納得できることであるが、沖ノ島の巨岩における祭場は場所としてカミマツリにふさわしいものであること、絶海での孤島である神体山的な島として大島から見えるということ、などが沖ノ島信仰の対象となった大きな要因であろう。神体山と同じく神体島とみなす見方については、岡崎注 2) 論文に指摘があり、巨岩祭祀や祭祀遺物については、例えば天白磐座遺跡が参考となろう(辰巳和弘『聖なる水の祀りと古代王権 天白磐座遺跡』(新泉社、二〇〇六年))。



# Okinoshima Island in the Time before Surveys by the Munakata Shrine Revival Association

SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu  
Emeritus Professor, Kokugakuin University

**Abstract:** According to an old story, KURODA Nagamasa heard a rumor about “sacred treasures” on the island of Okinoshima, and sent someone for them because he wished to examine them. If this story is true, it should have been already known in the early 17th century that ritual articles existed on the island. In that century, studies on the origins of shrines across the country and historical studies of epigraphs began to gradually develop. The early modern scholar KAIBARA Ekiken resided in the feudal domain of Fukuoka, which also included Okinoshima. AOYAGI Tanenobu also appeared there later. From that time until the present, the island of Okinoshima has been the object of faith as “Oiwazujima” (“the island of secrets”) and was also the object of continuous academic attention as a representative ritual site in Japan. In this paper, I will review that history.

**Keywords:** KAIBARA Ekiken, AOYAGI Tanenobu, ETŌ Masazumi, SHIBATA Jōkei, ŌBA Iwao, the “treasure store,” Okinoshima-Goban

## 1. Okinoshima Island in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Edo Period)

### (1) Ritual Relics and Academic Learning in the Edo Period

When Osaka Castle fell in May, the twentieth year of the Keichō era (1615), a large-scale civil war ended and the Tokugawa regime began its nationwide rule. In July of the same year, the name of the era was changed to Genna, thus ushering in the so-called “Genna Peace.” The cultural center of Japan gradually shifted from Kyōto to Edo, and the stability represented by a new era of peace produced allowed people to take new interest in academic learning.

In the third year of the Meireki era (1657), TOKUGAWA Mitsukuni set up a facility for historical study on the grounds of his official residence in Edo and began compiling “The History of Great Japan.” He also set up a similar facility on the grounds of Mito Castle. The latter facility was called Shōkōkan, and it was from that institution that SASSA Sōjun and other researchers were dispatched to gather historical materials from areas all across Japan. This research likewise proved a great stimulus to local historical interest in those regions.

In the Kanbun era (1661 to 1673), basic registers of temples and shrines were prepared in the domains of Mito and Okayama-Ikeda. Based on those registers, Shintoism was separated from Buddhism, and the number of temples and shrines was reduced. The separation of Shinto and Buddhism was also undertaken in the domains of Aizu and Matsue, and by the Town Magistrate of Yamada in Ise. It goes without saying that the legendary origins and histories of temples and shrines were investigated in those areas. The Mori domain was somewhat late to this trend, but in 1692 it introduced an ordinance eliminating immoral and pernicious shrines from the cadastral surveys, and the impact of that ordinance continued even into the Meiji era. It is normally assumed that the syncretism of Buddhism and Shintoism reached a peak at the end of the medieval period, but with entry into the subsequent Edo period a great influence came to be exerted by the foundation placed on Confucian studies, and not only the doctrines of Chu-Hsi, but Wang Yang-ming and other Confucian schools produced many scholars. When epigraphical studies and other Asian academic disciplines were introduced from the Ming and Qing dynasties, archaeological materials began to be illustrated and manually copied. With the growth of the publishing industry, such historical materials came to be known more widely. KIUCHI Sekitei’s *Unkonshi*, published from 1773 to 1801, carried illustrations of comma-shaped beads and stone sword heads (compound comma-shaped beads). Historical materials in the form of visual media became increasingly accessible as time passed.

(2) Interest in Ritual Relics on Okinoshima Island *Okitsu-miya onkoto-ryakugaki*

There is a story that KURODA Nagamasa in Fukuoka wished to have a look at divine treasures on Okinoshima Island and sent someone for them. It is written as follows:

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<sub>レ</sub>被<sub>レ</sub>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、返納されるべきとて、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<sub>レ</sub>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<sub>レ</sub>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、子どもにも不<sub>レ</sub>申聞<sub>レ</sub>ゆゑ、今において其所しれ不申候。(Chikuzen-no-kuni-Zoku-Shosha-engi)

It was in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Keichō era (1600) that Lord Nagamasa was assigned to Chikuzen and took charge of Najima Castle. Two year later, he moved to Fukuoka Castle and died in 1623. It was around that time that he heard tales of sacred treasures on the island of Okinoshima and wished to have a look at them. When he requested someone to bring them to him, however, both shrine priests and ordinary people were fearful of the island's divine power and reluctant to respond to his request. Next, he thought that Christians who belonged to a church still located at Hakata in those days might be not fearful of Japanese deities, so he ordered them to bring him the sacred treasures. After looking at the treasures, Nagamasa stored them in the turret of his castle. Rumbling sounds were later heard coming from the turret, however, and shining objects were rumored flying through the sky. He came to believe these phenomena indicated that the deities missed their divine treasures, so he ordered the Christians to return them to the island. However, like others, they also seemed to have come to believe in the divine curse and asked to be excused this time, though they obeyed him earlier as the provincial governor. Then, Nagamasa called upon a shrine priest named Shirouemon and ordered him to replace the treasures on the island just as they had been before. Shirōemon, however, thought it not good that sacred treasures be placed out in the open in clear sight, so he buried them in “such and such a valley” on the island. The site of the buried treasures is now unknown because he did not tell anyone—even his descendants—about where he had buried them. Those sacred treasures involved were all made of gold, including golden looms and tools used by female workers. He apparently buried a set of gilt-bronze looms and weaving tools in a place later called “the golden valley,” but one loom thought to have been in site No. 4 (alternately called the “gold house”) is now included among the present national treasures, and multiple sets of weaving tools have been found in a number of excavations. As a result, it is not clear whether such artifacts are the same as those in the story about Nagamasa, but if the story is true, KURODA Nagamasa or people close to him must have seen some of the gilt-bronze (and perhaps solid gold?) objects known today, such as miniature looms, weaving tools, and ritual doll-shaped figurines (*hitogata*).

In addition, if the story is true, then the person who told Lord Nagamasa about the sacred treasures must have also existed, and the existence of such treasures thus should have already been known to the people of those days.

The work *Chikuzen-no-kuni-Zoku-Shosha-Eng*” is the fifth volume of *Complete Works of Ekiken*,” and according to explanatory notes accompanying the volume, “this is a sequel to *Chikuzen-no-kuni-Shosha-Engi* and, like the first edition, also contains various works by all disciples and followers to Ekiken’s family”. Referring to “divine power and virtue,” it says that “although there have been foreign invasions since ancient times, thanks perhaps to the power of the *kami*, none of the invasions were successful and the invaders were destroyed without causing any harm to Japan.” It goes on to say, “Following upon the era of civil war, people forgot their proper statuses, the way of Shinto was lost . . . and few people even knew of Shinto. But (some) people, aiming to become priests, first recovered knowledge of their original place, sought good teachers, devoted themselves to the study of *kami*, discerning the

fundamental origins, and achieving the attitude proper to a shrine priest. . .” in this way, the passage even goes on to discuss the proper attitudes of a Shinto priest.

### (3) KAIBARA Ekiken Atsunobu and *Munakata sansha engi*

KAIBARA Ekiken was born to KAIBARA Kansai in Fukuoka Castle on the fourteenth day of November, 1630, and died on the twenty-seventh day of December, 1714. He served three generations of KURODA clan lords, namely Tadayuki, Mitsuyuki and Tsunamasa. At the age of nineteen, Ekiken accompanied his father in 1648 to Edo on the occasion of “alternate attendance” by Lord Tadayuki. From that time on, he went to Edo frequently. He was granted an annual stipend of 150 *koku* of rice in 1664, and was married in 1668. He was ordered by the domainal lord to communicate in writing with a Korean who drifted ashore on the island of Ōshima in 1677; after learning the conditions of that event, he moved to Nagasaki. In 1688 at the age of fifty nine Ekiken began to compile the thirty volumes of his *Chikuzen-no-kuni-zoku-fudoki* (“Later gazeteer of the province of Chikuzen”), completing the work in the winter of 1703 at the age of seventy-four. He dedicated the work to his master Tsunamasa. The sixteenth volume of the work includes a section on the district of Munakata, and it includes articles on the three Munakata Goddesses’ Shrines, including Ōshima and Okitsushima (Okinoshima). *Chikuzen-no-kuni-shosha-engi* is included in the fourth volume of the *Complete Works of Ekiken*. According to explanatory notes to the volume, Ekiken compiled the work beginning from 1679 around the age of fifty, until he was eighty-two in 1711. The first section contains *Munakata-sansha-engi* plus attachments. In short, the contents of these two works regarding Chikuzen Province overlap each other, resulting in numerous repetitions. In the middle volume of *Munakata-gunshi* (which includes the previously mentioned *Munakata-sansha-engi*), it is said that KAIBARA Atsunobu (Ekiken) compiled it in 1709. At any rate, it is a work of his later years.

*Munakata-sansha-engi* starts by using information taken from the *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, and *Engishiki* to describe the advent of the three goddesses of Munakata, and it uses information from the *Chikuzen no kuni fudoki* (Gazeteer of the culture and geography of Chikuzen Province) to describe the sacred symbols of the Munakata Three Shrines and the name Munakata itself. It goes on to provide information regarding the granting of imperial ranks, historical changes in estates belonging to the shrines, as well as details of the enshrined deities and Munakata branch shrines across the country.

Here is a part of the entry regarding the island Okitsushima (translation omitted):

此島は大島より子（北）の方にありて、相去（る）事 海上四十八里と云。（中略）御社は西南に向ひて、山の麓平地の高き所に立給ふ。海浜より御社まで、其間百五十間のぼりゆけど路はしからず。今の神殿は僅に方九尺、前に拝殿あり。末社の数、いにしへは凡七十五区、神名一百八神あり。近年は末社の数を合せ祭りて十五区とす。神司は今只一員、其家を一甲斐と云。河野氏也。世々、此御社の祭を司る。常には大島に居て、年ごとに暮春（三月）初冬（十月）両度の祭礼ある時、島にわたりてつかへ奉る。（中略）島守を国守よりつねに置玉ふ。百日毎に交替の番をつとむ。凡此島に来る人は、先海水に浴し、正三位の社（海辺に有小社なり。志賀神のよし云ふ。海浜を守り玉へる神なるべし）にまうで、又七日の間日ごとに一たび海水に浴し、八日に当れる日、本社に参りまうで、ぬかづき奉る。島守水主もおなじ。（中略）此島は、めぐり一里あり。山高くして三の峰あり。其内にていと高きを一の嶽と云。次は二の嶽、第三に当れるを白嶽と名づく。皆岩山也。林木しげり、うるはし。岩間より大竹多く生出たり。島をめぐりて皆大岩也。本社の御後左右にも、皆見あぐるばかりなる大岩あり

This passage explains the special island taboos in detail, together with a method of divination based on the condition of mold growing on food offerings. The entry, however, makes no mention of ancient relics (old ritual objects).

The descriptions in *Chikuzen-no-kuni-zoku-fudoki* are not very different, but the description of the island protectorate includes slightly more detail:

An island protector has been appointed by the provincial lord since 1650. The protectorate includes three soldiers and four sailors, together with two laborers from the island Ōshima, for nine people altogether. These men stay on the island for fifty days. The men are carried in two ships dispatched

from the island Ōshima. The island (Okinoshima) has no permanent resident. When someone first arrives they first must purify themselves in the ocean, then proceed to the shrine on Ōshima where they wait for seven days, each day performing purification in the ocean. On the eighth day they proceed to the main shrine. The same goes for the soldiers and sailors.

These descriptions shows some variation, for example, whether the directorate guards stay on the island for one hundred days or just fifty. Later, AOYAGI Tanenobu also traveled to the island in the role of island protector.

#### (4) Guarding of Okinoshima by the KURODA Domain

The KURODA Domain in Fukuoka stationed foot soldiers on Okinoshima as a security precaution against foreign vessels. As previously noted, KAIBARA Ekiken reported in his *Chikuzen-no-kuni-zoku-fudoki* that the island had been guarded since 1639. It can be assumed that this action was taken on the heels of the Shimabara uprising (1637-1638). In the entry for Ōshima in the same work, however, a story is related that a “foreign ship” came into a bay called “Tsuwase” in 1643 and discharged one or more passengers there. When the foreigners heard that a guardhouse had been stationed on a hill in order to watch for “Christian ships,” they fled. At the time, MURAI Jin’uemon had been appointed the island protector by KURODA Tadayuki, and he ordered that the foreign ship be detained. The ship was caught and sent to Fukuoka. Aboard the ship were about ten foreigners. Four were said to be “Christian missionaries,” and one was an “missionary assistant” who formerly lived in Nagasaki. The ship also carried a Japanese person who had previously lived in the Kyōto-Ōsaka area, and who had moved to “land of the Catholics” (Italy) to live, and had been there for a number of years. They confessed that they had come to the island in order to preach the Catholic doctrine and disseminate it among people.

Volume 2 (“Exploration, travel records and geographical descriptions in western provinces”) of the *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* (“Historical materials on the life of the Japanese people”) contains an annotated transcription by HARA Hiroshi of the diary *Okitsushima sakimori nikki*, that depicts the social conditions of the island in those days. In addition, HARA adds new documents, *Okinoshima tsumekata kokoroe-ki* (“Rules for those staying on Okinoshima”), together with *Okinoshima gobansho e tsukawashioki onteppō narabini shodōgu ukechō* (“Record of receipt of firearms and various tools sent to the station on Okinoshima”). Regarding the original materials possessed by CHIKUSHI Yutaka, HARA suggests that the “rules” document may have been written by a certain person named Hisahara regarding the behavior guards were to observe in the period from 1836 to 1841. Since the name Kawano-Tōtōumi-no-Kami is referred to in the material, Hara infers the date of composition as follows:

In the Kai-Kono family as the primary servant to Okitsu-miya, only Michitsugu who succeeded to the priesthood after Michiteru called himself Tōtōumi-no-kami. According to the cadastral survey *Shūshi-aratamechō* in March of the eleventh year of the Tenpō (1840), it is known that he had been appointed to the rank Jugoi-no-ge Tōtōumi-no-kami on the ninth day of August of 1836, and called himself Okitsu-miya Daigūji (“chief priest of the main shrine on Okinoshima”).

At any rate, according to this description of rules, the duties of guards are as follows (translation omitted):

- 一. 沖嶋御番は遠見の為、差越置かる儀にて条(候)、昼夜油断なく見廻り申す可く (the following omitted)
- 一. 異国船漂着これある節は、すみやかに助けあげ、昼夜(代々)見守り致さるべく候、尤も人質として 壺人取置、天気快晴次第付添すみやかに大嶋へ漕 渡り、同所御定番衆へ委細口上書を以て相届け、引渡申さるべく候、右の事、事相済み候上は、すみやかに沖嶋へ渡海致さるべく候事。(the following omitted)
- 一. 日本船漂着致候節は、天気晴次第、出帆申し付けられるべく候 (the following omitted)
- 一. 唐人船漂着候はば、すみやかに大嶋へ漕送り、御定番衆へ引渡申さるべく候事・・・

In brief, the Okinoshima watch station was established to provide a distant view of the sea, and was manned by guards from Ōshima who were to keep watch for and report any ships—foreign ships in particular—that might drift ashore.



Purification was strictly regulated for the divine island as follows (translation omitted):

- 一．御嶋着、翌日朝より垢離かき（海水をあびる）、七日の間、何方へも行きまじく候（どこへも行つてはならない）もつとも着日より七日忌明けの事。
- 一．着日より七日目忌明けにつき、金蔵にて潮花を取り、左右の手に握り、御木屋三度廻り、但し、丸裸にあいなり候事・・・
- 一．八日目、身を改め、御殿、正三位宮、荒船宮三社へ御膳たてまつる。参詣仕り候事。御木屋の後の「なれこ丸や」の上に置き候事。

Even today, visitors to Okinoshima Island are required to disrobe and bathe in the sea for purification (*misogi*). According to the description of purification in the Edo period, guards had to purify themselves in the ocean for seven consecutive days and finally walk around the guardhouse three times with seaweeds held in both hands.

The object of ritual at that time was the shrine, namely the main hall of Okitsu-miya. The Shōsanmi shrine seems to have been located on the way from the landing place to a high hill where the site of the old shrine office was found, though the present location may have been changed. Arafune-no-miya may have been located near the main shrine. Although offerings to deities are described, ritual tools are not described except in general terms.

Thus, guards were required to purify themselves and perform a ritual because the watch station was, unlike ordinary ones, located on the divine island.

#### (5) Okitsushima sakimori nikki by AOYAGI Tanenobu

From the twenty-eighth day of the third month to the fourth day of the eighth month, 1794, Tanenobu assumed his role as one of the foot soldiers on Okinoshima Island, at the age of twenty nine.

AOYAGI Tanenobu was born at Chigyō-machi in Fukuoka in 1766. He was first called Tanemaro, then Ryūen as a pen name and Katsutsugu as a nickname. He died at the age of seventy in 1835.

The abbreviated name of Tanenobu's diary is *Sakimori nikki*. Since it is well known, I will here discuss only those parts having to do with rituals on the island of Okinoshima. (Translation omitted.)

（四月）九日風波をかなひ（適い）ぬればとて、神つかさ（司）かり行て占ふに、中らのほとすこし（少し）あし（悪し）。こ（これ）は風のなく（風ぐ）にやあらむ、着のほとよろし（良ろし）ければ、心にまかせぬは神にいのり（祈り）まつらむ。いさよそひ（装い）たゝ（立た）せよ、吾も共に船出せんとして漕出たり。

According to this passage, Tanenobu accompanied a Shinto priest on his trip to the island to administer a customary ritual. The boat crew appears to have been composed of sincere men pleasing to the deities. The boat crossed a sea that Tanenobu describes as being preternaturally calm.

On the eleventh day of the month, the guards who had completed their assigned period of stay prepared to return to the mainland and were given letters to deliver. The hut where the priest stayed was close to the guards' dwellings, so they spent their days taking turns at performing purifications. In accordance with the priest's request, he read from the "divine age" section (of the Nihongi/Kojiki). (Translation omitted.)

例の事とも（共）しを（終）へて船出す（受け渡しの酒など）。家に文ことつく（福岡へ帰る人に手紙を頼んだ）。神官のいほり（庵）は防人のすむ家（御小屋一番所）に近ければ、物忌の程はかたみにゆきかひ（行交）つゝ明しくらす（暮す）。神つかさ（官）の請に依て神代巻をよむ（神職に頼まれて神代巻を読み教えた）。又おのれ（己）上つ代の学ひの こと（事）をもねぎ奉らんと、ふりはへて思ひ来しかは、祈の御手くらにも（と）て、豊後国風土記と延喜式の大祓の考とを写して奉る

They carried books with them. They also accepted the priest's request for private teaching (translation omitted).

十六日大神の宮に参るとて、まづ正三位の社に額 つく（お参りした）。岩崎のさし出たるところに御社有り（The Shosanmi shrine was once on the great rock on the cliff.）。また側に荒船社・蛭子社あり。岩崎の下を御手洗といふ。（There is a spot where fresh water still springs up.）岩間の浪の打いる（入る）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。あら船の神とは風の神といはふ（斎う）よし（由）いへり。夫木集の物の名に「莖も葉もみなみとりなるふか芹はあらふねのみや白く見ゆらん」とよみ（読み）しは、ここの事也と貝原翁のい（言）へり。正三位社より坂路五六町はかり、のほり（登り）行くほど、日のめ（目）も見えぬまで木立しけ（茂）れり。宮所は一の嶽のふもと（麓）、大なる巖の物の足の如く三ツ聳立はさまたる間におはします（今と変らず、所謂 A・B 巨岩の間）。いと神さび心すき（凄き）地也。（以下割書）神殿・拝殿・末社十五区あり。又本社側に天照大神宮あり。拝殿の前から堀あり。又側に窟あり。宝蔵といふ。（割書終り）（Site No. 4?）。をろかみ（拝み）まつり（奉り）てのりと（祝詞）をささく（捧ぐ）。（There is a message of congratulations. He called himself Tanemaro.）

On the second day of the seventh month, he climbed up Ichinodake and came down the peak to the east side of the shrine. He writes (translation omitted):

同十日海人等漁しを（終）へて大嶋にかへる。此二日三日ばかりは海も静かなれはかへ（帰）らんとて、船出を占ふに神のゆるし（許し）給はねはとてやみ（止み）ぬ。けふ（今日）なも占ふに又さきの如し。もてこし（持来し）鰻<sup>あはびがね</sup>鋒といふものを一つ正三位社に献りて畏<sup>かしこまり</sup>を申しかは、やかて船出をゆるし（許し）給へりとなむ、船ひらきす。それにつきてかしこく、あやしと思ふ事もあれど、世に不言島としも憚<sup>いはずしま</sup>り来つるに依て、つばらかに物せずなん。

Interestingly, he does not write regarding anything he saw and thought, because the island was called “Iwazushima”—“the island of no speaking”—meaning anything heard or seen there was to remain secret. It's virtually impossible that he did not come across any archaeological relics at the boulders around Okitsumiya. He mentioned nothing, even though he no doubt noticed artifacts when he climbed up and down Ichinodake and participated in the rituals. The author cannot help thinking that he purposefully avoided referring to them in his diary.

## 2. Okinoshima in the Late Nineteenth Century (Meiji Era)

### (1) Introduction and Development of Archaeology from Abroad

With entry to the Meiji era in 1868, numerous modern European academic disciplines were introduced to the Japanese people. Anyone who met Edward S. Morse, William Gowland and other researchers received strong stimulation, leading to rapid advances in academics.

Nevertheless, Okinoshima Island did not draw much attention from the Japanese people. The directorship of the island office under the control of the KURODA Clan was abolished after the official change of local governance from the feudal domain to prefectures by the Meiji government. As Shinto shrines came to be placed under the administration of the national government, the island of Okinoshima was placed under the jurisdiction of the Tashima Shrine as a “grand shrine” to which the state presented offerings. One Shinto priest, one person in charge of general affairs and rituals, one messenger and five rowers were dispatched to the island, and guards worked in shifts of one hundred days. The shrine administration was arranged similarly to the feudal domain system. Although shrines entered the age of national administration, they were not financially affluent and their situation differed from that in and before the medieval period when each shrine managed its own territories.

## (2) *Okitsushima kikō* by ETŌ Masazumi

In the sixty ninth issue of the *Journal of Tōkyō Anthropology Society* (December, 1891), ETŌ Masazumi published a travelogue, *Okitsushima-kikō* ("Record of a visit to the island Okitsushima") in Fukuoka. He wrote, "At around nine o'clock P.M. on the twenty fourth day of June, 1888, I boarded the steamship Tama-noe in order to make a pilgrimage to the island of Okitsushima in the district of Munakata."

Some Shinto priests wished to have believers take a steamship to visit the shrine, and they invited him to go together with them.

Upon their arrival, the waves were so high that they had trouble landing on the shore, but were finally successful. they performed purification (*misogi*), changed their clothes at the site known as the "shrine office," and then headed inland for Okitsu-miya. The diary notes that "the Western style suits and formal clothes worn by the prefectural officers on this visit were seen on the island for the first time since creation."

By passing through the stone torii on the left—this torii was erected in 1881 by the late domainal lord—the stone torii currently found at the trailhead to the island), one begins climbing a steep path, each step feeling impossible; if you look down toward the beach area at left, it curdles your blood and you think you're going to fall; it's hard to express just how afraid it makes you feel, but somehow we made it up the stone steps. To the right and left of the path are naturally growing Sago palm bushes, but nothing is said regarding the rites . . . entering a bit on the left one finds the offering site, but we didn't stop by, instead climbing steadily upward over the 220 or 230 stone steps made of natural stone.

While the path is currently easier to climb, ETŌ writes that the first slope was a steep one that led up to the boulders at the Shōsanmi shrine. The next flight of stone steps was a slope leading from the site of the old shrine office into the forest, and those steps were made of natural stone. In short, the conditions of approach to the shrine were almost the same as those today.

"From there we descended a path for a distance of about eighteen meters, thus arriving at the *shinmon* ("divine gate"), and passing through it, after a distance of thirteen to fifteen meters is a branch shrine on the right side of the path."

He here notes that he took a gently descending path from site No. 1. The *shinmon* gate he mentions, however, no longer remains.

"We finally approached the shrine area in a dry depression. Advancing toward the left we crossed a stone bridge, thus arriving at the shrine building."

This description is substantially the way the site appears at present. He reached the front shrine through the left side of an empty moat. Describing the appearances of the shrine, he says,

"To the right and left of the shrine building are three or four huge boulders that appear to be some nine meters tall . . ."

His description is of the great boulders currently called "A" and "B." Then, he mentions site No. 4 as follows:

"We looked under the hollow at the base of the boulder on the left. The spot is a treasure trove where sacred treasure items and ritual tools and offerings have been left since ancient times . . ."

Afterward, on the twenty sixth day, he made a visit to several of the great rocks as well as the site No. 4. He writes as follows:

We decided to make a visit to the ritual sites to see the treasures, so we asked the head priest Kuwano to guide us, beginning from the treasure store at the left of the main shrine, and wherever we looked we saw treasures including bronze and iron objects that had become broken and whose original shape

couldn't be determined, but in other places we saw items plated with brilliant gold, extremely fascinating, and innumerable stone beads, glass beads, and jewels made of mother of pearl. They are buried, but if one brought something like a hoe and dug deep, it's likely that huge numbers of amazing things would come to light, and even if large amounts of iron were there, it would be meaningless without excavating.

So it seems that he not only inspected the No. 4 site, but looked around the areas surrounding the other gigantic boulders, and it seems he witnessed gilt bronze products, talc beads, glass beads and coil-shaped shellfish (perhaps bored disks made of abalone).

Three or four years before, a shrine priest had sent illustrations of an ancient vase-like ritual container to my archaeology lab, and I wanted to see it. I searched for the implement but was unsuccessful and didn't know what to do next.

Etō states that he had an illustration of a ritual bottle sent by a Shinto priest to his laboratory three or four years earlier. He searched for the bottle but did not find it. Meanwhile, many people were climbing to the summit of the island peak Ichinodake, and decided to follow them. He descended from the mountain with being bit by leeches which crept into his *tabi* (Japanese socks). He went to the archaeological site again.

After a while, in order to see the “treasure vault” which had held the ritual vase, Etō heard that he should have the priest Ochi guide him, so he made the request. Once again, together with Masaki and Nomura Kyūsaburō from Hakata, he plunged into the jungle around the monolith behind the main shrine, and luckily discovered (it), which delighted everyone. After looking through this and that, and looking in detail, we found that the site held even more delicately carved stone boats which we had not heard of, so we brought them out beside the shrine, and on the surface of something like a stone face, we drew the likenesses using stone chalk.

Here, ETŌ states their curiosity was piqued by stone miniatures of things like boats, and they drew the shapes with a piece of graphite on a stone board. On this occasion, he was guided by the priest Ochi, and he was accompanied by persons named NOMURA Kyūsaburō and Masaki. He picked up a piece of an ancient vase in the dry moat in front of the shrine.

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, he made a tour of the islands by lighter. He boarded a steamship which came to pick up him. About 36 liters of *sake* (rice wine) and side dishes were delivered aboard from the prefectural office. They got seasick aboard the ship and arrived at the port of Hakata in the evening.

Simple maps depicting the relative locations of the Three Shrines of Munakata are provided here, together with illustrations of earthenware. The author reprints some of them here (Figs 1 and 2).

In this way, at least some of the relics on Okinoshima became known to people throughout Japan.

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, he made a tour of the islands by lighter. He boarded a steamship which came to pick up him. About 36 liters of *sake* (rice wine) and side dishes were delivered aboard from the prefectural office. They got seasick aboard the ship and arrived at the port of Hakata in the evening.

Simple maps depicting the relative locations of the Three Shrines of Munakata are provided here, together with illustrations of earthenware. The author reprints some of them here (Figs 1 and 2).

In this way, at least some of the relics on Okinoshima became known to people throughout Japan.

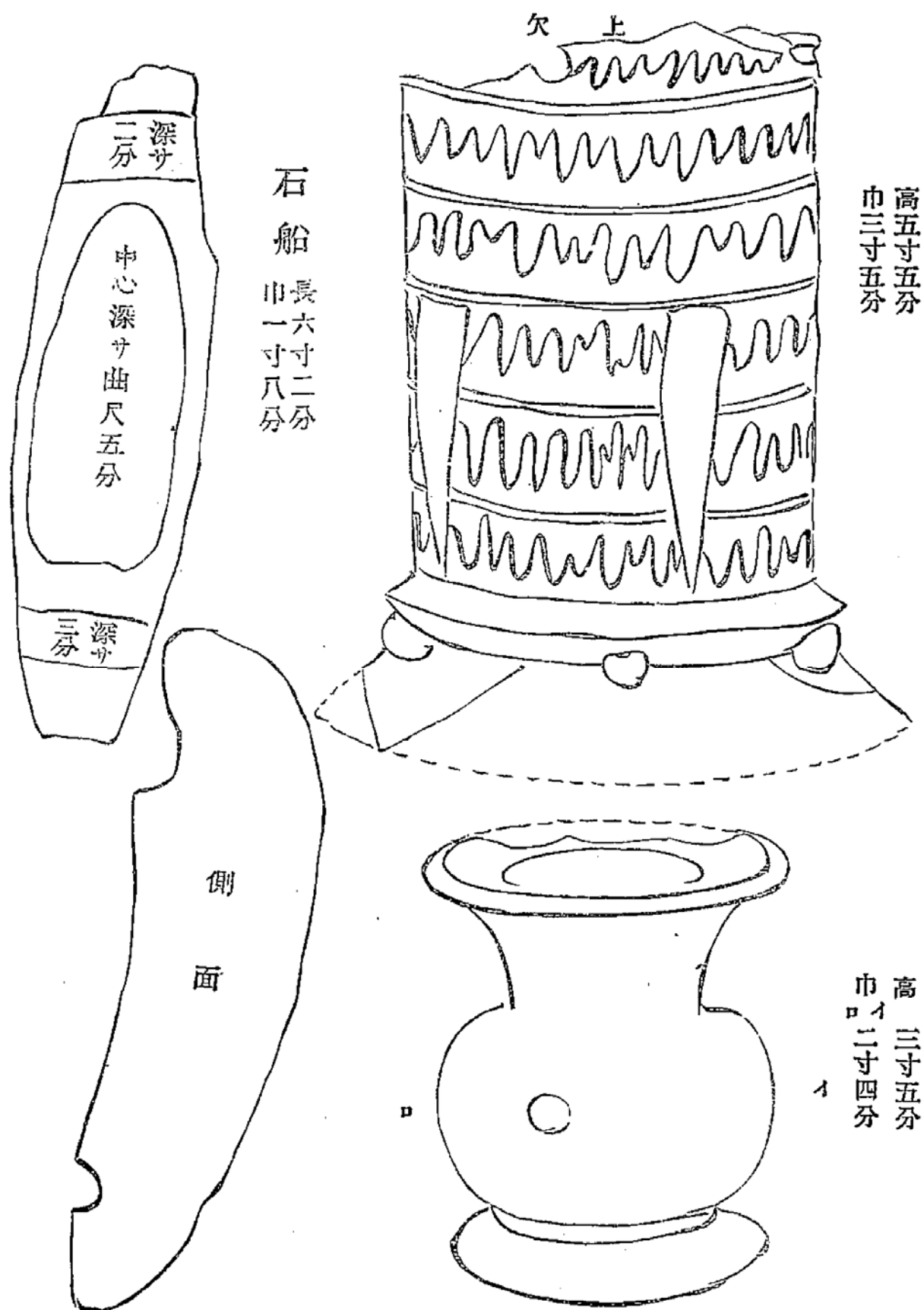


Figure 1 "The Journal of Tōkyō Anthropology Society"  
("Okitsushima-Kikō" on p. 84 of Issue No. 69 in December 1891)

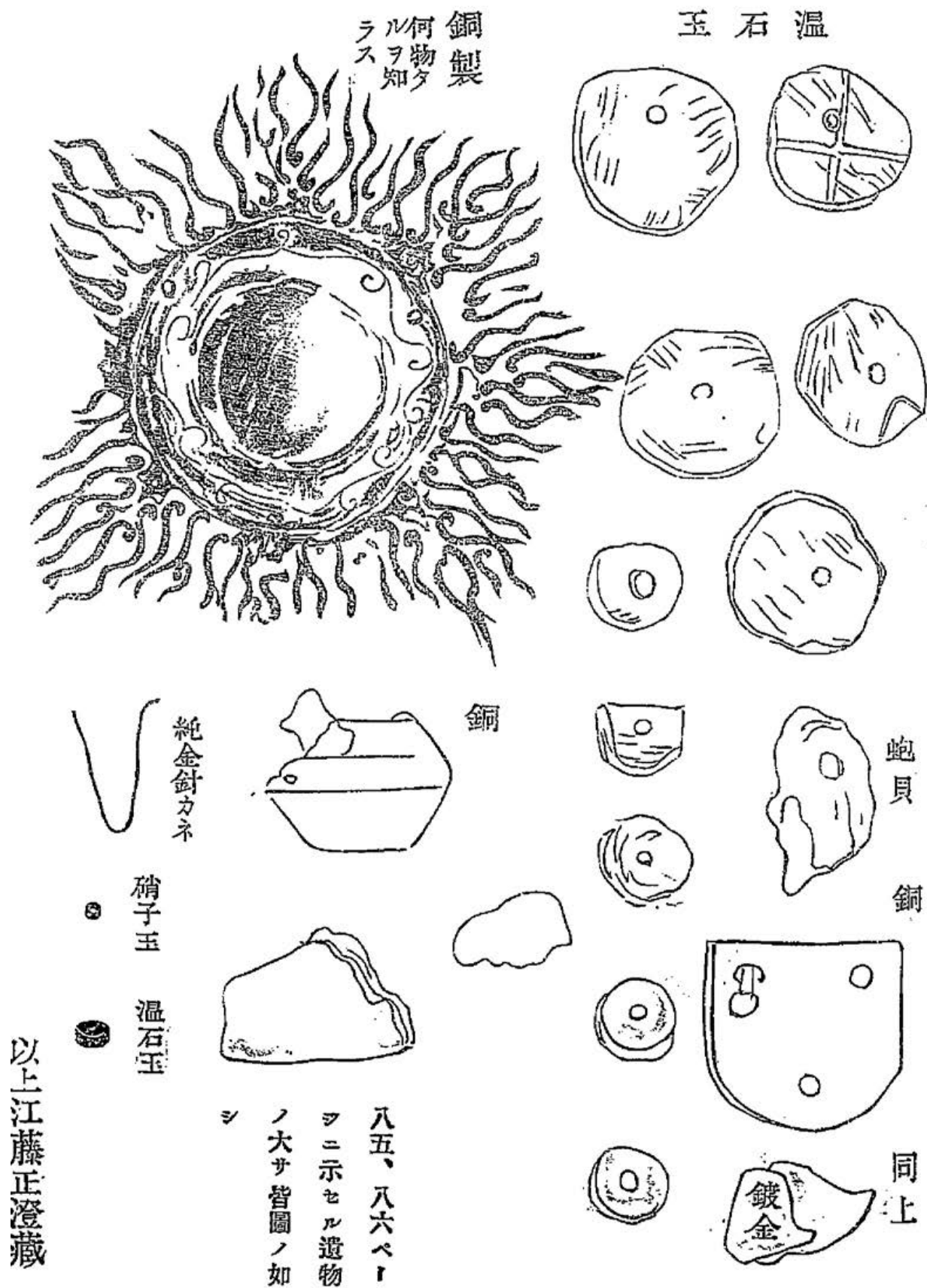


Figure 2 “The Journal of Tōkyō Anthropology Society”  
 (“Okitsushima-Kikō” on p. 85 of Issue No. 69 in December 1891)



### 3. Okinoshima Island in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

#### (1) SHIBATA Jōkei and the Okinoshima “Treasure House”

An article titled “Treasure House on Okinoshima” can be found in issue No. 4, Volume 13 of *Chūō shidan* published in April 1927. After providing an outline of the island Okinoshima, the article quotes KAIBARA Ekiken’s work from *Chikuzen-no-kuni zoku-shosha-engi* regarding the story that the domainal lord KURODA Nagamasa had arranged the delivery of relics from the island’s “treasure house” to Fukuoka as follows:

“The items collected at that time were returned to the island, but it appears that knowledge of their whereabouts was later lost, and can no longer be known, a true tragedy . . .

It continues:

“The recently deceased ETŌ Masazumi of Fukuoka visited the island in June, 1888, and recorded what he had seen and heard in the work *Okitsushima kikō*; the work was also published in an old anthropological journal, and it describes the place called “treasure room,” and the fact that relics were scattered around on the ground.

Moreover the article introduces illustrations as follows:

Illustrations were also included, not based on a full-scale investigation of the “gold storehouse,” but merely one small part that was looked at, so if the opportunity arises to investigate, it is certain to produce profitable reports on the materials there.

The article then states,

I recently had the opportunity to pay my respects to the shrine Hetsumiya in Tashima, and there I heard that a number of relics taken from Okinoshima’s “gold storehouse” had been stored in the shrine office. Some time ago I had had the bitter experience of going to the effort to catch a ship and make the crossing to Okinoshima, but I had to turn back that time due to winds and rain. But for a long time I kept the “gold storehouse” in my mind, and when I requested permission to inspect it, I discovered five bronze mirrors, two soapstone horses, three soapstone jewels, one each of *sue* wear pots and lids, and several fragments of bronze items.

So here he describes seeing relics at the Hetsumiya shrine office together with a previous failure to visit the island. He also describes the sizes of some of the relics, including one “deity and beast” mirror decorated with three deities, three animals and six protuberances, two mirrors decorated with a dragon, one smaller deity and beast mirror about 8.5cm in diameter, one mirror with grapes relief about 22cm in diameter, one mirror whose location is now unknown, and he provides the dimensions for other relics as well. As an especially notable item, he describes plated metal parts with hollow openwork carving of twin dragons. He expresses his anger about the conditions of the relics as follows:

According to what I’ve heard, a survey of the “gold storehouse” was carried out some years back, and since much of the pottery was broken and few complete pieces were to be found, many were discarded; metal items were brought back to the shrine office at Tashima, but in response to the shortage of copper that occurred around 1918-19, these pieces were sold by the pound, one and all. As a result, the only pieces currently in existence are just the few whole pieces, so nothing more than those pieces luckily left behind. And since the price received for the sale was a dozen or so yen, it means that a considerable number of pieces was sold, but since the relics sold were all melted down, there is no way of knowing their number. Only, other than inferences based on items that were left, there were a miscellany of relics, including gongs and broken mirrors, among which were mixed some that appear to have been plated metal parts, and it is truly sad that such items did not attract the eye of the appraiser. It’s also regrettable that the location of relics returned to Okinoshima during the age of Lord Nagamasa can no longer be ascertained, and one has to just accept it as a reflection of the age. But here we are in the Taishō era and regrettably things are being done that exceed even those done earlier. The “gold storehouse” which

should by all rights have been respected, was emptied and all those superb relics of which we had become so expectant, were sold for a dozen yen or so. There are simply no words to express it.

One can palpably feel Shibata's anger. Nevertheless, he suspected that other relics might still be found, and he stated the importance of the fact that these ritual relics existed on Okinoshima rather than in tumulus (graves):

When it comes to *sue* ware objects, the greatest proportion were damaged, leaving them poor prospects for sale, so they tended to be tossed to the side. For this reason, when I did my investigation on Okinoshima, a goodly number of the relics still remained, and among them were a stand-like object with translucent window as reported by Etō. Otherwise, there are likely other even more interesting things to be found, although it is impossible to guarantee, and the fact that so many are found here, outside of burial mounds (*kofun*) makes them very unusual.

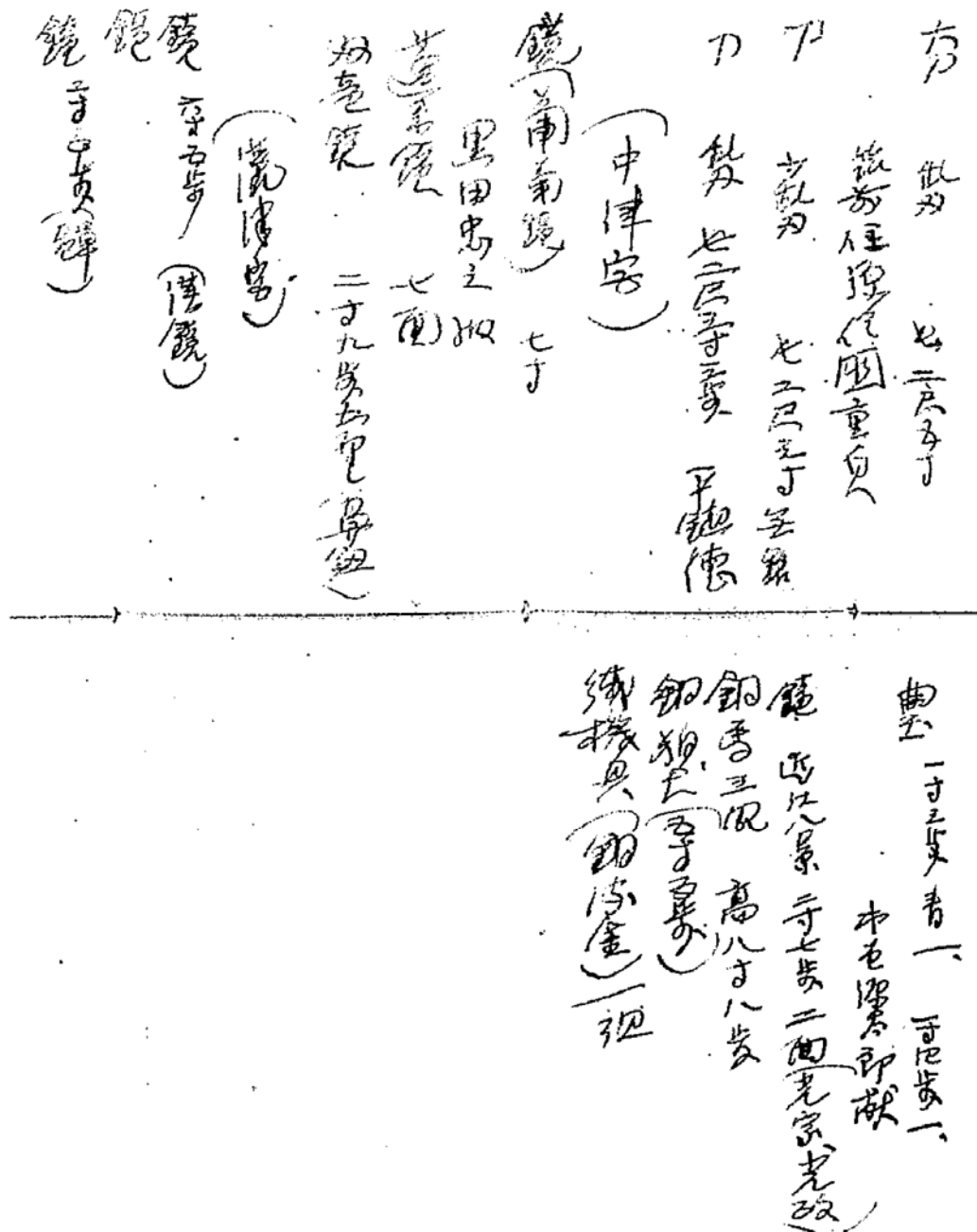


Figure 3 Notes on pp. 91 & 92 of the Field Book No. 26 by SHIBATA Jōkei

Shibata Jōkei's notes, photographs and copies of rubbings were posthumously transferred by ŌBA Iwao to Kokugakuin University, where they are currently being catalogued. Mirrors with names like Nakatsumiya and Okitsumiya are listed in one of his field books (reference no. 26). Photographs taken by Shibata include something like an incense burner decorated with the previously noted twin dragons in hollow openwork. This photograph is included as no. 3795 in "The Second List of Photographs by Shibata Jōkei" published in February, 2006 as part of the project "A Basic Study on Reproduction, Utilization and Filing of Degraded Images" as a project for promoting academic frontiers by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics of Kokugakuin University. In relation to Munakata, there are also some photographs of artifacts from Kamitakamiya taken by SHIMADA Torajirō in September, 1926, including one numbered 3712.

The April, 1927 issue of *Chūō shidan* contains the article "Treasure House on the Island of Okinoshima," published when Jōkei was fifty years old. That year Shibata was part-time member of a survey of historic and specially scenic sites, as appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The above-mentioned field book No. 26 does not make the matter entirely clear, but in addition, there is an article about an interview with SAWAMURA Shunjiro at Dote-machi in Fukuoka, who went from the Mine Supervision Office to Okinoshima Island for research in 1895. The interview is described in five pages, including the following:

Mr. SAWAMURA currently is engaged in the legal stationer (scrivining) service in front of the Mine Supervisory Office, but he is heading for Okinoshima in Fukuoka Prefecture to perform a survey and determine whether it is true that Okinoshima is made of gold., since the nationalist group Genyōsha is ceaseless in submitting requests for gold mines, in this case to the effect of whether the site has mining veins, a water supply, and flat areas.

SHIBATA Jōkei died on December 1, 1954, at the age of seventy-seven. Even in a chronological record of his career compiled by MORIO Kōichi at the Museum of Local History of Itabashi Ward, however, it remains unknown whether he was planning to visit Okinoshima again in the future.

"A Treasure House on Okinoshima Island" is also included with commentaries by ŌBA Iwao in "Works of SHIBATA Jōkei – Volume 12 of Selected Works of Japanese Archeology" compiled by Ōba Iwao and published by Tsukiji Shokan in 1971.

## **(2) "Shinto Archaeological Monographs" by ŌBA Iwao**

Ōba Iwao published "Shinto Archaeological Monographs" from the publisher Ashikabi Shobō, in 1943. Before that, he wrote "Shrines and Archaeology" under the pen name of MIYAJI Naokazu. He organized Shinto archaeology in a completely different way from the previous work. He defined the concepts of ritual sites and relics. In this context, the significance of ritual sites on Munakata Okinoshima Island was enhanced.

According to Ōbi's *Rakuseki zappitsu*, "Volume 11, from October 11, 1934, I made a study trip sponsored by a fellowship from the Ministry of Education for the growth of mental health sciences, and to "explore religious sites from the primitive age." He describes his trip as follows:

First to Kyūshū, and from there, our plan is to go into the San'in-Sanyō regions, then at 8:25 P.M. on the same day, take the third-class sleeper, our train was the no. 12, car number 4"

The name of the train is not written, however. He continues:

On the next day (October 12th, 8:15 P.M.), we arrive at Shimonoseki, and take a connecting boat to Moji, arriving at Akama Station at 10:42 P.M., where I stayed at the Eiya Inn (in front of the station).

It thus took him about twenty six hours to arrive at Akama Station.

On the next day (13th), I went to the Hetsumiya shrine in Tashima. The head priest was absent, but I met Rev. Hanada and inspected the treasures. I telephoned TANAKA Sachio ((a local archaeologist), and asked for his attendance.

He explained the relics I should see one by one . . . :

(1)天明三年古図、(2)国宝阿弥陀経碑、(3)国宝狛犬 二対、(4)銅印、(5)古瓦（神興神社旧殿付近出土）、(6)金 銅容器皿片（弥田伊麻神社境内出土）、(7)沖島沖津宮出土品、嘗て見たりし出土品以外に、なおおもしろきものあり、この地は有名な聖地にして、きく所によれば御社殿は島上狭障の地にましまし左右に巨石など立てりという。向って左側の巨岩の下に御金蔵あり。中より種々の遺物を出せり、前回調査の分を除きて今回追補のものを記せば次の如し。として以下(イ)子持勾玉、(ロ)石製品（馬？）、(ハ)青銅製器具二片、(ニ)青銅製皿（大 小二種あり。蓋し仏器ならん）、(ホ)金銅製機。記録によれば神機と称せられるものなるべし。国宝申請中の趣なり。台長一尺五寸九分、幅五寸八分、高八寸七分、金具皆備う。蓋し伊勢神宮神宝中の機と同一なるものにして、神宝として奉納されしならむ。時代は不明なれど相当に遡るものなるべし。以上はその大体とす

This seems to have been his second survey. The author tried to trace his previous survey but could not find it this time. A gilt bronze loom is almost the same as one of the sacred treasures dedicated at the Eizōnomiya of the Grand Shrine of Ise, a fact that may have been interesting to Ōba, who took part in a survey on divine treasures before the fifty-eighth Regular Removal of the Grand Shrine in 1929.

After the above-mentioned paragraph, he describes:

The “magatama with children” ritual objects have been unearthed at sites other than the “gold treasure house”; according to what people say, the area around the current shrine building has been excavated and pottery and soapstone objects have been discovered. These finds are most interesting, but what is of particular interest is the fact that the so-called “magatama with children” (compound comma-shaped offerings) have been unearthed in a way that settles a number of issues.

This tells us that Ōba sought something like a clear character of the find site in 1934, though he considered compound comma-shaped beads later. Afterward, he was guided by TANAKA Yukio to some sites in the neighborhood and relics at a women’s high school, after which he then left for Saga. Based on his surveys like this, he came to establish the field of Shinto archaeology.

Ōba actually went over to Okinoshima Island together with KAMEI Masamichi and the present author (SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu) on May 27, 1967, when a festival rite was held at Munakata Shrine after the second post-war survey by Munakata Shrine Revival Association.

On the occasion of the third survey, he was pleased to visit the island again.

There is a diary of this trip (“Okinoshima II – A Report on the Survey on the Ritual Site of Munakata Shrine Okitsu-miya” published in October 1971 by the Munakata Shrine Revival Association). In the section of October 11, 1970, it is written as follows:

“On the eleventh day, the rain stopped. When it became cloudy and then cleared, a group of 7 inspectors, including Mr. Ōba Iwao (professor at Kokugakuin University) and two students as part-time workers visited the Island according to schedule. The lodging house was full. The members of the survey team were highly motivated by very knowledgeable teachers who gave them some advice and put spurs to them. More progress was made in their work. When Professor Ōba, among others, gave Okinoshima a hallmark of the best ritual site in Japan, their enthusiasm was remarkably enhanced.”

This paragraph seems to have been written by Mr. ODA Fujio. From this description, we can know how much Ōba was delighted with the survey. Ōba Iwao published “Ritual Sites – A Basic Study on Shinto Archaeology” from Kadokawa-Shoten, a publisher in December 1970. He compiled about 50 years of study into this book. He set up a course in Shinto archaeology and entrusted it to Kamei Masamichi (and Sugiyama later).

He also published all six volumes of “Lectures on Shinto Archaeology” from the publisher Yuzankaku. Many people were involved in the publication of these volumes, including SANO Yamato and OTOMASU

Shigetaka. “Okinoshima Island” included in the special lecture (Volume 5) was written by ODA Fujio and YUBA Tadanori (with overall editorial stance provided by Okazaki). Subsequently a report on the survey was published, and ritual relics discovered on the island were designated national treasures and made known widely, so that many people became increasingly aware of their importance. Young members of Ritual Archaeology Society presided over by Sugiyama began to set sail for Okinoshima from Oshima. Among other ritual sites across Japan, Okinoshima is unique in the location and environment of the island, the location of ritual sites, the conditions of ancient architecture, and relics. It also has something common to sites in general. It seems that the importance of the island will be enhanced by further study in the future because it cannot be excluded from the consideration of rituals in Japan. Although SHIBATA Jōkei once confessed to sorrow that there remained only earthenware shards which could not be sold, many important relics have subsequently been discovered one after another, so that people have finally come to call it the “Shōsōin (imperial treasure repository) of the Sea.” It is probably owing to the power of faith that many relics have remained intact even after people knew the existence of golden (actually gilt bronze) treasures some three hundred years ago. It is not that AOYAGI Tanenobu did not see them, but that he did not tell anyone about them.

For sake of reference, surveys and studies in the Showa period are summarized by ODA Fujio in “The Historical Position of Okinoshima as a Ritual Site” and “A History of Okinoshima Surveys”, the latter of which is included in “Considering Ancient Times: Okinoshima and Ancient Rituals” (compiled by ODA Fujio and published from Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan in August, 1988).

Looking at places of religious faith extensively all over the world not limited to the Japanese Archipelago, it may be impossible to find any ancient site so characterized by the continuity of faith and the longevity of relics like Okinoshima Island, which will draw more attention of people in the future.



Photo 1. Ōba and Sugiyama on May 27, 1967 (taken by KAMEI Masamichi)





# **Okinoshima Island from the Perspectives of Folklore Study (Traditionology) - Formation and Development of Jingi Rituals in Ancient Japan -**

SHINTANI Takanori  
Professor at Kokugakuin University

**Abstract:** Archaeological sites of Okinoshima Island provide precious information for studying the transition of ancient Japan over a long period from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century, including the formation of Ritsuryō Jingi rituals of ancient Japan. The composition of archaeological artifacts discovered at Site No. 17, which is dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, is “mirror, sword, and jewel”, corresponding to that of the three sacred objects that are mentioned in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki; on the other hand, “gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools”, which were discovered at Site No. 22 dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, correspond to the divine treasures of the Ise-jingū Shrine. This indicates the possibility that the mission sent from Japan to Sui Dynasty China in 600 exerted cultural influence that triggered the formation of the Ritsuryō Jingi rituals. In addition, by focusing on Himiko’s “ogres’ arts” mentioned in the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) and the custom called “jisai” in prayer for maritime safety, it is possible to set up a new analytical concept, *imibito*, as compared to the existing concept of shaman, which makes it possible to understand the formation of the most important rites, such as “Chinkon” (ritual for vitalization of emperor’s spirit), “Daijō” (great thanksgiving), “Sansai-Chisai” (preliminary purification), and “Ōharae” (main purification), and to decipher the meaning behind it. It was a transition from the primitive kingly power to the institutionalized kingly power.

**Keywords:** three sacred objects, gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools, Ritsuryō Jingi rituals, *jisai*, *imibito*

## **1. Introduction - Perspective of Folklore Study (Traditionology) -**

The points of the study of folklore or traditionology on Okinoshima Island are considered to be roughly divided into the following two. First, concerning the belief in the Three Goddesses of Munakata including Okinoshima Island and the Munakata Shrine and the traditions of divine services, rituals or festivals, based on the groups of information that are collected and summarized on account of on-site surveys of folklore, we first try to make analyses on it from structural, functional, symbolic and other various viewpoints. Concurrently, the author pursues historically the changes of belief and rituals of Okinoshima Island and Munakata Shrine from the ancient times to the present day, thereby clarifying its history of the changes or how the folk traditions of the current belief and ceremonies could be traced to the present day. Furthermore, the author clarifies the dynamic relation that runs through the belief in the Munakata Shrine and the traditions of divine services.

Secondly, the author will elucidate the process from the beginning of the rituals of Okinoshima Island in ancient times to the subsequent development, while learning from the data analysis method that covers the complete history and is based on the study of analysis of YANAGIDA Kunio and ORIKUCHI Shinobu from the viewpoint of the formation and development of the Jingi Rituals (rituals dedicated to Kami of heaven and earth) in Japan, and referring and utilizing as is done in the comparative theory the information of the research results of each archaeology and history as traditional information. I would like to reserve a trial discussion which is standing on the first viewpoint to the next opportunity and submit a trial discussion based on the second viewpoint for this thesis. For one, the author considers it indispensable to reconfirm the origin of Japan’s folklore among the work of YANAGIDA Kunio and ORIKUCHI Shinobu when watching from the current situation of recent Japan’s folklore and to revitalize it thence <sup>1)</sup>, worked on a little the problem of the original ritual of Japanese shrines from the viewpoint of folklore in books and others such as my humble book “Ise-jingū Shrine and Izumo Shrine – Birth of ‘Nippon (Japan)’ and ‘Ten-nō (Emperor)’ ” which I published in relation to it <sup>2)</sup>, and I would like to correlate with it the valuable information which the Okinoshima Ritual Site transmits. Another reason is that I would like to reward Mr.

INOUE Mitsusada, who was the first Director of the National Museum of Japanese History, for which I had worked for many years, for his academic guidance as much as possible. Mr. INOUE, who drastically altered the original concept of a museum to be administered by the Agency for Cultural Affairs and made great efforts to the establishment of the research museum to be administered by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, strongly desired a creation of new history in a broad term based on the cooperation of three studies of the study of history on literature, archaeology and folklore, emphasized the importance of the study around problems of Jingi Rituals in ancient times as part of his assertion, and acted enthusiastically for the promotion of the research by placing a corner of Okinoshima Island, in particular, in the exhibits of the National Museum of Japanese History. From these two reasons, I considered I would challenge the interdisciplinary work that may be related to the fields of the archaeology or the study of history on literature though I am in a position of an expert on folklore. This point, I first would like you to understand and forgive me.

## 2. Discovery of Death and Birth of Religion - Generation of Concept of the Soul and Concept of Afterlife -

What we cannot avoid in thinking a generation of the concept of the soul is the existence of us Homo sapiens and a hypothesis of the discovery of death by them. This is not an empirical discussion but an abstract discussion. However, this is an important starting point. And so let's confirm it here. It is primatologist MIZUHARA Hiroaki who said "Death is not a fact, but it is a concept."<sup>3)</sup> Primates other than Homo sapiens such as Japanese macaque and gorilla never treat dead bodies of their fellows.

They never make a tomb. Learning and understanding death is to conceptualize and verbalize. A verbalized concept can be shared with others. Sharing of a concept generates customs around death. Mankind discovered death during the process of its evolution of archanthropine, ape-man, archaic human species to modern Homo sapiens. A lot of doubts including the information on its excavation remain as to the archaic Neanderthal man who had been called the first flower people, but it is sure that our ancestor Homo sapiens discovered death at some age. When was it? According to researches on fossil human bones, human bones of Africa estimated to be approximately 37,000 to 35,000 years before from the present day were colored in red markers or personal ornaments were buried together with such bones<sup>4)</sup>, which shows that death had been come to the point where it was understood, conceptualized and shared. While behaviors about eating and drinking and sex are physiological with smaller difference of culture, the way how to treat death is a discovered concept. That's why the difference depending on culture or society is large and diversified. That is the reason why various ways of funerals such as interment, cremation, open-air burial, burial at sea, burial which lets animals eat the corpse or sky burial exist. Discovery of death must have been a discovery of life at the same time. Recognition of life and death meant a generation of concept of the soul and concept of afterlife. In other words, it is a birth of a religion. A birth of a religion produced those who offered commentary on life or concept of soul, those who offered commentary on this mortal world and the other world at the same time. This indeed is a primitive king. The very symbol of the kingly power, the symbolizing tool was coins which are the standard for space recognition inclusive of the other world and to which death is inherent, and concurrently, a calendar that is standard for time recognition including the other world. The above mentioned part is what I pointed in my previous document and is the hypothesis for starting a discussion on original rituals of shrines in this document<sup>5)</sup>.

Table 1 Development of Soul Rituals

Bronze implement Rituals	Animism	Community	Animism	Yayoi period Kofun period
Mounded tomb Rituals	Worship of soul and flesh by a tribal chief	Kingly authority	King-ism	
Jingi Rituals	Tendency of a tribal chief to be deemed as a divine spirit	Divine right	God-ism	

### 3. Ancient History of Izumo and Concept of the Spirit - Three Stages of Animism, King-ism, God-ism -

When I thought of the problem of the establishment of the Ise-jingū Shrine and the Izumo Shrine before, I had been given opportunities to learn a lot from the results of the archaeological researches of the Izumo region<sup>6)</sup>, which offered me occasions to consider the trend to transfer from the stage of bronze implement rituals in the Yayoi period to the stage of Mounded Tomb Rituals in the Kofun period. The hypothesis which the author considered at that time was the three-stage development of soul rituals as put in Table 1 which had been realized there, experiencing large changes from the Yayoi period (bronze implement rituals (approximately A.D. 1 to A.D. 50) to Mounded Tomb Rituals (approximately A.D. 150 to A.D. 200)) to the Kofun period (approximately A.D. 250 to A.D. 600) in the Izumo region.

According to it, the stage of the bronze implement rituals in the Yayoi period represented by Izumo's Kaminiwa Kojindani Site (found in 1984; 358 bronze swords, 6 bronze bells, 16 bronze spearheads) and Kamoiwakura Site (discovered in 1996; 39 bronze bells) is considered as the stage of natural spirit worship or animism in terms of the concept of the soul. Such bronze implements emerged in period I (first half of the period)/II (middle period) of the Yayoi period, bloomed in period III/IV (middle period), but they were gone all of a sudden in period V (second half of the period) in the Izumo region. In period V in the second half of the Yayoi period, socketed bronze spearhead with wide, flat blade body (in the upper part) (*hiro*-type) and socketed bronze halberds (*hiro*-type) were still prevalent in the northern Kyūshū region and large Tossen-Chū-Type (a decorated bell in bold lines and using a string to suspend the body) bronze bells were in full bloom in Kinki/Tokai regions. Amid such situation, the Izumo region saw an early transition from the stage of bronze implement rituals to the stage of the rituals on tribal chiefs' mounded tombs. A presumable reason for this move is an emergence of Four-Corners-Stalked-Type mounded tombs represented by the Nishitani No.3 Tomb of the Nishitani Tomb Group in Izumo City. That is to say, it is thought that, against the communal bronze implement rituals under magical leaders thus far, fermentation of a society lead by a new leader with forces which may violate such rituals had been commenced. That was the situation in the second half of the second century (reign of Huan-di: 146 to 167, reign of Ling-di: 168 to 189) of which "the Record of Eastern Barbarians of the History of the Later Han Dynasty" (Hou Han Shu) describes as "during the reign of Huan-di and Ling-di, the country of Wa was in a serious state of disorder, regions there battled each other, and no ruler appeared for a long time". The understanding as above described is a commonly accepted theory in archaeology and can be fully approved. And the period that subsequently appeared was a new age called Kofun period. In other words, the Kofun period is an age where rights of tribal chiefs with forces are presented by their huge tombs

The basis of the Tomb Rituals of a tribal chief in the Kofun period as described above is to awe and worship both the flesh and soul of the tribal chief together. This is because the flesh and soul are not separated in their concept. Most probably the concept of "death" as previously described was still in a stage of vague recognition. In the Izumo mythology, particularly, the mythology of the transfer of the country which is described in the Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan), a precious mirror (*hōkyō*) and a comma-shaped bead as tools symbolizing Amaterasu-Ōmikami, a wide spearhead and a comma-shaped bead as tools symbolizing Ōnamuchi-no-mikoto are described. Although a comma-shaped bead is a common item or a linking item, the contrast between a bronze mirror which symbolizes the Kofun period and a bronze spearhead which symbolizes the Yayoi period is there. Also in the world of memories which Nihonshoki describes, we can guess the possibility that the conversion of the history from the Yayoi period to the Kofun period had been memorized and handed down generation-to-generation. Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto with a mysterious power concealed himself saying "I will hide myself in many curved places", but he is positioned as an existence that can present a wonder at any time. In the mythology and traditions, the god of Izumo often appears in a critical aspect in "Sujin-ki (Record of the Emperor Sujin)" and "Suinin-ki (Record of the Emperor Suinin)". As an expression such as "kam-agari" (ascending from death) is used for successive Emperors, I guess the occupants of the tombs in a keyhole-shaped tomb in the Kofun period had not been deemed as a dead person as in the mythology of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto, and had been awed and worshiped as an existence that could emerge in the present world and perform its forces and mysterious power at any time<sup>7)</sup>. When analyzing the mythology of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto, we can read as its feature the descriptions in a condensed manner of the trend and changes up to the stage of Jingi Rituals through the stage of Tomb Rituals from the stage of Bronze Implement Rituals<sup>8)</sup>. I guess such huge mounded tombs were able to have a political, religious meaning only because it was a society where weapons and a

mysterious power of a tribal chief was ideally shared as was described in the expression “I will hide myself in many curved places” told by Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto. The mind that such a large mounded tomb is equipment that can reveal the mysterious power is known as a tradition in the article of August 8, the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Taihō 2 (702) of subsequent Shoku-nihongi; people were amazed at the vibration of the tomb of Yamato-takeru-no-Mikoto (Prince Yamato-Takeru), and the court immediately sent a mission to enshrine it<sup>9)</sup>.

Now I will summarize the problems of the ancient history of Izumo and the establishment of the Izumo Shrine. If it is estimated that the period of the termination of Bronze Implement Rituals represented by the Kōjindani Site and the Kamoiwakura Site in Izumo is approximately A.D. 1 to A.D. 50, the beginning of the age of Mounded Tomb Rituals such as Four-Corners-Stalked-Type mounded tombs represented by the Nishitani No.3 Tomb is approximately A.D. 150 to A.D. 200, and the arrival of the Kofun period is approximately A.D. 240 - A.D. 250 of an early keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound such as the Hashihaka Tomb in Yamato and the Uramachausuyama Tomb in Kibi, and the building of huge tombs such as Yamashirohutagozuka Tomb and Dainenji Tomb in east and west Izumo is approximately A.D. 550, and if I deduce from a hypothetical viewpoint of “Jingi Rituals are the conquering of Mounted Tomb Rituals” on the development process of the concept of the soul as described earlier, the establishment of the buildings of the Izumo Shrine, Kizuki Shrine would be in the middle of the 6th century or slightly later than that period.

However, the origin of the rituals of the Great God of Izumo or Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto is far earlier than that, dating back to the Yayoi period, as is estimated from bronze halberds and jade comma-shaped beads that were unearthed under the big stone at the back of Inochinonushi-no-yashiro standing in the place adjacent to current Izumo Shrine. Artifacts from the Yayoi period up to the first half of the Kofun period were unearthed in the land of Kizuki where the Izumo Shrine is located, and it is estimated the concept of the sacred land of the base of the peninsula which was the frontier for the continent or the Peninsula had been nurtured from the ancient time. And what is emerging as an original image of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto is memories to the world of the Bronze Implement Rituals of the Yayoi period. It is not merely memories of the Bronze Implement Rituals in Kaminiwa Kōjindani Site and Kamoiwakura Site, but the recollection to the age of Bronze Implement Rituals which, including those, once existed in the place of Izumo, continued to be memorized until after they had been soon cached and hided and changed during the process of a long time as a matter of course. It is thought that the collective memories and recollection working as the core, the memories of kings in Izumo in the age of the Mounded Tomb Rituals that followed had also piled up on that and, additionally, they had been mixed as well, and the original image of the Great God of Izumo had been formulated into the accumulation of historical memories thereof amid the advent of the age of new Jingi rituals. It is considered that it had originated in the stimuli of the foreign culture such as bronze bells as musical instruments which came through the Sea of Japan from the Korean Peninsula and were in the accumulation of the memories of the long history of the collection of the memories of the age of Bronze Rituals that subsequently were developed in Izumo to the new age of Mounded Tomb Rituals of tribal chiefs and further to the advance of the new Yamato Kingly Power and obedience to it, indeed was the collection of the memories of the leaders since the age of Bronze Implement Rituals in Izumo, who hid themselves and became invisible and the chieftains of the age of the next Mounded Tomb Rituals, who were like shaman kings or martial kings. The mythologically crystallized memories of it as described above are the original image of Ōnamuchi-no-mikoto, and we can mention that it was indeed the collective image of the memories of kings of rituals in ancient Izumo. The “Izumonokuni Fudoki” (ancient report on the customs and land of the province of Izumo) puts as the origin of the place name of Ōhara-gun kambara-no-sato (village of the divine field of Ōhara county), “an old-timer with memories of the distant past says that this is the place where the Great God had piled its treasures. That is to say, people should refer this place as the village of the divine treasures. But today’s people still commit an error and say the village of Kambara (field of the god) only.” This is not a completely unfounded legend, but, as a result of the subsequent multiple-layer of accumulated memories and variations in the history of the local people about the historical facts such as burial and dedication of a lot of bronze bells of the Kamoiwakura Site and burial of a dead person’s personal belongings with the corpse of the Triangular-Rimmed Deity-and-Beast Mirror (Sankakubuchi-Shinjūkyō) to which 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Keisho is engraved to the Kambara Shrine Tomb, such things had echoed each other as still remote, subtle memories and traditions albeit beyond the days past. As a result, this episode is considered to have been written as the local legend in the “Izumonokuni Fudoki.”

#### 4. From the Concept of Flesh and Soul Reverence to the Concept of Defilement Avoidance - Thought on the Span of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century to the 10<sup>th</sup> Century -

The concept that both of the corpse and soul of a tribal chief or a king are not separated, the concept of awe and worship/adoration were at its height in the Kofun period, but it was inherited in principle in the subsequent Asuka, Nara, and Heian periods. At the time of the establishment of a Ritsuryō state, the Empress Jitō issued a famous statement of “Ryōko-no-Mikotonori (Imperial Edict on Grave Keepers)”, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of her reign (691), which states “Put more than five households to all the graves of preceding emperors. Put three households to those who have achievements such as other kings. If there are not enough households to such graves, appropriate peasants and relieve them from labors. Replace them once every three years.” Such responses to the protection and the festivals to pacify the souls to the graves of preceding emperors and those of empresses/empress dowagers were not limited to merely imperial families. According to the Six National Histories (Rikkokushi) such as “Shoku-nihongi” and “Nihonkōki (Later Chronicle of Japan)”, articles such as “built himself a hermitage at the side of a tomb” or “reminiscing departed spirits” frequently appear from Nara period to the first half of Heian period, which lets us know that influential families in various places such as Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Kyōtō and Nara: Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi) protected their family graves carefully and actively worshiped their ancestors. For the part of the Ritsuryō government, it continued the system to send a grave mission called “Nosaki-no-tsukai (messenger of a tribute)” to specified graves of emperors to offer articles for presentation and conduct a ceremony of Hōhei (dedication and offering) in December every year.<sup>(10)</sup> Subsequently, the systems for the sake of honoring and rituals of the imperial line of the Emperor Tenji and the Fujiwara Hokke (northern house of the Fujiwara clan) had been established, and Fujiwara-no-Yoshifusa, who was successful to have infant Emperor Seiwa, a child of his daughter, ascend to the throne after the Emperor Montoku died, established in 858 “the System of Ten Mausoleums and Four Graves (Ten mausoleums of Tenji, Shiki-no-miko, Konin, Takano-no-Niigasa, Kanmu, Fujiwara-no-Otomuro, Sawara-Shinō, Heizei, Ninmyō, Montoku and four graves of Fujiwara-no-Kamatari, Fuyutsugu, Mitsuko (mother of Yoshifusa), Minamoto-no-Kiyohime (wife of Yoshifusa). In 872, after Yoshifusa died, they got rid of Takano-no-Niigasa from the 10 mausoleums and added the grave of Akiko who was mother of Seiwa, and added Yoshifusa to the 4 graves, restarting as the “System of Ten Imperial Mausoleums and Five Graves”. However, the rituals of Mountaneous Imperial Graves to which every consideration had been given had become rapidly an empty shell and been eliminated subsequently in 10<sup>th</sup> century toward the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

古塚累々 幽邃寂々 仏儀不見 只見春花秋月 法音不聞 只聞溪鳥嶺猿 (「為左大臣供養、淨妙寺願文」 『本朝文粹』 卷 13)

The land was left abandoned with many old mounds here and there. So dark and silent that there was no seeing Buddha's good or hearing Buddha's law. Only sounds were of birds in the valley and monkeys in the mountain.

(‘Written Petition for Jomyoji Temple’ “The Literary Essence of Our Country” Vol. 13)

真実の御身を 斂められ給へるこの山には ただ標ばかりの石の卒塔婆一本ばかり立てれば  
また参り寄る人もなし (『栄華物語』 卷 15)

Only one grave tablet which is merely a sign

Standing in this mountain where the true Your Highness is entombed

No person comes to this place

(“Eiga Monogatari” (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes) Vol. 15)

This is the scene of Kohata Cemetery in Uji of the clan eligible for regents Fujiwara clan which Fujiwara-no-Michizane (966 – 1027), a grandchild after the 5<sup>th</sup> generation from Yoshifusa (804 – 872) saw approximately 150 years later. The cemetery where the ancestors of the clan eligible for regents who stood on the summit on the power were sleeping had become a shamble and devastated cemetery as if the cemetery was provided to abandon corpses. Tang collapsed in 907, Silla collapsed in 935. From the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the subsequent 11<sup>th</sup> century, when ancient states in eastern Asia collapsed, Japan converged to the new state system by the nobles of the clan eligible for regents based on the purification of an Emperor to the king of rituals and an emphasis on its sacredness. The sources of the power of such nobles of the clan

eligible for regents were a thought that extremely loathes touching the defiled, which is the other side of the coin with emphasis on the sacredness. The core portion of it is a strong concept of avoiding the defilement of death. Even an Emperor or a noble person had been thought to be extremely dangerous as its corpse emits the defilement of death like terrifying radioactivity.<sup>(11)</sup> That had linked concurrently to the acceleration of the separate concept of flesh and soul. And as this 10<sup>th</sup> century being an epoch, the ancient tradition of the rituals of imperial cemeteries which had continued under the Ritsuryō state system even after the termination of the Kofun period at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century had begun to vanish. Rituals on Okinoshima Island also underwent changes from birth to transformation and to termination into large fluctuations and conversions of ancient Japan of the second half of the first stage of the Kofun period in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the breaking up or alteration of the Ritsuryō state system in the period from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. I think it necessary to make an analysis from the viewpoint of the respective responses and the comparison of the history of the ancient state as described above and the history of Okinoshima Island rituals.

## **5. Rituals of Okinoshima Island**

### **(1) Commencement of Okinoshima Island Rituals**

**- Period from the Second Half of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century to Early 5<sup>th</sup> Century: Offering of Properties/Treasures -**

#### **Tōgō-takatsuka (mounded) Tomb**

Due to the archaeological excavations and results of researches thus far conducted, the starting period of offering of ritual paraphernalia to Okinoshima Island is estimated to be in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century because of the artifacts of Rock No. 17 that is estimated to be the oldest site there, and the terminating period is estimated to be in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century because of the artifacts of Rock No. 1. The second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century of the starting period is the second half stage of the first half of the Kofun period, and a noteworthy (mounded) tomb in the Munakata region is Tōgō-takatsuka Tomb (its extant length: 61m), a keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound of the second half of the same 4<sup>th</sup> century. It may not be a coincidence that the Hetsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya, Okitsu-miya of the Munakata Shrine exist on the extension where its front portion faces the direction of north-west. The very buried corpse of the Tōgō-takatsuka (mounded) tomb is estimated to be a person involved with the commencement of Okinoshima Island rituals with a relation with the Yamato Kingly Power, and this should be focused much more<sup>12)</sup>.

#### **Period from the Second Half of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century to the First Half of the 6<sup>th</sup> Century**

It is not remote primitive time that Okinoshima Island rituals started. The rituals are ritual folkways initiated in an ancient society in a certain political/economical/cultural relation of dynamics. The important thing in considering its point of origin is a problem concerning its period of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. That is the period of the Hashisaka Tomb (keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound whose burial mound is 280m long) in the middle third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century considered to be the initial period of the Kofun period, that is, the period where approximately 100 years had already passed if viewed from the age of Himiko described in the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (the Wei Chronicle). In other words, it is considered that Okinoshima Island rituals began in the period when the Yamato Kingly Power was established and started to invigorate the exchanges with the Korean Peninsula. Concerning the situation of this age, exchanges between Wa and Paekche in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, southward advance by Goguryeo and the antagonism thereof, and the confrontation with Silla and the tensions have been estimated with the history materials such as Samguk-sagi (the Historical Records of the Three Countries) or the Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo.

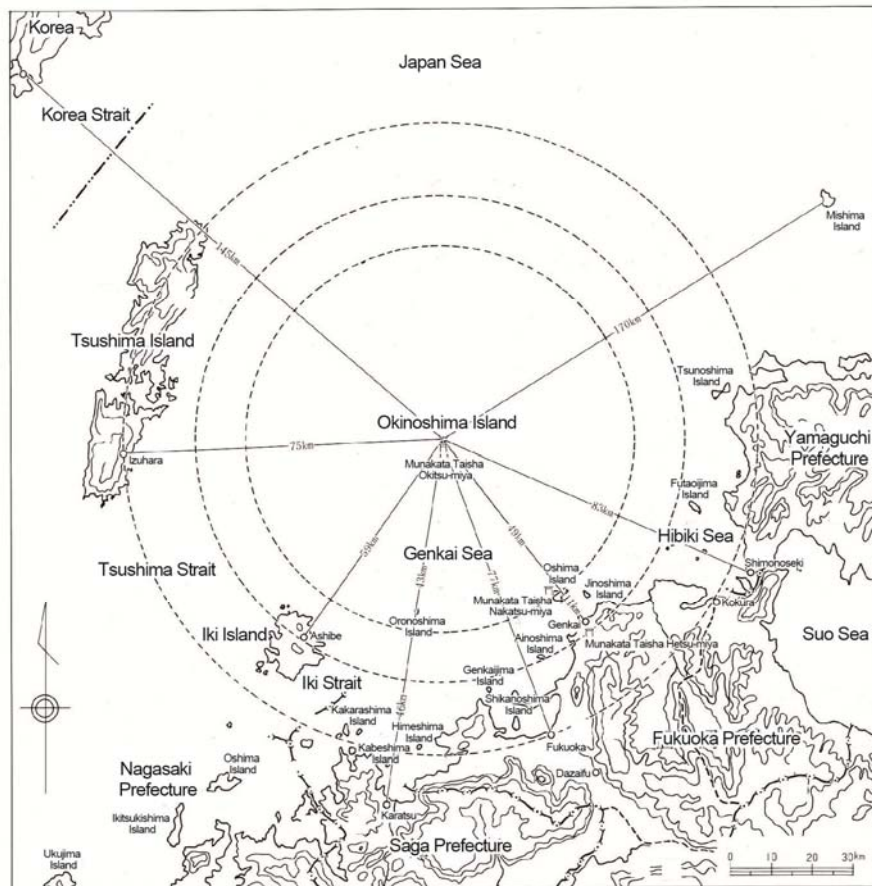


Figure 1 Location of Okinoshima Island (“Okinoshima Island”, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958).



Photo 1 Okinoshima Island viewed from the sea  
 (“The 51<sup>st</sup> Special Exhibition. Ancient Rituals on Okinoshima Island, the *Shosoin* of the Sea. West and East”, Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, 1995)

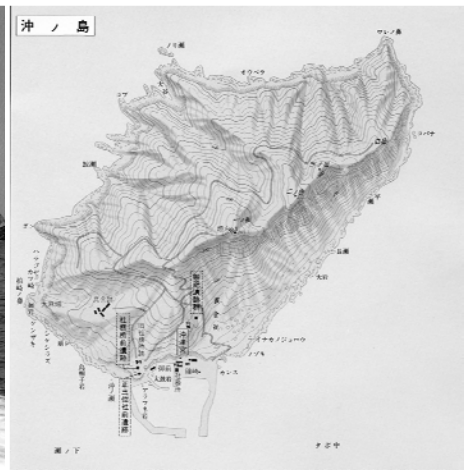


Figure 2 Map of Okinoshima Island  
 (“Munakata Okiishoshima”, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979)



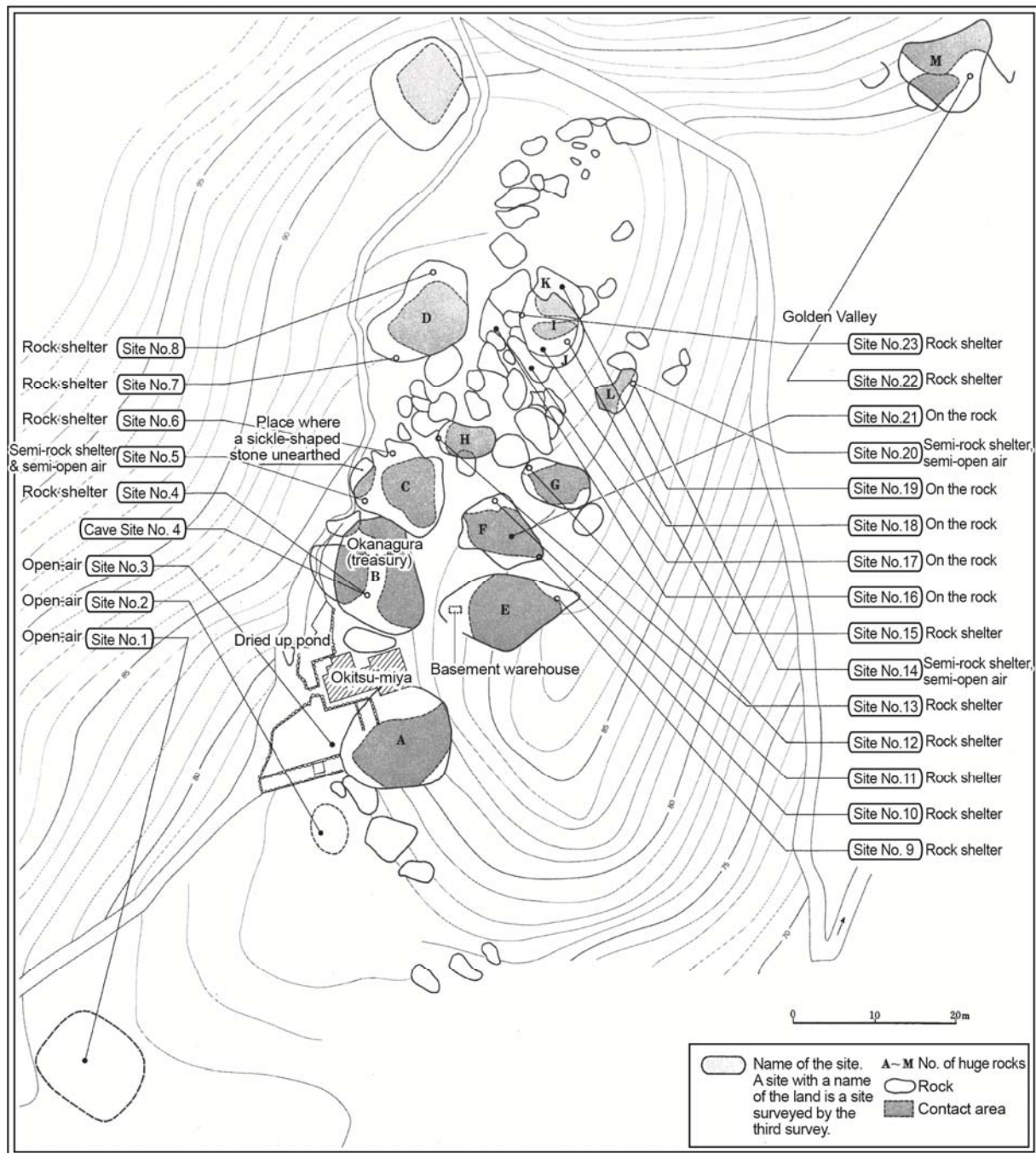


Figure 3 Distribution of the Archaeological Excavation Sites ("Munakata Okinoishima")

About the exchanges between Wa and countries in the Peninsula from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to subsequent first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the comments of Mr. WOO Jae Pyoung in the Korean archaeology will serve as a useful reference<sup>13)</sup>. Mr. WOO wrote as follows:

First, the diplomatic strategy of the central Wa in the 4<sup>th</sup> century was to acquire steel materials and advanced knowledge from Geumgwan Gaya, and the fact that a huge sum of steel materials and dignity treasures imported from Wa were unearthed together in the Gimhae Daeseong-dong Mounded Tomb Group of Gaya reflects an intimate relation between Geumgwan Gaya and Wa.

The then Geumgwan Gaya was one of the international stopping points linking China, countries in the Korean Peninsula and Wa. However, secondly, from early 5<sup>th</sup> century, the Korean Peninsula situation rapidly changed due to the attacks to Paekche's capital Seoul and the Gaya region in the South by Goguryeo, and Wa changed its diplomatic strategy to strengthen the direct trade with Paekche. Thirdly, in

the last third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the attacks by Goguryeo forced Paekche to relocate its capital from Seoul to Ungjin of Gongju in 475, and subsequently to Sabi of Buyeo in 538. Unearthed articles in the ritual site at Jungmak-dong located in the west coast of Paekche that had been a site from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century include celadon of Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties of China, horse trappings in Great Gaya together with soft stone imitation of objects (sickle, cuirass, adze, knife) of Wa-style, reflecting the internationality which the ritual site at Jungmak-dong has. Namely, this fact makes us assume that the new diplomatic strategy and trading system of Wa tied with Paekche had been built. As the other archaeological materials which show intimate relations between Paekche and Wa in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, I can cite, first, that 13 keyhole-shaped tombs with round near mound had been built in the south-west region of Paekche, and secondly, the tomb of King Muryeong of Paekche (462 – 523) (the period of his reign: 502 – 523) used the highest quality of Japanese Umbrella Pine imported from Wa as materials for the coffin, meanwhile, lots of dignity goods imported from the southern part of China were buried as burial accessories, and the sepulcher of the king was built in the round-form tomb of the Southern Dynasty style of China. During the age of King Muryeong as explained above, it was a period in which Paekche was opposing to the threat of Goguryeo in the north through close relations with the Southern Dynasty of China and Wa.

### **Information which Site No. 17 Transmits**

According to the traditional segregation of the periods about the Okinoshima Island Ritual Site (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, and Photo 1), presumably the oldest site is Rock No. 17 in which artifacts were focused on the narrow place of the rock skirt of Rock No. I.<sup>(14)</sup> In an area of merely less than 3m<sup>2</sup>, a lot of artifacts as many as about 500 had been offered. Such artifacts included bronze mirrors, steel objects (swords, knives, iron knives with a hilt resembling a curled fern frond), jasper objects (wheel-shaped bracelets, ring-shaped bracelets, cylindrical beads), steatite (talc) objects (comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, small beads, barrel-shaped beads. In order to consider the original point of Okinoshima Island rituals, we must pay attention to the information which Rock No. 17 believed to be the earliest site transmits above all.

Here, I will summarize what can be pointed out from the viewpoint of folklore, using “The Sequel Okinoshima Island” (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan: 1961), an accurate report of excavation of archaeology, to A: what we can say from unearthed objects, and B: what we can say from the situation where such artifacts were unearthed.

### **A: What We Can Say From Unearthed Objects**

#### **- Second Half of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century, Period When Wa Had Relations with Geumgwan Gaya -**

The first thing which we can know from a lot of objects as many as about 500 items discovered from Rock No. 17 is its relative age, and the second thing is the character of the site. First, concerning the relative age of the first point, because all 21 bronze mirrors in 8 kinds are mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes, by comparing such mirrors in accordance with the standards of their mother mirrors, mirrors of the same type, similar mirrors and sites where many mirrors were unearthed, this site can be estimated to be later than Yamato-shinyama Site and earlier than Bizen-maruyama Site, a site from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century. According to this estimation, this is supposed to be the age of the Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo, which is said basically to be an event which happened in A.D. 391. From the history of the exchanges between Wa and countries in the Peninsula as mentioned earlier, this period falls on the age when the diplomatic strategy of Wa in the 4<sup>th</sup> century had focused on acquiring steel materials and advanced knowledge from Geumgwan Gaya, and we can use the fact that a huge amount of both steel materials and dignity treasures were unearthed in the Gimhae Daeseong-dong Mounded Tomb Group of Gaya as a reference. In the early period of the next 5<sup>th</sup> century, Goguryeo strengthened its attacks to Paekche and the Gaya region, which made it high time for Wa to gradually change its diplomatic strategy to that focusing on Paekche instead of Geumgwan Gaya. In other words, it is considered that Okinoshima Island rituals started while Wa continued the exchanges with Geumgwan Gaya or Paekche in the Peninsula, on the other, Wa had been in tense relations due to its opposition to Goguryeo or to Silla. What can we know about the character of the ritual site referred secondly from the offered artifacts? That is their resemblance to the composition of the grave goods in the first half stage of the Kofun period, but there are different points as well. Mr. HARADA Dairoku who conducted the excavation stated in “The Sequel Okinoshima Island”: Twenty-one (21) bronze mirrors were too many. In case of a mounded tomb, if such a lot of bronze mirrors were buried, the length of the burial

mound would have extended to 100m – 200m, and it would have been surrounded by cylindrical *haniwa* (ceramic clay figure), or *haniwa* representing utensils and other objects would have been placed, and the interior structure would also have boasted magnificent construction such as a layer of clay surrounding a coffin, a wooden coffin or a stone coffin in a pit-style stone chamber (vertical chamber). However, the outer facilities of Rock No. 17 are too simple compared to its plentiful artifacts, and its structure is primitive and simple as if it was built before the Yayoi period.

And he further pointed out about the feature of a large quantity of bronze mirrors that all of the 21 mirrors are mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes, and those mirrors are mostly light. Undamaged mirrors count only six and remaining 15 mirrors are damaged. Thus, these are mirrors of extremely no practical use. That is to say, such mirrors are not the kind of practical treasures as dignity treasures of the buried corpse of a tomb, and we cannot rule out the possibility that the mirrors were contributory items produced for rituals from the beginning (picture 2, picture 3). Meanwhile, what can be estimated from the fact that iron double-edged swords (7), iron single-edged sword (5), jasper bracelets, jasper wheel-shaped bracelets, cylindrical jasper beads, steatite (talc) comma-shaped beads, steatite (talc) cylindrical beads, steatite (talc) small beads and steatite (talc) barrel-shaped beads, etc. had been offered? Although we can say that weapons and tools are few as iron double-edged swords were seven and iron single-edged swords were five compared to the fact that bronze mirrors as many as 21 were excavated, we can find a combination of bronze mirrors, iron double-edged swords and comma-shaped beads common to the grave goods in a tomb, namely, the combination which appears in the mythology of Kojiki and Nihonshoki and leads up to that of the three kinds of treasure.

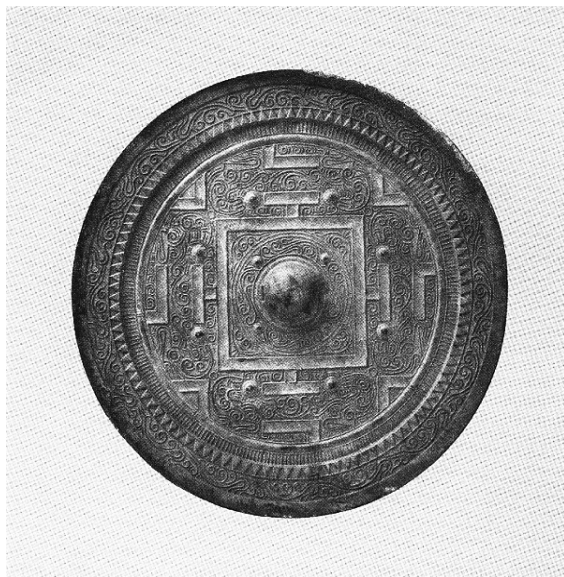


Photo 2 TLV mirror (mirror with TLV patterns)  
 (“Okinoshima Island II”, Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1961)



Photo 3 Bronze mirrors of Okinoshima Island  
 (“The Shosoin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”, Munakata Taisha, 2003)

Also, about the handling and the recognition of the three kinds of treasure of the bronze mirror, the iron double-edged sword and the comma-shaped bead in the world of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, the following articles will be helpful<sup>(15)</sup>: The Article of the Descent of the Heavenly Grandchild (Amaterasu’s grandchild, Ninigi, descended from Takamagahara to Takachiho Peak in Hyuga), Volume One, Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) which states, “Worship this mirror as if you worship in front me exactly as my soul.” Or, the article of the New Year of the 8<sup>th</sup> Year of the Record of the Emperor Chūai states, “pulled up

a tree of Japan cleyera with five hundred branches, set it up on the stern and head of a very long ship, and hung a white bronze mirror (Yasakani-no-Magatama: comma-shaped bead) on an upper branch, very long Totsuka-no-Tsurugi (a white bronze mirror) on a middle branch and Yasakani-no-Magatama (Totsuka-no-Nigiri) on a low branch.” Or, another article states, “they say ‘the reason why I dare to offer these objects is May the Emperor reign very smoothly as the Yasakani-no-Magatama is curved, and, overview mountains, rivers and oceans very clearly like the White Bronze Mirror, and carry this Totsuka-no-Tsurugi and establish peace in the country’.” The bronze mirror is believed to be the Soul of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, and the method to worship the god in combination with the bronze mirror, iron double-edged sword and comma-shaped bead is common. We will know that the reign by an emperor had been considered in an analogy of “curved comma-shaped bead”, “clear bronze mirror” and “establishment of peace by the iron double-edged sword” in the world of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki.

## **B: What We Can Say From the Situation Where Such Artifacts Were Unearthed**

### **- Buildup of Stones and Artifacts and its Meaning -**

One of the features of Rock No. 17 is, as previously stated, that a lot of artifacts as many as 500 items in total such as 21 bronze mirrors had been offered in a narrow area of merely less than 3 m<sup>2</sup>. Another feature is that natural stones were piled, and not only cairn for covering artifacts, bronze mirrors in particular from above but also paved stones for placing artifacts steadily and stones for inserting to stabilize artifacts (shore stones) had been piled up artificially (picture 4, chart 4).

In the center of the accumulation, mirror No. 7 (TLV Mirror (mirror with TLV pattern) with Borders of Varied Design of Bird with the longest diameter had been placed almost horizontally, mirror-face upside. One piece of an iron single-edged sword and four small beads had been over the mirror. Fourteen mirrors had been piled up, some of the mirrors had been touched to this mirror No. 7 and some piled up over it. But because the center portion of the back of a mirror had a button, wheel-shaped (steatite) bracelets and edgeless and round shore stones which people picked up from the water's edge on the shore had been used as stones to be put in order to stabilize the layer of mirrors when piling the mirrors. Namely, such artifacts had been piled in such a way as paved stones were in the lowest bottom of the bronze mirrors, the artifacts were placed over the paved stones, stones to be placed were over the artifacts and again artifacts were over them and stones for piling covered all of those artifacts and stones. In the vicinity of the center of the place of accumulation, items such as bronze mirrors, wheel-shaped (steatite) bracelets, shore stones, iron single (double)-edged swords, beads had been piled in seven or eight layers. What can we think of the fact that artifacts mainly consisted of bronze mirrors and beads and similar items had been piled up? The first one is a physical interpretation. It is a simple interpretation that this is for the purpose of offering a lot of contributory things to one place in a concentrated manner. The accumulation of concrete ritual paraphernalia can be interpreted as the concentration of the will of the psychological offerings. The second one is a symbolic interpretation. What is the method of the piling-up necessitated by the concentration of things and objects? This is an interpretation to consider its meaning. When considering the possibility of the second one, the points which the author discussed before in a small thesis called “Folklore of Stone-piling”<sup>(16)</sup> may serve as a reference. This is an hypothesis elicited from the collection of the group of examples such as (1): a folkway of piling of stones, suspending of stones in a burial plot and dropping of stones for the purpose of holding a memorial service for the dead (piling of stones in a cemetery, suspending of stones in a cemetery, dropping of stones in a funeral, offering of stones for a Goshō-guruma (stone- or wooden-pillar with a wheel) in a cemetery, piling of stones endlessly in Children's Limbo, etc.), (2): a folkways of picking stones, piling stones or suspending stones in a shrine (a folk belief of picking stones in a dry river bed or seashore, and offering and piling the stones to and in the shrine, a folk belief that if a man throws a stone up on the stone archway to a shrine and the stone gets on the beam, then you are lucky!, etc.). This is an interpretation in which “stone in the aqua world” and “stone in the air” are key words. The aqua world of “stone in the aqua world” is a world that was regarded also as an entrance or exit to the accessible different world, and a function as intermedium between this world and the different world is often given to a round stone picked up in the dry river bed or seashore in folk traditions. “Stone in the air” is piled up or suspended by man and it will fall someday on the ground to be stabilized, but it is a stone that transmits the past ambiguous uncertainty to the surrounding area, and it is often made to be equipped with the functions as equipment which leads to the different world, the world of spirit from this world, equipment which leads to the holy invisible world from the chthonic world in front of our own eyes. Namely, it is an interpretation that piling or suspending is an action to put an object in the unstable air artificially, and it is an action done by people who wish to communicate with the different world or the

world of spirit using the object as an intermedium. In other words, the first and second interpretation is possible for the fact of the accumulation of the artifacts and other objects in the No. 17 Site as above described. At least, without a doubt, this was kind of offering of treasures to the world of spirit. However, in either of the interpretations of the first or second, the possibility that the spiritual subject of which people who offered such items were aware was a specific god confined in terms of religious ideology would be extremely low. It is thought that such gods was highly likely gods in the level of nature worship such as god of sea, god of tide, god of wind, god of island, god of rock or god of mountains vaguely.

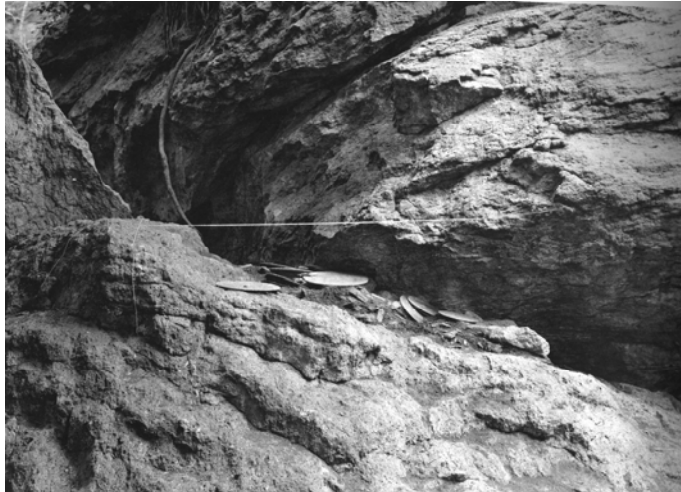


Photo 4 Site No. 17 artifacts as unearthed  
("Okinoshima Island II")



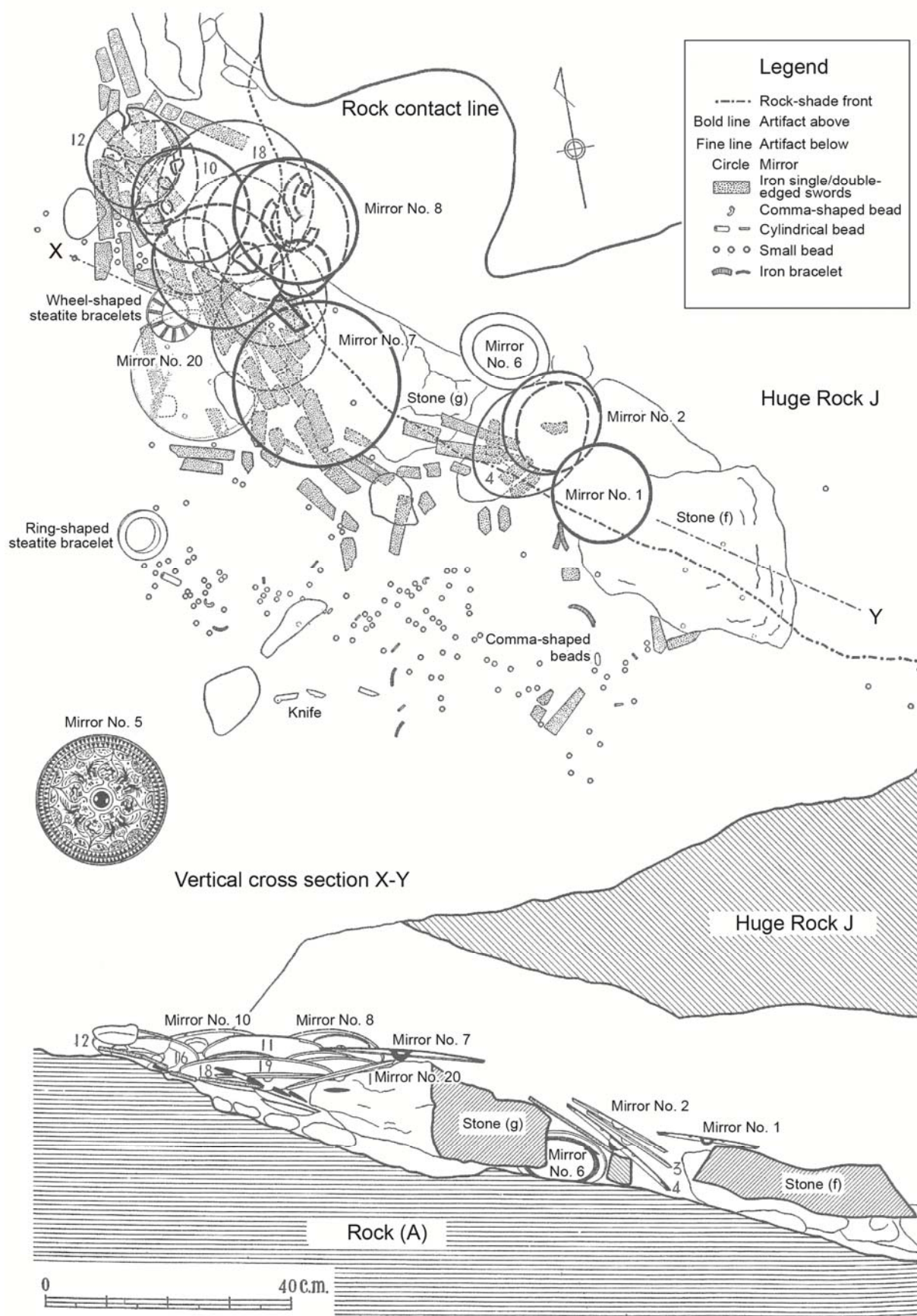


Figure 4 Distribution of artifacts at Site No. 17 ("Okihnoshima Island II")

### Animism and Shamanism

I think it very rude to digest and introduce here concepts which had been discussed in anthropology, sociology, science of religion or folklore and are widely known. However, I do not see it is totally a waste in thinking the concept of spirits of the people in the originating period of the ancient Okinoshima Island rituals. This is because words such as the “rock-abode” (dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily), “kyogan-saishi” (huge rock ritual), “kōshin” (descending of the deity) and “yorishiro” (an object representative of a divine spirit) are frequently used in the first-class, high-level excavation reports such as “The Sequel Okinoshima Island” or “Munakata Okinoshima Island” so far issued or other high-level theses written based on such reports when we consider the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island. From the stance of folklore, I am basically in a position to preferably be cautious in applying such words. This is because on the instant we use such a borrowed language, it may pose a risk that valuable intrinsic information group that has been obtained in excavation sites of archaeology may be simplified or its meaning may be lost to zero. The Author is not an expert on archaeology of course. Therefore, I will only submit an opinion for reference here. However, I would like to first summarize and confirm the basic concept for interpreting religious phenomenon and religious dynamism to some extent, and then study the spirit concept of the then people of which Okinoshima ritual sites are transmitting and subsequent changes thereof. As is commonly known, what E.B. Tylor set forth is animism, which is a theory that the basic of a religion is a belief in spiritual being that man has.

“Anima” of animism is originally a Latin word meaning spirit, life, breath. Tylor said that there are two of spirit that are closely connected to flesh (flesh spirit) and spirit that is not restricted to flesh (free spirit), and submitted the two concepts of the soul (flesh soul) that works separately from flesh both before and after a death of a man and the soul (free spirit) that is recognized in all the beings from animals/plants to gods or spirit as a life principle<sup>17)</sup>. By contrast, it was R.R. Marett<sup>18)</sup>, a pupil of E.B. Tylor, who said we should pay attention to Mana that is power of non-personal nature world rather than personal animism as the origin of a religion and set for animatism (pre-animism).

The concept of Mana was induced from the local language Mana meaning incantatory and spiritual power which was derived from the study on various societies of Melanesia. On the other hand, in contrast with them, the concept of shamanism came to be used among European and American scholars since the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the attention to a religious phenomenon that is said that a magician in northeast Asia in particular communicates with a super-natural being (divine spirit, spirit, departed soul) in a state of a trance is a concept called shamanism. The concept of the shaman, shamanism are originally derived from saman in languages such as Tungus or Gordes. In the theory of shamanism, the methods in which a magician shaman directly touches a super-natural being are roughly divided into two types; one is the free-from-soul type in which the soul of a shaman gets out of the flesh and flies to and travels through heaven, ground or underground, and another is the possession type in which a divine soul or a spirit on the ground or in the other world enters into the body of a shaman and take his/her possession. For instance, M. Eriade called the former as ecstasy and the latter as possession, and interpreted that the former was the basis of shamanism and the latter was a secondary phenomenon<sup>19)</sup>. By contrast, T. M. Lewis called the former as soul loss and the latter as spirit possession, and said that the both were the way how to explain a state of a trance of a shaman, and the free-from-soul type were highly developed in the Indian societies in North America, but there were overwhelmingly lots of the possession types in other areas on the globe, and the both types were coexistent in each society although its degree was individual, he said<sup>20)</sup>. Mr. SASAKI Kōkan, summarizing these assertions, introduced R. L. Jones’ ‘Shamanism in South Asia’<sup>21)</sup> and others from examples of researches of South Asia, particularly, India and pointed out that while in tribal societies in Assam in northeast India and those which have not been affected by Hinduism, the ecstatic/free-from-soul type is noticeable, on the other hand, in societies of Hinduism in the continent of India and the plain, the possession type is remarkable, and in societies of the Munda and the Saora in central east of India which are mediate of the two types of societies above, the free-from-soul type in which the soul flies to that world in the world of concept is considered as the mainstream, but ceremonies of the possession type are actually conducted. And on the relationship of both of the societies, he discussed the background thereof whether each society is the ecstatic/free-from-soul type or the possession type by assuming indicators such as an emergence of an icon or not, development of worship of ancestors, from traveling living to settled living<sup>22)</sup>. While shamanism of the possession type is prominently found in modern Japan in general, shamanism of ecstatic/ free-from-soul is partly found in the Ainu society in the northeast and the Okinawa society in the



southwest rim of the archipelago as we may call. Moreover, if we go back into history, the tradition of En-no Ozunu in ancient times is pointed out to be close to shamanism of ecstatic/ free-from-soul as he used Zen-ki and Go-ki (a married couple of ogres)<sup>23</sup>).

### **“Shi-kon” (Four Souls) of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki & “Jisai” of the Account of the Japanese in “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle).**

So-called “eyes from within” and “eyes from outside” will be helpful to consider the concept of the soul in ancient Japan. The first one is the information from the descriptions in the Kojiki or the Nihonshoki which should be called as “eyes from within”. And the second one is the information from the descriptions in the account of the Japanese of “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) which should be called as “eyes from outside”.

About the information from the descriptions from the first source, or the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, I can indicate the tendency which distinguishes Rei and Kon. The Chinese character Rei is used in such words as Kushihini Ayashi (miracle), Musuhi (power of giving birth) or Mitama-no-huyu (souls of past emperors), a word that shows a certain force or its function. Likewise, the Chinese character Kon is used in such words as Ukano Mitama no Kami, Yamato Ōkuni Tama no Kami, or Yaso Mitama no Kami of Ashihara-no-Nakatsukuni, a word meaning the life of a personified deity itself. It is a tendency that Rei is power and Kon is a life. However, Kon is sometimes differently used, an example of which is the god of Ōmiwa that is said to have worshiped Sakitama and Kushitama of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto, and Nikitama and Aratama that are said to have protected and lead the Empress Jingū. The four souls (kon) indicate that kon (life) has the power as divine power. Namely, this will tell us that in the world of the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, there also existed another one; the Shi-kon (a modifier of Niki, Ara, Kushi, Saki is added to four kons), or the concept of “kon” that expresses power and function of life against the two of Rei (power, function) and Kon (life).

If I interpret the three of “Rei” and “Kon” and “Shi-kon” described in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki and position them from the religious concepts of academic animatism, animatism and shamanism as described earlier, “Rei” would be kind of mana power, “Rei” would be kind of animatism power and “Shi-kon” would be kind of mana power which kind of animatism power will exert. And particularly noteworthy is the fact that the respective concept which expresses the power of divine spirit of Sakitama, Kushitama, Nikitama, Aratama was spoken as the power of divine spirit related to the sea such as seashore or ocean as I previously mentioned. If we use the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki as reference information in thinking rituals on Okinoshima Island, the belief in “Shi-kon” of Sakitama, Kushitama, Nikitama, Aratama emerges to us as a particularly noteworthy concept of soul.

On the other hand, what attracts my attention in the information from the second source, or the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle), is the existence of “Himiko”, queen of the country of Yamatai and the existence of “Jisai” as equipment wishing for safety at sea. It describes about Himiko as “she is capable of using sorcery and often confuses the people”, which lets us assume that she was a shaman-like queen. It described “Jisai” as “when people cross the sea to go to China or return from the country, they always have one person not comb down his hair, leave lice as they are, leave his dirty clothes with grime as they are, not have meat, not a lady come close to him, and make him a person observing mourning”. This is called Jisai. If the travel goes well, people will give him slaves or treasures. If there is a disease on the way, they meet a storm, then they will promptly kill him. They say that is because he did not restrain himself. In other words, there used to be a custom similar to a belief in which a male is Chōsen for the safety of a voyage, and people make him put in the state of severe “Imi” (mourning), and the result of the Imi divides the voyage excessively into two of a safe voyage or a shipwreck.

### **“Imibito” as an Analytical Concept**

The structure in which a certain group or community imposes a strong mourning to a specific person as just described above and good or bad luck of the group or community is bestowed is the basic structure around the kingly power and its functions. In the famous decree of the Emperor Shomu in March, or the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Temyō (741), to build provincial Buddhist temples and nunneries, the Emperor states “although I am a person of low moral character, I am deeply grateful to be undertaking a heavy duty of the emperor. This is unworthy of me. I still cannot spread good politics which guides the people. Therefore, I am fully ashamed

of it whether while I am awake or sleeping. ... Recently lean years have continued, and infectious diseases are prevalent. I am so ashamed, I am so terrible, and I am blaming myself.” This is a typical example of the recognition of the function of the ancient kingly power. This structure has a certain strong power in terms of transmission, and there are many such examples in the world of folklore transmission. One of such examples is that of Tōjin and Tōya of Miyaza who serve festivals of the Miho Shrine in Izumo. We will also find something that leads up to the role recognition of the sacred there. Festivals of the Miho Shrines starts with the ritual of Aofushigaki (a ceremony wishing for a heavy catch and sea safety) and it is conducted with the cooperation of Shinto priests at the shrine and the Miyaza, an organization of its parishioners. The roles of Tōya and Tōjin are valued very much at the Miyaza. Two persons are Chōsen from parishioners as Tōya by a divine lot, and they will become the first Tōya and the second Tōya, keep abstinence from eating meat or fish for one year, and perform the deity role in the ritual of Aofushigaki on April 7. The wife of the Tōya is called Ondo and his daughter is called Tomodo, they kneel formally together with the Tōya in front of a large Shinto altar and receive worships of the people. After the person performs the role of Tōya, he may draw a role of Maroudo Tou (head of customers) by a divine lot. Maroudo Tou also keeps abstinence from eating meat or fish for one year and plays a central role of the ritual of Morotabune (a rowboat race at cold sea). Subsequently, he finally becomes Tōjin in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year. Tōjin is a person totally responsible for the Miyaza. It has been customary that, after appointed as Tōjin, the person must leave hair and beard growing without cutting for three years. When he was exceptionally asked a prayer by parishioners, he paddled sea water at midnight and repeated worships to the shrine many times until “Osatoshi (admonishment)” was issued. This is called “Oukagai (asking for someone’s instructions)”. Tōya, Maroudo Tō and Tōjin conduct Misogi (practice of purifying oneself through washing one’s entire) every night and go and worship the shrine (called Nissan) for one year. If abstinence from eating meat or fish by Tōya or Tōjin is lacking or it rains on a festival day, they are blamed because “Osatoshi” is not issued by the god or abstinence from eating meat or fish by Tōya or Tōjin was not enough<sup>24)</sup>. I would like to call such a certain person in relation to a religious belief as Imibito temporarily here by abstracting from Japanese words of Imuhito, Oiminohito and Imibito and set it as an academic concept. This is because it is a concept that should be distinguished from shaman. Himiko is an existence which had been positioned as a shaman as I wrote earlier. However, compared to “Jisai”, and in addition to it, as the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) describes “few people see since she became the king”, it is considered that Himiko also had a strong character as Imibito. Features of a shaman are, firstly, he/she becomes an unconscious and nonchalant state both in the free-from-soul type and possession type. Secondly, he/she exchanges with a divine spirit or a natural spirit in that state and listens to its message, and thirdly delivers it to the people in general; a role of an intermediary. Meanwhile, a feature of an Imibito is to show the result of a message of a divine spirit or a natural spirit; a role of an object which displays a supernatural efficacy. A key point of the difference between the two is that while a shaman is regarded to have the bidirectional transmitting ability of exorcism and incantation as well as the reception ability of possession, on the other hand, an Imibito has the function of displaying or receiving the results of good or bad luck in one direction only. In the age of the country of Yamatai in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and its societies, the both of Himiko who was an Imibito as well as a shaman and “Jisai” as an Imibito existed in a form of opposite poles. Incidentally, the concept of Imibito is somewhat connected to the concept of the sacred is “the separated”, le sacre or the sacred of Emile Durkheim who established the concept of sacrament and vulgarity and explained the concept of a religion<sup>25)</sup>. However, Durkheim in setting the concepts of sacrament and vulgarity assumes a totemism as a religion and pays attention to the phenomenon in which pictures of animals and plants, adults of a clan, animals and plants themselves and others are separated from others, put under a taboo or worshiped in that totemism. On the other hand, the Imibito which the author establishes here is different from the concept of le sacre of Durkheim in that my Imibito is a certain human being. Therefore, I think that it is meaningful to set the new concept as an operating concept.

By contrast, in the world of the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki or the religious recognition of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki whose editing had been completed in early 8<sup>th</sup> century by setting the historical recognition of the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century as the starting point,<sup>(26)</sup> as earlier mentioned, there existed a belief of Sakitama, Kushitama which came nearer from the open sea and was worshiped on the mountain and Nikitama and Aratama which protected the marching on the sea. The belief of the “Shi-kon” had been kind of mana belief in awe to a natural spirit or a divine spirit, and the belief in Imibito called “Jisai” in the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) had been a passive belief of awe and reverence to that mana-like natural spirit or divine spirit,

either of which had not been a belief furnished with all of the technologies of active invocation of the spirits of the dead and gods. A natural spirit or a divine spirit on the open sea, which attracted faith from people travelling in extremely dangerous voyages, had not quite been considered as a spirit which a small thing like a human being could control with simple enchantment or exorcism. We can estimate that there had been a concept of soul in a more primitive, animatistic level, something that had mixed awe and reverence and exorcism to the vast open sea and heaven sky and climate, different from a belief of shamanism.



Photo 5 Tōya, Ondo and Tomodo in an Aofushigaki Shinto ritual  
Mihoseki, Mihoseki Town, Shimane Prefecture

### Offering of a Large Quantity of Ritual Paraphernalia and its Meaning

The period when the offering of ritual paraphernalia commenced is considered to be the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century. This is the mid-term between the country of Yamatai in the middle third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the Court of the Emperor Yūryaku in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century. Now, what does the fact of the “layered ritual paraphernalia and the like” and “offering to the places under rocks or rock shelters of huge rocks”<sup>(27)</sup> which had been discovered in Rock No. 17 as previously explained tell us? In the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, different from the situation where the traffic of missions between Taihō-gun for the purpose of bringing a tribute to a Chinese dynasty in the period of the country of Yamatai in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century which the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) already wrote, it is considered to be the traffic amid the militarily tense relations in the Korean Peninsula as mentioned earlier. Articles of the geographical record of the “Han Shu” (History of Han Dynasty), the record of the Japanese of the “Hou Han Shu” (History of Later Han Dynasty) and others have shown that the history of the risky traffic between the Peninsula and the continent was very old, which is well known by people. That the voyage was extremely dangerous and there were unimaginably a lot of victims can also be guessed from articles on shipwrecks of Japanese Envoys to the Tang Dynasty in subsequent 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>(28)</sup> What are reasons why Okinoshima Island rituals started in the second half stage of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in particular in the history of going and coming between the dangerous Peninsula? What were the circumstances of the background thereof? What can be considered is, first of all, that the then main ocean route between the Korean Peninsula and the continental China was a route through Iki and Tsushima; considering the natural conditions such as high seas in the Genkai Sea, constantly powerful Tsushima East Current and Tsushima West Current and ever-changing oceanic wind, the other route is unimaginable. As Mr. WOO Jae Pyoung to whom I earlier referred pointed out,<sup>(29)</sup> indispensable matters on a voyage are three conditions of (1) resupply of goods, (2) providing rest for crew members and (3) ocean rituals. Taking into account these points, Okinoshima Island is not on the regular route at all. It would be natural as a preliminary step to think that the island had been positioned entirely as a “place of emergency evacuation”. And the period from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century is a stage where the necessity to change to the political and military exchanges came to increase amid the situation of newly invasion and intensified threat of Goguryeo from the stage of the past political personnel exchanges and economic import of resources where Geumgwan Gaya functioning as an intermediary, and is considered to be a period when the

frequency of ocean voyages began to increase in such circumstances. In general, it is considered that exchanges between the Peninsula and the continent had been roughly divided into commercial exchanges and political exchanges. Commercial exchanges involve profits of economical treasures and political exchanges involve profits of stabilizing and strengthening kingly power. In either case, the mind of wishing the safety on a dangerous ocean would be strong. However, the wishes in case of political exchanges would be more focused on the ceremonious aspect in particular because it was related to the kingly authority.

If they were once in a military tense situation, however, it is considered that it would be further reinforced. An increase in frequency of voyages for military exchanges means an increase in frequency in danger of mishaps, and if a mishap repeatedly happens, spirits of the people for trips to the Peninsula are impaired. Thereupon, the following is one reasoning. The then Wa kingly power attached great importance to showing the safety implementation of higher-frequency voyages of Wa to foreign countries as well as domestically. They realized a form of offering treasures as public ritual paraphernalia with a large political meaning by representing generation-to-generation beliefs of a lot of crew who would have had shared an experience of narrowly escaping death when they were cast ashore to Okinoshima Island when many wrecked ships were carried away by the strong Tsushima Current in the long history of voyages and newly gathering them, I guess. In that sense of the meaning, we should say the island had been a “place for rescuing a life” from experiences of the crews as well as a “refuge in case of emergency”. For brave crew including countless dead people in accidents on voyages in ancient times, it is highly possible that Okinoshima Island had generated a belief as the “holy island of saving a life” from the geographical features. We can guess the move that it had formally become the subject for public rituals by the Wa kingly power due to the new development of the circumstances around the Peninsula of the threat of Goguryeo from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century, and it had been thanked as the special miracle-working and life-saving island and positioned anew as the holy island of prayers and rogation for the ocean safety.

The reasons why they offered as many as 21 stacked bronze mirrors of which the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) described as “thy favorite”<sup>(30)</sup> may have been, by offering own cherished treasures in the history of exchanges with the peninsula and the continent to the Yamato kingly power, a meaning of deep thanks for past life saving and prayer for ocean safety that would have become serious due to the coming of more frequent travels. This is a deduction the author has made in this paper from the information group of the documents of the ancient history and the information group of archaeological excavation which are currently being collected. And if viewed from the theory of the concept of the soul as mentioned earlier, a king of Wa in those days was a king who had a character of the ancient kingly power which the Emperor Shōmu in the 8<sup>th</sup> century still held or a character common to Himiko who had been an Imibito as well as a shaman, meanwhile, if viewed from the theory of dualism of the kingly power,<sup>(31)</sup> the king may have possessed two characters of a king of weapons and a king of rituals. Kings of Wa from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century were in the stage to strengthen the character as a king of weapons albeit reserving a character as a king of rituals, and what the memories had been described as the historical image of the mythology would have been stories on the advance to the Peninsula by from the Emperor Chūai to the Empress Jung and to the Emperor Ōjin which the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki describe. This is the estimation here. The reason why plenty stories about the three kind ritual paraphernalia of the “bronze mirror, iron double-edged sword, comma-shaped bead” or “Shi-kon” appear in the stories of the Empress Jung is presumably because certain historical memories on the new advance of Wa to the Peninsula and exchanges from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century that had been told from generation to generation had been reflected in the material information for compiling the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki.

### **Information which Site No. 21 is Transmitting**

Among the sites in the stage of rituals on top of rocks in the First Period on the periodization of the Okinoshima Ritual Site, the one which draws attention next is Rock No. 21. In terms of the period, it is later than Rock No. 17, thought to be a site of the middle third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Using the valuable research results shown in “Munakata Okinoshima Island” (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979) and “Thinking about Ancient Times - Okinoshima Island and Rituals in Ancient Japan” (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988) as reference, the information from Rock No. 21 will be summarized as follows:

The site is positioned on the huge rock No. F, a square-shaped stone enclosure was put, and large stones had been placed in the central part and the western corner. There are clear marks of scraped rocks in the northwest side and the southwest side. A person in charge of the excavation interpreted this that an altar on the rock had been set up in this place in the report of “Munakata Okinoshima Island”. On a large stone in the center of the altar, there is a dent of 3cm wide and 10 cm long, and three mortar-shaped steatite (talc) beads had been discovered there. This is interrupted that branches of a tree on which beads and other objects were hung had been stood against the large stone and worshiped, and the beads had dropped to the dent soon after the ritual was over. It says that the beads and other objects scattered inside the circle of stones means the same thing. Total 35 comma-shaped beads, made of hard bead, jasper, steatite (talc) and amber, had been excavated in this site. “Munakata Okinoshima Island” emphasizes the establishment of an altar on the rock in this way. However, comparing the picture of “(ii) after the survey” of the picture 6 of the overall view of the site on the huge rock No. F with the picture 7 of “(iii) restoration (site on top of the rock), the reason why the author feels that the situation is too much fit is I wonder I am a layman in archaeology? Also, looking at the “chart indicating the situation when artifacts were unearthed”, because the important locations of the bronze mirrors and iron-double-edges swords are not displayed, I am forced to reserve a judgment on whether that was an altar in which small stones were laid in neat order in the square division and a large stone was put in the center as the restoration picture shows. The concept of a “ritual on top of a rock” which they have given makes me feel a little rash, I’m afraid, from the viewpoint of one layman.

According to Thinking about Ancient Times - Okinoshima Island and Rituals in Ancient Japan, the artifacts were composed of six bronze mirrors, of which one mirror was a beast-band mirror of imported mirrors, and a beast-band mirror similar to this was excavated in attributed to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Nintoku (currently a property of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, U.S.)) and in the Mausoleum of King Muryeong (died in 523) of Paekche. It is pointed out that bronze mirrors and bracelets tended to decrease and steatite (talc) objects and miniatures of iron products tended to increase compared to other older sites such as Rock No. 17. Noteworthy point is the excavation of miniatures of iron products (sickle, single-edged sword, knife, halberd, chisel, spear-style planning tool, adze, etc.), each of them was small with 5 to 10cm long, and such items are considered to be artifacts for rituals. Also, practical iron double-edged swords, iron single-edged swords, cast iron adzes, forged iron adzes, visorless keeled helmets to which gilt-bronze is attached on steel ground, flat iron ingot, etc. had been excavated, characterized by the coexistence of miniatures and practical objects. Concerning the opinion that offering of miniatures is for use of rituals, I would like to agree to this, but hold the agreement to some extent. This is because a meaning of miniatures can be interrupted as a tool for a ritual, but it means simplification as an object for offering or a substitute at the same time. A particularly noteworthy new unearthed object is a flat iron ingot. It is approximately 7cm wide and more or less 5mm thick, and it is entirely consisted of remaining fragments. The length after restoration would be approximately 15cm. Eight hundred seventy two (872) pieces of this flat iron ingot had been discovered from the Yamato Tomb No. I in Nara City and about three hundred (300) had been discovered from the Nonaka Tomb in Fujiidera City, Osaka Prefecture. The article of March, the 46<sup>th</sup> year of the Empress Jingū Regent states that King Chog of Paekche sent 40 flat iron ingots. It is common knowledge that a flat iron ingot is a valuable import item from the Korean Peninsula. In addition to this flat iron ingot, what attracts attention on Rock No. 21 is that steel objects such as iron double-edged swords and iron adzes including miniatures objects as earlier described were important offering objects. It is also remarkable that small potteries made by manually kneading were unearthed in Rock No. 21 for the first time, albeit totally in a form of fragments. The number of such type is small, and the shape categories are cup, dish with pedestal, jar, steaming vessel and others. These are still small and kinds of miniature objects. The possibility of having actually offered food or drink with such objects is low. Large practical vessels had appeared and the possibility of offering food and drink using such vessels is estimated to be the stage of subsequent Site No. 6 and Site No. 22. Now, the summary of the features of Rock No. 21 is as follows: First, Rock No. 17 which I explained earlier is the site for, as it were, offering treasures, but Rock No. 21 changed to a ritual site by setting an altar as well as offering treasures (this could be said if in accordance with the report, but I would like to hold my judgment as I said earlier). Secondly, judging from the fact that one out of 6 bronze mirrors is a beast-band mirror, and a beast-band mirror similar to this was excavated in attributed to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Nintoku (currently a property of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, U.S.)) and in the Mausoleum of King Muryeong (died in 523) of Paekche. If this is the case, the estimated age span of Rock No. 21 is wide, from the middle third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and early 6<sup>th</sup> century.



Photo 6 Site No. 21 (i. during survey; ii. after survey)  
 (“Munakata Okinoshima”)



Photo 7 Site No.21 (iii. reconstructed alignment)  
 (“Munakata Okinoshima”)

Thirdly, this may be related to the movement of new invigoration of the trade system focusing on iron resources between Wa and Paekche from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century which is narrated by the information from the Jungmakdong Ritual Site located in the west coast of Paekche which Mr. WOO Jae Pyoung who was mentioned earlier pointed out<sup>32)</sup>.

The third point or the trend of the invigoration of exchanges between Paekche and Wa from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century is, as pointed out by Mr. WOO Jae Pyoung, can be assumed from the fact that the tomb system which applied the corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral (side) entrance (horizontal chamber) in Paekche style had become prevalent in the central Wa (Kinai area) from the 6<sup>th</sup> century for one<sup>33)</sup> and the housing/cooking/heating system in Paekche style had been introduced and spread to Wa in those days for another.<sup>34)</sup> And about the first point again, from the viewpoint of the theory of the origin of a ritual, in this manuscript, I will not use the language and concepts in the stage of the so-called Ritsuryō Ritual or the ritual system of the Ritsuryō state (a system of government based on Chinese models of penal [ritsu] and civil [ryō] (codes) from subsequent end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the 8<sup>th</sup> century such as “oblong ritual”, “kamioroshi (communicating with a god)”, “yorishiro”, “iwakura (rock-abode)” and “himorogi (temporarily erected sacred space or altar)”. We may have an interpretation that it is still in the stage of the offering of treasures as is the same as Rock No. 17 and its quantity had rather decreased and the tendency to be a miniature and become simplified is seen in its quality. Meanwhile, we may mention that it reflects the diplomatic, realistic movement of the age which emphasized steel resources by adding newly flat iron ingots. Also, we can see one of the changes during this period and may pay attention to it from excavation of potteries although the number of such potteries are small and the size are also small and such objects had been less likely used actually for offering food and drink. Namely, the stage of Rock No. 21 may lead up to the belief in Jingi in ancient Japan and the form and the essence of rituals of shrines or subsequent “Ritsuryō Rituals” which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada assumed, but I think it better to position it as a stage earlier than its tendency became clear.



## (2) Changes in Okinoshima Rituals

### - From the Second Half of the 5<sup>th</sup> Century to the End of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century: Bronze Mirror, Gilt-bronze Horse Trappings and Harness, Ritual Tools -

#### Information from Rock No. 7 and Site No. 8

The Site No. 7 and Site No. 8 which share the huge rock No. D draw our attention in the stage of rock shelter sites. “Thinking about Ancient Times - Okinoshima Island and Rituals in Ancient Japan” states that bronze mirrors had drastically decreased in Rock No. 7 and Site No. 8 while iron objects, gilt-bronze objects, gilt-bronze accessories became abundant. Particularly, kinds of gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness are offering objects of the new trend and gorgeous items which are plated with gold to the copper ground and are sparkling with gold, whose quality is the same as those excavated from tombs in Silla near Gyeongju in the Korean Peninsula, and the book states that there can be no mistake they are imported objects made in Silla. Particularly noteworthy is a gold finger ring, and it says that a similar one to this can also be sought in the Silla Tomb near Gyeongju. The book also describes that cast iron adzes as imported objects are also similar to those which had been excavated in bulk in tombs of various places in Japan and tombs of nobles and tombs of kings in Gyeongju of Korean Silla and such objects are regarded Silla-made. In Rock No. 8, a cut glass in fragments was excavated, which it says is an object similar to the cut glass cup transmitted to the Shōsōin Treasure Repository and the fragments of the cut glass cup excavated in the shrine grounds of the Kamigamo Shrine in Kyōtō City which are believed to have been brought from Sassanid Dynasty of Persia to China and into Japan through Korea.

In other words, we will know that the stage of Rock No. 7 and Site No. 8 had included the traditional objects such as Wa-style bronze mirrors, iron double-edged swords or comma-shaped beads in offering objects as treasures, but main objects had been new colorful gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness and imported casted iron adzes in Silla-style or Paekche-style. Taking into account that these objects are mainly made in Silla in the Peninsula and include introduced objects far from Central Asia, wishes for safety navigation during this period may be said to have assumed an international character. Although it is difficult to estimate the period of these two sites, it is likely a largely unsettled period of the Peninsula from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to early 6<sup>th</sup> century when the suppression by Goguryeo and southward advance of Paekche and Silla had made countries of Gaya be incorporated under its control afterwards.



Height: 10.5 cm  
Site No. 8



Height: 12.0 cm  
Site No. 8



Height: 9.2 cm  
Site No. 7



Height: 10.0 cm  
Site No. 6

Photo 8 Gilt bronze crupper boss with ornamented hairpin

(“The Shosoin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”, except for the first and last images, which are taken from the “Divine Treasures of the Shosoin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”, Munakata Taisha, 1992)

Horse trappings. These metal fittings to be mounted to the crossing of the crupper, which have been found on Okinoshima Island, are greatly decorative. A shaft is put in a standing position in the center of the pedestal of a hemisphere form, and Yoraku (lit. (a thing) swings and falls) are attached to the border. Although similar ones have been excavated in mainland Japan too, they have been seen in great quantities particularly in the Korean Peninsula. These are also thought to have been brought from Silla.



Photo 9 Gilt bronze flat pendant horse harness ornament in thorn leaf shape  
 (“Divine Treasures of the Shōsōin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”)

One hundred and several tens of horse trappings were found from Rock No. 7 and Site No. 8. All of these are made of gilt-bronze and include a lot of imported objects from Silla. Flat pendant horse harness ornament is an ornament attached to the horse harness and hung over the chest or waist. These are representative offering objects made in Silla of rock shelter rituals in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in the second stage of Okinoshima Island ancient rituals.



Photo 10 Gold ring (Site No. 7)  
 (“The Shōsōin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”)



Photos 11, 12, and 13 Artifacts excavated at Rock No. 22 and the scene of excavation  
 (Photos 11 and 12 taken from “The Shōsōin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island” and Photo 13 from “Munakata Okinoshima”)

### Information from Rock No. 6 and Site No. 22

The Site No. 6 is located in a rock shelter of Rock No. C and Rock No. 22 is located in a rock shelter of Rock No. M. This No. M alone is distant from other rocks. The situation of the excavation of the sites seems to have had shared the period of large changes on Okinoshima Island rituals. What is noteworthy is first that vessels tended to become large in Rock No.6 and this tendency became all-out in Rock No. 22. In Rock No. 6, a lot of fragments of large pots (Kame) of Sue ware (unglazed stoneware) were unearthed in addition to large jars, jars and vessel stands. In Rock No. 22, stone rows had been set along directly below the canopy of the rock shelter of the huge rock and kinds of vessels were excavated along it. All of them were ruined and none of them have maintained the original shape. If they were restored, they should be consisted of two large pots, one large jar, three jars, goblet and kinugasa. Such kinds of vessels make us estimate offering of food and drink, and concurrently make us estimate food and drink of voyagers as well. Secondly, offering objects such as bronze mirrors, weapons and defensive equipment as previous practical objects disappeared mostly in Rock No. 6 and Rock No. 22, and instead of those objects, the mainstream had come to consist of kinds of vessels and gilt-bronze miniatures. What draws attention in Rock No. 6 is gilt-bronze containers (lidded vessel, long-necked jar, cup), a musical instrument (bell), meanwhile particularly noticeable objects in Rock No. 22 are rich and diversified gilt-bronze miniature objects. Such objects include gilt-bronze objects representing the human figures called “Hitogata”, gilt-bronze containers (long-necked jar, dish with pedestal, goblet), gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools (“Tatari” upright standing weaving, spinning implement with up to five ranches to avoid thread from getting tangled up or becoming felted, “Tsumu” spindle, “Chikiri” warp beam, sword-shaped beater, “Nuki”, “Kuruheki” tool to wind treads, etc.), others (gilt-bronze imitation of mirror used in rituals, gilt-bronze circular objects, gilt-bronze necklace, etc.), and a gilt-bronze Hitogata is a tool to purify, a container is a ritual tool for offering and drinking and eating, spinning and weaving tools are ritual tools which may lead up to the Jingū Divine Treasures, and we can regard a musical instrument Taku (bell) also as a ritual tool. In other words, we can estimate that such objects changed to the new form of offering of ritual tools conscious of divine spirits and rituals from the form of former offering of treasures that had been the early form of Okinoshima Rituals in a clear form for the first time at this stage<sup>35)</sup>.

### Information from Rock No. 5

In Rock No. 5 which belongs to the category of sites partly in the open air and partly in the rock shade, which is said to be the subsequent stage after a rock shelter site, attention is focused on a gilt-bronze dragon head and fragments of a Tang Dynasty three-colored (trichrome) glazed ware as artifacts which shows international exchanges first of all. Meanwhile, if we view it from the change as ritual sites, volumes of kinds of gilt-bronze and iron miniature objects are noticeable. According to the “Thinking about Ancient Times - Okinoshima Island and Ancient Rituals”, what attracts attention to gilt-bronze miniature objects are their extremely diversified and plentiful artifacts such as musical instruments (2 gilt-bronze pentachords (ancient musical instrument with five strings), 4 gilt-bronze bells, 1 iron bell), Hitogata (4 gilt-bronze, 2 iron), spinning and weaving tools (“Tatari”, “Tsumu” spindle, sword-shaped beater, “Chikiri” warp beam, “Oke” wooden vessel, etc.), weapons (iron knife, iron sword, iron spear, iron adze, gilt-bronze adze, gilt-bronze sword), mirrors (iron imitation mirrors, gilt-bronze imitation mirrors), containers (gilt-bronze vase with long neck, gilt-bronze cup) and others (gilt-bronze side comb, gilt-bronze necklace, gilt-bronze article like bell). That is to say, kinds of artifacts as just mentioned above are the composition which may lead up to kinds of divine treasures at the Ise-jingū Shrine. It is assumed that ritual fixtures and the form of rituals leading up to the “Ritsuryō Rituals” which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada had submitted appeared from the aforementioned Site No. 6 to Rock No. 22 in this Okinoshima Island and had been fully equipped in the stage of Rock No.5.



Photo 14 Pentachord musical instrument  
excavated at Site No. 5  
("The Shōsōin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island")

**From Rock No. 17 (second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century) until Rock No. 5 (end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century)**

The information as above described will be positioned in the history of exchanges between ancient Wa and China or countries in the Korean Peninsula as in Table 2. However, in light of the great length of the history of the offering of musical instruments on Okinoshima Island, it is considered highly probable that offerings dating from different periods are mixed at each site. With regard to this, it would be an option to examine the detailed information that has been obtained through archaeological excavations; however, this paper tries to date each site on the understanding that it is of significance to make efforts to narrow down the dates of individual sites based on the major archaeological artifacts characteristic of each site. Here I can point out the following points.

First of all, rituals of Okinoshima Island, where Rock No. 17 is the earliest site, had begun in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and this period falls on the phase when its situation changed to tense relations due to a southward advance made by Goguryeo from the situation of the era when Wa had focused on the introduction of iron materials and advanced technologies from Geumgwan Gaya as is estimated mainly from the Gimhae Daeseong-dong Mounted Tomb Group of Geumgwan, and is overlapping with the phase of the dispatch of troops to the Korean Peninsula by Wa described in the Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo that is basically believed to have been described in 391. The feature of the rituals during that phase is basically wishes for ocean safety. Particularly, the meaning of formal public gratefulness and prayers from the kingly side at the back of the accumulation of memories of numerous nameless voyagers who had visited Okinoshima Island thus far as a “place of rescuing a life” and the “holy island of saving a life” had been presumably put into it, and it is thought that the offering of treasures for that purpose of the king of Wa had been main. And it is estimated that it was the state which had markedly left an awesome belief to still unspecified natural souls and divine souls on the concept of soul, or an animatism belief centering on the awe and reverence toward mana speaking from the concept of anthropology and folklore, a belief to the aforementioned “Shi-kon” if speaking from the ancient concept which the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki tells us.

Secondly, the estimated age range of Rock No. 21 is wide, from the middle third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and this period is highly likely to correspond to the movement of new invigoration of the trade system focused on iron resources in particular between Wa and Paekche from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century which the information from the Jungmakdong Ritual Site in the west coast of Paekche narrates.

Thirdly, the estimation of the age of Rock No. 7 and Rock No. 8 is difficult, but there is a strong likelihood that it is from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century where the suppression by Goguryeo and southward advance of Paekche and Silla had made the Gaya countries placed under its control subsequently. It is characterized by an emergence of a large change in its offering objects. Although past Wa-style bronze mirrors, iron double-edged swords and comma-shaped beads had been included, colorful kinds of gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness and imported cast iron adzes of the Korean Peninsula, particularly of Silla style, had begun to newly occupy the mainstream of the objects, and the offering objects include introduced objects such as cut glasses from Central Asia. We may say that wishes for safety of ocean travels of this age had taken on internationality.

Fourthly, although to estimate the age of Rock No. 6 and Rock No. 22 is also difficult, it is presumptively the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century from a large change in its offering objects. The large change in offering objects is the fact that most of the offering objects such as bronze mirrors, weapons and defensive equipment as past practical objects had disappeared, and instead, miniatures objects such as kinds of vessels and gilt-bronze objects had begun to occupy the mainstream. Gilt-bronze objects of Hitogata is a tool to purify, a container is a ritual tool for offering and eating and drinking, and spinning and weaving tools are ritual tools which may lead up to the Jingū Divine Treasures. In other words, we can estimate that it changed drastically at this stage to the stage of offering ritual tools conscious of divine spirits and rituals from the initial stage of offering of treasures.

Fifthly, it is also difficult to estimate the age of Rock No. 5, but the kinds of artifacts there makes us estimate to be from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to around the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Namely, offering of ritual tools for the sake of Jingi Rituals which had been clarified in Rock No. 6 and Site No. 22 have

become more clearly related to kinds of divine treasures at the Jingū Rituals, and this reflects that the form of “Ritsuryō Rituals” which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada had assumed had been established.

Table 2 Transition of Rituals on Okinoshima Island

4 <sup>th</sup> century = 300s			
313	Gonguryeo ruined Rakurō-gun (ancient district)		
	From this time around, Paekche from Mahan confederacy and Silla from Ch'en Han formed a state respectively and raise its head		
314	Gonguryeo captured Taihō-gun		
316	Xiongnu ruined Xijin (to the age of the Sixteen Kingdoms, until the unification of the North China by Northern Wei dynasty)		
343	Gonguryeo paid tribute to Qian-yan		
372	King of Paekche paid tribute to Dongjin		
377	Gonguryeo/Silla paid tribute to Qian-qin		
391	Wa military crossed the sea; “Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Gonguryeo”		
			Site No. 17 (mirrors, swords, beads)
5 <sup>th</sup> century = 400s			
421	Wa king San paid tribute to Song		
438	Wa king Chin paid tribute to Song; ‘General to Settle East and King of Wa’		
451	Wa king Sai; ‘General To Settle Military Affairs of Six Countries in East’		
			Site No. 21 (mirrors, swords, beads, flat iron ingots)
475	Gonguryeo attacked Paekche, king of Paekche died in the battle, its capital Seoul fallen		
478	Wa king Bu presented a memorial; ‘Great General To Settle Military Affairs of Six Countries in East’		
6 <sup>th</sup> century = 500s			
512	Ōtomo-o-Kanamura ceded 4 prefectures of Gaya (Imna) to Paekche		
			Site No. 7 (gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness)
			Site No. 8 (cut glass)
527	Riot of Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai		
538	Seong-wang of Paekche sent Buddhism and books of religious teachings to the king of Wa		
562	Silla ruined Gaya		
	End of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century Kofun period ended		
7 <sup>th</sup> century = 600s			
600	Japanese mission to Tang-dynasty China	607	Japanese mission to Sui-dynasty China
			Site No. 6
Early 7 <sup>th</sup> century	Early sign of Ritsuryō Rituals		Site No. 22 (gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools)
In the second half	Formation of Ritsuryō Rituals		Site No. 5
8 <sup>th</sup> century = 700s Age of Ritsuryō Rituals			
9 <sup>th</sup> century = 800s Site			
			No. 1 (continued until the 9 <sup>th</sup> century)

### (3) Ritsuryō Ritual and its Pioneering Form - Historical Meaning of the 7th Century -

#### End of the Kofun period

The Kofun period when the external representation of a large mounted tomb of a tribal chief had a political, religious meaning ended in the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The Mise Maruyama Tomb in Nara Prefecture can be said to be a tomb in the last stage of the period. The Kofun period started in the age of the Hashihaka Tomb (keyhole-shaped tomb with round near mound) around A.D. 240. in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to the Mise Maruyama Tomb (keyhole-shaped tomb with round near mound) of the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the

beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century or around A.D. 600, thus lasted for approximately 350 years. The Kofun period ended in around A.D. 600, when such keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound had disappeared. We must avoid confusing the period division of the age. In other words, the 7<sup>th</sup> century (in the century of the 600s) is not any more the Kofun period. Approximately 100 years in the 7<sup>th</sup> century or years in the 600s were the age which have been gradually clarified as the target of the history on literature using the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki as basic materials. And its period from the reign of the Empress Suiko to the Emperor Temmu and the Empress Jitō is reasonably positioned as the starting period toward the Ritsuryō state system to its completion period.

Speaking from the place where a capital is established, the naming of “Asuka period” which the study of art history have called customarily as against the “Nara period” after transferring to Heijō-kyō should be checked from the viewpoint of whether it is really correct also in terms of the history of politics. At least, we should not use phrases such as “Late Kofun age” to refer to the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>36)</sup>, because it is misleading.

### From the External Representation to the Internal Representation

The history education often uses an expression of from the age of keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound in the first period or middle period of the Kofun period to the age of the Gunshūfun (cluster of small mounded tombs) in the late period. However, we should avoid the expression because this may cause misunderstanding. Logically, first, if it is referred from the type, we should say from the age of huge keyhole-shaped tombs to the age of small circular mounded tombs or rectangular mounded tombs.

And secondly, if we speak from the representation of mounted tombs, we should say from the age of the external representation that had been comprised of a lot of ceramic clay figures placed on the surface of tumuli or moats surrounding a mounded tomb in huge burial mounds to the age of the internal representation composed of the huge rock structure of corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral (side) entrance (horizontal chamber; passive grave), decorative wall paintings using ashlar or sarcophagus with side entrance. The age when huge mounted tombs, burial mounds had not function as the political power is the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The representation of the new political power was the main hall of the imperial palace complex and Buddhist temples. If I cite symbolic examples, it includes Asuka Itabuki-no-Miya and Asuka-dera in the reign of the Empress Suiko. On its extension, there are Asuka Kiyomihara-no-Miya and Aramashi-no-Miyako (Fujiwara-Kyō) of the reign of the Emperors Temmu/Jitō and Daikandai-ji temple, and subsequent Heijō Kyō and Tōdai-ji Temple. Now, what has become of the mounted tombs? Such tombs had been transfigured to new ones which had been affected by the continent or the Peninsula like the octagonal Noguchi-Ō-no-Haka Tomb in Nara Prefecture that is said to be the combined Imperial Mausoleum of the Emperors Temmu/Jitō, or Takamatsu-zuka Tomb and the Kitora Tomb in which imposing wall paintings were painted. It had not already had a meaning as naked external representation, but had a meaning as internalized representation of the power. The Empress Jitō, who proceeded with the building of Aramashi-no-Miyako (Fujiwara-kyō) as a new representation of the power, built the mounded tomb of her husband Emperor Temmu in the extreme south of the central road of the Aramashi-no-Miyako, on the extension of the axis line and in a state that is visually identifiable. And she built the Yamashiro Imperial Mausoleum of the existence of her great father Emperor Tenji, who had been utilized in the edicts of unchangeable “Fukai-no-Jōten”, on the extension 55km extreme north of the axis line of similarly Aramashi-no-Miyako on the contrary to the Imperial Mausoleum of the Emperor Temmu.<sup>(37)</sup> The Yamashiro Imperial Mausoleum is located at longitude 135°48’ 36” to 37” East, and the axis line of Aramasu-no-kyō is at longitude 135°48’ 37” East. Aramashi-no-Miyako was a capital built so that the Emperor of her father and the emperor of her husband protected it from South and North.

Cloud which is trailing facing southward over Kitayama North Mountain,

Like the blue cloud which has left stars and even the moon,

Soul of my husband has risen to heaven

(Volume 2, 161 Man’yōshū (“Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves”; oldest existing anthology of Japanese poetry))

This poem is said to be sung by the Empress Jitō who made it as mourning over the demise of the Emperor Temmu. Poet SAITŌ Mokichi interrupted “facing southward” as the Yamashiro Imperial Mausoleum of the Emperor Temmu located northward<sup>38)</sup>. This poem lets me imagine that the Empress Jitō was gazing at stars and the light of the moon while being conscious of the Mausoleums of her father Emperor and her husband



## Emperor in the South and North.

For your information, in relation to the position of the Aramashi-no-Miyako, there is an importance fact also in the original rituals of the Ise-jingū Shrine and Izumo Shrine and erection of the buildings of the Shinto shrines in which the author is especially interested<sup>39)</sup>. From the fact including that the posthumous name when she died in 703 is “Oyamato Neko Ameno Hirono Himenomiko” in “Shoku-nihongi”, meanwhile that in the Nihonshoki established in 730 is “Takamagahara Hironohime-no-Sumeramikoto” and other several facts, it is estimated that the model of Amaterasu-Ōmikami may be the Empress Jitō. The emperor paid an imperial visit to the Ise-jingū Shrine which worships Amaterasu-Ōmikami in March 692. The construction of the Aramashi-no-Miyako had been proceeding as a new imperial capital around that period. The emperor conducted a Shinto ground-breaking ceremony of the new walled town and inspected it in around the imperial visit. Consequently, the meaning of the walled town and the shrine is considered to have been extremely important and closely related. This is because the Aramashi-no-Miyako and the Ise-jingū Shrine are located in almost same latitude and faces the direction of the extreme east. The Inner Shrine is located at latitude 34°45' North, while the Outer Shrine is located at latitude 34°48' North. Meanwhile, the earthen platform of the Council Hall in the Imperial Palace of the Aramashi-no-Miyako remaining in Takadono-chō, Kashihara City is located at latitude 34°30' North approximately, while the remains of the Daikandai-ji temple is located at latitude 34°48' North approximately. This would never be a coincidence. That is because in building the Aramashi-no-Miyako by the Empress Jitō as described above, personnel responsible for official duties of observing astronomical phenomena, number of years, signs of wind and cloud which would be taken care of by the Divination Bureau under the Ritsuryō system in later days is estimated to have had already been actively involved in such jobs. This is fully assumable from the article seen in the edict of the transfer of the capital to Heijō-kyō by the Empress Gemmei in February, the first year of Wadō (701): Since the ancient times to the present day, the Imperial Court has observed the sun and watched stars, initiated the origin of the reigning line, selected the date and watched carefully the land, and built capitals of the emperors. By constructing the imperial capital in this land, the fundament of the emperor's chief official task or ruling of the country shall be solidified for a long time, and the eternal prosperity of the state shall be achieved. It is natural that the survey based on the astronomical knowledge had been conducted in the construction of the then walled city in the basis of the recognition of the directions of north, south, east and west, and as is assumed from the poem of the Empress Jitō as earlier explained, it is estimated that the method to observe stars by fixing seasons and time made it possible to make the building site of the capital city in Asuka corresponding to the building site of the building of the seashore in Ise by observing stars.

The Ise-jingū is indeed worshiped in the sacred place of Ise in which the sun rises, extreme east from the Aramashi-no-Miyako including Yamato San-zan (Yamato Three Mountains). In other words, although the kingly power of the Emperors Temmu/Jitō which established the Ritsuryō system emphasized the Mounded Tomb Rituals, it had been transfigured to the kingly power with a worldview completely heterogeneous and different-dimension with the kingly power of the “Kofun period”, the kingly representation of which had been that huge keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound. The new kingly power used “kind of Ritsuryō Rituals” as the core of its authorities.

### Preceding History of Ritsuryō Rituals and the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island

When we consider an issue of ancient Jingi Rituals, it was Mr. INOUE Mitsusada who prepared concepts of “kind of Ritsuryō Ritual” and “Ritsuryō Ritual” and made efforts to verify it. Mr. INOUE prudently used an expression of “kind of Ritsuryō Ritual”, but he used an expression of “Ritsuryō ritual” as well. In this manuscript, I would like to frankly use an expression of “Ritsuryō Ritual” in this paper. The insightful view of Mr. INOUE is expressed in his book “Kingly Power and Ritual in Ancient Japan”<sup>40)</sup> and it is very convincing. First of all, it states “what I call ‘kind of Ritsuryō Ritual’ here is a national ritual which had been regulated and executed in accordance with the laws called Jingiryō (the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes) of the Taihō Administrative Code (Taihōryō) promulgated in early 8<sup>th</sup> century”, and it further states that Shiki (legal procedures) as regulations concerning application of the law incidental to the Taihō Administrative Code of early 8<sup>th</sup> century must have also existed, and the Shiki is considered to be the one that should be called the original form of “Engishiki” established in early 10<sup>th</sup> century. And it mentions “therefore, when I call ‘kind of Ritsuryō Ritual’, I concurrently include in the word “Shiki” incidental to it as well as “Ryō”. Further it mentions “the form of the kind of Ritsuryō Rituals had been established, not for

the first time by the implementation of the Taihō Penal and Administrative Code (Taihō Ritsuryō) formed and completed in the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, early 8<sup>th</sup> century, but ‘a precursory form’ of the kind of Ritsuryō Rituals had existed before that, and it had already been conducted at the time when the 6<sup>th</sup> century ended and the 7<sup>th</sup> century began or around the reign of the Empress Suiko. The Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes and Shiki incidental to it are regarded to be the ones which improved the Ritsuryō-like Rituals as the pioneering form in Chinese way and in a form of a code of laws and codified.”

The book states that this is supported by the information from the Okinoshima Ritual Site, and is assumed firstly from changes in vessels (appearance of pot (Kame) of Sue ware (unglazed stoneware), vessel stand, long-necked jar, dish with pedestal, rounded jar of Hajiki, etc.), and secondly, changes in metal miniatures (appearance of weapon tool, tools, spinning and weaving tool, container, Hitogata, musical instrument (Japanese zither with five strings) made of iron, gilt-bronze, copper, etc.). About vessels, it states “ritual vessels that have not been excavated so far and maintained the form as one set has emerged from Rock No. 5” is a large change, and kinds of the vessels in Rock No. 1 shows the subsequent succession and development. It says that “the situation thereof is clearly matched to the various forms of vessels of Engishiki”, and “this would be narrating that “‘Ritsuryō-like Ritual’ or its ‘pioneering form’ seen in Engishiki “ ... will emerge between the middle third of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the middle third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.” Also about metal miniatures, it states “in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, unique aspects begin to appear”, “(i) gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools, (ii) gilt-bronze containers, (iii) other gilt-bronze objects (such as Hitogata are excavated in large lots”, and “the point here is that Ritsuryō-like Rituals have also appeared in these aspects, and particularly, the fact that such objects are identical to the divine objects of the Inner Shrine of Ise.” Based on such matters as just described above, the book states it is considered that “ ‘what it is like’ kind of Ritsuryō ‘can never have been formulated for the first time by the Ritsuryō code formed and promulgated in the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, early 8<sup>th</sup> century, and “Ritsuryō-like Rituals had already begun to be formed probably around the reign of the Empress Suiko.”

This opinion of Mr. INOUE is completely wrapping with the information which the author have pursued and summarized in this manuscript, and I may refer it to be the one that has anticipated my summary. If that is so, I wonder if the summary of information which I have done so far is a fruitless work “like putting a fifth wheel on a carriage”? I don’t think it necessarily fruitless<sup>41)</sup>. I have the impudence to consider that the matching at the conclusive stage only with different procedures of the analysis would rather give me courage to the result of my simple and roundabout work. Then, what are the different points of the opinions between Mr. INOUE and the author? Even if it is a small matter, the very existence of it and what it may mean would be important. The different point of the opinions between Mr. INOUE and the author is not a criticism to that of Mr. INOUE, but a proposal of new viewpoints. First, Mr. INOUE, in accordance with the viewpoint of the archaeology which undertook the survey, quoted the periodical divisions of rituals on top of a rock (first stage), rituals in the shade of a rock (in the shade of an overhanging rock; beneath a overhanging rock) (second stage), rituals partly in the shade of a rock (third stage), rituals in the open air (forth stage) as they are. By contrast, the author, although in a position of an amateur as he is, with your permission, has tried to examine the periodical divisions from the viewpoint of folklore of scrutiny of the transmitted information and once relativize them, and is particular about the periodical divisions as shown in Table 2. Secondly, Mr. INOUE stated that a periodical range of about 100 years had applied to the period of the large change from the middle third of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the middle third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and Ritsuryō rituals had begun to be formed at least in the reign of the Empress Suiko. Meanwhile, the author will not see the turning point in such a long range of time but think early 7<sup>th</sup> century is precisely a major turning point. He thinks that this is linked to a large tuning point as mentioned earlier of from the “termination of the Kofun period” (termination of the age of the external representation of mounded tombs of the kingly power) toward “beginning of Asuka period” (starting to the establishment of a Chinese-style Ritsuryō state system for the sake of the construction of the basis for the kingly power)<sup>42)</sup>.

### **Epoch of the Reign of the Empress Suiko**

The reign of the Empress Suiko is the age in which a major shock that hit the kings of Wa and their kingly power as a result of sending Japanese envoys to Sui Dynasty China twice -- in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Kaihuang (600) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Daye (607), as mentioned in the “Zuishō Wakokuden” (account of Japan of the History of Sui) -- prompted a first step to the structural innovation of the Yamato Kingly Power. This is the age which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada as a matter of course, his teacher Mr. SAKAMOTO Tarō, and predecessor TSUDA Sōkichi, positioned clearly as a major turning point of the ancient history<sup>43)</sup>. This is

the age in which the kingly power of kings of Wa imitated the Chine-style Ritsuryō state system and began to try to start an establishment of own kingly system anew. This start was a major renovation inclusive of establishment of a bureaucratic structure, editing of cods, improvement of clothing/ceremonies/music, acceptance/utilization of Buddhism, editing of national history and so on. But what we cannot miss in the period of the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century is the termination of the Kofun period as I referred to earlier. It is a complete ending of the age when huge mounded tombs as representation had been the political power. The main hall of a palace complex or temples would play its roles as a new representation of the power, but the meaning of a new development of the Jingi Rituals seen during that period is grave. This falls on the age of Rock No. 6 or Site No. 22 in the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island, and the pioneering form to Ritsuryō Rituals which Mr. INOUE refers began to be formed in the reign of the Empress Suiko, in early 7<sup>th</sup> century as just explained above. It also would mean that a hypothetical viewpoint of “Jingi Rituals are the conquering of Mounted Tomb Rituals” which I presented earlier in the section of “3. Ancient history of Izumo and Concept of the Spirit” will be supported.

**(4) Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes and Emperor Rituals**  
**- From “Shaman/Imibito” to “Ritual for vitalization of emperor’s spirit /Purification Ritual -**

**Ritsuryō Rituals and the System of Allotting Heihaku (offerings to Gods) to Pray for a Good Harvest**

The basic structure of Ritsuryō Rituals is presented in the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes. The entire twenty articles in the Laws above are, according to Mr. INOUE Mitsusada, are divided into the following fives:

- (1) Customary public rituals (Article 1 to Article 9)
- (2) Ceremonies of enthronement and Sai (Celebration) (Article 10 to Article 14)
- (3) Management of rituals (Article 15 to Article 17)
- (4) Purification Ritual (Article 18, Article 19)
- (5) Accounting of the shrine (Article 20)

It is very regrettable that we cannot know the total of the study due to the sudden death of Mr. INOUE. However, in his last book “Kingly Power and Ritual in Ancient Japan”<sup>44)</sup>, he pointed out many important and valuable points from the study of demonstrative history. For example, he verified the content of the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes, and based on the comparison between that and the Administrative Code of the Tang Dynasty which the Taihō Administrative Code must have used as reference, he pointed out:

- (1) There are no articles on Chinese-style ancestral mausoleum rituals
- (2) Many personified gods appear in the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, but the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes mentions all the gods in heaven and rituals under the ground only and the concept of god there is vague
- (3) A Prayer Festival and Tsukinami-sai (monthly festival) are emphasized, and in particular, it is so comprised as to be called “the System of Allotting Heihaku to Pray for a Good Harvest.

In concert with the fact that the Ritsuryō system is to control all the people and land on the basis of a single principle as shown by an expression of Kōchi-kōmin (the ownership of all lands and serfs by the emperor) and others, the “System of Allotting Heihaku to Pray for a Good Harvest” is to conduct religious ceremonies of notable shrines across-the-country which the people worship on the basis of a single principle, in other words, the system is to grasp exclusively the rights of rituals of nation-wide shrines by Emperors and the Imperial Court, offer sacred staff for the spring prayer and unanimously pray for abundant crops of countries. There are other valuable points in every corner of the book.

**Ritual for vitalization of emperor’s spirit and Daijō (Great Thanksgiving)**  
**- Structure of Centricity and Redistribution -**

Learning from the deciphering of Mr. INOUE as described above, if I would tell my personal opinions from the standpoint of Japanese folklore of the author who learns from YANAGIDA Kunio and ORIKUCHI

Shinobu as Mr. INOUE referred to in his books<sup>45)</sup>, what we would like to pay attention to the Ritsuryō Rituals particularly shown in the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes are firstly Daijō and Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit, and secondly, Sai. That is because these are noteworthy, indispensable items for the ancient kingly power to converge into the ancient emperor under the Ritsuryō system. That is for the purpose of solving a problem of how the two attributes, first one is an attribute as a shaman and second one is an attribute as an Imibito as attributes of the ancient kingly power as mentioned earlier, were converted amid a major conversion of the kingly power and the state towards the Ritsuryō state system. For example, this is because it is necessary to clarify the mechanism of the conversion of, firstly, from a shaman king who was hotly enchanted like the Empress Jingū to the kingly power of the Empress Jitō who issued the dignified edict, and secondly the mechanism of the conversion from an Imibito called as "Jisai" who was in danger of being killed depending on success or failure of his own mourning to a sacred Imibito like the Emperor Shōmu who had Confucian sense which took epidemics and famines as his own lack of virtue, but without danger of being killed and vowed to build provincial Buddhist temples and a great statue of Buddha by way of belief in Buddha.

First, about the Daijō and Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit, the Employee Code of the Taihō Administrative Code refers to the direct official duties of the Jingihaku (Head of the Councils of Religious Affairs) as (Shō, administration), Jingi Rituals, Hahuribe-Kanbe-no-Myōjaku, (family register), Daijō (great thanksgiving), Chinkon (ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit), Mikannagi (a virgin consecrated to a deity), Bokuchō (divination), (decision-making of the administration of Councils of Religious Affairs). Although this is from a different dimension of a Prayer Festival and the System of Allotting Heihaku to which Mr. INOUE put emphasis, what the author observes first is that Daijō and Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit, and Mikannagi and Bokuchō are particularly emphasized as the duties of the Head of the Councils of Religious Affairs as described above. With regard to the reason why Daijō and Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit are emphasized, the Ryōshaku, an explanatory book on the Yōrō Codes dating from the era of Enryaku (782 to 806), writes that "these festivals are the most important of all" and the section of questions and answers in the "Ryō-no-gige", which was compiled in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Tenchō (833) explains that "this is exclusively for the masters and will not cover common people." Why then Daijō and Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit are regarded as especially important festival? That's because these are festivals of updating the divine power of an emperor. The details thereof were mentioned in each one of my previous books and manuscripts<sup>46)</sup>, so I would like you to read them as reference. But its summary is as follows. Daijō is divided into two as defined in the regulation of the Taihō Administrative Code; "one year in a reign" (Great Thanksgiving Festival per enthronement) and "the one to be conducted every year). Each of them is in principle a festive ceremony in which the emperor offers food and wine offered to the gods of a new crop and eats it on his/her own, meaning that the ceremony will have the imperial person take in new and pure soul of crop and update his/her mysterious power. It is Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit that is conducted on the previous day of the Great Thanksgiving of the day of the Rabbit. There is a first type, which falls under the system of the Taihō Codes after the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, and a second type, which had been innovated in the process of the Shiki of the Jōgan/Engi from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The first type centers on a ceremony of Ukifune Tsuki (a ceremony in which a court lady pierces the bottom of a vessel-like box after the legend of Japan) of reappearance of the divine possession of Ame-no-Uzume originated in the mythology of Ame-no-Iwado in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, and the second type is focused on ten kinds of divine treasures referred to in Sendai-Kūjihongi (Record of Former Affairs of Previous Emperors) and an episode in which a court lady has the costume box of the emperor vibrate relevant to it. Either type is a festival meaning the infusion of the "soul of external origin" to the imperial person and reinvigoration of the mysterious power. It is Toyo-no-akari-no-Sechie on the day of the Dragon of the next day which allocates to the whole body of retainers the mysterious power of the emperor which is refreshed and restrengthened through the Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit on the day of the Tiger and the Great Thanksgiving on the day of the Rabbit. In other words, a series of festivals of "Ritual for vitalization of emperor's spirit on the day of the Tiger, Great Thanksgiving on the day of the Rabbit, Toyo-no-akari-no-Sechie on the day of the Dragon" as described above are festivals which can be read as the structure of the so-called "centricity" and "redistribution", in which treasures of a community is once collected to the central and stored to be redistributed through an activity of the community such as a ceremony, which Karl Polanyi (1896 - 1964) asserts<sup>47)</sup>.

### Self-renewal from “Shaman”

Repose of Soul and Great Thanksgiving, which had meant the infusion of the “soul of external origin” to the imperial person and reinvigoration of the mysterious power, and that of the stage of the first type of the Repose of Soul was centering on the reappearance of the divine possession of Ame-no-Uzume and the ceremony of the Ukifune Tsuki, which narrates that the festival of the Repose of Soul had originally been a ceremony of an enchantment, possession. What had been emphasized as official duties of the Head of the Jingikan together with Repose of Soul and Great Thanksgiving were Mikannagi and Bokuchō, either of which narrates that a great king of the ancient date had originally been an enhanced shaman, and concurrently, the one who had been breaking out of the mold, improved and refined in tandem with the establishment of the Ritsuryō state system. An example in which an originally shaman character of the great king (emperor) had been well memorized and recorded is an divine inspiration of the Empress Jingū which the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki mentioned above describes, and examples of the final stage of a shaman prayer and Bokusen (augury) similar to this would be a prayer by the Empress Kōgyoku for rain on the dry river in Minabuchi described in the article of August, the first year of the reign of the Empress Kōgyoku (642) in “Nihonshoki” and the figure of the Emperor Temmu devoting to Bokuzei (fortune-telling) and prayers in the midst of the Jinshin War. However, with the formation of the Ritsuryō Rituals centering on the Laws on Deities of the Taiho and Yōrō Codes, the shaman character of the Emperor as mentioned above had moved to the direction of escaping from it and being polished, and what had been improved as a ceremony unique to the emperor in replacement of it were Ritual for vitalization of emperor’s spirit and Great Thanksgiving to which the Head of the Jingikan served, and what had been improved and continued as the substitute duty of the role of the traditional shaman is considered to have been “Mikannagi and Bokuchō” which the Head of the Jingikan had taken its care<sup>48)</sup>.

To the renewal and transformation from the shaman under the Ritsuryō system of the emperor as explained above, a policy viewed as responding to it was suppression on private mediums Fugeki between the gods and mortals. In the Article of the description of July, the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the Record of Kōgyoku (644), there is a topic in which Oube-no-Ō and Fugeki had worshiped wombs as god of eternity and losses expanded, and they were got rid of by Hata-no-tsukuri-Kawakatsu. This topic was transcended together with a song of “Uzumasa (address name of Kawakatsu) hit and punished the god of eternity who is rumored to be the god of gods!” In addition, in the Article of August 17, the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Tempyō-shōhō (752) in the “Shoku-nihongi”, there are an article in which 17 Fugeki members of Kyōtō were arrested and condemned to exile to remote places such as Izu, Oki and Tosa or in the Article of December 14, the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Hōki (780), there is an article of the prohibition of the activities of Fugeki as they mislead ignorant peasants in Sakyō and Ukyō.

### Araimi/Maimi and Purification Ritual - Breakaway Escaping from “Imibito” -

The basics of Ritsuryō Rituals defined in the Laws on Deities of the Taiho and Yōrō Codes are Araimi and Maimi and the Purification Rituals in addition to Prayer Festivals and the System of Allotting Heihaku, and Repose of Soul and Great Thanksgiving. Araimi in Japanese reading means a light fasting to be conducted before Maimi (the severest fasting). By contrast, Maimi is the severest fasting conducted after Araimi, meaning Maimi (“true imi” with the same reading with the first Maimi). As actions to be avoided, it cites six items of mourn for the dead, question about one’s disease, eating meat, judgment of a death by execution, composition of music and involving with defilement. Meanwhile, the Purification Ritual is conducted on the last day of June and December, and the order of the event is as follows: First, Nakatomi Clan offers the purification tool to the emperor, Mombu of East/West offers the purifying sword to the emperor and reads a purifying poem. Next, males and females of all the duties gather in the place of purity and the Nakatomi Clan reads the purifying poem while the Urabe Clan purifies the defilement. Mr. INOUE states that the purifying poem above would be lead up to the one described in the subsequent Engishiki. The Mombu of East/West, chanting the originally Chinese words of the purifying poem, offers persons as stipends and prays for the removal of a misfortune from the body of the emperor, and offers a golden sword and prays for the eternity of the age of the emperor. He pointed out<sup>49)</sup> that the “persons as stipends” might be 36 iron Hitogata (each 16 of gold appearance and silver appearance, 4 no-decoration) of offering of the purification for the emperor and empress to be set in the Jōgan Gishiki (ceremonies), each 2 of gold/silver plating Hitogata of offering of the Purification Ritual in Engishiki and similarly 2 iron Hitogata of offering of the purification for the emperor and empress. Each of them is Hitogata as a purification tool.

It is Mr. KANEKO Hiroyuki, one of those who developed its study, inspired by the concept of the Ritsuryō-like Rituals or Ritsuryō Rituals of Mr. INOUE. Mr. KANEKO, in accordance with the concept of the Ritsuryō-like Rituals of Mr. INOUE, gave a consideration to the characters of potteries with a human face inscribed with sumi writings and designs, clay horse, model cooking range, metal ritual tools as well as wooden ritual tools in ancient walled cities, and mentioned that such items would be those related to the Purification Rituals which had been in an important position in the Ritsuryō-like Rituals in principle<sup>50</sup>). On the contrary to the excavation report which interprets the artifacts of each object representing the human being/horse/ship in huge amounts discovered in the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island as offerings to gods, he interpreted that such items are ritual tools used for purification. The problem of whether the artifacts on Okinoshima Island are offering items or ritual tools is very important, but if we answer to it in the past context of this manuscript, it will not use many words any more. A huge sum of miniatures artifacts of objects representing the human being/horse/ship unearthed from Rock No. 6, Site No. 22 and subsequently Site No. 5 might be considered to have had a meaning as a ritual tool as Mr. KANEKO states. These must be sites of the period in which the Wa Kingly Power had entered the stage of Ritsuryō rituals. Establishment and improvement of the ceremonies of Arami and Maimi and Purification Rituals as described above would have also been creation of new substitute equipment and substitute ceremonies under the Ritsuryō state system of a function as the sacred Imibito as an important attribute of the kingly power of a traditional great king (emperor).

#### **(5) Academic Value of the Archaeological Sites on Okinoshima Island**

I would like to mention several points which I could learn from this site in relation to the importance of the academic value of Okinoshima Island below in closing this manuscript.

##### **Inevitability of the Conversion of the Ancient Kingly Power - Effectiveness of the Imibito Concept -**

Information which the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island transmit has revealed that Jingi Rituals of ancient Japan or Ritsuryō Rituals had been one “culture”, formed as an epoch of the reign of the Empress Suiko in early 600 or early 7<sup>th</sup> century. That was a so-called cultivated culture, having been formed in the stage conquering the Kofun rituals. The “culture” of ancient Japan of the Jingi Rituals had been characteristically based on “the Prayer Festival and the System of Allotting Heihaku”, “Ritual for vitalization of emperor’s spirit and Great Thanksgiving” and “Celebration/Mourning and Purification Ritual”. This means that the form of an ancient great king (emperor) had switched from the form of existence in which the success or failure of the functions of a shaman and an imibito who were the primitive figures of the kingly power and their vivid actual state cannot help but be in uncertainty, and an abnormal mysterious power can be shown all the more in a primitive society on the contrary, and beyond such hermaphrodite dynamic form of existence of the both, to the new “culturally” polished and systematically improved stable existence. The following hypothesis of inherent nature about the revelation of the power of divine spirits of the kingly power of ancient Japan will be extracted from the observation of the formation process of the Ritsuryō Rituals thus far pursued.

##### **Formation of Jingi Rituals of Ancient Japan - One great Conversion in early 7<sup>th</sup> Century -**

The hypothesis has the following features. The respective features of five ages put below are noteworthy when we pursue the origin of Jingi Rituals in ancient Japan and the formation processes thereof.

- (1) Relation between a belief in natural spirits or divine spirits assumed in a hunting and gathering economic society of Jōmon period and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
- (2) Relation between the concept of the sacred place and bronze implement rituals in an agricultural economic society in the Yayoi period and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
- (3) Relation between tribal chief Mounded Tomb Rituals in the Kofun period and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
- (4) Relation between the movement from the starting period toward a Ritsuryō state to the formation of its development and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
- (5) Completion of the formation of a Ritsuryō state and features of its Jingi Rituals.

The problem here is a chronological development of the division of five periods and the concept of soul and behaviors on belief of its each period. And the information of formation of Jingi Rituals in the periods of aforementioned (3), (4) and (5) in particular is provided from the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island, and if I summarize major discussion points here, they are the following five points:

First, Jingi Rituals in the level which may be established as Ritsuryō Rituals had not yet been established in the period of (3) above. In the period of (3) above, there was a stage where imported goods of gilt-bronze horse trappings and accessories became major offerings next from the stage where imported objects and bronze mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes had been a major offering at first. In the next period of (4), a major renovation of the political structure had been conducted on account of the political, cultural impact due to diplomatic exchanges with the Sui Empire, and improvement of new ritual functions and ritual ceremonies of the kingly power had been processed in the system renovation. What had been acquired as a result of it were Ritsuryō Rituals and Jingi Rituals.

Secondly, however, from the information of the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, there can be no doubt that bronze bells, bronze swords, socketed bronze spearheads, comma-shaped beads, etc. in the Yayoi period of (2) above and bronze mirrors, iron double-edged swords, comma-shaped beads, etc. in the Kofun period of (3) are also major elements consisting Jingi Rituals of ancient Japan. Then, what are the relations between the formation of Ritsuryō Rituals/Jingi Rituals beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century of (4) above, and the belief in the divine souls or natural souls at the time in the Yayoi period of (2) or the Kofun period (3) which preceded it? That is the problem. Now, one interpretation is like the hypothesis I presented when pursuing the original figure of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto of Izumo as I earlier mentioned in the section of 3. Ancient History of Izumo and Concept of the Soul, amid the arrival of the age of new state Ritsuryō Rituals from (4) to (5) through the age of the Mounded Tomb Rituals of tribal chiefs in which certain tribal chiefs of (3) owned theocracy political power and military power from the age of the community-like, natural-deity-belief, bronze implement rituals of (2) above, the concept of divine spirits had been fermented as the condensed figure of memories of ritual kings who had been memorized, accumulated and told from generation to generation in the passing of ages from previous bronze-implement rituals to Kofun rituals, and the belief and ceremonies of the Jingi Rituals had been formulated based on it. Even in a case of great kings (emperors) of the ancient times, it is estimated that there might have been such a background of accumulated and multi-layered memories and its condensed image in such a long history in oral traditions concerning Ōhirume-no-muchi or Amaterasu-Ōmikami.

Thirdly, it is the relation between the establishment of Okinoshima Island Rituals and the creations of other shrines. For example, it is positioning if compared to the case of the Izumo Shrine estimated to be one typical example of the shrines established at the earliest age in Japan. In the pursuit in my previous book about the creation of the Izumo Shrine<sup>51)</sup>, I estimated that the fermentation of the concept of the sacred land to the land of the root of the Shimane Peninsula to which the West Ocean Flow constantly drifts, as is estimated from bronze halberds and jade comma-shaped beads unearthed from under a huge rock at the back of Inochinushi-no-yashiro adjacent to the Grand Shrine, might have already existed in the Yayoi period of bronze implement rituals. By contrast, it was the second half of the first half of the Kofun period or the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century when offering of treasures such as bronze mirrors to Okinoshima Island started. Now looking at the situation how large-sized socketed bronze spearheads of bronze implements representing the preceding Yayoi period, for example, 190 docketed bronze spearheads had been discovered in places centering on the plateau or mountain sides overlooking the Asaji Port, a natural good harbor of Tsushima, in the northern Kyūshū region, for instance. This is the quantity exceeding 126 of Fukuoka Prefecture in the mainland of the Kyūshū region. In other words, kinds of ritual paraphernalia presumably for the sake of wishes for safety had been concentrated in the land of Tsushima for voyages in the Yayoi period, and Okinoshima Island had not been a trade relay base with the Korean Peninsula nor an island of rituals, we can say. In this regard, it is very different from the thought on the erection of the Izumo Shrine in the root of the Shimane Peninsula facing the Korean Peninsula and Chinese continent over the sea similarly. This is because ritual tools of bronze implements have been excavated in huge lots in the Izumo area. Namely, we have an age restraint to search for the origin of the Jingi Rituals of Japan with Okinoshima Island Rituals<sup>52)</sup>.

Fourthly, I wrote in detail in my previous book that the Ritsuryō state kingly power of the Emperor Temmu and the Emperor Jimmu in which the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki and the Ise-jingū Shrine



are placed on the core of the belief and ceremonies of its Jingi Rituals was an extraordinarily super religious kingly power.<sup>(53)</sup> Very important common points found between the ritual tools which had been used in rituals of the Ise-jingū Shrine and the ritual tools discovered in Rock No. 6 and Site No. 22 estimated to be early 7<sup>th</sup> century of the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island, and those discovered in Rock No. 5 estimated to be the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century will get a reasoning that the rituals of the Ise-jingū Shrine are Jingi Rituals as Ritsuryō Rituals and the formation thereof was after the 7<sup>th</sup> century, if considering very simply. This reasoning is due to the common feature of the spinning and weaving tools (“Tatari”, “Oke” wooden vessel, “Kasei” H- or X-shaped frame for winding spun yarn, “Tsumu”, “Okake”, “Takabata” floor loom), mirrors, weapons (sword, bow, arrow, quiver, elbow protector, shield), musical instruments (bell, string instrument) and others as main ritual tools. Such ritual tools also will lead up to the Jingū Divine Treasures offered for relocation of the Jingū. It is natural that it should have the structure of Ritsuryō Rituals because the Ise-jingū Shrine is positioned as core of the national ritual centering on the Jingikan in the Ritsuryō state system.

However, on the other hand, it is important to consider the meaning of the tradition of the combination of the three kinds of treasure, the bronze mirror, iron double-edged sword and comma-shaped bead which have been handed down generation to generation in the fermentation of certain historical memories described in the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki. As I also referred to this earlier in the section of “3. Ancient History of Izumo and Concept of the Soul”, what Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto carries in the mythology of the transfer of the country which the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki describe is Hirohoko (wide spearhead) (bronze spearhead) and Yasakani-no-Magatama (comma-shaped bead), what Amaterasu-Ōmikami carries is Hōkyō and Yasakani-no-Magatama. What is told in the disposal of giant snake Yamata-no-Orochi by Susanowo-no-Mikoto is conversion from very long Totsuka-no-Tsurugi sword (bronze sword) to Kusanagi-no-Tsurugi (Grass-Mowing Sword) (iron sword). The provision of such tools is not merely a chance, but we can read a story that has reflected to a certain degree memories and traditions of the conversion of the historic times of from memories of the age of the artifacts of bronze implements rituals in the far remote Yayoi period to the age of Mounded Tomb Rituals of tribal chiefs with weapons in the Kofun period. In other words, it is considered that the orientation which seeks its own descent from the Kofun period had been likely handed down generation to generation in the world of memories of the Yamato Kingly Power.

Fifthly, the importance of the accumulation of valuable real materials in an intermittently long history from Rock No. 17 in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century of the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island to Rock No. 1 in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century is emphasized by everybody. From the standpoint of folklore of the people including the author who always stand on the stance of the complete history, the sites are rich in very valuable information. We may say it is almost a miracle. Most of archaeological sites are confined in terms of time. Although the historical information at this place, at this time is rich, to pursue long, intermittent historical changes at that place, at that time is difficult. However, the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island transmit the historical information of its really long age, abundant materials of artifacts accumulated intermittently in the same place from the second half of the first half of the Kofun period to the termination of the Kofun period, and the Asuka period that was heading for the formation of the Ritsuryō state, and further from Nara period as the establishment of the Ritsuryō state and the age of its change to the first half of Heian period. This is the transmission of information based on the specific, genuine materials of artifacts concerning the history of negotiations with the Korean Peninsula and the Chinese continent. This manuscript is a trial to analyze closely indirect information only, but cultural information which the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island transmit is indeed like a clear, inexhaustible fountain. The information we can get from the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island is even more profound. There is, for example, an issue of the lack of Buddhist elements. Why are there almost no traces of Buddhism in the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island, although the ancient kingly power and aristocrats had faith in Buddhism so much as to build the Asuka-dera Temple and the Hōryū-ji Temple and even worshipped Buddhism as a way to protect the nation? This is an issue that needs to be carefully examined as an important frame of reference also in studying the Jingū Rituals of Ise.

#### **Issues Which I Want to Pursue from Now**

In this manuscript, I pursued mainly from the beginning period of Okinoshima Island Rituals in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the formation process of Ritsuryō state Jingi Rituals in the 7<sup>th</sup> century from the viewpoint of exploring the source of Jingi Rituals in ancient Japan. Consequently, there are definitely many

important issues which I have not been able to work on; these crucial issues include (1) meaning of rituals of the Three Goddesses and its history, (2) construction of historical Munakata Shrine and its subsequent history, (3) traffic between the continent and the Peninsula and rituals of the Sea God, (4) relation with the Sumiyoshi Shrine, (5) relation with the Itsukushima Shrine, etc. I am considering taking time and devoting myself to such issues<sup>54)</sup>.

### Supplementary Notes (not translated):

- 1) 新谷尚紀『民俗学とは何かー柳田・折口・渋沢に学び直すー』吉川弘文館 2011 年
- 2) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社ー「日本」と「天皇」の誕生ー』講談社 2009 年、そのもとになった論文は、新谷尚紀「伊勢神宮の創祀ー日本民俗学の古代王権論ー」『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』148 集 2008 年、新谷尚紀「大和王権と鎮魂祭ー民俗学の王権論：折口鎮魂論と文献史学との接点を求めてー」『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』152 集 2009 年
- 3) 水原洋城『猿学漫才』光文社 1988 年、伊谷純一郎「老いー生物と人間ー」伊東光晴ら編『老いの人類史（老いの発見）』1) 岩波書店 1986 年
- 4) 海部陽介『人類がたどってきた道』日本放送出版協会 2005 年
- 5) 新谷尚紀『死と人生の民俗学』曜曜社 1995 年、同「貨幣には死が宿る」『お金の不思議』山川出版社 1998 年
- 6) 展示図録『古代出雲文化展』島根県教育委員会・朝日新聞社 1997 年他
- 7) 「仙石鼎談」（柳田國男・折口信夫・穂積忠）『民間伝承』11 巻 10・11 合併号 1947 年、新谷尚紀「あとがき」『民俗学とは何かー柳田・折口・渋沢に学び直すー』前掲注 1)
- 8) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社ー「日本」と「天皇」の誕生ー』前掲注 2)
- 9) 『三代実録』貞観 11 年（869）6 月に新羅の海賊船が博多津に来襲して豊前国の年貢の絹綿を掠奪した事件に対してその年の 12 月に伊勢太神宮と石清水八幡宮へ、そして翌年 2 月に宇佐の八幡大菩薩宮、香椎宮、宗像大神、甘南備神に奉幣と祈念を行なったとき、それと併せて仁明天皇の深草山陵、文徳天皇の田邑山陵、神功皇后の楯列山陵へも八幡大菩薩宮への告文に准じたものを捧げているのも、まだ山陵に霊威力を発現しうる力があると考えられていたことを示す例であろう。岡崎敬「律令時代における宗像大社と沖ノ島」『宗像沖ノ島』吉川弘文館 1979 年
- 10) 新谷尚紀『生と死の民俗史』木耳社 1986 年
- 11) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社ー「日本」と「天皇」の誕生ー』前掲注 2)
- 12) 海上交通技能の発達したこの地の首長にとって、大海上の航海の上での必須の知識と技術の一つは方角認識能力であつたと考えられる。墳墓の造営にはその造営者でもあり被葬者でもある首長の一定の世界認識や世界観が反映されている可能性は大であろう。それを現代人の認識論によってだけでなく古代人の認識論への想像力をも込めて、推定し議論を重ねていくことは研究作業の上でむだではあるまい。
- 13) 禹在柄「竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告 I』「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議 2011 年
- 14) 小田富士雄編『古代を考える沖ノ島と古代祭祀』101 頁吉川弘文館 1988 年
- 15) 『古事記』上巻天孫降臨条、『日本書紀』神代下第 9 段 1 書第 1、同書仲哀天皇 8 年正月条など参照。
- 16) 新谷尚紀「石積みのフォークロア」網野善彦・石井進編『中世の都市と墳墓』日本エディタースクール出版部 1988 年、新谷尚紀『日本人の葬儀』紀伊國屋書店 1992 年
- 17) E.B.タイラー『原始文化』（比屋根安定訳）誠信書房 1962 年、古野清人『原始宗教』角川書店 1964 年
- 18) R.R.マレット『宗教と呪術』（竹中信常訳）誠信書房 1964 年
- 19) M.Eliade（1907ー1986），“Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l’extase”，1951 年（堀一郎訳『シャーマニズム』冬樹社 1974 年）
- 20) I.M.Lewis, “Ecstatic Religion”，1971 年（平沼孝之訳『エクスタシーの人類学』法政大学出版局 1985 年）
- 21) R.L.Jones, “Shamanism in South Asia”，“History of Religions”, vol.7, No.4, 1968 年
- 22) 佐々木宏幹「Ecstasy と Possession に関する若干の覚え書」古野清人教授古稀記念会編『現代諸民族の宗教と文化』社会思想社 1972 年
- 23) 宮家準・佐々木宏幹「民俗宗教研究の現在」（歴博対談第 18 回）『歴博』88 号 1998 年
- 24) 関沢まゆみ「神社祭祀と宮座運営」『宮座と墓制の歴史民俗』吉川弘文館 2005 年

- 25) Emile Durkheim “Les formes elementaires de la vie religieuse”, 1912 年（古野清人訳『宗教生活の原初形態』（上・下）刀江書院 1930 年（岩波書店 1975 年）
- 26) 岸俊男「画期としての雄略朝」岸俊男教授退官記念会編『日本政治社会史研究』上埜書房 1984 年、加藤謙吉「歴史の出発点」としての雄略朝」遠山美都男編『日本書紀の読み方』講談社 2004 年など。
- 27) 『続沖ノ島』からの発掘情報を読む限り、第 17 号遺跡に対しては、「岩上祭祀」という把握はここではないったん留保しておいた方がよいように思える。第 17 号遺跡の遺物情報からいえば、岩上での祭祀とは言い難く、むしろここでは「巨岩の岩元へ岩陰への祭器奉獻」という事実把握で解釈してみるべきではないかというのが本稿の立場である。
- 28) たとえば、『続日本紀』天平 11 年（739）11 月辛卯（13 日）条の平群朝臣広成の奏上文などがある。
- 29) 禹在柄「竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」前掲注 13)
- 30) 前掲注 15) にみるように記紀世界では銅鏡は天皇の靈魂と靈力の象徴と考えられていた。
- 31) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社―「日本」と「天皇」の誕生―』前掲注 2)
- 32) 禹在柄「竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」前掲注 13)
- 33) 柳沢一男「古墳の変質」白石太一郎編『古代を考える古墳』吉川弘文館 1989 年
- 34) 杉井健「朝鮮半島系渡来文化の動向と古墳の比較研究試論―九州本島北部地域を題材として―」『考古学研究』第 47 巻 4 号 2001 年、菊地芳朗「東北地方における古墳時代中～後期の渡来系文化」『渡来文化の受容と展開』第 46 回埋蔵文化財研究集会実行委員会 1999 年、禹在柄「5～6 世紀の百済の住居・暖房・墓制文化の倭国伝播とその背景」『韓国史学報』第 23 号高麗史学会 2006 年
- 35) このうち 20 号遺跡では滑石製の勾玉類は大型化し、その後、滑石製人形・馬形・舟形として 1 号遺跡で顕著化する。
- 36) 新谷尚紀「民俗学からみる古墳時代」『季刊考古学』第 117 号雄山閣 2011 年参照のこと。なお、以下の「外部表象から内部表象へ」という見出し項目の部分では本稿の論旨への理解を得るためにその文章を引用しておくことにする。
- 37) 岸俊男「京城の想定と藤原京条坊制」『藤原宮』奈良県教育委員会 1969 年、笠野毅「天智天皇山科陵の墳丘遺構」『書陵部紀要』39 号 1987 年、藤堂かほる「天智陵の营造と律令国家の先帝意識」『日本歴史』602 号 1998 年、小澤毅「藤原京条坊と寺地」『吉備池廃寺発掘調査報告』奈良文化財研究所 2003 年、入倉徳裕「藤原京条坊の精度」『橿原考古学研究論集』15 号 2008 年、小澤毅・入倉徳裕「藤原京中軸線と古墳の占地」『明日香風』111 号 2009 年、渡辺瑞穂子『元旦四方拝の研究』國學院大学大学院博士学位申請論文 2010 年
- 38) 斎藤茂吉『万葉秀歌』（上巻）岩波書店 1938 年
- 39) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社―「日本」と「天皇」の誕生―』前掲注 2)
- 40) 井上光貞「第二編古代沖の島の祭祀四沖の島と律令祭祀」『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会 1984 年。なお、本稿で井上光貞先生を井上氏と書くのはきわめて心苦しいことであるという心情をここにぜひとも注記させていただきたい。それは第 1 に、前掲注 1) で言及している拙著『民俗学とは何か―柳田・折口・渋沢に学び直す』においても指摘しているように、井上光貞先生こそが柳田・折口・渋沢の創設した日本の民俗学の学術的活動の場を公的に設営してくださった学問の歴史的恩人であるからである。それによって、筆者のような日本民俗学に軸足を置きながらも文献史学や文化人類学や考古学や社会学などとの学際交流をさせていただけるような、まさにマージナルな一研究学徒の人生を与えていただいたのである。第 2 に、井上光貞先生がその卓越した古代史研究の学究生活の後半の段階でとくに研究関心を傾注されたのが、日本古代の神祇信仰についての実証史学的研究であったということであり、なかでもこの 4 世紀後半から 9 世紀前半までの祭祀習俗をその長い時間幅の継続性とともにその現物資料の具体性をもって情報発信している宗像沖ノ島の祭祀に特別な研究関心を示しておられたということ、そのことに敬意を表するからである。そして第 3 に、まだ 60 歳代という若さで急逝されてしまい、先生のさらに深い研究上の卓見が幅広く展開して日本古代の神祇信仰の実証的研究開拓が大きく進展したであろうその深い可能性を思い、それが実現できなかったことへの無念の思いが強烈だからである。筆者がここに無知にして僭越なる駄文を連ねていることへの羞恥心からでもある。
- 41) 筆者のよくとる方法なのであるが、卓越した研究者の論文は最初からは読まないようにしている。なぜなら博識で鋭敏なその論調に誘導されてしまい、その説の賛同者の一人となって独創的な自らの見解が出せなくなる危険性があるからである。したがって、「無知からの出発」を常に肝に銘じており、今回も井上氏の『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会 1984 年は、本稿の（4）節

の執筆へと取り掛かった段階で、はじめて虚心坦懐な状態で拝読させていただいた。そして、僭越ながら井上氏の卓見に驚いたというのが実情である。

- 42) 近年の考古学の研究では、律令的神祇祭祀の萌芽を 5 世紀半ばに求める見解が有力視されているようである。その代表的な研究といってよいのは笹生衛『古代日本の祭祀考古学』（吉川弘文館、2012 年）であろう。その見解は専門的な立場からの精緻なものであり、考古学の門外漢の筆者はもちろん圧倒されるばかりである。ただし、僭越ながら笹生氏の見解と筆者の見解の相違点を挙げてみるならば、以下のとおりである。第 1 に、笹生氏の見解は、5 世紀中頃前後の祭祀遺跡にみられる鉄製品、紡織具、初期須恵器という組成は、4 世紀以来の古墳副葬品をベースとしながら朝鮮半島からもたらされる貴重な鉄素材や最新の技術をいち早く導入して作られた、というものであるが、筆者が大きな変化として注目するのは、鉄素材や鉄製品よりもむしろ紡績具や紡織具であるという点である。笹生氏の提示する図表では、紡織具や楽器の琴などが出土する事例として、静岡県浜松市の山の花遺跡、静岡県磐田市明ヶ島古墳群 5 号墳下層、愛媛県松山市の出作遺跡、奈良県御所市の南郷大東遺跡などが示されており、筆者もそれは重要な意味をもつと考えるので、こののちも確実に 5 世紀中頃の遺跡と認められるその他の多くの遺跡から紡織具や楽器の類が出土してくることになれば、ここでの僭越な筆者の見解も撤回もしくは修正を余儀なくされることになるのであるが、現時点ではやはり、5 世紀中頃の遺跡出土品として大きな位置を占めているのは笹生氏をはじめ多くの考古学者の指摘している鉄鋌などの鉄資源であろうと考えるのである。

第 2 に、沖ノ島遺跡の編年に対する見解の相違である。笹生氏は 5 世紀中頃までに成立した祭具のセットのその後の展開について、沖ノ島遺跡の情報を活用しながら、沖ノ島遺跡の変化の画期を、Ⅰ類（17 号遺跡など）、Ⅱ-Ⅰ類（21 号遺跡）、Ⅱ-Ⅱ類（7 号・8 号遺跡など）、Ⅲ類（22 号遺跡・5 号遺跡など）と位置づけて、Ⅱ-Ⅰ類の 21 号遺跡を前記のような日本各地の 5 世紀代の祭祀遺跡と共通するものとして、神々への供献品のセットが現われる段階と認めているのであるが、筆者の編年案は前掲の表 1 に示したように、5 世紀半ばと推定される 21 号遺跡にはまだ紡織具は登場せず、その遺品の中心は鉄資源の鉄鋌などであり、次の 6 世紀前半と推定される 7 号遺跡・8 号遺跡の金銅製馬具類が中心となる段階をへて、7 世紀初頭と推定される 22 号遺跡に至ってはじめて紡織具が登場するという点に注目するものである。つまり、5 世紀半ばの 21 号遺跡と 7 世紀初頭の 22 号遺跡の間には約 150 年間もの時代的な開きがあるということに留意する必要があるという見解である。第 3 に、律令的な神祇祭祀の萌芽という一大画期の背景や要因についての見解の相違である。笹生氏の見解はその画期の背景として 5 世紀半ばの朝鮮半島からの鉄資源や先端技術の導入に注目する、というものであるが、筆者の見解は南北統一を果たした中国王朝の先進文化との接触、つまり 600 年の遣隋使による文化衝撃とそれに間接的にかかわるであろう中央王権の古墳祭祀からの完全な撤退脱皮という一大転換を画期とする、というものである。なお、このような考古学の門外漢からの見解についても、それを包み込みながら校正の段階で考古学の最先端の知識を教示いただいた笹生氏に、ここであらためて謝意を表する次第である。

- 43) 坂本太郎「聖徳太子の鴻業」『岩波講座日本歴史』岩波書店 1934 年、黛弘道「推古朝の意義」『岩波講座日本歴史 2 古代 2』岩波書店 1962 年などをはじめ多くの古代史研究者の認めるところで、「推古朝の改革」は歴史教科書の見出しともなっている。
- 44) 井上光貞『日本古代の王権と祭祀』前掲注 40)
- 45) 井上光貞「はじめに」『日本古代の王権と祭祀』前掲注 40)
- 46) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社―「日本」と「天皇」の誕生―』前掲注 2)、新谷尚紀「大和王権と鎮魂祭―民俗学の王権論：折口鎮魂論と文献史学との接点を求めて―」前掲注 2)
- 47) カール・ポランニー『人間の経済（2）交易・貨幣および市場の出現』第 1 部「社会における経済の位置」岩波書店 1980 年、他
- 48) 『令集解』「令釈」の引く「官員令別記」には「御巫五人、倭国巫二口、左京生島一口、右京座摩一口、御門一口」とある。
- 49) 井上光貞「補論神祇令注釈と補注」『日本古代の王権と祭祀』前掲注 40)
- 50) 金子裕之「古代の木製模造品」『奈良国立文化財研究所学報 38』研究論集 VI 1980 年、同「平城京と祭場」『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第 7 集 1985 年、同「都城と祭祀」『古代を考える沖ノ島と古代祭祀』吉川弘文館 1988 年
- 51) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社―「日本」と「天皇」の誕生―』222 頁―223 頁前掲注 2)
- 52) 春成秀爾「対馬から沖ノ島へ」『週刊朝日百科日本の歴史 41』（通巻 569 号）朝日新聞社 1987 年によれば、弥生時代の後期の 2 世紀ころには、対馬で北九州産の長さ 80 センチ、重さ 2 キロをこえ

る大型の銅矛が多数出土しているという。朝鮮半島から九州にもたらされた武器としての銅矛の長さは、20センチをこえる程度にすぎないが、対馬から出土する九州産の銅矛は鋭い刃部をもたず、銅質も悪く、武器としての実質的機能はなく、武器の形式をもつ祭祀具となっている。その大型銅矛が対馬からは190本も発見されているのに対して、福岡県では126本が発見されている程度である。対馬の190本というのは異常な多さであり、それが集中しているのは天然の良港、浅茅湾に向かって突出する細長い台地上や山腹である。同じ朝鮮半島への航路上にあった壱岐からはわずか4本しか発見されていない。春成秀爾氏は、それは対馬が北九州勢力によって把握されていた北の守りを固める最前線の意味をもっていたからだという。沖ノ島は、弥生時代の半島との交流ではその重要な中継基地としての位置を占めていなかったといっている。したがって、その時代には特別な祭祀も行なわれていなかったということになる。銅矛や銅鐸の原料は古い時期には朝鮮産、新しい時期になると中国北部産のものであったという化学分析の結果が示されているが、対馬からは銅矛は大量に出土するが、銅鐸はまだまったく発見されていない。出雲地方には加茂岩倉遺跡や荒神谷遺跡など大量の銅鐸が出土しているのと比較すれば、非常に対照的である。朝鮮半島や中国大陸からの日本列島へのルートには大別して、玄界灘を南下する対馬経由の北九州沿岸に到着するそれと、対馬海流に乗って東南方向に向かって出雲半島へ、丹後半島から若狭湾へ、そして能登半島へ、という2つの選択肢があったものと推定されるが、そのうち、銅矛は北九州に、銅鐸は出雲において、それぞれ大量に発見されている。

53) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社―「日本」と「天皇」の誕生―』149頁－154頁前掲注2)

54) それが、僭越ながら、学恩ある井上光貞先生へのわずかながらの報恩の一つになるかもしれないと思っている。

# **Ocean Civilization in East Asia and the World of Maritime People - Foundation of the Munakata/Okinoshima Sites -**

AKIMICHI Tomoya

Emeritus Professor, Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN)  
Inter-University Research Institute Corporation, National Institutes for the Humanities, Japan

**Abstract:** Munakata/Okinoshima, which is located in the Tsushima Strait area, has significance to condense ocean civilizations in East Asia. The wisdom and technologies of the maritime people who supported navigations, fishing and trade since the Jōmōn period in the sea world of the Tsushima Strait through historical transformation have been passed down to the present day. The group of the maritime people in the Tsushima Strait had made contributions to exchanges of goods, people and information, being submissive to the kingly power depending on the age or through anti-authority activities. It is the activities of the maritime people in the sea world of the Tsushima Strait linking the Korean Peninsula and the northern Kyūshū region that suspended the existence of the groups of cultural sites of Munakata/Okinoshima. Skin diving by ama (women divers), divine services that found enchantment in seaweed, coastal whaling since the pre-historical period, mobile maritime activities and its tradition formed the foundation of the ocean civilization in East Asia. Its tradition has an international significance as the oceanic cultural sites.

**Keywords:** maritime people, ocean civilization, fishing by diving, divine service of seaweed, whaling, sea ritual

## **Preface**

Okinoshima Island is a small island in the Genkai Sea, Tsushima Island being located to the northwest, Iki Island to the southwest, is situated midway between the Kyūshū region of Japan and Busan, southern tip of Korea. It is 145 km to Busan. The distance to Munakata in the Kyūshū region is 57 km.

Researches and studies from various fields have been so far made in order to realize the world heritage registration of this time. Most of the researches and studies are based on archaeological and historical approaches. It is a matter of course that the object of the researches is focused on the period from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 10<sup>th</sup> century when Munakata/Okinoshima had been used as places of national rituals. The role of this World Heritage Promotion Committee is comprehensively to clarify the universal value and uniqueness of Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region as a world cultural heritage.

The author, who attended from the 6<sup>th</sup> meeting of this committee would like to discuss it from the viewpoints of maritime anthropological and ethnological researches as academic fields which I should make a contribution. In this paper, I will divide it as below and set forth respectively:

1. The Ocean in the Tsushima Strait and Islands
2. Sacred Place of the Island and Chinese Fan Palm (*Livistona chinensis*; Birō)
3. Offering of Ocean Food and Wine to Gods and *Sargassum horneri*
4. Marine Trade and Diving Fishery
5. Navigation and Islands
6. Tradition of Whaling in East Asia

Lastly, as item 7. Munakata/Okinoshima Sites in the Ocean Civilization, I would like to overview the significance which the ocean rituals and the fishery/trade complex bear in the history of the ocean civilization not only in the Genkai Sea Region but also in East Asian perspective. In this manuscript, I would like to designate individuals and groups involved with fishery and navigations as maritime people in a broad sense<sup>1)</sup>.

## 1. The Ocean in the Tsushima Strait and Islands

### (1) The Ocean in the Tsushima Strait

Sea has not a few concepts of geographical divisions. The Tsushima Strait which this manuscript handles indicates the sea hemmed by the region from the northern Kyūshū region and part of the San-in region and southern part of the Korean Peninsula. The strait indicates a narrow but navigable sea region hemmed by lands on either side.

We can distinguish Suidō (channel) and Seto (gut) as terms similar to Kaikyō (sea strait). The portion between Iki Island and Tsushima Island (located in the center of the Tsushima Strait) is called the Tsushima Strait Eastern Channel, while that between Korea and Tsushima Island is called the Tsushima Strait Western Channel. We may also call the Eastern Channel as the Tsushima Strait and the Western Channel as the Korean Strait in a narrow sense. There is the Iki Channel between Iki Island and the Higashi Matsuura Peninsula.

We find a lot of Setos in the Seto Inland Sea (Seto Naikai) of Japan. There are Kurara Seto between Oshima Island and Jinoshima Island in Munakata City of the northern Kyūshū region, Hirado Seto (between Hirado Island and the mainland of the Kyūshū region) and Hakata Seto (Katsumoto-town and Nagarasu in Iki Island) and so on.

Nada indicates a place in the offing where the wave is high and the tide is swift. In the Pacific Coast of Japan there are Sagami-nada, Enshū-nada, Kumanonada and Hyūga-nada with rough seas due to the Japan Current (Kuroshio). Meanwhile, there are Genkai-nada and Hibiki-nada which are subject to the Tsushima Current in the Japan Sea.

An article about the people of Wa in the Record of the Eastern Barbarians of the History of the Wei Dynasty (hereinafter referred to as “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty (Gishi Wajinden)”) describes ocean routes across the Tsushima Strait from the Korean Peninsula to the northern Kyūshū region. In other words, the article describes the route to the country of Wa as “...arriving at the country of Tsushima “by crossing the sea by 1,000 something ri without calling at another port”, and arriving at the country of Yida (zhi) “by further down sailing the sea by 1,000 something ri southward without calling at another port”, and from there, arriving at the country of Mutsu “by sailing the sea by 1,000 something ri without calling at another port”. It says that their distance of the sea of 1,000-plus ri as above described is computed without calling at a different port.

That is to say, the seas mentioned in the Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” are from the Korean Peninsula – Western Channel of the Tsushima Strait (Korean Strait) – Eastern Channel of the Tsushima Current – Genkai-nada – Iki-suidō. The sea between Tsushima Island and Iki Island, or the Genkai Sea is named Kankai (vast sea).

The Genkai Sea is often described with the image of a violent sea. The speed of the Tsushima Current is 0.5 – 1.0 knots in average, but it runs at a speed of 1.2 to 1.6 knots at the exit of the Western Channel and 1.0 to 1.3 knots at the exit of the Eastern Channel. In terms of the tidal currents, the speed of the southwest rising tide is 0.6 to 1.3 knots and that of the northeast ebbing tide reaches 1.5 – 3.0 knots. These figures suggest that its current is slower compared to the flow speed at 2 – 3 knots of the Japan Current which runs off the Pacific Coast.

The sea floor of the Tsushima Strait is mostly less than 120m shallow. Okinoshima Island is located nearly in the isobath line of 90m. In this area of the sea, the seasonal wind of north to northwest is prevailing in winter, December to February, and the wave becomes highest. From spring (March to May) to summer (June to August), northwest and southwest winds blow by turns and the sea is relatively serene. We may say the sea is stable from summer to autumn unless it becomes rough due to coming of a typhoon or a low pressure system. However, north or northwest wind gradually grows strong again in autumn (September to November) and the tide will become higher albeit slowly (The Oceanographic Society of Japan, 1985).

Countless vessels and people sailed the Tsushima Strait since Jōmon period. Not all the sails must have been smooth.



When a Chōsen-Tsūshin-Shi (Korean envoy to Japan) visited Japan in Edo period, Tsushima Island and Iki Island were important ports of call between Shimonoseki, from which they headed for Edo or Busan. On such an occasion, a ship on which the delegates were board did not go directly to Shimonoseki, but stopped at Ainoshima Island<sup>2)</sup> in most of the cases. In this small island, after they were entertained by the Kuroda Clan, they restarted to head for Shimonoseki. On the way back to Korea, they also called at Ainoshima Island as a rule (Ōji, 1990). This apparently shows that a voyage on the Genkai Sea was sometimes a trip of hardships.

## (2) Islands in the border

In the Tsushima Strait there are small islands such as Okinoshima Island, Oronoshima Island (Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture)<sup>3)</sup>, Ainoshima Island (Shingū-town, Kasuya-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture) and Jinoshima Island (Munakata City, Fukuoka Prefecture)<sup>4)</sup> as well as large islands such as Tsushima Island, Iki Island, the Goto Islands and Hiradoshima Island.

There is a common belief that small low islands are not important compared to large islands as a port of call and in terms of political and socio-economic sense. Water is not so conveniently provided, and the soil and vegetation are poor in a small island. Resources such as arable land to acquire food are scanty. This is because foundation for survival is fragile in general and the capability to support population is also low. By contrast, soil and vegetation are rich and water-supply is convenient with high potential of arable land and use of resources in a large high island. The capability to support population will be large in that degree. Important thing is that large islands and small islands do not exist independently but have been connected mutually. In other words, we should shed light on the inter-islands network.

The idea of a so-called remote island is derived from isolation of the island or a feature of a region far from the center of the country, but islands are sometimes connected to unexpectedly far distances. It is also considered that there had been no network connecting an island to an island because the art of navigation had not been so much developed in the prehistoric ancient or the medieval periods. However, people had engaged in active sea-faring activities since olden times. Large-scale dwelling house groups of the 8<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were discovered from Gusuku Sites in Kikaijima Island, east of Amamioshima Island. From these sites, ceramics seemingly from China or Korea were discovered, and this is believed to be epoch-making sites which may rewrite the history of Ryūkyū in ancient times or medieval period (Miyagi, 2011). It is natural that ocean-going trade had been conducted with not only Amamioshima Island and the mainland Japan but also China or Korea.

When we see the Tsushima Strait area, Okinoshima Island, Ainoshima Island and Oronojima Island are small islands in any angle. However, the size of an island is not necessarily related to as a port of call on voyages or the ceremonious/ritual value. For example, Okinoshima Island was a divine island in which state rituals had been practiced. Kudakajima Island in the Okinawa region is a divine island known as secret festival *Izaihō*, the size of the island is relatively large and cannot be called as a small island. There are eight major Utaki where rituals are performed in Kuroshima Island of the Yaeyama Islands, which are sacred places to pray for navigational safety. Hōrai-jima Island, located in the Ōtsuchi Bay, Ōtsuchi-chō, Kamihei-gun, Iwate Prefecture, is a small island in which Benzaiten (the Goddess of Eloquence, Music and Art) is worshiped. Horai Island connotes (refers to) a Kamijima Island (divine island) (Figure 1). Although it is not located in the sea, Chikubushima Island in Lake Biwa, Shiga Prefecture, is a small island to which Tsukubusuma Shrine have been put since the medieval period.

Meanwhile, there are islands which were given strategic purposes or became a place of exile. For instance, in the ancient times of Tsushima Island, the Yamato Kingly Power, in the Battle of Hakusukinoe (663), sent Sakimori soldiers in Tsushima Island, Iki Island and the country of Chikushi in the ancient Tsushima and made preparations for invasion by Silla.

A guardhouse was set for the purpose of securing the fishing right of the Fukuoka Fief since the second year of Shōhō (1645) in Oronoshima Island in the Genkai Sea. Oronoshima Island and Kikaijima Island in Kagoshima Prefecture or Iōjima Island had been a place of exile before (Takahashi, 2001). Oki Islands were also a place of exile in the medieval period as is the case of the Emperor Godaigo.

Even a desert island had become a temporal place for smuggling or a temporal base for fishing trade. As examples of the latter, we can cite Kosō Island (probably current Kumundo Island) in the East China Sea (Osa, 1990) and, albeit examples of modern and current history, Takeshima Island off Shimane Prefecture in which hunting for sea lions had been conducted, Mage Shima Island in Kagoshima Prefecture that had been used for fishing of flying fish and Hailang Island<sup>5)</sup> in Changshan Islands located south of the Liaodong Peninsula.



Figure 1 Hōraiijima Island

Benzaiten is worshiped in the shrine in upper left and is believed to be the origin of the belief in ocean. The wave having arrived at the upper portion of the island in the great tsunami in March 2011 ruined the red lighthouse and the torii gate in the right side, but the Benzaiten in the shrine was safe. The island is the model for Hyokkori Hyōtan Jima Island, popular TV puppet show in 1960s.

### (3) Maritime people in the border

A border in ocean space is seldom determined clearly by the border line or landmark like a case of land. If it is close to land, we can show this explicitly by a mark standing on a reef or shoal. However, in the ocean or a strait area, the border cannot help but be ambiguous. The author clarified from the researches on traditional navigational skills in Micronesia people use an expression of “vacancy” that there is the sea of A and the sea of B in the sea between two different islands A and B and there is nothing in the sea halfway between them (Akimichi, 1985)<sup>6)</sup> (Figure 2).

Japan has the basic demesne relation of the sea in which a community facing the extending sea in front possesses the seashore but the offshore is possessed by a group exercising the right of commons. This was fixed in the “Hyōjōsho Osadamegaki” (Regulations of the Supreme Court of the Shogunate) defined in the second year of Gembun (1737) in early-modern times, which states that the seashore is placed under a community facing the extending sea in front and the offshore is placed under a group exercising the right of common. This case shows that a lot of disputes over borders had existed by then in itself (Akimichi, 1995).

In the Tsushima Strait area, the seashore of Tsushima Island, Iki Island and the coastal area of the Kyūshū region had been possessed by each bay. For instance, a research on the possession of the coastal areas from early-modern times about Shingū in Kasuya-gun revealed that (Kalland, 1984). The sea region in the offshore had been regarded to be the sea region of no owner in which it belonged to everybody and nobody. Therefore, free navigation had been admitted in the sea region of no owner. Meanwhile, we might as well consider even piracy had been rampant.

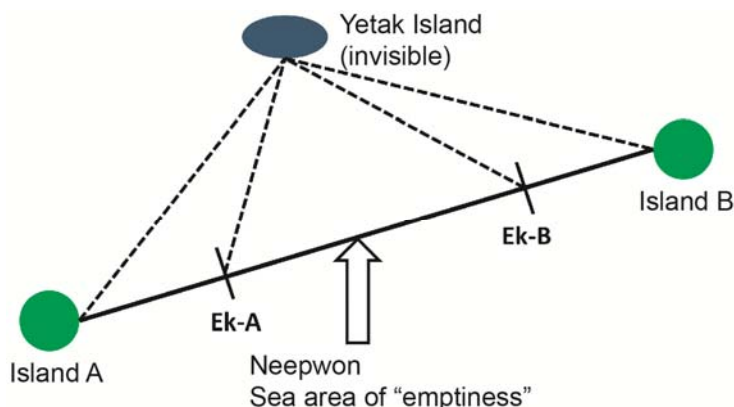


Figure 2 Recognition of the sea area among islands

This figure shows that there is nothing in the middle portion of Ek-A and Ek-B. From Ek-A, the Island A is visible. From Ek-B, the island B is visible.

Between the continent and Japan, either of which is other side of the Tsushima Strait, exchanges around people/goods/information and discontinuation thereof had happened from a historical point of view. Exchanges will not happen until mutual acceptance is approved. Meanwhile, discontinuation means a temporal stop of exchanges. A sea strait clearly embodies the world of Barrier and Bridge in the best way. Furthermore, the Tsushima Strait was a frontier for successive kingly powers to guarantee and expand interests.

It is hard to say that national borders or territorial waters in ocean had been clearly established in the period before the modern United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea was applied. Concerning the right of trade and command of the sea, the authority would not always have had the sea in the border under its control and ruled it even if the kingly power or the state had had its hidden idea or policy at the back<sup>7)</sup>.

A trade network linking the continent, Tsushima Island, Iki Island and the Kyūshū region had already been formed in the Jōmon period in the Tsushima Strait. Those who were in charge of such trade must be fishermen living in the world of this sea, traders in a broad sense and people who were skilled at navigation.

A huge amount of relics had been found from the Okinoshima Island Ritual Site of Kofun period to Heian period (from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 10<sup>th</sup> century). Such relics presents vividly the international relations of the then East Asia and its changes, brought from the continent centering on Silla of the Korean Peninsula as well as the Yamato Polity. Those who involved with the trade seems to have been people who engaged in navigations or fishing in the Tsushima Strait area.

Since the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the trade between Japan and Goryeo which had ruled the then Korean Peninsula had become flourishing, a lot of merchants and officials sailed across the Tsushima Strait. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, activities by Wakō (Japanese pirates) increased in force and frequency in the stage of the region of the Tsushima Strait, and the place became a hotbed for piracy. The Goryeo Dynasty, being threatened by Wakō, restricted the trade with Japan, and the commerce on the Shinpō-sen tributary ship was carried by mostly the people of Tsushima Island, and this commerce was restrained to two ships at one time, one time per year.

Subsequently, after the defeat of Goryeo and the establishment of the Korean Dynasty (1392), Korea sent a large army to Tsushima in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of Ōei (1419) for the purpose of subduing Wakō, and drove the Wakō forces away. And they liberated the Chinese and Korean prisoners. In fact, the activities of Wakō ended with this. This is so-called Ōei-no-Gaikō (Foreign Attack in the Era of Ōei).

As described above, not only people engaged in fishery, trade and voyages but also a lot of merchants, officials and burglars who conducted piracy represented by Wakō, and moreover, people who were abducted by pirates (Japanese, Chinese, Korean) moved and crossed the frontier in the Tsushima Strait area. Dr. TAKAHASHI Kimiaki stipulated the people involved in the border area as “Border People” (Takahashi, 2001).

Also, attention should be paid to the fact that a person called “Jisai” was on board a ship when people of Wa sailed. “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” states that “they always have one person not comb down his hair, leave lice as they are, leave his dirty clothes with grime as they are, not have meat, not a lady come close to him, and make him a person observing mourning.” They made the Jisai board a ship as a sacrifice for the safety voyage as it were. If the voyage was unsuccessful, they blamed the Jisai for the failure. Jisai was a person who shouldered an important role as a Border Person. We can see a form of sprout of the background in which rituals praying for safety voyage had been made mainly in Okinoshima Island in this period.

Historical materials have seldom expressed historical recognition by the border people except for the example of Jisai as above mentioned. Such materials are mainly consisted of the viewpoints from the authority to frontier or recognition to the sea viewed from the land. The attitude to a life of the people who lived in the sea is written entirely from the viewpoint of the authority or the land.

In this regard, there is a limit if state rituals represented by Okinoshima Island are watched from the

viewpoint of the kingly power or Yamato Polity only. Rather, it may be necessary to pay attention to the people who submitted themselves to the kingly power or dared to be willing to commit piracy in the Tsushima Strait area on the contrary.

In comparison with the group of Munakata/Okinoshima Island which committed state rituals at the back of Yamato Polity, what kind of people who actually crossed the sea and engaged in trade are they? In later decade, those who acted as pilots when Hideyoshi sent troops to Korea were fishermen of Izumisano, Senshū or country of Izumi. I wonder whether the maritime people of Munakata were included in the people who became pioneers, engaged in trade during the age when rituals had been performed in Okinoshima Island. The real image of the maritime people who crossed the border is still in fog.

## **2. Sacred Place of Islands and Chinese Fan Palm**

### **(1) Ethnic botany of the Chinese fan palm**

It is a well-known fact that severe restraints had been imposed in conducting state rituals since the ancient times in Okinoshima Island. The spirit is still alive at present day, represented plainly by the following matters: a person must perform his ablutions before entering the Island, no women are admitted into the Island, oiwazu-sama (tradition of not speaking of what is seen or heard on the Island), no plant/wood or stones shall not be taken out of the Island. We may call an island with such religious precepts as Sanctuary. This is because the entire island is the sacred place. By contrast, a certain place of an island is deemed as the sacred space in some cases<sup>8)</sup>.

Trees have not been logged in Okinoshima Island, and the natural environment has been preserved in better form. In fact, the forests in Okinoshima Island were designated as the national monument of the state in October, the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Taishō (1926). Noteworthy matter is Chinese Fan Palm which grows naturally in Okinoshima Island, the northernmost region of the distribution of the plant.

As is widely known, a Chinese Fan Palm is a plant of the warm climate zone and is ranged in Ashizuri Misaki (Cape) and southward on the Pacific Coast, Yonaguni Island of the Yaeyama Islands, and further in the northern part of Taiwan.

Aoshima Island in Miyazaki Prefecture is located in the southern coast of Miyazaki City and is known by about 5,000 Chinese fan palms grown naturally in the precincts of Aoshima Shrine in the island. The oldest trees are estimated to be more than 300 years old, and was registered in the natural monument designated by the government in March, the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Taishō (1921) (Figure 3).

### **(2) Nature and culture encompassing the Chinese fan palm**

There are two theories on how Chinese fan palms flourished in this island. One is the theory of “drifted plant naturalization”; seeds or live trees of Chinese fan palms drifted to the island getting on the Japan Current flowing from south to north and subsequently flourished. This theory is asserted by HONDA Seiroku, TOKIEDA Motoyuki, NISHIMURA Makoto, HIRAYAMA Tomitarō, and former Gūji (the chief priest of a Shinto shrine) of Aoshima Shrine NAGATOMO Chiyotarō.

The other “Relic Theory” states that the Chinese fan palms which flourished during the Tertiary Period that was milder than the present day has survived in mild climatic conditions despite of the subsequent changes of the environment, asserted by MIYOSHI Manabu, NAKANO Harufusa, HINO Iwao and NAKAJIMA Shigeru, and it may be called the theory of Refugia as it were<sup>9)</sup>.

Then, how should we consider that the Chinese fan palms in Okinoshima Island are applied to either of the two theories described above? If the Chinese fan palms grow naturally on the seashore, we may assume that such plants had been delivered by the Tsushima Warm Current, a distributary of the Japan Current. However, the Chinese fan palms in Okinoshima Island are not those growing naturally on the seashore. Birds that took the seeds of the plants may have brought them to the island as guano; that possibility cannot be ruled out completely. However, researches for specifying the kind of the bird which acted as a deliverer

of the seeds and confirm that the seeds were actually scattered have not been conducted thus far.

The possibility of the other Refugia Theory is low. Living Chinese fan palms are ranged widely in the Ryukyu Islands. It is difficult to think that all the environment of the Tertiary Period has remained in the regions.

What we should take notice of is the relation with Chinese fan palms and human beings as well as the two theories as mentioned above. Chinese fan palms bear culturally special meaning in the Tokara Islands to the south of Kagoshima, Amami and the Okinawa region. In other words, there are many examples which show the relation between Chinese fan palms and sacred places in the regions south of the Kagoshima. For instance, there is a Yahata Shrine near the seashore in Ōma of Takarajima Island of the Tokara Islands, and Chinese fan palms densely wooded there. Chinese fan palms are growing only here, hinting the relation between the sacred place and Chinese fan palms, yet details are not known.

In the same way, in Nakanoshima Island of the Tokara Islands, the Landowner Gracious Deity worshipping the Enshrined Deity of the island is enshrined and Chinese fan palms are growing here as well. Likewise, there are sacred places in various parts in Akusekijima Island. Nyōshinzan mountain in the southeastern tip of the island is believed to be a place in which goddesses gathered and prayed for the safety of the fishers who went fishing.



Figure 3 Community of the Chinese fan palm at Aoshima Shrine

Chinese fan palms, called *kuba* in the Okinawa region, were used not only as daily necessities such as a conical *kuba* headpiece with chin straps, a fan, a water container and sails of a ship but also closely related to rituals. In the Okinawa region, *kuba* in “Utaki” were considered to be sacred trees on which gods descend. The visiting god called Mayunganashi in the ceremony appears wearing a *kuba*-made conical headpiece. Females of divine messengers made fans, Koshimo (skirt-like clothing) and mats and others from *kuba*. In the era of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū, Kikoe-Ōkimi, the highest-ranking divine messenger, prepared a temporary shed thatched with *kuba* in conducting an enthronement ceremony in the highest Seifa Utaki (Iijima, 1985).

In the case of the Tokara Islands as well, although we cannot clearly distinguish whether *kuba* were planted in sacred places or a sacred place was Chōsen in a place where *kuba* (Koba in Tokara) were growing gregariously, it is highly likely that a gregarious place of *kuba* became a sacred place in the Okinawa region or the Tokara Islands. This is because beliefs in not only *kuba* but also huge trees or old trees seen in various places in Asia are considered to be natural beliefs regarding the very existence of such a tree as given (Li, 2011).

Although the growing and distribution situation of *kuba* in the surrounding regions other than Okinoshima Island is not known so much, I would like to propose the third theory of the Ritual Transplanting from the aforementioned thought. In other words, this is a position in which I consider that *kuba* had been delivered

to Okinoshima Island for the purpose of rituals by man.

Numerous objects have been cast ashore in the Genkai Sea including Okinoshima Island so far, and without fail, drifting and drifting ashore are important indicators to consider the nature and culture of this region (Ishii, 1993). We cannot deny completely the possibility that seeds of Chinese fan palms drifting ashore in the Genkai Sea had been transplanted to Okinoshima Island. Anyway, no historical certificates showing that *kuba* had been used in ceremonies as state rituals are seen, but I would like to indicate the possibility that *kuba* had been used before the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

### 3. Offering of Ocean Food and Wine to Gods and Sargassum Horneri

At present, sustainable utilization of ocean resources and preservation of biodiversity is the most important issue in the globe. World-wide 193 countries participated in the tenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD-COP10) held in Nagoya City in 2010 and the Strategic Plan of the Convention on Biological Diversity or the “Aichi Target” was adopted by it<sup>10)</sup>. Under such circumstances, people have begun to cast a spot light to the establishment of Marine Protected Areas and its adherence for the protection of the oceanic environment.

Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) include those in several different categories. Each country has each proper law for MPAs. There are no global common definitions for MPAs. In Japan, some several hundreds of protected areas such as Marine Park Zones, Marine Special Zones, Protected Water Surface and Marine Preserves are established nation-wide in accordance with diversified laws (Yagi, 2009).

It is important as a matter of course to promote the system of the MPAs as a modern issue. However, we want to pay attention to the issue of protected areas with a strong cultural implication such as marine sacred places from the ancient times and marines preserves by the Imperial Family.

In the ancient and medieval periods of Japan, areas which the Imperial Family stretched a certain scope with a rope (Shime) and did hunting or picked medicinal herbs therein had been fixed. Such a field was called Kin-ya (prohibited field) in general and hunting and gathering activities of the common people had been prohibited. Also, people in general had been prohibited to engage in fishing in Hashi River (Takano River in Kyōto) and Kadono River (Katsura River in Kyōto) in which ayu sweet fish dedicated to the Imperial House were caught. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the reign of the Emperor Jitō (689), to catch fish within 1,000 foot steps in Mukonoumi had been forbid in the country of Settsu. Kin-ya (prohibition in a field), Kin-ga (prohibition in a river), Kin-kai (prohibition in the sea) had a role of protecting resources by prohibiting the commoners enter the area because each of such policies aimed at obtaining resources to pay a tribute to the emperor<sup>11)</sup>.

Not only the Imperial Family but also prominent shrines such as Ise-jingū Shrine, Kamo Shrine, Izumo Shrine and Usahachiman Shrine had Gusaisho across-the-country to procure votive offerings and tributes and engaged in privileged activities. In the case of Munakata Shrine, I have already mentioned that there was a dispute over the ownership of Orono Island after the medieval period. There are archaeological materials and researches on historical documents in the possession of Munakata Shrine concerning the contents of the rituals or ceremonies of Munakata Shrine, but there are no studies on specific contents of food and wine offered to the gods or Minie (sacrifice). We have so far a detailed analysis of the food and wine offered to the gods or contributory objects described in Engishiki in Heian period by Mr. SHIBUSAWA Keizō. Dr. AMINO Yoshihiko also pointed out the importance of marine products in food offered to the gods (Shibusawa, 1959; Amino, 1985).

However, about the food and wine offered to the gods of Munakata Shrine in modern times, Ms. MORI Hiroko of Tsukushi Jogakuen University paid attention to the fact that “Munakata Festival” continuing from Edo period is held in Hetsu-miya and pointed out that seaweed (Akamoku: *Sargassum horneri*) called Gebasamo (or gibasa) (Figure 4) are used as food offered to the gods, as well as sea bream and kelp (Mori, 2011). Gebasamo is seaweed gathered in the seashore of Eguchi, and Ms. Mori has obtained the information that “the Ancient Style Festival will not start until we get Gebasamo.” Akamoku is treated as “Yorimo (washed-up seaweed)” in the seashore of Eguchi. Gebasamo which grows in the water is now gathered and noticeably sold as Genkai Gibasa product.

Gebasamo (Gibasa) is brown algae, belonging to *Sargassum* like Hondawara (*Sargassum fulvellum*). It is called Gibasa in Akita, Nagamo in Niigata, Jinbasa in Oki Island and frequently used as daily food. In the entire area of the Sea of Japan, the dialect of Akamoku is widely spread. Therefore, we may relate it to the dissemination of the culture of ama divers engaged in gathering of mainly seaweed. I will describe diving fishery in subsequent pages.

People in certain regions call Hondawara as Jinbasō (*lit.* seaweed of a divine horse, or seaweed of a horse at camp). A tradition says that when the Empress Jingū was going to sail the sea from the Kyūshū region for quelling the Three Countries of Korea, feed for horses was in short. She ordered to take Hondawara and gave it to the horses on the advice of the maritime people (Miyashita, 1974). Izushi Shrine in Toyooka City, Hyōgo Prefecture performs a divine service of offering Nanoriso (Jinbasō) on the festival of the beginning of spring by the lunar calendar, March 21. Nanoriso is the ancient name of Hondawara, and is a different class from the aforementioned Akamoku. Hondawara is customarily used for decorations as a good luck charm for New Year's Day in Yamaguchi Prefecture, Iwami in Shimane Prefecture, and Suzu in the Noto Peninsula of Ishikawa Prefecture. This reminds me of the culture of the maritime people who would find vitality or marine miraculous power in seaweed.

Anyway, there is a strong likelihood that Akamoku and Hondawara had been used as food offered to the gods from the ancient times, which will require us closely examine the food offered to the gods in Okinoshima Island/Munakata Shrine in future. That is because it will become important prepositions in considering the relation between the group of Munakata Clan who presided over the rituals and fishing activities. Concurrently, it seems to be an inevitable issue to clarify that the diving activities had been important to acquire marine resources from the ancient times and make clear the relations between the Munakata Clan and the culture of the maritime people<sup>12)</sup>.



Figure 4 Akamoku gathered in the rocky shore  
(Nishinoshima-town, Oki-gun, Shimane Prefecture)

## 4. Marine Trade and Diving Fishery

### (1) Fishing and network

The relations between the sea and human beings are diversified. What kind of relations fish and living creatures in the ocean and human beings have developed? Techniques and wisdom to catch fish, how to cook and eat them, cultural taboos and concepts of fish, organizations for fishing and distribution of catch, wisdoms and customs to use resources in a sustainable manner can be called “fishing culture” as a whole.

The Tsushima Warm Current, a tributary of the Japan Current, goes up north from Tsushima Island to Iki Island, and further to the Sea of Japan. This ocean current has had an important meaning not only to the dispersal and ecology of the marine life but also the history of human beings in East Asia. As I described



earlier, it is known that the Tsushima Warm Current is not so rapid compared to the Japan Current flowing up north on the Pacific, which provided the basis for exchanges across the oceans.

The Tsushima Strait area is an important transit point for migratory fish which goes up north from south and goes southward from north. Such migratory fish includes yellowtails, tuna, Japanese Spanish mackerel and dolphinfish, middle to small marine creatures such as squids, flying fish, mackerel, walleye pollack and horse mackerel, and marine mammals such as whales/dolphins and sea lions. It is known that salmon used to migrate to the Kyūshū region before. The existence of Sake (salmon) Shrine (Tashima Okuma, Kama City, Fukuoka Prefecture) aptly expresses the matter.

Meanwhile, the benthos which is peculiar to the temperate zone ranges on the coastal region of the Tsushima Strait. This includes brown algae such as wakame (*Undaria* sp.), hondawara and akamoku which consists the seaweed bed, and seaweed such as eelgrass<sup>13)</sup>, invertebrates such as abalones, turban shells, Pacific oysters and Japanese ormers, octopus, crabs, prawns, holothurians and sea urchins.

Various kinds of biota as mentioned above have been utilized by the maritime people of the Tsushima Strait area from olden times. As I will later mention, a huge number of fish bones and seashells are excavated from the Jōmon and Yayoi sites in the coastal area of the northern Kyūshū region and islands such as Tsushima and Iki. In addition, we should pay attention that whale-bone-made harpoons, spears and awabi-okoshi (a tool to detach an abalone from rock) as well as deer-bone-made fish hooks had been used for tools to gather aquatic resources. And we had better keep our eye upon that easy-to-process whale bones had been used before iron fish hook or spears were introduced subsequently. This is not a case of Japan, but it is also known that tools made of whale bones, shells and tortoise shells had been employed before the introduction of ironware in Oceania.

From the points as suggested above, we should get rid of a preconception that the marine technology was far inferior to the present day merely because it was the prehistoric period. Below, I would like to examine some features of the fishing culture in East Asia.

Clearly, fishing activities in the Jōmon period had been active from the Korean Peninsula over to the northern Kyūshū region, as demonstrated from the excavation of the common composite type fish hooks in these regions (Watanabe, 1985). Furthermore, the distribution of pottery and stone tools clarifies that transoceanic exchanges had been realized in the Jōmon period, 7,000 years ago from the present. The Koshitaka Site of Tsushima Island (Koshitaka, Kamiagata Town, Tsushima City) is a Jōmon site of the last stage of the early Jōmon period to the beginning of the first half of its period and there have been excavated obsidian-made artifacts similar to those of the Tōsandō Site (from circa 5500 B.C. to circa 1500 B.C.) of the Fine Comb Incision Pottery Period located in Yeongdo, Busan in the Korean Peninsula across the sea. The obsidian in either of the sites originated in Koshidake mountain in Imari, Saga Prefecture, and some obsidian produced in Kita-matsura of Nagasaki Prefecture and Iki Island are mixed. Obsidian is not produced in the middle/southern parts of the Korean Peninsula. Consequently, the stone is considered to have been traded from the Kyūshū region to the Peninsula. Bones of sea breams, tuna, sharks, mullets, cod and whales were excavated, which concludes that active fishing activities had been widespread.

There are several styles for Jōmon pottery in Tsushima Island depending on age. These include Todoroki-style, Ataka-style, Kanegasaki-style and Nishibira-style. Most of these pieces of pottery were discovered in sites of the Korean side as well. Meanwhile, incipient Jōmon pottery decorated with slender clay ridges and fine comb incision pottery had been clearly brought to the northern Kyūshū region from the Peninsula. In other words, it is appropriate to consider that the Peninsula and the northern Kyūshū region had exchanges mutually from Jōmon period (Nagatome, 1990).

The trade networks of the northern Kyūshū region are not limited to the Korean Peninsula. Even more noteworthy is the distribution of excavated sea shells. Shell bracelets of Gohoura (*Tricornis latissimus*) were excavated from the site from the Jōmon period to the first half of the Yayoi period near Yobuko in northern Kyūshū. As is widely known, Gohoura is a shell of the southern sea, found in the Amami Islands and southward in areas surrounding Japan. As Dr. KŌMOTO Masayuki and Dr. KINOSHITA Naoko pointed out (Kōmoto, 1990; Kinoshita 1996), it is unquestionable now that shells produced in the south sea had been brought to the Kyūshū region as trade items. In other words, groups engaging in fishery and

maritime trade in various places of the Kyūshū region had combined the trade networks with the Amami and the Okinawa region.

The target of the trade was not only Gohoura. Bracelets of shells such as Ōtsutanohagai (*Patella optima*) and Imogai (*Conus spp.*) were discovered in various places in the northern Kyūshū region, which verifies the existence of exchange networks with the world of the south sea via Kagoshima as a transit place.

Why were such shells subject to trade? Examples of such shells used as ornaments or dignity treasures have been known from the ancient times. In East Asia, the trade of Takaragai (cowrie) harvested in the Ryūkyū Islands to the world of China is a prominent example (Egami, 1932). There is a theory which relates cowrie to fertility in that its shape resembles the female genitalia. In the world other than East Asia, archaeological and ethnological researches have revealed that shells had been used as trade objects or materials of shellmoney. This is well known in Oceania. These include, for example, beads-necklace and belt using bivalve discs the same class of *Spondylus*, brooch of *Pinctada maxima*, shell brooch of *Nassarius* sp., armlets of *Conus* spp., rings of *Tridacna* spp. and ornaments of *Pinctada margaritifera*. Examples in which such a commodity becomes a trade object are widely known in Micronesia and Melanesia. And egg cowrie (*Ovula ovum*) whose surface is pure white had been used as a talisman, a charm to drive away a vicious spirits or a decoration on the bow of a canoe (Figure 5).

Some has the opinion that such ethnological evidence as mentioned above should not be applied to the pre-historic period. However, we may admit the probability that the features of beautiful color, gloss and hardness of a shell, and solidity which will not change with time have inherited the exchange value beyond the time. We need to understand that those which have been used as treasuries or goods for exchange other than shells in later years are all metals.

We will know, using the matters mentioned above as supporting evidence, that the shells brought from the subtropical regions of the Kyūshū region and southward became important trade objects, and its importance also from its excavation as grave goods. In this way, we know that the northern Kyūshū region had formed a maritime network linking the Ryūkyū Islands in the south as well as the continent and the Korean Peninsula from Jōmon period.



Figure 5 Bow of a sailing out-rigger canoe used for a ceremonial voyage *kula* in the Trobriand Islands

## (2) Diving activities and tattoos

What I want to take notice of is the importance of diving activities by which the shells mentioned above were gathered. Fishing people with excellent diving techniques used to be defined as the Sea Nomads or Boat People, settling in widely scattered areas and living a life mostly on fishing. The people of the Sea Nomads or Boat People used to use boats as their permanent dwelling. A boat was a house. They were indeed groups with high mobility<sup>14)</sup>. They originally live on a boat as long as they live, but some of them make a pile dwelling in a coral reef or mangrove area and live together in a densely populated space. They

had not own land ashore and lived by obtaining staple food or living materials by exchanging or selling catch. They were good at diving, and used various resources in the coral reef areas.

In the East Asia region, diving activities also accounted for a higher proportion of their living. In the “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty, there is a description that fishermen of Wa were capable of diving and caught fish and shells, they were tattooed, thereby drove out large fish and waterfowls. It described that they were excellent in diving and tattooed in their body.

Custom of tattoos are known world wide, but it is particularly found in Oceania. In the Caroline Islands in Micronesia, every part of the body; hands and arms, back, femoral region, lower legs, that surrounding the sexual organ and face, was tattooed. “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty states that the purpose of a tattoo is to prevent harm from a large fish such as a shark when the maritime people dives. However, not only men but also women got tattoos depending on their growth in Micronesia. A tattoo was not allowed to everyone in the society but to the upper social class only in some cases. A tattoo was a physical symbol boasting one’s beauty and superiority of the class to which he/she belonged.

Voyagers often used a sign of a frigate bird of tattoos in Micronesia and Melanesia. The people who had known that the birds nest on land at night, reared it from a chick, take it on a voyage and release the bird when a storm occurs, as a means of land fall in the direction the bird is going. Figure 6 is a tattoo in the femoral part of a woman in Mogmog Island in the Ulithi Atoll of the Caroline Islands, showing that teeth of fish or dolphin and shark (so-called saw-teeth design) have been tatoood.

When the author conducted a fieldwork in Satawal Island in the Caroline Islands during 1979-80, he learned that a tattoo in the femoral part of a woman represented a wish that a coming boy could swim freely like a dolphin. Also, the author learned from a senior male with a shark teeth tattoo (serrate pattern) that the tattoo was for the purpose of keeping away from a shark. In the island, people had not consumed a shark, a ray, a whale or a dolphin as they were “bad fish.” In a case when a canoe was overturned and they might be attacked by a shark during not only diving but also on a voyage, knowledge of protecting oneself from a shark’s attack by chanting a spell had been known (Akimichi, 1981).

Woman divers in Kanegasaki (Genkai-town, Munakata-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture) in the northern Kyūshū region sew a Chinese character of “Dai (meaning large)” with black thread on Atamakaburi (Isokaburi, a towel-like cloth wearing one’s head) and used it as a talisman to protect her against a shark in some cases. “Dai” character was painted on a body part such as the brow and arm; besides, on the aforementioned Isokaburi, Isobeko (loincloth), Awabigane (Awabiokoshi, a metal tool to detach an abalone), etc (Itō, 1990).

About the tattoo described in the “Account of Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty which I earlier mentioned, there is a noteworthy opinion on the relation with the Munakata Clan. That is to say, Munakata had originally been wrote as, for instance, “form of chest”, “chest, shoulder”, and “direction of chest” in Chinese characters in the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and the Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan), thus, there are various discussions around its meaning. What is noteworthy is a hypothesis formulated by Dr. KANASEKI Takeo. According to his hypothesis, the form of chest is a certificate that the Munakata Clan inherited strongly the descent of the maritime people and the shape of chest is a tattoo (Kaneseki, 1979; Ōbayasi, 1991). We cannot help but wait for future studies on the appropriateness of this hypothesis. However, in relation to the description in the “Account of Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty, it has an extreme significance meaning in identifying the maritime people of Wa as the Munakata Clan.



Figure 6 Tattoo of a woman in Mogmog Island in the Ulithi Atoll of the Caroline Islands. Fish or dolphin and saw-teeth design heve been tatoood.

After the ancient times, abalones in particular had been an important item as offering. A total of 20 regions including Iki Island made an offering of abalones as Chō (craft produce tax, payment in kind), Yō (delivery by adults instead of labor) and Chūnan-sakumotsu (levy to males of 17 to 20 years old) in accordance with Shukeiryōshiki (Accounting) (Vol. 24) of the “Engishiki” edited in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century of the Heian period<sup>15)</sup> (Tanabe, 2000).

A *mokkan* (wooden tablet) dated on the first year of Taihō (701) recently excavated from the campus of the Kyūshū University states that “white (four characters illegible) tax in place of 24 Ren of abalones”.

They paid tax of rice for 24 Ren of processed abalones (abalones for materials counted 264). The authority required rice rather than abalones (Hattori, 2011)<sup>16)</sup>.

## 5. Navigation and Islands

### (1) Art of navigation and trade

Navigations moving across the sea are roughly divided into coastal navigation and ocean navigation. The former is a case where the navigation continues while observing visually the land and the target on land will be an indicator of the navigation. By contrast, a case in which there is no visual target on land and a ship crosses the ocean is termed as ocean navigation.

We can easily imagine that the art of navigation to sail without watching the faint outlines of islands as well as to move along the coastal region had already been developed in the Jōmon period from the fact that people engaged in trade between Amami/Okinawa and Kyūshū.

There had been exchanges over the ocean from further way back from Jōmon period to the Paleolithic period. Obsidian revealed this fact. For instance, we know that there had been trade of obsidian since the Paleolithic period between the Oki Islands of Shimane Prefecture and the Izumo region that is about 60km distant, and also among the Korean Peninsula, Vladivostok and the Primorsky Krai (Figure 7). However, we may classify the navigation between Oki and Izumo as a coastal navigation because sailors can make out Mount Daisen at high altitude of 1729m. Routes *via* Takeshima Island (Dokdo) or Utsuryō Island (Ulleungdo) to the navigation from Oki to Vladivostok are assumed, but this has not been verified yet.

On the Pacific Coast, we also know that there had been trade of obsidian prior to Jōmon period between Kōzushima Island, one of the Izu Islands, and the Izu Peninsula, more than 30km distant to the north. Obsidian produced in Kōzushima Island was excavated from the Nogawa Site on Musashino Plateau, Tōkyō of 35,000 years ago, which falls on the Late Paleolithic period. It brought to light the fact that maritime trade had been conducted prior to Jōmon period. As I mentioned above, people of the Paleolithic period and people of Jōmon period in Japan conducted “Marine Traffic” ahead of the world in areas surrounding Japan as well as domestically (Tsurumaru and others 1973; Oda, 1981).

In the coastal navigation, the technologies of verifying the position usually called Yamatate or Yamaate (method to measure the position of their own at seas by using targets or landmarks on shore) are generally known. Of course, changes in weather or current had a decisive meaning even for the coastal navigation. Consequently, there had been ports for a refuge or waiting for a favorable wind in various places at an occasion of bad weather, strong wind, high waves or typhoons. During Edo period, there were ports for waiting for a favorable wind or ports for a refuge in various places in the east-to-west sea route by a ship that carried goods from Hokkaidō to the Ōsaka area *via* the Japan Sea route.

In addition, there were low hills or mountains in such a port for the purpose of observing Hiyori or climate across the country, called Hiyori Yama (mountain for weather observing). Further, a twelve animal zodiac Direction Stone is set in some of such hills or mountains (Nanba, 1988)

Unlike the celestial navigation using a modern sextant or a compass instead of a target on land and the contemporary GPS navigation using a satellite as the art of ocean navigation, they had conducted voyages in skilful combination with ocean phenomena such as ocean current and wind, astronomy phenomena such

as the sun, moon and constellations, and biological phenomena such as fish and birds at seas since the ancient times. In particular, this matter has been clarified from the researches on the navigation of the Austronesian-speaking peoples in the Pacific Ocean. The Austronesian arrived at the Hawaii Islands or the Easter Island, the extreme east of the Pacific, from Tahiti in Polynesia in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It is clear that they sailed with a large sailing canoe between islands with a distance of over several hundred kilometers, but their navigational techniques have been only vaguely known. However, W. Hodges, a painter who accompanied J. Cock and others making an expedition in the Pacific, depicted the scene of large-sized double canoes gathering in Tahiti Island of Polynesia in preparation of war. In those days, power struggles had been repeated among the islands such as Tahiti, Moorea, Huahine, Bora Bora in the Society Islands including Tahiti.

Furthermore, in 1997, Dr. SHNOTO Yoshihiko of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii excavated a side board and a steering of a double canoe, a bailer and a paddle and others from the pond in the ground of Bali Hai Hotel under construction in Huahine Island. These artifacts were estimated to date back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, verifying that large double canoes had been used for an ocean-going voyage.

In the same age when the people of Polynesia reached Hawaii or the Easter Island *via* an ocean voyage in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., voyages linking the Korean Peninsula and the Kyūshū region were conducted frequently in the Genkai Sea. Its contemporaneity should be acknowledged.



Figure 7 Obsidian in the Oki Islands. Obsidian in the preparatory stage of making arrowheads in experimental archaeology.

## (2) Traditional navigations and invisible islands

We have an interesting ethnographic example in Micronesia concerning how people can confirm the place at seas when sailing the outer ocean from which they cannot see any land. In Micronesia, people have devised navigational skills by assuming invisible islands on the left and right sides of the ship, where the directions of the invisible islands will move as the canoe goes. Such an invisible island is called a Yetāk island. They have made use of a phenomenon in which an island that is invisible but is positioned in a certain direction moves as the ship goes when they depart an island. The distance from the island when the island from where they departed becomes invisible is approximately 10 miles (16km) if the island is low (Lewis, 1975), and the dead-reckoning, which estimates the time and distance to be required for the subsequent voyage based on the time required during that move, was used (Akimichi, 2004).

A lot of applied versions of this knowledge are known. One example of these is *pwuupwunapanap*. In this knowledge, seemingly imaginable islands as well as real islands are assumed. That is Kafuruur Island. It is assumed that this island is a mythical island where a god lives (Riesenberg, 1975; Gunn, 1980).

Figure 8 shows the knowledge of the navigation including Kafuruur Island. In this figure, five square

*pwuupwu* (meaning the Southern Cross as well as triggerfish (*Balistes conspicillum*)). This figure includes real islands (Guam Island, Magur Atoll, Gaferut Island, Fais Island, West Fayu Island, Ferainap Atoll, Puluwat Atoll, Woleai Atoll, Pulusuk Atoll, Eauripik Atoll) and six imaginable islands, etc. A voyager recalls what kind of islands are placed right and left and backward and forward around his own canoe sailing. If he is in somewhere in the upper most square, he can continue the voyage feeling at ease in the so-called closed space surrounded by Gaferut, Guam, Fanuan kuwen and Kafuruur albeit invisible. It would indicate the importance of sailing in the region surrounded by islands in an ocean navigation whether such islands are real or imaginable (Akimichi, 2004).

Then, how did ancient navigators cross the sea, expanding from the Genkai Sea including Okinoshima Island to the Sea of Japan *via* Hibiki-nada in the east and also to the Korean Peninsula, the Yellow Sea and the East China Sea *via* Iki Island and Tsushima Island in the west?

Here, I would like to estimate how they navigated in the past by quoting the knowledge of the navigation of Micronesia. First, Dr. KAMEI Kiichirō raised a question about the understanding that Okinoshima Island is an isolated island. In other words, taking into account that on a clear day you can look out over the whole of Munakata, Iki Island and Tsushima Island from Ichi-no-Take mountain (243m) of Okinoshima, and command Okinoshima Island from Tobigatake (369m) in Munakata, mainland Honshu of Japan, Dr. Kamei asserts that we should regard Okinoshima Island a divine island with ordinariness, rather than an unusual place (Kamei, 2011). Although the author agrees to this view, it is also based on the framework of how an island is viewed from another island.

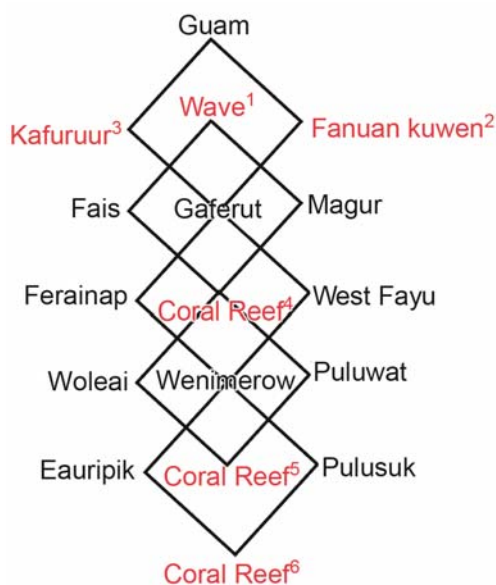


Figure 8 Knowledge on *Pwuupwunapanap* in the Caroline Islands. Place names or words from 1 to 6 above are phenomena whose existence is real or imaginary are not definite (Figure originally prepared by Akimichi).

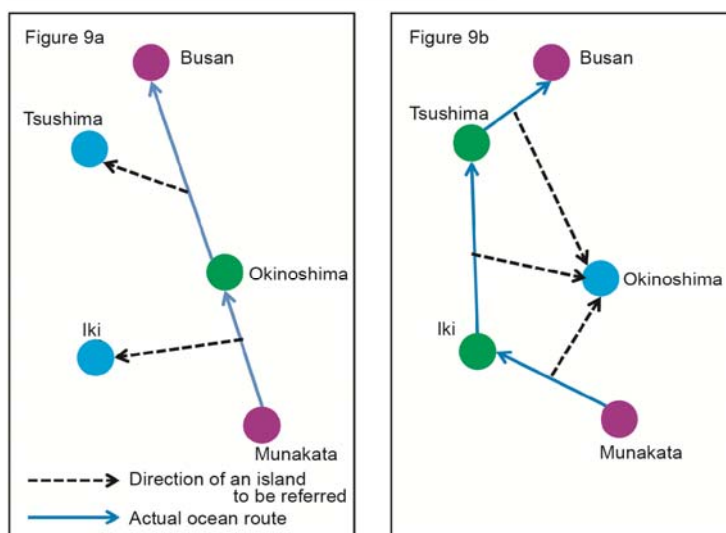


Figure 9 Relations between voyages in the Tsushima Strait area and islands that may be pointers

However, you often can't find the target island in actual voyages albeit depending on the place where you are. In this regard, what seems to be probably important is that islands to be referred to en route may have been assumed although it was not an ocean voyage like in Oceania.

First, if we head for Busan *via* Okinoshima Island (and its vicinity) from Munakata, we can steer a ship by estimating the position of Iki Island and Tsushima Island even if these islands are invisible (Figure 9a).

Secondly, we head for Iki Island from Munakata, and again head for Tsushima Island from there. In this case, Okinoshima Island is the island to be referred (Figure 9b).

In either case, there will be no problem if you can observe such islands visually. However, I would like to point out that not only the routes for the target port of call but also the dead-reckoning based on gradual movement of the direction of the islands to be referred had been likely used.

In Micronesia, people may come across an unforeseen storm. In such a case, they would chant a spell to calm the storm. They used to have a custom of making a gesture of sticking to heaven a charm with the stinging tail spine of a ray installed to the arrowhead on such an occasion in order quiet the origin that arises a storm. We may be better to pay attention that a tool with a point had been used to calm down the storm. I guess that certain prayers to pacify a storm had also been done for rituals wishing for safety voyages in Okinoshima Island as well.

## 6. Tradition of Whaling in East Asia

### (1) Whaling in prehistoric period and Iki Island

The Bangudae Site, the one in the Neolithic period located in Daegok-ri, Ulsan, Kyongsang-namdo, the south-eastern region of Korea, is known for the remnants of a lot of petroglyphs on rock faces (Pak, 1995). Scenes of hunting animals and catching fish in the Neolithic period have been vividly carved in this site. In the pictures which present hunting of a large whale or land animals, there is a scene in which a whale is knotted by something like a net from on a ship or a scene in which a harpoon is driven into the body of a whale. These scenes clearly show that a harpoon had been used in catching a whale while eight to ten people were on board the boat. We had better take notice that people had already engaged in whaling with a strong factor of collective hunting in the Neolithic period (upper part of Figure 10).

In a container of bird bones, about 10cm long, excavated in the Bentenjima Site (Nemuro City, Hokkaido) of subsequent Kamakura period, a person who drove a harpoon toward a whale from on boat and about six rowers are carved. Two harpoons are thrust to the whale. As mentioned above, we will know that whaling with harpoons had been conducted uninterruptedly in the East Asian region since Neolithic period.

In Yayoi period, way back from Kofun period, the "Account of the Wa" in "The History of the Wei Dynasty of Chinese history book History of the Three Kingdoms describes that there is "country of Yida" (country of "Yizhi" in "Book of Sui") under the control of the country of Yamatai. Undoubtedly, the country of Yizhi was Iki Island.

There is a large-scale site of Yayoi period in Iki Island. This is the Harunotsuji Site (from the second half of Early Yayoi period to the terminal stage of Yayoi period), the largest scale in the island. The site itself is located on a hill-side in the inland areas. An alluvial field is extended over the whole plain area around the site and is the most important paddy field area. This will suggest that this place was the center of food production. In fact, carbonized unhulled rice and carbonized wheat were excavated.

However, the "Account of the Wa" in "The History of the Wei Dynasty describes "there are 3,000 something houses in this island", "there are a few arable paddy fields", "but the people of the island go south and north to buy food because food is not enough." In those days, Iki Island was blessed with arable land compared to Tsushima Island, but the area of paddy fields was slightly larger than 600ha only. Rice cultivation had been conducted in low and moist land and dry field farming had been conducted in the plateau (Yokoyama, 1990).



Tombs such as jars used for burial and stone coffins and tools are excavated as archaeological relics of Harunotsuji. Unearthed articles as tools and ornaments include stone axes, stones with indentations or surface pitting (a type of stone mortar), whetstones, arrowheads or tools to detach abalones made of whale bones, stone arrowheads made of obsidian, stone swords, Huoquan coins (minted by Wang Mang in 14 A.D., and circulated until 40 A.D.) and bronze mirrors of China, bronze bracelets with comma-shaped flanges, pottery of Chinese lineage, bronze swords of the Warring States period, comma-shaped beads, multi-colored glasses, glass beads, crystalline quartz beads, and cylindrical beads of jasper.

Animal remains excavated from the Harunotsuji Site are cetacean such as whale, dolphins, orca, marine animals such as sea lions, fishes such as tuna, parrot fish and shellfish such as abalones, turban shells, Japanese ivory shells and Pacific oysters. In relation to this, iron fish hooks and harpoons of whale bones were excavated. Dogs, wild boars, deer, cows, horses and chickens were excavated. This site can be very strongly connected with the sea although this site is situated in the inland areas.

The Hatahoko River runs almost from west to east (the flow is about 9km long) in the north side of the site, and the archaeological feature of the landing place said to be the oldest in East Asia was discovered by the excavation in 1996. This archaeological site was built in the Middle Yayoi period and is comprised of two stonework piers, a landing stage and a U-shaped dock. Both of the piers are approximately 12m long, the upper portion of the east pier is 5.2m wide, lower portion is 10.7m, and 2m high. The west pier is 4.5m wide in the upper portion, and 8.7m wide in the lower portion, and 1.5m high. Hatahoko River is connected to Utsumi Bay one kilometer east of the site, and it is presumed that the trade goods brought over the sea from the continent had been unloaded here, or goods had been shipped off overseas from the country of Yizhi. In 1993, this place began to be regarded as the central settlement of the country of Yizhi due to the size of the Harunotsuji Site and existence of the trade goods.

Attention should be paid to the fact that nine pieces of bones of deer and wild boars that makes us think the implementation of oracle bone as well as the existence of close trade networks among Iki Island and the Kyūshū region, China or Korea as explained above. Probably ceremonies of prayers for rich harvest or fishing, and forecasting the time to carry on trade by departing from the island had been conducted.

The Harunotsuji Site is situated in the southeast of Iki Island. It is known, meanwhile, that the combination of relics of the Karakami Site (Katsumoto Town, Iki City) in the middle-west of Iki Island is similar to that of the Harunotsuji Site. The Karakami Site (from Early Yayoi period to Late Yayoi period) is located in slightly high land, 87.9m high from the sea level, and 1.5km distant by the seashore. From the stratum that contained such relics, each two pieces of oracle bones of a wild boar and a deer were excavated as is the case of the Harunotsuji Site. “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty describes that the people tell their good or bad fortune by looking at cracks made by burning a bone. These relics are those clearly showing the description.

In addition to these, three socketed bronze spearheads were excavated from the Amagahara Site, located on the seashore in the northern tip of Iki Island. Archaeologist, Dr. YOKOYAMA Jun, supposes that the spearheads had been buried to wish for the safety of navigations.

We would like to bear in mind that the excavation of a harpoon and a tool to detach an abalone of whale bone from the two sites strongly suggests that whales had been used from that period. Tools to detach an abalone were excavated in places other than Karakami and Harunotsuji. For instance, a spatula-like tool made of whale bone was excavated in the Yoshimohama Site in Shimonoseki City and the Yuusu Site in Shingū Town, Kasuya-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture.

In the Jōmon period prior to the Yayoi period, spatula-like whale bones of 20cm to 30-plus cm long were discovered from Shirahama-Kizuka, Fukuejima Island in the southern part of the Gotō Islands of Nagasaki Prefecture. Concurrently, it has been established that vertebrae of whales had been used as stands in making pottery in regions where Adaka-style pottery is distributed in Kumamoto, Nagasaki and Kagoshima in the Middle Jōmon period (Mishima, 1961; Mori, 1990). Jōmon sites where pots with indentations of a whale’s vertebrae were excavated are concentrated in the region around the Sea of Ariake, which undoubtedly allows us to assume the relation between humans and whales way back to Jōmon period. Tsugumenohana Site in Tabira-town, Hirado city, Nagasaki prefecture exemplifies it. Extensive bones of whales and sharks

were excavated from this site. Together with such bones, a stone harpoon of sanukite and a stone spearhead of obsidian as long as 5cm were discovered, which indicates that such sharp-edged tools had been used for harpoon fishing to catch marine animals or large fish (Mori, 1987).

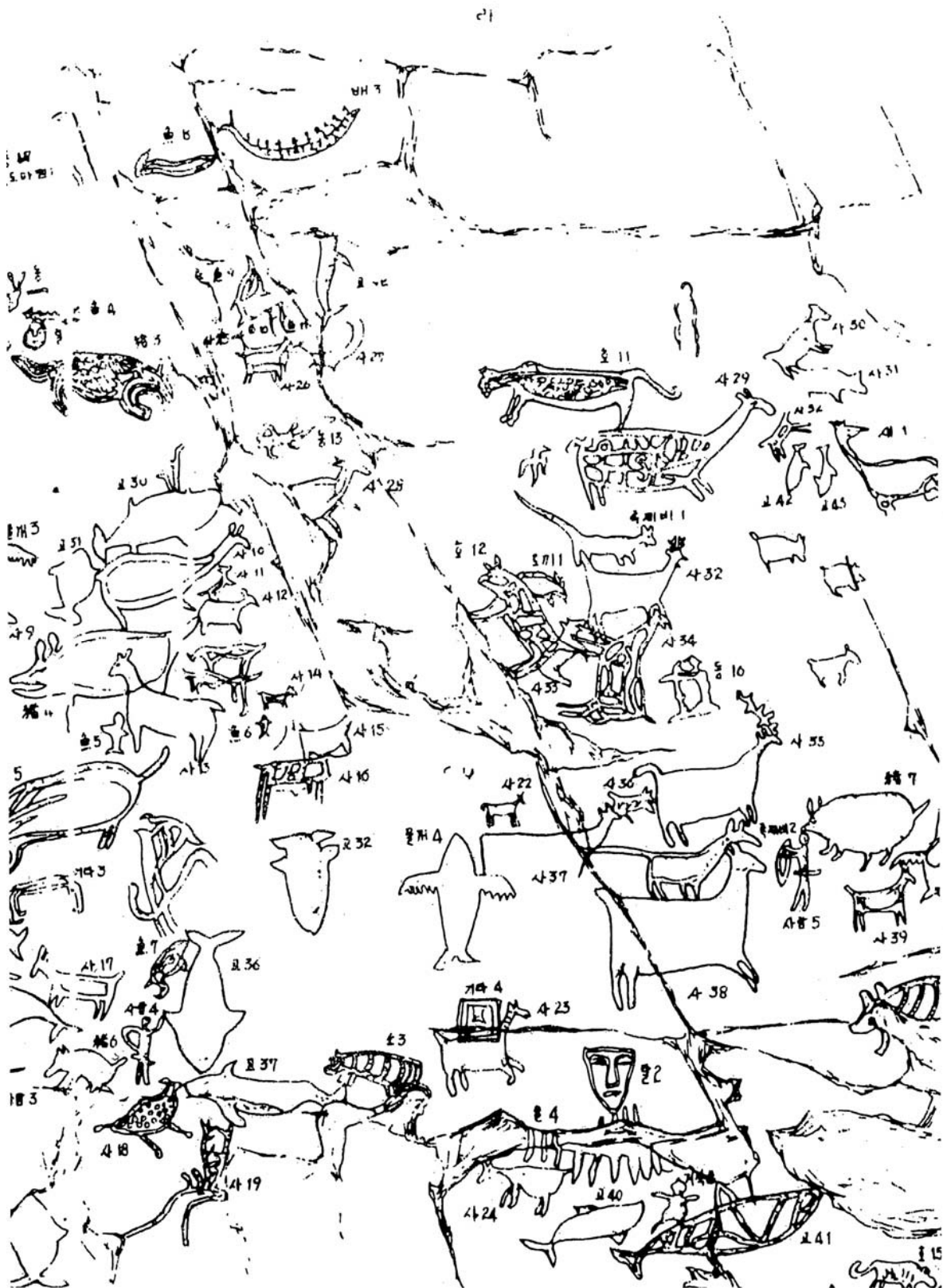


Figure 10 The Bangudae Site in Daegok-ri, Ulsan-gun, Kyongsang-namdo, Korea. Scene of hunting/fishing in the Neolithic period by a petroglyph on a rock face

## (2) Whaling and ships in the Kofun period

Let's consider whaling in the Kofun period which is later than Jōmon period. As many as 256 mounded tombs are ranged in every corner of Iki Island, Nagasaki Prefecture. Of which, Oniyakubo Tomb (Ariyasufure, Gonoura town, Iki-gun) located on the land slightly near to the west seashore of Iki Island, which is a large-sized tomb of a corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral (side) entrance (horizontal chamber, passage grave) (yokoana-shiki sekishitsu), is famous as a mounded tomb with decorated chamber walls, and a petroglyph of a vessel were discovered from two places. In the vessel painted in the west wall in the tomb of the two petroglyphs, eight oars are perceived there. The stem and stern of the vessel are in a curved shape. A large catch is painted next to the vessel, a harpoon stacked to the animal. A small catch accompanying the large one is also painted.

There can be almost no mistake that the picture painted a scene of fishing. Although it is not clear, we cannot think they are a large fish and a small fish but can guess they are a mother whale and a child whale in company with its mother on account of the way how the tail fin is attached and the fact that a small catch is painted. Something like scaffold is painted on the vessel, and seems to be a sail. Three vessels are painted. I guess this is because they pursued a whale by more than one vessel.

The petroglyph painting whale catching in the Oniyakubo Site reminds me of the painting on the wall of the Bangudae Site in the Neolithic period in Korea. From the picture of the Bangudae Site, we can also find common elements of the Neolithic/ancient whaling in East Asia.

The vessel which was painted in the petroglyph in the Oniyakubo Site as earlier mentioned showed a curved shape of the stem and stern. This form is considered to avoid waves. The number of oars let us think that nearly 10 persons were on board the vessel, and the ship is assumed to be a large one, indicating that the vessels used were not dugout canoes but quasi-keeled vessels that jointly used the side boards and so on at the both sides of the vessel bottom.

In addition to the Oniyakubo Site, plural oarsmen and oars are painted in the bronze bell unearthed in Harue-town, Fukui Prefecture and the pottery unearthed in Sumiyoshi-Inata Site. Vessel-shaped ceramic clay figures placed on the surface of tumuli are strong evidence in order to know the structure of the vessels used in those days.

We know that vessel-shaped ceramic clay figures are not dugout canoes but quasi-keeled vessels that jointly used the side boards at the both sides of the ship bottom. However, the quasi-keeled vessels had existed from the Yayoi period, and larger vessels began to be used in the Kofun period.

Real quasi-keeled vessels were found in several tens of places in Japan. For instance, parts of bows and side boards of ships were excavated in the Akanoi-hama Site in Moriyama City, Shiga Prefecture. Parts of a quasi-keeled vessel were also found in the Uriwari-Kita Site in Uriwari, Hirano-ku, Ōsaka City. The age of the vessel was the Late Kofun period (the 6<sup>th</sup> century), and it was found that a part of a "quasi-keeled vessel" had been discovered by a survey of the Prefectural Board of Education. Ōsaka in those days shouldered the burden of the water transportation of Yamato Polity. It is said vessels may have been used for an ocean voyage from the Inland Sea of Japan to the Korean Peninsula. The examples of excavation of a quasi-keeled vessel count only several tens in Japan, and so it seems to be valuable materials in knowing navigation technologies of the period. Tens of pieces such as part of gunwale (1.2m long) and a side board of the vessel body and partition boards were found, each of them made of boards of Japanese cedar. From curved components and the shape of a mortise, it was presumed to be a part of a quasi-keeled vessel, a middle-sized ship of the entire length of 10-plus meters for crew of 5 to 10 persons.

A quasi-keeled vessel takes a structure in which a dugout canoe was refined that had been used since Jōmon period and made to a large size by jointly using boards at the sides and in front or at the back. It was introduced in the last stage of the Yayoi period (about 1,800 years ago), and it is said that it had been used mainly for exchanges with the continent in the Kofun period. Ancient lake Kawachi linking from Ōsaka Bay is said to have been extended in the entire site area, and this vessel is regarded to have been used for transporting goods of various places departing from Kawachi to Ōsaka Bay.

The wooden object excavated from the Suyama Site, Nara Prefecture in 2008 proved to be not a coffin but part of a quasi-keeled vessel. In other words, it was a wave-cutting board of a vessel and a component of

the side board, and it became clear that it was the portion to connect the side board to the hollowed vessel bottom<sup>17)</sup>.

## 7. Munakata/Okinoshima Sites in Ocean Cultivation

Since Jōmon period, the maritime people who engaged in navigations, fishing and trade appeared in history in the maritime world of the Tsushima Strait. They used to catch fishes such as tuna, yellow tails, horse mackerel and mackerel as well as resources of the benthos such as seaweeds, abalones and turban shells on the coastal region. The evidence is verified from shells and fish bones excavated from shell mounds and sites of the Jōmon/Yayoi period. Furthermore, the petroglyphs remained in the Bangudae Site in Ulsan in the southern part of Korea and the Oniyakubo Site in Iki Island have revealed that they also used to engage in whaling with harpoons in dugout canoes.

People engaged in not only fishing/gathering activities but carried on trade in the area of the Tsushima Strait. Tools and pottery common to the continent and the area of the Tsushima Strait and Japan are excavated. Partly because pottery and metal objects clearly made in the continent or China were discovered in Tsushima Island, Iki Island and the northern Kyūshū region, there had been cultural exchanges *via* the Tsushima Strait undoubtedly. Those who involved with the exchanges as traders, navigators and merchants themselves were the people of Tsushima Island and Iki Island, groups of the Munakata Clan.

State rituals backed by the Yamato kingly power had been performed in ancient times in Okinoshima Island. The rituals changed to sanctuary rituals worshipping the Munakata Three Goddesses, rather than ethnic belief in marine gods in early period. Ceremonies praying for safe voyages and successful trade had been performed there. The people of the area of the Tsushima Strait under such state rituals acted under the protection of the kingly power.

In the medieval period, the Tsushima Strait became a place for the force of the Japanese pirates maneuvered in secret, which vexed the Muromachi shogunate and the Kingdom of Goryeo. The Kingdom of Korea, established at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, took strong measures to the Japanese pirates as well as adopted gentle persuasion. This was the invasion to Tsushima Island by the Ri Dynasty of Korea in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of Ōei (1419). This Foreign Attack of Ōei devastated the Japanese pirates.

As the author described above, groups of the maritime people in the Tsushima Strait had been subject to the kingly power depending on the decade or made contributions to exchanges of goods/human beings/information through anti-authority activities. This area has inherited fishing by free diving by ama, divine services that find magical power in seaweeds, coastal whaling since the prehistoric period, fluid ocean transfer activities by the maritime people and their traditions.

One can say that the existence of “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region” was supported by the very activities by the maritime people in the sea world linking the Korean Peninsula and the northern Kyūshū region. In this regard, the traditions of the activities of the maritime people and their traditions which were fundamental to form the ocean cultivation in East Asia and its tracings would have an international significance as the cultural sites of the sea.

The heritage as many as 80,000 items in the collection of Okinoshima Island and the Munakata Shrine called as the Shōsōin (Imperial treasure house) of the Sea are not merely a collection of supreme treasures. It would be called as the fruits of the trade activities developed in the sea world of East Asia as it were. The maritime treasures are crystal of biology/history/culture of the area of the Tsushima Strait.

### Notes:

- 1) The maritime people can be broadly defined, and it does not necessarily mean a clear-cut ethnic or regional group. In general, it refers to fishing or maritime people associated with the maritime environment in various forms (Akimichi 1988; Akimichi 1998)

- 2) It is known that people had settled in Ainoshima Island since Jōmon period. From Kofun period to Heian period when rituals mainly on Okinoshima Island had been performed, there were exchanges between Ainoshima Island and the continent. We know that during the same period, the group of the tombs of 254 mounds of piled stones called Ainoshima Tsumiishitsukagun had been built in the island from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century over the 6<sup>th</sup> century and it had been used until the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The island is known as the place to which a Chōsen-Tsūshin-Shi (Korean envoy to Japan) made a direct stop-over from Katsumoto-town of Iki Island subsequently in early modern times. The Kuroda Fief built a guest house to entertain the Korean Missions to Japan in early modern times.
- 3) Oronoshima Island used to belong to Munakata Shrine, but Xie Guoming, a merchant in Hakata of Chinese Southern Sung, claimed the ownership. Therefore, Munakata Shrine took the case to the Kamakura shogunate. In the subsequent Kenmu administration period, the possession of Oronoshima Island by Munakata Shrine was guaranteed.
- 4) There is a tradition that Itsukushima Shrine located in the southern part of Jinoshima Island had made a branch shrine for the Three Goddesses of Munakata at an earlier period than Munakata Shrine in Miyajima Island, Hiroshima Prefecture.
- 5) In the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, groups of pirates settled in Hailang Island, smuggling in sea mammals (Takahashi, 2001).
- 6) Neepwon or a space meaning “void” is set in the middle part of the two islands (Akimichi, 1985).
- 7) Today the principle of the “freedom of the seas” is being hindered by the behaviors of some countries. Concerning this move, the international community is worried about the actions which hinder the access to a certain sea or an action meaning a denial of the right to a sea (Anti-access and Area Denial (A2/AD) (Ushirogata, 2012). Even in the ancient times/medieval period, the free navigation had not been implemented as a principle in the sea area of the Tsushima Strait.
- 8) This is not an example of Japan, but the fishing people settled in a man-made island in the northeastern part of Malaita Island, the Solomon Islands in Melanesia distinguish the spaces called *maanabeu* and *maanabisi* from the daily living space. The former is the sacred space where only men can enter, and various ceremonies are performed, while the latter is the space that only women can enter and this is not a sacred space in strict terms of the meaning. This is the space for women to stay when they give birth to a child or during menstruation, regarded as “polited” space (Akimichi, 1976).
- 9) This is not a case of Chinese fan palm, but Japanese cedar which had grown in the Tertiary is preserved in the Oki Islands in the Sea of Japan as plants of refugia (Tsumura, Momohara, 2011).
- 10) Aichi Target sets the ten years from 2011 to 2020 as the period to achieve the strategic targets, and carries out the environmental maintenance in concrete manners. Of the targets, Target 6 aims that all fish and invertebrate stocks and aquatic plants are managed and harvested sustainably by 2020. And Target 11 aims that by 2020 at least 17 per cent of terrestrial and inland waters, and 10 per cent of coastal and marine areas are conserved through measures unique to protected areas. Problems each country has are not uniform but are diversified. International efforts are expected to be done as soon as possible.
- 11) In such imperial lands, there were groups which engaged in hunting/gathering/fishing with a privilege, which falls on the groups called Niebito or Zōkugo. Of these, Ukaiko (group of fishing with cormorants) in the country of Yamashiro/Tango, Abiki (net fishing) in the country of Izumi and Ebito (people of coastal waters) in the country of Settsu/Kawachi conducted privileged activities.
- 12) Ceremonies or folk customs using brown kelp, *ecklonia cava* (Kajime), eelgrass (Ajimo, alias of Amamo) in addition to *Sargassum horneri* are known (Itō, 1990). In Tsunoshima Island in Yamaguchi Prefecture, for example, piled *ecklonia cava* is served to the dead.
- 13) The seaweed bed for brown algae is called place of *Garamo-ba*, and that for seaweeds such as eelgrass is called place of *Amamo-ba*.
- 14) This includes various groups. Bajau, Badjaw (Indonesia), Samal (Sulu Sea in the islands of Malaysia), Orang Laut (in the Malay Peninsula), Moken (in the Mergui Islands of Myanmar) are representative examples.
- 15) These areas include, Awa, Kazusa, Hitachi, Sagami, Shima, Sado, Wakasa, Izumo, Iwami, Oki, Nagato, Kii, Awa, Iyo, Chikuzen, Hizen, Higo, Bungo, Hyūga and Iki Island.
- 16) The Tsushima Strait area produces three kinds of abalones; *Haliotis discus*, *Haliotis gigantean* and *Haliotis madaka*. The habitats of such abalones become deeper in the order of *Haliotis discus*, *Haliotis gigantean* and *Haliotis madaka* (Overseas Fishery Cooperation Foundation of Japan, 1995)
- 17) However, because the width of the ship is narrow, it is indicated that this ship did not aim at a voyage but it may be a mourning ship on which a coffin is loaded for sending a dead person by ship.

## References (not translated):

- 秋道智彌 (1976) : 「漁撈活動と魚の生態—ソロモン諸島マライタ島の事例」; 『季刊人類学』7 (2)、pp. 76 - 128
- 秋道智彌 (1981) : 「“悪い魚”と“良い魚”—Satawal 島における民族魚類学」; 『国立民族学博物館研究報告』6 (1)、pp. 66 - 133
- 秋道智彌 (1985) : 「サタワル島における伝統的航海術の研究—島嶼間の方位関係と海域名称」; 『国立民族学博物館研究報告』9 (4)、pp. 651 - 709
- 秋道智彌 (1988) : 『海人の民族学—サンゴ礁を超えて』日本放送出版協会
- 秋道智彌 (1994) : 『クジラとヒトの民族誌』東京大学出版会
- 秋道智彌 (1995) : 『なわばりの文化史—海・山・川の資源と民俗社会』小学館
- 秋道智彌編 (1998) : 『海人の世界』同文館
- 秋道智彌 (2004) : 「水平線の彼方へ—太平洋、中央カロリン諸島の海洋空間と位置認識」; 野中健一編『野生のナヴィゲーション』古今書院、pp. 129 - 160
- 秋道智彌 (2009) : 『クジラは誰のものか』筑摩書房
- 網野善彦 (1985) : 「古代・中世・近世初期の漁撈と海産物の流通」; 『講座日本技術の社会史第2巻 塩業・漁業』日本評論社、pp. 197 - 271
- 飯島吉晴 (1985) : 「ビロウ」; 『平凡社大百科事典』12 平凡社、p. 789
- 石井忠 (1993) : 「海からのメッセージ・漂着物」; 『漂流と漂着・総索引』(海と列島文化別巻) 小学館、pp. 49 - 92
- 伊藤彰 (1990) : 「鐘崎と海人文化」; 『玄界灘の島々』(海と列島文化3) 小学館、pp. 381 - 413
- 後潟桂太郎 (2012) : 「米国防費削減のわが国に及ぼす影響」; *Ship & Ocean Newsletter* 281、pp. 4 - 5
- 江上波夫 (1932) : 「極東に於ける子安貝の流伝に就きて」; 『人類学雑誌』47 (9)、pp. 309 - 336
- 応地利明 (1990) : 「玄界灘の交易と農耕文化の交流」; 『玄界灘の島々』(海と列島文化3) 小学館、pp. 68 - 104
- 大林太良 (1991) : 「海人の系譜をめぐって」; 田村圓澄・荒木博之編『古代海人の謎』海鳥社、p. 21 - 41
- 長節子 (1990) : 「孤草島釣魚禁約」; 『玄界灘の島々』(海と列島文化3) 小学館、pp. 311 - 343
- 小田静夫 (1981) : 「神津島産の黒曜石—その先史時代における伝播」; 『歴史手帳』9 (6)、pp. 11 - 17
- 海外漁業協力財団 (1995) : 『東シナ海・黄海魚名図鑑』海外漁業協力財団
- 川添昭二 (1990) : 「宗像氏の対外貿易と志賀島の海人」; 『玄界灘の島々』(海と列島文化3) 小学館、pp. 279 - 310
- 金関丈夫 (1979) : 「むなかた」; 『えとのす』12、pp. 34 - 35
- 亀井輝一郎 (2011) : 「古代の宗像氏と宗像信仰」; 『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告』I (「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議) ④ - 1 - ④ - 25
- 木下尚子 (1996) : 『南島貝文化の研究貝の道の考古学』法政大学出版局
- 甲元眞之 (1990) : 「大陸文化と玄界灘—考古学からみた対外交流」; 『玄界灘の島々』(海と列島文化3) 小学館、pp. 45 - 67
- 国武貞克 (2008) : 「高原山黒曜石原産地遺跡の発掘」; 『季刊東北学』15、pp. 27 - 45
- 渋澤敬三 (1959) : 『日本魚名の研究』角川書店
- 高橋公明 (2001) : 「海域世界の交流と境界人」; 大石直正・高良倉吉・高橋公明『周縁から見た中世日本』(日本の歴史14) 講談社、pp. 265 - 385
- 田辺悟 (1993) : 『海女 (あま)』(ものと人間の文化史73) 法政大学出版局
- 津村義彦・百村新 (2011) : 「植物化石とDNA からみた温帯性樹木の最終氷期最盛期のレフュージア」; 湯本貴和編、高原光・村上哲明責任編集『環境史をとらえる技法』(日本列島の三万五千年—人と自然の環境史6) 文一総合出版、pp. 59 - 75
- 鶴丸俊明・小田静夫・鈴木正男・一色直記 (1973) : 「伊豆諸島出土の黒曜石に関する原産地推定とその問題」; 『文化財の保護』5、pp. 147 - 158 東京都教育委員会
- 永留久恵 (1990) : 「対島の考古学」; 『玄界灘の島々』(海と列島文化3) 小学館、pp. 139 - 197
- 南波松太郎 (1988) : 『日和山 (ひよりやま)』(ものと人間の文化史60) 法政大学出版局
- 日本海洋学会沿岸海洋研究部会編 (1985) : 『日本全国沿岸海洋誌』東海大学出版会
- 朴九秉 (1995) : 『韓半島沿海捕鯨史』太和出版社
- 服部英雄 (2011) : 「韓鉄 (大宰府管志摩郡製鉄所) 考」; 九州大学構内遺跡出土木簡」; 『坪井清足先生

- 卒寿記念論文集』 pp. 984 - 995
- 三島格 (1961) : 「鯨の脊椎骨を利用せる土器製作台について」; 『古代学』 10 (1)、 pp. 66 - 73
- 宮下章 (1974) ; 『海藻』 (ものと人間の文化史 11) 法政大学出版局
- 森浩一 (1987) : 「弥生・古墳時代の漁撈・製塩具副葬の意味」; 大林太良編『日本の古代 8』 中央公論社、 pp. 127 - 176
- 森弘子 (2011) : 「宗像大社の無形民俗文化財」; 『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告』 (「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議) ⑧ - 1 - ⑧28
- 八木信行 (2009) : 「日本型海洋保護区の特徴と課題」; *Ship & Ocean Newsletter* 219、 pp. 4 - 5
- 横山順 (1990) : 「壱岐の古代と考古学」; 『玄界灘の島々』 (海と列島文化 3) 小学館、 pp. 198 - 240
- 李春子 (2011) ; 『神の木一日・韓・台の巨木・老樹信仰』 サンライズ出版
- 渡辺誠 (1985) 「西北九州の縄文時代漁撈文化」『列島の文化史』 2、 pp. 45 - 96
- 宮城弘樹 (2011) : 「グスク出現前後の考古学研究史とその論点の整理」; 『沖縄文化研究』 37、 法政大学沖縄文化研究所  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10114/6436>
- GUNN, M. J. (1980) : Etak and the Ghost Islands of the Carolines; *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 89 (4), pp. 499 - 507
- KALLAND, Arne (1984) : Sea tenure in Tokugawa Japan: The case of Fukuoka Domain.; K. RUDDLE and T. AKIMICHI eds., *Maritime Institutions in the Western Pacific*. Senri Ethnological Studies No. 17, pp. 11 - 36.
- LEWIS, David (1975) ; *We, the Navigators*. University of Hawaii Press.
- RIESENBERG, S.H (1975) ; *The ghost islands of the Carolines*. University of Guam.





# Establishment of *Shaden* in Japan and Munakata Shrine

YAMANO Yoshiro

Expert Committee Member, Fukuoka Prefecture Cultural Property Conservation Council,  
Doctor of Engineering

**Abstract:** By the review on the archeological evidence and written materials, this paper firstly clarified that one of the reasons behind the diversity found among the background and momentum for the establishment of each individual Shinto shrine architecture in Japan arises from the high degree of tolerance over multiplicity. Secondly, the paper clarified the characteristics of the role of visualization that the Shinto shrine architecture played in Japanese *Kamimatsuri* through understanding not only of the archaeological sites in Ancient Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Tashima but also of the architectural complex of Middle Ages Munakata Shrine in Tashima. Today the Main House and Worship House of Hetsu-miya are the only two architecture that have survived at the premises in Tashima after the reconstruction in the latter sixteenth century. The two pieces of architecture continue to of high value as the structures to remember the past glory, the object of admiration and worship by many people and as living *Shaden*.

**Keywords:** *Kamimatsuri*, visualization, multiplicity, Middle Ages Tashima Shrine, Mandala-like stratification

## 1. Introduction

The task assigned to me by the World Heritage Promotion Committee, namely, "Establishment of *Shaden*(社殿) in Japan and Munakata Shrine" involves several controversial points and concepts. Before opening the discussion, this paper will firstly clarify these controversies.

The primary of which is the term “*Shaden*”. While it seem to share the general focus on the architecture related to Shinto, the term has historically been used without solidly defined scope. In a narrowest sense, it can exclusively refer to the main shrine building (cf. Encyclopedia of Shinto), namely, the *shinden*(神殿) or the *honden*(本殿), while it is often used with wider scope covering the entire complex of architecture for *Kamimatsuri*<sup>1)</sup>; typically including the *heiden*(幣殿, the offerings house), *haiden*(拝殿, the worship house), and *buden*(舞殿, the court dance house). The wider scope of the term can further include other architectural constructions within the shrine premise such as the *torii*(鳥居, a gateway at the entrance to Shinto shrine), *kaki* (垣, fences), *mon* (門, gates), *kairō*(回廊, corridors), *temizusha* (手水舎, a place with covered water-filled purification stone basin trough to rinse hands and mouth in symbolic purification), *tōrō* (灯籠, lanterns), *gokusho*(御供所, offerings preparation kitchen), *komoriya* (籠屋, hostel for ritual participant), and *shamusho* (社務所, shrine office). Moreover, each individual shrine has distinct landscape, scale and design of the constructions and the composition as a building complex, which would be evident to anyone visited multiple Shinto shrines. Without a solid definition, the term cannot avoid the verdict as a questionable category due to its ambiguous scope and vast diversity within its referent themselves. Further, despite the referent of *Shaden* is mainly Shinto-originated, origin in Shinto is not a necessary condition for a *Shaden*. For example, there are cases such as *Gionsha*, *Tenmangū* and *Tōshōgū*, where the Buddhist style architecture are called *Shaden*. In this paper, the term “*Shaden*” is defined "a permanent building or a group of permanent architecture that functions as the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan, which consequently serves to visualize the object and process of the *Kamimatsuri*".

The interrelations of *Kamimatsuri*'s at the three sites of Munakata Shrine—*Okitsu-miya* on the remote island of Okinoshima on the Genkai Sea, *Nakatsu-miya* on Ōshima Island not very far from the mainland coast, and *Hetsu-miya* on a low wetland a little up the Tsuru River— provide an important clue to the understanding of the structural order of religious stage in East Asia. The unique characteristics of Japanese *Kamimatsuri* demonstrated by the interrelation of these three shrines itself is significant independently from the existence of *Shaden*, just as much as other prominent concepts surrounding the topic such as multidimensionality of the conception of deities represented by *Ara-mitama* (raging spirit) and *Nigi-mitama* (consoling spirit) or the personification of divine spirit as reflected in the annual parade of *mikoshi* (divine

palanquin), *dashi* or *yatai*. Considering these, in what sense is a perspective needed on the establishment of *Shaden* in Japan, and why do the architecture of Munakata Shrine merit reevaluation?

In order to address the questions above, the first section of this paper, in order to address the questions above, will provide a broadly-based discussion on the momentum that gave birth to *Shaden* despite the stages of *Kamimatsuri* could exist without it in such a form as Okinoshima Island archaeological site. In parallel with this, the second section will reveal that the unique characteristics of the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan are confirmable by ca.eighth century through the compositional comparison with its Chinese equivalent. Following the general discussions in previous sections, the third section will analyze the establishment process of the surviving *Shaden* in Tashima, Munakata City, hypothesizing the history of the *Shaden* of Tashima as the layering process of multiple ritual models with different structural principles. By reconstructing the layered models into chronological order, the final section will offer a historical perspective on the establishment and transformation of *Shaden* in Japan and the architecture of Munakata Shrine .

It is hoped earnestly that an understanding of the establishment and transformation process of the *Shaden* in Munakata Shrine provides a hint to the appreciation of the diversity found among *Shaden* in Japan and the source of their individual beauty. It is further hoped that this paper will serve to offer a fresh perspective in the study of religious architecture in East Asia.

## 2. Construction of *Shaden* as the stage of *Kamimatsuri*

### (1) Momentum for the establishment of *Shaden*

[This section will overview the past studies on the establishment of *Shaden* and its diversity, along with introducing the theory focusing on the political momentum for the visualization of “Kami as what exists in *Shaden*” proposed by YAMANO Yoshiro.

The establishment process of the Japanese *Shaden* is fundamentally different from the development model of the ancient Greek shrine. The Greek Shrines have clear prototype, which makes it possible to explain later diversification as the development of variations. On the other hand, there seems to be no common prototype for Japanese *Shaden*. Though many researchers currently accept this view, it was the mainstream of the academic trend to look for common prototype until half a century ago.

The diversity in the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan was at one point in time explained from the viewpoint of simple evolutionary theory or the progressive view of history. These views were first systematized in a lecture notes of ITÔ Chûta in the thirty-fourth year of Meiji (1901)<sup>2)</sup>. Taking Ōmiwa Shrine (Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture), Kanasana Shrine (Kamikawa Town, Saitama Prefecture) and others, the theory assumes “*Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden* (in this context, ITÔ refers to the main architecture, *Honden*)” as the prototype. It argues subsequent establishment of *Taisha-style* in Izumo(Izumo City, Shimane Prefecture ) and *Sumiyoshi-style* in Settsu(Ōsaka City, Ōsaka Prefecture ) during the era of shrine-palace non-separation, followed by establishment of *Shinmei-style* of Ise-jingū Shrine (Ise City, Mie Prefecture) during the era of shrine-palace separation. Further diversification of the styles were simply explained as branching process with the lapse of time in the same manner.

The linear development hypothesis was widely accepted with no major modifications until after the end of World War Two<sup>3)</sup>. However, it was put to fundamental review by INAGAKI Eizō who argued that an epoch of the entire shrine architecture should be dated to the latter seventh century<sup>4)</sup>. The theory argues that the momentum behind the establishment of *Shaden* was the national level counter-reaction to Chinese culture which required *Shaden* to be a symbol of solidarity that could match magnificence of the Buddhist architectures. This implies that the root of the vast diversity of the *Shaden* is embedded in its initial design motive as anti-thesis to Buddhist architecture, in other words, their diversity necessarily exited from their initial establishment rather than emerging as the result of branching process from the prototype. In fact, it seems apparent that the construction and maintenance of, vast and magnificent architectural complex of such Shrines as Ise-jingū Shrine, Izumo Shrine, Itsukushima Shrine, Nikkō Tōshōgū would require national-project-level mobilisaion of material, technology and labour force. It is convincing that any

discussions on the establishment of those *Shaden* complexes without consideration over politico-economic background would be hollow.

However, it should be also noted that the stage of *Kamimatsuri* did not always accompany such a fabulous architectural complex. ŌTA Hirotarō took note of the fact that, whilst many of the existing Buddhist temple architecture in Nara date from Kamakura Period, the largest group of existing *Shaden* is those dating from Muromachi period and locating outside Kyoto and Nara<sup>5)</sup>. While ŌTA left its reason unexplained, it seems reasonable to assume that the number of structures constructed itself had been increased considering that the surviving small *Shadens* maintained by units of village communities generally dates after this period throughout Japanese archipelagos. It suggests that large *Shaden* complex of national-level major shrines and small *Shaden* of local shrines had different period, background, and maintenance base for their establishment.

In addition, YAMANO Yoshiro proposed a hypothesis that the establishment of *Shaden* was motivated by the need for the concrete visualization of abstract political regimes and ideas by constant public presentation of *Kami* as “what exists in *Shaden*”, instead of the dedicatetion of “*Shaden* for the *Kami* to reside”<sup>6)</sup>. This hypothesis proposes a perspective focused on the structure of the stage of rituals to understand *Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden* that are abundantly reported in ethnological studies. For example, in case where rocks with extraordinary size and those exposed above ground with odd-shaped cracks (*Iwakura*; “rock-abode”: dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily) or mountains and isolated islands (*Kannabi*) that can enclose spiritual object of worship in a limited area and suffice visualization function for *Kamimatsuri*, there would be little intrinsic momentum for constructing a *Shaden*. Likewise, for the *Kamimatsuri* performed by particular people in a particular community along with the flow of time or the passing of the season (for example, village agricultural rites, rites of passage and the “*marebito*” worship), the stages of *Kamimatsuri* installed inside a house or in a small space by the rice paddies are temporary for each event, which provides little intrinsic incentives for construction of *Shaden*.

If the hypothesis is accepted, the survival of “*Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden*” to our age would not cause controversy that the linear development hypothesis has to confront. It can further explain extraordinary variety and uniqueness in scale, layout, form and detailed designs found among existing *Shaden* architecture of each shrine and localities as the essential outcome of the differences in the motives, techniques, construction materials and power bases behind their construction and refurbishment. The hypothesis could also be applied to propose an answer to the question raised by ŌTA, the existence of pan-Japanese threshold era for the establishment of *Shaden*, since the simultaneous rise of the political need for permanent *Shaden* and the constant public presentation of *Kami* as “what exists in *Shaden*” could be speculated in the context of 15th century self-rule of hamlets, thanks to the contribution of study in literature-based historiography.

## (2) Okinoshima Island archeological site and *Kamimatsuri*

This section of the paper will examine discussion on possibilities surrounding rituals in Munakata Shrine, especially in the Okinoshima archaeological sites.

The archaeological sites in Okinoshima are conventionally classified into four phases associated with four corresponding location types. The relocation of the sites were supposed to have occurred in the following order: atop rocks, the latter half of the fourth century to the fifth century (Phase I); rock shades, the latter half of the fifth century to the seventh century (Phase II); half rock shade-half open air of the latter seventh century to the former eighth century (Phase III); open air of the eighth century to the end of the ninth century (Phase IV)<sup>7)</sup>.

YUBA Tadanori, participant of the Third Research Excavation Team, paid particular attention to the discovery of flat iron ingots and gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness at the sites dating from latter half of the fourth century to the sixth century<sup>8)</sup>. While the vast majority of the metal objects (saddle buckle, crupper strap divider with spangles, gilt bronze-made leaf-shaped horse equipment ornament, bridle, bell and belt-end ornament) excavated from Archaeological Site #7 were Korean product that shows familiarity with those unearthed from Silla royal tombs, discovery of items other than potteries and steatite objects

from Japanese archaeological ritual site was rare at the point of his time. In addition, he pointed out that gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness, glass plates, bronze bowl and bronze platter were found at the Miyajidake Tomb, which belongs to the group of tumuli stretching from Munakata to Tsuyazaki. He continued, among the 21 mirrors unearthed in Okinoshima at Archeological Site #17 on atop a rock, domestically manufactured copies were of inferior quality both in terms of design and bronze compared with continental originals, suggesting a possibility that they could have been produced not as a treasure mirror but especially for the use in rituals. Nevertheless, rather strangely, he neither linked Okinoshima Island directly with the archeological sites at the group of tumuli in Munakata nor did he make direct comparison of the archeological sites on Okinoshima Island with those on the Korean Peninsula.

This confusing indifference in YUBA's otherwise straightforward report is likely to have derived from the works of INOUE Mitsusada that YUBA referred to <sup>9)</sup>. INOUE's hypothesis, along with preceding analysis by HARADA Dairoku, emphasizes the seeming similarity of artifacts unearthed from Okinoshima to those unearthed in Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Kyōtō and Nara: Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi). To construct a consistent explanation of Okinoshima archaeological sites within the context of the establishment of the ritual systems in Japan, INOUE overviewed that characterizing artifacts at Phase I sites (atop a rock) are mirrors, agate beads and swords, and those at Phase II sites (rock shades) are armor and horse trappings, arguing that they "were parallel with the grave goods found at tumuli" <sup>10)</sup>. These observations served as an intentional foreshadowing to put into relief his argument that the function of the artifacts changed into "exclusive use for rituals" from Phase III onwards. The underlying approach behind his argument is the stance to seek norms of *Kamimatsuri* to *ritsuryō* system rituals that have historiographic ceiling at early eighth century, and this stance continues to be shared by archeologists today. YUBA even went so far as to suggest a possibility of participants "reading aloud an imperial edicts before the rock-abode, playing music and performing dances" at a rock shade archeological site <sup>11)</sup>.

As we reviewed in the preceding section, tokens of Okinoshima Island such as huge rocks and isolation from mainland itself bear potential chance of presenting themselves as visualized objects of *Kamimatsuri* by enclosing spiritual object of worship in a limited area. However, it does not indicate that the people who created the archeological sites on Okinoshima Island should have belonged to a specific country. In other words, the relation between tokens and the people who enshrine them are determined in cultural terms, which do not necessarily correspond with political group. Similarly, it obviously offers no ground to assume that all phases of *Kamimatsuri* performed in Okinoshima Island over approximately 600 years were continuous series of rituals conducted by a single entity.

As INOUE Hideo correctly pointed out, the Sea People up to the first half of Ancient Japan. There is no choice but to conclude it is uncertain that to what extent the documentations edited subsequently by intellectuals accustomed to farming culture and living in the imperial capital correctly reflect the real life of the people who sailed on the seas around Okinoshima <sup>12)</sup>. It would be reasonable to consider that the Sea People could have regarded either of the political powers in the Korean Peninsula and Yamato the latter fourth century to the former fifth century as landed social groups profoundly different from them. Even though they are referred to as "Munakata-no-kimi" in the subsequent document "Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)," unless it is proven that the people of Munakata should not have been involved in any multiple diplomacy and that they should not have been subjugated to a certain political power through all the phases of the archeological sites. The self-completing political theory of *Wa-koku* is not free from fragility. Procurement of flat iron ingots and horse trappings which was unthinkable for a clan in northern Kyushu before the eyes of Kinai people of later times could well have been possible for chieftains and unions of chieftains based in the Genkai Sea.

Artifacts of Okinoshima Island dating to the latter fourth century to the sixth century are unique in the sense that they are simpler than the contemporary counterparts of Silla, while being comparably gorgeous to artifacts of Kinai. If these artifacts represent any trace of rituals, the possibility of treasure-like artifacts having been repeatedly placed atop a rock or under a rock shade, unlike the permanent burial inside a grave chamber of a mounded tomb should be considered. Unfortunately, for the time being, there is no way to estimate these artefacts were offered how many times or how those lay-out changed within this period.

Turning to YUBA Tadanori's study again, he argues that the Archeological Site #22 represents a transition

period for the composition of artifacts <sup>13)</sup>. After Site #22, flat iron ingots, horse trappings, mirrors, accessories and other treasure artifacts largely disappear; instead, metal miniatures and steatite representations of objects begin to appear. In particular, open air archeological sites (Phase IV) contained a large quantity of potteries. Whilst small Haji potteries and steatite objects could be found practically throughout entire period, it was the configuration of artifacts that attracted discussion on Okinoshima Archaeological sites of the seventh century onwards.

INOUE Mitsusada paid a particular attention to Archeological Site #5 among the half rock shade-half open air sites (Phase III) and argued that he was able to confirm "a form of pottery set" consisting of "large pot in the back, then jars on vessel stand in the middle and line of long neck jars in the front". Moreover, he took up the gilt-bronze miniatures, especially the spinner and the gogenkin (musical instrument) that were unearthed from rock shade (Phase II) Archeological Sites #6 and #22, and from half rock shade-half open air (Phase III) Archeological Site #5 and argued that they correspond with the divine treasures of the Inner Shrine (Kōtai-jingū) of Ise-jingū Shrine from the beginning of the ninth century onwards <sup>14)</sup>. He further argued that the large amount of potteries accumulated at the open air (Phase VI) Archeological Site #1 corresponded to the forms of potteries listed in Engishiki <sup>15)</sup>. He linked this to his own hypothesis that assumes processes of gradual separation of the ritual stage from the rocks (where deities reside) and the formation of ritual stage independent from the rocks <sup>16)</sup>, arguing that conditions for the establishment of rituals, namely "(i) separation of deity and spirit, (ii) definition of items with which to enshrine the deity and (iii) formation of the stage of ritual" can be confirmed at the archeological sites of Okinoshima Island at the cross of the sixth and the seventh Centuries <sup>17)</sup>. INOUE was so hasty in arguing that the archeological sites on Okinoshima Island represent the precursor, if not already by themselves, of *ritsuryō-style* rituals that his discussions are silent as to how he envisaged concretely the stage of enshrinement.

A case in point is Archeological Site #1 that spreads out in an oval shape of 10 meters north-south and 9 meters east-west at a location approximately 47 meters away from the huge rocks. According to YUBA Tadanori, major artifacts were a large quantity of potteries that were found in many layers. It also seemed to him that quarry stones were laid out from the big stone at the southeastern corner to southwards. However, even though they were indeed laid out artificially, they were barely a row of stones placed along the contour, presenting themselves as a sort of earth retainer. YUBA frankly reports the scene of excavation, that he had "an impression that the place was like a yard for objects finished use in rituals" <sup>18)</sup>. It is difficult for the time being to term Archeological Site #1 as an open air ritual site and regard it as the stage of *Kamimatsuri*.

The heavy accumulation of potteries would mean that the alleged *Kamimatsuri* was frequently repeated for a rather long period of time. The interpretation that the artifacts of Archeological Site #22 demonstrate a transition period and the observation that many of the subsequent artifacts have high affinities with the *ritsuryō-style* ritual of Japan are acceptable. However, so many aspects of the stage of *Kamimatsuri* still remains unknown that it is difficult to determine which period/phase of the Okinoshima Archaeological site involved political momentum for the establishment of *Shaden*, unless further information were obtained from future studies including excavation of estimated location of the Shinto shrine building and underwater archaeology.

INOUE Mitsusada acknowledged "The main route of Japan-Korea traffic at the time was from Nanotsu in Tsukushi to Pusan via Iki and Tsushima, possibly involving a stopover at Karatsu in between Nanotsu and Iki" and estimated that Okinoshima Island "did not belong to this main route" <sup>19)</sup>. If this view is to be accepted, it raises question about the background and frequency of the dedication and offering ceremony, allegedly conducted by the Yamato kingly power and often associated with the large amount of potteries left at Archeological Site #1 on Okinoshima Island. It is unclear whether it is adequate to assume the Yamato kingly power really performed such a frequent dedication and offerings ceremonies over a long period of time on a remote island out of the main traffic route. Did the Yamato kingly power really used to perform dedication and offerings ceremonies so frequently for a long period of time on a remote island out of main traffic route?

Further, it is widely accepted that the *Kamimatsuri* at ancient Okinoshima sites were related to prayer for safety of voyage, diplomacy and trade between countries of Korean Peninsula. However, possibly as the consequence of the fixed concept surrounding *Kamimatsuri* and Shinto, it is often overlooked that the Japan-Korea sea route was also the transmission course of the Buddhism chronologically overlapping with

ancient *Kamimatsuri* at Okinoshima and strongly connected to the East Asian political current at the time. It would be inadequate to associate Okinoshima exclusively with Shinto as we imagine today, especially because it could be inferred that the emergence of Shinto out of preceding more primitive forms of *Kamimatsuri* could be understood in the context of anti-thesis to Buddhism.

Next Section will review the characteristics of *Kamimatsuri* of Japan at the time.

### 3. Characteristics of *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan

#### (1) Objectives of this Section

The scope of the hypothesis on the mechanism behind the establishment of permanent religious architecture presented in the preceding Section would not be limited to Japan but probably applies generally to any other parts of the world. However, in order to understand the establishment of *Shaden* in Japan in accordance with their specific layouts and architectural styles, it is necessary to clarify the characteristics of Japanese *Kamimatsuri* that differentiate it from other rituals in the world, particularly those in China and Korea. This Section will attempt to identify the characteristics of *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan focusing on the architectural structure of the stage of *Kamimatsuri*, which have been inherited to Munakata Shrine.

The momentum behind the creation of majestic architectural complex at the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan as we see today is discussed in a work of INAGAKI Eizō<sup>20)</sup>. INAGAKI compared architectural structure and detailed design of state-controlled Shinto shrines and those of contemporary Buddhist architecture, and emphasized that they are strictly contrastive. The essence of the INAGAKI's hypothesis is that unique architectural style of Shinto Shrines was established as the result of the elimination of strongly Buddhist elements from the architectural style of Shinto shrine, which was enabled after comprehensive mastery of the technical innovations brought by the Buddhist architecture. INAGAKI then argued that the innovational period for the shrine architecture is the latter seventh century “when history and traditions were emphasized, and the establishment of (ritsuryō) state regime attracted awakening, for instance, the period between the Taika Reform and the aftermath of Jinshin War”.

This interpretation of INAGAKI's was so fresh and attractive that the several reservations he carefully made have been often overlooked. One of them is the difference between the Japanese ritsuryō state regime and the Chinese regime after which the former was modeled. While INAGAKI certainly have considered the reinforcement of ritsuryō regime in Japan that was accelerated following Japan's defeat in the 663 Battle of Baekgang in arguing that the latter seventh century to be an epoch in *Shaden*, there are no detailed discussions on this point in any of his works. Though INAGAKI does not do a clear statement at this point, a close examination of the eighth century state rituals in Japan reveals that the *Kamimatsuri* in Japan was not only non-Buddhist but also different from the contemporary Táng Dynasty rituals that were governed by *Ciling*(祠令) or *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*(大唐開元礼).

A review of *Tō-Nichi Ryōrei Taishō Ichiran* (*A Comparative Overview of Táng and Japanese Laws*) shows that, for example, Japan's *Koryō* (戸令: Codes for Household) mirrors the *Hùlǐng* of Táng Dynasty China with articulate additions and deletions based on close examination into every stipulation<sup>21)</sup>. Considering such a background of mixed attitude of inclination and/or rivalry against Táng systems, the uniquely Japanese stipulations contained in *The Jingi-ryō* (神祇令: Laws on the Ministry of Shinto cults called *Jingi-kan* in the *Taihō* and *Yōrō* Codes) draws particular attention. The following section will review the characteristics of non-*Ciling*, non-*Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan and the attitude of the Ancient Japanese state against *Shaden* in their control and offerings dedication. The discussion would be based on modification of YAMANO Yashiro's 1992 oral presentation briefing<sup>22)</sup> that compared the basic principles behind Táng Dynasty *Ciling* and Japanese *Jingi-ryō*. *The Jingi-ryō* along with his 1994 oral presentation briefing<sup>23)</sup> that discussed the differences in the patterns of ritual procedures stipulated by the *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* and by the the *Kōtai-jingū Gishiki Chō* (Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū).



## (2) Differences in the stipulations of Japanese *Jingi-ryō* and Chinese *Ciling* for *Yuánqǐū* (圓丘: round knoll) Rituals

There are many outstanding works on the comparison between Chinese *Ciling* and Japanese *Jingi-ryō*, and their evaluation is not an objective of this paper and hence is omitted. It should be pointed out nonetheless that many of the works to this date tended to emphasize the differences in the philosophies and power structures. At the same time, the enthusiasm for restoration of missing words was so strong that they tended to be overly focused on the similarities and differences of the words and phrases of *Ciling* and The *Jingi-ryō*. Not much work has been made to look at the fact squarely that the actual stages of *Kamimatsuri* in China and Japan are different.

The *Jingi-ryō* do not contain stipulations on *Tàimiào* (太廟: imperial ancestral temple), *Yuánqǐū* or *Shèjītán* (altar of earth and harvests) that are stipulated in *Ciling* to be the stage of performing rituals. Put differently, the (Ise) Jingū is not denominated as "*Tàimiào*" and there are no stipulations about architectural facilities at which the emperor or his/her proxy would worship heavens and celebrate the earth at every directional corner of the city. *Shoku-nihongi* writes in its Page Rén(壬)-Yín(寅), November, the fourth year of Enryaku (785) and Page Jiǎ(甲)-Yín(寅), November, the sixth year of Enryaku (787) that Emperor Kammu prayed for god of heavens at the field in Kashiwara, Katano, and *Nihon Montoku Tennō Jitsuroku* ("The True History of Emperor Montoku of Japan") writes in its Page Xīn(辛)-Yǒu(酉), November, the third year of Saikō(856) Emperor Montoku prayed for *Hàotiān* (昊天: heavenly sky) at Katano. Many scholars recognize these records as examples of *Jiāocí* (郊祀: imperial suburban ritual) in Japan<sup>24</sup>). However, there are no records of *Jiāocí* rituals performed other than the three examples specified above, and there have been no reports of discovery of facilities corresponding to the altar in China at the archeological site in Kinya-Honmachi, Hirakata City (formerly of Katano Country) that is often referred to as being associated with the three examples.

With respect to around the 8th Korean Peninsula, the descriptions in Page April of the seventh year of Sinmun Wang of Silla (687) in *Records of Silla, Samguk Sagi* ("History of the Three Kingdoms") are cited as the evidence of *Wǔmiào*(五廟: mausoleums of the first five kings) having been established following the *Táng* rituals<sup>25</sup>). In addition, the descriptions in Page the fourth year of King-Seondeok Wang of Silla (783), Vol. 10 of *Tōgoku-tsūkan*, that "*Shèjītán* (社稷壇) was erected and the ritual was performed" has attracted attention<sup>26</sup>). Later in history, *Goryeosa* ("History of Goryeo") writes that on the first Xīn(辛) day of the New Year in the second year of Seongjong of Goryeo (983) a *Sitiānlǐ* (祀天礼: ritual) was performed to pray heavens for good harvest and rainfall at a *Yuánqǐūtán* (圓丘壇: altar on a knoll)<sup>27</sup>). It is thus quite unusual in East Asia of the time that the Japanese *Jingi-ryō* include no traces at all of stipulations on altars, except for those that later in history came to be known as *Takamikura* (imperial thrones).

The body text of *Jingi-ryō* only lists the timings and the names of *Kamimatsuri* rituals such as *Kinensai* in *zhōngchūn* (midspring) (the second of three spring months), *Chinkasai* in *jìchūn* (late spring) (the last of three spring months), *Kanmisosai*, *Saikusa-no-Matsuri*, *Ōimi-no-Matsuri* and *Fūjinsai*, the last four all in *mèngxia*(early summer) (lunar April). There are barely brief descriptions about *heihaku* (offerings to gods) to be dedicated to deity, *kessai* (purification) before performing the ritual and *kambe* (shrine estate) as economic backbone. If not for the two commentaries, *Ryōnogige* and *Ryōnoshūge*, even the name of enshrined deity would not be known. There are no stipulations at all as to the facilities at which *Kamimatsuri* would be performed. Further, in *Jingi-ryō* the worshiped gods are not of abstract characters but often are named after the place they are enshrined or the family clan that enshrine them. According to the annotations contained in *Ryōnoshūge*, gods of Ōmiwa, Sai, Ise, Isagawa, Hirose, Tatsuta, Ōyamato, Suminoe, Anashi, Onchi, Ofu, Katsuragikamo and Kiinokuni-Hinokuma, at least, are so named after real place names or family clan names. The annotation of which writes that "*Koki*" (a reliable commentary written in 738) has the same passage, suggesting that this stipulation dates back to around the tenth year of Tenpyō (738)<sup>28</sup>).

It is clear that certain principles and power structure unique to *Kamimatsuri* of Ancient Japan were behind these phenomenon. Still, questions remain as to the reason why the 8th century Japan did not set out standards and norms for the stage of state-run *Kamimatsuri*, while having the established political order strong enough to adopt Chinese *ritsuryō* regime and the economic and technical strengths sufficient for

constructing temples, palace architectures and grid-pattern layout capital city consisting of accurately measured square blocks. As a prelude before exploring the reasons, let us first review the stage or ritual and the architectural facilities that are stipulated in Chinese *Ciling*.

KANEKO Shūichi argues that *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* "does not reflect the real situation of rituals as performed at that time" <sup>29)</sup>. At the same time he makes a reference to the excavation report of Xī'ān Táng Chéng (working team on Táng era city of Xī'ān) Institute of Archeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and writes that "the *Yuánqǐū* of Táng is four-layered, presumably following the *Yuánqǐū* of Sui Dynasty, and is the only surviving pre-Ming, pre-Qing *Yuánqǐū*." He continues that the *Every Winter Solstice Speculation* (每歲冬至條: Měisuidōngzhìtiáo) of *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* provides with respect to the *Yuánqǐū* that "an altar should be set up 2-li east outside the City's *Mingdemen*. The altar should be four-layered (the original language is "four stories"). Each layer (floor) should be 8-chi 1-cun, the bottom layer (lowest floor) should be 20-zhàng wide, the second layer (second floor) 15-zhàng wide, the third layer (third floor) 10-zhàng wide and the top layer (fourth floor) should be 5-zhàng wide" <sup>30)</sup>.

While KANEKO's work revealed the deviation of the actual performance of imperial rituals from the institutional stipulations, he still admitted that there was the *Yuánqǐū* (round knoll) in the suburbs of Táng Dynasty capital of Chang'an (modern Xi'an) and its archeological site has been passed on to this date. With respect to the altar for the Earth, or the *Fāngqǐū* (方丘: square knoll), which presumably located in the northern suburbs of the city, KANEKO writes "the location of Táng's *Fāngqǐū* is not known," however he admits the existence of *Tàimiào* and *Shèjì tán* by writing "Táng's *Tàimiào* was located at the southeastern corner of the *Huángchéng* (皇城: imperial palace) in a symmetrical position to that of *Shèjì tán* at the southwestern corner" <sup>31)</sup>.

It seems undeniable that at least *Yuánqǐū*, *Shèjì tán* and *Tàimiào* were constructed among the facilities stipulated in the ritual codes in the Táng era China. Well, then, why *Jingi-ryō*, which mirrored the Táng Dynasty *Ciling* in form, does not mention *Yuánqǐū*, *Shèjì tán* or *Tàimiào* at all?

It seems clear that Japan at the time had a mastery of techniques sufficient to build large altars considering the existence of the gigantic mounded tomb groups in Osaka Plain. Abstention of rituals at the *Yuánqǐū* could possibly be explained as a result of diplomatic consideration since the ceremony for the Heaven was under exclusive authority of the Chinese Emperor. However, this does not explain why *Shèjì tán* to enshrine gods of earth and harvest and *Tàimiào* to honour the imperial ancestors should have also been avoided. In attempt to explain this controversy, this paper proposes that it was bureaucrats of *Jingikan* (Council of Religious Affairs) who found the facilities for imperial ritual unacceptable, not out of technical or diplomatic reasons, but as an issue of Japanese tradition as to the stage of rituals.

Fig.1 illustrates the rituals that are stipulated by the provisions of *Ciling* relating to the *Guó chéng* (国城: Capital City), four suburbs, four comers and *zhōu* in all four directions, based on Tōrei Shūi-ho <sup>32)</sup>. It can be seen that the Táng *Ciling* was a highly abstract ritual code with ritual dates based on *dōngzhì*(winter solstice) - *xiàzhì*(summer solstice) - *chūnfēn*(spring equinox) - and *qiūfēn*(autumn equinox) or *lichūn*(beginning of spring) - *lixià*(beginning of summer) - *liqiū*(beginning of autumn) - *lidōng*(beginning of winter), each of which dates were allocated to the four directions of south - north - east - west. In *Ciling*, the *Yuánqǐū* was presumably conceived as an architectural setting for the Son of Shangdi, namely, the Chinese Emperor to gather and worship the celestial order that spreads out of the imperial palace into four directions and upward, the temporal order of stably passing four seasons to bring rich cereals crop and the abstract being of Shangdi who governs these orders.

*Jingi-ryō* likewise provides for routine rituals to be performed respectively in *zhōngchūn* (midspring), *jìchūn* (late spring), *mèngxià*(early summer), *jìxià*(late summer), *mèngqiū*(early autumn), *jìqiū*(late autumn), *zhōngdōng*(midwinter) and *jìdōng*(late winter).

And Ōimi-no-Matsuri and Fūjinsai in *mèngxià*(early summer) are also performed in *mèngqiū* (early autumn), Tsukinami-sai (monthly festival), Michiae-no-Matsuri and Chinkasai that are conducted in *jìxià*(late summer) are to be repeated in *jìdōng* (late winter) and Kanmiso-no-Matsuri that is performed in *mèngxià*(early summer) is to be repeated in *jìqiū* (late autumn). The ritual calendar under *Jingi-ryō* was more enumerative and less abstractly structured than *Ciling*.

In the case of *Jingi-ryō*, the occasion of *Kamimatsuri* that is comparable with the Chinese counterpart held

at the *Yuánqū* is Kinensai. This *Kamimatsuri* is to worship the deities in the sky and earth. This may be regarded as the *Kamimatsuri* that shows the emperor possesses the right of rituals over the entire homeland. But that *Kamimatsuri* in Japan, unlike the Chinese counterpart which was performed centrally at the *Yuánqū*, was performed by a procedure called *hanpei*. *Hafuri* (Shito priests) of shrines around the country travels to the office of *Jingikan*, receive *heihaku* distributed by *Jingikan*, take it back home and offer it to their respective deities enshrined. There is an official document dated the sixth year Hōki(775) that warned against failure of *hafuri* to report to *Jingikan* for the occasion<sup>33)</sup>. This was an event totally different from the sky-worshipping ritual performance that was audio-visually extravagant and heart-catching to the audience.

Full attention should be paid to the fact that the illustrative chart about *Ciling* does not accurately depict the actual scenes of Táng imperial rituals; rather it reflects the concepts and principles of *Ciling*. It should be remembered also that it is not a matter of our immediate concern to what extent the principles of imperial rituals match the reality.

Let us now continue our discussions with a focus on the hypothesis that the editors of *Jingi-ryō* did not prepare a *Yuánqū*, *Shèjītán* or *Tàimiào*, not only out of diplomatic consideration but rather out of their perception on the stage of *Kamimatsuri* and the tradition of space recognition in Japan.

### (3) Differences in the procedural provisions for *Shè jì* rituals

Among the rituals stipulated in *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*, the ritual of *Shè* (社: deity of soil) and *Jì* (稷: deity of grain) is performed not as a privilege of the emperor but also by the local officials at *zhōu*(州: province), *xiàn*(縣: county) and *lǐ* (里: village) levels. In this sense, it is somewhat similar to the *hanpei* system of Kinensai prescribed in Japanese *Jingi-ryō*.

And the imperial ritual to worship *Dàshè*(大社) on the first Day of *wù*(戊) in *zhòngchūn* (midspring) and *zhòngqiū*(midautumn) is full of decorations to show dignity and is complicated, but the fundamental elements are same as those of *lǐ* ritual.

In the *lǐ* ritual, the divined throne is set up near a *Shénshù*(神樹: divine tree), instead of building the square-shaped *Shè* and *Jì* altars used in *zhōu* and *xiàn* rituals. Here we see the original prototype of rituals dedicated to deities of soil and grain. The *Shèjì* rituals performed at provincial and *xiàn* levels are generally identical in content and procedures except for the ranking of the presiding and other officials involved; both lack the straightforwardness of *lǐ* ritual and are too decorative. We will direct our attention to the movements of people at the ritual site of *Shèjì* in *lǐ* and compare them with those in the *hanpei* ritual in Japan.

The stipulations about *Shèjì* ritual mostly refer to taboos (purification) that should precede the ritual, preparation of seating signboard and objects, preparation of sacrifice animal, dedication of offerings and divine foods and dedication of divine wine and ritual meat. The movement of people on the ritual site mostly related to the dedication of offerings and divine foods and that of divine wine and ritual meat.

Fig.2 illustrates schematically the movements of participants in a *lǐ Shèjì* ritual<sup>34)</sup>. The central player of the ritual procedures is (1) the *Shèzhēng*(社正: chief priest). Even though (2) the dedication of divine foods is performed by an assistant official, the *Shèzhēng* is ushered, (3) washes hands, cleanses the dipper and (4) scoops divine wine out of the barrel in the dedication of divine wine and ritual meat. He then approaches the divine throne from north to south and (5) dedicates the divine wine.

When (6) the *hafuri* finishes reciting the praise to the virtues of the deity of the soil, the priest (7) dedicates the divine wine now to (8) the deity of grain. When (9) recital for that is over, (10) he drinks up the divine wine in front of the enshrined deity and when that is completed, (11) returns to the position from which the dedication began.

In the corresponding rituals at the imperial, *zhōu* and *xiàn* levels, the chain of actions is attended by many more assistants. In addition to divine foods, precious offerings are dedicated, and the emperor, *cìshǐ* (刺

史: governor) or *xiànlíng*(県令: corresponding to the *Shèzhēng*) not only drink the divined wine but also eat the meat after the dedication. There are also stipulations providing for repeated dedication by the deputies and other officials as well as for music playing in the case of emperor. The emperor and his proxy perform the ritual facing the deity to the south.

The oldest documentation of *hanpei* ritual, which is comparable to the Chinese rituals described above, is Report on rituals in the *Kōtai-jingū* which was submitted to *Jingikan* by Daigūji (Senior Priest) Ōnakatomi-no-Masatsugu on August 28, the twenty third year of Enryaku (804). This document also contains descriptions about the annual events at Ise-jingū Shrine including somewhat detailed procedures for three *Kamimatsuri* --- the *heihaku* dedication in February Nenkisai, dedication of Akarahiki thread in June and Autumn Harvest Festival (Kannamesai) in September.

INOUE Mitsusada saw the essential point of Kinensai is in the act of "priests around the country paying a visit to *Jingikan* and receive the distributed *heihaku*," and argued that "it is by nature different from, for instance, an emperor dispatching his envoy to Ise-jingū Shrine to dedicate *heihaku* on his behalf" <sup>35)</sup>. When one considers the act of extraordinary dedication for which an envoy is dispatched to Ise-jingū Shrine or certain other shrine for a special reason, INOUE's view that such a practice must be clearly distinguished from the *hanpei* distribution to shrines at Kinensai is indeed to the point. What we would like to consider here is, however, in what way the distributed *heihaku* was dedicated to deity at the actual stages of *Kamimatsuri*.

Accordingly, an analysis of offerings dedication at Ise-jingū Shrine would be useful to analyze the offerings dedication made at shrines around the country during Kinensai which *Jingi-ryō* stipulates to be a ritual to worship celestial and earth deities. The locations of places and objects indicating the stage of *Kamimatsuri*, such as Daisanjū and Daini Gomon, inside Ise-jingū Shrine (the inner shrine) are estimated, based on the draft proposal for Imperial Palace restoration by FUKUYAMA Toshio <sup>36)</sup> and the work of YAMANO Yoshiro referenced earlier <sup>22)</sup>.

Principal participants of the *heihaku* dedication ritual in Kinensai included: the official of the central government who was dispatched for the purpose of delivering *heihaku* (gifts from *Jingikan*) --- historical records refer to him as "Ekishi (station envoy)" or "Shi (envoy)" --- Daigūji, Negi and Uji-no-Ōuchindo. But unlike the Cíling in Chinese *lǐ* ritual of *Shèjì*, these participants do not move around themselves. For the ritual which is performed in the front garden of Shōden of Naikū, the Ekishi sees to it that there should be no errors in the ritual proceeding. Daigūji, Negi and Uji-no-Ōuchindo hold Futo-tamagushi in the hand and hand it over to a number of lower-ranking Monoimi-no-Chichi, instructing them to carry it onto and place it at the Gomon. Futo-tamagushi, not the people, move in the garden ritual at the Shōden of inner shrine. It should be remembered that Futo-tamagushi per se is not a *heihaku* (offering to god); it is a ritual utensil that is prepared by Yamamukai Monoimi-no-Chichi in the case of Ise-jingū Shrine.

And in this ritual, the deity faces southward and people northward.

In Fig.3 "Procedural pattern of Nenkisai *heihaku* envoy dedication (based on "*Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō*" (Book of rituals and ceremonies of the *Kōtai jingū*), (1) indicates Daigūji, Negi, Uji-no-Ōuchindo, Uchi-Monoimi-no-Ko and other participants take their respective positions. (2) denotes Norito recital. (3) indicates that the Futo-tamagushi held by Daigūji, Negi and Uji-no-Ōuchindo are carried away by Monoimi-no-Chichi (their respective assistants) and placed on the right and left sides of Gomon. (4) shows the act of bowing by all the participants without stepping out of their prescribed positions to the direction of Shōden which lies behind the (Uchi-tamagaki) Gomon hidden by Uchi-tamagaki and Mizugaki fences, (5) shows that then they move to Aramatsuri-no-Miya, bow and Negi and officials of lower ranks offer tamagushi while the Ekishi and Daigūji are seated in the outer Naorai-den (banquet hall) and monitor the ritual. (6) indicates that Negi and officials of lower rank dedicate to the Shōden the *heihaku* presented by *Jingikan*. (7) represents Naorai that concludes the ritual.

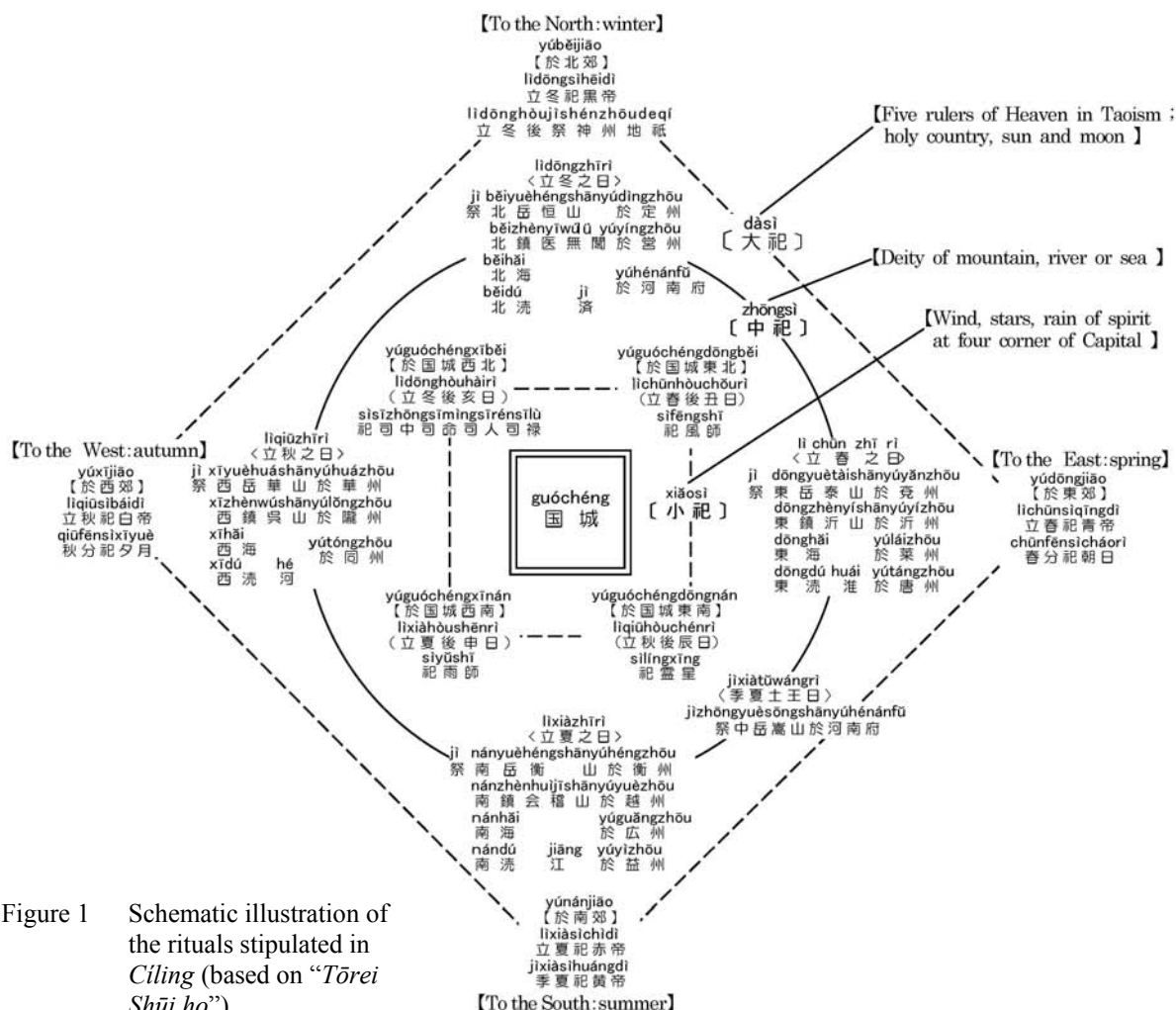


Figure 1 Schematic illustration of the rituals stipulated in *Ciling* (based on “*Tōrei Shūi ho*”)

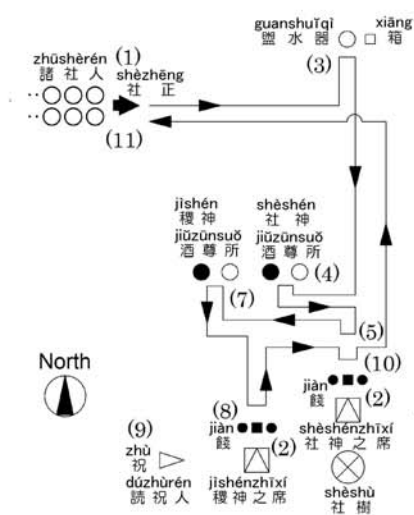


Figure 2 Schematic illustration of ritual Proceedings in a *Li Shèjì* Ritual (based on “*Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*”)

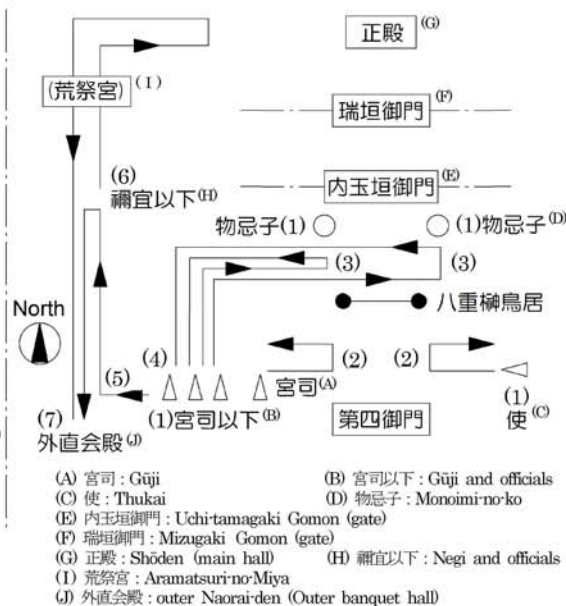


Figure 3 Procedural pattern of Nenkisai heihaku Envoy dedication (based on “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*”)

#### (4) Uniqueness of *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss which of the rituals in *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* the ritual of heikaku dedication before deity in Japan's Kinensai resembles to. Of higher significance is the reason why *Jingi-ryō* intentionally ignored the stipulations of *Ciling* relating to the stage of *Kamimatsuri*.

It is believed that the *Kamimatsuri* of Ancient Japan was viable only by involving *heihaku* dedication to the concrete representations that were traditionally recognized as such in the respective localities. Abstract worshipping of divine spirits by inviting them to one *Yuánqū* would not have been realistic. There, a force must have been at work to defend the hometown *Kamimatsuri* as cultural heritage and refuse centralistic standardization.

This can be also inferred by the observer status given even to *Ekishi* who is asked to be seated outside the double fence surrounding *Shōden* of Ise-jingū Shrine which is often referred to as the Japanese counterpart of *Tàimiào*. *Ekishi* is not allowed to inspect if the *Shōden* architecture is in accordance with the rules or not. His functions merely are: to recite *Norito*, to observe the priest perform the ritual in his own way, and to confirm that the *heihaku* from *Jingikan* is duly dedicated to deity.

The foregoing discussion may provide an answer to one of the questions posed in the preceding Section concerning the *ritsuryō-style* ritual at the archeological site on Okinoshima Island, namely, why the regal power in Yamato was involved with the *Kamimatsuri* frequently for a long period of time that was performed on a remote island away from the main sea route of interchange with Korea. Whilst the central institution made rules on the utensil and potteries to be used in the offerings dedications, the stage of *Kamimatsuri* was left to the hands of indigenous ritual performer and the representative of the central institution abstained from entering deep into the secret ritual site. This practice can be considered as one the characteristics of *ritsuryō-style* rituals in Ancient Japan.

According to YAMANO Yoshiro, maintenance of architecture at official shrines was a heavy duty with little financial backing for the provincial *cishǐs* and priests. The *Rikkokushi* (Six National Histories) contains a passage that a shrine received warning messages from *Jingikan* and other central government officials for the neglect of architectural damages<sup>37)</sup>. He also mentions in the paper that *Jingikan* itself found it more convenient to conduct *heihaku* dedication than to issue warnings for shrine building maintenance, because while the former can be planned according to a schedule the latter involved a heavy financial burden. With the passage of time, there are more records on *heihaku* dedication, the paper points out.

In the Chinese *Shèjì* ritual the emperor or his proxy such as *cishǐ* of the *zhōu, xiàn* ling or chief shrine priest makes the performance to the crowd by performing the ritual in honor of the deities of soil and grain. It would have been an emergency situation, if the *Shèjìtán* or *Shénshùs* should not have been prepared in accordance with the standards or damaged. Building of the *Yuánqū* and maintenance and repair of the *Tàimiào* were projects on which the national authority was at stake. It was hardly a matter of issuing warning letters.

As INAGAKI Eizō pointed out, an epoch in *Shaden* in Ancient Japan is found in the latter seventh century, particularly during the reigns of Emperors Temmu and Jitō. During that period most probably the sacred forms of Japan were created and established to a level rivaling that of Buddhist architectures. However, it is dangerously naive to assume that the prototype Shinto shrine building that was then established developed over time by evolutionarily branching out and spreading throughout Japan.

The development process of Japanese *Shaden* must be understood not by growth models of basis form and its development as is represented by the Greek pantheon but by untangling the layers of locally-distinct motives and almost arbitrary adoption of multiple form principles.

In the Section to follow, we will attempt to analyze this architectural development process, focusing on Munakata Shrine, especially Hetsu-miya.

## 4. Establishment of *Shaden* at Munakata Shrine

### (1) Summary of issues

"History of Munakata Shrine volume one" provides an exhaustive compilation of documents and their authentication on the architecture of the Shrine<sup>38)</sup>. But a close look at the histories of Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Tashima in Munakata City reveals that there has been a very complicated process before the *Shaden* or the groups of *Shaden* that we see today came to be found at the present locations.

The first issue of our interest is when the first Shinto shrine building of Munakata Shrine was built. It is widely known that the first officially confirmed record is the article in *Chūyūki* (A Diary of Fujiwara-no-Munetada) for December 29, the first year of Chōshō (1132) writing about the loss of the shrine building by a fire on September 11 that year. The same *Chūyūki* reads that the *jin-no-sadame* (court administrative meeting) of May 28, the second year of Chōshō (1133) decided that the *Ciling* (祠令) should be ordered to construct a new building following the case example of the second year of Gen'ei (1119). So, that shows some form of construction had already existed by the second year of Gen'ei. Some argues that the Shinto shrine architecture was renovated during the reign of Emperor Kōnin in the seventh year of Hōki (776), the first year of Ten'ō (781) or the second year of Ten'ō (782). But this view in either case is based on a kind of popularized histories written as far apart as in the fourteenth century and after; it can hardly be considered a true record.

More worthy of attention is the plea Munakata Shrine in Yamato made that was quoted in the Kanpu (ministerial order) dated October 29, the fifth year of Kanpyō (893) appearing in Ruijū Sandaikyaku (a statute book). "Our ancestor shrine in Chikuzen owns Fuko (feudal subjects) and *Shinden* (divine paddies), but we in Yamato do not have them. We therefore filed an application in accordance with the June 28, the tenth years of Jōgan (868) Kyaku (imperial decree) to the effect that the shrine in Chikuzen should be responsible for the cost of repairs of our shrine building in Yamato. Time has passed idly without anything having been realized." Whether or not this allegation was legitimate is not of our immediate concern. If this Kanpu is not fraudulent, it suggests that Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen in the latter ninth century was believed by the Imperial Court to have a financial base strong enough to support the building repairs of Munakata Shrine in Yamato.

As we discussed in Section One, the more important question is when and how the political trigger visited Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen, requiring construction of permanent *Shaden*. In so far as we rely on documentations, we can only state some time before the Twentieth century, probably earlier than the latter ninth century, and we cannot make any definitive statements about the motives that triggered construction. Accordingly future works will be focused on the motives for Shinto shrine building construction at Munakata Shrine based on what may be described as circumstantial evidences.

The second point of issue is how to interpret the situation of Tashima in the Middle Ages where Tei-ichi-gū (*Sōja*), Tei-ni-gū (*Chūden*), Tei-san-gū (*Jishu*) and other *Shaden* coexisted with Buddhist halls and towers, namely, the situation before the fire disaster of the third year of Kōji (1557). Is not there a way to analyze this coexistence of these *Shaden* and Buddhist halls and towers other than by using the cliché word of syncretistic fusion?

The third issue is how to analyze the existing *Shaden* of Okitsu-miya and how to understand its establishment and transformation process. As can be seen by the conservative attitude once shown by ICOMOS with respect to the question of registration as a World Cultural Heritage, maintenance work involving repairs and modifications is indispensable for wooden architecture. In the case of Japanese *Shaden*, furthermore, it is a rather common tradition to use repairing as an opportunity to modify some designs out of nostalgic intentions, which makes exact understanding of currently existing architecture more difficult. This paper will rely on the documentations in *Munakata Jinja-shi* (History of Munakata Shrine) to revisit the Main House and Worship House of Hetsu-miya that have survived to the present day since the late sixteenth century with several renovations.

The first point of issue, namely the dating of first construction predominantly belongs to the political history domain and because of the constraints in page space is omitted here for a separate work.



## (2) The Hetsu-miya architectural complex in the Middle Ages before the Grate fire

A useful picture to estimate the layout of *Shaden* and Buddhist construction at Hetsu-miya before the April 24, the third year of Kōji (1557) Grate fire is the *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* (Old picture of Tashima Shrine Frontyard)<sup>39)</sup>. The picture is reportedly contained in one of the manuscripts of "Munakata Tsuiki Kō" written in the third year of Gen'na (1617) now owned by Mr. RIKIMARU Yohachirō<sup>40)</sup>. It is color painted. *Munakata Jinja-shi* judges it to be an accurate depiction of the architecture as in the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) with minor addition of architecture subsequently construction. Using place names as clue, attempts were made to estimate the original locations of architecture.

As the works by MANO Kazuo<sup>41)</sup> and SUZUKI Takatoshi<sup>42)</sup> on Usa-gū Ōei Kozu demonstrate, however, pictures drawn in the latter sixteenth century for the purpose of reconstructing the architecture lost by wars or disasters tended to illustrate into one picture architecture that had existed in different times. Unless proven by excavation as was done for the temple attached to a shrine (Jingū-ji) of Usa Hachiman-gū, the *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* should not be easily understood to be an accurate document showing the true picture of the *Shaden* at a certain time in history. The former sites of Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū which were relocated between the third and the fourth years of Enpō (1675 - 76), in particular, were scraped and flattened in the fourth year of Taishō (1915), according to *Munakata Jinja-shi*<sup>43)</sup>. It is rather difficult to rely on future excavation. Therefore, this paper will regard *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* not as a document from which to recapture the shrine front yard at a given time in history, but as a visualized material which shows how the Middle Ages Munakata Shrine architectural complex was estimated in the third year of Gen'na (1617).

Fig.4 Tracing of *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* is a traced drawing of *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* of the third year of Genna (1617) contained in *Munakata Jinja-shi*. The outlines of Munakata Shrine architecture were traced and analytical comments were added.

One thing that catches the eye immediately is that the captions are placed in various directions. For instance, the captions for Tei-ichi-gū and Tei-san-gū face each other; one needs to turn the picture 180 degrees around in order to read the facing caption. And one needs to turn the picture 90 degrees in order to read the caption for Tei-ni-gū. Similar caption layout is used also for some other objects in the picture, suggesting that it is intentionally done. And as far as Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū are concerned, the relative locations of each building with the Worship House suggest that the layout of the caption indicates to which direction the worshipper should face. It is clear from the write-ins of "丑寅向(facing northeast)" alongside Tei-ni-gū shrine and Zuigan-ji (Temple) as well as "辰巳(southeast)" between Tei-ichi-gū and Tei-san-gū that the producer of *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* was strongly aware of directions. That the write-in "辰巳(southeast)" is made there without any annotation suggests that the principal direction of the old painting is on the axis of Tei-ichi-gū that faces northeast.

The relative positions of East and West Towers here are significantly different from in a standard Buddhist temple, but it can be understood as a scheme of the Kondō being surrounded by three Kyūjū-no-tō (nine stories towers) if one notes that Tei-ichi-gū is situated nearly in the middle of the line connecting the two Towers and directly to the south of Tei-ichi-gū is drawn the picture of Miroku-dō (See Fig.5 Relational Drawing of Honji-butsu and Waki-ji).

In the case of Tei-san-gū, Bishamon (Mikagimochi) to the south and Monju (Shōsanmi) to the north serve as two Waki-ji and at the center stands Yakushi Nyorai (Tei-san-gū) as Chūson (central statue) (Fig.5 (1)-1). And if Kannon (Naminori DaiMyōjin) is considered in a pair with Fudō Myō'ō (Uebakama-sha), Yakushi Nyorai (Tei-san-gū) is on the axis of symmetry of the pair (Fig.5 (1)-2). Tei-ni-gū, which has Shaka Nyorai (Buddha) as Honji-butsu, is accompanied by Fugen Bosatsu (*Jishu* Myōjin) to the right and by Monju Bosatsu (Tokoronushi Myōjin) to the left, though not exactly symmetrical distance-wise. The foregoing results were obtained because Uebakama-sha is described on *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu*, while it describes Kannon as Honji-butsu of Naminori DaiMyōjin at the same time.

According to a document by Council of State (Dajōkan) dated August 9, the second year of Bun'ei (1265) (Chinkokuji document) and *Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi* (Legend of Great Bodhisattva in Munakata) of the first year of Bun'an (1444), Yakushi Nyorai (Tei-san-gū) is regarded as Chūson, and Fugen Bosatsu

(Namiori DaiMyōjin) and Monju Bosatsu (Shōsanmi-sha) make a pair. If this is projected to the old picture, one can see that Tei-san-gū sits on the axis of symmetry between Namiori DaiMyōjin and Shōsanmi (Fig.5 (2)). Mikagimochi-sha is regarded as a subsidiary shrine of either Tei-ni-gū or Tei-san-gū, depending on documents. It is possible that two different views existed in the Middle Ages as to the Honji-butsu.

What one can see in *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* is a projection of many Buddha statues with Dainichi Nyorai (Tei-ichi-gū) at its center reflecting the esoteric view of cosmos, being laid over a complex of *Shaden* and Buddhist halls and towers in a Mandala-like manner. The large number of Buddhism-based architectures is understood more visually, if they are erased from the old picture (Fig.6 Layout without Buddhism-based architectures). But it is not to say that this old picture was drawn conceptually as ordinary Mandala drawings. For instance, there is a note in *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* nearby Hōtōin mentioning that "昔時五知如来鎮座當院／鎮國寺建立然而移五佛／彼寺畢仍稱鎮國寺／喚神宮寺也。" When this old painting was produced, Gochi Nyorai (Five Dhyani Buddhas) (to be more exact, five sculptures of Honji-butsu) had been moved to Chinkoku-ji (Temple) and they were not kept in Hōtōin. If the painting had been intended as a Mandala drawing, absence of Honji-butsu would have been a crucial flaw and there was no motive to state the fact outright. On the other hand, most of the architectures drawn in Fig.6 show typical layout of Middle Ages Shinto Shrine which resembles the "*Dai chū shō sha sabetsu no koto*" (one of the article in "*Ruijū jingi hongen*" written for the 1320).

Amongst the architectures described in *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu*, Tei-san-gū is the first to have been confirmed of its existence. The important cultural property, a pair of stone lion-like guardian statues (to be exact, lion statues) has an inscription: "奉施入宗像宮第三御前宝前," followed by the year name of the first year of Kennin (1201) and the name of FUJIWARA Nakafusa<sup>44)</sup>. *Munakata Sanjo Daibosatsu Goza Shidai* of the third year of Kenji (1277) (hereinafter "*Kenji the third Goza Shidai* ") writes: "右惣社九間四面"<sup>45)</sup>, and it has been regarded as the documentation of the presence of a building in the Middle Ages having a size comparable to today's Main House of Hetsu-miya.

But that is not all. If we do not confine our discussions on specific layouts, design, dimensions and structures of the architecture, this document has a much higher value in terms of architectural history. *Kenji the third Goza Shidai* tells us that three statues (No.1, No.2 and No.3) of Great Bodhisattva were installed in the *Sōja* (combined shrine) together with many divine statues of subordinate messenger gods, and many other divine statues were installed in *Chūden*, Tei-san (*Jishu*), Shōsanmi, Kami-takamiya, Shimo-takamiya, Naiden and Hama-miya shrines. The "stage of *Kamimatsuri* with no Shinto shrine building" that was discussed earlier to have stemmed out of awe to the isolation and huge rocks found at the archeological site of Okinoshima Island came to be visualized, though the dates are not identifiable, by the "deity that lives in a shrine" in the course of the establishment of Shinto shrine building complex at Hetsu-miya (Tashima) of Munakata Shrine. The document tells us further that the objects of worship came to be visualized as "divine statues" by the end of the thirteenth century as a result of syncretism with Buddhism. It should be quickly added that, as the use of the term "Great Bodhisattva" suggests, divine statues might have been merely in name and they might have been created as "uniquely Japanese Buddhist statues" embodying both kami and hotoke.

As we reviewed above, the stage model of *Kamimatsuri* at Munakata Shrine presents a complexly stratified structure which cannot be understood simply by the concept of syncretism. First, practice of interlinked *Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden* among Okitsu-miya (Okinoshima Shrine, Okinoshima Island), Nakatsu-miya (Nakatsu-miya Shrine, Ōshima Island) and Hetsu-miya (Hetsu-miya Shrine, Tashima) is confirmed to have existed since as early as the eighth to the end of the ninth century. During the Middle Ages in Tashima, the second layer of *Kamimatsuri* stage characterized by a conglomerate of *Shaden*, Buddhist halls and towers and divine statues (or uniquely Japanese Buddhist statues) was overlaid on the original base layer. And the stage of *Kamimatsuri* that had existed at Shimo-takamiya and Kami-takamiya since Kofun Period lies on the very top. In the land of Tashima, therefore, at least three kinds of *Kamimatsuri* stage of different origin and construction principles formed a stratified structure and constituted the architectural complex of Munakata Shrine during the Middle Ages.

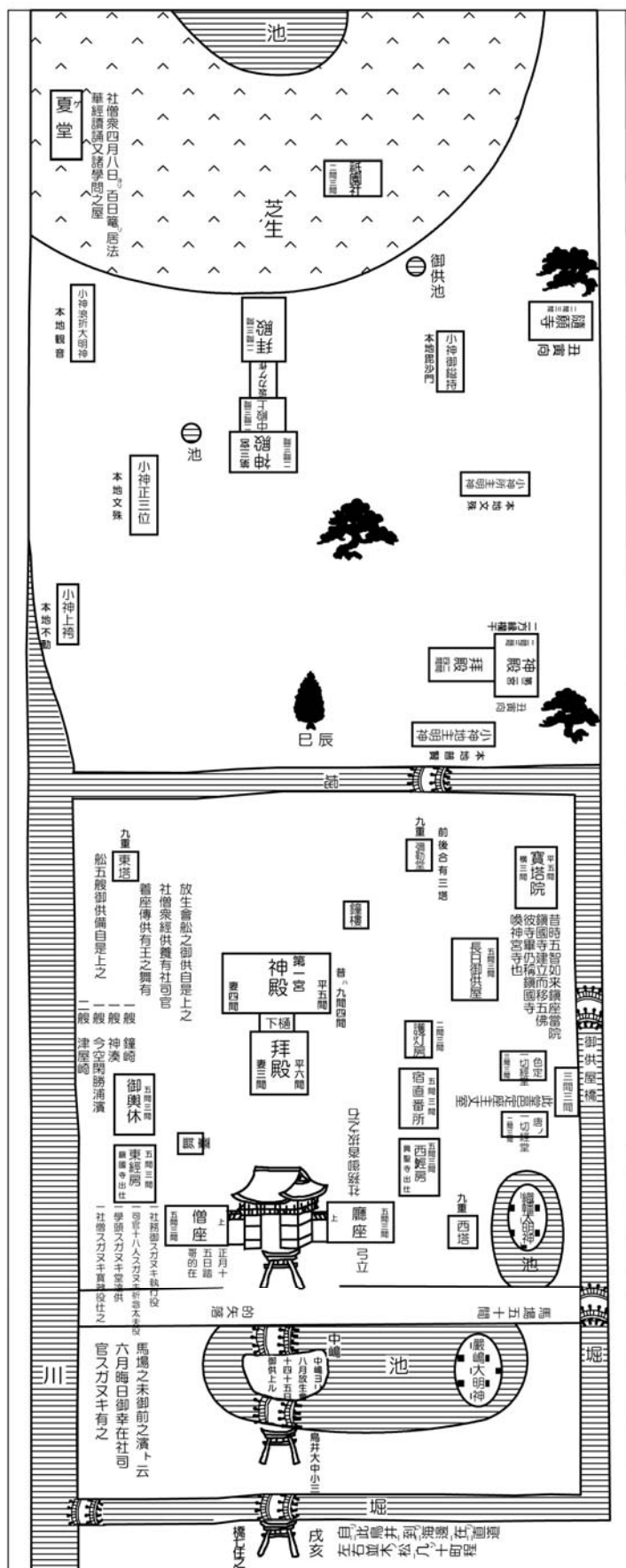


Figure 4 Tracing of Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu

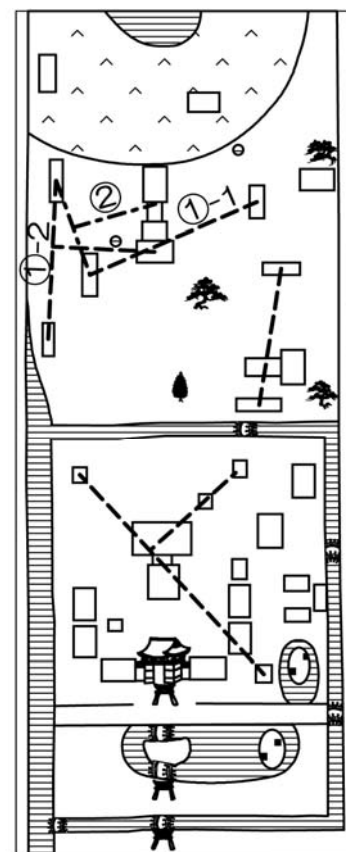


Figure 5 Relational Drawing of Honjibutsu Halls

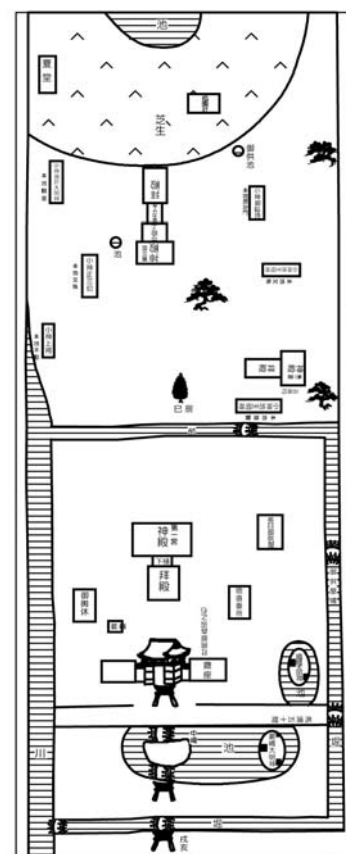


Figure 6 Lay out without Buddhism-based architectures

### (3) Establishment of major existing *Shaden*

The Grate fire of the third year of Kōji (1557) destroyed the shrine area of *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū) only: *Chūden* (Tei-ni-gū), *Jishu* (Tei-san-gū), Shōsanmi, Kami-takamiya, Shimo-takamiya, Naiden (shrine office) and 75 massha (subsidiary shrines) survived it. However, what we can see today are only the Main House and Worship House of *Sōja* (Tei-ichi-gū) that were reconstructed during the Tenshō Period. KURODA Tadayuki, the second provincial lord of Fukuoka Domain had Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū, Kami-takamiya and Shimo-takamiya repaired in the third year of Keian (1630). But KURODA Mitsuyuki, the third provincial lord, had a new small main house of 20 architecture built in the shrine premises of *Sōja* (Tei-ichi-gū) in the third year of Enpō (1675) and the *Chūden* and all other shrines dating back to the Middle Ages were treated as minor shrines within the shrine grounds <sup>46)</sup>.

This put an end to the stage of *Kamimatsuri* of Middle Age Munakata Shrine that was characterized by the stratified three models; thereafter *Kamimatsuri* was to be practiced before the group of *Shaden* of significantly reduced scale built in the shrine area of former *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū).

This section of the paper will review the process of the establishment to the present-day of two houses of Hetsu-miya (Tei-ichi-gū) both of which are designated Important Cultural Properties of Japan: the Main House constructed in the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) and the Worship House constructed in the eighteenth year of Tenshō (1590).

*Munakata Jinja-shi*, Volume One contains a plan view (Fig.69) of the Main House of Tei-ichi-gū (*Sōja*) as reconstructed in the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) as well as a study and reproduction of the inner structures. The moya (core of the building) is three span and two span. The House has a plain view similar to a Buddhist temple hall surrounded by hisashi in all directions. The roof is of Kirizuma-zukuri style and covered with Koita (wooden strips) <sup>47)</sup>. The ryo-nagare-zukuri style (roof having a long, flowing, curved roof line on both the rear slope and the front slope) consisting of moya surrounded by the hisashi in the front and rear and the yoma (side rooms) to the right and left is rarely found in main houses of Shinto shrine. Existing national Important Cultural Property structures include: (besides the Main House of Hetsu-miya, Munakata Shrine) the Main House of Marōdo Shrine designated as a National Treasure, a sessha (auxiliary shrine) to Itsukushima Shrine and believed to have been built in the second year of Ninji (1241), the Main House of Itsukushima Shrine Main Shrine designated as a National Treasure which was reconstructed in the second year of Genki (1571), the Main House of Matsuo Shrine that has a ridge piece with inscription of the eleventh year of Tenbun (1542) and the Main House of Dazaifu Tenmangū presumably built during the Momoyama Period <sup>48)</sup>. Another unique feature is the door that opens in the back. The same feature is found at the two main halls of Itsukushima Shrine mentioned above.

INAGAKI Eizō in his review of *Shaden* of Itsukushima Shrine touches upon its possible relationship with the Main House of Hetsu-miya, Munakata Shrine <sup>49)</sup>. INAGAKI wrote that the ryo-nagare-zukuri, four-directions hisashi and door-opening in the center back are "extremely unique features of plan view commonly shared by the three Main Houses." He also took note of the similarity in character of the two shrines being located at an important crossroad of marine traffic. Depending on the counterargument by SHIGETA Sadakazu in his *Itsukushima-shi* of the 43rd year of Meiji (1910), however, INAGAKI rejected as post-Middle Ages sophism the description in *Shosha Kongen-ki* that Itsukushima-no-kami, the enshrined deity of Itsukushima Shrine corresponds to Ichikishimahime-no-Kami, one of the three deities of Munakata.

We will not dwell on the issue of various arguments about the enshrined deity, because that is not the purpose of this paper. Instead, it is worth noting the interesting observation from the perspective of architectural history that "the rear hisashi may have been attached because of some necessity for ritual performance" with respect the four ryo-nagare-zukuri main houses of the above-mentioned shrines except for the Matsuo Shrine <sup>50)</sup>. INAGAKI discussed that the plane is same as that of four-directions hisashi even though the outer appearance is like two-directional, and went on to propose "the original design was to permit movement around the divine throne." He thought there was "a scene in the old ritual" to walk around the deity.

*Munakata Jinja-shi*, Volume One reproduced a sketch of *Sōja* before the Kōji Grate fire as a house of nine

span at the front and hisashi extending in all four directions in its Fig.62<sup>51)</sup>. The reproduction was based on the description of "九間四面" in *Kenji the third Goza Shidai* and relying on the study by ADACHI Yasushi on Ken-men-kihō (an annotation method for classic architecture)<sup>51)</sup>. The end result matches INAGAKI's observation. Addition of hisashi in all four directions to the nine span moya makes the entire main house a grandiose eleven span wide building. But this is not necessarily unrealistic because the main house of Sumiyoshi Shrine in Yamaguchi prefecture, a National Treasure, which is supposed to have been reconstructed by ŌUCHI Hiroyo in the third year of Ōan (1370), is an eleven span nagare-zukuri building.

Granted, there is no documentation other than *Kenji the third Goza Shidai* that attest to the existence of four-directions hisashi in the *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū) before it was burned down by the Kōji fire. And no document has been discovered that would demonstratively show the "scene in the old ritual" of walking around the deity that INAGAKI alluded to. That the back hisashi of the Main House of Itsukushima Shrine Main Shrine is divided into small rooms reminds us of a possible association with ushirodo (backdoor) and dōkura (store room) that are featured in Middle Ages Buddhist temples<sup>53)</sup>. In this paper, we will simply point out that the proposed reproduction in Fig.62 of *Munakata Jinja-shi*, Volume One has a room for further perusal.

According to the four Okifuda (wooden plate record of construction work)<sup>54)</sup> that are kept at Munakata Shrine, *Sōja* (Tei-ichi-gū) and most of the constructions around it were totally burned down by the April 24, the third year of Kōji (1557) Grate fire, as was mentioned earlier. These Okifuda are dated the first of June, the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) and they present a detailed report of post-Kōji Grate fire events, namely that, in order to reconstruct the Tei-ichi-gū Gohōden, Munakata Daigūji Ujisada had the divine statue reproduced, solicited contributions, performed sengu (transfer of the deity) to a temporary shrine, had a new Hōden constructed and celebrated senza-sai (festival for the return transfer of the deity). With respect to the scale and construction of the Hōden then built, there exists a logbook of repairs called Munakata Tei-ichi-gū Gozōei Kiroku<sup>55)</sup> that contains records up to the fourth year of Kōka (1847). This logbook is a precious documentation that supports the history of Hetsu-miya Main House as described in *Munakata Jinja-shi*<sup>56)</sup>.

There is no doubt that the existing building is this reconstruction of the Tenshō Period, because its principal scale and architectural style as well as the detailed designs including the lengths of kiwari (relative dimensions), the curves and sectional forms of kōryō (curved beams) and the warps of the rafters do not contradict the dating of the latter sixteenth century. It is, however, a wooden building which is susceptible to damages by weather and fire and requires constant repairs for preservation; not a few alterations have been made to this date. Of such changes, records of re-roofing in early modern period are detailed in a table contained in *Munakata Jinja-shi* together with the re-roofing records of the Worship House<sup>57)</sup>.

More than these routine maintenance and repair, the turnaround that was carried out between the eleventh and the fifteenth years of Taishō (1922 - 1926) brought about a clear alteration in the outer appearance of the Main House<sup>58)</sup>. The Kirigakoi (wooden apron which covers the gabled roof side) that had existed before the dismantle-and-repair project to protect the building from rain and wind was permanently removed. And the Kuruma-yose (porch) with stairs to provide access to the south hisashi of the Main House from east and west sides as well as the Hashigakushi (attached roof), the hisashi for Kuruma-yose, were eliminated.

An old photograph captioned "Before the Taishō-6 (1917) Repair"<sup>59)</sup> and the plan view of Hetsu-miya Main House contained in *Meisai Toshō*<sup>60)</sup> show that the Hashigakushi was a Kata-nagare (one directional incline) with Kokera-buki (thin and wide wooden strip) roofing. The upper end is attached to the Kirigakoi and is supported by a pillar located at the base of the Kuruma-yose stairway. As recorded in the seventeenth year of Meiji (1884) *Hetsu-miya Meisai Toshō*<sup>61)</sup>, the outer face of the lower pillar of Kuruma-yose was outside the outer face of the main pillar by 1-jo 4-shaku (4.24 meters), which is nearly equal to the stretching length of the present-day Kōhai (pent roof). Incidentally, the width of Kuruma-yose is recorded to be 7-shaku 7-sun (2.33 meters). It would be understandable if it had been removed temporarily during the repair for structural dynamic reasons, but there is no accounting why neither the Kuruma-yose nor the Hashigakushi was reinstalled and finally eliminated.

In addition, *Munakata Jinja-shi* reviewed the account books of Munakata Shrine and found that the

foundations that support the moya and hisashi underwent filling of 1-shaku 2-sun (ca.364 millimeters) at the time of a repair at the end of Taishō Period. As a result, the number of stairs at the front center increased from five to eight and accordingly the main pillar of the Nobori-kōran (handrail) sit on the third stair from the floor <sup>62)</sup>. Such an alteration must have forced splicing at the base or replacement by new lumber with respect to the Kōhai pillars of the front three span and the tsuka (short pillar connecting the beam and ridges). This, too, must have altered the outer appearance to some extent.

Because of lack of documentation, little is known about the Worship House of *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū) before it was reconstructed in the eighteenth year of Tenshō (1590) supposedly by KOBAYAKAWA Takakage, following the Great fire of the third year of Kōji (1557). A *Shinji-shidai* (book of ritual proceedings) with a date of the eighth year of Ōan (1375) in the back cover mentions going around the deck of the Worship House. Though the dimensions and design are unknown, existence of decks around the House is considered probable. The same document reads: "拝殿ノ桶ノ下ニテ," suggesting the possibility of the Main House and the Worship House being connected by a rain gutter to be prepared for rituals on a rainy day <sup>63)</sup>. The date shown in the back cover of *Ōan Shinji-shidai* is March 17 according to the enlarged edition of the Bibliographical Introduction to *Munakata Jinja-shi* <sup>64)</sup>, but the eighth year of Ōan was changed to Eiwa as of February 27. Another doubt about the book is the reference to Ujitoshi as Ciling who served as Daigūji only after the twenty eighth years of Ōei (1421).

"Estimated Plan View Beneath Rain Gutter of the Main House and Worship House of Tei-ichi-gū (*Sōja*)" shown as Fig.62 in *Munakata Jinja-shi*, Volume One <sup>65)</sup> relied on *Ōan Shinji-shidai* and *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* of the third year of Genna (1617) <sup>38)</sup> and cannot be considered as dependable. As far as documentation is concerned, the date of reconstruction of the Worship House can only be estimated on the basis of *Munakata Hachiman-gū Gohaiden Onmuneage Chūmon* <sup>66)</sup> dated June 21, the eighteenth year of Tenshō. It is, however, felt reasonable to believe that, judging from the Ita-kaerumata attached to Tsuma-men (end of gable roof) and other detailed architectural designs, the Hetsu-miya Worship House that we see today was reconstructed at the end of the sixteenth century.

Re-roofing records of the Worship House in the early modern period can be traced with about half the frequency of that of the Main House <sup>67)</sup>. It may well have been due to the fact that roof tiles were used in the Worship House instead of the less weather-proof Kokera-buki roofing, with the exception of short periods in the early seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, which reduced the frequency of the need for re-roofing. The latest alterations were made during the dismantle-and-repair project between the sixth and the seventh years of Taishō (1917 - 1918) that included replacement of roof tiles by Kokera-buki and filling of the foundation by 8-sun (approximately 242 millimeters).

## 5. Conclusions

This paper firstly discussed the Okinoshima archaeological sites, based on the general hypothesis that certain political momentum that requires constant public presentation of Kami as "what exists in *Shaden*" established *Shaden* upon the stage of Japanese *Kamimatsuri*. The paper initially admitted the option to postulate an epoch of involvement of the Yamato kingly power during Phase III(half rock shade-half open archaeological sites) and Phase VI(open-air archaeological sites); the former showing the significant changes to the composition and quantity of artefacts and the latter the evidence of constant and repeated rituals. However, the paper suggested that this possibility does not necessarily provide a strong link to the establishment of *Kamimatsuri* that required *Shaden* as an indispensable element.

The second section discussed the *ritsuryō-style ritual* of Japan, allegedly established in the eighth century. The paper compared its ritual procedure with Chinese equivalent, taking the *Nenkisai heihaku* envoy dedication of the early ninth century Ise-jingū Naikū for Japan and the Táng *Shè jì* (社稷) ritual for China as the representative examples. Despite the Japanese *ritsuryō-style* ritual codes originates from Táng ritual codes, Táng *Shè jì* ritual, audio-visually splendid and filled with performances to capture the minds of populace, presented clear heterogeneity against Japanese counterpart that attempts to enclose the sacred ritual from the eyes of the populace. The paper argued that at the root of the heterogeneity lies a peculiar attribute of Ancient Japanese *Kamimatsuri*, namely, the essential independency of the local rituals which makes even the imperial envoys to leave the local priest in charge and refrain from entering deep into the

hidden sanctuary. Further, tolerance over multiplicity deriving from this attribute could provide answer to the extraordinary diversity found among *Shaden* discussed in the introduction, from the architecture and the shrine landscape to the period and the momentum for their establishment.

Following the general discussions in previous sections, the third section analyzed the establishment process of the surviving *Shaden* in Tashima. At Middle Ages Hetsu-miya (Tashima) of Munakata Shrine, the tolerance over diversity allowed multiple *Kamimatsuri*'s of varying origin and structural principles to form a flexible stratification, in which surface layer rotates over historical phases. Originally, the rituals at Kami-takamiya, Shimo-takamiya, Mitakesan of Ōshima Island started as "stages of *Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden*". From unconfirmed date comes the period when the rituals came to be covered by the *Shaden* complex of Munakata Shrine Hetsu-miya (Tashima). Further than simply visualising Kami as "what exists in *Shaden*", the *Shaden* incidentally visualised enshrined objects as "divine statues" by the end of the thirteenth century as the result of the Kami-Buddha syncretism of the era. *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* represents a Mandala-like projection of Buddha statues over the complex of *Shaden* and Buddhist houses and towers, reflecting the Esoteric Buddhist view of cosmology. The establishment of complicated large-scale architectural complex at Tashima could be explained by underlying tolerance over diversity found in *Kamimatsuri*.

However, the present Tashima complex has been vastly downscaled from what it has been in the Middle Ages. (Large fraction of *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū), the core of the complex, was lost in the Great fire of mid-sixteenth century, and the Middle Ages Chūden (Tei-ni-gū) and other minor shrine houses were moved from the original location through the realignment of Munakata Shrine Site in the late seventeenth century. Today the Main House and Worship House of Hetsu-miya are the only two architecture that have survived at the premises in Tashima after the reconstruction in the latter sixteenth century. Even though necessary minor changes have been added for maintenance purposes, the two pieces of architecture continue to of high value as the structures to remember the past glory, the object of admiration and worship by many people and as living *Shaden*.

In conclusion, the foregoing analysis and review firstly clarified that one of the reasons behind the diversity found among the background and momentum for the establishment of each individual *Shaden* in Japan arises from the high degree of tolerance over multiplicity. Secondly, the paper clarified the characteristics of the role of visualization that the Shinto shrine architecture played in Japanese *Kamimatsuri* through understanding not only of the archaeological sites in Ancient Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Tashima but also of the architectural complex of Middle Ages Munakata Shrine in Tashima.

Before closing the paper, brief remarks should be given to the recent discovery. Shortly before the deadline of this paper in March 2012, a report on the Mitakesan archaeological site of Ōshima Island was published<sup>68)</sup>. According to the report, unearthed objects included pieces of the Nara Tricolor Ceramics, talcum objects representing miniature boats, disc-shaped objects with hole and earthenware pots. The dating of the archaeological site is suggested to be from the eighth to the end of ninth-century as there were more Sue wares than Haji potteries to be found. Among the discoveries, the lead-glazed pottery is analysed to be manufactured of raw material obtained around Naganobori copper mine, which indicates its highly likeliness to be a Japanese domestic product. The inclusion of artifacts contemporary and similar to the objects discovered at the open-air archaeological sites (Phase VI) of Okinoshima Island and Shimo-Takamiya archaeological site in Tashima attracted attention and there have already been references at the symposium<sup>69)</sup>. For the evaluation of the seeming parallel, I would like to wait for the progress in the area of archaeological studies.

In the context of this paper, what is more relevant about the discovery is that it confirmed the development and expansion of the *Shaden* of Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya have occurred at the skirt of each archaeological sites. *Munakata Jinja-shi* cites the folklore concept of *Yama-miya* (mountain shrine) and *Sato-miya* (village shrine) to explain the relation between Kami-Takamiya and Shimo-Takamiya and that between the Takamiya archaeological site and Hetsu-miya<sup>70)</sup>. However, documentation on *Kamimatsuri* at the Munakata Shrine before the eleventh century is totally lacking, with the lone exception of the late ninth century record of Buddhist ceremony, telling that several monks have recited sutra in front of deities. To avoid hasty generalization, its objective categorization as a form of *Kamimatsuri* particular to Munakata Shrine and observations in accordance with chronology will be required.



Many unsolved questions are left to future investigation due to the absence of abundant documentation before early modern period and the sporadic destruction of some of the precious archaeological sites between the sixteenth and 20th centuries. Development of new perspectives and methodologies are indispensable for deeper understanding of Japanese *Kamimatsuri* through Munakata Shrine. It is hoped sincerely that this brief paper makes even a small contribution to the stepwise progress.

(Written on March 23, 2012)

Special Thanks To: Mr. YAMANO Yoshinori gave me assist with my English. Ms. MATSUO Miyuki redrew the all figures for this article. I would appreciate their cooperation.

## Endnotes:

- 1) Kamimatsuri is an all-inclusive term referring to Japanese rituals that are directed at “Kami”. Kami is a complex term which roughly means “deities” or “spiritual beings”, but hardly defined that simple, nor exclusively associated with Shinto as is often misunderstood. For details, look at works such as: ŌNO Susumu(1997), *Kami*, Tōkyō: Sanseidō.
- 2) See reference 1)
- 3) Typical references are:  
SATŌ Tasuku(1931), *Nihon jinja kenchikushi*, Ōsaka, Bungendou. YAMAUCHI Yasuaki(1967), *Jinja kenchiku*, Tōkyō, Jinjasinpōsha.
- 4) See reference 2). OKADA Seiji (1970) “Ritsuryō teki saishi keitai no seiritsu”(In *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, Tōkyō: Hanawashobō) later provided detailed discussion on the state ritual of the late 7th Century, evaluated as the determining period for the establishment of shrine architectures by Eizō Inagaki, from the perspective of literature-based historiography.
- 5) See reference 3) pp. 191-192
- 6) See reference 4) pp. 2-6
- 7) While the effectiveness of four phase classification leaves room for re-examination, this paper nevertheless refers to it up to the necessary extent. Also, there is considerable discussion on items possibly lost from the site. SASŌ Mamoru, in reference 5), has speculated that the unearthed object does not represent entire ritual artefacts but they involved perishable organic materials such as fabrics. Sugiyama Shigetsugu has suggested the possibility that some part of the artefacts of Okinoshima could have been taken away from the island in later years, taking Kantō-tachi (環頭大刀: ring-headed long sword) as example. Further, the Third Research Excavation Team reports grave robbery at the Site 8 (OKAZAKI Takashi, ODA Fujio, YUBA Tadanori(1972), Okinoshima, in *Shinto kōkogaku kōza* (神道考古学講座) Vol.5 *Saishi iseki tokusetsu*, Tōkyō, Yūzankaku.inc). While these are basic and substantial problems to be considered, no reasonable methodology for reconstruction is available for the time being. The focus of this paper will be limited to the unearthed object.
- 8) Reference 7) pp.97-101
- 9) Reference 8) pp. 219-221
- 10) Reference 8) pp.227-228
- 11) Reference 7) p.102
- 12) Reference 9) p.44, pp.52-55
- 13) Reference 7) pp.104-106. Reference 5) classifies Archeological Site 22 as Phase III site.
- 14) Reference 8) pp.236-238, pp.242-243. Based on the argument, SASŌ Mamoru developed a far-fetched discussion in reference 5). Relying on early 9<sup>th</sup> Century document, *Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō*, he firstly drew a sweeping overview of archaeological ritual sites dating after mid -4<sup>th</sup> Century. Then by amplifying religious ceremonies of the post-Shaden-establishment Ise-Jingū he attempts to analogically identify whether the function of the rocks and its surrounding site in Okinoshima corresponds with Dedication place of “Yorishiro” or “Mikata” in Ise-Jingū. The theory cannot explain what change has been brought by the establishment of ritsuryō-style ritual after 7<sup>th</sup> Century and what momentum required Shaden to perform the function that Large Rocks can suffice, which leads the theory to contradiction.
- 15) Reference 8) pp.234-235
- 16) Reference 8) p.227
- 17) Reference 8) p.229

- 18) Reference 7) pp.107-108
- 19) Reference 8) p.212
- 20) Reference 2) pp.206-207
- 21) Reference 10) pp.1010-1041
- 22) Reference 11)
- 23) Reference 12)
- 24) Many references, for example, TŌNO Haruyuki(1994) : *Rekisho wo yominaosu asahihiyakka Nihon no rekishi bessatsu Vol.4 Kentōshi-sen*, Tōkyō: Asahi newspaper company.
- 25) Reference 13) p.401
- 26) Reference 13) p.402
- 27) Reference 14) p.380
- 28) NOMURA Tadao, Ryō no shūge, in *Shintei zōho Kokushitaikei Vol.23(1966) Furoku Geppō No.39* , Tōkyō:Yoshikawakobunkan.
- 29) Reference 15) p.19
- 30) Reference 15) p.20
- 31) Reference 15) p.21
- 32) “Pattern Diagram of the ritual principle in *Ciling*” (based on Tōryō Shūi-ho ). Modified from “Fig.1 *Tang ritsuryō-style* ritual stage according to *Kāiyuánlǐng* code of 719 (part2)” in Reference 11). (*Simplified and additional comments were added for English edition.*)
- 33) Quoted from the Decree of the Dajōkan issued on 28<sup>th</sup> June 10th year of the Jōgan. ”Ruijū sandaikyaku”
- 34) “Progression pattern of *Shèjì* ritual in *lǐ*” (based on *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* ). Copied from “Fig.1 Schematic illustration of the rituals stipulated in ciling (based on Tōryō Shūi-ho: 大唐開元礼「諸里祭社稷」の主要動線” in Reference 12). (*Modified for English edition.*)
- 35) Reference 8) pp.40-41
- 36) Reference 16), Diagram No.24 (largely based on *Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*)
- 37) Reference 17) pp.197-206
- 38) Reference 18) pp.319-530
- 39) Reference 18) Frontispiece No.2. The original picture is privately owned *and the author did not have access*. The characters indecipherable from the picture were complemented by the text in “*Munakata jinja-shi (vol.1,2)*”.
- 40) Reference 18) pp.130-132
- 41) MANO Kazuo, Usagū keidai ezu-kō: Ōeikozu to Kanei 5<sup>th</sup> ezu, *Ōitaken chihō-shi* , 125(1987), pp.1-26, Ōita:Ōita chihō-shi kenkyūkai. And Ōita Prefectural Museum History(1989), Mirokuzi : Usagū mirokuji kyū-keidai hakkutsu tyōsa hōkokusyo.
- 42) SUZUKI Takatoshi, Usagū-kozu no seiritsu ni tsuite, *Ōitaken chihōshi* ,189(1989), pp.25-60, Ōita:Ōita chihō-shi kenkyūkai.
- 43) Reference 18) p.366, pp.376-377
- 44) Reference 18) p.197
- 45) Reference 18) Fig.40
- 46) Reference 18) p.452
- 47) Reference 18) p.421. While this drawing for restoration seems to be mostly reasonable, three questionable points should be mentioned.
  1. It draws no break in the balustrade on the edge of veranda nor stairs in the front.
  2. It lacks doors on the both sides of the canopy
  3. It draws kurumayose (車寄: porch) without drawing pillars for *kirigakoi*(a simple wooden wall for water proof), which does not explain how the stair concealment were supported.
- 48) Reference 19)
- 49) Reference 20) Comments p.61
- 50) Reference 20) preface pp.5-6
- 51) ADACHI Kō , Chūko ni okeru Kenchiku heimen no kihō, in *Kōkogaku zasshi*, 23-8(1933), pp.495-518, Tōkyō:Japanese Archaeological Association. ; reed., ŌTA Hirotarō (ed.) , *ADACHI Kō chosakushu* □: *Kodai kenchiku no kenkyū*, Vol.2(1987) ,Tōkyō : Chūōkōronbijutsu shuppan .
- 52) Reference 18) p.353. This drawing for restoration involves two inconsistencies with the main article.
  1. It lacks the backdoor in the central span suggested in the main article.
  2. The main article writes “the Tensho-reconstructed *Honden* had *side stairs* with *concealment* attached onto both side”. However, the drawing includes neither *side stairs* with its *concealments*

nor a gap in the *balustrade* on the *hurdle veranda* apart from one in the front, while drawing doors on both sides of the *peripheral chamber* (*hisashi*). Although it seems these doors are added for the possible need of locking as the speculated all the front spans of the *peripheral chamber* (*hisashi*) to be filled with *overhung doors* (*shitomi*), the inconsistency with the main article is undeniable.

- 53) YAMAGISHI Tsuneto, Chūsei-butsudō ni okeru Ushiro-do, *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, 167(1986), *Tōkyō: Bukkyō Geijutsu gakkai*. ;reed., YAMAGISHI Tuneto, Chūsei Ziin shakai to butsudō, *Tōkyō: Hanawashobō*, 1990. And KURODA Ryūji, Ushiro-do no shinkō, *Gekkan hyakka*, 292(1987), *Tōkyō: Heibonsha*. KURODA Ryūji, DŌGURA (Storage room in Buddhist Main Temple), *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering (Transactions of AIJ)*, 436(1992), *Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan*. KURODA Ryūji, "The Historical Meaning of DŌGURA (Storage Room in Buddhist Main Temple), *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering (Transactions of AIJ)*, 444(1999), *Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan*. Reed., KURODA Ryūji, Chūsei jisha sinkō no Ba, *Kyōto: Shibunkaku Co., Ltd.*, 1999.
- 54) Reference 18) Fig.43 and pp.424-438
- 55) Owned by Munakata Shrine. The author referred to the mimeograph owned by the library of the Historiographical Institute, the University of Tōkyō.
- 56) Reference 18) pp.442-466
- 57) Reference 18) pp.444-445
- 58) Reference 18) p.476
- 59) Reference 18) Fig.48
- 60) Reference 18) p.476
- 61) Reference 18) pp.475-476
- 62) Reference 18) pp.487-488
- 63) Reference 18) p.353
- 64) Reference 21) pp.41-49
- 65) Reference 18) p.353
- 66) Reference 18) p.423, pp.439-441
- 67) Reference 18) pp.476-477
- 68) Reference 22)
- 69) World Heritage Promotion Committee of "Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region"(2011): "The second international symposium on 'Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region' in Tōkyō", in *News from Okinoshima*. (available from: [http://www.okinoshima-heritage.jp/files/Pamphlet\\_5\\_file.pdf](http://www.okinoshima-heritage.jp/files/Pamphlet_5_file.pdf))
- 70) Reference 18) p.392. The so-called ancient ritual stage seems to have been newly built in 20<sup>th</sup> century over the actual remain buried under Edo era dry field, and its direction was modified to current condition from original direction facing Northwest (the construction began on October 17, 1952 and completed on April 1, 1955. according to Reference 18) p.486). While the site is valuable as it tells how mid-century Shinto circles imagined ancient ritual stages, it is unclear from what perspective they attempted to understand the characteristics of Shimo-Takamiya site. If the background assumption was not rituals in Yama-miya and Sato-miya form but ritual in Okinoshima, the discovery of Mitakesan site will bring the understanding of the site under need of academic re-examination.

## References:

- 1) ITO Chūta, Nihon jinja kentiku no hattatsu (日本神社建築の発達) vol.1, *Journal of architecture and building science*, 169(1901), *Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan*.
- 2) INAGAKI Eizō, Keishiki no denshō (形式の伝承), in *Jinja to reibyō*, *Tōkyō: Shōgakukan*, 1968.; reed., INAGAKI Eizō Chosakushū I: *Jinja kentikusi kenkyū*, I (2006), *Tōkyō: Chūōkōronbijutsu shuppan*.
- 3) ŌTA Hirotarō, Chūsei kenchiku no tōkeiteki na mikata ni tsuite (中世建築の統計的な見方について), *Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Japan*, 31-2(1955), *Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan*.
- 4) YAMANO Yoshiro, Shinkō to kenchiku (信仰と建築), *Suminoe*, 199(1990), *Ōsaka: Sumiyoshitaisha shamusho*.

- 5) SASŌ Mamoru, The Composition of Artifacts and Structure of Rituals Sites on Okinoshima Island (沖ノ島祭祀遺跡における遺物組成と祭祀構造), “*Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region*” Study Report, I (2011), Fukuoka : World Heritage Promotion Committee of “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region”.
- 6) SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu, Okinoshima Ritual in the History of Shinto (神道の歴史からみた沖ノ島とその意義づけについて) (oral presentation transcription), “*Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region*” Report, I (2011), Fukuoka : World Heritage Promotion Committee of “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region”.
- 7) YUBA Tadanori, Okinoshima Island no saishi iseki (沖ノ島の祭祀遺跡), in Ueda Masaaki, ed., Sumiyoshi to Munakata no Kami, Tōkyō : Chikuma shobō, 1988 .
- 8) INOUE Mitsusada, Nihon kodai no ōken to saishi (日本古代の王権と祭祀), Tōkyō: University of Tōkyō Press, 1984 .
- 9) INOUE Hideo, Kodai Kankoku- Chōsen no kaijin (古代韓国・朝鮮の海人), in TAMURA Enchō and ARAKI Hiroyuki, eds., *Kodai kaijin no nazo Munakata symposium*, Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 1991 .
- 10) NIIDA Noboru, IKEDA On, eds., Tōryō Shūi-ho (唐令拾遺補), Tōkyō: University of Tōkyō Press, 1997 .
- 11) YAMANO Yoshiro, The statutory difference of the festival space between Tang and Japan (律令からみた唐と日本の祭儀空間), Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan, 1992, Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan .
- 12) YAMANO Yoshiro, Relation of Priest to Festival Space in Tang and Ancient Japan (動線からみた唐と日本の神祭の場の構造), Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan, 1994, Tōkyō : Architectural Institute of Japan .
- 13) TANAKA Toshiaki, Study note : Silla no Shiso-byō • Jingū (研究ノート 新羅の始祖廟・神宮), in HASHIMOTO Yoshinori, ed., East Asia Tojō no hikaku kenkyū, Kyōto University Press, 2011 .
- 14) KUWANO Eiji, Chōsen shoki no enkyū-dan to Hokkō-dan (朝鮮初期の園丘壇と北郊壇), in HASHIMOTO Yoshinori, ed., East Asia Tojō no hikaku kenkyū, Kyōto University Press, 2011 .
- 15) KANEKO Shūichi, Tang dynasty to kōtei saishi (唐朝と皇帝祭祀), *Rekishi hyōron*, 720(2010), Tōkyō : Azekura shobō .
- 16) FUKUYAMA Toshio, Ise Jingū no kentiku to rekishi (伊勢神宮の建築と歴史), Tōkyō: Nihon siryō kankōkai, 1976; reed., Tōkyō: Nihon siryō kankōkai, 1977.
- 17) YAMANO Yoshiro, The Relation between the Ancient Shrine and the Government in the Maintenance and Economic systems (律令制祭祀と神社修造—経済的裏付けと責任体制からの検討—), Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering (Transactions of AIJ), 451(1993), Tōkyō : Architectural Institute of Japan .
- 18) Munakata Shrine Revival Association, ed., Munakata Shrine History (宗像神社史), vol.1, Munakata, Munakata Shrine Revival Association, 1961 .
- 19) Agency for cultural affairs, ed., Kokuhō and jūyō bunkazai kenzōbutu mokuroku (国宝・重要文化財建造物目録), Tōkyō, Dai-ichi hōki co.ltd, 1990 .
- 20) INAGAKI Eizō, Itsukushima Shrine honsya honden sessya Maroudo Shrine honden sonota syaden (厳島神社本社本殿・摂社客人神社本殿その他社殿), Nihon kenchikushi kiso shiryō shūsei, Syaden II (1972), Tōkyō: Chūōkōronbijutsu shuppan .
- 21) Munakata Shrine Revival Association, ed., Munakata Shrine History, vol.2, Munakata, Munakata Shrine Revival Association, 1966 .
- 22) Munakata City Board of Education, ed., Ōshima Mitake-san iseki (大島御嶽山遺跡), Munakata City bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho, 64(2012), Munakata : Munakata City Board of Education .

## Profile

### ODA Fujio

---

Born in 1933. Doctor of literature. Emeritus Professor at Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.

### SASŌ Mamoru

---

Born in 1961. Doctor of religion. Professor at Kokugakuin University, Japan.

### NISHIMIYA Hideki

---

Born in 1952. Doctor of literature. Professor of Aichi University of Education, Japan.

### SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu

---

Born in 1940. Doctor of history. Emeritus Professor at Kokugakuin University, Japan.

### SHINTANI Takanori

---

Born in 1948. Professor at Graduate School of Kokugakuin University, Japan and Emeritus Professor at the National Museum of Japanese History, Japan.

### AKIMICHI Tomoya

---

Born in 1946. Doctor of Science. Emeritus Professor at the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, Japan.

### YAMANO Yoshiro

---

Born in 1957. Doctor of engineering. President of Archist Co., Ltd., Japan.

“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region” Study Report II-1  
English Translation

31 March 2012

Edited by the World Heritage Promotion Committee of “Okinoshima Island and  
Related Sites in the Munakata Region” (Fukuoka Prefecture, Munakata  
City, and Fukutsu City)

World Heritage Registration Promotion Division,  
Fukuoka Prefectural Government  
7-7 Higashikōen, Hakata-ku, Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture,  
812-8577 Japan

Publication coordinated by PREC Institute Inc.  
3-7-6 Kōjimachi, Chiyoda-ku, Tōkyō, 102-0083 Japan