

“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”

Study Report

III

English Translation

2013

**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 Shintō 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 published Study Report I in the fiscal year 2010 and Study Reports II-1 and II-2 in the fiscal year 2011. In the fiscal year 2012, four papers clarifying further ancient rituals on Okinoshima Island and the Munakata clan were added. Study Report III is now ready for publication as the culmination of the three years’ project.

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, 2013

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 2012 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.

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3. The names of the authors are given at the top of respective papers.
4. The sources of the illustrations, plates, and photographs are given separately.
5. 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 Munakata Region, which was jointly set up by the World Heritage Registration Promotion Division of Fukuoka Prefecture, the World Heritage Registration Promotion Office of Munakata City, and the World Heritage Registration Promotion Section of Fukutsu City. The publication of the original report (in Japanese) and the English translation was assigned to PREC Institute Inc.

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Re-examination of the Okinoshima Ritual Sites. Part III

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Abstract: Okinoshima rituals in the period from the 7th century to the 9th, namely, the Phases III and IV are discussed. Phase III (archeological sites partly in the shade of a rock) represents a precursor to the *ritsuryō* ritual which is the ritual system of the *ritsuryō* state (a system of government based on Chinese models of penal [*ritsu*] and civil [*ryō*] codes) and is characterized by the dominance of metal miniature ritual objects. Differing views to this date on the long-debated question of transition from the stage of “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” to the stage of “differentiation” are examined and summarized. In relation to the Japanese worship of huge rocks, the concepts of “Iwakura” or rock-abode, a dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily and “Iwasaka” or an area that has been encircled by piles of stones, where a deity (god) is thought to have descended are reviewed in light of the actual examples noted in Okinoshima rituals. The author believes that Site No.1 belonging to Phase IV (open air site) underwent a transition from a ritual site with altar to, after the start of shrine buildings era, a dumping site for used ritual artifacts. Advancement of studies on the details of Okinoshima rituals and vessel stands and pottery with small holes in the body relating to the Phases III and IV was sought, drawing upon the outcomes of the surveys conducted in 2010 and 2011 with regard to Mitakesan ritual site on Ōshima Island and Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb.

With respect to imported artifacts, some contribution to studies on Okinoshima rituals was attempted by alluding to the progress made after the Third Report on Okinoshima and presenting the latest views on the artifacts of Chinese origin pertaining to Phase III (gilt-bronze dragon head and Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck) and the gilt-bronze incense burner-like artifact with openwork carving that was unearthed from Site No.4 allegedly known as Gokinzo or the treasury.

Keywords: rituals partly in the shade of a rock, rituals in the open air, Iwakura/Iwasaka, undifferentiation/differentiation between funeral and ritual, *ritsuryō* ritual, artifacts imported from China

Foreword

The author’s earlier paper (Re-examination Part II) discussed a number of issues that required re-examination of the Okinoshima Reports with attention to the Phase I (rituals atop rocks) and Phase II (rituals in the shade of rocks). The re-examination process which was based on subsequent corrections of the original Reports, progresses made in subsequent studies and results of studies and discoveries elsewhere shed a new light and opened up new horizons for further study. Even though the re-examination paper is by no means exhaustive with respect to issues relevant to Phases I and II, the present paper should be the last of the series of the re-examination and therefore will cover Phase III (rituals partly in the shade of a rock) and Phase IV (rituals in the open air). The author was fortunate that in the course of the re-examination the outcomes of the excavations of the Ōshima Mitakesan ritual site in Munakata City and the Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb in Fukutsu City became available. The addition of these findings made no small contribution to the re-examination of descriptions about the Phase III and Phase IV ritual sites contained in the Third Investigation Report “Munakata and Okinoshima” which was published in 1979.

1. Archeological Sites Partly in the Shade of Rocks in Historical Context

Okinoshima ritual sites which began to be put to service in the second half of 4th century developed into a sacred area stretching some 60 meters to the valley head to the north from the valley mouth where Okitsu-miya Shrine building now stands and spanning some 30 meters on both of the side slopes, characterized by the accumulation of huge rocks (coded “A” through “L”) at elevations varying between 78 and 88 meters above the sea level. Rituals that initially involved the huge rocks inextricably passed

through Phase I (atop rocks), Phase II (in the shade of rocks) and Phase III (partly in the shade of rocks) and then gradually departed from the rocks. In the 8th century, the fourth and final phase of rituals in the open air began. Site No. 1 found at some 50 meters south of Okitsu-miya (elevation: 80 - 82 meters) is a representative example.

This paper will take up the ritual sites partly in the shade of a rock of Site No. 20 (+No.14) and Site No.5 that have been well elucidated by excavations and compare the findings while paying attention to new trends that are inexistent in the preceding rituals in the shade of rocks.

Site No. 20 is considerably smaller in scale than Site No.5 we will detail later. It is located in the northern part of the huge rock conglomeration near Rock “I” in the direction southeast from it (elevation: around 90 meters above sea level). Rock “L” found on the upper part of the eastern slope of the valley leading to Koganedani is considered to be the yorishiro (an object representative of a divine spirit), and ritual artifacts were found in the small space in the shadow of the rock and scattered on the eastern slope. During the first expedition, Sue ware (unglazed stoneware) and other artifacts were discovered on this eastern slope and the area was registered as Site No.14 (open air). However, the third expedition team recognized the partly shade of Rock “L” as Site No.20 and made further investigations. They determined that the Sue ware that supported the registration of Site No.14 actually had slid down from the periphery of Site No.20 which is one to two meters (in elevation) above on the steep eastern slope. Site No. 14 was consequently integrated into Site No.20. Rock “L” is about 6 meters in total width and 3.2 meters in height. It is a very small ritual site; the small front space (facing east) of the rock can hardly be described as a plaza for observance of rituals.

This is a partly in the shade of a rock site consisting of a low overhang of 70 to 80 centimeter-deep massive rock and a slope (of some 40 degrees in angle) extending from it. The Report estimates that “this must have been a ritual site covered by small slate pieces because the surface of artifacts discovery layer was almost entirely covered by pieces of fractured slate and some had run down the slope” (p. 216). And based on the artifacts discovery conditions, the layout of offerings was reconstructed as described below. “It is believed that an iron sword, an iron knife, an iron ceremonial mirror and a small gild-bronze dish were placed around the center, on their left were found comma-shaped bead, disc, flat disc-shaped bead and other steatite objects all hung on wands of sakaki (*Cleyera japonica*) and on the left were placed a wide-mouth jar with holes, a big pot and other pottery” (p.216).

Artifacts discovered at this Site include by category:

1. Weapons and tools
Iron sword, bronze 鍔金具, iron knife
2. Iron bracelet
3. Metal miniatures
Metal dish, iron ceremonial mirror, iron knife
4. Steatite objects
Disc, comma-shaped bead, mortar-shaped bead, flat disc-shaped bead
5. Pottery—Sue ware
Long-neck jar, small jar with legs and holes, plate with round bottom, large pot

The space in the shade of the rock at this site is so small in area and short in height that the number of offered ritual objects is fewer than in other ritual sites. For the same reason, the large pot could not be placed under the rock shade and had to be placed in an open space, which apparently led to the fall down the steep slope. The small number and variety of artifacts suggest that the ritual performed at this site was small in scale. The dominance of metal miniatures, steatite objects and Sue ware in the offerings is typical of the phase of rituals partly in the shade of a rock, and the features of the Sue ware date the site to the second half of 7th century.

Site No. 5 is the largest among the sites pertaining to this Phase. A climb along the west side of Okitsu-miya shrine building by the western edge of the ritual zone up toward Rocks “B” and “C” leads to a flat space adjoining the southern bottom of Rock “C” (elevation: 84 meters). This space “is engulfed to the north, east and south by the mother Rock ‘C,’ Rock ‘B’ and a large rock just underneath Rock ‘C’.

Rock ‘C’ is a massive rock standing some 10 meters, and as in Site No.6 (*which is dependent on the northern overhang of Rock ‘C’* --- italics added by Oda), the it serves as the eave for the ritual site in the shadow of a rock” (p.164). The ritual site thus engulfed by huge rocks on three sides and open only to the west measures about 4.2 meters in the east-west direction and about 2.5 meters south-north.¹⁾ An aperture on the north side goes up in some steps to the western edge of Site No.6. “The ritual site is open to the west. To the south of the entrance is a large stone, which makes the entrance somewhat narrow, but it serves to delineate the ritual site borders in all four directions. The top of Rock ‘C’ functions as the eave which covers the ritual site almost entirely. The southwestern part barely escapes the shadow.” (p.164)

The description quoted above can be somewhat misleading with respect to the eaves of Rock “C.” Site No.6 that lies to the northern back of Rock “C” demonstrates a representative style of ritual site in the shade of a rock. There, the eaves portion of the massive rock stands up from the ground surface (altar) at a sharp angle, and hence the eaves are deep and overarch most of the ritual site. The ritual site prepared within the bounds of the eaves front line (underneath the eaves) is completely free from effects of rainfall. In contrast, both Rock “C” and Rock “B,” which marks the southern boundary, stand out as much as 10 meters to the tops. If one plots the rock shade frontline on a plan drawing, it will overcast most of the ritual site space. Actually, however, the rocks have such long heights from the ground surface that, even though the lower parts stand out like walls, the overhang is gradual (at mild angles) until it reaches to the tops at nearly 10 meters above ground and form the rock shade frontline. In reality, more than half of the ritual site is vulnerable to rainfall, which makes the site fundamentally different from Sites Nos. 6 through 8 which are ritual sites in the shade of rocks.²⁾ It is incorrect therefore to determine from the reading of plan view drawings that the ritual site would be mostly in the rock shade. This is why this particular site has been classified as a ritual site partly in the shade of a rock.

There is a rich variety of artifacts that were discovered at this ritual site as listed below.

1. Gilt-bronze dragon head One pair
2. Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck Fractures for one piece
3. Wheel-shaped bracelet A small piece (of green-color tuff)
4. Beads
 Comma-shaped bead (jadeite), cylindrical bead (jasper), mortar-shaped bead (steatite)
5. Weapons
 Iron ferrule, iron sword
6. Gilt bronze miniature pentachord (ancient musical instrument with five strings)
7. Metal miniatures
 Gild bronze hitogata (object representing the human figure), iron hitogata, gilt bronze disc, iron disc, miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron spear, miniature gilt bronze adze, miniature iron adze, bronze bell, iron bell
8. Miniature spinning objects
 Tatari (upright standing weaving, spinning implement with up to five branches to avoid thread from getting tangled up or becoming felted), bronze spindle, sword-shaped beater, warp beam, oke (wooden vessel for storing hemp for offering purpose)
9. Gilt bronze miniature containers
 Gilt bronze tight-neck jar, gilt bronze platter with legs, gilt bronze dish with pedestal
10. Miscellaneous metal objects
 Iron ring, bronze ring, gilt bronze accessory, unidentified gilt bronze object, unidentified bronze object
11. Pottery
 Sue ware (unglazed stoneware) — dish, dish with pedestal, long-neck jar, jar, large pot, vessel stand
 Pottery — jar

One clear difference from the preceding phase of ritual site in the shade of a rock is the noticeable increase of metal miniature objects and pottery (in particular, Sue ware), in addition to the gilt-bronze dragon head, the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck and other artifacts of Chinese origin. Regarding miniature objects, the presence of gilt bronze pentachord, hitogata, spinner and containers is worth noting. There were even some confirmed incidences of such objects placed in combination with Sue ware vessel stand or with Haji ware jar (Genkai Sea style pottery).

The Report describes the unearthing of these artifacts as: “On the south side by Rock ‘B’ was found a spot which was covered by exfoliated flakes of quartz porphyry. Over the flagged pavement were found scattered numerous fragments of pottery, many of which were fit for reconstruction. The large pot, jar, vessel stand, dish with pedestal and long-neck jar were found side by side at a location, which permits the assumption that they were the pottery for rituals. The pottery is believed to have been laid out over the flagstones.”(p.196) It is worth noting that while the pottery fragments were found almost all over the site, most were concentrated at the eastern back of the south wall. Some Sue ware and Haji ware were found fractured, but they could be reconstructed easily because they were originally placed as complete pieces and were crushed as such. In fact, the Report writes: “Three to four large pots were placed in the back, and three pieces of Sue ware vessel stands and Haji ware that had marks of repeated hitting must have been placed in the front as a set. One of the pieces, in particular, was found fallen, but the jar was lying over the jar. It was obvious that they were in a set. Further in the front were placed a long-neck jar and some dishes with pedestal.”(p.165) Thus, it was possible to estimate how the offerings were placed (Fig.1). In addition, gilt bronze objects and iron artifacts tended to be concentrated at further back eastward behind the pottery. The unearthing of a miniature gilt bronze pentachord is of particular interest. Around it were found scattered some pieces of harp bridge (Figs. 2 – 4).

Among the unearthed offerings, the pair of China-made gilt-bronze dragon heads (Fig.5) and the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck (Fig.19) merit special mention. The pair of dragon heads was found at a westerly spot along the south wall after the removal of some 20 centimeters of surface soil. “One of the pieces was found standing, and the other lying just nearby.”(p.165). The three-colored vase was found in 18 fragments scattered all over the site together with many scattered pieces of Sue ware. “The decorative appliqué at the rim and waste and a portion of the pedestal” (p.196) were discovered.

Gilt bronze miniatures and iron miniatures are also noteworthy in terms of the variety and quantity. While iron miniature weapons are known to have been used already at a ritual site atop a rock (Site No.21), gilt bronze containers and spinning tools have been discovered also in ritual sites in the shade of a rock (Sites No.6 and No.22). The similarity with Site No.22 merits particular attention because it has certain features that suggest transition to Site No.5. Furthermore, the discovery of metal Katashiro (representations of objects, used in rites of purification to represent the subject of the rite), namely the gilt bronze hitogata and the iron hitogata (Figs.5 and 6) is of particular interest as precursor to steatite hitogata that was found in a large quantity at a succeeding ritual site in the open air (Site No.1). Together with the gilt bronze pentachord and other artifacts, the metal Katashiro that appeared rather suddenly at this phase are a feature that is not known at other ritual sites. This can be understood as an important phenomenon that indicates a transition from Kofun Period rituals to Historical Period rituals in the evolution of ancient rituals. The author pointed out already in the Report that this can well be regarded as the emergence of state-related rituals that became more apparent in the 8th century.³⁾ It should be remembered that there is clearly no comparison with the aforesaid Site No.20 of the same phase in terms of site area and quality and quantity of the offerings. Of particular mention are the pair of gilt-bronze dragon heads and the fragments of one Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck. They are high-quality items made in China; no local clan alone should have been able to acquire such items. The author takes no exception to the conventional view that these were offerings acquired through the intervention of Yamato polity. More recent advances in the research since the time of writing the Reports will be reviewed in later paragraphs.

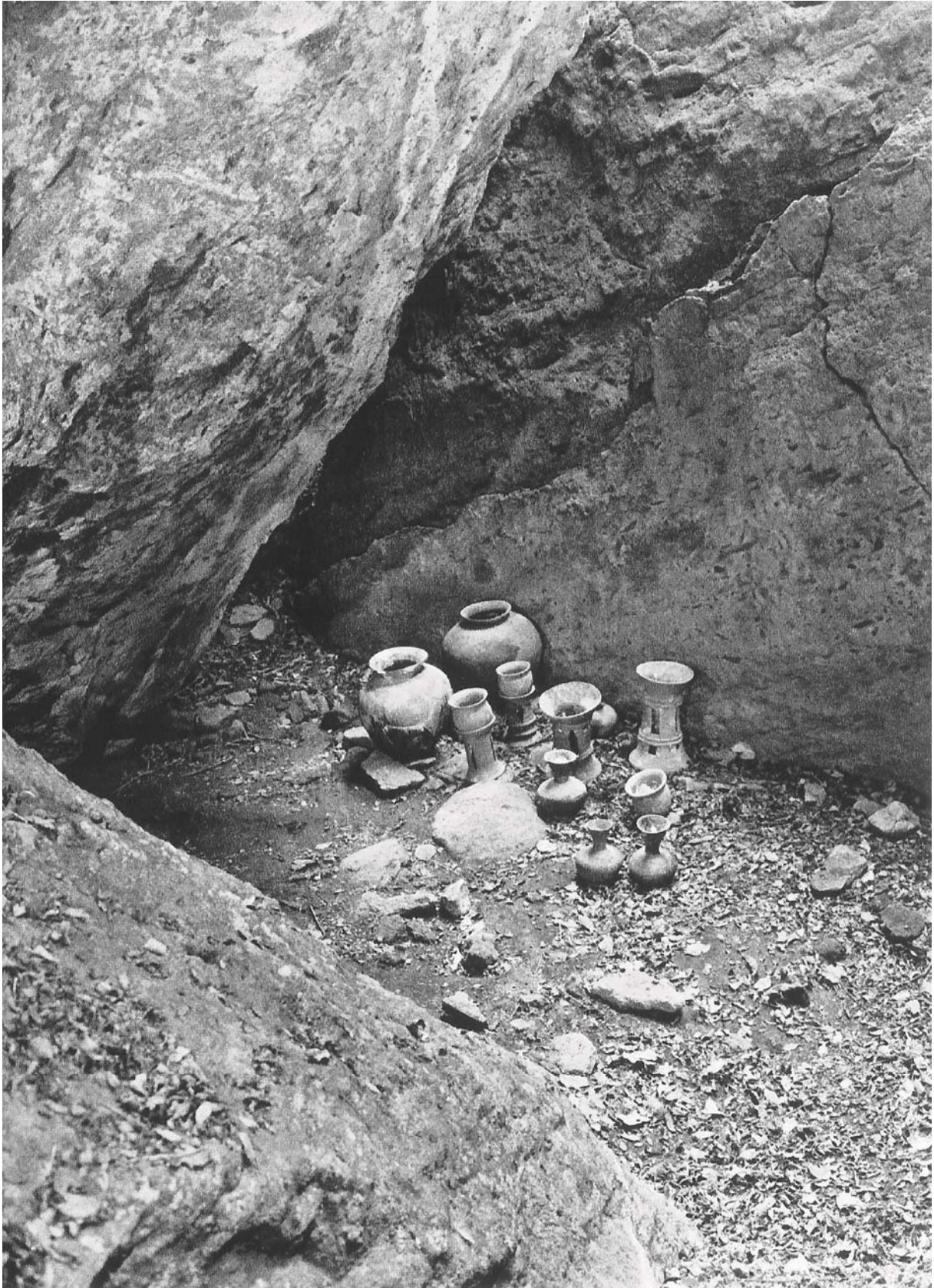


Fig.1 Site No.5 (after the excavation) --- pottery offerings reconstructed
(reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima II*, PL.73)

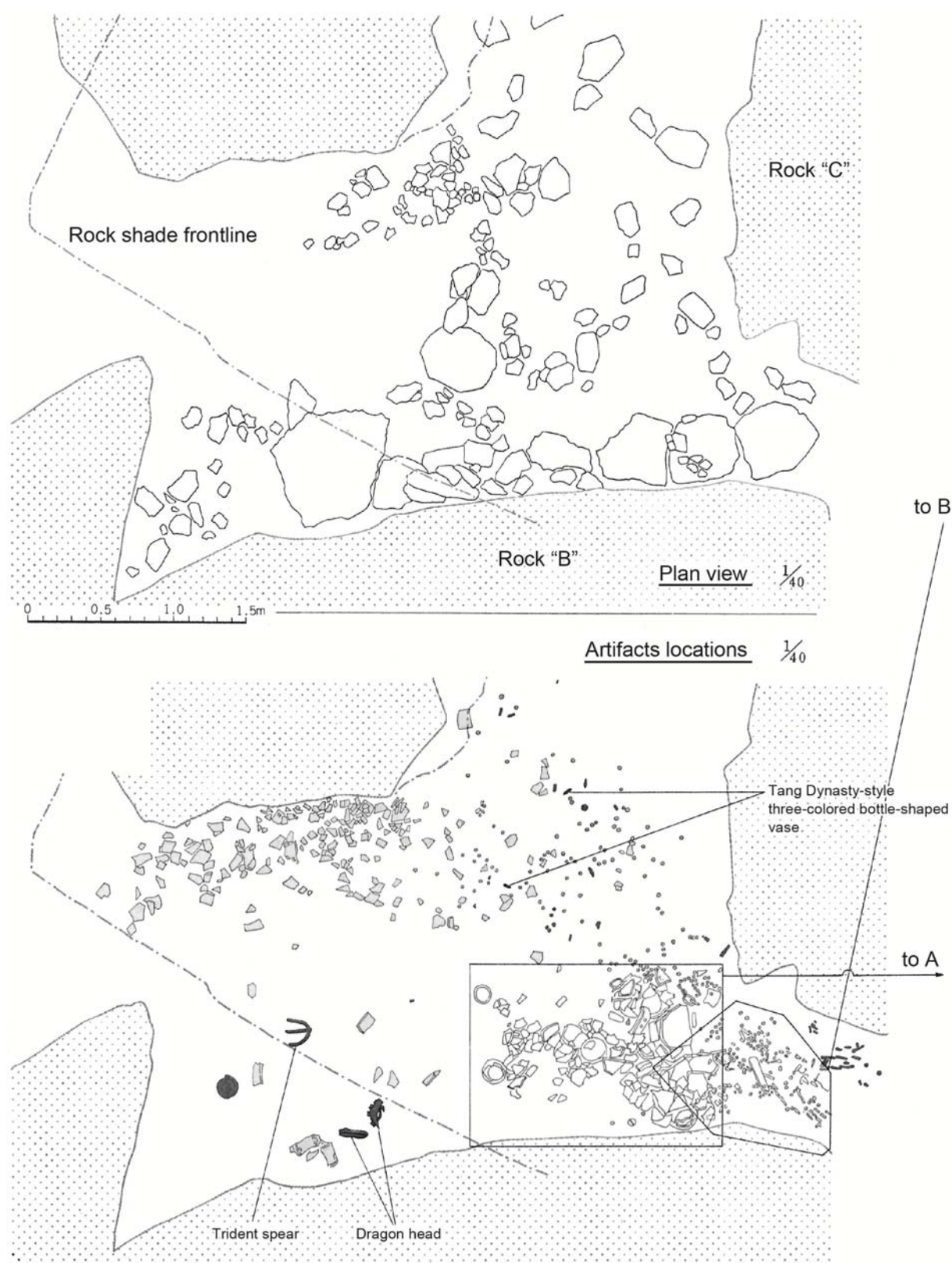


Fig.2 SiteNo.5 plan view (top) and artifacts location (bottom)
(reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Fig. 67)

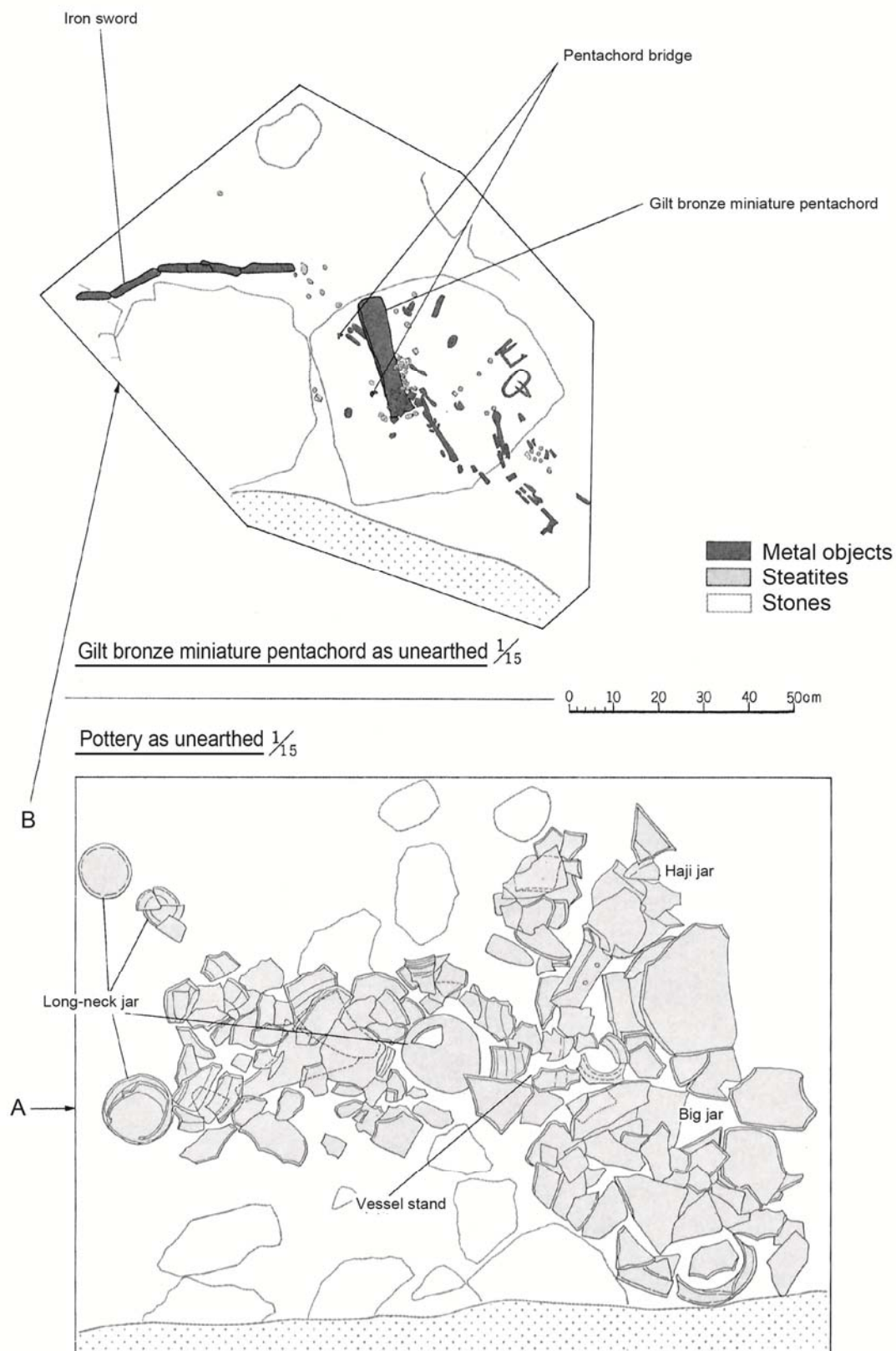


Fig.3 Site No.5 Excavation of gilt bronze pentachord (top) and pottery (bottom)
(reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Fig. 67)



Fig.4 Site No.5 Excavation of gilt bronze miniature pentachord
(reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima II* PL. 72)

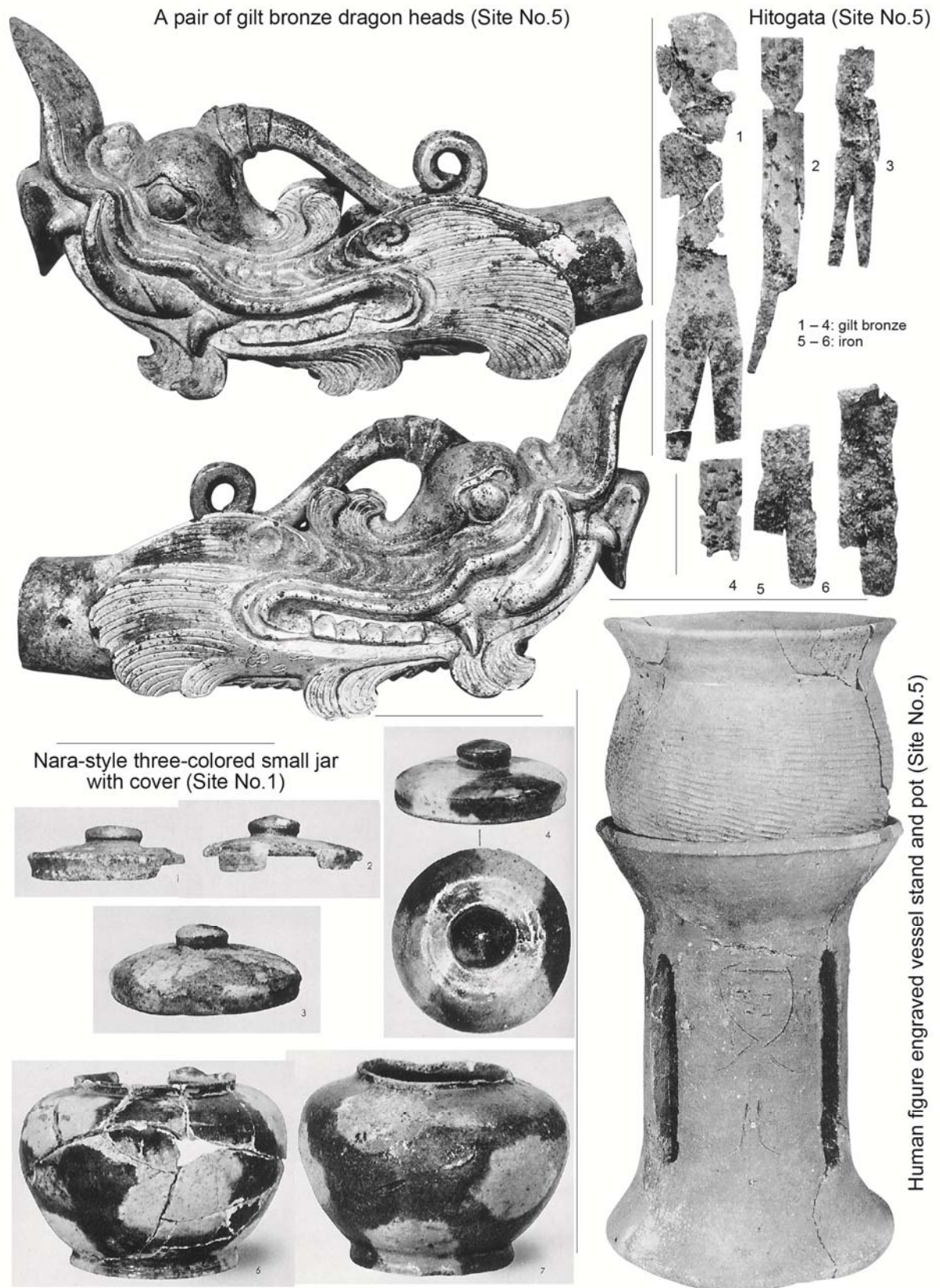


Fig.5 Gilt bronze dragon heads, metal hitogata, vessel stand and pot (Site No.5) and Nara-style three-colored small jar with cover (Site No.1)
(From *Munakata Okinoshima II*, PL. 39, 76,77; *Okinoshima Chōsa Gaihō I*, p.53)

The sudden increase of metal miniatures is a salient characteristic of this phase. The emergence of hitogata, spinning tools, containers and the gilt bronze pentachord, in addition to weapons and tools, is of particular interest because they are comparable to the kind of ritual items and divine treasures mentioned in the Englishiki Jingi (in the chapter relating to Shijisai or quarterly rite, Rinjisai or extraordinary rite and Ise Daijingū or the Grand Shrine of Ise). This point was already detailed in the Reports⁴⁾, but from the perspective of the entire academic investigations and research on Okinoshima rituals, one will recall that metal miniatures were discovered in sites of earlier phases. Let us now list them up according to the phase.

I. Ritual atop a rock

Site No.16 Miniature iron sword

Site No.21 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron chisel-shaped object, miniature iron adze, miniature iron disc with holes

II. Ritual in the shade of a rock

Site No. 4 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron chisel-shaped object, miniature iron adze

Site No. 6 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron adze, miniature iron spear, miniature iron spear-like plane, miniature iron ceremonial mirror, miniature gilt bronze ceremonial mirror, gilt bronze oke, gilt bronze tight-neck jar, miniature bell-like object

Site No.7 Miniature iron sword

Site No.8 Miniature iron adze, Miniature iron knife

Site No.22 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron spear, miniature iron adze, miniature iron disc, miniature gilt bronze disc • gilt bronze hitogata • gilt bronze spinning tools (tatari, spindle, sword-shaped beater, warp beam, cross beam (nuki), tool for winding thread (kuruheki), gilt bronze container (tight-neck jar), bronze container (dish with pedestal), bronze ring

Site No.23 Miniature iron sword

III. Ritual partly in the shade of a rock

Site No.4 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron chisel-like object, miniature iron adze

Site No.5 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron adze, miniature gilt bronze adze, miniature iron spear, miniature iron disc, miniature gilt bronze disc, gilt bronze hitogata, iron hitogata, bronze containers (tight-neck jar, dish with pedestal), bronze spinning tools (tatari, spindle, sword-shaped beater, chikiri, oke) , gilt bronze pentachord, bronze bell, iron bell

Site No.20 (+Site No.14) Miniature iron knife, miniature iron ceremonial mirror, gilt bronze container (dish)

IV: Ritual in the open air

Site No.1 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron arrowhead, miniature iron spear, miniature iron disc, bronze disc, bronze cylindrical object (bell-shaped), bronze spinning tools (sword-shaped beater, kasei (H-(or X-)shaped frame for winding (reeling, rolling up, coiling up) spun yarn (thread, strand)), tatari, oke, dish, bowl, tight-neck jar), gilt bronze bell, gilt bronze funagata (boat-shaped object)

* Steatite katashiro (hitogata, umagata (horse-shaped object), funagata)

Iron weapons and tools are prevalent throughout all the phases since the second half of the phase of ritual atop a rock. They increased in quantity from the phase of ritual in the shade of a rock. Metal spinning tool and metal containers began to appear from this phase. These metal miniatures emerged in the second half of the phase of ritual in the shade of a rock, namely, the second half of the 6th century, and became quite popular in the succeeding phase, that is, the phase of ritual partly in the shade of a rock.

Spinning and weaving is performed by Amaterasu-ōmikami herself in Kojiki and Nihonshoki myths. The passage of Ōjinki Year 41 describing the interaction with Munakata Goddess is well-known.

冊一年春二月：是月、阿知使主等、自吳至筑紫、時胸形大神、有乞工女等、故以兄媛奉於胸形大神、是則今在筑紫國、御使君之祖也、〔是の月に、阿知使主等、^{あちのおみ}吳より筑紫に至る。時に胸^{くれ}

形大神、^{ぬひめ}工女等を乞はすこと有り。故、^{かれ}兄媛を以て、^{えひめ}胸形大神に奉る。^{それ}是則ち、^{はべ}今筑紫國に在る。^{みつかひのきみ}御使君の祖なり。]

The book writes that in February of the 37th year of Ōjin, Achi-no-Omi and some others were dispatched to Wu (a land in Jiangnan, China) to ask for lady weavers. In February of the 41st year he returned to Tsukushi with lady weavers. On that occasion, weaver Ehime was offered to the Munakata Grand Goddesses upon their request. Spinning tools which had such great historical significance were tantamount to divine treasures and were an indispensable part of Munakata Goddesses worship rituals.

Likewise the gilt bronze pentachord offered in Site No.5 is an indispensable ritual object which merits a particular attention. Gilt bronze pentachords represent the tradition from the time of Kofun Period. In North Kyūshū, a haniwa harp was discovered in Iwatoyama mounded tomb in Yame City (popularly known as the tomb of Tsukushi-no-kimi Iwai). The harp neck thin plate of the pentachord found in Okinoshima was of fan-like shape. This suggests that it was a precursor to the zither with kite-tail-shaped end (tobino-o-no-koto; tobi-o-koto), a divine treasure of Ise-jingū Shrine. There is a similar looking gilt bronze plate considered to be a harp bridge of similar kind that is known to be an artifact unearthed from Site No.6 already before the scholarly investigation⁶⁾ (Fig.16). This means there were at least two miniature harps offered in Okinoshima. SADA Shigeru who investigated these miniature harps of Okinoshima including studies on miniature harps of China and Korea has the view that “The miniature harps unearthed in Okinoshima are of transitory form in the evolution of Japanese harp from Kofun Period to Nara Period.”⁷⁾ (Note 7 (two) p.24)

With a focus on these metal miniatures discovered at the Okinoshima ritual sites, INOUE Mitsusada went a step further and pointed out that the features of “‘ritsuryō ritual,’ that is to say, the ritual system of the ritsuryō state or its ‘precursor style’” (p.296) are observed in the Okinoshima artifacts.⁸⁾ He underscored the correspondence with the divine treasures of Ise-jingū Shrine and presented the comparative table shown as Table 1 here. The term of “ritsuryō ritual” now widely used was thus coined by INOUE.

Still another point to be noted with respect to the metal miniatures unearthed from Site No. 5 is the offering of hitogata objects that are classified as a subgroup of katashiro. There were two kinds of the unearthed hitogata: cut-outs of gilt bronze plate and those of iron plate (Figs.5 and 6). There were two varieties in size: less than 5 centimeters in total length (gilt bronze and iron) and 6 – 10 centimeters (gilt bronze). The face has eyes, nose and mouth. Likes of the gilt bronze artifact in the former group are found in the last years of the phase of ritual in the shade of a rock (Site No.22), which suggests that the first appearance could be dated back to about the middle of the 7th century. Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū mentions “40 pieces of bronze hitogata were used in the rituals, and Report on Rituals in the Toyukegū likewise mentions 20 pieces of iron hitogata. The Okinoshima artifacts came to be interpreted as their prototypes. In the succeeding phase of ritual in the open air (Site No.1), metal miniature hitogata are no longer existent and funagata made by bending of bronze plate are offered (Fig.6). Expressions of stern and bow can be noted, though rudimentary. The investigation found fragments corresponding to five pieces in total. Most prevalent are the steatite hitogata, funagata and umagata. At first hitogata appeared in metal form and shifted to metal funagata. Then, after transition to steatites, umagata came to be added. Similar process is observed in the shift from bronze and metal discs to steatite discs.

It should be further noted that pottery offering became clearly dominant in Site No.5 in comparison with sites of preceding ritual phases. This led to the overwhelming volume of Sue ware and other pottery accumulations in Site No.1 representing the further succeeding phase of ritual in the open air. As was discussed earlier in this paper, they were unearthed in such conditions that the large pots were merely “pressed down” as had been in position, the vessel stands were “pushed down” with the Haji ware jar still placed on top, and the long-neck jars preserved the line-up. It was very fortunate that, after reconstruction of each of the pieces, they could be repositioned to what was believed to be the ritual alignment for photo recording (Fig.1).

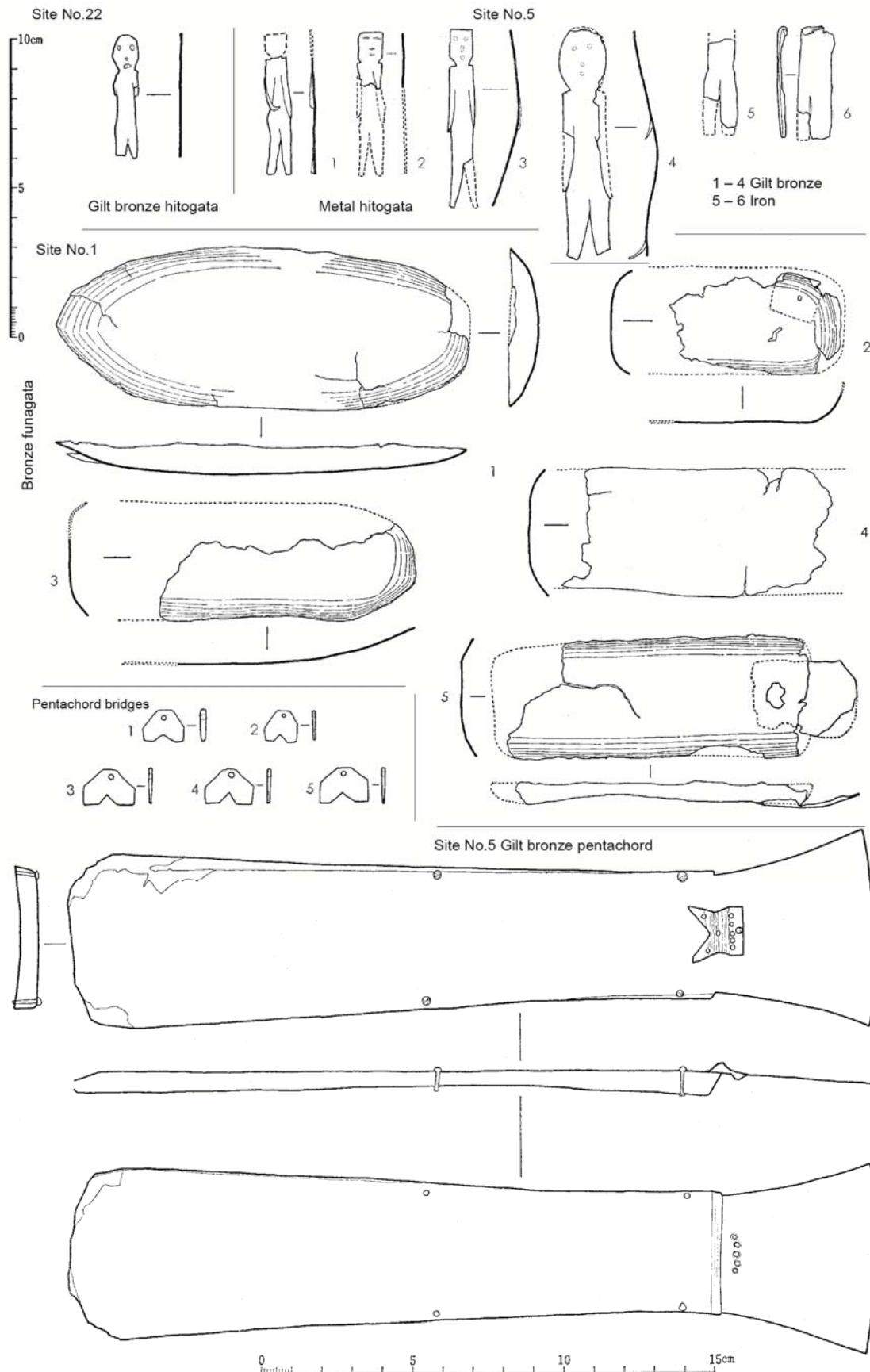


Fig.6 Metal miniatures (hitogata, funagata, gilt bronze pentachord) (1/2)
(reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Figs. 31, 71, 72 and 111)

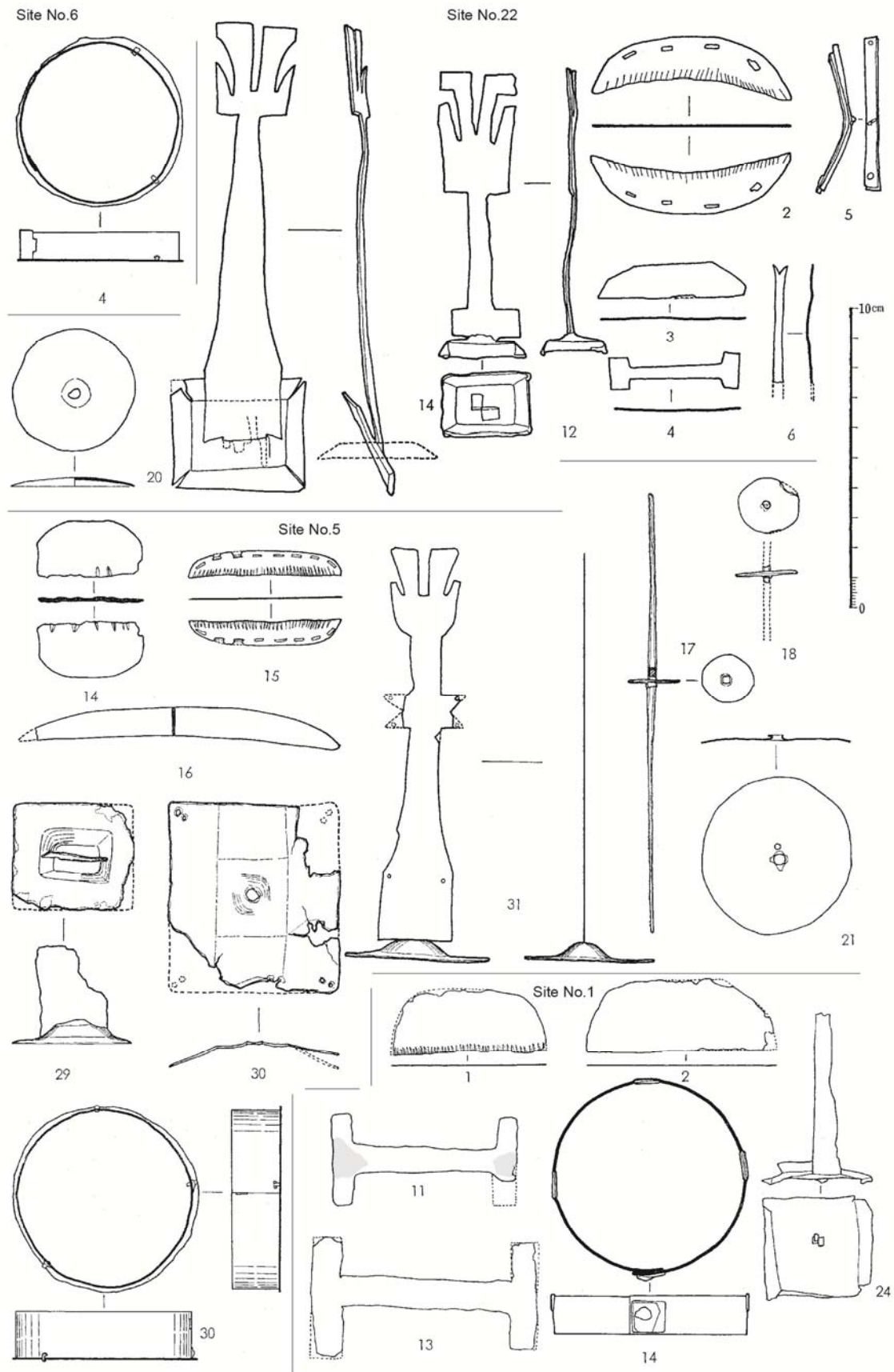


Fig.7 Metal miniature spinning tools (1/2)
(reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Figs. 36, 37, 72, 75, 86, 111 and 113)

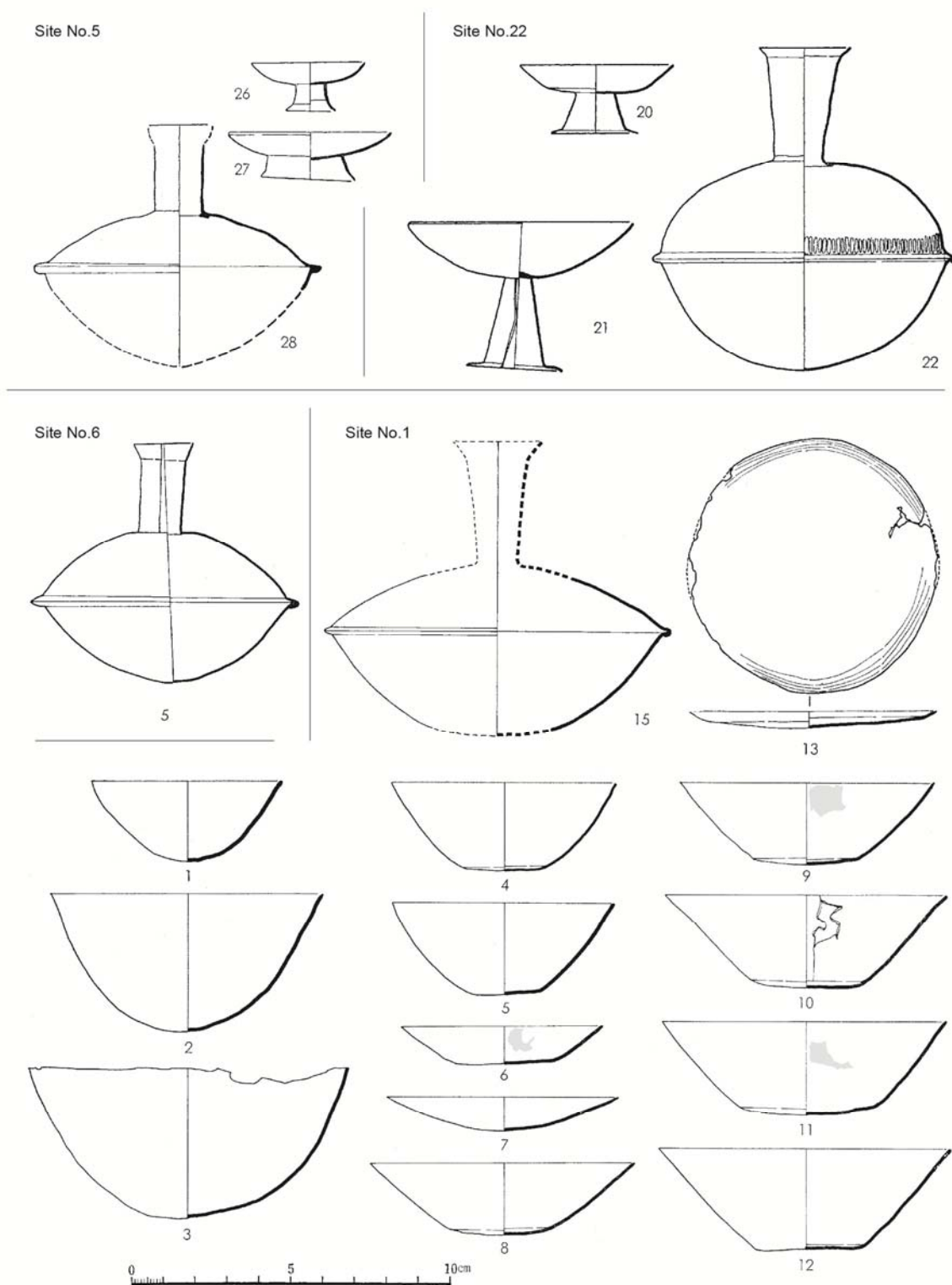


Fig.8 Metal miniature containers (1/2)
 Bronze tight-neck jars (Site No.5-28, No.6-5, No.22-22, No.1-15)
 Bronze dishes with pedestal (Site No.5-26, No.22-20, -21)
 Bronze dishes, pots (Site No.1-1 through -12)
 (reprinted from *Munakata Okinoshima I*, Figs. 37, 72, 86 and 111)

Table 1 Divine treasures of Ise-Jingū Shrine by category
(Encircled numbers represent the order of appearance, ordinary numbers represent the quantity)

Category		Item		Betumiya (chō)			
Division	Sub-division	Gishikichō	Engi-shiki	Aramatsuri-no-miya	Izawa-no-miya	Tsukiyomi-no-miya	Takahara-no-miya
Spinning	tatari	①gilt bronze tatari 2 ⑥silver bronze tatari 1	①gilt bronze tatari 2 ⑤silver bronze tatari 2				
	oke	③(gilt bronze) oke 2 ⑦(silver bronze) oke 1	②gilt bronze oke 2 ⑥silver bronze oke 1		②bronze oke 2	⑬(silver) oke 2	③silver oke 1
	kasei	④(gilt bronze) kasei 2 ⑧(silver bronze) kasei 1	③gilt bronze kasei 2 ⑦silver bronze kasei 1		③bronze kasei 1		④silver kasei 2
	haku (bell)	⑤(gilt bronze) haku 2 ⑨(silver bronze) haku 1	④gilt bronze haku 2 ⑧silver bronze haku 1				
	okake				①bronze okake 2	⑩wooden okake 2	
	floor loom				④bronze floor loom 1		
Mirror		②mirror 2		⑧mirror 1	⑤mirror 4	⑧mirror 9	
Weapon	long sword	⑫Tamamaki long sword 1 ⑬Sugaru long sword 1 ⑭Zōsa long sword 20	⑪Tamamaki long sword 1 ⑫Sugaru long sword 1 ⑬Zōsa long sword 20	①long sword 7	⑥Kurodzukuri long sword 3	①Kanadzukuri long sword 2 ②Kurodzukuri long sword 6 ③knife 2	⑧long sword 2
	spear	⑫spear 24	⑬spear 24	③spear 1		⑦spear 4	⑩spear 2
	bow	⑩bow 24	⑨Azusa bow 24	④bow 2	⑦bow 3	④bow 6	⑦bow 3
	arrow	⑪arrow 2200	⑩battle arrow 1490 ⑩arrow 768				
	quiver	⑮Hime quiver 24 ⑯Gama quiver 20 ⑰leather quiver 24	⑭Hime quiver 24 ⑮Gama quiver 20 ⑯leather quiver 24	(⑤Koroku quiver 3)	(⑧Koroku quiver 3)	(⑤Koroku quiver 6)	(⑨Koroku quiver 3)
	round elbow pad	⑮round elbow pad 24	⑰round elbow pad 24		⑨round elbow pad 1		
	shield	⑰shield 24	⑮shield 24	②shield 1		⑥shield 4	⑦shield 7
Musical instrument	bell					⑨bell 1	⑥bell 2
	harp		⑳Tobio-koto 1				

(Betumiya has other divine treasures than listed here)

(edited from INOUE Mitsusada, *Rituals in Ancient Okinoshima*, in *Dynasties and Rituals in Ancient Japan*, 1984)

To the westerly spot of the pottery concentration were the pair of gilt-bronze dragon heads and at the slit between the eastern and southern walls to the east of the pottery concentration were found the gilt bronze pentachord and other metal miniatures. Bronze tight-neck jar, bronze dish with pedestal and other metal miniatures were discovered at a spot somewhat deep into the direction leading to Site No.6 by the north wall. The Tang Dynasty-style three-colored vase was found in 18 small fractures at nearly the center of the site, but it was not possible to determine the original position. In short, it was the pottery that played the major role in the rituals at Site No.5. Metal miniature and imported artifacts are believed to have been placed adjacent to the pottery concentration. In the phase of ritual in the shade of a rock, pottery was placed outside the rock eaves shade line. In stark contrast, pottery was the mainstream item in this phase along with metal miniatures. Between these two phases, there was also a shift in the imported items from Korean (Shilla) to Chinese. These are two major characteristics of Site No.5. Still another point to be noted is that these artifacts were placed alongside the contour of the ritual site formed by the huge rocks, which fact suggests that the worshippers were not yet free from the reliance on huge rock that characterized the previous phase. The term “phase of ritual partly in the shade of a rock” was invented by the author of this paper on an ad hoc basis in the course of the scientific investigation. The term does not really have a nice ring and the author intended to devise a better term, without success to this date. As I think of it now, the term depicts simply and clearly the nature of the rituals performed at this site with the artifacts laid out in proper positions as described above. There is no need to alter it, after all. That this term has been used widely already may need to be taken into account.

The review we made above endorses the views expressed in the Reports that: “The offerings of this phase are significantly aloof from the characteristics of Kofun Period artifacts and the miniature ritual objects that only Kami (deities) can use have a markedly large portion. It can be deducted that the idea of performing rituals for the benefit of more “deified” deities came to be more established.”³⁾ (p.263) and the emergence of items associated with the Imperial Court rituals of Ancient Japan at this juncture in time in the form of gilt bronze miniatures sees no parallel in other, ordinary ritual sites, and proves the state-ritual nature of the rituals performed in Okinoshima. Furthermore, this may also suggest that the first appearance of the kinds of offering and divine treasure that are found in Imperial Court rituals and in classic documents could be sought to this phase.”³⁾ (p.264). And these views are further supported solidly by the offering of the gilt-bronze dragon heads and the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase imported from abroad and of the about a dozen Nara-style three-colored small jars with cover brought from Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Kyōto and Nara).

At the time of the scientific investigation, the present author and his team referred to the above-described visually differences between the offering of Phases I and II having similarity with those of Kofun Period and the new kinds of offerings found in Phase III simply as “undifferentiation of funeral and ritual” and “differentiation of funeral and ritual.”⁹⁾ What was truly meant by these two rather simplified terms is what has been discussed in detail just above. As I think of it today, the terminology may have been somewhat misleading because this distinction is not necessarily exhaustive if one considers the rituals of Kofun Period and Historical Period from the perspective of rituals archeology for the entire peninsula of Japan. From such a perspective, we should perhaps go back to the basics and use the terms “beginning stage of Shintō” and “stage of historical Shintō” as advocated by ŌBA Iwao. Or perhaps we should rely on INOUE Mitsusada and use his terminology of “pre-ritsuryō ritual period” and “ritsuryō ritual emergence period.” In this connection, the interpretation that INOUE Mitsusada gave about the two terms correctly describes what the author and his colleague really wanted to convey. He writes:

“At the time of the so-called ‘undifferentiation between funeral and ritual’ people worshipped and revered human spirits and deities in the same manner. In the time of ‘differentiation between funeral and ritual’ human spirits and deities were recognized to be different from each other and different religious rituals came to be in existence for each of the two domains. In other words, it is submitted that funeral and ritual were thus established in their own ways.”⁸⁾ (p.294)

It should be recalled that soft stone imitations of objects have been found in ritual sites of this period, not just at mounded tombs of Middle Kofun Period. SHIRAISHI Taichirō argues that the mirrors, swords, beads and other soft stone imitations of objects unearthed from ritual sites “have a strong nature of offering to deities” while farm utensils, weaving tools, wine-making tools and other soft stone imitations of objects unearthed from mounded tombs are “tools used by the clan head as priest for the purpose of enshrining

gods, namely, ritual paraphernalia.^{10b)} If one takes the position of dividing the identity or purpose of ritual objects, one may well argue that offerings to deities on one hand and ritual paraphernalia that displayed the function of the priest (clan head) on the other were used in the rituals of Kofun Period (Okinoshima Ritual Phases I and II). The terminology the author et al offered was directed to the chronological divisions in the ritual objects in comparison with the succeeding ritsuryō ritual phase and the preceding phase (Kofun Period). The perspectives are apparently different.

With respect to hitogata, KANEKO Hiroyuki investigated the details of rituals in Heijō-kyō^{11a)} and the collection of ritsuryō ritual artifacts^{11c)} and concluded that hitogata inclusive of the hitogata, umagata and funagata of the succeeding Site No.1 in the open air (Phase IV ritual) were all items used for purification.^{11b)} He goes on to name two possible objects to be purified. “One of the two objects is an ordinary individual in a capital city.” In this case it is “the servant of Munakata Goddesses.” “The other object is a defined space,” he writes. However, the purification rites in the capital city began only during the time of Fujiwara-kyō. The emergence of hitogata in Okinoshima rituals is older. The purpose of offering hitogata and other katashiro is to pray for guarding by the deity in the hope of escaping the evil and receiving happiness. It is unquestionable that the original meaning of purification is to protect from a variety of dangers and disasters the ship and the people on board that voyage over high waves to the intended destination. The purification ceremony in capital cities can be understood as an evolutionary form of this original. There are no convincing reasons to seek the origin of katashiro in the purification ceremonies in capital cities which are subsequent events. It has been established already that the origin of hitogata rituals can be dated back to about the last stage of Western Han Dynasty in China and with the birth of Taoism, interactions with Taoist rituals took place.¹²⁾ It appears that the way of thoughts were tolerated promptly into the beginning stage of Shintō in Japan and became one of its components.

More recently, HIROSE Kazuo¹³⁾ who referred to “the idea of kami in Kofun Period” through his analysis of ritual sites of Kofun Period writes: “Those [ritual objects --- addition by Oda] of 4th to 6th century have fundamental commonality with the grave goods of mounded tombs, particularly those of major mounded tombs.” (p.124) In this sense he accepts the notion of “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” and argues that the ritual objects of Okinoshima were offered to kami of the sea and the “grave goods” of mounded tombs, which have commonality to them, were also “offered to kami.” And so, he claims, the rituals performed at key-hole shaped tombs were based on “the community idea of the dead clan head transfiguring to be a kami and guarding the community.” (p.125) He has taken the position to claim that the spirit of clan head (ancestral spirit) is identical to kami. Moreover, he writes that: “The Kofun Period rituals in Okinoshima were abandoned around the second half of 6th century, and after a blank interval of one hundred and some years, resumed afresh around the first half of 8th century as ritsuryō rituals.” (p.127) It is clear that he relies on KANEKO Hiroyuki’s capital city purification succession theory. For this reason, he believed that there must have been a blank interval of some one hundred years before the beginning of the Phase III rituals in Okinoshima. As was discussed in the previous paper¹⁴⁾, however, the author et al do not consider such a long period of void in the transition from Phase II to Phase III. The upper limit of Phase III, in our view, is no later than the middle of or the second half of 7th century.

Above is an overview of recent views on Okinoshima ritual sites. It would be fair to say that generally there is a consensus that a new style of ritual which is different from the Kofun Period rituals (Okinoshima ritual phases I and II) emerged in Phase III, namely, the phase of ritual partly in the shade of a rock. This new ritual is now recognized as a historical important point of being the nascent stage of ritsuryō rituals.

2. From Massi Rock Worship to Ritual in the Open Air

It is a generally established view that the rituals of Okinoshima began in the second half of 4th century and continued into 9th century, while evolving in the four phases of: I – Ritual atop a rock, II – Ritual in the shade of a rock, III – Ritual partly in the shade of a rock and IV - Ritual in the open air, and that the final phase IV represent itself as the precursor to the shrine building rituals that have been passed on to the present day. In short, the ritual began on the basis of rudimentary style of worship a rock as “yorishiro,” an object representative of a divine spirit. The people gradually started to depart from rocks in the Historical Period, set up an altar on the ground, and then reached the more formalized stage of building shrine building to “invite” the divine spirit according to necessity.

Rock worship is said to be rooted in the Japanese traditional worship of nature. The evolution of Okinoshima rituals reviewed here testifies to that historical background deeply associated with massive rocks. ŌBA Iwao, the first advocate of Shintō archeology, was one of the earliest scholars who since an early time made literature search and archeological surveys on rock worship in Japan as well as “iwakura” or the “rock-abode” (dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily) and “iwasaka” or the concept of an area that has been encircled by piles of stones, where a deity (god) is thought to have descended; a stone altar or cairn erected for the purpose of invoking the presence of a kami (deity) that is closely related to the beginning stage of Shintō.¹⁵⁾ He wrote that ishigami (stone deity) and iwakura that appear in ancient documents “may appear to mean different things, but in reality these two are mostly the same and no clear distinction can be made.” He continued: “there are both natural ones and those to which man-made additions have been made.” Iwasaka, he summarized, is “a spot having stones vastly laid out either naturally or by humans.”^{15b)} (p.236) Further, he made the point that while “there are many ishigami and iwakura that were converted directly into shrines and have survived to this date,” no shrines were found in ancient documents that had inherited the name of iwasaka. And so iwasaka “should be regarded as something that was set up temporarily and was torn down or abandoned when the ritual ended.” “The passage in Nihon Shoki and Kogo Shūi 『天津神籬天津磐境を起樹てゝ』 suggests iwasaka was to be set up temporarily in conjunction with himorogi or the temporarily erected sacred space or “altar” --- demarcation of a physical area with branches of green bamboo or sakaki at the four corners, between which are strung sacred border ropes (shimenawa).” Then he concluded that: Iwakura-based rituals were prominent before the emergence of shrine buildings and pertain to the most rudimentary style of divine worship” and because “the divine spirit was considered to be [...] invited to anytime anywhere, it is believed that most of them disappeared gradually following the appearance of shrine buildings, and are barely existent today.”^{15b)} (pp.237 – 238)

In light of the Shintō archeological prior arts as mentioned above, the configuration of Okinoshima Site No. 21 with a square ritual altar made of stones atop a massive rock and a somewhat bigger stone in the center of the square can be described as nothing but a representative example of people setting up an iwakura in the center of a square iwasaka as yorishiro to which the deity descends upon. It is worth recognizing anew that the Okinoshima site represents a precious case example of the fact that already around the middle of 5th century there existed iwakura ritual site configurations. During the phases of ritual atop a rock and ritual in the shade of a rock, a space for ritual was prepared by paving stones (sometimes mixed with earth and sand, but in many cases taking the form of rectangular plane) on a flat space so as to place the offerings. It would be fair to consider that in these cases the entire combination of the massive rock (iwakura) and the cavity and the ritual space under the rock eaves represents the iwasaka. Although one may take an macroscopic view and argue that the entire area of massive rock conglomeration should be considered as an iwasaka, the author would submit that such a conglomeration should be termed as “divine zone” or “sacred zone,” given the background detailed above. Such a zone should rather be regarded as a concentration of a number of iwasaka.

Now, how is this question understood in today’s Shintō community? Let us take a look at a few examples.

Shintō Jiten (Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University ed. 1994, Kōbundō)

Iwakura

A formation of rocks to which a *kami* is invited to descend for worship, and considered to be holy ground. Together with *ishigami*(stone-*kami*) and *iwasaka*, such forms of worship represent a type of rock-worshipping cult. As worship is repeated at the site, the rocks themselves may come to be treated in worship as divine stones. Archaeological sites throughout Japan point to such worship, and many are related to extant observances of ritual worship. Such rites came to be increasingly observed beside rock formations, particularly from the Kofun Period. In such locations, large caches of mirrors, stone jewels, weapons, and earthenware utensils have been found preserved where they were abandoned. (pp.176 - 177)

Iwasaka

A stone altar or cairn erected in ancient times for the purpose of invoking the presence of a kami at times of worship. According to an “alternative tradition” describing the episode of the “Descent of the

Heavenly Grandchild" (tenson kōrin) in the Nihon Shoki, Takamimusubi erected a "heavenly himorogi" (divine tree) and "heavenly iwasaka" for the purpose of paying ritual worship to the divine grandchild. This passage thus indicates that both himorogi and iwasaka were built together. Debates have continued since the Edo period regarding whether actual stones were used in such structures and it was thought that none of the actual sites would ever be discovered. To a limited extent, however, evidence from sites of rock cairns like the Taki-matsuri no kami within the Grand Shrine of Ise; the temporary shrines of the festival confraternities (kō) in the village of Tōnomine (now a part of the city of Sakurai), Nara Prefecture; and other archaeological discoveries suggest that relatively small rocks were collected within delimited areas to be used as a "divine seat" or altar for worship. Further, most such sites seem to have been decorated with a himorogi or a branch of the sakaki tree. Such iwasaka were either square or round, and represented by a raised cairn of stones in a flat area, although in some cases they appear to have involved a somewhat larger stone placed in the center of the cairn. Some theories suggest that the word is synonymous with iwakura. (p.177)

Himorogi

Originating in ancient times, himorogi refers to a temporarily erected sacred space or "altar" used as a locus of worship. Today, himorogi are represented by the demarcation of a physical area with branches of green bamboo or sakaki at the four corners, between which are strung sacred border ropes (shimenawa). In the center of the area a large branch of sakaki festooned with sacred emblems (hei) is erected as a yorishiro, a physical representation of the presence of the kami and toward which rites of worship are performed. In more elaborate cases, a himorogi may be constructed by placing a rough straw mat upon the ground, then erecting a ceremonial 8-legged stand (hakkyaku an) upon the mat and decorating the stand with a framework upon which are placed sacred border ropes and sacred border emblems. Finally the sakaki branch is erected in the center of this stand as the focus of worship. Since the Edo period, various attempts have been made to understand the derivation of the word himorogi. Early appearances of the word include the expression "heavenly himorogi" (ama tsu himorogi) in the account of the "descent of the heavenly grandchild" (tenson kōrin) as found in "alternate writing" outlined in Book II of the Nihongi. The word also appears later in the Nihongi in the account of the reign of Emperor Sujin, where it states that a shikataki himorogi (probable meaning: "an altar of firm stones") was erected in the village of Yamato no Kasanui and used for the worship of Amaterasu ōmikami. A passage from the reign of Emperor Suinin relates that of the "divine treasures of Izushi" (Izushi no kandakara) brought by the Korean prince Amenohihoko, one was called a kuma-himorogi (meaning obscure). The Man'yōshū likewise includes phrases such as "though I dedicate an altar on the divine mountain" (kamunabi ni himorogi tatete iwaedomo), making it clear that these expressions refer to temporary altars constructed for worship. Other practices related to this custom might include the sacred fences (mizugaki and shibagaki) found surrounding shrines, and the fence of branches surrounding a new emperor's enthronement palace (Daijōkyū) (p.187)

Shintō Yōgo no Kiso Chishiki (Basics of Shintō Terms), KAMATA Tōji ed., 1999, Kadokawa Geijutsu Shuppan

Himorogi/Iwasaka

Both terms refer to the place to have deities descend upon. Until permanent shrine constructions began to be built by the influence of Buddhist temples, special facilities called himorogi or iwasaka or other yorishiro were prepared. The episode of tenson kōrin, book 2-1 of Nihon Shoki states as the words of Takamimusubi-no-mikoto that: "I shall erect amatsu-himorogi and amatsu-iwasaka and pray for my descendants." He ordered Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto (Ame-no-futodama) to prepare for himorogi down on the lower world and perform rituals.

Himorogi is a zone formed by a row of planted evergreen trees around a sacred hill or a forest. It can also mean a place for worship centered on a yorishiro (to which the deity descends upon) consisting of an centrally-placed evergreen tree or wands of such a tree (like sakaki) and a cotton cloth put over it. In subsequent periods, himorogi was used to mean a shrine, too. Etymological interpretations vary; one is that "hi" means "spirit," and the word means a tree or a hill on which the divine spirit falls upon. Even today himorogi is at times erected as a temporary divine seat. The ritual site that utilizes a natural rock either as such or by adding human touch to prepare the spot for kami's descent is termed "iwasaka," while the rock which serves as the divine seat is called "iwakura." In many parts of the world, trees and rocks were worshipped since long time ago as the yorishiro of deity. (pp.275 – 276)

Rekishī Kōkōgaku Daijiten edited by ONO Masatoshi, SATŌ Makoto, TATENO Kazumi, TANABE Masao (2007, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan) shows the following explanations, based on the outcomes of historical archeology achieved to recent times:

Iwakura

A kind of himorogi (heavenly spirit descending zone), that is to say, a spot to invite the heavenly deity to come down. Himorogi consisting of stones and rocks is referred to iwakura. There are over 400 known iwakura throughout Japan. While the origin is said to date back to Yayoi Period, many became clearer during the Kofun Period. Among the Engi-Shikinaisha (listed shrines), many around the country have iwakura as theirshintai (a physical object serving as an object of worship at shrines, and in which the spirit of the kami is believed to reside) and are named after it such as Iwakura Shrine, Ishimiya Shrine, Iwaishi Shrine and Oushiko Shrine. The forms of iwakura vary, but still it is possible to classify them into: (1) a huge rock wall, (2) a singularly outstanding large rock, (3) a pair of rocks, (4) an overlay of rocks, (5) a rock with cleavage or hollow space, (6) A group of scattered large and small rocks, and (7) a conglomeration of huge and large rocks. [Specific examples found in various places that follow are omitted here.] (p.101)

Iwasaka

Iwasaka refers to the temporary ritual facility that was prepared in Ancient Times by the use of stones and cobblestones for the purpose of inviting the deity to descend to this world. A large number of relative small stones were used to delineate a specific zone. In a plan view, it is either square or round. Some are mounded, and some others have a comparatively large stone placed in the center. A conventional theory had that the temporary facility was prepared only as needed and was abandoned when the ritual was over and accordingly iwasaka could not survive as an archeological site. Another theory claimed iwasaka was synonymous to iwakura. However, archeological sites of iwasaka have been confirmed in Okinoshima, Fukuoka Prefecture, in the Sakatayama Archeological Site, Shirahama Town, Wakayama Prefecture and elsewhere, and ritual artifacts have been unearthed in these sites. (p.101)

Though the quotation was rather lengthy, the above provided a good overview on the question of how modern-day Shintō and the most recent historical archeology interpret iwakura and iwasaka as well as himorogi. It is evident that the former (Shintō community) relies on and inherits the prior studies by ŌBA Iwao and there are nothing beyond ŌBA's academic contribution. The latter interpretation represents a progress in the sense that the outcomes of ritual site surveys since the time of Okinoshima investigation are incorporated into the explanation. The seven categories of iwakura forms, in particular, are interesting; some of them apply to the ritual sites in Okinoshima. And the description of iwasaka, which had been rather ambiguous, has been made clearer as a result of the discovery of concrete examples through the Okinoshima investigation and other efforts. The advance of academic research and studies is truly impressive.

The perspective on huge rock worship that has been discussed above has been guided by the Shintō archeological approach that ŌBA Iwao advocated. In recent years, YOSHIKAWA Muneaki focused on the sanctification of rocks in Buddhism and folk beliefs in addition to Shintō, and proposed launching the study of rock rituals as an academic discipline. He is collecting examples and cases from all over the country and is working to propose a new classification beyond ŌBA's classification.¹⁶⁾ So far, he has accumulated over two thousand cases and have tentatively come up with five categories including ŌBA's from the multiple perspectives of historical science, archeology, folklore and others. His work has produced many interesting outcomes, but the studies are ongoing and here the author would like to simply express his hope that future progress of his work will offer a new perspective also in the field of Shintō archeology.

One of the factors behind such a proposal for creating a new discipline for rock rituals was the movement within the archeological society to move a step forward from ŌBA's Shintō archeology. The inaugural statement of Ritual Archeology Society which was founded in June 1994 with SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu as the founding chair says:

“We will work to go into the spiritual culture by emphasizing more than anything the observation of

archeological sites and artifacts, using them as the basis, making use of academic outcomes of folklore, philology, ethnology and other related sciences, and generating wonderful hypotheses. While focusing on Japanese Peninsula, we will also take up rituals in the Korean Peninsula and the Asian Continent and intend to look at the Japanese Peninsula from the perspective of entire Orient. We will like to make our footsteps as wide as possible, but still keeping our foot firmly on the ground and moving forward step by step constantly, though maybe not so fast.”¹⁷⁾ (p.1)

The determination expressed there was to move beyond ŌBA's Shintō archeology that viewed Shintō rituals as something unique to Japan, and to study the archeological ritual sites and artifacts of Japan from the broader perspective that encompasses China and the Korean Peninsula as well. The intended enhancement in terms of both academic discipline and geographical coverage was not irrelevant to the contemporary discovery of steatite ritual objects of Japanese origin in the course of an excavation survey of Jungmak-dong ritual site in Chonrabuk-do, Korea.¹⁸⁾ Thus, a shift from the Shintō archeology that ŌBA advocated to a religious archeology which deals with a wider spectrum of studies on rituals including those outside Japan. Already some resonant studies have appeared resulting from practical implementation of this new approach. For instance, ŌHIRA Shigeru focuses on his native prefecture of Hyōgo as his research field and has produced new research outcomes in the classification and chronology of comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted, wooden hitogata, small clay umagata and other ritual objects.¹⁹⁾ It is hoped that he builds upon these outcomes to construct a system of ritual archeology.

While the shift described as above was occurring since the time of our Okinoshima investigations from Shintō archeology to ritual archeology, the issue of undifferentiation and differentiation concerning funeral and ritual at the ritual site of mounded tombs was taken up straightforwardly by HOZUMI Hiromasa.²⁰⁾ He made a thorough review of preceding studies and proposed stricter definition of related terms. 1) That rituals to be dealt with shall mean “kami-matsuri” only. Amaterasu and other personified specific deities shall be termed “神(deity)” and spirits and others that have not acquired that level shall be termed “カミ(kami)”; 2) That activities related to the dead at the mounded tomb shall be called “rite of burial”; 3) That the rites performed during the period of mogari (mourning) shall be called “mourning.” (p.4) He further proposed that the term “archeological ritual site” should be defined as “an archeological site formed mainly for the purpose of practicing rites” and that it should be confirmed as such only if, except for iwakura or other sites for which common agreement exists, ritual artifacts are unearthed. (p.5) He also pointed out that whether the location of the artifacts was really a place for rituals (ritual site) or a disposal site of objects (ritual artifacts) after the rite was performed is a question to be asked. (p.5)

This last point was already brought up much earlier by OTOMATSU Shigetaka who said: “At an ordinary ritual-related site, the pottery and other artifacts used for the rite were destroyed and buried underground. Most of the ritual sites we call as such today were in reality disposal sites of these ritual paraphernalia. Perhaps there is a need to draw a strict distinction between ritual sites and ritual-related sites.”²¹⁾ (p.18) He made references to Okinoshima ritual sites as examples of the latter, but did not specify which sites. Probably he had in mind the Phases I through III (the phases in which massive rocks were involved as iwakura) as examples of the former and Phase IV (ritual in the open air) as one of the latter.

Earlier at the time of the third investigation of Okinoshima, the terms “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” and “differentiation between funeral and ritual” were used somewhat conveniently to describe the stark contrast between (a) the observed commonality of offerings during the Phases I and II (Kofun Period) with the grave good of contemporary mounded tombs and (b) their disappearance in the succeeding Phases III and IV (Historic Period) and the replacement by ritsuryō ritual objects.⁹⁾ However, this observation of ours was preceded by the proposal by KOIDE Yoshiharu²²⁾, SUGIYAMA Shiegetsugu²³⁾ and others to decouple funeral (mounded tomb) and ritual (archeological ritual site), namely, the decoupling of burial and kami-matsuri. They noted the differences in the soft stone imitations of objects of Middle Kofun Period between those in mounded tombs and at ritual sites. Following these preceding studies, SHIRAISHI Taichirō believed the iron farming utensils that were buried in the mounded tombs of Early Kofun Period were ritual paraphernalia used by the clan head for agricultural rites during his lifetime. He continued that the steatite miniatures buried in mounded tombs originated with farm utensils and came to be supplied also to ritual sites by the first half of 5th century. In this way, SHIRAISHI developed a theory of funeral and ritual decoupling by which he argued kami-matsuri as burial rite of a clan head existed as an

independent event already from Early Kofun Period.^{10a)} More recently, light is shed again on the soft stone imitations of objects and there have been many studies on the subject. Reflection on the historical streams of research brings into relief that the observations made at the time of third Okinoshima investigation were concerned with the identities of the offerings only in the context of the evolution of Okinoshima rituals and that did not consider mounded tombs or ritual sites in other regions. It should be remembered that the soft stone imitations of knife, adze, sickle, spear-like plane, chisel, mallet and containers on which SHIRAISHI's assertion is largely based are mostly found in the mounded tombs located to the east of Kinki and in Kanto region. These kinds of soft stone imitations have been rarely found in western Japan, particularly in Kyūshū region. Of the ritual objects discovered in Okinoshima ritual sites, those which have parallels in both the western and eastern parts of Japan count only the comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted, discs with holes, mortar-shaped beads and a small quantity of sword-shaped objects as far as steatite imitations are concerned. This obvious difference between the west and east in soft stone imitations of objects has received hardly any attention to this date. In addition, a review may be required perhaps from the perspective of Okinoshima ritual as a representative site of state-related ritual levels as opposed to ritual of local clan head level. Recently, HOZUMI prepared a matrix table (Table 2, in the original publication Table 5) and concluded that "the objects offered at mounded tombs and at ritual sites had a high degree of commonality, albeit differences in the materials of construction."²⁰ (p.258) Of the category by materials of construction listed in the Table, soft stone imitation, wooden imitation, clay miniature, stone object, wood/leather object and haniwa (ceramic clay figures placed on the surface of tumuli) are absent in Okinoshima rituals. This may suggest the need for a perspective on Okinoshima rituals as having a unique level.

Table 2 List of offering by materials of construction

	Mirror	Farm utensils			Weapon			Armory			Flat iron ingot	Ship	Beads	Loom	Phallus	Container	Winnow/basket	Food	Creatures			Ceremonial staff				
		Spade/ hoe	Tools	Knife	Sickle	Sword (single edge)	Sword (double edge)	Arrow	Arrowhead	Spear									Shield	Quiver	Armor	Human	Bird	Animal	House	
soft stone imitations of objects	○		○	○		○		○		△			△		○						○					
Iron imitations			○	○	○			○					○													
Wooden imitations		○	○	○	○	○			○					○	○											
Clay imitations	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○					
Stone objects				○					○						○						○					
Iron objects		○	○	○	○	○	△	○	○	△		○									○					
Wood/leather objects	handle	handle	handle	handle	handle	handle	○	handle	handle	○	○	○		○	○											
Haniwa										○	○	○			○				○	○	○					
Remarks										Iron shield is an Isonokami divine treasures				soft stone imitation from Shirashi Inariyama tomb												

(From HOZUMI Hiromasa, *Funerals and Rituals in Kofun Period*, p.258)

Meanwhile, the concept of “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” in the Kofun Period that the authors et al proposed at the time of the third Okinoshima investigation was later carried on by INOUE Mitsusada⁸⁾, HIROSE Kazuo¹³⁾ and others. Today HOZUMI Hiromasa also is of the view that the concept of separating funeral and ritual (kami-matsuri) in the Middle Kofun Period “should have emphasized the exteriorization of kami-matsuri” rather than their separation, because “setting aside the differences in the materials of construction, the objects [found at mounded tombs and ritual sites] converge to be mostly identical in terms of category.”²⁰⁾ (pp.258 – 259) And as proofs of this, he cites the Early Kofun Period sites of Okinoshima and Isonokami Kinsokuchi²⁴⁾ (Tenri City, Nara Prefecture). He argues then that “The vertical descent-type of ritual whereby kami descends from high above and resides on a mountain or some other high place does not appear to be generally established during the Early Kofun Period. Such a notion or ritual form possibly began with the ritual atop a rock in Okinoshima, Fukuoka Prefecture and the establishment of the so-called Miwayama Ritual²⁵⁾ at Miwayama, Nara Prefecture, and then gradually spread in the second half of 4th century starting with the rituals of higher echelon.²⁰⁾ (p.259) The term “higher echelon” used here implicitly recognizes the establishment of specific sites where direct or semi-direct state-related rituals by the Yamato kingly power were performed.^(supplementary note 1) In this way, he explains that “the rituals (the so-called kami-matsuri) which were triggered by the action vis-à-vis “the ground soul and the spirits of earth, well and the like from the previous period (once termed as ‘earthly rites’²⁶⁾,” as well as “the deadly evil spirits (‘mono’) which cause epidemics and natural disaster during the Early Kofun Period” came to be more focused about their objects during the second half of the Period and became established as “fixed ritual sites” such as Okinoshima, Miwayama and Isonokami Kinsokuchi.²⁰⁾ (p.259) This explanation is considered to be generally correct with respect to the establishment of Okinoshima rituals which involved massive rocks.

With respect to the hypothesis advocated by HIROSE Kazuo that “the ancestral spirits” (the buried in mounded tombs) were identical to kami as the guardians of the community,” HOZUMI writes that kami worshiped at ritual sites had the “character of being evil gods who bring bad luck and calamities,” and that the establishment of ritual sites in one aspect “accompanied the process of containing such evil spirits.” In this way, he reinforced consistency of his view about the commonality of the objects found at mounded tombs and ritual sites.²⁰⁾ (p.260)

Come 7th century and the Okinoshima moves onto the third phase, rituals partly in the shade of a rock, of which Site No.5 is the representative example. Its importance in historical context has been already detailed in the preceding section. After this transitional phase, Okinoshima rituals reach the final phase, rituals in the open air, in the 8th century. The report of the third investigation discussed this phase from the perspective of established ritsuryō rituals. However, the extraordinarily large amount of Sue ware deposition in Site No.1 and others gave rise to the question whether these sites should be understood as a place of ritual that appeared around the time of establishment of rituals at shrine buildings succeeding the rituals of previous phases, or a dumping site of offerings used for shrine rituals (ritual-related archeological site, as distinct from ritual archeological site). In this connection, it should be recalled that the excavation of No.1 Site was confined to that of two crisscrossing trenched because of the enormous quantity of ritual artifacts and did not cover the entire site. At the time the investigation, therefore, there was no other way than to write the report on the assumption that it was a ritual site in the same way all the other sites of Phases I through III were. Here as a member of that investigation team, the author of this paper can provide accounts of the site, with additional thoughts reflecting the development since those days.

Site No.1 extends on a somewhat flat space at the end of the stairway to Okitsu-miya and leading to the shrine building. It is about 80 meters above sea level and is about 50 meters southwest of the shrine building. It is a very quiet plot of land tilted down to the east and overlooking the sea beyond a virgin forest. All over this tilted slope were found layers of Sue ware, Haji ware, steatite objects and the like. At first look, they appear to be a dumping site of waste pottery. The spread measures 10 meters south-north and 9 meters east-west. “Since the site is situated at the end of the mild slope coming down from the north, the artifacts appear to be as if drawn down to the south. According to the sectional view chart prepared by measurement in the north-south direction, the southern part alongside the old entrance path to the shrine is the lowest point and is 1.5 meters lower than the northern part of the site. In the east-west direction, the center part is somewhat high like in a mound, which makes it possible to estimate the center of the ritual site.”²⁷⁾ (p.60)

For the purpose of the excavation survey, the site was divided in grids of 2 meters by 2 meters each, and they were numbered 1 through 7 in north-south direction and A through G east-west. Six (about one third) of these grids were excavated completely: rows 2 through 5 of column “C” south-north and columns “B” through “D” of row 3 east-west. A large stone was placed, as if to let it lean, against the southern slope in the southeastern corner of the site. In the excavation grids to the south (2C) and to the east (3B) were found a stone pavement structure of laying out debris like slates. On the low slope in the south were found slates that formed the edge of the altar, and on the east the edge line blurred as going up northward. The conditions were believed to be similar on the countering west side. The outer formation having edges on three sides constitutes a square or rectangular altar-like plane inside. The place of the large leaning stone at the southeastern corner is reminiscent of the altar structure in Site No.21, a site of ritual atop a rock. Because it was not possible to excavate the entire area, no exact dimensions of the altar-like archeological site are available. There is no question, however, that the altar-like site was the largest in terms of area among all sites of Okinoshima, though it must have been somewhat smaller than the artifacts collection area mentioned above. The artifacts of Site No.1 consist of offerings from different performances of rituals during 8th and 9th centuries. And there are no other contemporary sites, be they for ritual performances or for dumping of used offerings. These two facts suggest the preparation of a large site was planned from the start in anticipation of such needs.

A reconstructive review of Site No.1 shows a delineation of an altar with a large stone placed leaning on the southeastern corner and cobblestones on the southern side in east-west direction and on the eastern side in north-south direction as well as a structure suggesting a row of pavement stones running in parallel to it on further south. The discovery of Kōchōsen (Fujū-shinpō coin minted by the imperial court) does confirm the continued performance of rituals into the 9th century. The artifacts unearthed in the investigated lots, however, were overlaid in three or four layers as if they had slid down over the inclined altar surface. The conditions of the scattered artifacts on the top most layer suggested disorderly disposal. This is the reason for the dispute as to whether the spot was a ritual site or a subsequent disposal site. The categories and quantities of the unearthed artifacts are summarized in Table 3.

The numerous artifacts are classified into metals, steatites and pottery in the Table. Metal objects include, continuing the trend of Site No.5, bronze miniatures of containers and spinning/weaving tools. Metal katashiro is characterized by the emergence of funagata and disappearance of hitogata. Iron miniatures of weapons are as numerous as in the preceding phase. Among steatites, discs are numerous, but hitogata, funagata, umagata and other katashiro and comma-shaped beads appear for the first time and they are not small in number. With respect to pottery, it is worth noting that over ten pieces of Nara three-colored glazed ware were discovered, that there were more special vessel stands than in the preceding phase and that pottery with holed began to appear and in good numbers. All these suggest that the shift from Site No.5 to Site No.1 was quite gradual, possible in the early times of Site No.1 which was constructed after the turn of the century to the 8th. However, the top layer of artifacts consists of badly scattered artifacts, especially fractured pottery; there is hardly any trace of these artifacts originally placed alongside other artifacts. It appears quite likely that the pattern of offering at Site No.5 was inherited at Site No.1 only until shortly after the construction of Site No.1 and the site was turned into a dumping site in the second half of the period. The turning point was most probably when the shrine building emerged and the rituals began to be performed there. One of the guides to date that turning point is, given the conditions at its discovery, the Nara-style three-colored small jar with cover which must have been brought over from the imperial court. In other words, some point in time in the second half of 8th century. With respect to the steatite katashiro (hitogata, umagata and funagata) unearthed at this site, it is worth noting that KANEKO Hiroyuki who investigated the hitogata (wooden) and umagata (clay) that had been found in Heijō-kyō determined them to be purification objects.^{11a)} He went on to suggest two ideas about katashiro found in Okinoshima in general as purification objects. “One group is to purify ordinary individual humans in the capital city. In this case, the servants to the Munakata Goddesses would be the candidates. The other is to purify specific spaces.”^{11b)} (p.226) However, it should be recalled that in the Okinoshima ritual sites, gilt bronze and iron hitogata were offered in Site No.22 and Site No.5 which date back to 7th century. It is questionable to draw a quick parallel to purification events in capital cities. As Shintō archeology and folklore advocated, it is considered more natural to understand katashiro simply as offerings in the hope of inviting the descent of kami and pray for protection; hitogata is a substitute for human sacrifice which in practice is very hard to make and is the most solemnly precious offering, umagata represents the horse that kami rides to come down from heaven, and funagata is the miniature of ship which is indispensable for safe

sea traffic. Of course, the ritual naturally involved purification from many evils and bad luck expected. KANEKO has extremely concentrated his focus on the purification rites that were quite popular in Heijō-kyō and extended it to Okinoshima rituals. The purification rites in Heijō-kyō were for wishing safety in the life in the capital city. Okinoshima rituals, in contrast, were maritime rituals and in addition no small portion had the significance as state government administration rituals. And at the foundation was the traditional ritual of Munakata sea people tribes. It can be misleading to apply a strictly dichotomy approach in the interpretation of ritual archeological sites. It appears more natural and close to the reality to believe that people in ancient times were flexible enough in performing rituals according to specific purposes.

We have so far reviewed the archeological sites and artifacts of Okinoshima rituals during the 7th and 8th centuries termed as the phases of rituals partly in the shade of a rock and in open air. Admittedly, there are still many points that need to be elucidated in terms of actual details of the rituals, dating, etc. More recently, excavation studies of Mitakesan ritual site in Ōshima, Munakata City and of Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb in Fukutsu City, a mounded tomb of the terminal stage of Kofun Period, were conducted. The research outcomes from these studies have a no small amount of information and knowledge which are seem useful and beneficial for a review of the abovementioned two phases of Okinoshima rituals. In the remaining pages, the author would like to touch upon some of the outcomes for the sake of further studies on Okinoshima rituals.

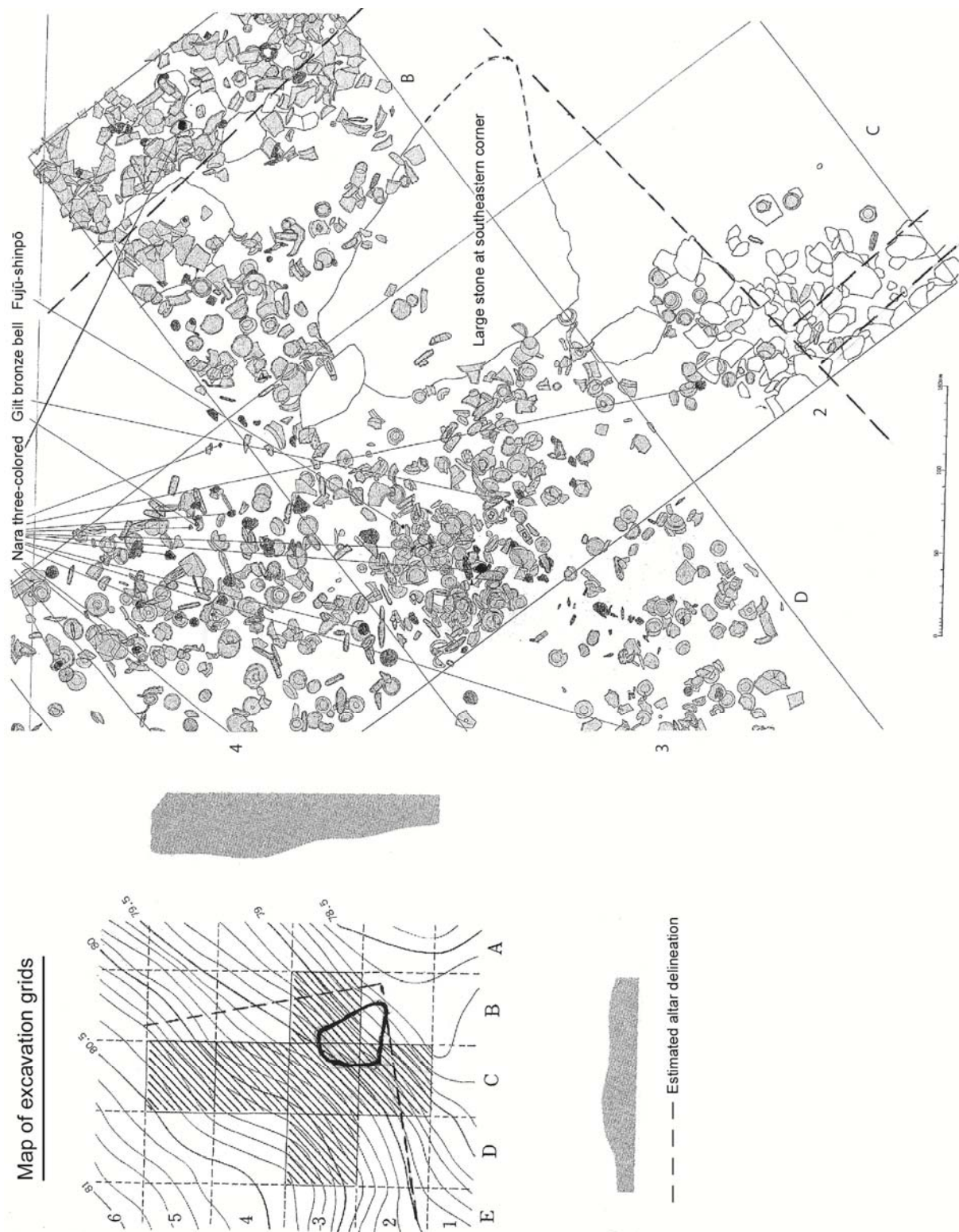


Fig.9 Site No.1 artifacts as unearthed at the southeast corner (*Munakata Okinoshima I*, Fig.29 with additions)



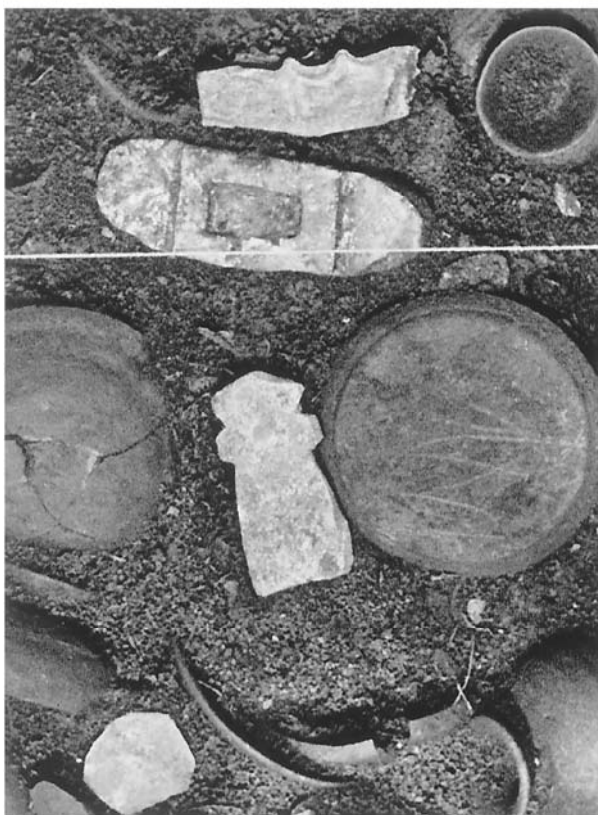
Fig.10 Site No.1 Pavement stone structure and unearthed artifacts in Grids 3B/C (view from northeast)
(From *Munakata Okinoshima II*, PL.27)



Grid 5-C, steatite comma-shaped beads and discs as unearthed



Grid 5-C, Three-colored small jar as unearthed



Grid 3-C, steatite katashiro as unearthed



Grid 3-C, bronze funagata as unearthed

Fig.11 Artifacts of Site No.1 as unearthed
(From *Munakata Okinoshima II*, PL 32 and 35)

Table 3 List of artifacts unearthed from Site No.1 by category

		2B	2C	3A	3B	3C	3D	3E	4C	5C	6C	Total
Metal objects	Bronze bowl		1		5	20	2		8			36
	Bronze dish						1			3		4
	Bronze tatari		1		8	7			6			22
	Bronze bell		3		2	18	2		16	1		42
	Gilt bronze bell					1			5			6
	Bronze mirror					1						1
	Iron disc				10	4			6	10		30
	Iron spade		1		8	13	19		8	3		52
	Miniature sword		4		4	23	11		14	28		84
	Bronze funagata				2	2			1			5
	Kōchōsen					1						1
Stearite objects	Hitogata	2			4	31	8		23			68
	Umagata				2	24	3		10	1		40
	Funagata	1	4	1	7	50	17		27	1		108
	Comma-shaped bead				9	3			4	12		28
	Disc with holes				12	8	1		2	14		37
	Disc w/o holes		2		6	53	10		16	2		89
	Unfinished disc		1		25	102	25					153
	Rod		9		31	158	31		8	1		238
	Others				7	503	77		6	2		595
Pottery	Vessel		1		9	34	10	3	8	5		70
	Lid				8	7	2		20	13	1	51
	Bowl				3	6	2		7	15	1	34
	Water bowl		6		3	30	5		13	3		60
	Vessel stand		3		13	20	8		8	13		65
	Bowl { dish				7	9			24	2		42
	bowl		6		14	82	8		23	5		138
	Dish { dish		1	1	1				1	4		8
	bowl				2		3		9	4		18
	Pottery with holes		6	1	25	85	11	1	24	29		182
	Small jar { Sue		2	1	7	17	4	1	8	6		46
	Haji		1		2	4	3		1	5		16
	Sue					1	2			2		5
	Haji											
	Pot		3	1	19	6	8	9	13	6		65
	Crude pottery		1		1	6	3	1		3		15
	Hand-formed pottery				1	6	2			1		10
	Three-colored glazed jar { lid						1		4			5
	jar		1		1	4			4	1		11

Only complete or nearly complete objects are listed. Small fractures are omitted.

Pottery is all Sue ware, unless Sue/Haji distinction is made.

(From *Munakata Okinoshima I Report*, p.65)

3. Mitakesan Ritual Site and Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb

Mitakesan archeological site on Ōshima Island²⁸⁾ was excavated in 2010 – 2011 by the Education Board of Munakata City, and Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb²⁹⁾ was excavated also in 2010 – 2011 by the Education Board of Fukutsu City. Let us now review the outcomes of these two investigations.

(1) Mitakesan site on Ōshima Island

The excavation investigation of Mitakesan site that had been discovered on top of the mountain (223.2 meters above sea level) on Ōshima Island lying some 7 kilometers offshore of Kounominato, Munakata City was conducted by the Education Board of Munakata City between September and December 2010. On this mountain top resides the Mitake Jinja, an auxiliary shrine of Nakatsu-miya of Munakata Grand Shrine. A southwestern portion of the archeological site had been lost by the land formation work to construct the rectangular shrine premises (longer axis in northeast-southwest direction), but it was possible to capture the distribution of artifacts somewhat concentrated on the south slope from the mountain top. The artifacts distribution area that had been lost was about one-quarter of the southwestern section. Trenches were dug on the mountain top, its eastern slope and the western slope. The investigation revealed that artifacts spread over a round space with the mountain top to the north and extending from east to the southern slope with a radius of 28 meters. With respect to Trench 1 (stretching from the top to the east), the investigation team confirmed that the bottom part of a pot was placed in a pocket in the ground which was made by removing the ground earth at the south end.” (p.88) The investigators estimate that “Nara three-colored, steatite katashiro and metal artifacts (except pots and jars) were placed” near the mountain top and the pot bottom unearthed at the southern tip of Trench 1 and other jars and pots were placed at the rim of the mountain and the rituals were performed in such a setting.” (p.88)

The artifacts unearthed from the site are numerous and rich in variety as summarized below.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Pottery | |
| Nara three-colored | small jars (5 pieces), lids (6 pieces) |
| Sue ware | Lid, dish, plate, bowl, plate with legs (dish), dish with pedestal, bottles, pottery with holes, vessel stand, long-neck jar • bottoms of jar, pot, etc. |
| Haji ware | Plate, dish, dish with pedestal, bottles, jar |
| Pottery for salt-making | |
| 2. Steatite objects | |
| Katashiro | hitogata, umagata, funagata |
| Disc | Disc with holes, disc without holes |
| Beads | Comma-shaped bead, mortar-shaped bead |
| 3. Metal objects | |
| Bronze objects | Mirror (eight-lobed), container (wrought miniature), harp-like object (miniature), bell, belt-like object, cylindrical object, studded object, unidentifiable object, bronze bell, bronze coins (medieval age Song Dynasty coin, Kan-ei Tsūhō) |
| Silver objects | Utsurodama, cylindrical object |
| Iron objects | Arrowhead, spear, knife (miniature, actual), disc (ceremonial mirror), bell, nail, unidentified object |
| Unidentified metal object | Modern period object (?) |
| 4. Clay objects | |
| Beads | Tubular bead, spherical bead |

As the report pointed out, the above composition and types of artifacts suggest resemblance to those of Okinoshima Site No.1. And as indicated by the presence of metal miniatures, possible connection with the Okinoshima sites of preceding phase (Phase III) of sites partly in the shade of a rock (Sites No.5 and No.20) is worth attention. Because of these features the report dated this site to some point in time between Site No.5 and Site No.1. It means between the second half of 7th century and 9th century. Because a southwestern portion of the archeological site was destroyed in the course of the construction of Mitake Jinja shrine building, the total volume of ritual artifacts in this site must have been greater than what have been discovered. Yet still, it is rather unlikely that they should have exceeded those of Okinoshima

Site No.5 or Site No.1. During the visit to the site on October 27, 2010, the author left a request to the investigators to check out if the ground beneath the unearthed Sue ware pots and other finds had any pockets in the ground earth. The result was yes, as was mentioned above. At one edge around the mountain top, a trace of man-made pocket of the ground earth was confirmed on which some object must have been set. Like the reconstructed layout of large pots and others in Okinoshima Site No.5, the conditions of this site suggest that rituals were indeed performed at this location. This point has a bearing on the question whether the conditions of the artifacts discovered at Okinoshima Site No.1, a ritual site in the open air, show that the site was a place for rituals or a dumping site for used rituals objects.

Turning to the composition of the ritual artifacts, features common to Phase III (partly in the shade of a rock) and Phase IV (in the open air) are both observed, as the report mentions. Among the finds, salt-making pottery, bronze objects (miniature containers, miniature harp-like objects), iron objects (miniature weapons, discs, bell-like objects) are uniquely representative of Phase III. The Nara three-colored small jar with lid, steatite objects (katashiro, discs) are artifacts uniquely belonging to Phase IV. The Sue ware has features representative of both phases. In total, some began during Phase III but most of the finds pertain to Phase IV; the ritual site is dated to from (the last stage of 7th century) 8th to 9th century. It is believed that the rituals here were performed in very close coordination with the rituals of Phases III and IV on Okinoshima. This leads to a view that by this time the triplet rituals involving Okinoshia Island, Ōshima Island and Munakata had established itself.

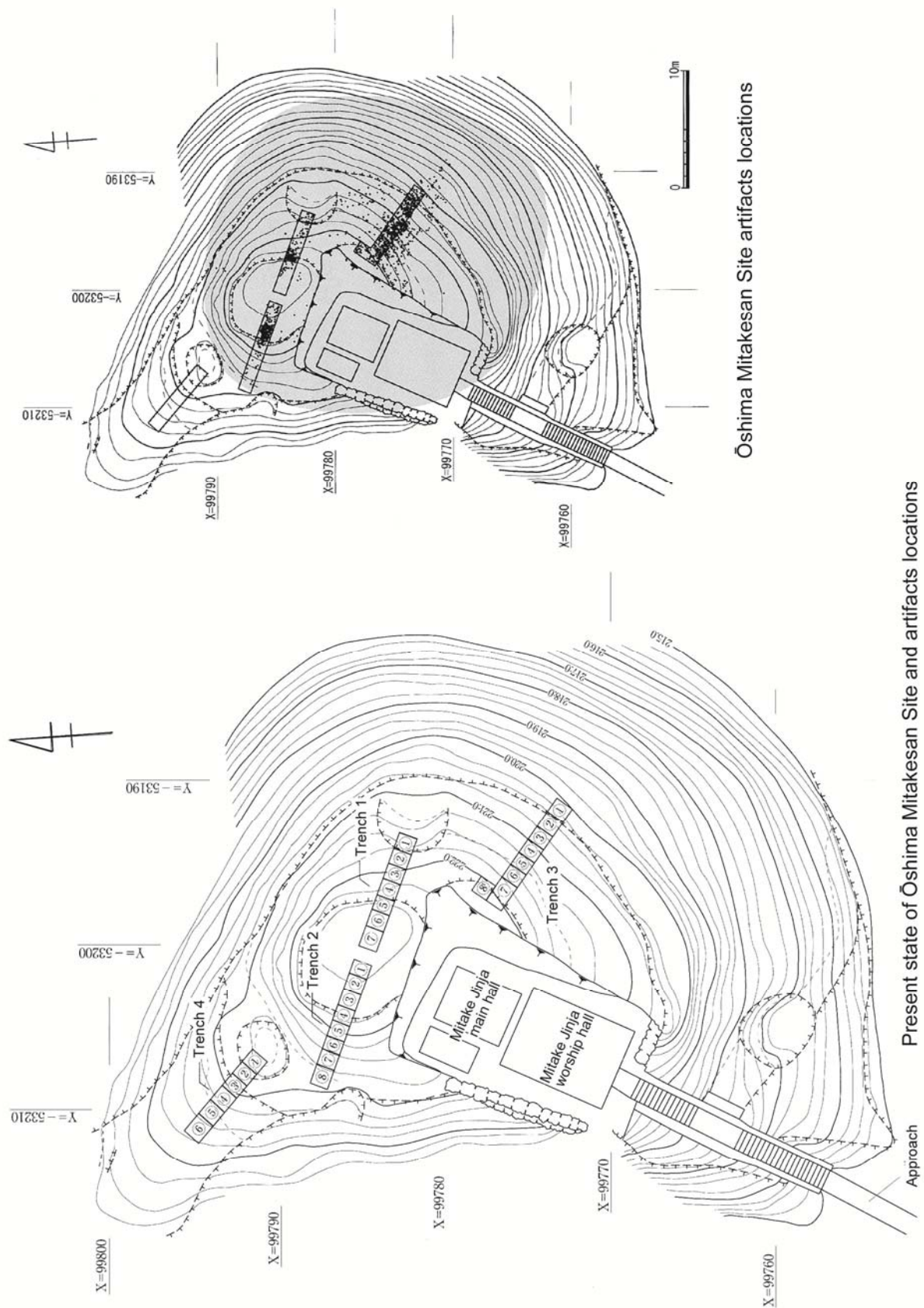


Fig.12 Present state of Ōshima Mitakesan Site (bottom) and artifacts locations (top)

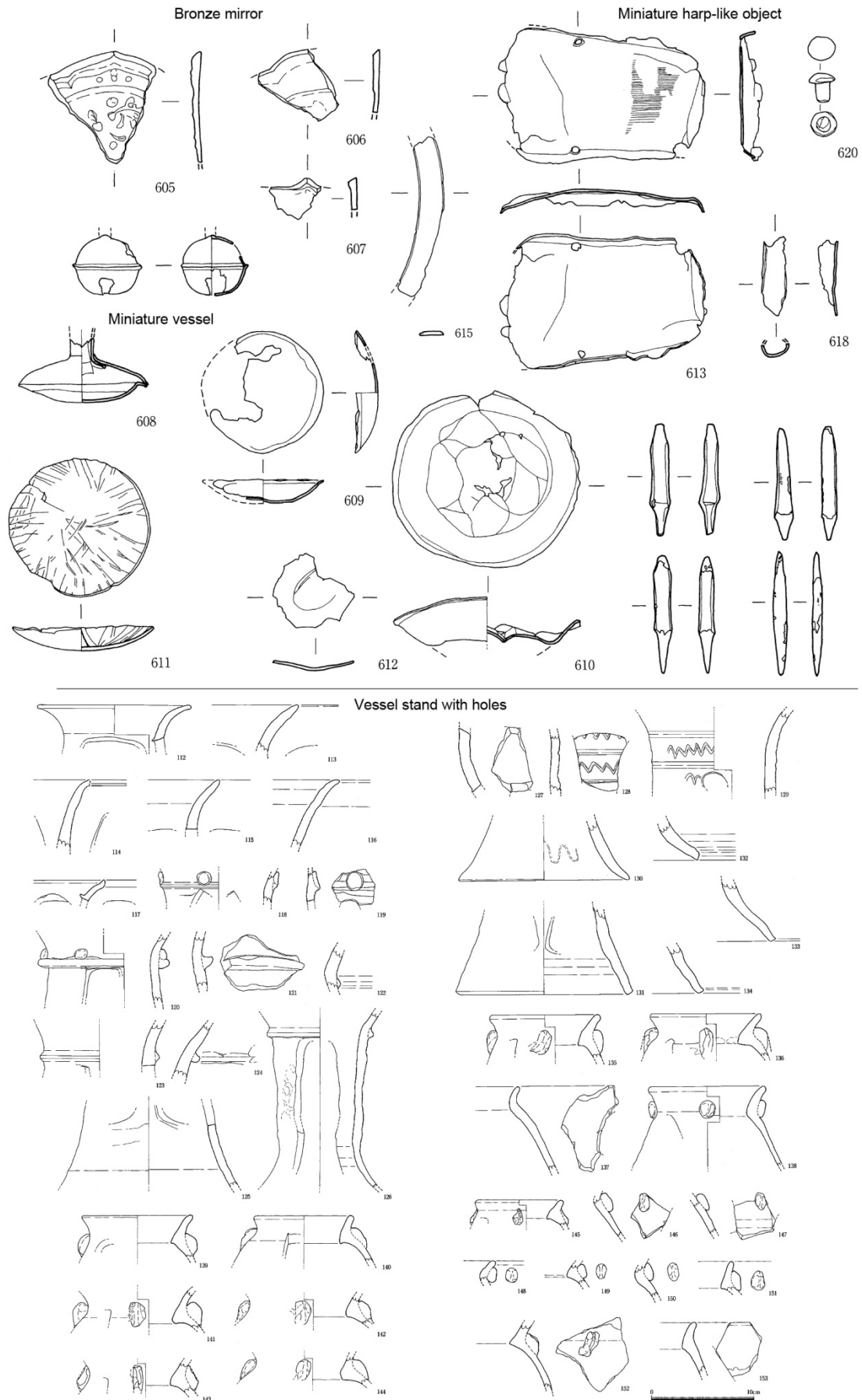


Fig.13 Actual measurements of ritual objects unearthed from Ōshima Mitakesan Site
(From Ōshima Mitakesan Site)

(2) Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb

It is located in the southern-most position of Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Complex that extends in the north-to-south mountain skirts facing the Genkai Sea. It is in Tebika, Fukutsu City, and it was so much surrounded by houses and roads that its original tomb size could not be made clear. From the outer appearance, it was thought to be a round tomb with a radius of some 20 meters. The Fukutsu City Education Board began a series of investigations in 2010 including mounded tomb survey, stone chamber measurements and trench excavation to determine the tomb contour, which were completed by the end of fiscal year 2011. The mounded tomb was estimated to be a round tomb with a radius of 25 meters more or less. The height was found to be 8.97 meters. The main burial facility was a corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral entrance opening to the south and having a total length of 10.8 meters. The stone chamber of a box-like structure is formed by a back wall and five pieces each of flat stones on the left and right walls. At the first look, its feature of a rectangular box-like back chamber (two ceiling stones) and a passageway of lower ceiling (four ceiling stones) would put it into the family of Kinai-type mounded tombs of the terminal stage of Kofun Period. A closer observation of the back room shows that both side walls are divided by two flat stones into halves (front and back) and that a partition wall is placed to separate the chamber into two rooms. The back room is narrower in width than the front room. In other words, the chamber is divided into the back room and front room by a partition only 0.5 meter-tall. This appears to be a double-room style stone chamber of the terminal stage of Kofun Period. And as the report mentions, the design of the partition wall having a curvature in the top center is one of the characteristics of stone screens and house-shaped structures of lateral entrance stone chambers found in north and central Kyūshū.

Back room: length 2.1 m, width 1.3 m, height 1.9 m

Front room: length 1.8 m, width 1.6 m, height 2 m

This mounded tomb is considered to be of a huge stone type same as the nearby Miyajidake Mounded Tomb with resembling stone chamber structure, though quite different in size. The report cites Shishotsuka Mounded Tomb (Kananchō Town, Minami Kawachi County, Ōsaka Prefecture) as a resembling example. Unlike the Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb, the ceiling of its back room is lower than that of front room and the side walls of the passageway are of cobble stones. Also from the perspective of artifacts, it is dated to somewhat earlier, around the last stage of 6th century. This mounded tomb has many useful aspects from the viewpoint of funeral rites in the terminal stage of Kofun Period in terms of the layout of grave goods.³⁰⁾

The artifacts were discovered in the front passageway and the grave road. They included horse equipment (ring stirrup, strap unions, bridle), iron arrowhead, sword, cramp, iron nail, bronze rivet, gilt bronze plate, Sue ware (lid of dish with pedestal, dish with pedestal without lid, leg end of dish with pedestal, jar with legs, hiraka, vessel stand with holes) and Shila pottery. From the stone chamber structure and the artifacts, the tomb is dated to belong to the first half of 7th century, not far from the date of Miyajidake Mounded Tomb. It is believed to be a clan head tomb of the final stage of Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Complex. The vessel stand with holes has a bearing with Okinoshima ritual site artifacts and will be discussed more in detail later in this paper.

The outcomes of the above-described investigations of the two archeological sites provide a new base for re-examination of Phases III and IV rituals in Okinoshima. First, Ōshima Mitakesan site is a mountain top site pertaining to rituals in the open air. About a quarter of its area to the southwest was lost to land preparation work for the shrine building construction of the present-day Nakatsu-miya Auxiliary Shrine of Mitake Jinja. It is no longer possible to look at the entire site. Yet still it has been brought to light that artifacts were offered in the area stretching from the mountain top flat space down to the eastern slope. One point of concern already from the time of the investigation was whether the site as discovered represented a ritual site or a dumping site of used offerings. Because the mountain top flat space is not spacious at all, most of the offerings have drained down to the slopes over time. However, it was very important that a Sue ware large pot discovered in the flat space had been actually placed in a man-made pocket on the earth ground. The flat space was indeed a place for rituals by placing offerings in position, as was done with the pottery in Site No.5 on Okinoshima Island.

The unearthed offerings included Nara-style three-colored jar with lid (five small pieces and six lids), eight-lobed mirror, steatite katashiro (hitogata, umagata, funagata), steatite disc, steatite beads (comma-shaped bead, mortar-shaped bead) as well as many pieces of Sue ware and miniature iron weapons. The first impression is this site resembles Okinoshima Site No.1, and that impression becomes stronger when one looks at the Sue ware vessel stand and pottery with holes, in particular. One should note however that bronze miniature containers and miniature harp-like objects indicate commonality with Okinoshima Site No. 5 and the miniature weapons and some of the Sue ware are common to both Okinoshima Sites Nos. 1 and 5. Accordingly, the upper limit would go as far back as Phase III and the lower limit in Phase IV, while a majority will be from the latter. Above all, the vessel stands are mostly of small short-legged type, which are not found in Phase III. The accompaniment of pottery with holes is also reminiscent of Site No.1, a Phase IV ritual site. The metal miniatures unearthed here include bronze long-neck jars and dishes and harp-like objects (sheet fractures), but do not include hitogata or spinning tools that were found at Okinoshima Site No.5. With respect to katashiro, hitogata that was found in Okinoshima Site No. 22 (terminal stage of Phase II) or in Site No.5 (Phase III) are inexistent and so was funagata that was found in Site No.1. All these facts considered, it would not be correct to assume the upper limit to Phase III. Rather, it seems more appropriate to move it to the first half of Phase IV and assume that the Phase of rituals in the open air emerged already in the second half to the last stage of Phase III. If this is indeed the case, it will not be necessary to date the beginning of this archeological site no earlier than 8th century. At any rate, this is supporting evidence that the Phases II, III and IV developed in consequence without interruptions. Given the fact that an altar was formed in Okinoshima Site No.1, the confirmation of the large pot having been placed in a predetermined position is strong collateral evidence that the site was used for rituals in the first half of the period. There is a possibility that the lower limit of this archeological site ended before Okinoshima Site No.1. There is still much to be done in the comparative archeological study of Mitakesan Site and Okinoshima Site No.1. Further efforts are hoped for. Another interest discovery is of the evidence that suggest, as the report mentions, the triplet structure of Munakata Goddesses was already established in 8th century. This was a major contribution to Shintō shrine history.

Now, another issue in the investigation outcomes of Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb that is related to Okinoshima ritual sites is that of Sue ware vessel stand with holes. The report lists materials of six archeological sites including Okinoshima (Table 4).

The Sue ware vessel stands with holes and pottery with holes that were discovered at Okinoshima ritual sites were a focus of attention already at the time of the Okinoshima investigations, because such types had not been known even in the mounded tombs in northern Kyūshū. What are termed as vessel stands with holes comprise two types: the long-body type with the upper and lower rims spreading out and the other type characterized by the short outspreading upper rim and outspreading short body. The former type has been unearthed in Sites No.6, No.5 and No.1 and encompasses Phases II, III and IV. The latter was confined to Site No.1 and was discovered in abundance. The former type emerged in Phase II (Site No.6), became popular in Phase III (Site No.5) and continued into Phase IV (Site No.1). But in the transition from Site No.5 to No.1, there was a change from long-body to medium-body, heralding the approaching popularity of short-length, short-leg style. The long-body vessel stands of Sites No.6 and No.5 have round appliqué and convex belts as well as round holes, rectangular holes and long triangle holes. The medium-body vessel stands of Site No.1 no longer have the convex belts in the lower half and the rectangular and long triangle holes in the body part are somewhat deformed loosely, even though round appliqué and convex belts on the upper half remain. The low-height short-leg type vessel stands continue to have round appliqué on the bent part of the outspreading upper half and triangle or rectangular holed in the short leg part, but their rim lines are somewhat blurred. It is rather easy to note the diminution in size from Phase III to IV, but where do we find the prototype of the vessel stands that were discovered in Sites No.6 and No.5? A clue to this question is the vessel stand that had been kept by the Munakata Grand Shrine prior to the archeological investigation and reported to be found in Site No.4. It is a large vessel stand of long-body type with round holes and long triangular holes on which a little shallow bowl-like dish sits. It is one of the large vessel stands that were quite popular from 5th century to about the middle of 6th century. Vessel stands of this type are often found among the finds of mounded tombs. The vessel stand is buried with a jar or comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted jar placed in the dish. There are not a few examples of such combinations found having been already fabricated in the kiln. At times, the combination is found fired together and inseparable. The item found in Soubaru Mounded

Tomb in Munakata City is perhaps the most resembling example of the large vessel stand of the reportedly Okinoshima Site No.4 origin. The vessel stand unearthed from Funabaru Tomb No.3 in Koga City is also close. And the three vessel stands unearthed from Hyakuta B2 Tomb in Asamachi, Munakata City are interesting because they are a mixture of items comparable to the one reportedly found in Okinoshima Site No.4 and the one found in Soubara Mounded Tomb as well as the one found in Okinoshima Site No.5. While no details of this mounded tomb are known, the artifact is reportedly unearthed from the front yard of the mounded tomb. In this connection, attention is paid to the kiln complex site at the Asamachi Kiyama Archeological Site located at the base of the hill on which this mounded tomb is situated.³¹⁾

Vessel stands with holes were found also in Ōshima Mitakesan Ritual Site and in Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb which we dealt with in this paper. In the former case, a small number of vessel stands similar to the long-body type found in Asamachi Hyakuta B2 Tomb were found, although medium-body type and low-height short-leg type similar to those found in Okinoshima Site No.1 were in the main. In the former case, too, long-body vessel stands similar to those found in Soubaru Mounded Tomb and Asamachi Hyakuta B2 Tomb were found. Taking into consideration also the accompanying Sue ware (dish with pedestal, etc.), the report writes: “There are few reasons to believe this mounded tomb is newer than Miyajidake Mound Tomb, and after giving weight to the chronology of the Sue ware, we have come to point out the possibility that this mounded tomb may have been erected before Miyajidake Mounded Tomb.”²⁹⁾ (p.57) The author of the present paper does not necessarily disagree with this view, but prefers to say here that both pertain to the first half of 7th century because it is also necessary to consider the size of stone chamber, any differences in style and lineage of these two mounded tombs.

In addition, there is one more point that merits consideration: the pottery with holes that emerged in Phase IV of Okinoshima rituals (Site No.1). There are two kinds: small flat jar-shaped type with outspreading rim and dish/bowl-shaped type. Four to nine round holes are found around the body part. Similar pottery was discovered also at the Ōshima Mitakesan Site. From the size, it would be fair to assume that the pottery with holes was used in combination with the above-mentioned low-height short-legged vessel stand. No discovery of such jar-shaped pottery with holes has been heard of in other ritual sites.

Discoveries of vessel stands as we alluded to above (Table 4) are confined to within Munakata City and Fukutsu City, with the exception of Funabaru No.3 Tomb in the neighboring city of Koga. The producer kilns are estimated to be in the area of Munakata City. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these vessel stands, together with the pottery with holes, were invented as the ritual paraphernalia for exclusive use in Okinoshima rituals. They are believed to be a part of the special ritual objects that the local Munakata Clan invented in response to the dominance of *ritsuryō* ritual elements. From this perspective, it is interesting to note that pottery with holes was discovered in the surrounding ditch of Furuucidono Tomb Group No.4 Tomb in Fukutsu City, especially given the fact that the mounded tomb is dated to the second half of 6th century with a stone chamber with lateral entrance. The pottery is a small no-neck jar with a diameter of 10 centimeters and has seven round holes in the body. It may have been that a clue was obtained from such a small jar.³²⁾ It is further worth noting that some of the finds of Ōshima Mitakesan Sites appear to be in the lineage of this pottery.

In summary, the investigations of the ritual site on Ōshima Island and the mounded tomb in Tebikari, Fukutsu City produced outcomes that provide new facts and knowledge on the rituals of Okinoshima during the Phases III and IV and shed an important light for future studies.

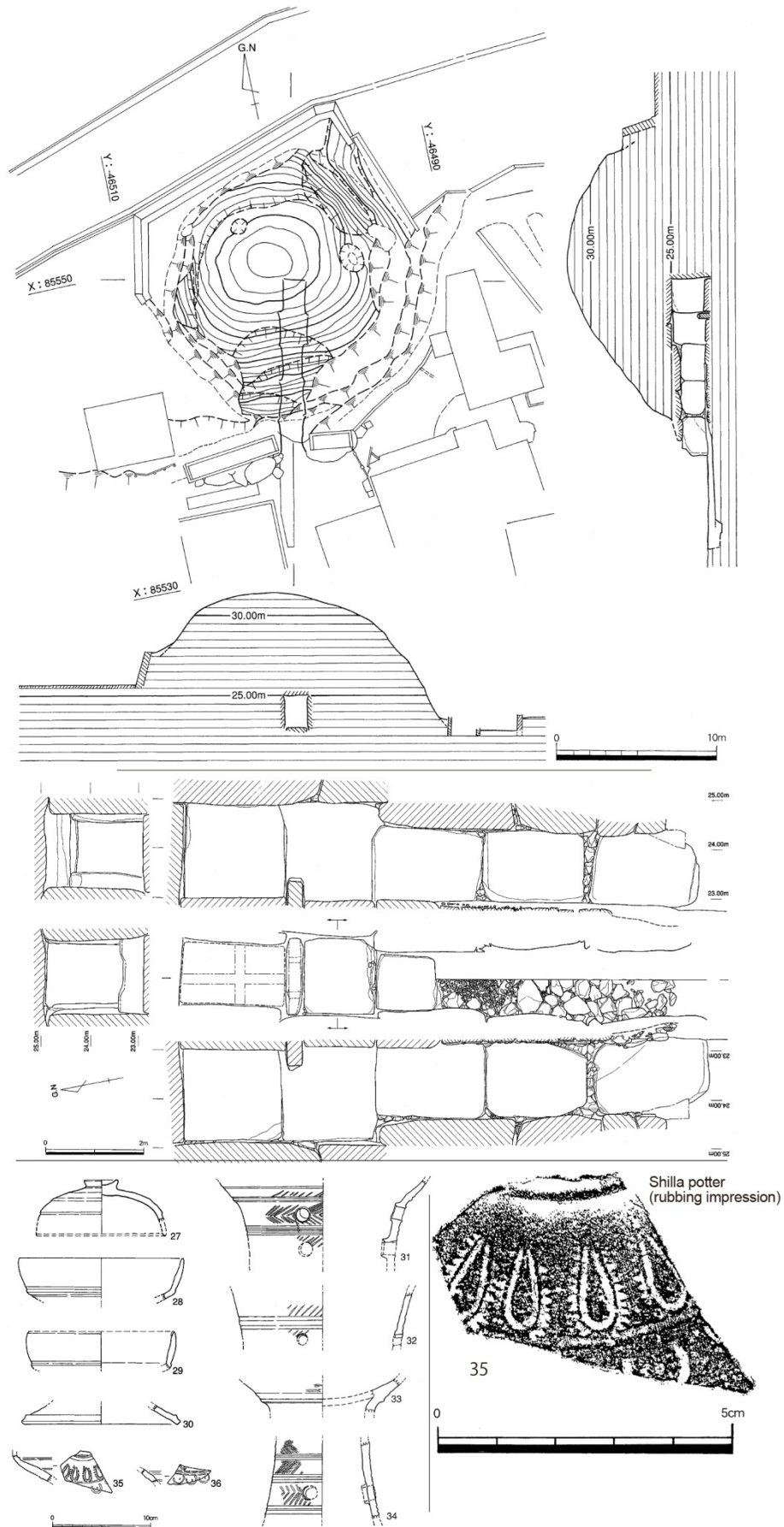


Fig.14 Measurements of Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb: mound, stone chamber as unearthed (from *Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Complex III*)

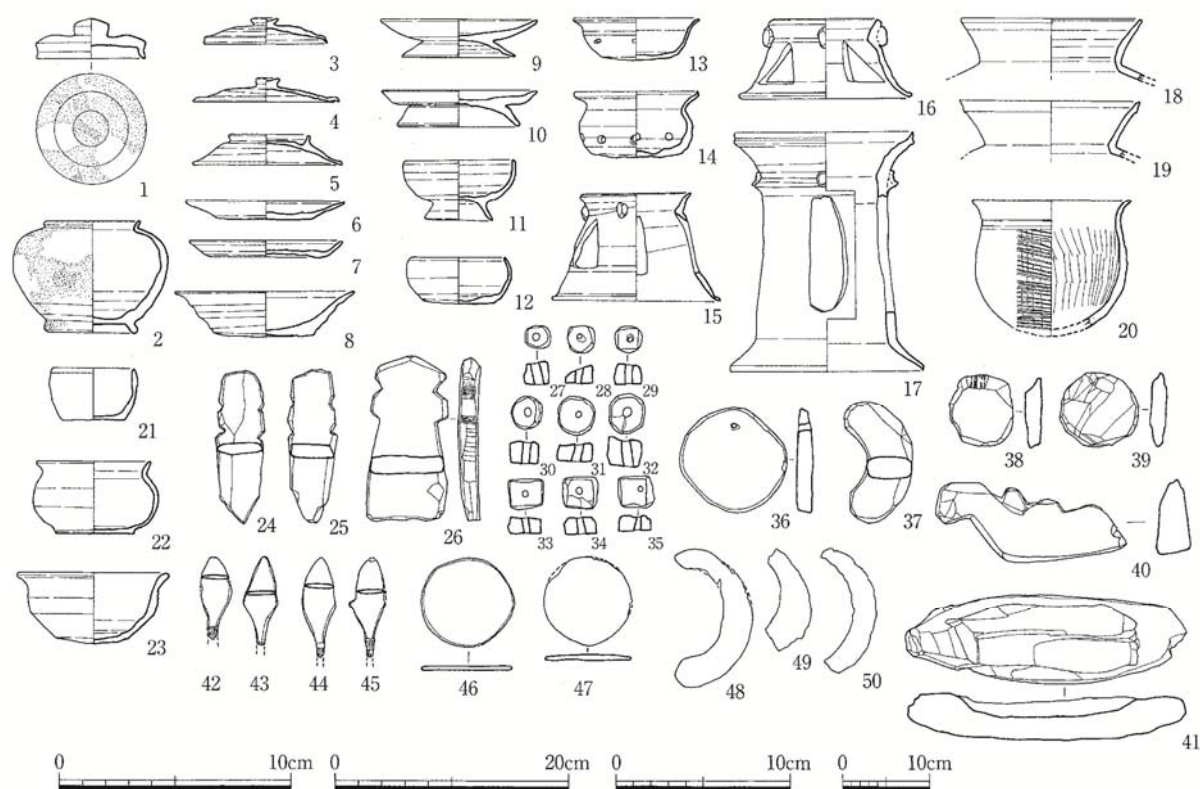


Fig.15 Artifacts unearthed from Okinoshima Site No.1 (1 & 2: 1/3, 3 - 17 & 20 - 23: 1/6, 18 & 19: 1/8, 20 - 24: 1/4) (Artifacts similar to those of Mitakesan Site are shown selectively.)
(From Ōshima Mitakesan Archeological Site)

Table 4 An overview of archeological sites where perforated vessel stands were found

No.	Site name	Location	Type	Discovered at:	Dating of archaeological remains etc.
(1)	Okinoshima Ritual Site	Ōshima, Munakata City, Fukuoka Pref.	Ritual site	Site No.4	Second half of 5 th century – 7 th century (phase of rituals in the shade of a rock)
				Site No.5	Second half of 7 th century – 8 th century (phase of rituals partly in the shade of a rock and partly in the open air)
(2)	Ōshima Island Mitakesan Site	Ōshima, Munakata City, Fukuoka Pref.	Ritual site	Earth of collapsed shrine building wall	End of 7 th century – first half of 9 th century (dating range of the Sue ware)
(3)	Asamachi Hyakuta B-2 Site	Asamachi, Munakata City, Fukuoka Pref.	Mounded tomb	Front yard of stone chamber	Second half of 6 th century – 7 th century (including additional burials)
(4)	Soubaru Mounded Tomb	Katou, Munakata City, Fukuoka Pref.	Mounded tomb	Front chamber, passageway	Second half of 6 th century – 7 th century (including additional burials)
(5)	Funabaru No.3 Tomb	Taniyama, Koga City, Fukuoka Pref.	Mounded tomb	Surrounding area	Beginning to the middle of 7 th century
(6)	Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb	Tebika, Fukutsu City, Fukuoka Pref.	Mounded tomb	Passageway, grave road	First half of 7 th century

(From *Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Complex III*, p.53)

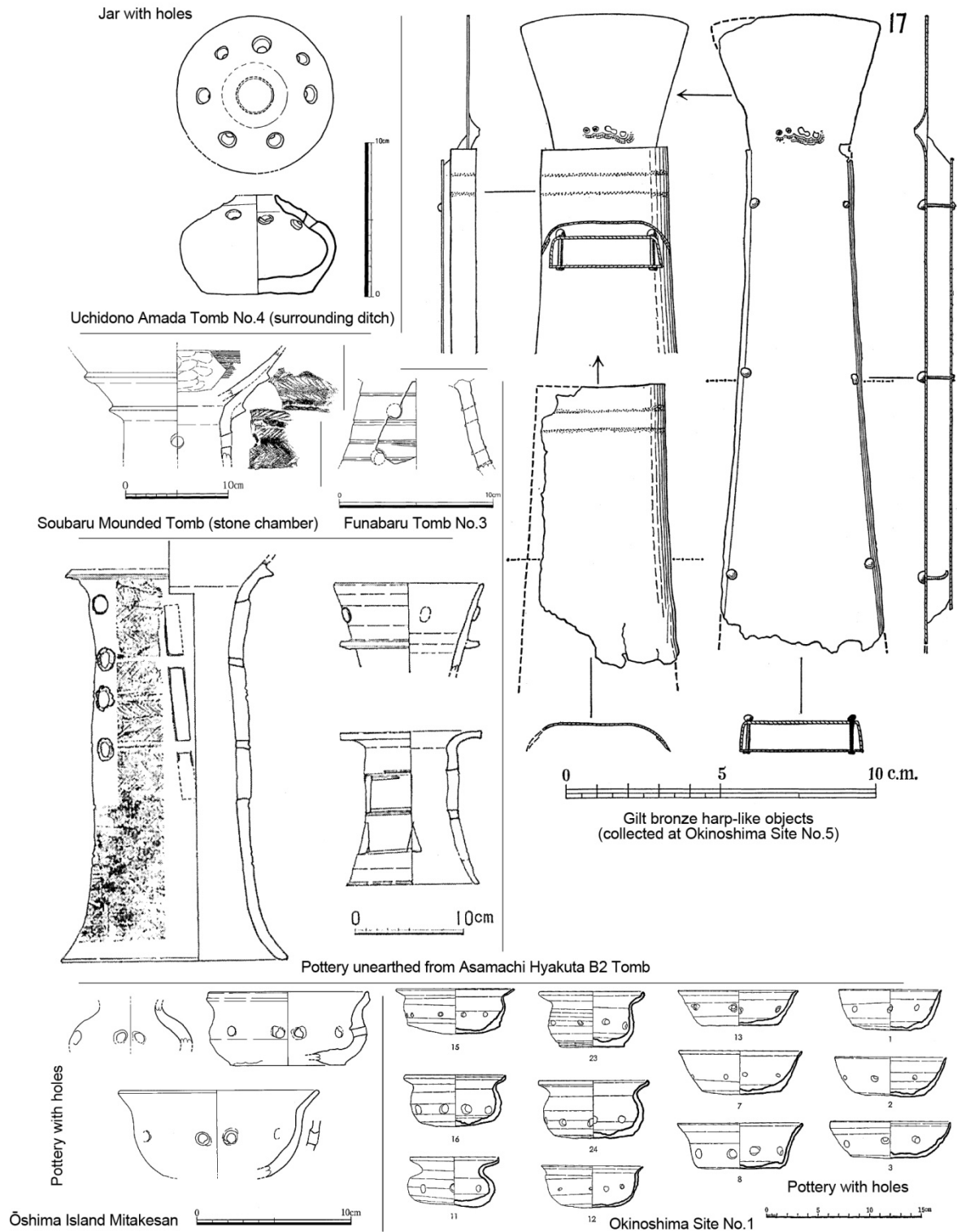


Fig.16 Harp-like objects, vessel stands with holes, pottery with holes (of Okinoshima and reference items)
(From respective reports)

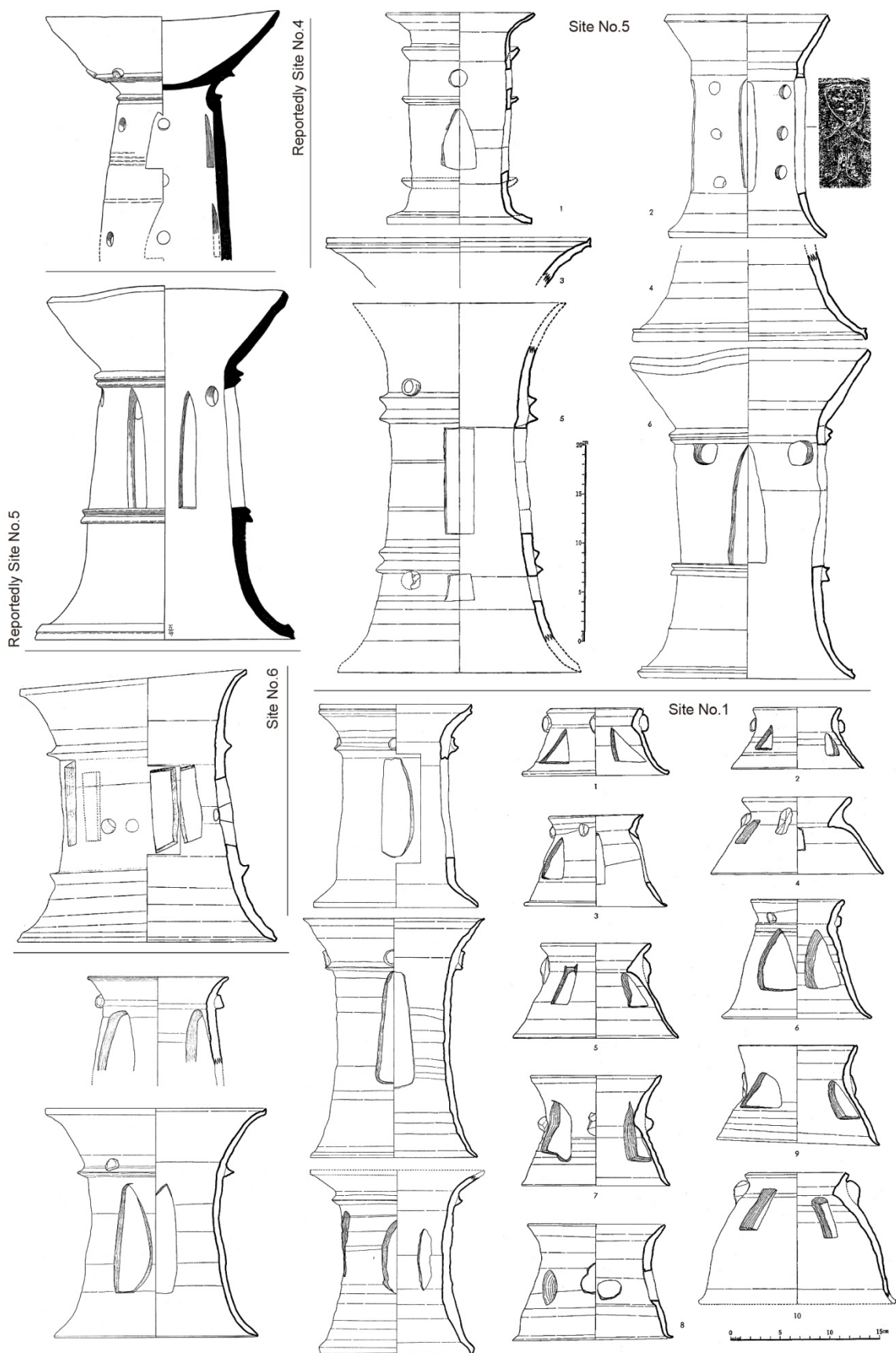


Fig.17 Sue ware vessel stands unearthed from Okinoshima ritual sites (1/6)
(From *Okinoshima* and *Munakata Okinoshima I*)

4. Update on the studies on imported ritual objects

For every phase of Okinoshima rituals there were found ritual objects of origin outside Kyūshū, from abroad (Korea, China) or from other parts of the country (Kinai). For the Phases III and IV we are dealing with in this paper, they include imports from China (Phase III) and from Kinai (Phase IV). Here let us make an update on the studies made on the former group since the time of the report.

One of the imports that were believed to have originated in China was the pair of gilt-bronze dragon heads (Fig.5). SUGIMURA Yuzo has put forth a very interesting interpretation about this object.³³⁾

First about the design of the dragon, he writes the following, based on a comparison with the dragon-style decorations engraved in grottos during the periods of Northern Wei dynasty, Eastern Wei dynasty, Sui dynasty and Tang dynasty, the bronze shōto (celadon porcelain food/beverage warming vessel with arabesque pattern) dedicated to Hōryūji and now in the collection of Tōkyō National Museum, and gilt bronze dragon head water vase:

“Tianlongshan Grottos near Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi Province, are well known as a Buddhist archeological site dated from Eastern Wei Dynasty (534 – 550) to Tang Dynasty (618 – 907). On the eastern and western walls of Grotto No.2 which is believed to a grotto of Eastern Wei Dynasty are Buddha niches and on both sides of the niches are carved dragon heads in pendent position. These dragon heads have long upper lips which look like bird’s beak and lower lips also in the shape of bird’s beak and bent downward. This form is not seen in artifacts of Northern Wei Dynasty. The orbital cavity above the mouth, the fish scale-like feathery carvings behind and below the mouth, and the unicorn on the head with curled top all resemble extremely the design of the gilt-bronze dragon heads that were unearthed this time. In fact one is made to feel that they are artifacts of the same time period.”^{33b)} (p.176, Fig.18)

Then regarding the use of dragon heads, he wrote: “In China, it has been the practice since the time of Han Dynasty to bend the top end of a pole for banner and tie the banner onto it for hanging.” (p.177) And he made reference to the passage in Vol.17 of *Datang Liudian* of Tang Dynasty --- 旂首金龍頭・御綿結綬 --- and introduced the eastern mural of Mogao Grotto of Tang Dynasty Dunhuang (Fig.18). He also mentioned rightly that Vol.182 of *Code of Great Ming Dynasty* states: “凡麾・幢・旛・節等、挑竿銅龍頭、俱以鉄爲鉤”, and that the phrase in this passage (“to make an accompanying iron hook”) “corresponds to the iron piece that still remains in the center of the mouth of the gilt bronze dragon heads of Okinoshima. It is understood that the bent hook was missing.”^{33b)} (p.177)

With respect to the route of import to our country, SUGIMURA alludes to Article 8th Month of Kinmei-ki Year 23 (562 A.D.) that says: General Ōtomo-no-muraji Satehiko was dispatched to defeat Goguryeo with some a few tens of thousands soldiers. Satehiko took advantage of the victory to enter into the palace and took with him some precious treasures to offer to the Emperor and Soga-no-Iname. Among them was mentioned ‘two penta-color banners.’ “It is believed that gilt bronze dragon heads that decorate the top end of the poles are extremely close to the unearthed gilt bronze dragon heads, also from the chronological perspective.”^{33b)} (p.178) This is quite an interesting view. OKAZAKI Takashi reviewed SUGIMURA’s views in the report and subsequently endorsed his views including those on the design of the dragon heads and the importation route to Japan by expounding the discussions to the pole-top dragon heads of United Shilla and Goguryeo.³⁴⁾ Later in 1985 YUBA Tadanori proposed a new interpretation that the dragon heads were made in the United Shilla.^{35a)} YUBA starts with the thesis that: “Rather [than China] Korea has more similar examples of the dragon heads and many are very close to that of Okinoshima.” (p.197) Then he makes references to the finds of Anapji Pond Site in Gyeongju City (7th – 8th century), items among the collections of Ho-Am Art Museum (10th century) and Gwangju National Museum (12th century) and the finds from Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do (in the National Museum of Korea, 9th century) and claims that the item from Yeongju is the closest to that of Okinoshima (Fig.18). The most important common feature he claims is “the gourd-shaped design that decorates the body part of the dragon head” (Fig.20). He describes: “The dragon head of Yeongju has irregular cloud-like decorations scattered over the bulges between the eyeballs and the comb and around the lips. Some are gourd-shaped while some others have yunqiwen (cloud-like pattern). The find from Okinoshima Site No.5 has similar design scattered around the bulge of lips. In the case of the dragon heads unearthed in Okinoshima, gourd-like patterns are put irregularly from behind the bulge around the lips to around the lower lip. Even though there is no directional consistency, the concentration is uniquely over the bulge around the lips.”^{35a)} (p.201) He claims this design is not seen in other unearthed similar samples.

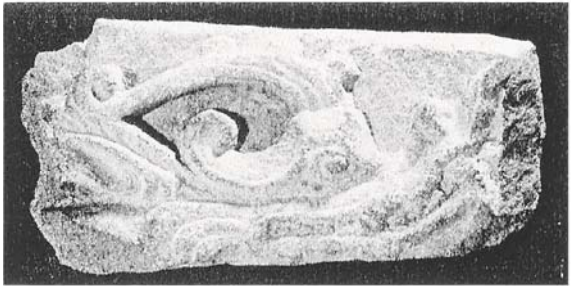
In his 2005 book^{35b)} YUBA further provide the following explanation:

“Though different in size, the shape of the dragon’s lips, the comb-like decoration over the eyeballs, and the gourd-like engraved patterns applied between the comb and the eyeballs indeed resemble those of the Okinoshima dragon heads, and it is believed that the craftsmen must have been very close to each other.” (pp.77 – 78) Furthermore he concluded that, considering the accompanying pottery at Okinoshima Site No. 5w was dated the second half of 7th century, the gilt-bronze dragon head “must be dated to the second half of 7th century or 8th century, if it was indeed made in the United Shilla.” (p.78)

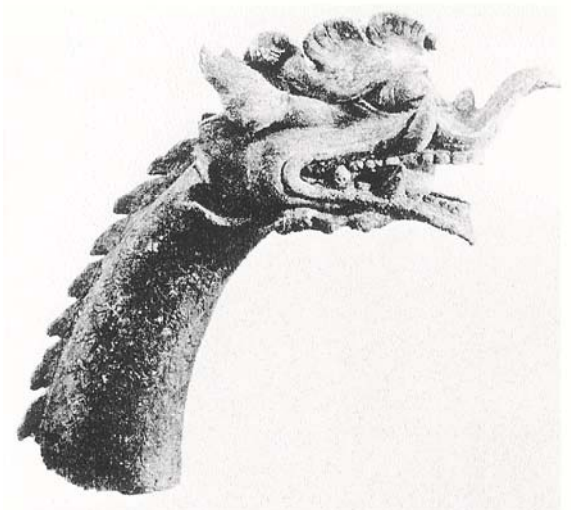
During a visit to Korea, the author of this paper also had an opportunity to look at the piece unearthed in Yeongju. It did not look so similar to the Okinoshima piece at all as YUBA claims. It is because: Although the upper lips of both dragons are lifted upward, the Yeongju dragon has the mouth opened and bites a ball between the upper and lower teeth and fangs, while the Okinoshima dragon has the mouth almost closed and the lower lip is pushed downward. The mouth extending deep into the back (sideways) show the upper fangs and teeth bending downward and no lower fangs or teeth can be seen.

- ① “The decoration over the comb above the eyeballs” flows all the way to behind the eyeballs and the ends are amplified upward into curls in the case of Okinoshima dragon. It also has whisker-like patterns below the curls and around the corners of the mouth in streams to the direction of the body as well as fin-like expressions below the lower lip. The Yeongju dragon has none of these.
- ② The Okinoshima dragon has a horn from the head to the body side in a horizontal direction, the top of which turns upward. The Yeongju dragon has no expression of horns.

Those are major differences in outer appearance. After all, the only commonality is the “engraved gourd-like patterns.” But they are seen in the case of Yeongju dragon “over the bulges between the eyeballs and the comb and around the lips,” while in the case of Okinoshima dragon they over the lower lip to the jaw. In the morphological discussion of dragon heads, would the gourd-like engraved patterns which are hard to notice from outer appearance have greater importance than the three differences mentioned above? It was probably the case that the discovery of the engraved pattern in the details was given so much instinctive focus that the differences the author noted in (1) and (2) above were confused to be approximate enough and the point (3) was left untouched. The author et al visited Mr. Kang U-bang^(supplementary note 2) who was examining the Yeongju dragon from the viewpoint of art history (then president of Gyeongju National Museum) and showed photos of the Okinoshima dragon heads. He commented that the Yeongju dragon must be preceded by the Okinoshima counterparts. As a result of these re-examinations the author finds it difficult to endorse YUBA’s interpretations and believes it correct to support SUGIMURA’s.



Top: Tianlongshan Grotto niche decoration (Eastern Wei Dynasty)
Length: 29.9 cm (in Idemitsu Museum)
Bottom: Tianlongshan Grotto No.2 niche decoration (Eastern Wei Dynasty) (From Tianlongshan Grottoes, 1922)



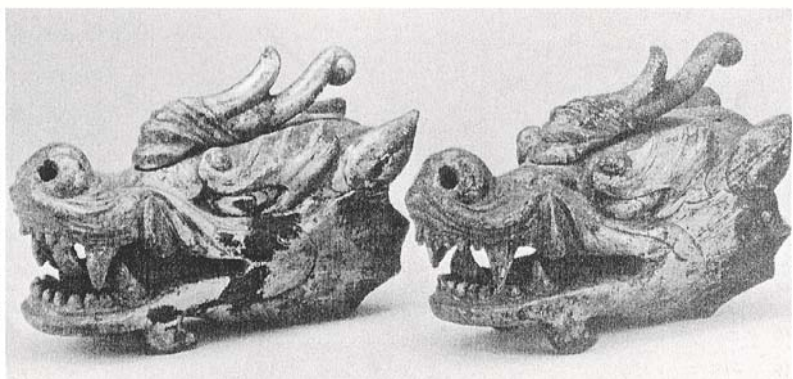
Gilt bronze dragon head, total length:65 cm, unearthed in Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do (United Shilla Period)



Mogao Grotto No.159 in Dunhuang --- Vimalakirti Transformation worshipping lady (Middle Tang Dynasty) (From Dunhuang Wenwu Yanjiushuo ed. Dunhuang Murals, 1959 Beijing)



Gilt bronze dragon head in Ho-Am Art Museum, length:35.2 cm, height: 30.5 cm (The last stage of United Shilla to initial stage of Goryeo Period)



Gilt bronze dragon head unearthed from Anapji Pond Site in Gyeongju, length:15.7 cm, height:10.5 cm (United Shilla Period)

Fig.18 Dragon head samples in China and Korea

Next the subsequent developments in the study of the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck unearthed from Site No.5 (Fig.19) after the report will be reviewed. By way of introduction, let us first revisit the views of KOYAMA Fujio and OKAZAKI Takashi expressed before the report.

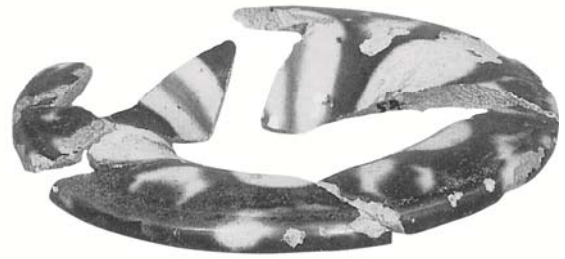
KOYAMA Fujio³⁶⁾ visited Okinoshima in the third round of the investigation and witnessed the unearthing of the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored vase. Shortly thereafter, he published his view by referring to an outline of studies on Tang Dynasty-style three colored pieces in China and elsewhere that those produced in the kilns of Gong County, Henan Province “have pale pink bodies, different from the commonly-seen pure white Tang Dynasty-style three colored pieces. The pieces unearthed in Xian and those found in Luoyang have same bodies and the form and patterns are not distinguishable. It is quite possible that Tang Dynasty-style three colored pieces were produced in Beimangshan near Luoyang and were shipped to Xian.” He continues to write that: the fractions of a Tang Dynasty-style three colored base found in Okinoshima have identical body and glazing tone to those of pieces found in Luoyang and Xian. It is likely that it was produced in Luoyang or Xian during the heyday of Tang Dynasty.”³⁶⁾ (p.182)

OKAZAKI Takeshi³⁷⁾ makes references to the finds of Japan and China and like KOYAMA writes: “The paste is extremely white and of high quality and the piece was quite likely produced in an old kiln in Henan Province.” (p.376) He then goes on to mention that: “Recent studies in China date Tang Dynasty-style three colored pieces to mostly the first half of 8th century,” and concluded that, because there were four missions of Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty in the first half of 8th century, “the piece was probably brought to Japan in particular by the seventh or eighth mission.”³⁷⁾ (p.376) The seventh mission of the envoy returned in two groups, one in 707 (Kyōun 4) and 718 (Yōrō 2). The eighth mission returned in 718 (Yōrō 2). If we were to rely on this view of OKAZAKI’s, the rituals at Okinoshima Site No. 5 would have to be divided into the second half of 7th century and the first half of 8th century. And if it had been one single ritual, the dating would have to be moved down to the first half of 8th century to match the dating of the Tang Dynasty-style three colored vase. This has no negligible impact on the conclusions of the investigation team that deeply considered the evolutionary process of Phases III and IV. This apparent discrepancy in the dating of the Tang Dynasty-style three colored vase and Site No.5 has been left unattended to this date.

Subsequent publications on the Tang Dynasty three colored vase unearthed in Okinoshima includes the 1995 book by YUBA Tadanori.³⁸⁾ YUBA reviewed the new discoveries and advances in the studies in China since the time of the Okinoshima report and in particular noted the discovery by SU PAI of a three colored artifact dated to Period 2 (653 – 675) of the fifth phase of Xian Mural Tomb. Accordingly, he termed this period “Early Tang Dynasty-style Three Colored.” He considered for this category pieces “which have the forms and decorations recognizable to be of the second half of 6th century to the first half of 7th century and are believed to have been produced in the second half of 7th century (Early Tang Dynasty to Heyday Tang Dynasty).”³⁸⁾ (p.108) This was indeed a new perspective because Tang Dynasty-style three colored pieces were generally thought to have concentrated in the first half of 8th century, the heyday of Tang Dynasty. It was however difficult to substantiate the new perspective then because definitive dating was not possible with only the little amount of finds from one dated grave. More recently at last, “Dated graves such as the Zheng Rentai grave and Li Feng grave were excavated and it is now possible to confirm that Tang Dynasty-style pieces were already produced around 660 to 670.”³⁸⁾ (p.113) The piece collected in Tōkyō National Museum and the one unearthed from a Tang Dynasty grave in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province in China that are often quoted in reference to the Tang Dynasty-style three colored vase of Okinoshima are understood as typical examples of the Early Tang Dynasty-style Three Colored (Fig.19). In light of such advances in research, it is now possible to date the Okinoshima vase back to the second half of 7th century and the discrepancy with the dating of Site No.5 has been solved.



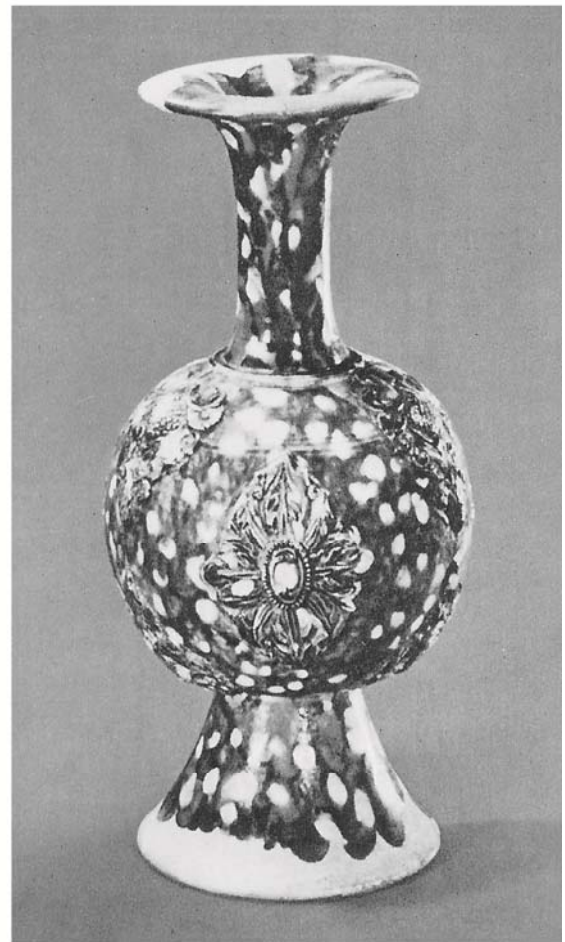
Gilt bronze open-worked incense burner-like object (reportedly from Okinoshima Okanegura (Ritual Site No.4))



Rim of the Tang Dynasty-style three colored vase (unearthed at Okinoshima Ritual Site No.5)



Bottle-shaped vase with long neck (Tokyo National Museum, height 25.4 cm)



Bottle-shaped vase with long neck (unearthed from a Tang Dynasty grave in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, height 24.0 cm)

Fig.19 Okinoshima artifacts imported from China and reference items

Now finally, let us take up the gilt bronze open-worked incense burner-like object (Figs.19 and 20). This artifact has been given many different names and it is only in recent years that this piece is viewed as imported. It has been kept in the warehouse of Munakata Grand Shrine as an item brought back from the Okinoshima Okanegura (Ritual Site No.). It was first introduced to the academia in 1940 (Showa 15) by TOYO Motokuni as “a open-worked bowl-like gilt bronze container.”³⁹⁾ Since then names like ‘incense burner-like piece’⁴⁰⁾ ‘open-work metal piece’⁴¹⁾ ‘gilt bronze incense burner-like object’⁴²⁾ were given. It has body part diameter of maximum 13.5 cm and height of 9.5 cm. Its side-view is oblate. It has two convex belts and mezzo relieve open-worked patterns are given in three stages. The uppermost stage has nine compound petal lotus flower patterns and the tip forms pointa.

The middle cup is a large undersigned disc. A square hole is made in the center and there are no expressions of lotus seed or anything. By the hole is an engraved inscription 「甲」 in kaisho font. The upper stage is independently cast from the middle and bottom stages. The two are connected by tacking using an internal plate. The bottom stage is 9.5 cm in diameter and hollow. There are 21 compound petal lotus flower patterns around the rim in pagoda finial style. The lowermost part stands in coil form and surrounded by small holes. OKAMURA offered an estimated usage of: “probably some tubular cloth or braid was tied onto it and was used as a hanging ornament.”⁴¹⁾ (p.399) The middle stage is filled with two dragon patterns in the foliage scroll style. They are, as detailed in OKAMURA’s paper, extremely realistic and two to four leaves of foliage scroll pattern are added to the head and the tail.

TOYO thought that this gilt bronze object was “a portion of Buddhist objects used for illumination before the Buddhist or Shintō altar.”³⁹⁾ (p.154) and from the shape of the lotus petals estimated the date to be “Late rather than Early Nara Period.”³⁹⁾ (p.155) KAGAMIYAMA believed that the inscription 「甲」 in the middle cup of the top stage represented one of “either the ten celestial stems or the twelve earthly branches and served as a code to indicate a serial combination or order.” (p.170) And from the shape of the lotus petals, he proposed a dating roughly the same to TOYO’s by writing “[it] cannot be earlier than Asuka Period when single narrow petals were popular and cannot be later than Nara Period.” (p.171) ⁴⁰⁾ Half a century later, OKAMURA Hidenori proposed, based on the latest research results in Chinese archeology, that Northern Wei Dynasty cultural works of the second half of 5th century were imported to Japan in the historical context of the entry into southern Korea of the five kings of Wa.⁴¹⁾ OKAMURA made an articulate study on the lotus pattern, dragon pattern, the two patterns combined, and open-worked objects of Kofun Period. As a result, he demonstrated that the gilt bronze object originated in Northern Wei Dynasty, and that because of the resemblance to the lotus pattern and dragon pattern foundation stones of Song Shaozu grave (477) and Sima Jinlong grave (484) of Northern Wei Dynasty (Fig.20), it is dated to the last third of 5th century. At the time of TOYO and KAGAMIYAMA, such knowledge of Chinese archeology was not available and it is quite understandable that they had to rely on Japanese sources. OKAMURA’s views are fresh in the sense of making a breakthrough in the traditional dead-end situation and his reasoning is highly convincing. At the end of his discourse, he mentions two estimated east-bound routes of the spread of Chinese articles in the last third of 5th century as: Northern Wei Dynasty—Goguryeo—Shilla route and Southern Dynasties—Baekje—Wa route. This is a point the author of this paper once touched upon during a review of the sheet glass of Miyajidake Mounded Tom⁴³⁾ and the interchanges of Southern Dynasties and Baekje/Shilla objects.⁴⁴⁾ OKAMURA’s comment that: “It is too premature to believe that political diplomacy reflects itself directly upon the sequences of art styles. Northern Wei art styles did in fact leave no small influences on the cultural items of Wa.”⁴¹⁾ (p.406) is to a large degree concurred. When this object is in this way becomes definitively recognized as an imported item and the dating is established, it will be possible to say that it arrived as a ritual object of Okinoshima during Phase II, rituals in the shade of a rock. If this is true, then a situation similar to that of the round pattern glass bowl from Site No.8 which we dealt with in the previous paper (Re-Examination Part II) is envisaged. Apart from the items discusses above, imports include those from Kinki within Japan. But the allowed space has been exceeded now and so discussions on the topic are left for some future opportunity.

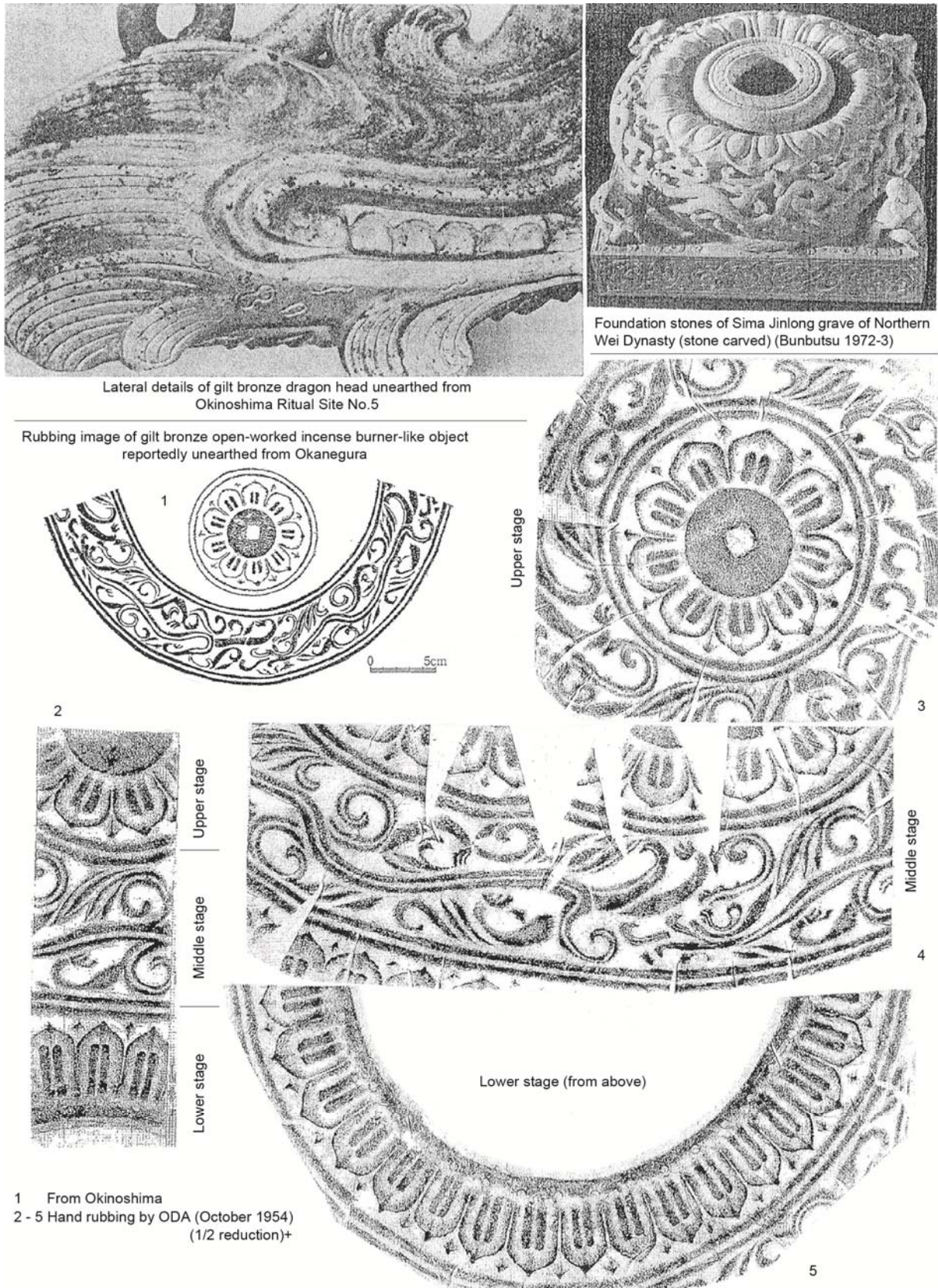


Fig.20 Details of gilt bronze dragon head and gilt bronze open-worked incense burner-like object

In closing

The author was given the opportunity to write three papers on the topic of re-examination of Okinoshima ritual sites. Forty years have passed since the conclusion of the third round of on-site investigation and some 30 plus years since the publication of the report. Most of the seniors who were involved in the three investigations have passed away. The survey now appears to be somewhat legendary, something that occurred in history. Had it not been for the selection as a candidate for World Heritage, the story would have simply found its place in the history of archeological studies. As a survivor among those who took part in all the three investigations, the author has been called back to the stage. The world of academic studies is progressing day by day. After 40 years any study in Shintō archeology warrants re-examination. I thought that since a person like me was invited to do the work of re-examination, I should correct any errors made in the previous studies in the light of updated research findings and at the same time take new stances in the hope of approaching the reality of ancient rituals that we were not able to elucidate in the original report. Now that I put my pen down, I am not sure to what extent I have been successful or if at all. Although I must close, I am not satisfied at all myself and wish I could cover more topics. I am in fact making preparations for writing a conclusive chapter at some date. This I believe would be an expression of appreciation to the academic predecessors on the part of one of the last survivors of the investigation teams. It would be my immense pleasure if the information I covered in the three papers would make a small contribution to the advancement of future researches. Remembering the academic seniors with whom I worked together during the investigations, I now put my pen down for the moment.

I would like to thank the members of the Fukuoka Prefecture World Heritage Listing Promotion Office and the Education Board of Munakata City for their cooperation in my site visit to Ōshima Island Mitakesan Archeological Site which I added to this paper, Mr. ABE Hirohisa and Mr. YAMADA Hiroyuki (Munakata City Board of Education) and Ms. SHIBESUMI Makiko (Munakata Shrine Divine Treasure Hall) for their assistance in the review of archeological finds, and Mr. IUEA Hajime (Fukutsu City Board of Education) for his support in the review of the Sue ware and stone chamber structure of Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb.

Notes (not translated):

- 1) 5号遺跡の祭祀場所について報告書の「1.遺跡」の項では「東西約8.1m、南北5.2mほどの範囲」(164頁)とする記述があるが、同書Fig. 67の平面図(168～169頁)でみても、これは実際の約2倍の数値であり「4.小結」(196頁)の項で「東西4.2m、南北2.5m」とあるのが正しい。
- 2) 報告書196頁の「4.小結」の項で、「岩の上方が西へのび、底の役目をはたしている。巨岩が前面にのびて形成する底は高いがさして深くないので、良好とはいえず、測定の結果でも祭場前面を覆うにいたってはいない。特に南側の部分などは底がかかっている。」と述べられている点は、本稿の記述とあい応じている。
- 3) 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
- 4) 松本肇「金属製雛形祭祀品」(『宗像・沖ノ島』I・考察編第2章第6節391～403頁)1979年
- 5) 奈良県立橿原考古学研究所附属博物館『特別展・伊勢神宝と考古学』、p.28, p.59～60、1985年
- 6) 宗像神社復興期成会『続沖ノ島—宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡—』第七章第三節、1961年、「用途不明の金銅製品」として第124図16・17に収録された。
- 7) 佐田茂「沖ノ島発見の雛形琴について」(一)・(二)(『西日本文化』第82号・第83号)1972年6月・7月
- 8) 井上光貞「古代沖の島の祭祀」(『東大三十余年』私家版)1978年、のち(『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会)1984年、本稿収録時は後者に拠っている。
- 9) 小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭祀の遺構と遺宝—昭和44～46年度の調査—」(『海の正倉院沖ノ島』206～211頁)1972年、毎日新聞社
- 10a) 白石太一郎「神まつりと古墳の祭祀—古墳出土の石製模造品を中心として—」(『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第7集79～114頁)1985年
- b) 同上「東国の祭祀遺跡とその遺物」(群馬県立歴史博物館第51回企画展『海の正倉院沖ノ島—古代の祭祀 西・東』118～121頁)1995年

- 11a) 金子裕之「平城京と祭場」(『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第7集 219～290頁) 1985年
- b) 同上「都城と祭祀」(小田編『古代を考える・沖ノ島と古代祭祀』198～226頁) 1988年、吉川弘文館
- c) 同上「律令期祭祀遺物集成」(菊地康明編『律令制祭祀論考』323～602頁) 1991年、塙書房
- 12) 泉武「人形祭祀の基礎的考察」(『樞原考古学研究所紀要』第8号) 1982年、斉藤忠編『日本考古学論集3・呪法と祭祀・信仰』144～191頁による) 収録1986年、吉川弘文館
- 13) 広瀬和雄『カミ観念と古代国家』第4章、2010年、角川学芸出版
- 14) 小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡の再検討2」(『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告』Ⅱ-1、1～41頁) 2012年
- 15a) 大場磐雄「日本上代の巨石崇拜」(『神道考古学論攷』158～184頁) 1943年、葦牙書房(初出1937年)
- b) 同上「磐座磐境等の考古学的考察」(同上185～241頁) 1943年、葦牙書房(初出1942年)
- 16) 吉川宗明『岩石を信仰していた日本人—石神・磐座・磐境・奇岩・巨岩と呼ばれるものの研究—』2011年、遊タイム出版
- 17) 梶山林継「創刊にあたって」(『祭祀考古学』創刊号) 1997年、祭祀考古学会
- 18) 韓国国立全州博物館編『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺蹟』(同館学術調査報告第1輯) 1994年
小田富士雄「韓国竹幕洞祭祀遺蹟と古代祭祀—とくに倭系祭祀遺物について—」(小田『古代九州と東アジアⅠ』326～346頁) 2012年(初出1998年)、同成社
- 19) 大平茂『祭祀考古学の研究』2008年、雄山閣
- 20) 穂積裕昌『古墳時代の喪葬と祭祀』2012年、雄山閣
- 21) 乙益重隆・網干善教・坂詰秀一「座談会・宗教考古学のイメージを語る」(『季刊考古学』第2号) 1983年2月、雄山閣
- 22) 小出義治「祭祀」(『日本の考古学』V276～314頁) 1966年、河出書房新社
- 23) 梶山林継「祭と葬の文化—石製模造遺物を中心として—」(斉藤忠編『日本考古学論集3・呪法と祭祀・信仰』229～271頁) 1986年(初出1972年)
- 24) 官幣大社石上神宮編『石上神宮宝物誌』1929年、1980年復刊、吉川弘文館
- 25) 和田萃「三輪山祭祀の再検討」(『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第7集 323～340頁) 1985年
- 26) 三品彰英「銅鐸小考」(三品論文集第5巻『古代祭政と穀霊信仰』10～28頁) 1973年、平凡社(初出1968年)
- 27) 小田富士雄・真野和夫「1号遺跡1. 遺跡」(『宗像・沖ノ島』Ⅰ報告第3章第2節) 1979年
- 28) 山田広幸・重住真貴子・降幡順子『大島御嶽山遺跡—福岡県宗像市大島所在遺跡の発掘調査報告—』(宗像市文化財調査報告書第64集) 2012年
- 29) 井浦一『津屋崎古墳群Ⅲ—手光波切不動古墳の調査・手光湯ノ浦古墳群の調査—』(福津市文化財調査報告書第7集) 2013年
- 30) 森本徹「シシヨツカ古墳の喪葬儀礼」(大阪府立近つ飛鳥博物館『館報16』) 2012年
- 31) 宗像市史編纂委員会編『宗像市史・通史編』第1巻 776～777頁、1997年
- 32) 南時夫『古内殿古墳群』22頁(福岡町文化財調査報告書第7集) 1994年
- 33a) 杉村勇造「金銅製龍頭」(『沖ノ島Ⅰ—宗像大社沖津宮祭祀遺跡昭和44年度調査概報』Ⅳ—1・43～46頁) 1970年、宗像大社復興期成会
- b) 同「金銅製龍頭」(『海の正倉院沖ノ島』175～178頁) 1972年 毎日新聞社
- 34) 岡崎敬「金銅製龍頭」(『宗像・沖ノ島』Ⅰ考察編第2章第2節 328～333頁) 1979年
- 35a) 弓場紀知「沖ノ島出土舶載遺物の再検討—特に金銅製龍頭の流伝に関して—」(『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第7集 191～218頁) 1985年
- b) 同上「金銅製龍頭の発見と伝来」(シリーズ「遺跡を学ぶ」013『古代祭祀とシルクロードの終着地・沖ノ島』第4章 3.74～79頁) 2005年
- 36) 小山富士夫「沖ノ島出土の唐三彩と奈良三彩」(『海の正倉院沖ノ島』179～183頁) 1972年、毎日新聞社
- 37) 岡崎敬「唐三彩長頸花瓶」(『宗像沖ノ島』Ⅰ考察編 第2章第5節 1.371～383頁) 1979年
- 38) 弓場紀知『三彩』(中国の陶磁3) 1995年 平凡社
- 39) 豊元國「官幣大社宗像神社沖津宮境内御金蔵発見の金属製遺品に就いて」(『考古学』11巻3号 151～157頁) 1940年
- 40) 鏡山猛「香炉状品」(『沖ノ島』第三章第六節四、170～171頁) 1958年
- 41) 岡村秀典「伝沖ノ島出土の透彫り金具について」(茂木雅博編『日中交流の考古学』398～405頁)

- 2007 年、同成社
- 42) 宗像大社神宝館『国宝一括指定記念：沖ノ島祭祀と宗像・福津の文化財展』2006 年 10 月 28 日～11 月 26 日
 - 43) 小田富士雄「福岡県・宮地嶽古墳の板ガラス」（小田『九州古代文化の形成』上巻第二部第六章 502～517 頁・図版 33～36）1985 年、学生社（初出 1980 年）
 - 44) 小田富士雄「南朝埴墓よりみた百済・新羅文物の源流」（小田『九州古代文化の形成』下巻第四部第六章 462～509 頁・図版 41～47）1985 年、学生社（初出 1981 年）

Supplementary Notes (not translated):

- 1) 雄略紀 9 年（465）2 月朔日条に、天皇が凡河内直香賜と采女を遣わして胸方神を祠らしめた。時に「壇所」（祭礼を行うために設けた一段高い所）に至り香賜が采女を姦して逃亡する事件があり、捕えて斬罪に処したと伝えている。このことは胸方神の祭事にあたって、ヤマト王権からのちの勅使派遣にも似た大王の準直祭ともいべき祭式が実修されていたことがうかがわれる。この祭事が行われたのは宗像市田島の辺津宮（宗像大社）域に設けられた高宮にあてることには異論はない。おそらく沖ノ島の国家型祭祀の当初（岩上祭祀段階）には、地域首長層の伝統的祭祀と異なる大王直祭の方式による上位ランクの祭祀方式が、祭祀を実修すべく中央からの派遣官によって伝えられていたことを推察させるであろう。そして大王祭祀方式が定着した岩上祭祀の完成期（21 号遺跡）には、これを修得した宗像氏の首長を登用した委託祭祀方式も採用されるに至ったのではあるまいか。沖ノ島 21 号遺跡と勝浦峯ノ畑古墳首長とのかかわりにその具体例を求めてみた次第である（前稿・再検討 2）。したがって沖ノ島の国家型祭祀といわれるものは、その始まりから古墳首長層間にみられる祭祀ランクとも異った、より上位の祭祀として発足したものはなかったかと考えている。
- 2) 姜友邦「統一新羅法幢弓復元的考察—豊基出土金銅龍頭弓出現契機を—」（『三佛金元龍教授停年退任記念論叢Ⅱ』）1987 年、346～358 頁、一志社（韓国）

Korean People in the Ancient Munakata Region

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Abstract: The ancient Munakata region is usually associated with the sea first and then the relationships with the Korean Peninsula and Yamato with which “Okinoshima Rituals” are associated. Certainly, this is true. There are many materials found in the vicinities of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group which show the relationship with the Korean Peninsula and enable us to presume the existence of the people from the peninsula. However, when the author compiled and examined anew archaeological materials originating in the Korean Peninsula found in the Munakata Region this time, he was able to confirm that they had existed in not only coastal but also inland areas in large numbers. It is presumable that their work was not limited to ironware production conventionally mentioned but also concerned with land transportation and new farmland and waterway development. Probably they were also concerned with Sue ware (unglazed earthenware) production, woodworking and horse breeding, which is not yet very certain. Through the review of the people from the peninsula, it may be possible to presume a unique trend of Munakata different from the Fukuoka plains.

Keywords: Munakata, archaeological materials originating in the Korean Peninsula, the people from the peninsula, ondol houses, soft earthenware

1. Introduction

Ancient Munakata is recognized as an important region which had deep relationships with the Yamato kingly power and the Korean Peninsula in connection with Okinoshima rituals. In this respect, many studies have been carried out so far.

However, it seems that studying Munakata itself has not caught much attention in the shade of very famous Okinoshima rituals in the region. In this situation, there is such a tendency that archaeological materials originating in the Korean Peninsula which show the relation between ancient Munakata and the Korean Peninsula have been gradually accumulated and examined.

This paper will consider what relationship the people of ancient Munakata had with the Korean Peninsula and the people from the peninsula and what Korean people did in the Munakata region, while keeping the existence of Okinoshima rituals in mind.

The relationship between ancient Munakata and the Korean Peninsula has been gradually reviewed in recent years. Studies by SHIGEFUJI Teruyuki (2011) and IKENOUE Hiroshi (2012) deserve attention in that they recognize the existence of the people from the peninsula. As for recent complete studies on mounded tombs and the chiefs of communities in the Munakata region, there are comprehensive studies by HARA Shunichi (1988, 1997a & b) and HANADA Katsuhiro (1999 & 2012). The latest materials concerning mounded tombs have been also compiled (The Executive Committee for the 37th Kyūshū Kofun Period Study Meeting in 2011; hereinafter referred to as “Kyūkokon”).

The author states clearly here that this paper is based on the results of the preceding studies and refers to those by Shigefuji and IKENOUE among others.

2. Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula and Korean People in the Munakata Region

Table 1 shows archaeological materials originating in the Korean Peninsula found in the Munakata region, which the author has recompiled by referring to the materials by IKENOUE in 2012.

Table 1 Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Munakata Region

	Name of Site	Remnants/Relics	Period of Time	Reference
1	Fujiwara-mori Site: House No.16	Pottery-earthenware: flat-bottomed shallow bowls; also pottery-earthenware from postholes	From first half to middle of 5 th century	SHIRAKI 1995
2	Fujiwara-kawaharada Site: House SB14	Earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled and other pottery-earthenware; also pottery-earthenware from postholes	6 th century	SHIRAKI 1994
	House SB27	Early ovens, soft earthenware (earthenware with special pattern paddling, flat-bottomed shallow & deep bowls, flat-bottomed steamers), pottery-earthenware	From first half to middle of 5 th century	SHIRAKI 1994
	House SB25	Round-bottomed steamers		SHIRAKI 1994
	House SB30	Pottery-earthenware	Second half of 5 th century	SHIRAKI 1994
	(Others)	Pottery-earthenware bowls	Second half of 5 th century	SHIRAKI 1994
3	Fujiwara-iwano Site	Pottery-earthenware	Second half of later Yayoi period	ABE1994
4	Tokushige-busso Tomb No.2	U-shaped heads of spades/hoes	Mid 5 th century	Kyūkoken 2011
5	Taku-urigasaka Tomb No.4	Pendants on a horse's harness, silver hollow beads	First half of 6 th century	OKA 1999
6	Uratani Tomb C-5	Pendants on a horse's harness, harness jingle bells	First half of 6 th century	HARA 1982
7	Asamachi-yamanoguchi: Tomb No.5	Iron tongs, iron hammers, iron hammers	End of 6 th century	HARA 1984&1991
	Tomb No.6	Iron tongs, iron hammers	End of 6 th to 7 th centuries	HARA 1984&1991
8	Nosaka-icchōma Site: House No.1	Forging kilns	Mid 5 th century	HARA 1985
	House No.4	Chisels	First half of 5 th century	HARA 1985
9	Mitsuoka-rokusuke Site: House SB9	Ondol house	Mid 5 th century	HARA 1997a, Kyūzenken 2005
	Ditch	Pottery-earthenware	First half of 5 th century	HARA1997b, Kyūzenken 2005
10	Kubaru: Tomb I-1	Loop stirrups	First half of 5 th century	Shhimizu1988, Kyūzenken 2005
	Tomb II-3	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	Second half of 6 th century	Kyūkoken 2011
11	Kubaru-takigashita Site: House No.3	Flat iron hatchets	From second half of 3 rd century to first half of 4 th century	HARA 1983, HARA 1997a
	House SC64	Early oven house, pottery-earthenware cup? Soft earthenware round-bottomed steamers	First half to middle of 5 th century	OKA 2000
	House SC72	Pottery-earthenware jars with wide-corded patterns	First half of 5 th century	OKA 2000
	Remains-containing Layer	Pottery-earthenware cups with handles	5 th century	OKA 2000
12	Ōi-mikura Tomb No.5	Meandering ironware, saws	Second half of 6 th century	SAKAI 1987
13	Byōdōjihara Tomb No.5	Iron tongs	Second half of 6 th century	HARA1997b, Kyūkoken 2011
14	Sōbaru Tomb No.2	Earthenware with stamped flower patterns of Silla	First half of 7 th century	SAKAI 1979
15	Inamoto-kubo Site Corridor-style Tomb III-6	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	From second half of 6 th century to 7 th century	Kyūkoken 2011

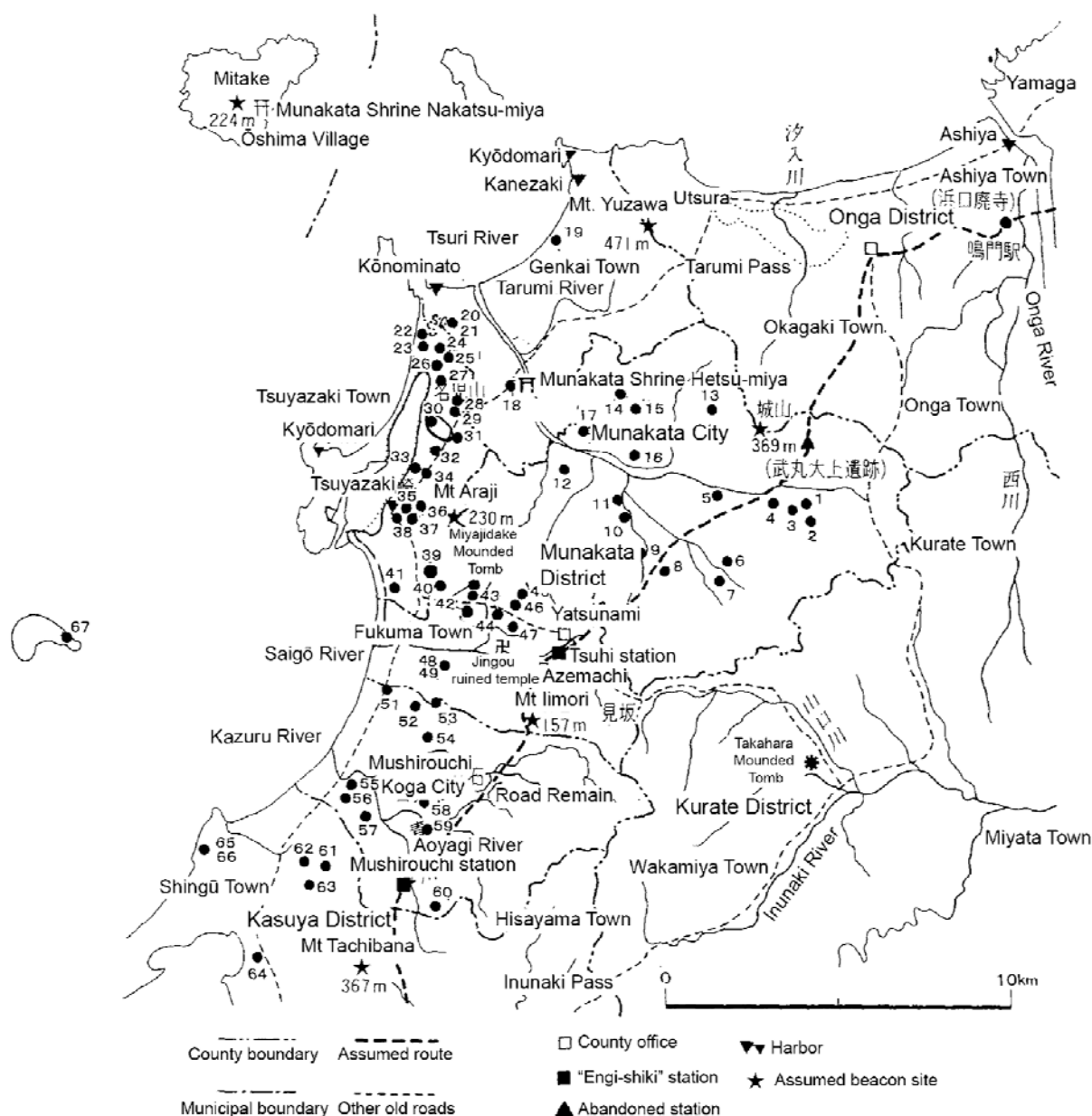
	Name of Site	Remnants/Relics	Period of Time	Reference
16	Inamoto-kuromeguri Site C: Kiln Site SH1	Tripod earthenware	From end of 6 th century to first half of 7 th century	SHIRAKI 2002
17	Hisato: Tomb No.2	Pottery-earthenware	Second half of 5 th century	SAKAI 1979
	Tomb No.9	Sword with a silver-fitted three-leaf-decorated ring pommel	Mid 5 th century	SAKAI 1979
	Tomb No.11	Pottery-earthenware	First third of 6 th century	SAKAI 1979
18	Kamitakamiya Tomb	Knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt	First third of 5 th century	Third Okinoshima Survey1979
19	Mutajiri-sakurakyō Tomb A06	Iron spearheads	Second half of 5 th century	Genkaimachi1996, Kyūkoken 2011
20	Mutajiri-nakaura Tomb A03	Gilt bronze shoes, saws	Second half of 6 th century	Genkaimachi1996, Kyūkoken 2011
21	Tano-seto Tomb No.4	Quivers, chisels	From end of 5 th century to early 6 th century	OKA & SAKAMOTO2007
22	Katsuura-takahori Tomb	Soft grooved handles		YASUTAKE 2002
23	Katsuura-minenohata Tomb	Early corridor-style stone chamber, early Sue ware buried with the corpse, early horse trappings, crown, carved bronze bracelets	Mid 5 th century	IKENOUE, YOSHIDA 2011
24	Katsuura-inoura Tomb	Corridor-style stone chamber of Kaya?, early horse trappings	Mid 5 th century	KAWANOBE 1977
25	Katsuura-mizuoshi Tomb SO01	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	Second half of 6 th century	YASUTAKE 1998
26	Katsuura-anada Site Valley Layer Containing Remains	Bell pedestaled dishes	Second half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2000
27	Katsuura-donoura Site	Soft earthenware pots (narrow cross paddling: Section A), soft earthenware pots (quasi cross paddling: Section C)	5 th to 6 th centuries?	IKENOUE 2000
28	Neribara Site Group: Neribara District	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century	IKENOUE 1999
	Oogu District	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns, pottery-earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, etc.	5 th to 6 th centuries	IKENOUE 1999
29	Nuyama-shōzono Tomb (Formerly Nuyama Tomb No.5)	Pottery-earthenware pedestals, Curved sword sickles	First half of 5 th century	SASAKI 1978
30	Shinbaru-nuyama Tomb No.1	Iron tongs, iron hammers, chisels, saws	Mid 5 th century	ISHIYAMA 1977, HASHIGUCHI 1989
	Tomb No.5	Leather-bag-shaped earthenware	Second half of 6 th century	KODAMA 1981
	Tomb No. 44	Plane-shaped ironware, chisels, saws	Second half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2001
31	Nuyama-fushiwara Site: House SC56	Flat iron hatchets	Yayoi period?	IKENOUE 2002a
	House SC57	Soft earthenware jars	First half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2002a
	House SC108	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th to 6 th centuries	IKENOUE 2002a
	House SC112	Ondol house	First half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2002a
	House SC114	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century to first half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2002a
	House SC117	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century to second half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2002a

	Name of Site	Remnants/Relics	Period of Time	Reference
	House SC118	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century to first half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 2002a
32	Yukue-kugigaura Site: House SC035	Pottery-earthenware	First half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 1998
	Houses SC170 & 171	Pottery-earthenware	Mid 5 th century	IKENOUE 1998
	House SC188	Soft flat-bottomed bowls, portable oven	First half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 1998
	Ditch SD022	Pottery-earthenware	Mid 5 th century to first half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 1998
	Natural Ditch SD200	Pottery-earthenware, steamers	Mid 5 th century to first half of 6 th century	IKENOUE 1998
33	Sudata-miyanoshita Tomb	Hanging whetstones	First half of 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996b
34	Sudata-shimonokuchi Tomb	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns (unrelated to the tomb?)	Mounded tomb in 6 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996b
35	Araji-oda Site: Building SB01	Earthenware with wide-corded patterns, Earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled	First half of 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1994
	Earthen Pit SK04	Pottery-earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, soft earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, U-shaped heads of spades/hoes	First half of 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1994
	Remains-containing Layer	Pottery-earthenware of Goryeong, earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, earthenware with wide-corded patterns	From 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1994
36	Araji-sanbonmatsu Site	Soft earthenware steamer with grooved handles	6 th century?	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1994
37	Araji-uenohara Site Earthen Pit SK03	Pottery-earthenware, earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled	First half of 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1995
38	Araji-shimonohara Site: House SC03	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	House SC15	Pottery-earthenware pots with bird-leg patterns paddled	Second half of 6 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	House SC17	Pottery-earthenware	Second half of 4 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	House SC33	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	First half of 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	House SC37	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century to second half of 6 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	House SC55	Ondol house	Mid 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	Ditch SD161	Pottery-earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled (accompanied with cup-shaped refuse)		IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	Earthen Pit SK03	Pottery-earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled	Mid 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	Earthenware Piles	Pottery-earthenware, pottery-earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, soft earthenware	Mid 5 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
	Remains-containing Layer	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns, earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled	5 th to 6 th centuries	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1996a
39	Miyajidake Tomb	Gilt bronze decorated crown, horse trappings, bronze bowls, glass panels	First half to middle of 7 th century	IKENOUE, YASUTAKE 1999

	Name of Site	Remnants/Relics	Period of Time	Reference
40	Miyaji-idenoue Tomb	Pottery-earthenware pots, chisels, U-shaped heads of spades/hoes, gilt bronze bells, iron adzes	First half of 5 th century	HASHIGUCHI 1991
41	Miyaji-ōhitai Site	Early Sue ware bowls?	5 th century?	IKENOUE 2002
42	Tebika Tomb Group: North Subgroup Tomb No.2	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	Second half of 6 th century	ISAKI 1981
	South Subgroup No.2	Meandering ironware, polygonal socketed iron spearheads, chisels	Second half of 6 th century	ISAKI 1981
43	Tebika-namikirifudō Tomb	Loop stirrups of Silla, earthenware with stamped patterns of Silla	First half to middle of 7 th century	IURA 2013
44	Tsumaru-nishinouchi Site: Zone No.4, House SC36	Ondol house	First half of 5 th century	Kyūzenken 2005
	Zone No.4, Ritual Earthen Pit SX7	Flat iron ingots	First half of 5 th century	Kyūzenken 2005
45	Tsumaru-yokoo Tomb No.3	Sword with a triple decorated ring pommel	End of 6 th century to first half of 7 th century	IURA 1997
46	Tsumaru-hisasue Tomb Group: Nagao Tomb No.2	Cross-watermarked strap unions, harness jingle bells	Second half of 6 th century	HATANO 1974
47	Tsumaru-minamitenjin Site: House SC4	Ondol house	First half of 5 th century	Fukumamachi , Kyūzenken 2005
48	Warihata Tomb No.1	Flat iron ingots, chisels, hairpins	First half of 5 th century	IURA 1999
49	Warihata Site: Point No.3, House SC40	Ondol house	5 th century	IKENOUE 2012
50	Den-hanami Tomb	Three-pronged hoes, stems of iron spearheads		YOKOTA 1980
51	Hanami Tomb No.1	Bronze bracelets	First half of 5 th century	SAKAI 1984
52	Chidori Tomb No.5	Pottery-earthenware	First half of 5 th century	HAMADA 1985
	Tomb No.22	Ear ornaments with pendants	First half of 5 th century	HINO 1987
53	Satani Tomb No.7	Bronze bracelets	Second half of 6 th century	MATSUOKA 1974
54	Shishibu-tabuchi Site	Cylindrical earthenware, soft earthenware (pots, steamers, etc.)	Second half of 6 th century to early 7 th century	KAI 2003
55	Kōnosu Stone Chamber No.1	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	5 th century?	ISHIYAMA 1978
56	Nagaura Site: Tomb No.4	Pottery-earthenware, gold rings, chisels, early earthenware buried with the corpse?	First half of 5 th century	KAI 2004
	Small Stone Chamber No.1	Early earthenware buried with the corpse	Second half of 5 th century	KAI 2004
	Earthen Pit Tomb No.3	Early earthenware buried with the corpse	Mid 5 th century	KAI 2004
	Earthen Pit Tomb No.11	Early earthenware buried with the corpse	Mid 5 th century	KAI 2004
	House SC1 (2 nd survey)	Pottery-earthenware?, flat iron ingots	Second half of 4 th century to first half of 5 th century	KAI 2004
57	Kawabaru-anzan: Tomb No.5	Knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt	First half of 5 th century	KODAMA 1978
	Tomb No.8	Cross-shaped iron spearheads, U-shaped heads of spades/hoes	Second half of 5 th century	ISHIYAMA 1974
58	Mawatari-tsukagaura Site: Point F-SF2	Knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt	First half of 5 th century	I 2003
	Point F-SF4	Knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt, iron products with spiral patterns	First half of 5 th century	I 2003

	Name of Site	Remnants/Relics	Period of Time	Reference
	Point F-SF6	Knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt, iron products with spiral patterns	First half of 5 th century	I 2003
59	Kusuura-nakazato Tomb Group	Horse-buried earthen pits? (4 sites)	Second half of 6 th to 7 th centuries	I, YOKOTA 2005
60	Kōnogi Tomb No.3	Salpo (a spade-shaped iron product)	Second half of 7 th century	NISHIDA 1998
61	Omori Tomb No.7	Sword with a three-leaf-decorated ring pommel	Second half of 5 th century to early 6 th century	NISHIDA 1997
62	Yuusu-mishirochiku Site Group: Omori District No.6	Pottery-earthenware, soft earthenware, soft earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled	5 th century	NISHIDA 1994
63	Mishiro-sugawa Tomb No.1	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	Second half of 6 th century	HAMADA 1984
	Tomb No.2	Gold rings	Second half of 6 th century	NISHIDA 1989
	Tomb No.3	Polygonal socketed iron spearheads	Second half of 6 th century	NISHIDA 1999a
64	Mitoma Site Group: House SC001	Pottery-earthenware	First half of 6 th century	ENOMOTO, NAGAIE 1996
65	Mitoma Tomb Group: Tomb A-1 (Mitoma-kyōtsuka Tomb)	Sword with a triple decorated ring pommel	Second half of 6 th century	TAKIMOTO 1991
66	Karahara Site: House SC16	Pottery-earthenware	First half of 5 th century	KOBAYASHI 1989
	House SC30	Pottery-earthenware, soft earthenware	First half of 5 th century	KOBAYASHI 1989
67	Ainoshima-tsumiishizuka Group: Tomb No.93	Pottery-earthenware?	Second half of 5 th century	NISHIDA 1999b
	Tomb No.108	Bottle-shaped earthenware	5 th to 6 th centuries	NISHIDA 1999b
	Tomb No.110	Pottery-earthenware lids	Middle to second half of 5 th century	NISHIDA 1999b
	Tomb No.119	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century	NISHIDA 1999b
	Tomb No.186	Pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns	5 th century	NISHIDA 1999b
68	Okinoshima Ritual Site: Site No.6	Flat iron ingots	End of 6 th century	Third Okinoshima Survey 1979
	Site No.7	Gold fingerings, gold bracelets, silver bracelets, gilt bronze horse trappings, Tang Dynasty tri-chrome glazed ware	6 th to 7 th centuries	Munakata Shrine 1958
	Site No. 8	Glass cups	6 th to 7 th centuries	Munakata Shrine 1958
	Site No.16	Flat iron ingots	First half of 5 th century	Munakata Shrine 1961
	Site No.21	Flat iron ingots, cast iron hatchets, knives with a curled fern frond ornament on the hilt, bronze bracelets	Mid 5 th century	Third Okinoshima 1979
	Shōsanmisha-mae Site	Flat iron ingots	First half of 5 th century	Third Okinoshima 1979
	Shamusho-mae Site	Pottery-earthenware, earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled	5 th century	Third Okinoshima 1979, TAKESUE 2011

* Kyūkoken 2011 stands for the Executive Committee for the 37th Kyūshū Kofun Period Study Meeting in 2011: “Mounded Tombs in the Munakata Region”. Kyūzenken 2005 stands for the Executive Committee for the 8th Kyūshū Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Study Meeting in 2005: “The Acceptance and Development of the People from the Korean Peninsula to Kyūshū”.



1. Fujiwara-mori Site; 2. Fujiwara-kawaharada Site; 3. Fujiwara-iwano Site B; 4. Tokushige-busso Tomb No. 2; 5. Taku-urigasaka Tomb No. 4; 6. Uratani Tomb C-5; 7. Asamachi-yamanoguchi Tomb Group; 8. Nosaka-icchōma Site; 9. Mitsuka-rokusuke Site; 10. Kubaru Tomb Group; 11. Kubaru-takigashita Site; 12. Ōi-mikura Tomb Group; 13. Byōdōjihar Tomb Group; 14. Sōbaru Tomb Group; 15. Inamoto-kuromeguri Kiln Site; 16. Inamoto-kubo Site; 17. Kudo Tomb Group; 18. Kamitakamiya Tomb; 19. Tanoseto Tomb No. 4; 20 & 21. Mutajiri Tomb Group; 22. Katsuura-takahori Site; 23. Katsuura-minenohata Tomb; 24. Katsuura-inoura Tomb; 25. Katsuura-mizuoshi Tomb Group; 26. Katsuura-anada Site; 27. Katsuura-dōnoura Site; 28. Nerihara Site Group; 29. Nuyama-shōzono Tomb (Formerly Nuyama Tomb No. 5); 30. Shinbaru-nuyama Tomb Group; 31. Nuyama-fushiwara Site; 32. Yukue-kugigaura Site; 33. Sudata-miyanoishita Tomb; 34. Sudata-shimonokuchi Tomb; 35. Araji-kaminohara Site; 36. Araji-sanbonmatsu Site; 37. Araji-oda Site; 38. Araji-shimonohara Site; 39. Miyajidake Tomb; 40. Miyaji-idenokami Tomb; 41. Miyaji-ōhitai Site; 42. Tebika Tomb Group: North and South Sections; 43. Tebika-namikirifudō Tomb; 44. Tsumaru-nishinouchi Site; 45. Tsumaru-yokoo Tomb Group; 46. Tsumaru-hisasue Tomb Group; 47. Tsumaru-minamitenjin Site; 48. Warihata Tomb No. 1; 49. Warihata Site; 50. Alleged Hanami Tomb; 51. Hanami Tomb No. 1; 52. Chidori Tomb Group; 53. Satani Tomb Group; 54. Kōnosu Tomb Group; 55. Shishibu-tabuchi Site; 56. Nagaura Site; 57. Kusuura-nakazato Tomb Group; 58. Kawabaru-anzan Tomb Group; 59. Mawatari-tsukagaura Site; 60. Kōnoki Tomb No. 3; 61. Ōmori Tomb No. 7; 62. Ōmori District in Yuusu-mishiro District Site Group; 63. Mishiro-sugawa Tomb Group; 64. Karahara Site; 65. Mitoma Site Group; 66. Mitoma Tomb Group; 67. Ainoshima-tsumishizuka Group

Figure 1 Archaeological Sites in the Munakata Region where Relics Originating in the Korean Peninsula were Excavated (1/200000, derived from Fig. 33 by KINOSHITA in 1999 with some alterations made and relevant sites added by the author)

Based on these materials, the author will consider the existence of the people from the peninsula and their descendents by his own method previously presented in 1993 and 2003.

The author has taken up several items as effective remnants of ancient architecture and relics in seeking the people from the peninsula. With regard to ancient architecture, effective items include an ondol house equipped with a cooking oven in the shape L and an early oven house among others. As for relics, there are flat-bottomed bowls, wide-corded patterns and grooved handles which the people of the Japanese Archipelago did not accept in those days. In addition, bird-leg pattern paddling does not seem to have been accepted by the people of the Japanese Archipelago, either.

In this section, the author will take up those remnants and relics to consider the people who came from the peninsular to the Munakata region. In particular, the author will focus his consideration on the ondol house equipped with a cooking oven in the shape L that shows more clearly the existence of the people from the peninsula and examine it on a location basis.

In the ancient Munakata County, ondol houses are confirmed at six sites. Of them, one is in the Tsuru River basin in the inland area of Munakata City (hereinafter referred to as the Munakata inland area), two are in the Tsuyazaki coastal area located in the coastal part of the city, and three in the Fukuma inland area of old Fukumamachi.

(1) Munakata Inland Area

In the Munakata Tsuru River basin, namely the Munakata inland area, an ondol house was confirmed at the Mitsuoka-rokusuke site on the west bank of the Asamachi River as a tributary of the Tsuru River. This is House SB9 dating back to about the 5th century (The Executive Committee for the 8th Kyūshū Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Study Meeting in 2005). There seems to be no earthenware originating in the Korean Peninsula but Haji ware and small mortar-shaped soapstone beads excavated. One jar as a piece of pottery-earthenware was excavated from a natural ditch in the neighborhood.

In the vicinity of this area, nobody has confirmed materials originating in the Korean Peninsula which show more clearly the existence of the people from the peninsula at this site. However, a forging furnace dating back to the mid 6th century was detected at the Nosaka-icchōma site (HARA 1985) and precious iron tongs were excavated at the site of the Asamachi-yamanoguchi mounded tomb group dating back to the end of the 6th century or the 7th century (HARA 1984, 1997b).

In the inland area, the ondol house was excavated only at this site, while early oven houses are confirmed at Fujiwara-kawaharada site in the upper reaches of the Tsuru River about 4km southeast of the Mitsuoka-rokusuke site and at the Kubaru-takigashita site about 1.5km northwest.

House SB27 at the Fujiwara-kawaharada site is considered to date back to the early or mid 5th century, judging from Haji ware excavated at this site (SHIRAKI 1994). There are also other finds, such as pots with special pattern paddling, pottery- earthenware with wide-corded patterns and soft earthenware with parallel or cross pattern paddling which were presumably made in the Korean Peninsula, and flat-bottomed bowls, deep flat-bottomed bowls and flat-bottomed steamers which were presumably Japanized partially. It is an early oven house which had not yet been popularized in the Japanese Archipelago in those days. Such a possibility is presumed that houses of this type were dwelled by the first or second generation of the people from the Korean Peninsula, judging from the discovery of earthenware originating in the peninsula. The excavated earthenware includes a certain quantity of earthenware originating in the Korean Peninsula, forms of which were not generally used by the people of the Japanese Archipelago, including shallow and deep flat-bottomed bowls which were made or may have been made in the Korean Peninsula. Considering the hometown of the people from the peninsula, it is presumable that they came from the Paekche area in a broad sense, including the Jeolla-do area because flat-bottomed steamers are generally seen in the southwestern part of the Korean Peninsula (SAKAI 1998).

In the vicinity of this Fujiwara-kawaharada site, there are the Fujiwara-iwano site from which soft earthenware was excavated, dating back to the second half of the late Yayoi period (ABE 1994) and the Fujiwara-mori site without ovens but shallow flat-bottomed bowls of soft earthenware dating back to the first half or middle of the 5th century excavated (SHIRAI 1995). These adjacent sites show that this area

may have been accessible to the people from the peninsula.

In fact, small and medium keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in the early to late Kofun period are located in this area, though there is a blank on the way to the Tokushige and Taku areas near this area. At the Tokushige-busso tomb No. 2 that is not a keyhole-shaped but circular-shaped mounded tomb 18m in diameter and presumed to date back to the mid 5th century, two U-shaped heads of spades/hoes precious in those days were excavated (The Executive Committee for the 37th Kyūshū Kofun Period Study Meeting in 2011).. At the Taku-urigasaka tomb No. 4 as a mounded tomb with a corridor-style stone chamber in the first half of the 6th century, which is unknown in scale and form, pendants on a horse's harness and silver hollow beads which presumably originate in the Korean Peninsula were excavated (OKA 1999).

At the Kubaru-takigashita site where another early oven house was detected (OKA 2000), flat-bottomed bowl-shaped earthenware considered as pottery-earthenware and round-bottomed steamers which seem to have been Japanized were excavated from the house SC64 dating back to the first half or middle of the 5th century. Pottery-earthenware jars with wide-corded patterns were excavated from the house SC72 dating back to the first half of the 5th century, which had no oven; a flat iron hatchet 31.8cm long was excavated from the house No. 3 dating back to the first half of the 3rd century to the second half of the 4th century; and a bellows tuyere made from an ore was excavated together with Sue earthenware from the house No. 5 dating back to the 5th century. Loop stirrups were excavated at Tomb I-1 as a round mound 20m in diameter dating back to the first half or middle of the 5th century included in the adjacent Kubaru tomb group (SHIMIZU 1988). Polygonal socketed iron spearheads were excavated at Tomb II-3 as a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb 45m long dating back to the second half of the 6th century or the early 7th century (The Executive Committee for the 37th Kyūshū Kofun Period Study Meeting in 2011).

As it seems that this Kubaru area began to have a relationship with the Korean Peninsula at the end of the Yayoi period, it is possible to assume that those who were concerned with iron production came from the peninsula to this area.

Finally, with regard to jobs which the people from the peninsula had in this inland area, it is easy to understand that they were concerned with iron production. However, another notable point is that they were also concerned with transportation route development, including the ancient official road (Saikai-dō and Dazaifu-dō) established later. The Mitsuoka-rokusuke site is not so far from the line assumed as an ancient official road. The Fujiwara-kawaharada site is located at a distance of about 2km from the assumed official line and not very distant from a road leading to Miyawaka City in the south though the site gives us such an impression as being located inland. The author considers it safe to presume the connection between the above-mentioned sites in the Munakata inland area and transportation routes, including the later-established official roads. Of course, they are not completely the same locations, but similar places were probably also used as roads in those days. The author assumes that there may have been a road which you can call “ancient Saikai-dō and Dazaifu-dō”.

If the excavation of loop stirrups at the Kubaru tomb I-1 shows the existence of horses in its vicinity, horses should have been raised in this area.

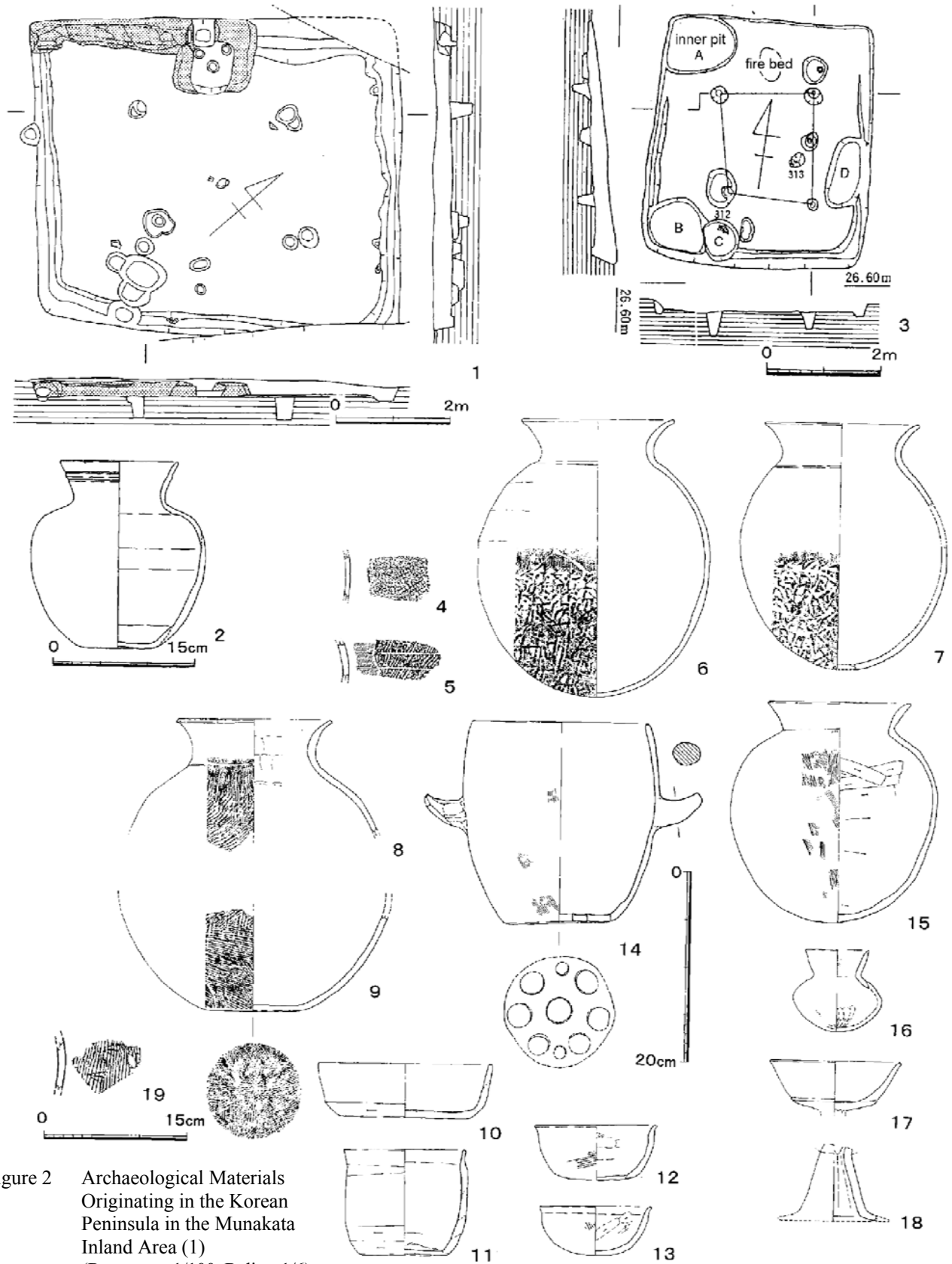


Figure 2 Archaeological Materials
Originating in the Korean
Peninsula in the Munakata
Inland Area (1)
(Remnants: 1/100; Relics: 1/6)

1: House SB9 at Mitsuoka-rokusuke Site 2: Waterway at the same site 3 to 18: House SB27 at Fujiwara-kawaharada Site 19: House SB32 at the same site
(1 & 2: HARA 1997a; 3 to 19: SHIRAKI 1994, all of which are cited with some alterations)

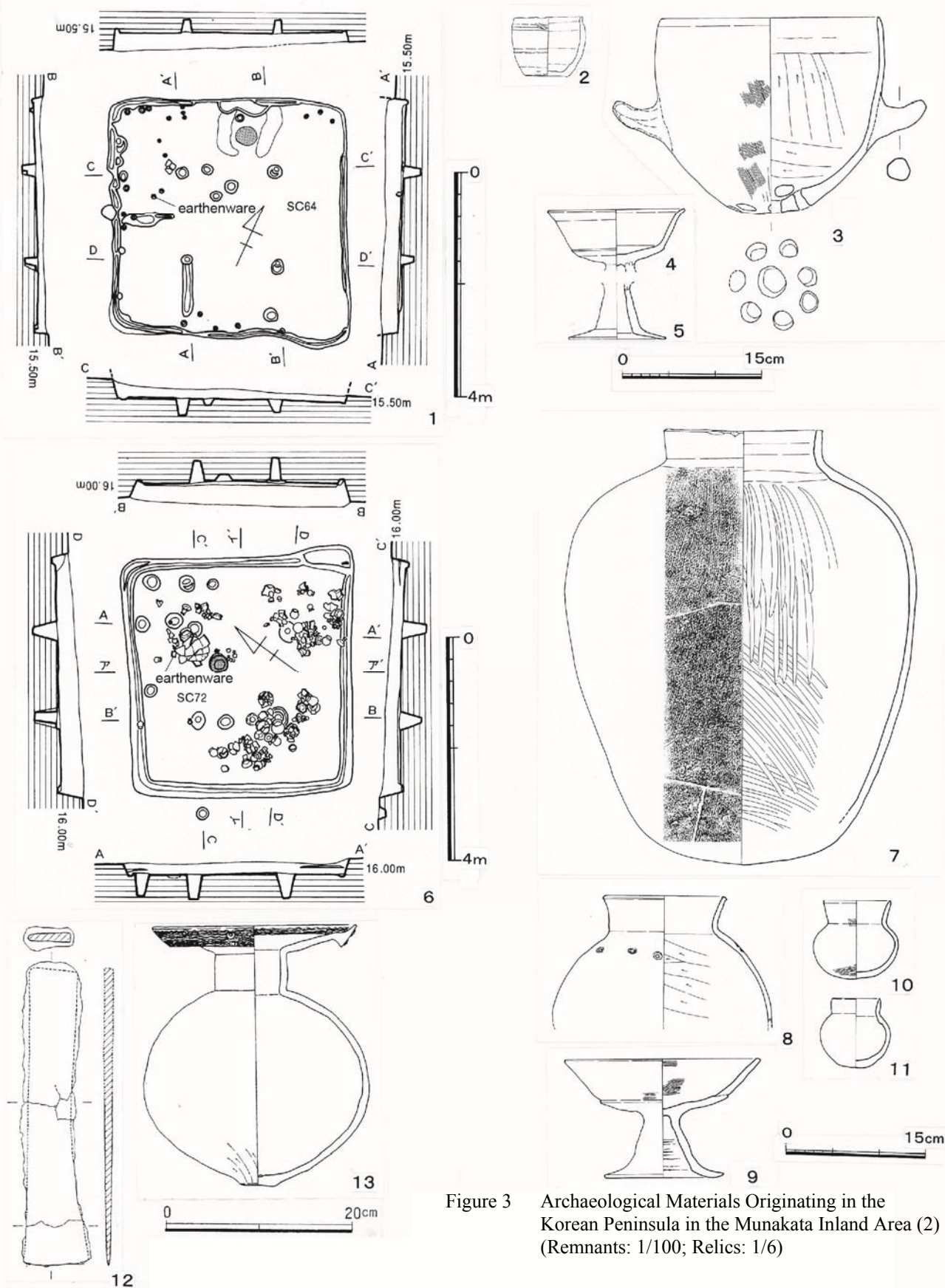


Figure 3 Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Munakata Inland Area (2) (Remnants: 1/100; Relics: 1/6)

1 to 5: House SC64 at Kubaru-takinoshita Site; 6 to 9: House SC72 at the same site; 12 & 13: House No. 3 at the same (1 to 11: OKA 2000; 12 & 13: HARA 1997a, all of which are cited with some alterations)

(2) Tsuyasaki Coastal Area

Next, in the old Tsuyasakimachi area along the coast, ondol houses were confirmed at two sites.

First of all, an ondol house was detected at the house SC57 dating back to the first half of the 6th century included in the Nuyama-fushiwara site adjoining the Shinbaru-nuyama tomb group (IKENOUE 2000). Archaeological finds are ordinary Sue and Haji ware. Within the same site, however, there were excavated soft earthenware jars at the house SC57 dating back to the first half of the 6th century, some fragments of pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns at the house SC108 in the same period, some fragments of pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns at the house SC114 dating back to the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century, and some fragments of pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns at the house SC118 dating back to the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century. Thus, pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns has been excavated at pit dwelling houses in about the first half of the 6th century, the same period as the ondol house SC112, which suggests a deep relationship with the Korean Peninsula and the existence of the people from the peninsula.

In this connection, ondol houses generally date back to the 5th century at many sites and rarely back to the first half of the 6th century. It is also interesting that materials related to the Korean Peninsula were excavated in large quantities at adjoining sites. The author considers them to show one of characteristics of this area.

Besides them, flat iron hatchets were also found at the house SC56 which seems to date back to the Yayoi period.

Next, the house SC55 dating back to the mid 5th century at the Araj-shimonohara site is an ondol house (IKENOUE & YASUTAKE 1996a). At this house, there are no other finds confirmed in relation to the Korean Peninsula. In addition to this house, there are the house SC17 where pottery-earthenware in the second half of the 4th century was found, the house SC33 where pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns in the first half of the 5th century was found, the house SC03 where pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns in the 5th century was found, the house SC37 where pottery-earthenware with wide-corded patterns in the 5th century to the second half of the 6th century was found, and the house SC15 where pottery-earthenware pots with bird-leg patterns paddled in the second half of the 6th century were found. These houses and finds suggest continuous exchange between this site and the Korean Peninsula from the second half of the 4th century until the second half of the 6th century.

This Araj-shimonohara site was maintained as a community from the early Kofun period to the Nara period, which was probably a base community.

Moreover, at the Araj-oda site near the east side of the Araj-shimonohara site, various items were excavated, including earthenware with wide-corded patterns and earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled at the building SB01 in the first half of the 5th century, pottery-earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, soft earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled and U-shaped heads of spades/hoes from the earthen pit SK04 in the first half of the 5th century, and pottery-earthenware of Goryeong and earthenware with wide-corded patterns in the layer containing remains from the 5th century. Also, earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled and pottery-earthenware were excavated from the earthen pit SK03 in the first half of the 5th century at the Araj-uenohara site about 200m northeast of the Araj-shimonohara site. Soft earthenware steamers with grooved handles were also found at the Araj-sanbonmatsu site about 100m northeast of the Araj-uenohara site.

In the range of the Araj site group about 1200m east and west and about 500m north and south, there are many remnants and relics which suggest the existence of the people from the peninsula, such as ondol houses, steamers with grooved handles and earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled. In addition, the discovery of pottery-earthenware jars of Goryeong which are rarely excavated in communities gives a good clue to the existence of kin to the people from the peninsula. Although the geographical location of the site group and the old coastal line probably need to be more examined, they should have been connected to the sea. When the adjacent Sudata site group on the north side is included in the consideration of the Araj site group, it is naturally imaginable that these sites were connected to inland roads in those days.

The area including the premises of Tsuyazaki Elementary School about 500m north and south of the Arai-shimonohara site was a lagoon in old times and there was a village subsection called “唐防地 Tōbōchi” (MASAKI 1999). This “唐防 Tōbō” is considered to have been originally written as “唐坊 Tobo” because “唐坊 Tōbō” Hachiman Shrine was included in 75 minor shrines affiliated to the Munakata Shrine which were allegedly established by 1231. “唐坊 Tōbō” is a town where “唐人”, namely Chinese people lived. The relation between Munakata and Song Dynasty of China is seen in “Ouki or Shōyūki” a private diary in the 10th century. This area may have continuously served as one of bases for marine transportation since the Kofun period.

Although ondol houses are not confirmed, a portable oven with bird-leg patterns paddled in the first half of the 6th century was excavated at the Yukue-kugigaura site located between the foregoing Shinbaru-nuyama and Nuyama-fushiwara sites and the Arai and Sudata site groups (IKENOUE 1998). At this site, pottery-earthenware, soft flat-bottomed bowls and flat-bottomed steamers were also excavated. These finds suggest some relation with Paekche and the existence of the people from the peninsula and their family line. This site, like others, is relatively near the old bay and presumably had some connection to the land road along the bay.

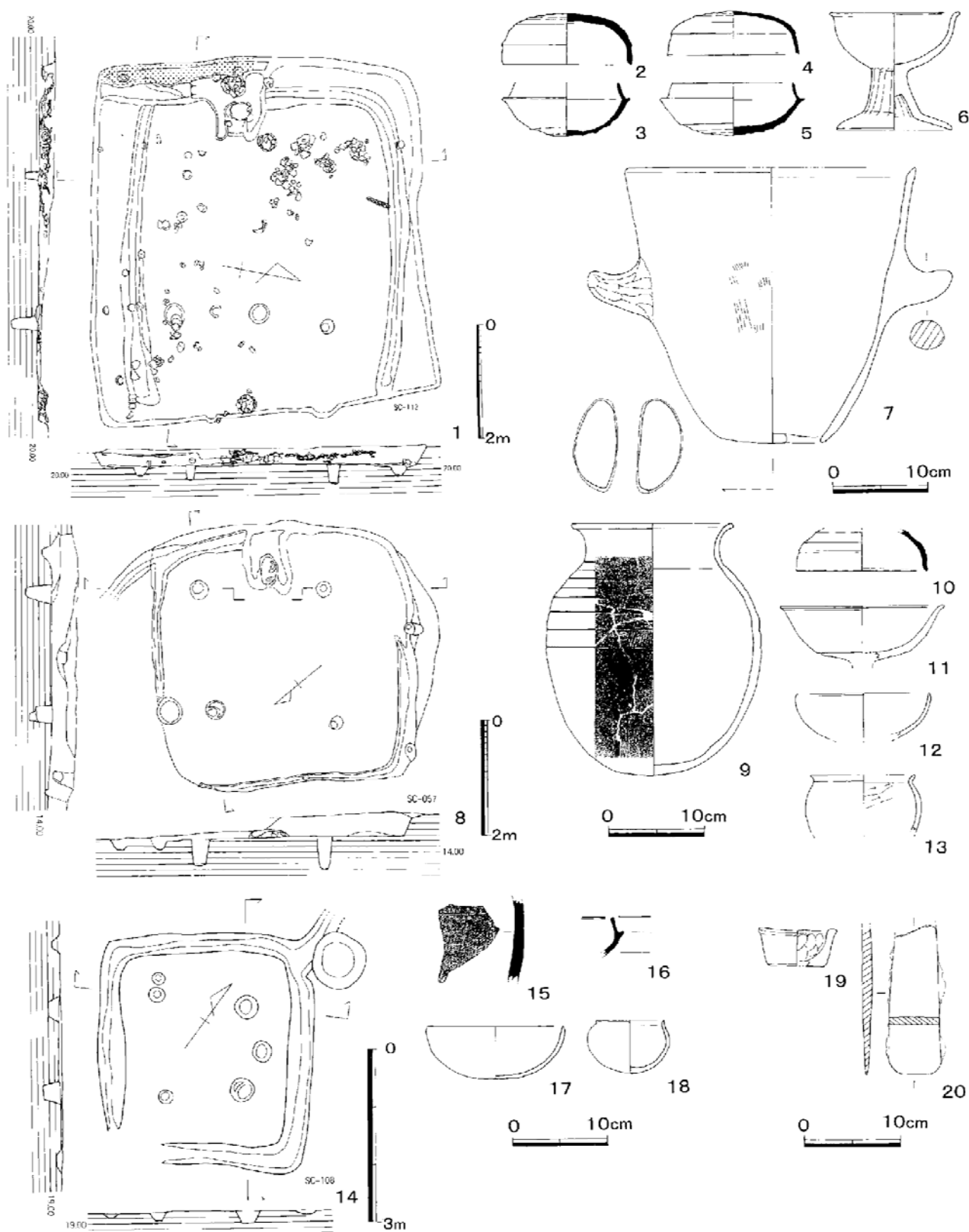


Figure 4 Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Tsuyazaki Coastal Area (1)
(Remnants: 1/100; Relics: 1/6)

1 to 7: House SC112 at Nuyama-fushiwara Site; 8 to 13: House SC57 at the same site; 14 to 18: House SC108; 19: House SC58; 20: House SC56
(IKENOUE 2002 cited with some alterations)

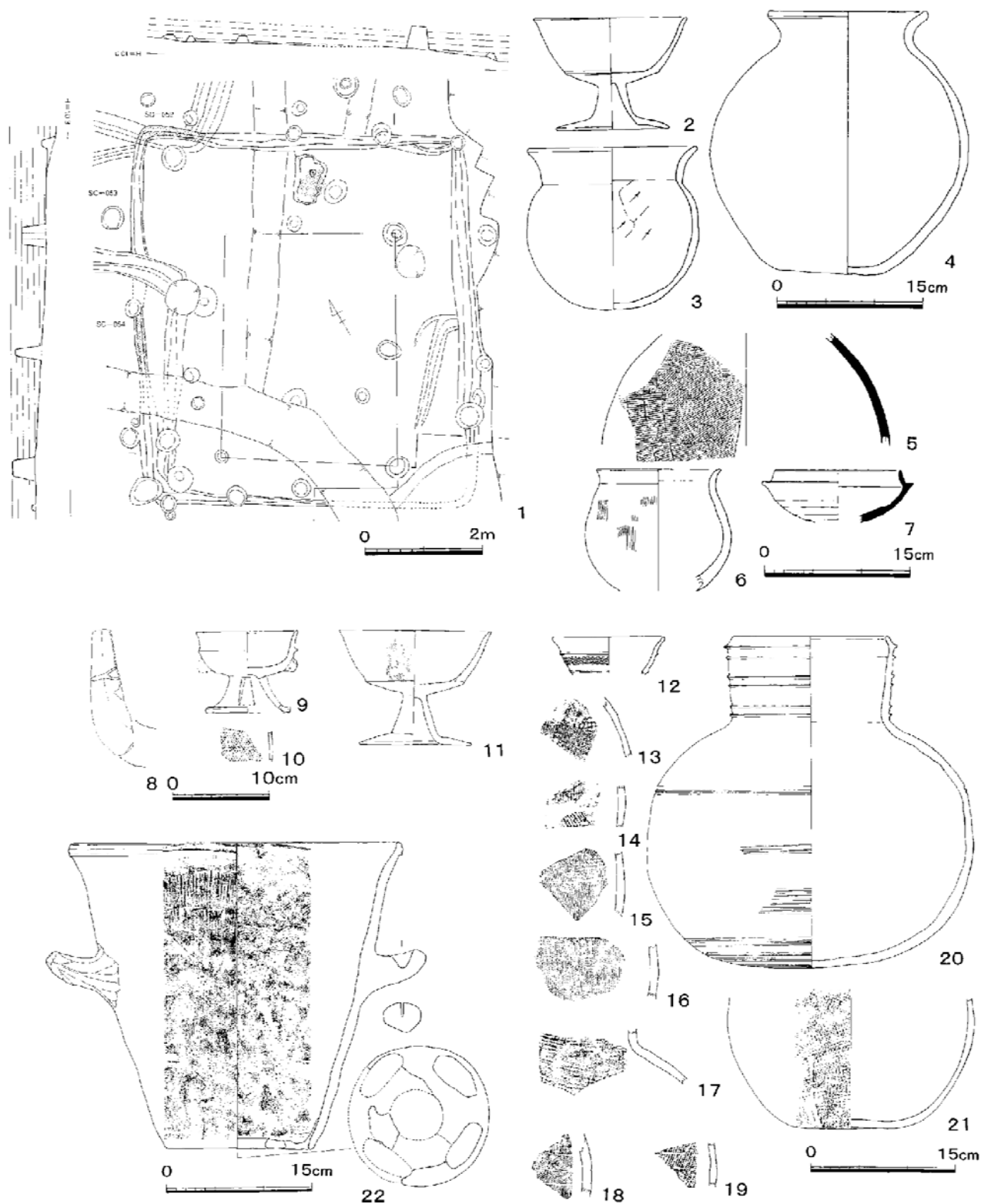


Figure 5 Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Tsuyazaki Coastal Area (2)
(Remnants: 1/100; Relics: 1/6)

1 to 4: House SC55 at Arai-shimonohara Site; 5 to 7: House SC15 at the same site; 8 to 11: Earthen Pit SK04 at Arai-oda Site; 12 to 21: Remains-containing Layer; 22: Arai-sanbonmatsu Site
(1 to 7: IKENOUE & YASUTAKE 1996a; 8 to 22: The same 1994, all of which are cited with some alterations)

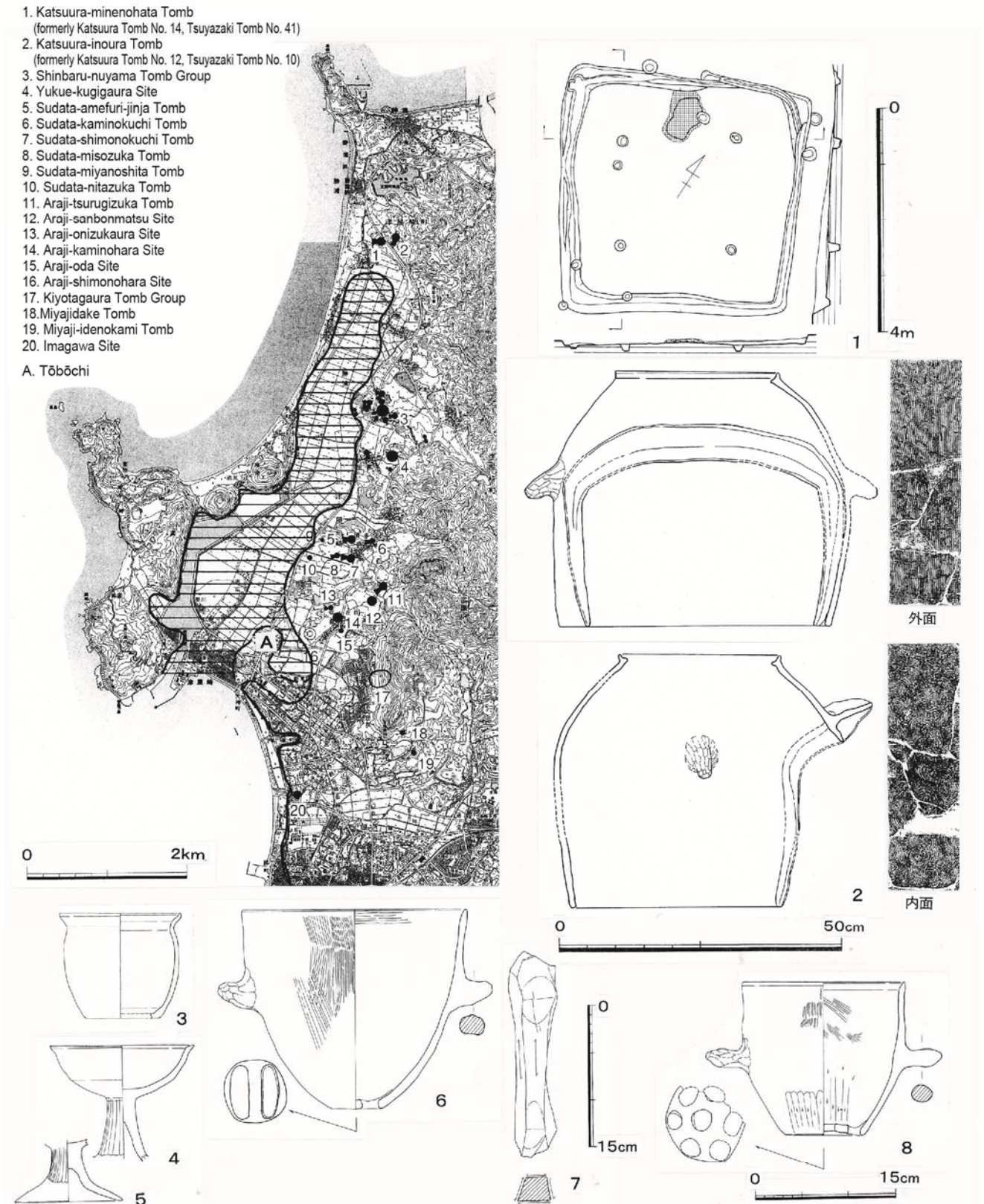


Figure 6 Remains and Relics Excavated at Mounded Tombs Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Tsuyazaki Coastal Area
(Distribution Map: 1/70000; Remnants: 1/100; Relic 2: 1/10; 2 Rubbed Copies: 1/5; Others: 1/6)

1 to 7: House No. 188 at Yukue-kugigaura Site; 8: Natural Ditch SD200 at the same site
(IKENOUE 1998 cited with some alterations)

(3) Fukuma Inland Area

In contrast to the foregoing Tsuyazaki coastal area that faced the old sea, this Fukuma inland area is the old Fukumamachi area in the Saigō River basin slightly inland.

In this area, ondol houses were confirmed at three archaeological sites.

First of all, at the Tsumaru-nishinoushiro site, an ondol house in the first half of the 5th century (House SC36 in Section No. 4) was detected despite being unknown in detail; and flat iron ingots were found in the ritual pit (SX7 in Section No.4) in the same period near the house (Fukumamachi 2003; the 8th Kyūshū Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Study Meeting in 2005).

Another site is the Tsumaru-minamitenjin site about 600m southeast of the Tsumaru-nishinoushiro site. An oven in the shape L was confirmed at the house SC4 in the first half of the 5th century, which is an ondol house (the 8th Kyūshū Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Study Meeting in 2005). At this site, green-glazed pottery was found despite being later in the period.

A third site is the house SC40 at Point No. 3 at the Warihata site. (IKENOUE 2012), which dates back to the 5th century. At the Warihata tomb No. 1 being 10m in diameter in the first half of the 5th century within this site, 11 flat iron ingots, chisels and hairpins were excavated (IURA 1999).

As for other mounded tombs where materials related to the Korean Peninsula were found in this Saigō River basin, spiral ironware, polygonal socketed iron spearheads and chisels in the second half of the 6th century were excavated at the tomb No. 2 included in the south tomb group affiliated to the Tebika tomb group; polygonal socketed iron spearheads in the second half of the 6th century were excavated at the tomb No. 2 included in the north site group affiliated to the Tebika tomb group (ISAKI 1981); and loop stirrups of Silla and stamped flower patterns of Silla in the first half to middle of the 7th century were excavated at the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb (IURA 2013).

The Tebika-namikirifudō tomb is located about 800m west of the Tsumaru-nishinoushiro site, while the Tebika tomb group is located in the north and south of this Tebika-namikirifudō tomb. The Miyajidake tomb as a famous tomb representing this area dating back to the 7th century (IKENOUE & HANADA 1999) is located about 2km northwest of the Tsumaru-nishinoushiro site; and the distance between this tomb and the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb is about 1.5km. The above-mentioned Araji site group including the Araji-shimonohara site is located about 1.5km northwest of the Miyajidake tomb.

As for archaeological sites in the Saigō River basin, celadon baked in the Esshū kiln was excavated at the Tsumaru-goromaru site adjacent on the north side of the Tsumaru-minamitenjin site despite being later in the period (Fukumamachi 2003); and the Jingo ruined temple as the only ancient temple in the Munakata region is located about 500m south of the site.

Moreover, the ancient official road (Saikai-dō and Dazaifu-dō) connected the Munakata inland area to the west via Yatsunami as an assumed location of the old county office and the Azemachi site as an assumed location of the Tsuhi horse station (KINOSHITA 1999). The road curves to south at the point about 700m south of the Jingo ruined temple (about 1.3km south of the Tsumaru-minamitenjin site). On the assumption of the ancient topography, if you looked toward the north of this curve, you could see the building of the Jingo ruined temple as the only temple in the Munakata region. It is presumable that this middle area of the Saigō River basin was the political center of the ancient Munakata region.

The Tsumaru-minamitenjin site is about 2km distant from Yatsunami as an assumed location of the Munakata county office, though these existed in different periods. Although the author does not consider that the archaeological site dating back to the 5th century can be directly connected to the ancient temple and the public office site in the 8th century, it must be certain that at least in the 5th century, the middle area of the Saigō River basin became a living space for the people from the Korean peninsula who had new technologies, including forging which originated in the peninsula. In that situation, it may be safe to consider that the central political functions of the later Munakata County (the county office, the temple, horse stations, official roads, etc.) were organized in the middle and upper reaches of the Saigō River basin.

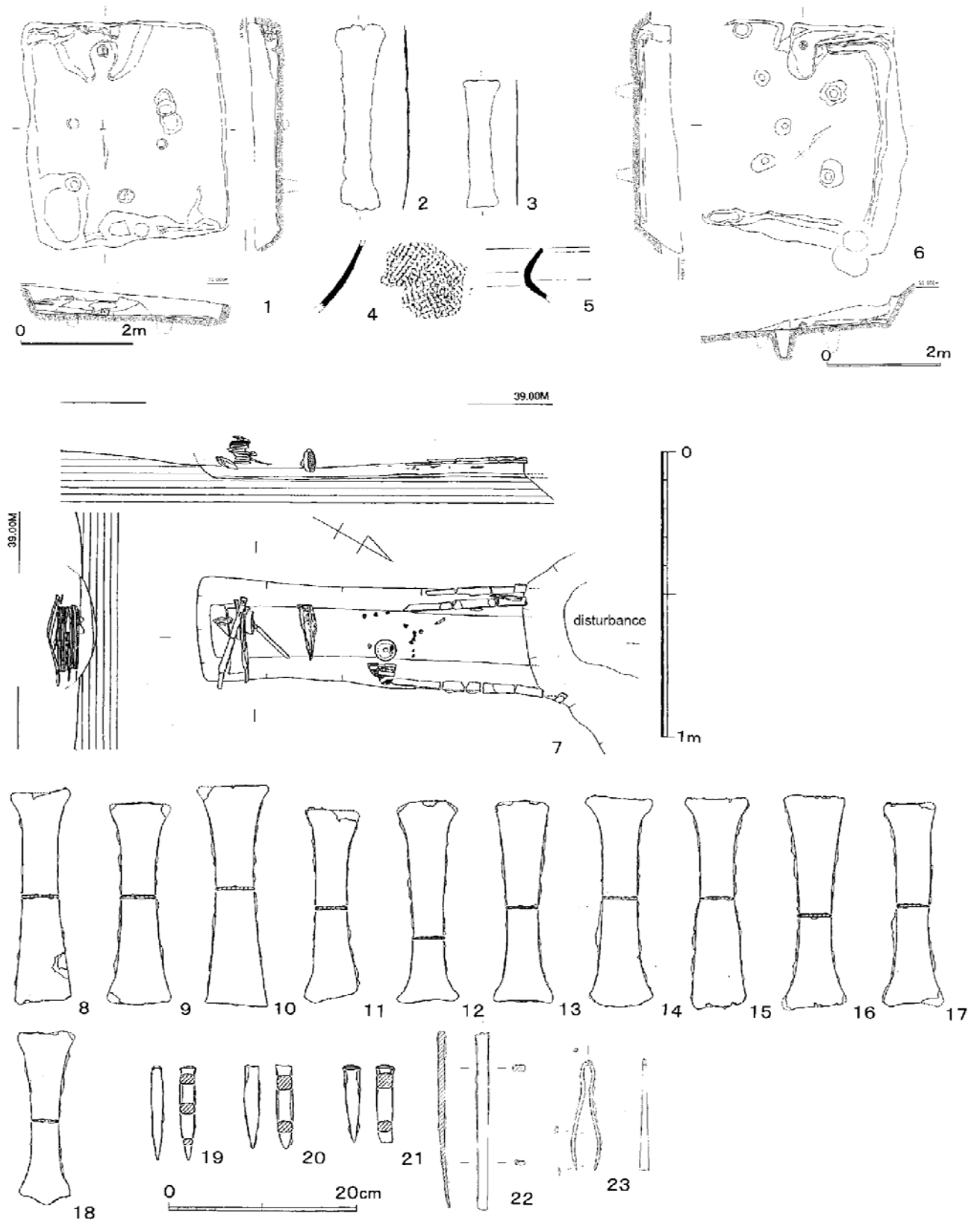


Figure 7 Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Fukuma Inland Area (Remnants 1 & 6: 1/100; 7: 1/20; Relics: 1/6)

1: House SC36 in Section 4 at Tsumaru-nishinouchiro Site; 2 to 5: Ritual Earthen Pit SX7 in Section 4 at the same site; 6: House SC4 at Tsumaru-minamitenjin Site; 7 to 23: Warihata Tomb No. 1 (1 to 6: The 8th Kyūshū Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tomb Study Meeting in 2005; 7 to 23: IURA 1999, all of which are cited with some alterations)

(4) Koga-shingū Area

In any other areas than the above-mentioned three, ondol houses were not confirmed. In Koga City and Shingūmachi area located in the south of the former three, however, the people from the peninsula can be considered in other aspects.

First of all, there is the Shishibu-tabuchi site in Koga City. This site catches attention of people who expect the site to maintain a part of “Kasuya-no-miyake” (an estate designated for rice production in Kasuya County for the Yamato Court) because a large embedded pillar building was found and is expected to date back to the mid 6th century or the early 7th century. A cylindrical earthenware product was also excavated along with soft earthenware which has been found in large quantities at this site. The product is bent like a Japanese *hiragana* letter “ku” in the upper part (KAI 2003, 2004b).

The cylindrical product is considered to be a chimney and a material related to Paekche (GWON, LEE 2006, SAKA 2007). In northern Kyūshū, this product is a rare material because similar products were found only at the Ushikubi kiln site (KAMEDA 2008).

The chimney is a practical item connected to life. If it is a copy made by the people of the Japanese Archipelago, similar products should be found at many other sites. Nevertheless, that is the only material found in the Munakata region at the moment. In this respect, it may be natural to consider that the cylindrical product is a material related to the people from the Korean Peninsula and Paekche.

The Shishibu-tabuchi site is considered to be related to Kasuya-no-miyake. The relation between the miyake estate and the people from the peninsula is described in “Nihonshoki” (Chronicles of Japan) with reference to Shirai-no-miyake in Kibi (set up in 555). From an archaeological point of view, it may be also presumable that the miyake estate was related to the people from the peninsula (KAMEDA 2000, MOMOSAKI 2010). It can be said that the cylindrical earthen product is a material which can support the relation.

Besides this, many materials related to the Korean Peninsula (pottery-earthenware, soft earthenware, soft earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, etc.) have been excavated at the Yuusu-mishiro site group in the Koga-shingū area (NISHIDA 1994). In this site group, too, it may be safe to presume the existence of the people from the peninsula as well as the connection to the sea.

In the Kusuura-nakazato tomb group, there are four earthen pits where horse trappings were detected (I & YOKOTA 2005). These are presumably pits in which horses were buried and give a clue to horse raising in the vicinities and the relation to the people from the peninsula and their family line (MOMOSAKI 2009).

It is notable that salpo (a spade-shaped iron product) was excavated at the Shingūmachi-kōnoki tomb No. 3 (in the second half of the 7th century), though it is no material related to daily life (NISHIDA 1998). This iron product, which does not seem to have been fundamentally accepted by the people of the Japanese Archipelago, is presumably related to the people from the peninsula and their family line. This Kōnoki tomb No. 3 is more than 5km far from the sea and very deeply inland. Then, when examining the topography of the vicinity, it can be presumed that there was a road connecting this area to Dazaifu different from the road along the sea. There is a possibility of some relation to the road.

In this Koga-shingū area, like the above-mentioned Munakata, Tsuyazaki and Fukuma areas, the existence of the people from the peninsula and their family line can be presumed in both coastal and inland areas. It may be considered that they existed in this area for something related to the sea and also lived in this area while taking part in inland transportation.

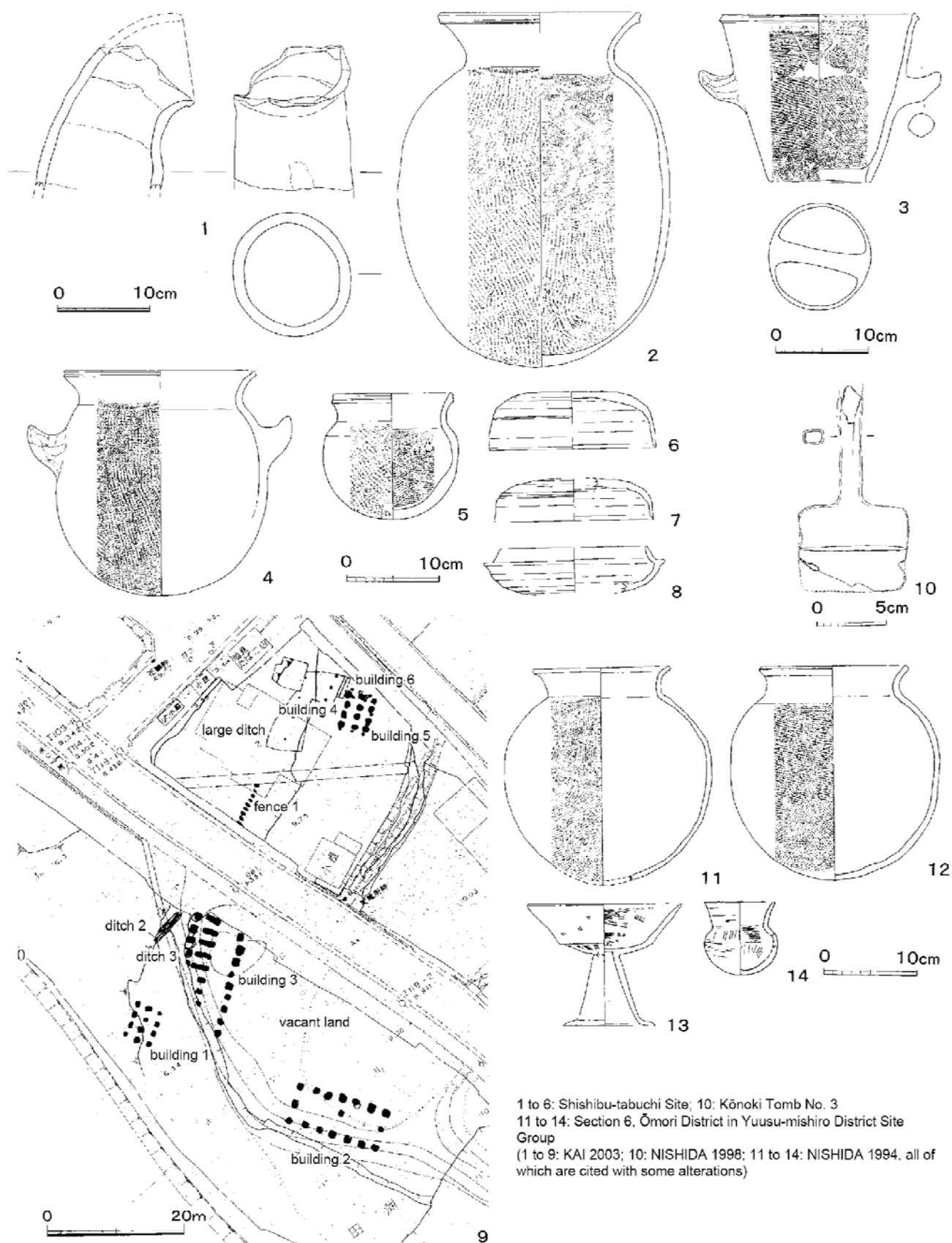


Figure 8 Archaeological Materials Originating in the Korean Peninsula in the Koga and Shingu Areas
(Remnants: 1/800; Relic 10: 1/4; Others: 1/6)

3. The People from the Peninsula to the Munakata Region

In the previous chapter, the author has considered the existence of the people from the Korean Peninsula and their jobs by reviewing materials originating in the peninsula found in the Munakata region. In this chapter, the author would like to put the above-mentioned consideration and examination in order.

(1) Time

With regard to chronological changes in the relation between the Korean Peninsula and the Munakata region, as relics dating back to the Yayoi period, first of all, there are a tomb with a stone compartment protecting a coffin which contained a ground stone sword with a hilt and ground stone arrowheads as grave goods at the Taku-matsugaura site in Munakata City (HARA 1991), a tomb comprising a cut bamboo coffin with bronze weapons buried at the Takuma-ishihata site in Munakata City (SHIRAKI 2009), bronze arrowheads and chisels made by reprocessing bronze swords of Liaoning style and amazonite comma-shaped and tube beads at the Imagawa site in Fukutsu City (SAKAI 1981), amazonite beads at the Mitsuoka-tsujinosono site in Munakata City (SHIRAKI 1998), earthenware jars of tile quality at the Ōshima-rokudon site in Munakata City (TAKEMATSU 2011), and soft earthenware at the Fujiwara-iwano site in Munakata City. Judging from these materials, it is certain that exchange with the peninsula had already begun at least in this period. However, it is not well known whether the people from the Korean Peninsula settled down in the Munakata region in the course of exchange. Nevertheless, it may be safe to partially consider such a possibility based on the existence of the stone compartment tomb at the Taku-matsugaura site similar to those of the Korean Peninsula.

If it is taken into consideration that there are materials originating in the Korean Peninsula which date back to the 4th century, such as flat iron hatchets at the Kubaru-takigashita site and pottery-earthenware at the Arai-shimonohara site, it seems to be certain that exchange with the peninsula also continued in the Kofun period.

At the beginning of the 5th century, materials originating in the Korean Peninsula began to show a rapid increase. Archaeological finds include ondol houses and soft earthenware including flat-bottomed bowls which are considered not to have been accepted by the people of the Japanese Archipelago. As already stated, the discovery of such materials seems to make it certain that the people from the peninsula existed in the Munakata region. Since materials related to the Korean Peninsula are found at many sites in both the first and second halves of the 5th century, it is clear that their existence continued during the period.

Then, an interesting thing is a considerable number of materials originating in the peninsula which date back to the 6th century. They have been found at not only mounded tombs but also community sites. They include an incomparable item like a portable oven with bird-leg patterns paddled at the Yukue-kugigaura site. As already stated, it is presumable that the people of the Korean Peninsula continuously visited this region. Materials which suggest the existence of the people from the peninsula are not many at the national level and probably show one of characteristics of Munakata.

As far as the 7th century is concerned, relevant materials have not been confirmed at community sites and there is no clue enough to say something, while rare items have been found at mounded tombs. For example, earthenware with stamped flower patterns of Silla at the Sōbaru tomb No. 2, a gilt bronze crown, gilt bronze horse trappings, bronze bowls and glass panels at the Miyajidake tomb, loop stirrups of Silla and earthenware with stamped flower patterns of Silla at the Tebika-namikirifudō, and salpo (a spade-shaped iron product) at the Kōnoki tomb No. 3. Although the rare gilt bronze crown and horse trappings at the Miyajidake tomb may have been obtained through the Yamato kingly power, it is also quite possible to consider that loop stirrups of Silla at the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb and glass panels may have been obtained by the chief of this area on his own in the process of exchange with the peninsula. Similarly, it is possible to consider that pieces of earthenware with stamped flower patterns of Silla at the Sōbaru tomb No. 2 and the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb may have been obtained in the process of exchange or may have been buried with the corpses of people from the peninsula who lived in the neighborhood.

What the author would like to note here is salpo (a spade-shaped iron product) (LEE 2010). As previously stated, this is not originally a Japanese product and cannot be considered as one of ordinary Japanese grave

goods, though there is one made of bronze as seen at the Oya tomb No. 1 in Okayama Prefecture (KONDŌ & KAWAMOTO 1998). If so and the size and location of the Kōnoki tomb No. 3 are taken into consideration, there is a possibility that the buried person was kin to the people from the peninsula or that at least someone kin to Korean people existed near the buried person.

Thus, it is presumable that there were people from the Korean Peninsula, including exchange with them in this Munakata region, though their existence in the 7th century cannot be clearly stated.

As stated above, there were people from the Korean Peninsula in this Munakata region at least from the Yayoi period and many people came from the peninsula to settle down and have various jobs in this region as well as across the country in the 5th century. This trend also continued after the 6th century and presumably until the 7th century, though archaeological materials gradually got unknown.

(2) Genealogy

Next, considering the genealogy of the people from the peninsula, there are, of course, materials concerning Kaya and Silla and also lots of materials concerning the Paekche region in a broad sense, including the Jeolla-do area. For example, there are earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled, flat-bottomed shallow bowls and flat-bottomed steamers. Pieces of earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled are unevenly distributed in northern Kyūshū and Kinki regions and noticeably found in large quantities in the Munakata region (TANAKA 1994, TAKETANI 1995, SHIRAI 2001, etc.). Judging from the discovery of flat-bottomed steamers as well as flat-bottomed shallow bowls which suggest the existence of the people from the peninsula, it may be certain that people came from the Jeolla-do area.

Cylindrical earthen products at the Shishibu-tabuchi site also suggest the existence of people from Paekche, while tripod earthenware at the Inamoto-kuromeguri kiln site SH1 suggests that people from Paekche were included in craftsmen making Sue ware or that a person who wished tripod earthenware of Paekche or people from Paekche were included in those who ordered earthenware.

With regard to grave goods in the mounded tomb, the discovery of many polygonal socketed iron spearheads deserves much attention. Such spearheads are considered to be typical of Paekche and Great Kaya (KIM 1994, PHAC 1998), which shows a deep relationship with those areas along with the discovery of jars typical of Great Kaya at the Araji-oda site.

The relation with Silla is shown by the excavation of earthenware with stamped flower patterns and swords with a three-leaf-decorated ring pommel or a triple decorated ring pommel as well.

(3) Work

To begin with, archaeological remains which suggest their work are forging tools which were precious in those days. Iron tongs, among others, which, had never existed in Japan before, were newly added to forging tools

In the Munakata region, archaeological sites where iron tongs were excavated include the Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb No. 1, the Asamachi-yamanoguchi tombs Nos. 5 & 6 and the Byōdōjihara tomb No. 5. The Shinbaru-nuyama tomb No. 1 is a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb 50m long which dates back to the mid 5th century and considered to be the first mounded tomb for the chief of this Shinbaru-nuyama area. The excavated set of forging tools, saws, short pikes and chisels suggests the existence of the people from the peninsula and their descendants concerned with these tools within the territory of the chief.

The Asamachi-yamanoguchi tomb No. 5 is a round mound 10m in diameter dating back to the end of the 6th century and accompanied with iron tongs and small and large iron hammers as grave goods. The tomb No. 6 is also a round mound 8m in diameter dating back to the end of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century and accompanied with iron tongs, hammers and short pikes. The Byōdōjihara tomb No. 5 is also included in the group of sites in the same period and accompanied with an iron tong and three iron hammers.

Judging from their sizes, it is presumable that these tombs were constructed for people like the master of a group of craftsmen who were actually engaged in forging and woodworking. Just from these relics, it is difficult to determine whether they were people who came from the peninsula. However, this possibility should be kept in mind because forging tools, including iron tongs which were precious in those days, were buried with the corpses.

In the Munakata region, there are also mounded tombs where flat iron ingots and forging tools other than iron tongs were buried as grave goods; and moreover some tombs have even iron dregs buried with the corpses. Also, forging sites dating back to the mid 5th century have been confirmed, which clearly shows continuous iron production. These remains make it presumable that craftsmen from the Korean Peninsula newly participated or took part in forging from time to time in the course of iron production.

Notable materials here are saws, which have been excavated at many mounded tombs: e.g. the Shinbaru-nuyama tomb No. 1 (a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb 50m long in the mid 5th century), the Shinbaru-nuyama tomb No. 44 (a round mound 15m in diameter in the second half of the 6th century: plane-shaped ironware, flat iron ingots and short pikes), the Jōgatani tombs Nos. 2 & 56 (in the first half to middle of the 6th century; No.2 is 13m in diameter), the Sue-kuhinoura tomb (a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb 37m long in the mid 6th century), the Saburō-maru tomb group, the Ōi-mikura tombs Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 8 (round mounds 12m to 13m in diameter in the second half of the 6th century), the Asamachi-momota tomb B-2 (a round mound in the second half of the 7th century accompanied with iron dregs) and the Mutajiri-nakaura tomb A03 (in the second half of the 6th century) (HARA 1997a &b).

Of course, saws have been found in various areas but no area other than this Munakata region has saws excavated in such large quantities as this region (ITŌ 1993). While the form of saws found at the Shinbaru-nuyama tomb No. 1 is rare, saws at the tomb No. 44 are large and incompatible. The plane-shaped ironware at the tomb No. 44 is also related to the Korean Peninsula. Accordingly, isn't it conceivable that saws excavated in the Munakata region were related to the Korean Peninsula and wooden products were produced as one of industries related to the peninsula?

As wooden products, you can imagine those related to ships/boats and the sea first. What draws the author's attention is wooden products which were probably used on the occasion of Okinoshima rituals. Isn't it possible to consider that wooden ritual tools, pedestals /boxes to place or keep ritual tools, and wooden coffins were made with those iron saws, short pikes and chisels?

Despite being not many, U-shaped heads of spades/hoes have been excavated at the Tokushige-busso tomb No. 2, the Arajī-oda site, the Miyajī-idenoue tomb and the Kawabaru-anzan tomb No. 8. U-shaped heads at the Arajī-oda site were found together with earthenware with bird-leg patterns paddled from the earthen pit. At the Miyajī-idenoue tomb, they were buried together with pottery-earthenware pots, iron adzes and flat iron ingots as grave goods.

U-shaped heads of spades/hoes before the mid 5th century, which were new farming tools originating in the Korean Peninsula, tell us that land was cultivated by using the most advanced farming tools in this Munakata region. A large quantity of U-shaped heads of spades/hoes at the Arajī-oda site along with other finds in the Arajī site group as a whole enable us to imagine that they were brought and used by the people from the peninsula. It is imaginable that they were not only brought as precious items but also used as practical tools by the people from the peninsula and local people in the Munakata soil.

The three-pronged hoe excavated at the alleged Hanami tomb is especially precious. There are only a few examples of three-pronged hoes dating back to the Kofun period even at the national level. Although it is unknown whether they were actually used, they are farming and cultivating tools which originate in the Korean Peninsula.

Besides them, the legs of tripod earthenware excavated at the Inamoto-kuromeguri Sue kiln site SH1 (SHIRAKI 2002) are ones of Paekche style which were not fundamentally used by the people of the Japanese Archipelago in those days. There is a possibility that people kin to the people from the peninsula took part in the production of such earthenware, though there are no other clear materials. Since they date back to the end of the 6th century and the mid 7th century, it is conceivable that those who had skills in making earthenware were included in newcomers from the peninsula in that period and produced tripod jars for themselves or the people of the Japanese Archipelago as a new type of earthenware.

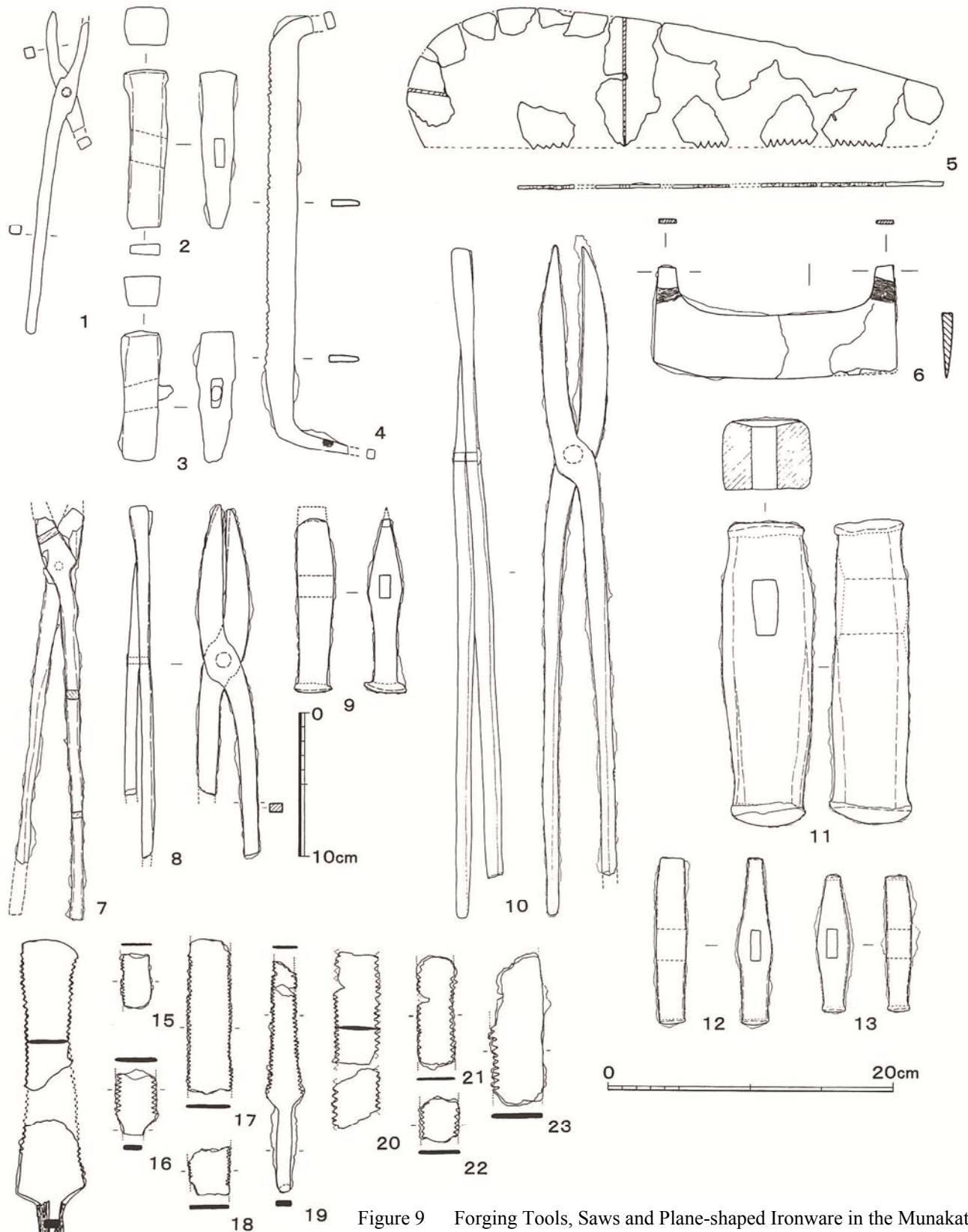


Figure 9 Forging Tools, Saws and Plane-shaped Ironware in the Munakata Region in the Kofun Period (1/4)

1 to 4: Shimbaru-nuyama Tomb No. 1; 5 & 6: Shimbaru-nuyama Tomb No. 44; 7: Byōdōjiharā Tomb No. 5; 8 & 9: Asamachi-yamanoguchi Tomb No. 6; 10 to 13: Asamachi-yamanoguchi Tomb No. 5; 14: Ōi-mikura Tomb No. 5; 15 & 16: Ōi-mikura Tomb No. 2; 17: Ōi-mikura Tomb No. 3; 18: Ōi-mikura Tomb No. 8; 19: Jōgatani Tomb No. 2; 20: Jōgatani Tomb No. 56; 21 & 22: Sue-kuhinoura Tomb; 23: Asamachi-momota Tomb B-2 (1 to 4: HASHIGUCHI 1989; 5 & 6: IKENOUE 2001; 7: HARA 1997b; 8 to 13: HARA 1991; 14 to 23: ITO 1993, all of which are cited with some alterations)

They were probably engaged in jobs related to the sea, including marine transportation and harbor management as many people have already pointed out judging from the location of the site. They may have been also engaged in land transportation as the author has stated above in this paper.

If the earthen pit in which horse trappings were found at the Kusuura-nakazato tomb group in Koga City is a horse-burying pit, horses should have been raised by the people from the peninsula and their kin. The use of horses ranges from military action to communications, cargo transportation and farming. The former three are substantially connected to the establishment of road networks.

As stated above, the people from the peninsula can be traced to the Munakata inland area, and therefore the production of wooden products, horse breeding and the establishment of road networks can be also included in their active sphere along with ironware production and farming.

4. Chiefs of Munakata and the People from the Peninsula

(1) Changes in Tombs of Chiefs

Finally, it is conceivable that local powerful families and chiefs in the Munakata region played some role in the migration of the people from the peninsula to the region. In this section, the author will see their relationships.

With regard to changes in the tombs of local chiefs in this region, there are recent results of studies by HANADAKatsuhiro (1999, 2012) and SHIGEFUJI Teruyuki (2011). In the following, their results will be referred to in the process of seeing the changes.

First of all, changes in the tombs of local chiefs in the Munakata region can be largely divided into several periods. The Togo-takatsuka tomb in the second half of the 4th century appeared in the Tsuru River basin, after which there was some blank. In the mid 5th century, the construction of tombs shifted to the northern part of the Tsuyazaki area. There was the southerly shift of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs from the Katsuura-minenohata tomb (97m) to the Katsuura-iura tomb (70m), the Shinbaru-nuyama tomb No. 22 (70m), the Yukue-ōtsuka tomb (73m), the Amoriten Shrine tomb (80m), the Sudata-misozuka tomb (60m), the Sudata-shimonokuchi tomb (82m) and the Arai-tsurugizuka tomb (102m) until the second half of the 6th century. Then, the construction of round mounds for local chiefs in the 7th century was shifted to the side of Fukuma, such as the Miyajidake tomb (38m in diameter) and the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb (20m in diameter). The tombs of local chiefs which the author can confirm are limited to these.

Then, in the mid 8th century, the Jingo ruined temple as the only ancient temple in the Munakata region was constructed in the middle reaches of the Saigō River on the more southern side. It is assumed that the county office was located at Yatsunami about 2km east from there and the Tsuhi station was located at the Azemachi site, which is located between the temple and the office (KINOSHITA 1999). These remains are near the Saikai-dō and Dazaifu-dō as an official road established later. When the official road is used from Yatsunami, it will lead to the Asamachi River as a tributary of the Tsuru River about 3km east. The Munakata Grand Shrine Hetsumiya is located about 3km from the sea down the Tsuru River and far from the official road.

Looking at changes in the mounded tombs of chiefs who represented the Munakata region as stated above, it is found that they were constructed first in the Munakata inland area and southerly shifted to the Tsuyazaki area fundamentally along the coast after the 5th century when the relation with the Korean Peninsula became clear, and then reached the Fukuma area in the 7th century. In the 8th century, the county office and the ancient temple were constructed in adjacent places as the pivot of politics, economy and religion of Munakata in the Saigō River basin as the midsouthern part of the Munakata region in a broad sense. However, the Munakata Grand Shrine Hetsumiya is located in the lower reaches of the Tsuru River in the region.

(2) The People from the Peninsula and local Chiefs

In the second chapter, the author has explained the areas where the people from the peninsula presumably existed by classifying them into four areas.

First of all, in the Tsuru River basin in the Munakata inland area, there is the Tōgō-takatsuka tomb dating back to the second half of the 4th century. In the 5th century when the people from the peninsula certainly existed, the construction of a tomb for the great chief of Munakata was shifted to the Tsuyazaki area along the coast. In the inland area, however, there are also keyhole-shaped mounded tombs dating back to the 5th century, such as the Taku-kifunemae tomb No. 1 (50m) and the same No. 2 (30m) and ones dating back to the 6th century, including the Kubaru tomb II-3 (45m) and Subettō tomb (38m), though the time of construction is not certain. Moreover, there are the Tokushige-takada tomb No. 16 (25m) and the Nagori-takada tomb (25m), though the time of construction is slightly uncertain. Although the tomb of the great chief was shifted to the coastal area, small and medium chiefs constructed their tombs in the inland area and presumably made contact with the people from the peninsula who presumably lived in the Asamachi River basin where a number of relics are located, including the Mitsuoka-rokusuke site where an ondol house is confirmed and the Asamachi-yamanoguchi mounded tomb group where forging tools were excavated and in the Fujiwara area where early oven houses and a variety of soft earthenware tools were excavated.

Next, in the Tsuyazaki area along the coast, the Nuyama-fukuhara site where an ondol house was confirmed is adjacent to the Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb group. The Yukue-kugigaura site where a portable oven with bird-leg patterns paddled was excavated is as near as about 500m south of the Shinbaru-nuyama mounded tomb group. The Yukue-ōtsuka tomb 73m in length is also adjacently located on the west side. On the north side of the Araji site group, including Araji-shimonohara site where an ondol house and a variety of soft earthenware and pottery-earthenware tools were excavated, there are a number of tombs in the Sudata mounded tomb group ranging from the second half of the 5th century to the second half of the 6th century. As previously stated, the Araji site group is a place where dwelling houses were constructed for Chinese people in later times. This site itself is a central community which was continuously active from the early Kofun period to the Nara period. In the central community like this, it is presumable that the people from the peninsula were mainly concerned with the sea and engaged in various jobs probably under the control of the local chief.

In the Fukuma inland area, the Tsumaru-nishinouchi site and the Tsumaru-minamitenjin site where ondol houses in the 5th century were detected are distributed along with the Warihata site. However, it is not clearly known whether the tombs of chiefs in the 5th century were constructed in this area. The Miyaji-idenokami site 26m in diameter with the discovery of cuirasses in the first half of the 5th century is not so far from this area. Despite being later in the period, the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb considered as the tomb of a local chief in the 7th century is relatively near. In the middle reaches of the Saigō River, there are a number of ondol houses in the 5th century and the Warihata tomb No. 1 (10m in diameter) in which flat iron ingots were buried as grave goods. Judging from these finds, we should consider anew what this area means. As already stated in the section about changes in the tombs of local chiefs, it does not seem that the public office and the temple were adjacently located by any chance in the Munakata region in the 8th century. This region should be considered over the times, including the significance of the region as a transportation route and the relation between the Saigō River basin and the inland road, such as the Saikai-dō and Dazaifu-dō established later.

Finally, in the Koga-shingū area, there are no clear tombs of local chiefs well known. However, it seems that the existence of valuable relics found in the Taniyama-kita site group including the Funahara tomb No. 3 that now attracts attention of people (Koga City Office 2013) should be considered, including the Shishibu-tabuchi site considered to be related to Kasuya-no-miyake near the coast of this area. In fact, a number of cylindrical earthen products and soft earthenware have been excavated despite being rare at the Shishibu-tabuchi site.

Thus, in the areas where the people from the Korean Peninsula presumably existed, not only the great chief of Munakata as a whole but also small and medium chiefs may have had some relationship with them. If the Shishibu-tabuchi site is related to Kasuya-no-miyake, it is also presumable that the central Yamato kingly power may have had some relationship with the people who came from the peninsula to this area.

5. Conclusion

In the foregoing sections, we have seen the relation between the Munakata region and the Korean Peninsula and the existence, history and work of the people from the peninsula based on the archaeological materials originating in the peninsula.

In summary, it seems to be the 5th century when there was a drastic change in the relationship with the Korean Peninsula that had been continued since at least the Yayoi period. Compared with the 4th century, materials originating in the Korean Peninsula clearly increased in the 5th century. This seems to be a result of confusion in the southern part of the peninsula caused by the southerly advance of Koguryo from the end of the 4th century to the early 5th century and also affected by the kingly power and locally powerful families in the Japanese Archipelago.

In this period, it is probably safe to say that the people from the peninsula migrated to not only the Tsuyazaki area along the coast but also the Munakata Tsuru River basin and the Fukuma Saigō River basin in the inland area.

It is notable that the relation between Munakata and the Korean Peninsula continued after their migration and there are relatively many materials originating in the peninsula in the 6th century found. At the beginning of the 6th century, the people of the Japanese Archipelago began to accept the Korean culture featured by using an oven and a steamer for cooking and made much progress in forging technology and the use of horses. That is why their lifestyles and tools gradually became undistinguishable from those of the people from the Korean Peninsula. Nevertheless, materials originating in the Korean Peninsula in the 6th century have been found in large quantities. This probably means that another group of people came from the peninsula. Many of them may have just visited the ancient Japan, while some other people may have migrated and settled down in this country.

This trend may have still continued even in the 7th century.

It is presumable that their jobs in the Munakata region were not limited to sea-related work and iron production, though they have been described so since before. They were also presumably engaged in developing farmland and waterways, constructing roads, raising horses and making wooden products. Small and medium local chiefs along with the great chief of Munakata as a whole may have had some relationship with the people from the peninsula, who may have also had some relationship with the Yamato kingly power.

In the personal opinion of the author, such relationships have not caught much attention because of the proximity of Munakata to the Fukuoka Plains. When the author has reviewed relevant materials anew this time, he has really felt the large quantity and diversity of materials originating in the Korean Peninsula and a deep relation with the Paekche and Jeolla-do area.

It is very interesting for the author to assume that the people from the peninsula were engaged in various jobs in the inland area. Isn't it possible for us to see a more interesting aspect of Munakata by considering the diversity of the Munakata region from the standpoint of the people from the Korean Peninsula?

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Emergence and Development of the Ancient Clan of Munakata

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Abstract: Evidence suggests that Okinoshima rituals, which were performed under the sponsorship of the Wa Kingly Power, emerged in the second half of the 4th century and that the group of people who constructed the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group established itself as the main group in charge of performing such rituals in Okinoshima by the second half of the 5th century. This probably marks the virtual establishment of the Munakata clan. Evidence also suggests, however, that it was not until after the Iwai Rebellion that the clan was given both the *uji* (clan) name “Munakata” and the official *kabane* title “Kimi.” Under the *kōri* (county) system, which was established during the reign of Emperor Kōtoku [645-654], the Munakata clan was appointed to the first administrator ship of the newly-established Munakata county. The clan expanded its power to influence the court after Amako-no-Iratsume of the clan was married to Prince Ōama. By the 8th century, the clan solidified its local rule, with the clan head serving as both *dairyō* [district governor] and *kannushi* (head shrine priest) of the Munakata district. This firm rule continued into the 9th century and beyond. It is assumed, however, that changes in the rituals for the Munakata Goddesses played a part in the discontinuation of Okinoshima rituals between the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century.

Keywords: Wa Kingly Power, Three Goddesses of Munakata, *uji* [lineage group or clan] and *kabane* [official title given to *uji*], *kannushi* (the head shrine priest) of Munakata, (top) administrator of *shingun* (district dedicated to deities)

1. Introduction

The ancient clan of Munakata certainly solidified its local rule by the 8th century, with the clan head doubling both as *dairyō* [district governor] as well as *kannushi* (head shrine priest) of the Munakata district, which was *shingun* (district dedicated to deities). In other words, the clan (*uji*) served the Wa Kingly Power [Wa: ancient Japan] both as the clan worshipping the Three Goddesses of Munakata and as a clan who assumed the district governorship [gubernatorial clan]. How far can the Munakata clan be traced back?

Myths and legends in the two oldest extant historical records of Japan--Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)--suggest that the Munakata Goddesses were characterized as “tutelary deities of [local] sea traffic via northern Kyūsū associated with the Wa Kingly Power’s external relations” as discussed later. And evidence suggests that the rituals for this purpose were sponsored by the Kingly Polity. This is reflected in the way Okinoshima rituals were conducted. There is a general consensus among scholars that Okinoshima rituals emerged in the second half of the 4th century, when the *uji* system was not yet established. The Munakata clan is supposed to be the main *uji* in charge of performing rituals for the Munakata Goddesses, especially those in Okinoshima. The question is: when did the Munakata clan emerge as such *uji*? This paper first focuses on this question.

The paper then reviews the development of the Munakata clan from the establishment of the *kōri* (county) system under the Kōtoku reign [645-654] to the discontinuation of Okinoshima rituals between the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century. Special attention is paid to the marriage between Amako-no-Iratsume and Prince Ōama (later Emperor Temmu), the success of Prince Takechi-no-Miko, a son of the couple, and the status of the Munakata clan in the capital.

Even after Okinoshima rituals were discontinued, the Munakata clan likely maintained its power over the region as the district gubernatorial clan while keeping its religious authority as the clan in charge of worshipping the Three Goddesses of Munakata. It is thus reasonable to assume that Okinoshima rituals were discontinued for some reason associated with the Wa Kingly Polity (the state), not the Munakata clan itself. Yet changes surrounding the rituals for the Munakata Goddesses might have played a part as well. In the closing paragraphs, the author will examine these hypotheses.

2. Munakata Goddesses and the Wa Kingly Power

(1) Birth of Three Goddesses of Munakata

According to Kojiki and Nihonshoki, the Three Goddesses of Munakata, who were worshipped by the Munakata clan, were born as a result of *ukehi* (trial by pledge) between Amaterasu (Sun Goddess) and her brother Susanowo. This legend, as described in Kojiki (Volume I), can be summarized as follows:

Susanowo was banished by his father Izanagi to Nenokuni [the land of the dead]. To say farewell to Amaterasu, Izanagi headed for Takamagahara (High Heavenly Plain), where she lived. His trip entailed great disturbances, which made Amaterasu suspect that her brother had a wicked heart. She thought he was coming up to seize her territory. So Amaterasu disguised herself as a man and armed herself to meet Susanowo. Amaterasu asked her brother, “for what reason did you come up to Takamagahara?” “I have no wicked heart,” Susanowo replied. Amaterasu asked, “how can you prove that you don’t have a wicked heart?” Susanowo answered, “let us perform *ukei* and prove each other’s sincerity by giving birth to children.”

So they decided to perform *ukei*, standing either side of Ama-no-Yasukawa (Tranquil River of Heaven). First Amaterasu took the Totsuka-no-Tsurugi sword that Susanowo had had with him, broken into three pieces, rinsed them in the water from the well called Ama-no-Manai, chewed them, and spat them out from her mouth in a mist form.

From the mist appeared the three goddesses: Takiribime-no-Mikoto [suffix “no-Mikoto” represents an honorary term of address] (or Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto), Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (or Sayoribime-no-Mikoto), and 多岐都比売命 [Tagitsuhime-no-Mikoto] in this order. Then Susanowo received the gems Amaterasu had worn and followed the same process before spitting them out like mist. From the mist appeared five gods: Ame-no-Oshihomimi, Ame-no-Hohi, Amatsu-Hikone, Ikutsu-Hikone, and Kumano-Kusuhi.

Amaterasu told Susanowo that the five gods were her children because they had been born from part of her belongings and that the three goddesses were his children because they had been born from part of his belongings (Totsuka-no-Tsurugi sword). The three goddesses reside in three shrines of Munakata: Takiribime-no-Mikoto in Okitsu-miya, Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto in Nakatsu-miya, and Tagitsuhime-no-Mikoto (Takitsuhime-no-Mikoto) in Hetsu-miya. The three goddesses were those worshipped not least by Munakata-no-Kimi (胸形君) (the Munakata clan).

A similar legend is contained in the main version in Chapter 6: Zuishu Meiyaku (瑞珠盟約) in the first of the two volumes on the age of deities of Nihonshoki. This version identifies the Three Goddesses as 田心姫 (Tagorihime), 湍津姫 (Tagitsuhime), and 市杵嶋姫 (Ichikishimahime). [Back then, Chinese characters were used to phonetically represent the Japanese language.] It also states that they were born in this order. The version makes no mention of where these goddesses resided but states that they were worshipped not least by Munakata-no-Kimi (胸肩君) of Tsukushi (northern Kyūshū). Apart from the main version, Nihonshoki contains the first, second, and third alternative versions describing the birth of the Three Goddesses. These alternative versions slightly differ in phonetic representation, order of birth, place of residence, and worshipping clan. These differences are summarized in Table 1. A similar legend is contained in Saikaidō Fudoki, which collectively refers to the *fudoki* [the collection of reports on the natural resources, geophysical conditions, and oral traditions of each province] in the region of Saikaidō or present-day Kyūshū. Saikaidō Fudoki remains only in some fragments. (Fudoki that so remain are known as *fudoki itsubun* (“once scattered and lost *fudoki*”). Some of these fragments are contained in Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi. It is unclear, however, that this legend dates back to ancient times.

Table 1 Three Goddesses of Munakata in different versions of the *Ukei* myth

Source	Name of deity (in order of birth)	Place of residence	Worshipping clan
Kojiki	Takiribime-no-Mikoto (or Okutushimahime-no-Mikoto) Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (or Sayoribime-no-Mikoto) Takitsuhime-no-Mikoto	Munakata-no-Okitsu-miya Munakata-no-Nakatsu-miya Munakata-no-Hetsu-miya	Munakata-no-Kimi and (an)other clan(s)
Nihonshoki Main version	Tagorihime Tagitsuhime Ichikishimahime		Munakata-no-Kimi in Tsukushi and (an)other clan(s)
Nihonshoki 1st alternative version	Okitsushima-hime Tagitsuhime Tagorihime		
Nihonshoki 2nd alternative version	Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto Tagorihime-no-Mikoto Tagitsuhime-no-Mikoto	Okitsu-miya Nakatsu-miya Hetsu-miya	
Nihonshoki 3rd alternative version	Ichikishimahime (or Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto) Tagitsuhime-no-Mikoto Tagirihime-no-Mikoto		Minuma-no-Kimi in Tsukushi and (an)other clan(s)

(2) The *Ukei* myth and divine characteristics of the Three Goddesses

Scholarship is divided on the implications of the birth legend involving *ukei* as well as the context of the different versions of the legend and their development processes.¹⁾ This section, however, points out only two aspects of the divine characteristics of the Three Goddesses as implied by this legend.

The first aspect is that as important deities for the Kingly Power, the Three Goddesses appear in a highly systematic myth. According to the myth, the *ukei* between Amaterasu and Susanowo gave rise to the Five Gods as well as the Three Goddesses. Ame-no-Oshihomimi, the first of the Five Gods, is believed to be the father of Ho-no-Ninigi, who descended from heaven in the myth of Tenson *Kōrin* (the Descent of the Heavenly Grandchild). Ame-no-Hohi, another of the Five Gods, is believed to be the progenitor of a number of *uji* (lineage group or clan), including Izumo-no-Omi [the Izumo clan, with “-no-Omi” meaning that the clan had a title “Omi,” one of the honorary titles for a clan] and Haji-no-Muraji [the Haji clan, with “-no-Muraji” meaning that the clan had a title “Muraji,” another honorary title for a clan]. Likewise, Amatsu-Hikone is believed to be the progenitors of many *uji*, including Ōshi-kōchi-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko [the Ōshi-Kōchi clan, with “-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko” meaning that the clan assumed provincial governorship or chiefdom], Nukatabe-no-Yue-no-Muraji, and Yamashiro-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko.

According to Kojiki, Takiribime-no-Mikoto, one of the Three Goddesses, later became the wife of Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto and gave birth to Ajisukitakahikone-no-Kami [written as 阿遲鉏高日子根神; the suffix “-no-Kami” represents a deity] (a.k.a. Kamo-no-Ōmi-no-Kami) as well as Takahime-no-Mikoto (a.k.a. Shitateruhime [下光比売]-no-Mikoto and Shitateruhime [下照比売]), who later became the wife of Ame-no-Wakahiko [天若日子].

In Nihonshoki, Ajisukitakahikone-no-Kami is written as 味耜高彥根神, Shitateruhime [下照比売] as 下照姫 [the pronunciation is the same], and Ame-no-Wakahiko [天若日子] as 天稚彦 [the pronunciation is the same]. In both Kojiki and Nihonshoki, these deities appear in a story that precedes the *Tenson Kōrin* myth. The story can be summarized as follows:

Ame-no-Hohi was sent from Takamagahara to pacify Ashihara-no-Nakatsu Kuni (Central Land of Reed-Plains). Three years passed but he did not return. Then Takamimusuhi (or Takamimusuhi, Amaterasu, and other deities in Takamagahara) decided that he needed another envoy. So he gave a bow

and arrows to Ame-no-Wakahiko and sent him to Ashihara-no-Nakatsu Kuni. A long time passed, but Ame-no-Wakahiko, too, failed to return. In fact, he married Shitateruhime, a daughter of Ōkuninushi and kept staying there. So a pheasant was sent from Takamagahara to observe what was going on. Ame-no-Wakahiko, however, killed the pheasant with the bow and one of the arrows Takamimusuhi had given him. The arrow passed through the pheasant's breast and reached to Takamimusuhi in Takamagahara. Takamimusuhi took the arrow and threw back, saying "let it hit Ame-no-Wakahiko if he has a wicked heart." The returning arrow hit and killed Ame-no-Wakahiko. To offer his condolences, Ajisukitakahikone, who was on good terms with Ame-no-Wakahiko in Ashihara-no-Nakatsu Kuni, ascended to Takamagahara but was mistaken for Ame-no-Wakahiko there. Enraged, Ajisukitakahikone kicked away the mortuary house, which fell down to earth and became Mt. Moyama (mourning mountain) in the province of Mino.

Ancient literature suggests that Ajisukitakahikone was worshipped by the Kamo-no-Kimi clan in Yamato. For example, this god appeared in the section of the Kamo-no-Kamube [Kamube (people in charge of supporting the local shrine) in Kamo] in the chapter on Ou-gun [gun: ancient district] in Izumo-no-Kuni Fudoki (*fudoki* on Izumo Province). This section states: "坐葛城賀茂社." Also, Engishiki (Procedures of the Engi Era), in its list of shrines called "Jimmyō-Chō" states that the god resided in Katsujō-gun, Yamato Province, saying: "高鴨阿治須岐託彦根命神社四座 (並名神大。月次相嘗新嘗)".

The *Ukei* myth involving the birth of the Three Goddesses, as well as the *Tenson Kōrin* myth, is a highly politically-motivated myth that is designed to justify the rule by the Wa Kingly Power (Emperor). It is likely that the myth was adjusted at the last stages of the compilation of Kojiki and Nihonshoki. The existence of variant legends about the Three Goddesses as shown in Table 1 clearly indicates that these deities were not those newly created at the time of the compilation of Kojiki and Nihonshoki. All these legends, however, agree that the Three Goddesses were born out of the *ukei* between Amaterasu and Susanowo.

The second aspect that needs to be pointed out is that the Three Goddesses were tutelary deities of the Wa Kingly Power. In Nihonshoki, the first alternative version states that when Hinokami (Amaterasu) made the Three Goddesses descend to "the land of Tsukushi" on earth, she said to them, "汝三神、宜降二居道中一、奉助二天孫。" This certainly indicates that the Three Goddesses are divinely characterized as deities who guard (奉助) "*Tenson* (天孫)" (the descendant(s) of Amaterasu or the Kingly Power).

The divine characteristic of the Three Goddesses is also suggested by the legend carried in Nihonshoki's article of March, Yūryaku 9 [the 9th year of the Yūryaku reign]. According to this legend, Emperor Yūryaku himself tried to go across the sea to subdue the Silla Kingdom on the Korean Peninsula but abandon this idea at the expostulation of the Munakata Goddesses (胸方神; Three Goddesses of Munakata). Instead, the Emperor sent Ki-no-Oyumi-no-Sukune, Ōtomo-no-Katari-no-Muraji, and others as generals. Ōtomo-no-Katari-no-Muraji was killed in battle and Ki-no-Oyumi-no-Sukune died of illness in Silla. This article clearly depicts the Three Goddesses of Munakata as tutelary deities of the Emperor (Kingly Power), although it is doubtful that the report tells all the facts as they were.

(3) Divine characteristics of the Three Goddesses as implied by their names

This section looks at the divine characteristics of the Three Goddesses as implied by their names.

Takiribime-no-Mikoto (多紀理毘売命), the first to have been born among the three according to Kojiki, corresponds to the following goddesses in Nihonshoki: Tagorihime (田心姫) in the main and the first alternative versions of the *Ukei* myth, Tagorihime-no-Mikoto (田心姫命), and Tagirihime-no-Mikoto (田霧姫命). "多紀理," "田心," and "田霧" are all considered to phonetically represent "Takiri." The generally accepted view is that this goddess is the deification of kiri or fog. FUKUSHIMA Akiho, MIZUNO Yū, and some other scholars conclude that the goddess is the deification of fog, which stands in the way of [local] sea traffic.²⁾

Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (市寸嶋比売命), the second to have been born according to Kojiki, corresponds to the following goddesses in Nihonshoki: Ichikishimahime (市杵嶋姫) in the main version, Okitsushimahime (瀛津嶋姫) in the first alternative version, Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (市杵嶋姫命) in the second alternative version, and Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto (瀛津嶋姫命). This is substantiated by the fact that the third alternative version in Nihonshoki sites Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (市杵嶋姫命) as

another name for Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto (瀛津嶋姫命). “市寸” and “市杵” are read as “Itsuki” Its verb form “itsuku” means “to perform a ritual” or “to be possessed by a spirit.” In either case, there is very little doubt that Ichiki (市寸 or 市杵)-shima-hime (比売 or 姫) is a name for deified Okinoshima Island. The “瀛津嶋” part both in “瀛津嶋姫” in the first alternative version and “瀛津嶋姫命” in the third alternative version phonetically presents “Okitsushima.” The “Oki” part in “Okitsushima” means “far off the coast” [and the “shima” part means “island”]. Likewise, Okinoshima literally means an “island far off the coast.” It is thus reasonable to conclude that Ichiki (市寸 or 市杵)-shima-hime (比売 or 姫) is a name for the deified far-off-the-coast island. This is substantiated by the statement in the second version of the *Ukei* myth in Nihonshoki that 市杵嶋姫命 dwells in Okitsu-miya (遠瀛).

This line of logic, however, raises a question: why Kojiki states that Takiribime-no-Mikoto (多紀理比売命), who was the first to have been born among the Three Goddesses, is also called Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto (奥津嶋比売命). Kojiki states that these particular goddesses reside in Munakata-no-Okitsu-miya. The naming “Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto” should be the reflection of this fact. In light of the legends in the second and third alternative version in Nihonshoki, however, Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto (奥津嶋比売命), should be another name for Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (市寸嶋比売命). This apparent inconsistency likely reflects the fluid situation at the time of compiling Kojiki and Nihonshoki regarding the naming, order of birth, and place of residence of the Three Goddesses.

Today, Tagorihime-no-Kami is enshrined in Okitsu-miya (Okinoshima), Tagitsuhime-no-Kami in Nakatsu-miya, and Ichikishimahime-no-Kami in Hetsu-miya (Tashima). This is most likely the result of linking the order of birth of the Three Goddesses as described in the main version in Nihonshoki (Tagorihime, followed by Tagitsuhime, and then by Ichikishimahime) and the geographical order of places of residence from far offshore as described in Kojiki and the second alternative version in Nihonshoki (Okitsu-miya, followed by Nakatsu-miya, and then Hetsu-miya). Nihon Montoku Tennō Jitsuroku (Veritable Record of Emperor Montoku of Japan), in its article of the 26th day of Intercalary February, Ten'an 2 (858), enumerates Tagorihime-no-Kami, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami, and Ichikishimahime-no-Kami in this order when it refers to the Three Goddesses of Munakata. Both the order and phonetic representation are the same as those in the main version in Nihonshoki. Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku (Veritable Record of Three Generations [of Emperor] of Japan) also adopts the same order and phonetic representation in its article of February 30, Jōgan 1 (859). These articles suggest that by this time, the Chinese characters that phonetically represent the names of the Three Goddesses converged with those in the main version in Nihonshoki.

If the sound is something to go by, however, it should be concluded that the goddesses who resided in Okinoshima was called “Itsukishima-hime” or “Okitsushima-hime” as discussed above.

Takitsuhime-no-Mikoto (多岐都比売命), the third to have been born according to Kojiki, corresponds to Tagitsuhime (湍津姫) in the main and the first alternative versions and Tagitsuhime-no-Mikoto (湍津姫) in the second and third alternative version.

The generally-accepted theory is that “多岐都” and “湍津” phonetically represent “Takitsu” and “Tagitsu,” respectively, and that these are names for deified whirling tides. If “Takirihime” is a name for the deified fog that impedes [local] sea traffic, then it is reasonable to conclude that Takitsuhime and Tagitsuhime are names for deified whirling tides.

Their very phonetic names of the Three Goddesses, including Itsukishima-hime (a.k.a. Okitsushima-hime), which was the deification of the far-off-the-coast island, suggest that they are tutelary deities of [local] sea traffic--deities who guard the safety of [local] sea traffic and even impede such traffic when necessary.

A number of separate descriptions in both Kojiki and Nihonshoki, when combined, strongly suggest that [local] sea traffic the Three Goddesses of Munakata watched over refers to sea traffic in the sea off northern Kyūshū or more precisely, the sea traffic route that linked northern Kyūshū and the Korean Peninsula. First, these two oldest extant historical records of Japan state that the Munakata, the Minuma clan, and other powerful clans worshipped the Three Goddesses. Second, they attribute the residences of the goddesses to Okitsu-miya, Nakatsu-miya, and Hetsu-miya. Third, the third alternative version in Nihonshoki states that the goddesses descended to “the land of Tsukushi” (northern Kyūshū). Fourth, this version states, in relation to the Three Goddesses: “今在二海北道中一。号曰二道主貴一。” The phrase “海北道中 [kai-hoku-dō-chu, whose character-for-character translation would be ‘sea, north, route, middle’]” in this quotation refers to none other than the sea traffic route that linked northern Kyūshū and the Korean

Peninsula. There is very little doubt that the phrase “道中” in the earlier-cited quotation from the first alternative version is synonymous with “海北道中.”

The phrase “海北” also appears in the memorial submitted by King Seong of Paekche to Emperor Kimmei in Nihon Shoki’s article of December, Kimmei 15. A passage from the memorial reads: “以斯羅無道、不_レ畏_二天皇_一、与_レ狛同_レ心、欲_レ殘_二滅海北彌移居_一。臣等共議、遣_二有至臣等_一、仰乞_二軍士_一、征_二伐斯羅_一。” In this passage, “海北彌移居” indicates to the miyake (meaning “granary” originally and “outpost” or “Imperial-controlled territory” by extension) in the Korean Peninsula, or more specifically, what is known as “Mimana Nihon-fu,” while “海北” is used to refer to the Korean Peninsula. The phrase “海北” also appears in the Book of Song, a contemporaneous Chinese history book. A passage in its chapter on the State of Wa reads: “東征_二毛人_一五十五国、西服_二衆夷_一六十六国、渡平_二海北_一九十五国。” Here, “海北” also refers to the Korean Peninsula.³⁾

Given that the Three Goddesses were important tutelary deities for the Kingly Power as discussed earlier, It is logical to characterize them as “tutelary deities of [local] sea traffic via northern Kyūshū associated with the Kingly Power’s external relations,” as stated in the “Introduction” section of this paper. This divine characteristic is substantiated by the legend in Nihonshoki’s article of March, Yūryaku 9 that the Emperor was admonished by the Three Goddesses when he tried to go across the sea to subdue the Silla Kingdom. Attention should be given to the statement in the third alternative version in Nihonshoki that the Three Goddesses were worshipped by “Minuma-no-Kimi in Tsukushi and (an)other clan(s).” This expression is consistent with the statement in both Kojiki and the main version in Nihonshoki that the goddesses were worshipped by two or more clans (“Munakata-no-Kimi and (an)other clan(s)” in the former and “Munakata-no-Kimi in Tsukushi and (an)other clan(s)” in the latter. This suggests that the clan worshipping the Three Goddesses was not limited to the Munakata clan by the time of compiling Kojiki or Nihonshoki. The implications of the legend that cites the name of the Minuma clan will be discussed later.

(4) Rituals for the Three Goddesses and the Kingly Power

Nihonshoki contains legends that suggest that the Kingly Power itself organized rituals for the Three Goddesses. One such legend appears in the second article of February, Ōjin 41, which contains the following passage:

是月、阿知使主等、自_レ吳至_二筑紫_一。時胸形大神、有_レ乞_二工女等_一。故以_二兄媛_一奉_二於胸形大神_一。是則今在_二筑紫国_一、御使君之祖也。

The expression “E-hime (兄媛)” in this passage refers to one of the four seamstresses and weavers (Ehime, Otohime, Kurehatori, and Ayahatori) who were brought to Tsukushi from the state of “Wu” (one of the Southern Dynasties of China), according to Nihonshoki’s article of February 1, Ōjin 37, which states that the “King of Wu” had given these women to Achi-no-Omi and his companions who had been sent to Wu to procure seamstresses. The second article of February, Ōjin 41 states that E-hime was offered to the “Munakata Grand Goddesses” at their request and that E-hime was the progenitor of Mitsukai-no-Kimi, who now dwelled in the province of Tsukushi. A very similar story appears in the articles of January 13 and March, Yūryaku 14 of Nihonshoki, which state that among the four skilled weavers and seamstresses (Ayahatori and Kurehatori [weavers] as well as Ehime and Otohime [seamstresses]), who had been brought from “Wu” by Musa-no-Suguri-Ao and others, Ehime was offered to Ōmiwa-no-Kami.

Although these two articles may tell a more detailed story about weavers and seamstresses being invited from one of the Southern Dynasties of China, what deserves attention about the second article of February, Ōjin 41 is its statement that Ehime, who was offered to the Munakata Goddesses, is the progenitor of the Mitsukai-no-Kimi clan in Tsukushi. This statement suggests that the Munakata Goddesses were worshipped by an Imperial envoy because the syllable “mi” in “Mitsukai” is a prefix expressing respect for deities, the Emperor and the like, and the “tsukai” part can mean “an envoy.”

Although the name “the Mitsukai-no-Kimi clan” does not appear elsewhere in extant literature, There is very little doubt that this particular clan was the (regional) tomo-no-miyatsuko clan [tomo-no-miyatsuko is a title given to leaders of be, which refers to hereditary occupational groups who supplies goods and services to the Kingly Power] in Tsukushi who served as one of the Mitsukai-no-be groups (written as 御使

部 or 三使部) that were established across the country. The tomo-no-miyatsuko clan in the capital who put these Mitsukai-no-be groups under its control was Mitsukai-no-Muraji. Kiyotari and others of the Mitsukai-no-Muraji clan were granted the title “Ason (朝臣),” one of the *kabane* or honorary titles for a family in 768, according to the article of September 25, Jingo-keiun 2 in Shoku-nihongi (The Chronicle of Japan, Continued). This clan (*uji*) appears in the genealogical record of the 9th century, Shinsen Shōjiroku (“Newly Compiled Record of Surnames,” a.k.a. “New Selection and Record of Hereditary Titles and Family Names”). Its section of families who were of an imperial lineage and whose registered residence was in the left side of the capital, part 1, contains a passage: “御使朝臣。出 自二諡景行皇子氣入彦命之後也...” This *uji* is different from the Mitsukai-no-Kimi clan, which likely shared the same genealogy with the Munakata clan as it had a Kimi title (one of the *kabane* title).

Judging from its name, Mitsukai-no-be is thought to be the *be* whose official duty it was to wait on envoys from the Emperor (Daiō). Since the second article of February, Ōjin 41 states that the Mitsukai-no-Kimi clan descends from Ehime, who was offered to Munakata Goddesses, it is reasonable to conclude that this particular clan was the regional tomo-no-miyatsuko clan who supervised the *be* in charge of waiting on the imperial envoys who had been sent to perform rituals for the Munakata Goddesses. It is safe to say that the Mitsukai-no-Kimi clan was among the clans who, according to the *Ukei* myth in Kojiki and Nihonshoki, worshipped the Three Goddesses of Munakata.

Another Nihonshoki story worth noting here is reported in the articles of March 1 to October, Richū 5. Excerpts are shown below:

五年春三月戊午朔、於筑紫所居三神、見于宮中、言、何奪我民矣。吾今慚汝。於是、而不祠。...冬十月甲寅朔甲子、葬皇妃。既而天皇、悔下之不治二神崇、而亡中皇妃上、更求其咎。或者曰、車持君行於筑紫国、而悉校車持部、兼取充神者。必是罪矣。天皇則喚車持君、以推問之。事既得実焉。因以、数之曰、爾雖車持君、縦檢校天子之百姓。罪一也。既分寄于神車持部、兼奪取之。罪二也。則負惡解除・善解除、而出於長渚崎、令祓禊。既而詔之曰、自今以後、不得掌筑紫之車持部。乃悉収以更分之、奉於三神。

This story can be summarized into three points. First, despite an oracle from the enraged Munakata Goddesses brought to the Imperial Court, all the Emperor did was to pray for the goddesses. He failed to perform a ritual for them. Because of this failure, the Empress (Kurohime) died. Second, the Munakata Goddesses were enraged because when Kurumamochi-no-Kimi, the clan in charge of supervising the Kurumamochi-be, a group of people tasked with building and carrying the vehicles of the Court, was sent to Tsukushi, where the clan, in the process of inspecting Kurumamochi-be for collecting tributes, took away its members who were Kamubera-no-Tami (Kamube), people in charge of the service of the local deities, that is, the Three Goddesses. Third, the Emperor condemned Kurumamochi-no-Kimi for this act, saying “you must not take control of Kurumamochi-be from now on.” He then took them back and offered them anew to the Three Goddesses.

Although this story may not be faithful to the fact, it does suggest that those who had the duty to serve the Kingly Power as Kurumamochi-be were given to the Munakata Goddesses as Kamube. The story does not explicitly show that the Kingly Power itself organized rituals for the Munakata Goddesses. It is safe to say, however, that the story indicates that Ehime was offered to the Munakata Goddesses and that they were closely related to the Kingly Power.

Such close relations are also implied in Nihonshoki’s article of February 1, Yūryaku 9, which contains the following passage:

遣凡河内直香賜与采女、祠胸方神。香賜既至壇所、(the inserted note omitted)及将行事、姦其采女。天皇聞之曰、祠神祈福、可不慎歟。乃遣難波日鷹吉士將誅之。

This passage states that the Emperor assigned Ōshikōchi-no-Atai Katabu and a palace lady-in-waiting to perform rituals for “Munakata Goddesses (胸方神).” Although it may not faithfully reflect what really happened under the reign of Yūryaku, the passage explicitly shows that the Kingly Power organized itself rituals for the Munakata Goddesses. This article is followed by the earlier-quoted article on the expeditionary forces to Silla. This suggests that a ritual for the Munakata Goddesses was performed to pray for a successful invasion of Silla under the reign of Yūryaku.

The preceding paragraphs have reviewed the divine characteristics of the Three Goddesses and rituals for them as implied by the *Ukei* myth and other legends in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*. At any rate, the *Ukei* myth alone strongly suggests that Itsukushima-hime (a.k.a. Okitsushima-hime) is a name that signifies the deification of Okinoshima, a solitary island in the Genkai Sea. If that is the case, The characteristics of the Three Goddesses as have been identified earlier should be manifested in archeological evidence regarding Okinoshima rituals.

3. Okinoshima Rituals and Ruling Elites in the Munakata Region

(1) What gave rise to Okinoshima rituals and how?

The details of archaeological ritual sites on Okinoshima have become known after three rounds of archaeological surveys were conducted from 1954 to 1971.⁴ The surveys have found that Okinoshima rituals evolved through four phases: (i) ritual(s) on top (atop) of a rock(s); (ii) ritual(s) in the shade of a rock (in the shade of an overhanging rock; beneath an overhanging rock); (iii) rituals partly in rock shadows and partly in the open air; and (iv) ritual(s) in the open air (under the open sky). Most scholars date the first phase to the second half of the 4th century to the 5th century, the second phase to the second half of the 5th century to the 6th century, the third phase to the 7th century to about the middle of the 8th century, and the fourth phase to about the middle of the 9th century. Ritual artifacts that have been discovered suggest that Okinoshima rituals were associated with foreign relations between the Wa Kingly Power and the states in the Korean Peninsula and even China and that the Wa Kingly Power was directly involved in these rituals from their outset.

These characteristics of Okinoshima rituals are in parallel with the divine characteristic of the Three Goddesses of Munakata that can be deduced from the *Ukei* myth and other legends in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, that is, their characteristic as “tutelary deities of [local] sea traffic via northern Kyūshū associated with the Kingly Power's external relations.” Scholarship generally agrees that the deity of Okinoshima was originally an island/sea deity that was worshipped by local groups, including the one that later gave rise to the Munakata clan. It is important to recall here, however, that the Three Goddesses of Munakata were tutelary deities of the Kingly Power. Okinoshima rituals must have been launched for the purpose of worshipping them. This does not suggest, however, that the Wa Kingly Power's tutelary deities with the divine characteristic described above existed, or rather, perceived to exist, as the Three Goddesses of Munakata as described in the *Ukei* myth in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*.

If Okinoshima rituals were launched by the Kingly Power, then there must have been an important event in the Wa Kingly Power's external relations that served as the motive behind the launch. And if the launch is dated to the second half of the 4th century, then it is reasonable to hypothesize that such an event was the start of formal diplomacy with Paekche. This hypothesis, which has already been put forward by a number of scholars,⁵ is supported by the inscription on the Seven-branched Sword [written as 七支刀] owned by Isonokami-jingū Shrine, as well as by a series of *Nihonshoki* articles of Jingū Kōgō 46-52 (from the 46th to 52nd years under the reign of Empress Jingū Regent).

The inscription is as follows:

On the “front” side: 泰和四年五月十六日丙午正陽造百鍊鋼七支刀生辟百兵宜供供侯王□□□□作
On the “back” side: 先世以来未有此刀百濟王世子奇生聖音故為倭王旨造伝示後世

Although there has been much debate about the interpretation of the inscription, it is safe to conclude that the first two letters “泰和” in the front refer to “太和 (Taiwa),” the name of an era in the period of the

Eastern Jin Dynasty in China, which corresponds to 369 C.E. The purport of the inscription is that the Crown Prince (later King Geungusu) of the King of Paekche (Geunchogo) made the Seven-branched Sword for the King of Wa in the hope that it will be passed on to later generations. An equal relationship between the King of Paekche and the King of Wa is suggested. The inscription in no way implies that the sword was “bestowed on” or “presented as a sign of veneration to the Wa of King.

According to Nihonshoki articles of Jingū Kōgō 46-52, the start of formal diplomacy with Paekche can be summarized as follows:

In March of Jingū Kōgō 46, Shima-no-Sukune was sent to Tokujun-koku (a state in the Gaya region). He heard from the king of Tokujun-koku that two years earlier, envoys from Paekche, including Kutei, had come up to him and asked him to serve as a go-between so that their state and Wa would be able to establish diplomatic relations. So Shima-no-Sukune sent an envoy to Tokujun-koku. The envoy returned and reported that King Geunchogo of Paekche was ready to bring a tribute to the King of Wa. Then Shima-no-Sukune returned home. The next year, Jingū Kōgō 47, King Geunchogo of Paekche sent Kutei and other envoys to Wa with a tribute. Later, Paekche vowed to bring a tribute every year. As promised, Paekche did bring a tribute in Jingū Kōgō 51 and 52. In Jingū Kōgō 52, Paekche again sent Kutei and other envoys to Wa and offered such treasures as a seven-branched sword (written as 七枝刀) and shichishikyō (presumably a mirror with seven round bosses surrounded by concentric circles)

The description of Paekche as a vassal state to Japan (Wa) is due to the perspective of the author(s) of these Nihonshoki articles; it likely fails to reflect bilateral relations as they were. Yet these Nihonshoki articles are thought to contain some truth on the assumption that there is a gap of 120 years or two sexagenary cycles between the actual era of Jingū Kōgō and the era of Jingū Kōgō as described in these articles, which were written based on the Records of Paekche. If this assumption is correct, Jingū Kōgō 46 should correspond to 366 C.E. instead of 246. Likewise, Jingū Kōgō 52 should correspond to 372 instead of 252. The description in the article of Jingū Kōgō 52 is in perfect parallel with the inscription on the Seven-branched Sword owned by Isonokami-jingū Shrine. It is thus safe to conclude that formal diplomacy with Paekche was launched around that time.

The articles of Jingū Kōgō 46-52 indicate that bilateral diplomatic relations were established at the request of Paekche. This is the case, presumably. It is likely that Paekche sought military support from Wa to counter the southern expansion of Goguryeo. The establishment of formal diplomacy with Paekche meant the Wa Kingly Power sending troops to the Korean Peninsula--something Wa had not experienced in its diplomacy. The author believes that this is why rituals needed to be performed in Okinoshima Island.

Artifacts used for Okinoshima rituals provide no direct evidence of this dispatch of troops. It may be wrong to assume that Okinoshima rituals concerned only the military action against the Korean Peninsula. Yet it is likely that the troops dispatch by the Wa Kingly Power led to the practice of Okinoshima rituals.

Evidence suggests, however, that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Paekche did not prompt a new route to the Korean Peninsula via Okinoshima to be established or become the main route there. The main route around the middle of the 3rd century passed through passed through Iki and Tsushima islands, according to the “Account of the Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” (gishi wajinden). And it remained so around the beginning of the 7th century, according to in the Book of Song’s chapter on the State of Wa. There is very little doubt that out of consideration about maritime safety, the main route continued to go through Iki and Tsushima islands even after rituals began to be performed in Okinoshima. If the troop dispatch to the Korean Peninsula at the request of Paekche prompted Okinoshima rituals, then it is reasonable to assume that the dispatch was made through the traditional main route. The author regards it reasonable to believe that Okinoshima rituals were only symbolic in nature, featuring its existence as a solitary island in the Genkai Sea.⁶⁾

(2) Developments surrounding the ruling elites in the Munakata region

The preceding section has argued that Okinoshima rituals were launched by the Kingly Power. This does not mean, however, that the ruling elites in the Munakata region were in no way involved in such rituals. Rather, Okinoshima rituals may not have been possible without a local group who accepted and even

supported them.

A recent study on the relationship between Okinoshima rituals and the ruling elites in the Munakata region has been conducted by SHIGEFUJI Teruyuki.⁷⁾ In the study, SHIGEFUJI has compiled a distribution map of large mounted tombs (tombs of chieftains) in the Munakata region, as well as a chronological chart of chieftains' tombs in the northern part of Chikuzen [the western part of present-day Fukuoka Prefecture in northern Kyūshū]. This map and the part of the chronological chart that concerns the Munakata region are reproduced as Figures 1 and 2, respectively.

A number of chieftains' tomb were built in the Munakata region around the time when rituals began to be performed in Okinoshima (this period corresponding to Period III according to 『前方後円墳集成』 8)). Among them is Tōgōtakatsuka tomb, a 64 m-Zempō-kōen-fun (keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound), which belong to Group 5 or the group of tombs in the south bank of the middle reaches of the Tsuru River. No other tombs in this group are known to have been built around this period. In no group in the entire Munakata region were chieftains' tombs built in succession from around the end of the Early Kofun period to around the Middle Kofun period (Phases III-VI). These facts suggest that the main group in charge of performing rituals in Okinoshima under the sponsorship of the Kingly Power was not fixed to any single successive line of chieftains during their nascent phase.

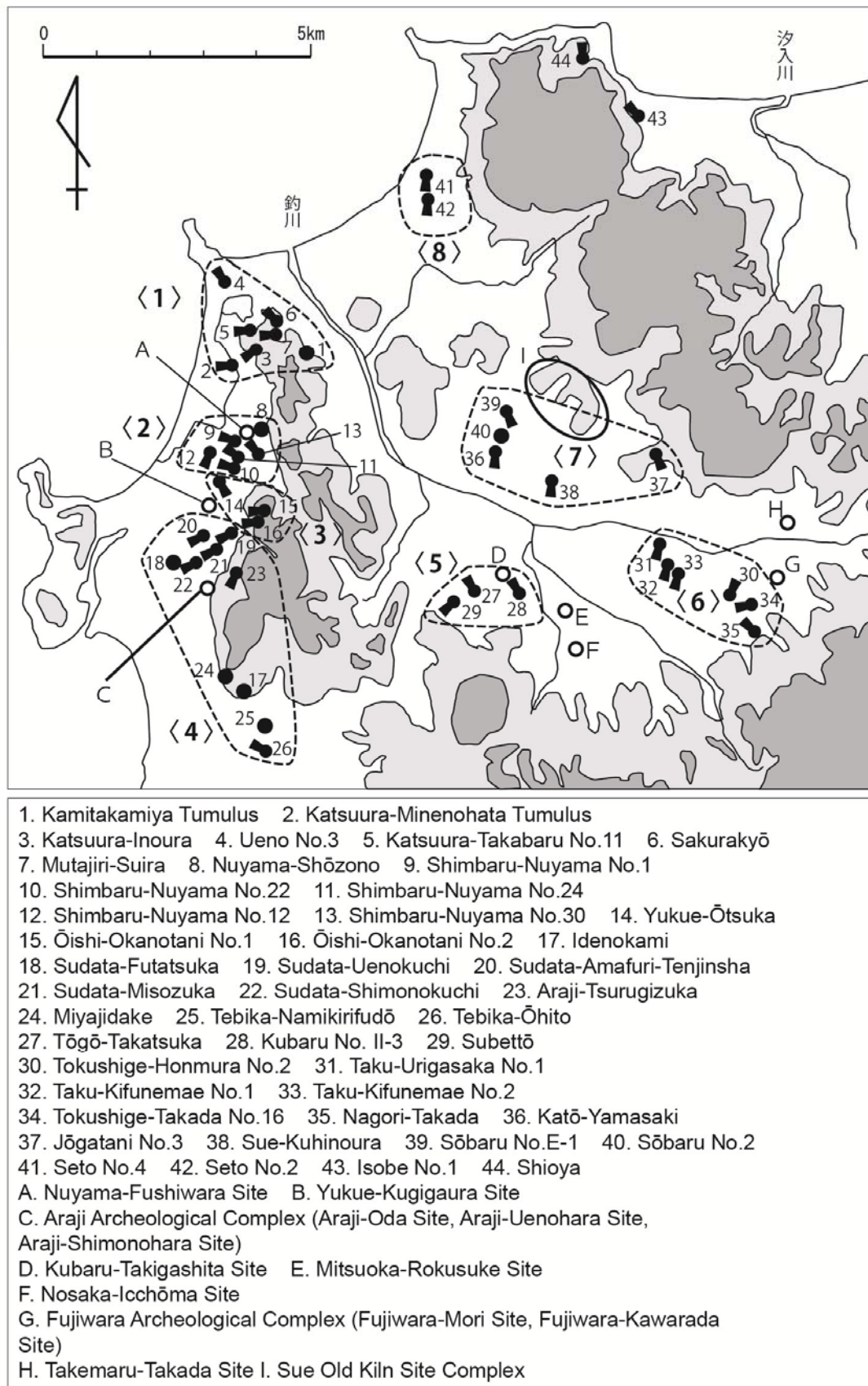
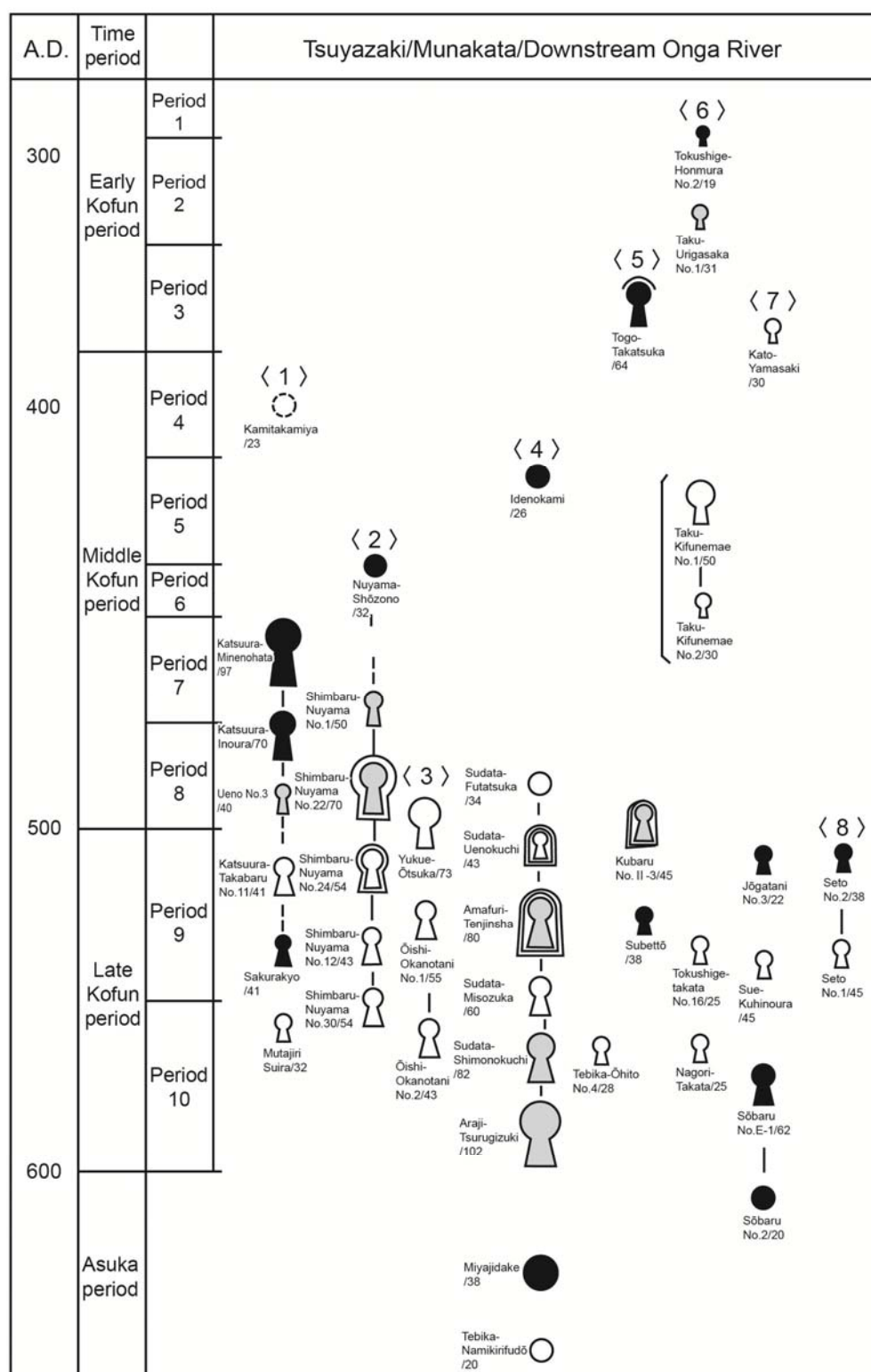


Figure 1 Large mounted tombs and settlement sites of the Kofun period in the Munakata region
 Source: Reproduction of Figure 1 from *International Exchange of Kofun Period Chieftains of Munakata Region and Okinoshima Rituals* (SHIGEFUJI Teruyuki), with the original figures in angle brackets adjusted.



Notes:

1. The figures in angle brackets correspond to those in Figure 1.
2. Tomb icons in black signify tombs whose dating is conclusive.
3. Tomb icons in grey signify tombs whose dating might be slightly older or more recent.
4. Tomb icons in white signify tombs whose dating is not well-founded.
5. The mark “ [“ shows that the chronological sequence of the tombs is unfounded.
6. The mark “ | “ signifies the chronological sequence of the tombs.
7. The figure after the name of a tomb denotes the total length or diameter in meters at the bottom.

Figure 2 Chronological chart of tombs of chieftains of the Kofun period in the Munakata region
Source: Production of Figure 2 from from *International Exchange of Kofun Period Chieftains of Munakata Region and Okinoshima Rituals* (SHIGEFUJI Teruyuki), with the sections not irrelevant to the Munakata region omitted.

By Phase VII, however, the construction of a series of mounted tombs of local chieftains began in the cluster what is now known the Katsuura subgroup (<1> in Figures 1 and 2) within the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group. The first that was built is Katsuura-minenohata tomb, a Zempō-kōen-fun with a total length of 97 m. This was followed by the Katsuura-inoura tomb, the Agano tomb no. 3, the Katsuura-takahara no. 11, the Sakurakyō tomb, and the Mutajiri-suira tomb in this order until Phase X. The Tsuyazaki mound tomb group is made up of four subgroups: the Shinbaru-nuyama subgroup (<2>), the Yukue-ōishi subgroup (<3>), and the Sudata sub-group (<4>), as well as the Katsuura subgroup. The chronological sequences of chieftains' tombs of these four subgroups are contemporaneous. In Phase 9, the Sudata sub-group (<4>) emerged as the subgroup that produced largest tombs among the four with the Amafurijinja tomb, an 80 m-Zempō-kōen-fun. This suggests that by that time, the successive line of chieftains for this particular subgroup established itself as the leader among the groups who built the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group. Special attention should be paid to the fact that by the time when the Arai-tsurugizuka tomb, a 102 m-Zempō-kōen-fun, in the Sudata sub-group, no chieftains' tombs were constructed in the other three subgroups in the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group. In the Sudata sub-group, by contrast, tomb construction continued. Even after the construction of Zempō-kōen-fun was completed, two circular-shaped mound tombs were built: the Miyajidake tomb with a diameter of 38 m, followed by the Tebika-namikirifudō tomb with a diameter of 20 m.

From all these pieces of evidence, it is possible to infer the following chronology. In Phase VII (late 5th century), the groups of people who built the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group established themselves as the main group in charge of performing rituals in Okinoshima.

In Phase IX (early 6th century), the successive line of chieftains for the Sudata sub-group began to dominate among other lines for the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group. In the second half of Phase X (around the end of the 6th century), the successive line of chieftains for the Sudata sub-group began to absorb the other groups who built the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group.

Because of the proximity of the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group to Hetsu-miya, most scholars associate the group(s) of people who built the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group with the ancient clan of Munakata (and its predecessor). Some scholars even argue that the Miyajidake tomb is the tomb of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen, the father of Amako-no-Iratsume, who bore Takechi-no-Miko to Emperor Temmu.⁹⁾ This is quite likely.

4. Establishment of the Munakata Clan

(1) Establishment of *uji*

The likely association between the group(s) of people who built the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group and the ancient clan of Munakata does not necessarily mean that the group(s) existed as the Munakata clan from the time when the construction of the Tsuyazaki mound tomb group started. What is an ancient clan (*uji*) in the first place? There is not a generally accepted definition of the term. For the purpose of convenience for this paper, the author defines *uji* as a group into which he [local] ruling class was organized to serve the Emperor (Daiō)

Uji or lineage group is a group of a common genealogy on the paternal side. It cannot stand alone. *Uji* is part of the larger genealogical system, which is made up of distinctive genealogies that shared a common progenitor.¹⁰⁾ Such a progenitor is a deity or person who appears in myths and/or legends of the Kingly Power. The name of *uji* derives from the name of the *be* or hereditary occupational group the lineage group belonged to or from the name of the place which it came from. In either case, the *uji* name indicates how the clan served the Emperor (Daiō).¹¹⁾ *Uji* was granted by the Emperor (Daiō) granted a *kabane* title according to its nature or influence.

Munakata, the *uji* name, is written in a number of ways: 胸肩, 胸形, 胸方, 宗形, and 宗像. The *kabane* title for the Munakata clan was originally Kimi but upgraded to ason when the head family of the clan was granted the new title in Temmu 13 (684). The clan's genealogy is mentioned in Shinsen Shōjiroku. Its section of families who were of a divine lineage and whose registered residence was in the right side of the capital, part 2, contains a passage: “大神朝臣同祖。吾田片隅命之後也” under the article of

Munakata-no-Ason. Likewise, its section of families who were of a divine lineage and whose registered residence was in the province of Kawachi contains a passage: “大国主命六世孫吾田片隅命之後也” under the article of Munakata-no-Kimi.

An important clue for determining when *uji* was established comes from the inscription on the double-edged iron sword that has been unearthed from the Inariyama mounted tomb in Gyōda City, Saitama Prefecture. The inscription states that a man named “Owake-no-臣” served Wakatakeru Daiō (Emperor Yūryaku) as (a head of) jōtōjin [杖刀人, a military officer who guarded the emperor]. As the source of such “service,” they cite his genealogy of eight generations of his ancestors starting with a man named “Ōhiko.”

On the “front” side: 辛亥年七月中記乎□居臣上祖名意富比埵其兒多加利足尼其兒名弓已加利□居其兒名多加披次□居其兒名多沙鬼□居其兒名半弓比

On the “back” side: 其兒名加差披余其兒名乎□居臣世々為杖刀人首奉事来至今□加多支鹵大王寺在斯鬼宮時吾左治天下令作此百練利刀記吾奉事根原也

It is safe to conclude that the Owake family already had the quality of being *uji* as its genealogy (probably the genealogy of up to the sixth-generation ancestor “Hatehi” is original to the family) was part of the Kingly Power-designated genealogical system with the progenitor Ohohiko at the top. (According to Kojiki and Nihonshoki, Ohohiko is a son of Emperor Kōgen, the 8th emperor of Japan. Under the reign of Sujin, the 10th emperor, he was sent to the Hokuriku region as one of the generals of the four quarters of Japan known as “Shidō shōgun.” It is quite questionable that these two oldest extant historical records of Japan accurately describe what Ohohiko really was or what he really did. He might even have not existed at all. Still, there must have been some kind of legend that he was a hero who served Daiō as a warrior in a distant past.

It should be concluded, however, that the quality of being *uji* had not yet been translated into an *uji* name. The designation “(a head of) jōtōnin” only signifies an official duty or position, although it implies the kind of service to Owake provided for Daiō. The designation “臣” in “Owake-no-臣” should be interpreted to signify the Chinese word “shin,” meaning subject or retainer, rather than the *kabane* title “omi.” If the author of the inscription had wanted to express the Japanese word “omi,” he must have used a Chinese character as a phonetic symbol as he did for other proper nouns in the inscription. The fact that the letter “臣” is placed after the personal name suggests, however, that “臣” means more than just a self-deprecatory term of reference. It is likely that the letter was used as a designation for social rank. In this respect, the letter can be thought of as a designation that precedes a *kabane* title.

In short, when the inscription was engraved, virtual *uji* did exist but *uji* naming nor *kabane* was not established yet. At the time, virtual *uji*--families that were incorporated into the genealogical system that had been developed by the Kingly Power, that is, members of the ruling organization with Daiō at the top--all used the designation “臣” (read as “shin”) to show their social rank.¹²⁾

The *kabane* system did not emerge from this state of affairs probably until Emperor Keitai (Ohodo Daiō) granted the title “連,” which was distinct from the designation “臣,” to groups (virtual *uji*) who had supported his accession to the throne. Such groups include the Ōtomo and Mononobe clans. If “臣” derives from the Chinese word “shin,” it is reasonable to conclude that “連” derives from the Chinese word “ren,” meaning association with Daiō. This is probably how the *kabane* system, whereby different social-rank designations were granted to *uji* according to its nature, was started. It was around the beginning of the 6th century.¹³⁾

Evidence suggests that *uji* naming was established after the system of *be*, which refers to a hereditary occupational group serving the Kingly Power or the type of its occupation or official duty] was introduced, after the example of Paekche’ *besi* (部司) system. The *be* system centered on the use of *be* designations. The establishment of *uji* naming can reasonably dated to around the beginning of the 6th century as well. Tomo-no-miyatsuko clans (*uji*) who oversaw *be* groups of their respective types of *be* adopted the name of *be* as their own *uji* names. The inscription on the Inariyama sword does not bear a *be* designation; it

described the type of official duty as *jōtōnin*. Evidence from another contemporaneous mounded tomb also suggests that *be* designations were not yet used in the era of Wakatakeru Daiō. The Eta-funayama (mounded) tomb has produced a single-edged long sword with a straight blade that refers to the type of official duty as “*tensōjin*” (official in charge of documentation), which is not a *be* designation. It would be worth noting that *uji* naming based on place names was established probably in parallel with the establishment of *uji* naming based on *be* designations.

By logical extension, it is likely that the group who built the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group was established as virtual *uji* when the tomb construction started (with the Katsuura-minenohata tomb), that is, around the second half of the 5th century. It is also likely that at the time, neither an *uji* name nor a *kabane* title was yet established for the Munakata clan. When did that happen? This question defies a clear-out answer, but the most likely answer would be 6th century. And it was around that time when in the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group, the Sudata sub-group established itself as the leader of the tomb-building people there.

(2) When was the Munakata clan established?

It is unclear where the *uji* name “Munakata” comes from. It may come from a place name originally, but “Munakata” as a deity name was already established when Nihonshoki was compiled. (The deity names “Munakata Grand Goddesses” and “Munakata Goddesses” appear in the second article of February, Ōjin 41, and the article of February 1, Yūryaku 9, respectively.) If it is a place-derived name, the *uji* name signifies that the clan is tasked to serve the Daiō by maintaining control over the area what was later known as the Munakata district in Chikuzen Province (or by otherwise fulfilling local responsibilities). If it is a deity-derived name, the *uji* name signifies that the clan is tasked to serve the Daiō by worshipping the Munakata Goddesses (Three Goddesses), tutelary deities for the Kingly Power. This is not necessarily an one-or-the-other question. It is possible to conclude that the *uji* name signifies both types of service. In either case, it is difficult to identify, from the *uji* name “Munakata,” when the clan was established.

It is thought that the *kabane* title of “Kimi (君)” was given to *uji* that were far from the capital and highly independent-minded such as Kamitsuke-no-Kimi, Shimotsuke-no-Kimi, and Tsukushi-no-kimi, as well as to *uji* whose official duty was closely associated with ritual affairs such as Ōmiwa-no-Kimi and Kamo-no-Kimi.¹⁴) The Munakata clan had the quality of being like both types of *uji*. It is worth adding that if the *kabane* titles “臣” and “連” both derives from Chinese words, then the *kabane* title “君” should be interpreted in the same manner. At any rate, it seems that the title “君” was conferred on *uji* that was different in nature from *uji* with the title “臣” or “連,” or in other words, on *uji* for which neither title was considered inappropriate by the Kingly Power. This suggests that the Kingly Power expressed some kind of respect for *uji* with the “君” title. This is reflected in the fact that the “君” title was granted to *uji* that were highly independent-minded or closely associated with ritual affairs. Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify when the Munakata clan was established from the *kabane* title of “Kimi” given to it.

Then, does genealogy provide a useful clue? According to earlier-cited Shinsen Shōjiroku, the Munakata clan (Munakata-no-Ason) shares the same lineage with Ōmiwa-no-Ason. This record cites Atakatasumi-no-Mikoto [吾田片隅命] as the common progenitor of the two clans. This holds true for Munakata-no-Kimi. Atakatasumi-no-Mikoto, a deity, does not appear in Kojiki or Nihonshoki. However, this deity does appear in this record under the name of Atakatasu-no-Mikoto [阿太賀田須命]. Its section of families who were of a divine lineage and whose registered residence was in the province of Yamato contains a passage: “大国主六世孫阿太賀田須命之後也” under the article of Waniko. Atakatasu-no-Mikoto appears in the chronicle Sendai Kuji Hongi. Volume IV (“Chigi Hongi”) contains a passage: “阿田賀田須命。和邇君等祖。” In short, Atakatasumi-no-Mikoto was considered a common progenitor of two or more *uji* by the time when Shinsen Shōjiroku and Sendai Kuji Hongi were compiled (early in the Heian period [794-1184]). Yet we cannot rule out the possibility that this deity was originally the progenitor of no other clan but the Munakata clan. Even if that is the case, however, it remains unclear when Atakatasumi-no-Mikoto was incorporated into the genealogical system that had been developed by the Kingly Power.

Also unclear is when it was concluded that the Munakata clan shared the same progenitor with Ōmiwa clan. Ōmiwa clan, who is also known as Ōmiwa-no-Ason [大神朝臣], Ōmiwa-no-Kimi [大三輪君], and

Miwa-no-Kimi [神君], appears in Kojiki. The section on Emperor Sujin states “此意富多多泥古命者、神君、鴨君之祖” in an inserted note in the article regarding the legend of Ohotataneko (意富多多泥古). The clan also appears in Nihonshoki as well. The article of December 20, Sujin 8 on the legend of Ohotataneko (大田田根子) states “大田田根子、今三輪君等之始祖也.” Yet both passages fail to mention the Munakata clan.

(3) The Iwai Rebellion and the Munakata clan

The preceding section has made it clear that the *uji* name, the *kabane* title, and genealogy all fail to provide a useful hint as to when the Munakata clan was established. To answer this question, attention should then be given to the Iwai Rebellion in the 6th century, when the *uji* system is generally believed to have been established.

There is little doubt that the rebellion really happened during the reign of Emperor Keitai as a number of chronicles mention the incident. These include Nihonshoki, Kojiki, Chikugo-no-Kuni Fudoki (many of whose parts are lost), and Sendai Kuji Hongi (Volume 10 “Kokuzō Hongi”). Nihonshoki provides the most detailed account of the revolt in its articles of June of 21st year up to December of 22nd year under the reign of Keitai. Based on these articles, the incident can be summarized as follows:

In June of Keitai 21 (527), Ōmi-no-Kenu-no-Omi (Kenu-no-Omi based in O-mi, present-day Shiga Prefecture), in command of an army of 60,000, made for Mimana in the Korean Peninsula in order to reconstruct Arihishi-no-kara and Tokukoton, which had been defeated by Silla so that they would be reunited with Mimana. Meanwhile, Iwai, “Tsukushi-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko,” or provincial administrator of Tsukushi Province, was waiting for the best opportunity to stage a rebellion. On hearing the news, Silla offered a bribe to Iwai and encouraged him to prevent the advance of Kenu-no-Omi’s army. Iwai extended its power over the two provinces of Hi and Toyo to the south. Without mandate from the court, he also intercepted the sea routes, lured the tribute ships from Goguryeo, Paekche, Silla, and Mimana into joining his forces, and blocked the passage of Kenu-no-Omi’s army. For this reason, Kenu-no-Omi’s army could not advance and stayed midways. Emperor Keitai, in consultation with Ōtomo-no-Kanamura and others, decided to appoint Mononobe-no-Arakai as general. In August of the same year, the Emperor ordered Arakai to subjugate Iwai. In November of the next year, Arakai fought with Iwai in person in Mii-gun (present-day Mii-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture). After a fierce battle, Arakai finally flew Iwai, quelled the rebellion, and established the borders. In December of the same year, Tsukushi-no-kimi-Kuzuko, Iwai’s son, for fear of being implicated and thus executed, offered the miyake in Kasuya to the Emperor and begged for mercy.¹⁵⁾

According to these Nihonshoki articles, the Iwai Rebellion was triggered by Iwai blocking the advance of the army of Ōmi-no-Kenu that had been sent by the Emperor to “Mimana” in order to reconstruct Arihishi-no-kara and Tokukoton, which had been defeated by Silla. Arihishi-no-kara refers to Geumgwan, one of the major states in the southern region of Gaya. Most likely, Tokukoton was also a state in the region. Some question the dating of the rebellion, citing the fact that an article during the 23rd year of the Keitai reign also mentions the invasion of Arihishi-no-kara by Silla.¹⁶⁾ This question can be invalidated by a theory that Silla invaded Arihishi-no-kara a number of times.¹⁷⁾

The statement that Silla offered a bribe to Iwai and encouraged him to prevent the advance of Kenu-no-Omi’s army likely reflects--to a certain extent--what really happened, given that at the time, Paekche and Silla were at odds over the hegemony the Gaya region. The article in “Kokuzō Hongi” on Ikinoshima-no-Miyatsuko states that the progenitor of Ikinoshima-no-Miyatsuko slew “海辺人” [which can be translated into coastal people] in Silla who served Iwai.

If Silla really formed an alliance with Iwata, that means that Silla highly evaluated the power of Iwai. In fact, Nihonshoki states that under the reign of Keitai, Iwai exerted its influence over the two provinces of Hi and Toyo as well as Tsukushi Province. Evidence suggests that this statement reflects the reality. The Iwatoyama mounded tomb in Yame City, Fukuoka Prefecture, is believed to be the tomb of Iwai. With a total length of 140 m, this Zempō-kōen-fun is the largest of its kind in northern Kyūshū. On and around the mound stand many stone monuments, especially funerary stone statues of human and horse. Similar

monuments, though in a smaller scale, are distributed across Kyūshū.

Scholars are divided on what Iwai's diplomacy was like before the rebellion. Some argue that Iwai managed foreign relations in accordance with the wishes of the Wa Kingly Power. Others contend that Iwai managed foreign relations independent from those managed by the Wa Kingly Power. In either case, attention should be given to the statement that Iwai's son Kuzuko offered the miyake in Kasuya to the Emperor after the rebellion. Kasuya, a place name, corresponds to Kasuya District in Chikuzen Province under Ritsuryō, the centralized system of government that was introduced in the late 7th century. It is far from the area where Iwai was based and Iwatoyama tomb was built, an area in the basin of the Chikugo River. Evidence suggests that back then, Iwai extended its power over the Hakata Bay area and established a diplomatic base there. This base was most likely the miyake in Kasuya (or its predecessor). Nihonshoki's article of May 1 of Senka 1 (536) states that the Emperor ordered miyake to be built in Nanotsu and grain to be brought there from miyake from other areas. The miyake in Nanotsu is a diplomatic base the Wa Kingly Power established. The miyake in Kasuya and the one in Nanotsu were located in the Hakata Bay area, although the relationship between the two is unclear. In sum, the offering of the miyake in Kasuya after the rebellion likely marked the centralization of the Wa Kingly Power's diplomacy through northern Kyūshū.

If that is the case, it is viable to argue that with this offering, the group of people who built the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group established itself as the main group in charge of performing rituals in Okinoshima and that this particular group, which by then was a virtual *uji*, received the *uji* name "Munakata" and the *kabane* title "Kimi." This is likely how the Munakata clan established itself. The establishment of the Munakata clan did not mean, however, that rituals for the Munakata Goddesses (Three Goddesses) came to be performed exclusively by the clan. In this way, the Iwai Rebellion must have had a profound impact. Without it, Okinoshima rituals or the ruling elites in the Munakata region in the northeast of Hakata Bay could not have come out as they did.

The third alternative version of the *Ukei* myth in Nihonshoki states that the Three Goddesses were worshipped by "Minuma-no-Kimi in Tsukushi and (an)other clan(s)." This version implies that the Minuma-no-Kimi clan (or its predecessor) once occupied center stage in Okinoshima rituals in Iwai's diplomacy (regardless of whether it was in line with or independent from the wishes of the Wa Kingly Power). The clan was most likely based in and/or around Mizuma Township, Mizuma District in Chikugo Province under the Ritsuryō system. It was near the area Iwai was based. Evidence suggests that the Minuma-no-Kimi clan (or its predecessor) was engaged in diplomacy under the command of Iwai. For example, Nihonshoki article of September 4 of Yūryaku 10 contains a story that when Musa-no-Suguri-Ao and others came home with geese presented by the Chinese state of Wu, the geese were bitten to death by a dog of Minuma-no-Kimi.

5. The development of the Munakata clan

(1) Amako-no-Iratsume and Takechi-no-Miko

The preceding section discussed the hypothesis that it was after the Iwai Rebellion that the Munakata clan was established (with *uji* name "Munakata" and the *kabane* title "Kimi" given to it). However, the name "Munakata" does not appear for some time thereafter in Nihonshoki (or Kojiki). In fact, a specific person attributed to the Munakata clan appears only once--in the article of February of 27 of Temmu 2 (673), which states: "次納_ニ胸形君德善女尼子娘_ニ、生_ニ高市皇子命_ニ。"

Takechi-no-Miko was the first child of Emperor Temmu (Prince Ōama). According to Nihonshoki, Takechi-no-Miko took command of his army and led it to victory in the Jinshin War of 672. In the court rank reform of the New Year in Temmu 14 (685), Takechi-no-Miko was granted the rank of Jōkō-ni (second only to Jōkōichi given to Crown Prince Kusakabe and Jōdai-ni given to Prince Ōtsu). In August of Shuchō 1 (686), Takechi-no-Miko, as well as Princes Kusakabe and Ōtsu, had 400 households added to his fief. It seems that his status continued to rise in the reign of Jitō Emperor as well. In July of Jitō 4 (690), he was appointed as Grand Minister. In January of Jitō 5, Takechi-no-Miko had 2,000 households added to his fief. In January the next year (Jitō 6), another 2,000 households, bringing the total number to 5,000

households. In January of Jitō 7), the rank of Jōkōichi was granted to him. He died in July of Jitō 10, Nihonshoki. Although Nihonshoki fails to mention his age when he died, Fusōryakuki, a more recent chronicle of Japan, states he was 43, while Kugyō-bunin, a directory of court nobles, says he was 42 (or 43).

If he was 43, he was born in Hakuchi 5 (654). That means that the marriage between Temmu and Amako-no-Iratsume dates back to the reign of Emperor Kōtoku [645-654].

During the reign of Emperor Temmu, Takechi was second in rank only to Kusakabe and Ōtsu. After Ōtsu was killed on the heels of the death of Temmu and Kusakabe died in Jitō 3, He assumed arguably the highest rank among the aides to Emperor Jitō. It is possible to argue that Takechi was among the candidate successor to the throne based on at least three pieces of evidence. First, he is addressed as “Nochi-no-Miko-no-Mikoto” (後皇子尊, His Highness who stood second to Kusakabe in the line of succession) in the Nihonshoki article of July 10 of Jitō 10, as well as in Man’yōshū (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), Volume 2.

Second, the post of Grand Minister assumed by Takechi is considered equal in rank with the one assumed by Prince O-tomo.

Third, the legend of Prince Kadono in Kaifūsō (Fond Recollections of Poetry) has it that after the death of Takechi, Jitō brought together “Ōkō Keishi” (王公卿士) to the court to discuss who would succeed to the throne. However, if the principle of imperial lineage at the time that a man born in an imperial consanguineous marriage should succeed to the throne (his mother must also be from a royal family)¹⁸ is something to go by, Takechi could not have been a candidate successor to the throne. Still, Takechi certainly assumed a central position in the government under the Jitō reign. And he probably did so under the Temmu reign as well.

If that is the case, it is reasonable to assume that the Munakata clan, from which Takechi’s mother came from, enjoyed a certain level of preferential treatment under the reigns of Temmu and Jitō. This assumption is substantiated by the granting of the *kabane* title “Ason” to the Munakata-no-Kimi (胸方君) clan (Munakata clan) in Temmu 13 (684). It should be noted here that it was the Munakata clan residing in the capital who was granted this *kabane* title.¹⁹ The capital-based Munakata clan was an offshoot of the Tsukushi-based Munakata clan. Most likely, the granting of the *kabane* allowed the Tsukushi-based clan to address itself as “Munakata-no-Ason” as well. Munakata-no-Ason (宗形朝臣) who appears in Shinsen Shōjiroku’s section of families who were of a divine lineage and whose registered residence was in the province of Yamato is thought of as a descendant of the capital-based Munakata clan.

By the time when Temmu married Amako-no-Iratsume in the Kōtoku reign [645-654], the Munakata clan had already established its base in the capital. The capital-based Munakata clan most likely managed the Munakata Shrine (宗像神社) that was situated in the Shikinokami district, Yamato Province according to Engshiki’s “Jimmyō-Chō”, which states: “宗像神社三坐〈並名神大。月次〉。”

An extant record implies that this particular shrine already existed (as a branch shrine of the head shrine in the Munakata district, Chikuzen Province) in the Kōtoku reign as well. The shrine, also known as Yamato Shrine (大和社), was repaired by Takechi (654?-696), according to the report that was submitted by Tadamine of Takashina-no-Mahito (the Takashina clan with the *kabane* title “mahito”) and others and later cited in the decree issued by Dajōkan (the Council of State) dated on October 29 of Kamyō 5 (893), as recorded in Ruijū Sandai Kyaku (an assorted collection of statutes from the three eras) vol. 1. The report contains a passage that states: “筑前社有封戸神田。大和社未預封例。因茲忠峯等始祖太政大臣淨広老高市皇子命、分氏賤年輸物令修理神舍。以為永例。”²⁰

This gist of this passage is that since the repair by Takechi, the Munakata Shrine in Yamato has traditionally been financed by annual tributes from bond servants owned the Takashina clan (or Takechi at the time of repair). Also, the Council of State decree of October 16, Gangyō 5 (881) contains a passage about the Munakata Shrine in Yamato Province that states: “自從清御原天皇御世至于当今、氏人等所奉神宝并園地色数稍多。高階真人累代鱗次執当社事。” This decree is cited in Ruijū Sandai Kyaku (an

assorted collection of statutes from the three eras) vol. 1. According to this passage, the Takashina-no-Mahito clan managed and maintained this shrine during and after the Temmu reign. A descendant clan of Takechi, Takashina-no-Mahito assumed this *kabane* title of Mahito when Prince Asukabe, a grandson of Takechi (Prince Nagaya's son) was granted this particular title as documented by extant texts. For example, Shinsen Shōjiroku's section of families who were of an imperial lineage and whose registered residence was in the left side of the capital states, under the article of Takashina-no-Mahito: “出_レ自_レ諡天武皇子浄広老太政大臣高市王_レ也。” Likewise, Shoku-nihongi's article of October 6 of Hōki 4 (773) states: “安宿王賜_レ姓高階真人_レ。” There is very little doubt that Takechi (and his successors) provided substantial support to the Munakata Shrine in the capital and (the Munakata clan).

It is also not surprising that Takechi and his descendants (notably the Takashina-no-Mahito clan) substantially helped the Munakata clan to extend its power over the court. Extant texts indicate that the Munakata clan and other families of the same lineage had already extended their sphere of influence over Kawachi and Yamashiro provinces as well as Yamato Province. Munakata-no-Kimi that appears in Shinsen Shōjiroku's section of families who were of a divine lineage and whose registered residence was in the province of Kawachi, is believed to be an offshoot of the Munakata lineage who was not given the *kabane* title “Ason” in Temmu 13 (684). The families who bore the *uji* name and title “Munakata-no-Kimi-Zoku,” notably Munakata-no-Kimi-Zoku-Iruka, that appear in the register for taxation for Otagi District, Yamashiro Province were most likely those dependent on the capital-based Munakata clan. Again, the increasing influence of Munakata families at the court, as exemplified by Munakata-no-Wakamaro, a bookbinder, and Munakata-no-Ishimaro, a copper smith, both at Zō Tōdaiji Shi (the Tōdaiji Temple Construction Office), had much to owe to the success of Takechi and his descendants.

It is quite possible that the Munakata clan that was based in Tsukushi increased its power owing to Takechi and his descendants. To say the least, Takechi was clearly associated with the Tsukushi-based Munakata clan. The Council of State decree of 811 cited earlier actually states that it was bond servants in Kanazaki, Munakata District in Chikuzen Province, who financed the repair of the Munakata Shrine in Yamato Province through their annual tributes.

(2) Administrator of *shingun* (district dedicated to deities) and *kannushi* (head shrine priest)

The Tsukushi-based Munakata clan traditionally inherited the post of *dairyō* [district governorship] in Munakata District, Chikuzen Province. There is very little doubt that the administratorship of the Munakata county (“*kōri*,” the predecessor of “*gun*” or district) went to the Munakata from the beginning. Although it is difficult to clearly determine when the district (or county) of Munakata was established, it was likely during the Kōtoku reign [645-654]. Some scholars hypothesize that the county system was put into full force during the Kōtoku reign [645-654]. The author supports this hypothesis. After the county was superseded by the district, the district gubernatorial clan was required to offer to the court a few of its men and women as military guards and palace ladies-in-waiting. The Munakata clan must have met this requirement and stationed a few of its clan people in the capital. It is likely that this led to the marriage between Temmu and Amako-no-Iratsume, which can be dated back to the Kōtoku reign.

The Munakata district was one of the *shingun* (districts dedicated to deities) at the time. The mainstream theory is that when the Munakata region first became as a county, it was designated as *kamikōri* (county dedicated to deities, the predecessor of *shingun*). This theory seems reasonable since the Munakata clan was tasked to serve the Kingly Power by playing a pivotal role in performing rituals for the Munakata Goddesses in Okinoshima. Extant texts indicate that other *shingun* were also designated as such from the start. Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki states, in its article on the Kashima district, that this *shingun* was established as such during the Kōtoku reign. The Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū says that two *shingun* in Ise Province--Tage and Watarai districts--were established as such when the county system was introduced (天下立評)].

Hitachi-no-Kuni Fudoki, in its article on the establishment of districts (counties), states that the establishment of counties establishment was completed when the first appointed administrators of would-be counties made a request for such establishment and officials sent from the court (*mikotomochi*) accepted it. If a similar procedure was followed, that means that the Munakata clan wanted to serve the Kingly Power

as the administrator of the Munakata county as well as the worshipper of the Munakata Goddesses. Assuming the administratorship of the Munakata county allowed the Munakata clan to maintain and even strengthen its dominant status in the region. Even after the establishment of counties, county administrations seem to have remained under the supervision of *kuni-no-miyatsuko*, which means the provincial governor or the provincial gubernatorial clan (in the case of the Munakata county, Tsukushi-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko).²¹) The Munakata clan may have tried to avoid personal exploitation by Tsukushi-no-Kuni-no-Miyatsuko by assuming the administratorship of the county.

The central government likely decided to appoint the Munakata clan to the county administratorship so as to rule the region effectively (so as to facilitate the administration of the county). This decision suggests that the Munakata clan, who had been worshipping the Munakata Goddesses, had strong influence over the entire Munakata region. Presumably the strong influence was due in large part to the religious authority the clan had acquired over the years by worshipping the Munakata Goddesses.

Originally there were eight *shingun* across the country as indicated in the decision made by the Council of State on November 26 of Yōrō 7 (723), which states: “伊勢国渡相郡、竹郡、安房国安房郡、出雲国意宇郡、筑前国宗形郡、常陸国鹿嶋郡、下総国香取郡、紀伊国名草郡、合八神郡、聴_レ連_二任三等以上親_一也。” This decision is cited in Ryō-no-Shūge or the Collected Interpretations of the Administrative Laws (in the section “令釈選叙令同司主典条”). In Kamyō 9 (897), the Iino district in Ise Province was newly designated as *shingun*, bring the total number to nine. Engishiki cites these nine *shingun* in its volume called “式部省上,” one of the two volumes regarding the Ministry of Personnel Affairs).

The Council of State decree (decision) of November 16, 723 is interpreted by some scholars to have allowed the administrators of the eight *shingun* to take their posts over to their relatives in the third degree or more. However, this decree newly authorized this practice of in-family succession for only three districts: Katori, Kashima, and Nagusa. This is evidenced by Shoku-nihongi, which states “下総国香取郡、常陸国鹿嶋郡、紀伊国名草郡等少領已上、聴_レ連_二任三等已上親_一” in its article of November 16 of Yōrō 7 (723). The Munakata district, as well as the Ou district in Izumo Province, had already been allowed to use this practice by Mommu 2 (698), as evidenced by Shoku-nihongi’s article of March 9 of this year, which states: “詔、筑前国宗形・出雲国意宇二郡司、並聴_レ連_二任三等已上親_一。” The practice was also authorized for the Awa district in Awa Province in Mommu 4 (700), and for the Take and Watarai districts in Ise Province in Keiun 1 (704) (the article of February 5 of Mommu 4 and that of January 22 of Keiun 1, both in Shoku-nihongi).

The earliest approval of the practice of handing over the posts of district administrators to their relatives in the third degree or more for the Munakata district as well as the Ou district in Izumo Province likely reflects the awareness by the central government (the Kingly Power) of the Munakata clan’s firm grip over the region. This preferential treatment for these two clans was presumably meant to show the central government’s respect for the deities that they worshipped (and that were of special importance),²²) among other purposes.

It is unclear whether the posts of district administrators of Munakata were actually handed over to their relatives in the third degree or more. Among these posts, the post of *dairyō* [district governorship] was inherited within the Munakata clan, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 List of the (top) district administrator of Munakata

Administrator's name	Title of post	Year	Court rank conferred	Source
1. Munakata-no-Ason Tōjo	<i>Dairyō</i>	Wadō 2 (709)	Junior 5th rank, upper (outer)	Shoku-nihongi
2. Munakata-no-Ason Torimaro	<i>Dairyō</i>	Tempyō 1 (729)	Junior 5th rank, lower (outer)	Shoku-nihongi
	<i>Kannushi</i>	Tempyō 10 (738)	Junior 5th rank, upper (outer)	Shoku-nihongi
3. Munakata-no-Ason Yoroshi	<i>Dairyō</i>	Tempyō 17 (745)	Junior 5th rank, lower (outer)	Shoku-nihongi
4. Munakata-no-Ason Fukatsu	<i>Dairyō</i>	Jingo-keiun 1 (767)	Junior 5th rank, lower (outer)	Shoku-nihongi
5. Munakata-no-Ason Daitoku	<i>Dairyō</i>	Hōki 9 (778)	Junior 5th rank, lower (outer)	Shoku-nihongi
6. Munakata-no-Ason Iketsukuri	<i>Dairyō</i> and <i>Kannushi</i>	Enryaku 17 (798)	Died in this year	Ruijū Sandai Kyaku
7. Munakata-no-Ason Akitari	<i>Dairyō</i>	Kōnin 4 (813)	Died in this year	Ruijū Kokushi

Munakata-no-Ason Torimaro and Munakata-no-Ason Iketsukuri, the second and sixth in the list in Table 2, doubled as *kannushi* (the head shrine priest) of Munakata. In fact, it was customary for the *dairyō* of the Munakata district to serve the *kannushi* of Munakata as well, as evidenced by the Council of State decree of December 4 of Enryaku 19 (800) (cited in Ruijū Sandai Kyaku, vol. 7), which states:

応、停、筑前国宗像郡大領兼、帶宗像神主、事

右得、大宰府解、僞、当郡大領補任之日、例兼、神主、即叙、五位。而今准、去延暦十七年三月十六日勅、譜第之選永從、停廢、擢、用才能、具有、條目。大領兼神主外從五位下宗像朝臣池作十七年二月廿四日卒去。自、爾以來頻闕、供祭。歷、試才能、未、得、其人。又案、神祇官去延暦七年二月廿二日符、僞、自今以後簡、択彼氏之中潔清廉貞、堪、祭事、者、上、補、任神主、限、以、六年、相替者。然則神主之任既有、其限、仮使有、才堪、理、郡兼、帶神主、居、終身之職、兼、六年之任、事不、穩便。謹請、官裁、者。右大臣宣僞、奉、勅、郡司神主職掌各別、莫、令、郡司兼、帶神主。

What this means is that because the decree issued by Jingikan (Council of Religious Affairs) on February 22 of Enryaku 7 (788) adopted a six-year term for the *kannushi* of Munakata, *dairyō*, whose term of office was permanent, was prohibited from doubling as *kannushi* of Munakata. This measure for the *kannushi* of Munakata adopted in 788 was applied to *jingūji* (chief priests of Shintō shrines) and *kannushi* across the country ten years later or Enryaku 17 (798), as evidenced by Ruijū Kokushi (Classified National History). In its 19th volume on religious affairs (*jingūji*) states: “桓武天皇延暦十七年正月乙巳。勅、掃、社敬、神、銷、禍致、福。今聞、神宮司等、一任終身、侮黷不敬、崇咎屢臻。宜、天下諸国神宮司、神主、神長等、択二氏中清慎者一補、之、六年相替、上。”

In Enryaku 17, the provincial gubernatorial clan of Izumo was banned from serving as *dairyō* of the Ou district. The Council of State decree of March 29 of the Enryaku 17 (cited in Ruijū Sandai Kyaku, vol. 7) states:

応、任、出雲国意宇郡大領、事

右被、大納言從三位神王宣、僞、奉、勅、昔者国造郡領職員有、別、各守、其任、不、敢違越。慶雲三年以來、令、国造帶、郡領、寄、言神事、動廢、公務。雖、則有、闕怠、而不、加、刑罰。乃有、私門日益、不、利、公家、民之父母還為、巨蠹。自今以後、宜、改、旧例、国造郡領分、職任、之。

And the Council of State decree of October 11 of Enryaku 17 (cited in Ruijū Sandai Kyaku, vol. 1) states:

禁、出雲国造託、神事、多娶、百姓女子、為、妾事

右被_レ右大臣宣_レ稱、奉_レ勅、今聞、承前国造兼_レ帶神主_一、新任之日即棄_レ嫡妻_一、仍多娶_レ百姓女子_一、號為_レ神宮采女_一、便娶為_レ妾、莫_レ知_レ限極_一。此是妄託_レ神事_一、遂扇_レ淫風_一。神道益_レ世豈其然乎。自_レ今以後不_レ得_レ更然_一。若娶_レ妾供_レ神事_一不_レ得_レ已者、宜_レ令_レ国司注_レ名密封_一ト_一定一女_一、不_レ得_レ多点_一。如違_レ此制_一隨_レ事科處。筑前国宗像神主准_レ此。

In short, the decree banned lewd practices in the inauguration ceremony for provincial governor of Izumo. It added that this ban should also be applied to the *kannushi* of Munakata.²³⁾ This suggests that by that time, rituals for the Munakata Goddesses, which had originally been performed under the sponsorship of the Kingly Power, came to be performed as private rituals by the *kannushi* of Munakata. This must be the reflection of the strong religious authority the *kannushi* of Munakata had in the region.

As shown in Table 3, a number of people are known to have the clan name and title “Munakatabe” in the Kyūshū region. They include Munakatabe-no-Kataushi, listed third, who served as *dairyō* of the Mikasa district in Chikuzen Province. “Munakatabe” strongly suggests that the family in question was once be or hereditary occupational group serving the Munakata clan or dependent on the clan. This in turn indicates that the power of the *kannushi* of Munakata was extended beyond the Munakata district where it was based to cover the entire Kyūshū region

Table 3 Known people with the family name “Munakatabe”

Name	Description	Source
1. Munakatabe-no-Sukuname	Resided in Kawabe village, Shima District, Chikuzen Province	Census register for Kawabe village, Shima District, Chikuzen province of Taihō 2
2. Munakatabe-no-Abitame	Resided in Kawabe village, Shima District, Chikuzen Province	Census register for Kawabe village, Shima District, Chikuzen province of Taihō 2
3. Munakatabe-no-Kataushi	<i>dairyō</i> of Mikasa District, Chikuzen Province as of Wadō 2	Shoku-nihongi
4. Munakatabe-no-Kamamaki	Granted the clan name and title “Anaho-no-Muraji”	Shoku-nihongi
5. Munakatabe-no-Tsumaro	Farmer in Munakata District, Chikuzen Province in Jinki era	Man'yōshū
6. Munakatabe-no-Okatari	Resided in Araki Township, Munakata District, Chikuzen Province	Chishiki Ubasoku-tō Kōshimbun (Tempyō-Shōhō 4)

(3) The end of Okinoshima rituals and the Munakata clan

Evidence shows that the Munakata clan continued to monopolize the *dairyō* of the Munakata district and the *kannushi* of Munakata even after the Council of State decree of 800 cited earlier prohibited the *dairyō* of the Munakata district from doubling as the *kannushi* of Munakata. The end of Okinoshima rituals presumably between the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century did not mean that the power of the Munakata clan in the region declined around and after that time. Therefore the reason behind the discontinuation of Okinoshima rituals should be attributed to the Kingly Polity (the state).

Yet it does not seem to be that the Kingly Power's reverence for the Munakata Goddesses waned. Evidence suggests otherwise. The Kingly Power steadily upgraded the rank it granted to the Munakata Goddesses. In April of Jōwa 7 (840), it conferred a junior 5th rank lower (as recorded by Shoku Nihon Kōki (Later Chronicle of Japan, Continued) in its article of April 21 of that year. In February of Jōgan 1 (859), it granted a senior 2nd rank to them as well as to the deities that had been divided from the Munakata Goddesses in the Munakata district and transferred elsewhere while Grand Minister Fujiwara-no-Yoshifusa was in office, as recorded in the article of February 30, Jōgan 1 (859) of Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku. In February of Jōgan 12 (870), offerings were presented by order of the Emperor to the Munakata Shrine as well as to the Hachiman Daibosatsu Shrine and the Kashii Shrine in the practice known as *hōhei* in the hope of warding off pirate ships from Silla (Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku's article of February 15 of Jōgan 12). In Gangyō 2 (878), *hōhei* was performed for similar purposes (Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku's article of December 8 of Jōgan 12).

As noted by OKAZAKI Takashi,²⁴⁾ it is reasonable to associate the discontinuation of Okinoshima rituals with the end of the national project of sending envoys to Tang China known as “Kentōshi” in many occasions. The close relationship between Kentōshi and the Munakata Shrine is evident in the article of March 27 of Jōwa 5 (838) of Shoku Nihon Kōki. According to this article, the Kingly Power had nine persons become Buddhist monks and stationed two of them at the Munakata Shrine in order to pray for safe travel of envoys to and from Tang China. ODA Fujio also notes the close relationship between the Munakata Shrine and Kentōshi. He says that *hōhei* that was performed for the Munakata Shrine in July of Jōwa 9 (842) for curse removal purposes (Shoku Nihon Kōki’s article of July 3 of Jōwa 9) was meant as an after-the-fact ritual for the latest dispatch of envoys that was plagued by many challenges. He argues that the end of Okinoshima rituals are chronologically associated with the end of the Kentōshi project.²⁵⁾ The assumption that Okinoshima rituals were associated with the project is questioned on the grounds that the sea route for such envoys shifted southward in the 8th century.²⁶⁾ This question seems irrelevant given that rituals were performed in Okinoshima presumably because the island symbolized the Kingly Power’s foreign relations, not because it was located along the sea route.

The fact that the Munakata clan had already come to perform regular rituals mainly at Hetsu-miya may have helped put an end to Okinoshima rituals. We have already seen that most likely, Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto (written as 市寸嶋比売命 or 市杵嶋姫) or Okitsushimahime-no-Mikoto (瀛津嶋姫命) among of the Three Goddesses of Munakata originally represented the deification of Okinoshima. We have also seen that the place of residence of the Three Goddesses remained fluid at the time of Kojiki and Nihonshoki being compiled. Eventually Ichikishimahime came to be enshrined in Hetsu-miya, although it is difficult to say exactly when. This fact suggests that the main site for rituals for the Munakata Goddesses moved to Hetsu-miya. The diminishing need for Okinoshima rituals on the part of the Kingly Power (the state), together with the shift of the main ritual site to Hetsu-miya, meant that the Munakata clan stopped performing rituals in the island, putting an end to what is known as Okinoshima rituals.

Notes (not translated):

- 1) 正木喜三郎「宗像三女神と記紀神話」(小田富士雄編『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』吉川弘文館、1988年。のち同『古代・中世宗像の歴史と伝承』岩田書院、2004年、所収) 参照。
- 2) 福島秋穂「ウケヒ神話の構造」(『講座日本の神話』4、有精堂、1976年。のち同『記紀神話伝説の研究』六興出版、1988年、所収)。水野祐「出雲大神と宗像神」(神道学会編『出雲学論攷』出雲大社、1977年)。
- 3) 『紀』第三の一書「海北」を、北部九州を起点とした語で、宗像地方の北の海域を指す語とする説もある(亀井輝一郎「古代の宗像氏と宗像信仰」(「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議編『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告I』、2011年)。しかし、三女神誕生神話にみえる「海北」を、ほかの用例と区別するのは不自然であり、「海北道中」・「道中」は、朝鮮半島と北九州とを結ぶ海路一般を指す語とみてよいであろう。
- 4) 宗像神社復興期成会編『沖ノ島』吉川弘文館、1958年。同『続沖ノ島』吉川弘文館、1961年。第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊編『宗像沖ノ島』宗像大社復興期成会、1979年。
- 5) 岡崎敬「総括編」(第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊編『宗像沖ノ島』前掲)、小田富士雄「海北道中」(小田富士雄編『古代を考える 沖ノ島と古代祭祀』前掲)、白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」(「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議編『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告I』前掲) など。
- 6) 白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」(前掲) も、沖ノ島祭祀の象徴性を指摘している。
- 7) 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」(「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議編『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告I』前掲)。
- 8) 近藤義郎編『前方後円墳集成』山川出版社、1992年。
- 9) 白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」(前掲)。
- 10) 氏族系譜の構造については、溝口睦子『日本古代氏族系譜の成立』(学習院、1982年) 参照。
- 11) 地名のウヅ名も、奉仕の在り方を示すことについては、須原祥二「「仕奉」と姓」(笹山晴生編『日本律令制の構造』吉川弘文館、2003年、のち同『古代地方制度形成過程の研究』吉川弘文館、2011年、所収) 参照。

- 12) なお、「乎獲居臣」（ヲワケの臣）の「臣」については、「巨」と読み、ヲワケコという個人名として読む説もあるが（東野治之『日本古代金石文の研究』岩波書店、2004年）、コという和語の音を表記するのであれば、「意富比埜」（オホヒコ）の場合と同様、「埜」字が用いられたものと考えられる。
- 13) 以上、ウヂ・カバネの成立については、篠川賢『物部氏の研究』（雄山閣、2009年）参照。
- 14) 太田亮『全訂日本上代社会組織の研究』（邦光書房、1955年）。阿部武彦『氏姓』（至文堂、1960年）など。
- 15) なお、ここに磐井が「筑紫国造」とされるのは、「乱」後に磐井の一族が筑紫国造に任命されたことに基づく追記とみるべきであろう。この地域に国造制が施行されたのは、「乱」後のことと考えられる。篠川賢『日本古代国造制の研究』（吉川弘文館、1996年）参照。
- 16) 三品彰英「『継体紀』の諸問題」（同編『日本書紀研究』2、塙書房、1966年）。
- 17) 田中俊明『大加耶連盟の興亡と「任那」』（吉川弘文館、1992年）。
- 18) 河内祥輔『古代政治史における天皇制の論理』（吉川弘文館、1986年）。篠川賢『日本古代の王権と王統』（吉川弘文館、2001年）参照。なお、このような王統の原理の存在に否定的であっても、地方豪族の娘を母とするその出自からして、高市は皇位継承候補者にはなり得なかったとする見方が一般的であるといえよう。高市に「後皇子尊」の尊称が与えられたのは、必ずしも皇太子に準ずる地位にあったことを示すものではなく、太政大臣は、行政の頂点にあって持統を輔政した地位であり、高市の死後に後嗣が議論されたのは、補政者を失ったことを契機に皇太子を立てようとしたものと考えることができる。
- 19) 熊谷公男「天武政権の律令官人化政策」（関晃教授還暦記念会編『日本古代史研究』吉川弘文館、1980年）参照。
- 20) この記事を以て、大和の宗像社が分祀されたのも高市によるとする説がある（本位田菊士「高市皇子と胸形氏の伝承」（『続日本紀研究』161、1972年。のち同『日本古代国家形成過程の研究』名著出版、1978年、所収）。しかしこの記事は、天武朝以来、宗像社の経営に高市が関わるようになったというものであり、分祀自体が高市によることを示す記事とはいえないであろう。
- 21) この点については、篠川賢『日本古代国造制の研究』（前掲）参照。
- 22) 宗像郡についていえば、これまで述べてきたとおり、「北部九州を経由する王権の対外交渉にかかわる海上交通の守護神」である宗像神。意宇郡についていえば、その地を本拠とする出雲臣氏は出雲国造と意宇郡の大領を兼帯しており、意宇郡の熊野神社に祀られる熊野大神だけではなく、出雲国造の奉斎する杵築大社に祭られる国譲りの神であるオホクニヌシ神も含む。
- 23) 同じことは、『類聚国史』巻19神祇「国造」の延暦17年10月丁亥条にもみえ、そこには次のように記されている。
 勅、国造郡領、其職各殊。今出雲筑前两国、慶雲三年以来、令_下国造_上帶_中郡領_上、託_言神事_上、動_廢公務_上。雖_レ有_二其怠_一、無_レ由_二勘決_一。自今以後、不_レ得_レ令_下国造_上帶_中郡領_上。又国造兼帶_二神主_一、新任之日、例皆棄_レ妻、取_二百姓女子_一、号為_二神宮采女_一、便娶為_レ妻_上、妄托_二神事_一、遂扇_二淫風_一。稽_二之国典_一、理合_二懲肅_一。宜_下国司_上ト_二定_二女_一供_上之。
 ここでは、出雲国造と並んで筑前国造の郡領兼帯が取り上げられているが、当時、筑前国造が存在したとは考えられず、これは、宗像神主と混同したものと考えられる。
- 24) 岡崎敬「総括編」（前掲）。
- 25) 小田富士雄「海北道中」（前掲）。
- 26) 岡田精司「古代国家と宗像の神」（『古代を考える』37、1984年）。

Rituals on Okinoshima Island Seen from the History of Exchanges

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Abstract: This paper intends to organize events and circumstances over the period from the fourth century to the late ninth century based on the four chronological division of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, including the beginning of exchanges with East Asian regions, multifactorial amicable relations and state of worship not limited to the Munakata clan in the fifth century, fetal movement into the centralized administrative framework and unification of foreign relations by the Wa kingly power in the sixth century, turmoil occurring in East Asia and the role of the northern region of Kyūshū in the seventh century, aspects of the late-stage Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and the trend of Shilla after the eighth century and discuss the situation of the rituals on Okinoshima Island seen from the history of exchanges by the end of the ninth century. Although elucidation of the form of worship in concrete terms from the historical documents remains to be seen, I came up with an idea of the “Jisai (mourning keeper)-wise requital” that involves performing dedication rituals commemorating the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty after they returned to Japan from the difficult sea voyage. In addition, I paid attention to the new positioning of the Munakata Goddesses to deal with the pirates from Shilla after the ninth century.

Keywords: “Kaihoku” (north of the sea), multifactorial amicable relations, Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, Jisai-wise requital, pirates from Shilla

1. Introduction

Okinoshima Island is located on the sea belonging to the ancient Munakata-gun in Chikuzen Province occupied by Okitsu-miya enshrining Tagorihime aka Okitsushimahime who is one of the Three Goddesses of Munakata appeared in the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters), Nihonshoki (Chronicle of Japan) and mythology; that is Tagorihime (deification and personification of sea mist), Tagitsuhime (deification of the swirling and fast moving current) and Ichikishimahime (whose basic attribute is a deity of the island and a central deity of the Three Goddesses) (Nakatsu-miya [Ōshima Island] - Tagitsuhime, Hetsu-miya [Tashima] – Ichikishimahime)¹⁾. Okinoshima Island is called “Oiwazusama” (you can’t tell anything about the island) and there is a taboo against speaking of what is seen or heard on the island and against removing any trees or grasses from the island and a taboo against allowing women entering the island and these taboos have been strictly preserved. When entering the island, a custom of performing a purification ceremony at Ōshima Island and ablutions before landing on the island has been strictly observed up to today.

Three academic investigations taken place at Okinoshima Island after WW2 have revealed the existence of the votive offerings including many excellent articles called “treasure house (shōsōin) of the sea” and led to the acquisition of important knowledge in examining the history of the ancient rituals²⁾. A total of 23 ritual sites are divided into four phases. In the first phase, rituals were held on top of a rock (from late fourth to fifth century, Site No.16, 17, 18, 19, 21) and in the second phase, rituals were held in the shade of a rock (late fifth to seventh century, Site No.4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 22, 23). During the third phase, rituals were carried out partly in the shade of a rock (from late seventh to early eighth century, Site No. 5, 14, 20) and the fourth phase involves rituals in the open air (from eighth to early tenth century, Site No.1, 2, 3). These findings are incredibly valuable in that we can trace the transition of the rites that first took place on top of a large rock as a dwelling place of a deity then moved to rock shadows where a deity approaches the living space of people and finally into fixed ceremonial sites not using a large rock as “yorishiro” and the transition of the votive offerings that were in common with the burial accessories in the first and second phases then changed into the impractical ritual implements including gilt bronze miniature products and pottery after the third phase and transition from the undifferentiation between funeral and ritual to the differentiation between funeral and ritual and the process of establishment of the ritsuryō rituals in a concrete way³⁾.

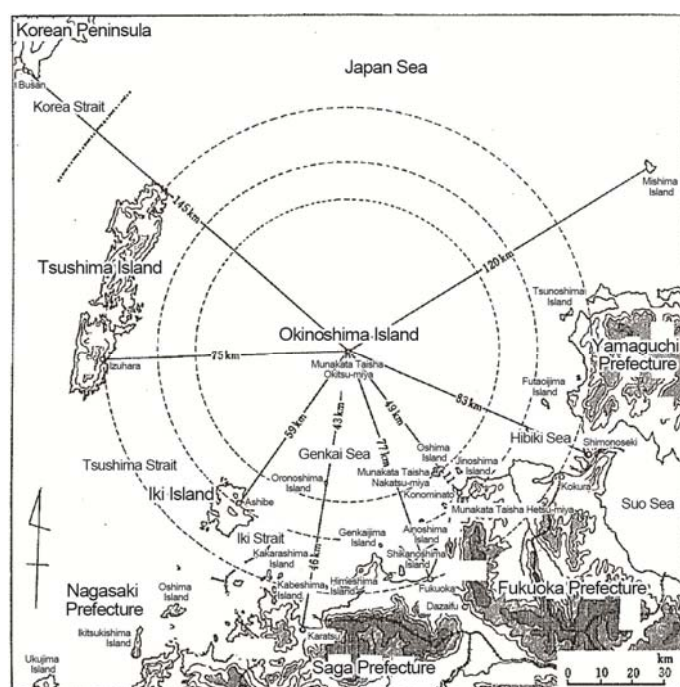


Figure 1 East Asia in the 7th century (ODA, Fujio. ed. *Thinking about the Antique age Okinoshima Island and the rituals in the Antique age Japan*. Yoshikawakobunkan, 1988. p.2)

Okinoshima Island is also situated in the center of the Genkai Sea and is an appropriate location for Okitsu-miya where the Three Goddesses descended upon that is expressed as “Michinushi-no-Muchi (guardian of the sea route)” of “Kaihokudōchū” (sea road in the north sea)” in the “mythology of Kiki (Kojiki and Nihonshoki)”. From the votive offerings of the first phase, 58 mirrors including the interconnected arc type mirror and the God and animal-design bronze mirror with triangle shaped edge are discovered, which shows that the Wa kingly power centering around Yamato in Kinai region was involved in the ceremonial worship other than the forces in the northern Kyūshū from the beginning. The votive offerings from the second phase include gold rings and the kinds of gilt bronze horse trappings and harness assumed to be products from Shilla, a cut glass from Persia and those from the third phase include the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck and gilt-bronze dragon heads supposed to be imported from Shilla or Tang Dynasty and among the offerings from the third phase, there are also Nara tricolored small bottle and coins from the imperial court.. That is to say, it is assumed that there existed the rituals involved with the trade with several kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula and China as reflected in the votive offerings as well as the rituals performed by the Wa kingly power.

The rituals performed on the Okinoshima Island spanning between the late fourth century to the early tenth century evolved from the amicable relationship with Baekje starting in late fourth century and the activities of the Wa army described on the Gwanggaeto Stele from Goguryeo and they are greatly related to the process of formation of the ancient state in turbulent times from the fourth to seventh century when dynasties in East Asia rose and fell, and also they are regarded as being related to the relationship promoted by the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty between seventh and ninth century, and their historical significance in the history of exchanges in East Asia combined with the artifacts for offering symbolizing the international relations has been stressed. However, the sea route described in the “Account of Wa” in the “History of Wei” is the route connecting Tsushima, Iki, Mutsu and Hakata Bay in common with the northern navigation route (Volume 15 of Man'yōshū (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves)) of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty (Shilla road) and although Okinoshima Island is located in the middle of the Genkai Sea, it is deviated from the main route. It is difficult to look for an answer to how and for what purpose the rituals on Okinoshima Island were performed in the documentary records other than a passage ; “汝三神宜降居道中奉助天孫而為天孫所祭” (First addendum to the chapter on Zuishu Treaty in the first volume of the History of the Divine Age in the “Nihonshoki”) and I have to say that the significance and positioning of the rituals on Okinoshima Island in the history of exchanges are the issues that remain to be solved.

The third and the fourth phases of the rituals on Okinoshima Island show less changes in the artifacts than before for their length of time and in terms of archaeological interest, due to fewer articles in good

condition or artifacts contributing to determine their date, the conventional research has been concentrated on the times of the formation process of the ancient state and their relationship with the history of exchange from the seventh to the tenth century is usually mentioned only briefly⁴⁾. During this time, the studies on the history of external relations have progressed in an attempt to reexamine the advance into Korean Peninsula by the Wa kingly power and the “Mimana Japanese Government” and the views on the time when a form of a national governing body was established have been deepened. Also, the history of exchanges focused on the aspects of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and the envoy itself from the seventh to the ninth century has been progressively revised and it is significant to question about the relations of the rituals on Okinoshima Island over the entire phases with the history of exchanges⁵⁾.

For this reason, I want to discuss the articles regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses that are mentioned occasionally in the “Nihonshoki” based on the choronolonogical division of the rituals on Okinoshima Island and also pay attention to the situation of control of the Japanese archipelago by the Wa kingly power and the positioning of the local ruling families in the northern region of Kyūshū in particular regarding the times of the formation process of the ancient state as follows. The amicable relationship with Sui and Tang Dynasty starting in the seventh century had a significant meaning for the establishment of the state system of Wakoku and Japan by introducing the ritsuryō (code of laws and ethics) system. Due to scarce documentary records, it's not clear what kind of rituals were performed on the occasion of dispatching Japanese envoy to the Sui or Tang Dynasties, however, after the eighth century, there are records depicting a ceremony to offer prayers for the safety navigation regarding the dispatching of envoys to the Tang Dynasty, China and the way of rewarding them after they returned. The Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty wasn't all that represented the amicable relationship. Nevertheless, its significance as a national enterprise is great as is mentioned in documentary records and I intend to inquire into the realities of the veneration rituals on Okinoshima Island focused on this envoy to Tang Dynasty. The enterprise to dispatch Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty was discontinued after the last envoy was dispatched to Tang Dymasty in the Era of Jōwa in the middle of the ninth century.

In the late ninth century, on the way to the collapse of Tang Dynasty, Shilla and Balhae, East Asian States were thrown into the turbulent period again. In these circumstances, the invasion by the pirates from Shilla caused a problem in the area and this is mentioned occasionally in the articles regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses. Although the relevant time coincides with the time when the rituals on Okinoshima Island headed toward decline, they appear more frequently in documentary records and this period should also serve as an important page of history. It is expected that there is a clue to discuss the implications of the rituals on Okinoshima Island in this part as well that is worth discussing.

2. Beginning of the history of personal and cultural exchanges

In the “Nihonshoki”, except for the passage describing the descent of Susanowo in the Divine Age from heaven to Shilla State or on the islands of Korea (the first addendum to chapter 4, 5 on the Appearance of a Treasured Sword), the arrival of a person named “Sonakahichi” from Mimana in the Chronicle of Sujin and Suinin is the only article depicting the first foreign relationships. This person is also described as “Tsunugaarashito, a prince from Ohokarakoku” and also known as “Ushikiarishichikanki”. “Mimana” i.e. Ohokara (Ohokara mentioned in Volume 2 of “History of the Kingdom of Gaya” in “Anecdotal History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea”) or more specifically the Geumgwan State (Geumgwan Gaya) is a state that took over the state of Kuyakan-koku located on the north coast of Wakoku as described in the “Account of Wa” in “The History of the Wei Dynasty” and also appeared in the “Account of Byeonjin” as ; “国出鉄、韓・倭・濊、皆徙取之” and apart from the precise date of the Emperor Sujin 65 (33 B.C.) and the Emperor Suinin 2 (28 B.C.), this showed that the relationship with the south part of Korea was greatly emphasized since the dawn of the history.

In 108 B.C., Emperor Wu of Former Han Dynasty installed four Commanderies in Korea and when he started to direct his attention to the Eastern World using Lelang Commandery (near Pyongyang, North Korea) as a base, the existence of Wa people on the Eastern sea became recognized by the Chinese Dynasty, which led to the nomenclature of “Wa” and the people of Wa and the state of Wa started to appear in the history of East Asia (Article on the location of Yan State in Geographical Appendix, “History of Former Han Dynasty”). Among more than 100 small states of Wa people at this stage, a few powerful states such as

Nakoku which paid tribute to Later Han Dynasty in 57 and received Kan-no-Wa-no-Na-no-kokuō Kin'in (the Golden Seal of the King of Japan) emerged and Suisho who paid tribute in 107 was also described as King of Wakoku (Account of Wa "History of Later Han Dynasty"), and therefore, it is believed that the state called "Wa" had been formed by the beginning of the second century⁶⁾. However, during the chaotic period between the late Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period, the Wakoku fell into a crisis situation called "Great Rebellion of Wa" where the reign by the male king didn't function and from the end of the second century to the beginning of the third century, Himiko was made a common queen reigning over Wakoku which is a united group of 30 states with the country of Yamatai as its center as described in the passage "事鬼道、能惑衆". The Queen Himiko had amicable relations with Daifang Commandery (near Seoul in South Korea) and maintained an interchange.

In 238, when Wei Dynasty, fearing about the alliance between Wu Dynasty in the south and the Gongsun clan, defeated the Gongsun clan⁷⁾, Himiko dispatched a messenger to the capital Luoyang via Daifang Commandery of the Wei Dynasty in 239 and was given the title of "Shingi Wāō (the king of Wa)" and hundred bronze mirrors by the Wei Dynasty, which shows that it was indispensable for the reign of Himiko to win the powerful backing of the authoritative Chinese dynasty, get a share of the prestige goods and obtain the exclusive guarantee for diplomatic relations with China. In her domestic ruling, one military position called "taisui" (general) was placed in Itokoku (near Itoshima City in Fukuoka) which is described as ; "世有王、皆統属女王国、郡使往来常所駐" and "taisui" was responsible for monitoring the "自女王国以北" and "諸国畏憚之". In the same way, "taisui", as described in a passage ; "王遣使詣京都・帶方郡・諸韓国、及郡使倭国、皆臨津搜露、伝達文書・賜遺之物、詣女王、不得差錯", also assumed an important role in managing foreign diplomatic administrative affairs. In Wakoku, Himiko died around 250 and a male king was placed on the throne, but as described in the text ; "國中不服、更相誅殺、当時殺千余人". When Iyo, a daughter of Himiko's kin family was made queen, the stability was restored. When the Western Jin Dynasty destroyed Wei Dynasty in 265, Iyo dispatched the envoy to Jin Dynasty in 266 (Article in 266 in the 66th year of regent of the Empress Jingū on citation from the Kikyochū (Imperial diaries of the Jin Dynasty) in the "Nihonshoki"). It also shows that the diplomatic relations with China and official appointment of the King of Wa from China was indispensable for the existence of Wakoku.

Dispute over the location of Yamataikoku aside, from the above-mentioned aspects of the history of exchanges it is evident that the relations with East Asian have always had important implications since the dawn of the history and the role assumed by the northern Kyūshū in external relations have always been important. In the "Account of Wa" in the "History of Wei" contains a passage saying: "其行来渡海詣中国、恒使一人不梳頭、不去蟻蝨・衣服垢汗、不食肉、不近婦人、如喪人、名之為持衰。若行者吉善、共顧其生口・財物、若有疾病遭暴害、便欲殺之。謂其持衰不謹". It shows the existence of "Jisai" who served as mourning keeper to pray for safety navigation. Then, how is it that the rituals performed on Okinoshima Island never appeared in the foregoing history of exchanges and the first phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island started in the late fourth century? In recent studies, it is generally believed that the keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound in Kinai Yamato region were established in the middle of the third century and the first appearance of the Wa kingly power associated with the keyhole-shaped tomb system is traced back to this time. Given this assumption, the discrepancy between this and the beginning period of the rituals on Okinoshima Island needs to be questioned all the more.

During the time ranging from the third century to the fifth century, China underwent turbulent social upheaval with the transition of the dynasties from Quin to Han and to Wei-Jin/Southern and Northern Dynasty Periods. During the period, in the Korean Peninsula, Goguryeo, that gained power from around the first century B.C. in northeast Asia, was expanding its territory and destroyed Lelang Commandery in 313 and Daifang Commandery after that. Baekje, which had consolidated the Mahan confederacy with the statelet of Hyakusai as its center, condemned the former land of Daifang Commandery. On the other hand, the Jinhan confederacy became Shilla and Byeonhan confederacy became Gaya confederacy with independent statelets and the small states composed of ethnic Koreans in the southern part of the Peninsula also proceeded with a state formation. The royal family of Baekje had a family name "Yeo (Buyeo)" and is believed to be from the Buyeo family with the same ethnic back ground as Goguryeo, however, for Baekje that made Hanseong (Seoul) as its capital, the top priority for the state's existence was to face off against the threat from the Goguryeo's southern advance. The article, the third month, the first day of which is Itsugai, in the forty-sixth year of the

regent of Empress Jingū [246+120→revised year 366] stated that the envoys of Baekje visited to one of the statelets of the Gaya confederacy named Tokujun-koku (near Changwon) and expressed their willingness to have amicable relations with Wakoku and a relationship between Baekje and Wa was established in 366.

It appears that this explanation of the establishment of the Wa-Baekje relations via the Gaya region is compatible with the conventional view on the state of exchanges between Wakoku and the regions in the Peninsula and the process of the international relations of that time. Baekje fought with Goguryeo on a large scale in 369 and 371 and succeeded in making Goguryeo retreat (Article of the ninth month in the twenty-fourth year of the King of Geunchogo, and in the twenty-sixth year in “History of Baekje” of “Samguk Sagi” (History of the Three Kingdoms)), and it started a relationship with Western Jin Dynasty in 372 (“History of the Jin Dynasty”, article of the sixth month, in the second year of Xianan Era in the reign of Emperor Jianwen) and showed the state’s policy of deploying its battle against Goguryeo with the backing of the Southern Dynasties of China. According to the Gwanggaeto Stele from Goguryeo, Wa crossed the ocean to the peninsula after the great King Gwanggaeto took the throne in 391 and made Baekje and Shilla its “subjects”. Considering that the stele was made as gravestone and monument of honor by the son Jangsu-wang for his father Gwanggaeto the Great in 414 with the characteristics of historical source⁸⁾, it is believed that Baekje wanted to join hands with Wakoku in the south with practical military power and it is possible that the reinforcements from Wakoku already participated in the battle of 369. The Seven-branched Sword with inscription written in the fourth year of Taehwa (dated 369 in the fourth year of the Taehwa era in Eastern Jin Dynasty) conserved in the Isonokami-jingū Shrine can be used to back up the establishment of the Wa-Baekje relations. According to the article in the fifty-second year of the regent of the Empress Jingū [in 252+120→372] in the “Nihonshoki”), this sword was brought to Wakoku in 372. Although there are various theories regarding the interpretation of the inscription including the identification of the date⁹⁾, I view it as a gift without a hierarchical relationship that reflects the actual situation of the relationship between Wa and Baekje of the time.

According to the scripture written on the Gwanggaeto Stele from Goguryeo, it appears that the war situation was not in favor of the Wa, Baekje side.

- 396 : The Great King Gwanggaeto set off on his military expedition and beat Baekje and seized 58 mountain fortresses, 700 villages and took a brother of the King of Baekje and 10 ministers as prisoners and made Baekje as Goguryeo’s “nogaek (subjects)”.
- 399 : Baekje reestablished amicable relations with Wa
- 400 : In response to the Wa’s invasion of Shilla from the Gaya direction, the king dispatched 50,000 foot and horse soldiers to support Shilla and attacked the “Wa rebels” and also attacked the fortress of “Mimanagaya” and also fought against the “Soldiers of Alla”.
- 404 : In response to the Wa’s invasion of Dafang direction, it routed the “Wa pirates” and killed them with sword.

From the events mentioned above, it is noted that Wakoku didn’t participate in the battle of 396 which was an important battle for Baekje¹⁰⁾. There are two articles in the “Nihonshoki” in which “discourtesy” of the king of Baekje of the time was reprimanded (Article on the events in the third year of the Emperor Ōjin [272+120→392] and article in the third month in the eighth year of the Emperor Ōjin [277+120→397]). After the arrival of the later King Jeonji (Tenshi) (Reign: 405-420) to Wakoku as “hostage” (hostage with a connotation of a high-rank diplomat) the bilateral relationship got better and the Wakoku’s participation in the battle against Goguryeo was realized. According to the “Nihonshoki”, various goods and people have brought from Baekje to Wakoku since 397 including Achiki who brought seamstress and some good horses and the arrival of the scholar Dr. Wani, who is a descendant of the Kawachinofumi clan who was believed to introduce Chinese “Thousand Character Classic” (articles of the years between the fourteenth and sixteenth year of the Emperor Ōjin) and receiving these advance products is believed to be exactly what Wakoku expected for Baekje that had inherited the exchange base by way of Daifang Commandery. When King Jeonji took the throne, it is said that hundred soldiers from Wakoku attended the ceremony (records of events prior to the enthronement of King Jeonji in “History of Baekje” in the “Samguk Sagi”), which would provide evidence concerning the supply of armed force.



Figure 2 East Asia in the 5th century (MORI, Kimiyuki. *Conflicts in East Asia and Wa*. Yoshikawakobunkan, 2006. p. 53)

Summarizing the above, the late fourth century represented major milestones in the history of exchanges between the Korean Peninsula and Wakoku. In the fifth century, ruling by the Liu-Song Dynasty in the Southern Dynasties and by the Northern Wei Dynasty in the Northern Dynasties were stabilized and Goguryeo mainly paid tribute to the Northern Dynasties with occasional visits to the Southern Dynasties and Baekje and Wa paid tribute to the Southern Dynasties, which caused strains in relations between two sides against the backdrop of authority of the Chinese dynasties. For this reason, the peninsula was in a comparative lull free from major battles for a while, however, King Jangsu moved the capital of the kingdom from Hwando Mountain Fortress to Pyongyang in 427 and showed his power to advance southward. On the other hand, in Baekje, the kingdom's resources were exhausted due to chronic conflicts as described in the section of the "Story of Baekje Kingdom" in the "Book of the Wei Dynasty" as follows: "構怨連禍三十余載、財殫力竭、軫自孱蹶". In Wakoku, the five kings of Wa who sent envoys to Liu-Song in the South Dynasties, namely, San, Chin, Sei, Kō, Bu, were known to exist ("Book of the Song Dynasty" Story of Wakoku). Although assigning the five kings to the emperors appeared in "Kojiki" and "Nihonshoki" is somewhat questionable, the most widely accepted theory is that Sei is identified as Emperor Ingyō, Kō as Emperor Ankō and Bu as Emperor Yūryaku and five emperors among the successive emperors from Ōjin to Yūryaku are candidates for identification of the five kings of Wa.

Among the five kings of Wa, Bu, for example, was appointed to the official title of "使持節都督倭・新羅・任那・加羅・秦韓・慕韓六国諸軍事、安東大將軍、倭王" in 478 and he requested for recognition of his title as King of Wa and delegation of the authority to lead an army in the south part of the peninsula. Although Wakoku requested for supreme military command for countries including Baekje, such request for the exercise of military power in Baekje was turned down because Baekje had paid a tribute to the Southern Dynasties from early on and had been granted the higher title of general than the king of Wa. Mimana means Geumgwan-koku, Gaya means Daegaya controlling the northern Gaya region and these states and Shilla which was under domination by Goguryeo didn't establish amicable relations with China and so it would be possible for Song Dynasty to grant a title of military supervisor for these states and regions. Due to the unreasonable request by Wakoku for the supreme military command for countries including Baekje, in the framework of the relations between the five kings of Wa and Song Dynasty staring after the death of King Jeonji, the Wa-Baekje relations, especially during the reigns of King Biyu (Reign 455-475) and King Gaero (Reign 455-475) weren't favorable. Baekje had a challenge to deal with Goguryeo with an intention to advance southward and took measures to confront Goguryeo by joining in alliance with Shilla that had been aiming for "independence" from Goguryeo from the mid fifth century and Daegaya. In the peninsula, this Shilla – Baekje alliance was more effective as practical measure and in part due to the competition between Wakoku and Baekje over Daegaya reported in the historical records ("Nihonshoki" Article in the sixty-second year of the regent of Empress Jingū in [262+120→382+60=442]), it is believed that the Wa-Baekje relations were disregarded at the time. Incidentally, in the History of Shilla of "Samguk Sagi", articles on attacks of Wa people on Shilla appear frequently and while

it appears that Wakoku had hostile relations with Shilla, it becomes clear from the relics that surprisingly large number of goods from Shilla were brought to Wakoku during this period¹¹⁾ and therefore, attention should be paid to the Wa-Shilla relations at the time.

3. “Kaihokudōchū-(in the north of the sea, in the middle of the route)” and multifactorial amicable relations

As mentioned above, I devoted pages to discussed the conditions of the history of exchanges that would provide the setting for the first phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island and judging from the start of the first phase and its factors, excellent votive offerings including numbers of bronze mirrors comparable to the burial accessories from the large keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound in Kinai Yamato region, it should be concluded that the agent who conducted the religious services was the Wa kingly power. Then what did the Wa kingly power demand of the rituals on Okinoshima Island? First, it's the strategic location of Okinoshima Island. As mentioned above, although Okinoshima Island is deviated from the main exchange route starting from the northern Kyūshū, from the poem No.1230 ; “ちはやぶる 金の岬を過ぎぬとも 我は忘れじ 志賀の皇神” appeared in Volume 7 of the “Man'yōshū” and lines in the story No. 29 ; “亀、山陰中納言の恩を報じたる語” appeared in Volume 19 of the “Tale of Times Now Past”, the strait between Kanenomisaki situated in Kanezaki in Munakata City in Fukuoka and Jinoshima Island off the shore was considered as a dangerous spot in navigation. In later years, Munakata-no-Ason Fukatsu who was the Munakata-gun Dairyō (chief official) and his wife were conferred an honorary rank for their contribution to construct the channel for the passage of vessels in Kanezaki (Table 3 listed later), which shows that the part of the sea between Hetsu-miya and Nakatsu-miya was an important point in the direction of Hakata Bay.

In this context, in the note in the left margin of the poems from No.3860 to 3869 titled “10 Songs of the Shika-fishermen in Chikuzen Province” in Volume 16 of “Man'yōshū”, there is a text as follows; “右、以神龜年中、大宰府差筑前国宗像郡之百姓宗形部津麻呂、宛対馬送粮船舵師也。于時津麻呂詣於滓屋郡志賀村白水郎荒雄之許許語曰、僕有小事、若疑不許歟。荒雄答曰、走雖異郡、同船日久、志篤兄弟、在於殉死、豈復辞哉。津麻呂曰、府官差僕宛対馬送粮船舵師、容齒衰老、不堪海路、故来祇候、願垂相替矣。於是荒雄許諾、遂従彼事。自肥前国松浦県美祢良久埼発舶、直射対馬渡海。登時忽天暗冥、暴風交雨、竟無順風、沈没海中焉 (omitted below) ”. From this text, it is implied that as an instance in later years, Munakatabe-no-Tsumaro who was believed to be a fisherman under the dominion of the Munakata Ason was in a situation where he had to work together with a fisherman from Shika Village beyond the county border and he was known as skilled seafarer enough to be requisitioned first on the occasion of sending rations and provisions to Tsushima from Dazaifu and he was actively engaged in fishing on the route extending to Tsushima via Mineraku Cape of Chikashima Island in Mutsu-gun in Hiogo Province. The Mineraku Cape was also the starting point of the south route of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty since the Era of Taihō (“Topography of Hiogo Province”, article on Chikashima Island in Mutsu-gun) and it is interesting to learn about the active roles of the fishermen (seafarers) from the Munakata region in this sea area¹²⁾.

Incidentally, according to “Wamyō Ruijushō” (Heian-period Japanese dictionary), Munakata-gun was a large district composed of 14 jurisdictional townships (sato) that are Aki, Yamata, Ito, Arashi, Nosaka, Araki, Ama, Mushirouchi, Fukata, Minou, Karaya, Koare, Ōare, Tsuku and it is believed that Mushirouchi Umayu (facilities for providing horses and foods) were placed in Mushirouchi Town and Tsuhi Umayu was located in Tsuku Town according to the Engishiki (procedures of the Engi Era) on Department of Warship. Among them, Ito Town and Ama Town suggest the connection with seafarers engaged in the ocean transportation and their relationship with Ito-gun. Karaya is associated with “Kara (Korea)” and in light of the existence of Karakanuchi Town in Shima-gun and Karadomari (accommodation for envoys to Shilla) (“Man'yōshū” Volume 15-3668, 70), there may have been a location in Munakata-gun which suggests the relations with Korean Peninsula. In the sense, these facts reflect the importance of the location of Munakata in the land and sea transport.

As for the Three Goddesses of Munakata, there is a well-known lore, in which the goddess of Okitsu-miya is married to Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto and Iwaohokami (deemed as the same deity as

Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto) (“Kojiki” First Volume, “Topography of Harima Province” article on Kuroda Town in Taka-gun), “Chigihongi (the True Record of the Earthly Deities) in the “Sendai Kujihongi,”). In addition, there is a story of a chieftain of Izumo Region who had relations with Chikushi Province (article on the Kiyū day, seventh month of the sixtieth year of the Emperor Sujin in the “Nihonshoki”), and in an actual case of a helmsman of Chikushi who was going to Echizen Province by way of Izumo (Keikaicho (forwarding document) of Izumo Province in the 6th year of Tempyo Era “Dai Nihon Komonjo (the Archives in Japan)” Page 1-596), the route starting from Chikushi passing Izumo to Koshi was used (Also refer to a story of marriage between Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto and Nunakawahime in Koshi in the First Volume of “Kojiki”). As an instance of heading off to Chikushi through the Sea of Japan, there is a lore regarding “the conquest of three countries in old Korea” by the Empress Jingū, in which the empress moved from Tsunuganokehino-miya to Anatonotoyora-no-miya (near Toyora in Shimonoseki City, Yamaguchi) and from there reached Chikushi and its moving root deserves attention (article of the second year of Emperor Chūai, article on fifth day, first month in the eighth year of Emperor Chūai in the “Nihonshoki”). It is unthinkable that this route passed Okinoshima Island, however, Tsunugaarashito, son of the king of Ohokarakoku said to have arrived at Anato (Nagato) first and then got to Kehinoura in Koshi Province by way of “north sea”. Aside from the tale of origin of the place name “Tsunuga” because of “horns” he had on the forehead (a note on the article of the events of the second year of the Emperor Suinin), there may have been a route starting from the peninsula which passed Tsushima, Okinoshima Island and Nagato then reached Anato. In addition to the article about the events of 562 in the twenty-second year of the Emperor Kinmei recorded in “Nihonshoki” stating that a messenger from Shilla stopped at Anato on his way back home and the Anato Guest House was under repair and the Japanese messenger planned to stay there to accuse the “rudeness” of Shilla, there are instances of visits from foreigners to Nagato after eighth century (including the article of the Heishin day, tenth month in 814 in the fifth year of Kōnin Era in the “Nihonkōki (Later Chronicles of Japan), article of the Kigai day, the twelfth month in 843 in the tenth year of Jōwa Era of “Shoku Nihon Kōki” (Later Chronicles of Japan Continued), article of the third day, third month in 883 in the fifth year of Kampo Era of “Nihon Kiryaku (Summary of Japanese Chronologies)”), I want to pay attention to the Okinoshima-Nagato route as well¹³⁾. Regarding the arrival of islanders from Tamna Island recorded in the shōzeichō (balance sheet of tax rice) of Suou Province in the tenth year of Tempyō Era (Page 133, 138 of “Dai Nihon Komonjo”, they seemed to have reached Nagato Province following the route from Jeju Island to Nagato, via Tsushima and Okinoshima Island¹⁴⁾.

With the above-mentioned geopolitical position of Okinoshima Island in mind, how were the rituals on Okinoshima Island carried out and what were their characteristics in the history of exchanges? And how was the manner of the power presiding the religious rituals and how was the state of intervention by the Wa kingly power?

- a 『日本書紀』神代・瑞珠盟約段本文
(上略) 所生神号曰田心姫、次湍津姫、次市杵嶋姫。凡三女矣。(中略) 筑紫胸肩君等所祭神是也。
- b 同上第三の一書
(上略) 即以日神所生三女神者、使降居于葦原中国之宇佐嶋矣。今在海北道中、号曰道主貴。此筑紫水沼君等祭神是也。(下略)
- c 『日本書紀』応神天皇 41 年 2 月是月条
阿知使主等自吳至筑紫。時胸形大神有乞工女等。故以兄媛奉於胸形大神。是則今在筑紫国御使君之祖也。既而率其三婦女以至津国、及于武庫、而天皇崩之不及。即献于大鷦鷯尊。是女人等之後、今吳衣縫・蚊屋衣縫是也。
- d-1 『日本書紀』履中天皇 5 年 3 月戊午朔条 → 9 月癸卯条：皇妃の死去
於筑紫所居三神見于宮中言、何奪我民矣。吾今慚汝。於是禱而不祠。
- d-2 『日本書紀』履中天皇 5 年 10 月甲子条
葬皇妃。既而天皇悔之不治神崇而亡皇妃、更求其咎。或者曰、車持君行於筑紫国、而悉校車持部、兼取充神者、必是罪矣。天皇則喚車持君、以推問之、事既実焉。因以数之曰、爾雖車持君、縦檢校天子之百姓、罪一也。即分寄于神祇車持部、兼奪取之、罪二也。則負惡解除・善解除、而出於長渚崎令祓禊。既而詔之曰、自今以後、不得掌筑紫之車持部。乃悉收以更分之奉於三神。

e-1 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 9 年 2 月甲子朔条

遣凡河内直香賜与采女、祠胸方神。香賜与采女既至壇所〈香賜、此云舸它夫〉、及将行事、奸其采女。天皇聞之曰、祠神祈福可不慎歟。乃遣難波日鷹吉士将誅之。時香賜即逃亡不在。天皇復遣弓削連豐穗、普求国郡県、遂於三嶋郡藍原、執而斬焉。

e-2 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 9 年 3 月条

天皇欲親伐新羅、神戒天皇曰、無往也。天皇由是不果行。（下略）

f 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 10 年 9 月戊午条

身狹村主青将吳所獻二鵝到於筑紫。是鵝為水間君犬所嚙死〈別本云、是鵝為筑紫嶺県主泥麻呂犬所嚙死〉。由是、水間君恐怖憂愁、不能自默、獻鴻十隻与養鳥人、請以贖罪。天皇許焉。

g 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 14 年 3 月条（参考）

命臣連迎吳使。即安置吳人於檜隈野。因名吳原。以衣縫兄媛奉大三輪神、以弟媛為漢衣縫部也。漢織・吳織・衣縫、是飛鳥衣縫部・伊勢衣縫之先也。

h 『肥前国風土記』基肄郡条

姫社郷。此郷之中有川、名曰山道川。其源出郡北山、南流而會御井大川。昔者、此川之西、有荒神、行路之人、多被殺害、半凌半殺。于時、卜求崇由、兆云、令筑前国宗像郡人珂是古祭吾社。若合願者、不起荒心。覓珂是古、令祭神社。珂是古、即捧幡祈禱云、誠有欲吾祀者、此幡順風飛往、墮願吾之神辺。便即举幡、順風放遣。于時、其幡飛往、墮於御原郡姫社之社。更還飛来、落此山道川辺之。因此、珂是古、自知神之在处。其夜夢見臥機〈謂久都毗枳〉・絡埭〈謂多々利〉舞遊出来、壓驚珂是古。於是、亦識女神。即立社祭之。自爾已来、行路之人、不被殺害。因曰姫社、今以為郷名。

First, according to a, there is no doubt that the Munakata-no-Kimi (Ason) was responsible for the worship of the Three Goddesses of Munakata. Though considered as questionable ancient Fudoki (descriptions of regional climate, culture, etc), there is a passage that has been quoted from the Topography of Saikaidō in the [Diary of Sakimori] (AOYAGI Taenenobu); “其大海命子孫、今宗像朝臣等是也” which seems to depend on a lore about the Munakata clan in “Munakataki (Record of Munakata)” in a passage saying; “又曰、天神之子有四柱。只三柱神、教弟大海命曰、汝命者、為吾等三柱御身之像”, and the ancestor who deserves to be the chief of seafarers called “Ōama-no-Mikoto” was created. However, the article on Munakata Ason in the divine category (Chigi) in Ukyō of “Shinsen Shōjiroku” (New Selection and Record of Hereditary Titles and Family Names) defines that “大神朝臣同祖、吾田片隅命之後也”, and it seems that the Munakata clan acknowledged itself as the descendants of Susanowo¹⁵⁾. Seen in that light, a passage that has been quoted from the surviving fragments of Topography of Chikuzen Fudoki in Volume 11 of “Shaku Nihongi (annotated text in the Nihonshoki)” saying; “氣長足姫尊、欲伐新羅、整理軍士、發行之間、道中遁亡。占求其由、即有崇神、名曰大三輪神。所以樹此神社、遂平新羅” which is a legend associated with the Ohonamuchi Shrine in Yasu-gun listed in Engishiki Jinmyō-chō (a register of shrines in Japan) that is also interesting, in that the relationship between Ōmiwa-no-Kami and Chikuzen Province can be worked out from the legend.

However, according to b, Minuma-no-Kimi also worshipped the Three Goddesses and the Munakata clan wasn't solely involved in the rituals. If so, how were the chronological relationships and the parallel relationships between two clans? The chronology of mounded tombs in Munakata Region on which Minuma-no-Kimi was based¹⁶⁾ and the conditions of the mounded tombs in the area on the Sea of Ariake and along the Chikugo River show that in the late fourth century Tōgō-Takatsuka Tomb and Kamitakamiya Tomb were built along the Tsuru River and it can be said that they respond to the rise of the new chief leading to the Munakata clan and the establishment of their status as the person responsible for presiding the rituals on Okinoshima Island. However, in the early fifth century, construction of the large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound fell into decline in the western coastal area of the Genkai Sea while they appeared in areas along the Sea of Ariake and along the Chikugo River and therefore it appears that the force associated with Minuma-no-Kimi had an occasion to be involved in the rituals on Okinoshima Island. In the middle of the fifth century, construction of the fairly large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound resumed in Munakata Region and this continued into the construction of large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound from the late fifth century to the sixth century in the Tusyazaki Mounded Tomb Group situated south west of Kanazaki, which is a case only present in the Yame

Mounded Tomb Group in Chikugo and the lower reach of the Hi River in Higo other than the Munakata Region and which would reflect that Munakata-no-Kimi became a major factor in the history of exchanges of the Wa kingly power along with the local ruling families like Tsukushi-no-kimi and Hi-no-Kimi.

The relevant time corresponds to the period of the five kings of Wa and as mentioned-above, there is a problem of inconsistency between the years of dispatch of five kings and the reign period of the emperors described in “Kiki” except for the last king of “Bu” as Emperor Yūryaku. However, as the “Nihonshoki” carries several articles regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses in the historical period presumed as a candidate for identification of the five kings, I will examine them in the next place. As for c, there is a similar account in g and according to some opinions, it is more appropriate to specify the arrival time of the weaver “Ehime” in the Emperor Yūryaku’s Era¹⁷⁾. However, there is a difference in the object of worship between the Munakata Goddesses in c and Ōmiwa deity in g and it’s impossible to judge which is the original model and so I rather like to pay attention to the manner of dedication and the elements related to the Munakata Region. Mitsukai-no-Kimi in c doesn’t appear in other historical materials and isn’t known very well, but it is considered to be the clan associated with Orihata Shrine, a shikinaisha shrines listed in Englishiki Jimmyōchō located in Munakata-gun. There are several instances indicating the relationship between the worship of deities and weaving (including the section of the commencement of a treasure mirror in the Volume 1 of the History of the Divine Age in the “Nihonshoki”, Article of Ōta Town in Kuji-gun and Nagahatabe Shrine of “Topography of Hitachi Province, etc.”, and above all, the votive offerings from the second phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island include gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools (No.22 Site). And according to c, it should be noted that consecration was required when the envoys returned from abroad, that is to say, as in the case of “Jisai”, in requital for the safe return of the Japanese envoy overseas, female needle workers from China were presented and the dedication ceremonies were performed by the weavers.

d shows that Kurumamochibe (hereditary occupational group of providing royal palanquins to imperial families) was appropriated for the Munakata Goddesses and the existence of Kurumamochibe in Yoboro Village in Nakatsu-gun in Buzen Province (1-187 of “Dainihon Komonjo”) and Kurumamochiason written on a wooden strip unearthed from the Dazaifu Site (No.34, 35) attest to the existence of Kurumamochibe in Chikushi. The text of d suggests that the Munakata Goddesses were also held in awe as a tatari-gami (cursing god) who caused a curse if they were not worshipped appropriately. The text of e-1 is presumed to be the worshipping rituals associated with the punitive expedition to Shilla in e-2¹⁸⁾ and as mentioned above, it corresponds to the fact that Shilla gradually increased its influence in the Korean peninsula. A notable point here is that the Munakata Goddesses had considerable influence over the foreign policy decision and the ritual manner described in e-1 is also worthy of attention. Specifically, although the act of sacred marriage (taking “Jingū Uneme” as mistress for religious services) seems to have been a common practice as specified in the Kampo (official document) issued on the eleventh day, tenth month in the 17th year of Enryaku Era of Volume 1 in the “Ruijūsandaikyaku (assorted regulations from Three Reigns)” ; 禁出雲国造託神事多娶百姓女子為妾事, the text of e-1 accused this act. According to some opinions, this reflected the value judgment of the time when the original significance of the act of holy marriage had been neglected¹⁹⁾. However, it appears that this custom continued into the ninth century in Izumo and another interpretation may be required. Along with the article on Sahioka in Ibo-gun of “Topography of Harima Province” stating that “Sahi (metal spade)” was offered to appease the anger and hate of goddesses, and the manner of quelling the curse of Ōtoshigami deity by offering “wowasegata (sexual device shaped like a phallus)” described in “Kogo Shūi (a historical record of the Inbe clan)”, it is known that there was an original system of worshipping goddesses as described in h. Therefore, it is believed that to enshrine the Three Goddesses of Munakata, it was necessary to take an appropriate measure different from the common way of performing Shintō rituals described in e-1 and regarding the issue of whether such measure has been reflected in the rituals on Okinoshima Island, I will leave it for later discussion ^{additional note)}.

In connection with the discrepancy (inconsistency) seen in the Munakata worship, I want to focus on the reprimand for Minuma-no-Kimi and the obligation to offer poultry keepers to expiate his guilt. Although there is no decisive factor for determining whether “Chikushi” which is a stage of f refers to the area on the Sea of Ariake on which Minuma-no-Kimi was based or the northern Kyūshū area associated with the Munakata worship of b, in light of the major route since the dawn of the history, I think the possibility of the latter case is higher. The situation surrounding the mounded tombs in Munakata Region is mentioned above and in relation to the rebellion of Tsukushi-no-kimi Iwai against the Wa kingly power, mentioned

later, there is also a mounded tomb called “ornamental tumulus” in Munakata (Mutajiri, Munakata City). However, seen from the competing situation of the mounded tombs after the late fifth century, it is understood that the Munakata Region didn’t belong to the federation of chiefs which provided a platform for the rebellion of Iwai²⁰⁾. Then the affair described in f might have been a factor behind the decline in the power of Minuma-no-Kimi who had been involved in the foreign negotiations in the northern Kyūshū. The text in h states that the people in Munakata Region worshipped goddesses enshrined in the area on the Sea of Ariake and there was a deity called Munakata Tenjin in Hizen Province (Article of the third day, fourth month in 871 Jōgan 13 in the “Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku” (Veritable Records of Three Reigns of Japan)). Both this Munakata Tenjin and Himekoso Shrine mentioned in h aren’t shikinaisha (shrines listed in Engishiki) and the relationship between the two is unknown. However, the presence of deities crowned by “Munakata” suggests that the power of influence of the Munakata clan and the worshipping rituals associated with the sea traffic represented in the rituals on Okinoshima Island were widely known as far as the Sea of Ariake, which is worthy of attention in considering the development after the sixth century.

In the diplomatic message presented by the King of Wa Bu in 478 there is a passage saying ; “東征毛人五十五国、西服衆夷六十六国、渡平海北九十五国” (Account of Wakoku of “History of Song Dynasty”) which reminds us that the Wa kingly power established a firm ruling over the vast territory from Kantō to the northern and middle part of Kyūshū. However, on further study on the structural characteristics of the Wa kingly power of the time, it is revealed that there was only one rank difference between the title “General who Tranquilizes the East (Antō Shōgun)” bestowed to the King of Wa Chin and the title “General who brings Peace to the West (Heisei Shōgun)” bestowed to one of his subordinates Wazui for which Chin of Wazui had requested in 438 and Wazui assumed the name “Wa” like “Wasan” and therefore there was a system where the royal families (kinship families) and masters with the same level of power assisted the kingly power. As an example to illustrate the competing powers (local ruling families) within the ruling structure, there is a record indicating that the number of people for whom the conferring of official ranks and titles was petitioned was 13 in 438 and 23 in 451, which is higher than the cases in Baekje and from here it is estimated that the sovereign power by Wakoku had a system where more people with power supported the kingly power. The “Nihonshoki” provides instances where the Kazuraki clan one of the central dominant nobilities and the Kibi clan, a local ruling family gained power and a daughter of the Hyūga Morokata-no-Kimi family became the queen. The involvement of the central and local powerful ruling families in the kingly power was indispensable for the existence and maintenance of the sovereignty²¹⁾.

The written letters inscribed on the iron sword unearthed from the Inariyama Kofun Tumulus in Gyōda city in Saitama Prefecture, and the letters inscribed on the long sword excavated from the Eta Funayama Tumulus in Nagomi City of Tamana District in Kumamoto Prefecture show the letters Wakatakeru which refers to Emperor Yūryaku (Ohatsusewakatakeru-no-Mikoto), which suggests that in the reign of Emperor Yūryaku, the kingly power was already solidified²²⁾. However, the relationship of the kingly power with Musashi Region mediated by Owakeko inscribed on the iron sword had just started²³⁾, and the text of the above-mentioned diplomatic message might have been exaggerated. From the Eta Funayama Tumulus, a pair of gilt-bronze shoes (worn by court nobles) and a gilt-bronze crown from Baekje and it appears that the coastal area along the Sea of Ariake had its own exchange route that didn’t necessarily rely on the Wa kingly power. In this regard, the keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound scattered in the basin of the Yeongsam River in Jeollanam-do are worthy of attention²⁴⁾.

In 475, Goguryeo captured Hanseong, the capital of Baekje and Baekje moved the capital southward to Ungjin and overburdened by the reconstruction of the kingdom and the threat from the Goguryeo in the north, Baekje had to find new opportunities for expansion in the south or in the east. Among the six states over which the five Kings of Wa had control under the military title of “shogunji (supervisor of military affairs)” conferred to them by the Chinese Court, apart from Tinhan (Jinhan) whose situation is unknown, Mohan showed the remaining power of Mahan in the southwest of the peninsula and it is believed that the state wasn’t fully the domain of Baekje in the stage of the Hanseong Baekje²⁵⁾. From there, 13 keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound from the late fifth century to the early sixth century were discovered and while their building technique and the haniwa (clay images) were similar to those in the middle and northern part of Kyūshū, many of the burial accessories unearthed had Baekje style characteristics except for some relics that were from Daegaya. Regarding who constructed these tombs, there are two theories; a theory that they were local lords and a theory that they were Wajin (Wa people).

And the Wajin theory is divided into two views; a theory that they were immigrants from Wakoku and a theory that they were Baekje officials from Wakoku. It was after the middle of sixth century that the said region was totally absorbed in the cultural sphere of Baekje and there is a view from the archaeological point of view that the period in question with many key-hole shaped tombs with round rear mound presents the state of the final conflict. Therefore, it is understood that there was an independent force with its own power that engaged in multifactorial exchanges with several forces within Wakoku, especially with those in the middle and northern part of Kyūshū and Daegaya keeping a proper distance from Baekje by the early sixth century and this was the actual situations in “Mohan”. While the power of Geumgwan Gaya which had long provided advanced products of culture to Wakoku declined when the great King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo controlled temporarily “Mimana Gaya (Geumgwan Gaya), the record shows that Wakoku, entering the fifth century, along with the exploration of the new iron mine, had active relationships with Daegaya (Goryeong, Banpa) in the northern Gaya Region where the rise of the forces were reflected in the Jisandong Tomb Group and the forces in the basin of the Yeongsam River in the southwestern Korean peninsula with an aim to develop new route to obtain the iron resources and the advanced products of culture²⁶⁾, which would reflect the ebb and flow of the power conditions of the time.

Moreover, the Baekje officials from Wakoku are mentioned in the “Nihonshoki” as those who lived in the regin of Emperor Keitai and Kinmei in the early sixth century and were given such Japanese family names as Mononobe, Shinano, Kose, Ki-no-omi, Ashikita-no-omi, Kume, and Tsukushi and had official titles in Baekje and were responsible for foreign relations with Wakoku and military affairs²⁷⁾. The article of the fourth month of the twenty-third year of the Emperor Yūryaku in the “Nihonshoki” states that in the enthronement of King Dongseong (Reign: 479-501) who stabilized Baekje during the Ungjin period, 500 soldiers from Chikushi escorted the king and this episode is believed to have been the origin of the Baekje officials from Wakoku. Other assessment is that the Wa people who became assimilated there became the Baekje officials in the process of complete absorption of the Yeongsam River basin area by Baekje. In any case, this shows that various powers in Wakoku including the central ruling families such as the Kazuraki clan, local ruling families from Shinano, Kyūshū and Kibi (Article on the events in the seventh year of the Emperor Yūryaku) as well as the king of Wa had increased multifactorial interaction with different places in the Korean Peninsula in the fifth century. Regarding story of the abuse (wrongful seizure) of Kurumamochibe in d-2, while there is an interpretation that it was an expression of opposing the requisition of people under the ruling of Munakata-no-Kimi for transporting of military supplies²⁸⁾, regarding the example of dispatching soldiers from Chikushi, there is a well-known story that the Wa kingly power ordered Achi-no-omi and Umakai-no-omi in Chikushi to lead Funaikusa (warriors who battle in the sea) and defeated Goguryeo because tax and tributes from Baekje were greater than usual. From here, it is believed that the role of the powerful clans in Kyūshū was significant and in the course of the history of exchanges supported by these multifactorial relationships, Minuma-no-Kimi, as well as Munakata-no-Kimi intereved in the rituals on Okinoshima Island occasionally and the Wa kingly power failed to unify the rituals on Okinoshima Island and acquire the diplomatic authority in the context of the relations with the Korean Peninsula.

4. From “Kaihoku (north of the sea)” to “West”

According to the “Nihonshoki”, Emperor Seinei succeeded Emperor Yūryaku but he died childless, and Kenzō (Iwasuwake)/Ninken, son of Ichinobe-no-Oshihawake-no-miko (murdered on the enthronement of Emperor Yūryaku) who was born of Emperor Richū and a woman from the Kazuraki clan took the throne but the Emperor Buretsu faced succession crisis again and the kingly power of the five kings of Wa in the fifth century remained unstable. Against this backdrop, in 507 Wohodo-no-Ōkimi (Emperor Keitai) who was a “descendant in the fifth generation of Emperor Homuta (Ōjin)” and a local lord based in the northern part of Ōmi and Koshi and who also had marital relations with local ruling families in Owari, succeeded the regal power of the five kings of Wa by marrying with a daughter of Emperor Ninken named Tashiraka-no-himemiko. Although there is some debate as to whether Emperor Keitai was from the royal family resided in the outer edge of Kinai or he was from a local ruling family, according to the inscription on the “Suda Hachiman Shrine Bronze Mirror with human figure design” dated Kibi year (503) possessed by Suda Hachiman Shrine in Hashimoto City, Wakayama Prefecture, Emperor Keitai had a base in Oshisaka no Miya Palace and established a close relationship with King Munyeong in Baekje (Reign: 501-523) who was expected to be a person who would promote the diplomatic relations in East Asia.

During this period, in the Korean Peninsula, Baekje and Shilla, with Goguryeo controlling the northern part, participated in a scramble for territory in the Gaya confederacy as opportunities to expand their lands and develop their states. Baekje invaded from the west and possessed Gimun (己汶) and Daesa (帶沙) from 512 to 515 and Shilla also launched a massive attack on Geumgwanguk in around 524 and in 529 abandoned the alliance of marriage with Daegaya since 522 and invaded and occupied several states of Gaya from the east and the north and by 530, Baekje and Shilla came into conflict with each other across Alla in between²⁹⁾.

Under the circumstances, the rebellion against Wa kingly power based in Chikushi, Hi Province (Hizen, Higo) and Toyo Province (Buzen, Bungo) called Rebellion of Tsukushi-no-kimi Iwai broke out from 527 to 528. Wakoku dispatched “Ōmi-no-Keno” to Alla with intent to carry out diplomatic negotiations with Shilla for its first invasion to Geumgwan State, however, Iwai, in alliance with Shilla and rose up against Wakoku and discouraged Ōmi-no-Keno against crossing the ocean. Iwai made a declaration to Keno as follow ; “今為使者、昔為吾伴摩肩触肘共器同食。安得卒爾為使俾余自伏爾前” (Article of the Kōgo day, sixth month in the twenty-first year of the Emperor Keitai”) and from here it is assumed that Iwai once worked for the Wa kingly power in shifts and also interacted with local ruling families including Keno believed to have hailed from a local powerful clan from Ōmi Province and fostered a sense of participation in the kingship. As mentioned above, the Wa kingly power called up local powerful clans from Kyūshū to dispatch troops to the Korean Peninsula and it was recorded that Keno led 60,000 soldiers in this mission but in reality, they retreated when they saw 3,000 soldiers from Shilla (Article on events in the fourth month in the 23rd year of the Emperor Keitai). From this, I assume that there were not many attendants to Keno actually and he intended to assign a task of convoy to the local powerful clans of Kyūshū. In addition to the circumstances of enthronement of Emperor Keitai, issue of his legitimacy, burdens upon the local powerful clans in Kyūshū and dissatisfaction with the kingship’s diplomatic policies focused on Baekje could be a contributor to the rebellion, and Iwai, using his own trading rights as local powerful clan conspired to launch a rebellion. Incidentally, from the article on Ikinoshima miyatsuko of “Kokuzō Hongi (the original records of provincial governors)”, it is known that Iwai had a subordinate from the seaside area of Shilla, which indicates that the rebellion had an international character.

The Wa kingly power dispatched Mononobe-no-Arakahi, who killed Iwai by sword and quelled the war and it is said that his son, Tsukushi-no-kimi Kuzuko, requested for atonement by presenting the Miyake (base for paying a tribute) of Kasuya (Articles, the Kasshi day, eleventh month, and twelfth month in the twenty-second year of the Emperor Keitai in the “Nihonshoki”). Iwatoyama Mounded Tomb in Yame City, Fukuoka Prefecture is believed to be the tomb of Iwai, which constitutes the Yame Mounded Tomb Group where you can trace the genealogy of the tombs of the chiefs from the Sekijinyama Tomb and Iwatoyama Tomb built around the late fifth century to the Tsurumiyama Tomb built from the middle to the late sixth century. Quotation from the Itsubun (surviving fragments) of the Topography of Chikugo Province of Volume 9 of the “Shaku Nihongi (annotated text of the Nihonshoki)” describes different section corresponding to the square lot of the north-east corner of the back of the rear circular part of the Iwatoyama Mounded Tomb, which shows that a position called tokibe existed and tokibe was in charge of affairs of the state at the place called Gato i.e. Matsurigotodokoro where rituals and politics were performed, and robbery cases were judged. The descriptions of stone horses, stone pavillion, stone storehouse show Iwai’s residence, warehouses and the existence of horses supporting the military force. In addition, stone figures and stone horses peculiar to the relevant region, distribution of the ornamental mounded tombs, and the place where miyake was established after the rebellion also represent the authority and the sphere of influence of Iwai³⁰⁾ who is deemed as a chief who built a unique ruling system. After the repression of the Iwai War, the system for governing local areas by kuninomiya (local lord) was established with submission of local ruling families, offering of miyake as base for paying a tribute and acquisition of the diplomatic rights, etc. as conditions³¹⁾.

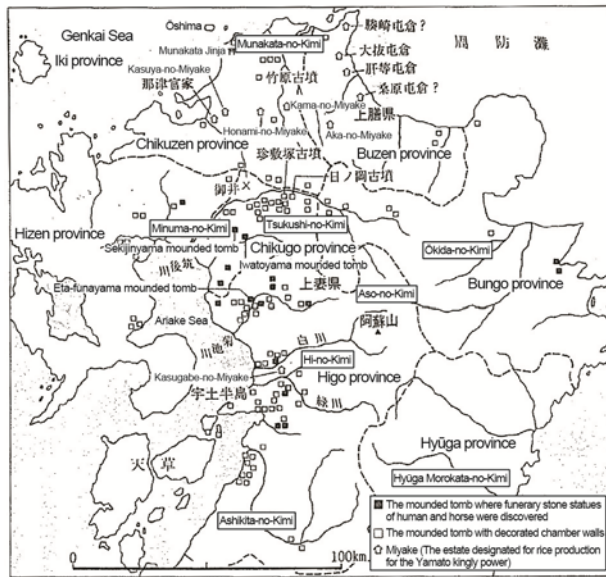


Figure 3 The power base of Tsukushi-no-Kimi Iwai
(Vol. 3 of *New Edition. Japan in Ancient Times*. Kadokawa, 1991. p.158)

Let's get back to the discussion on the history of exchanges. The Wa kingly power basically supported the Baekje-led invasion of the Gaya confederacy and the scholar of the five "Confucian" classics called Dan Yangi reached Japan in 513 and then Gao Anjia reached Japan from Baekje to teach about Confucianism. These scholars are believed to be from the Southern Dynasty in China, however, because Wakoku severed friendly relations with the Southern Dynasty in China after 478, it was impossible to expect the Gaya confederacy and Shilla that didn't have routine relations with the Southern Dynasty to supply these products of culture and human resources from China. On the other hand, Buddhism was brought to Japan from Baekje in 538 or 552 and it played a significant role in the development and strengthening of the state kingship³². King Seong (Seimei) (Reign: 523-554) who transmitted Buddhism to Japan held "Mimana Reconstruction Meeting" in 541 and 544 where measures to secure Alla by Baekje were proposed. Then "the Japanese Mimana Government" participated there and tried to get in line with the remaining Gaya confederacy from the anti-Baekje and pro-Shilla standpoint³³.

There are several conflicting theories about the actual state of the Japanese Mimana Government, but it appears certain from the meticulous reading of the related materials that the "Japanese government" appeared in the sixth century and it was located in Alla. According to the quotation from "Original records of Baekje" in the "Nihonshoki", "Ara ni Haberu Moromoro-no-Yamato-no-Maetsukimi" (Yamato retainers in Alla) (Article, in the twelfth month in the fifteenth year of Emperor Kinmei) was the earliest description and official name of the government. It is composed of powerful central clans of Wakoku including Kose-no-omi and Ikuha-no-omi, and powerful local clans such as Kibi-no-omi being put on top of the system, under which Gaya people (including half-Gayan, half-Japanese children) such as Kawachi no atai, Aken-enashi and Saro-matsu handled the actual management. There were no instances where the Wa kingly power dispatched envoys directly to "the Japanese Government" and unlike the description of "Maetsukimi=retainer", "the Japanese Government" didn't receive instructions from the Wa political power and didn't have a direct relation with the kingship. Its activities included negotiations between the states in the Korean Peninsula including Baekje, Shilla and Goguryeo and Wakoku, participation in meetings and discussions with the representatives from the Gaya confederacy called "Mimana Steward" and "Kanki (monarch) from the Gaya confederacy" and selection of the diplomatic acts favorable to the Gaya confederacy. Therefore, "the Japanese Government" was a group of Wa people living in Gaya region reflecting the multifactorial relations since the fifth century and "the Japanese Government" i.e. "Yamato retainers in Alla" maintained several relations with the central part of the Wa kingly power and with the powerful families from respective provinces and tried to explore the best ways to retain its own existence and its field of activities.

Around 550, Goguryeo and Baekje entered a state of war and Shilla, taking advantage of the ungarded moment, took over Baekje's former capital Hanseong and advanced to the west coast of the

peninsula and in the northern part, Baekje and Shilla confronted each other as well. At this stage, Shilla-led invasion and occupation of the Gaya confederacy progressed and Alla and “Yamato retainers in Alla” were forced into alliance with Baekje and in 552, four states including Daegaya sent envoys to Wakoku to request the kingship to send reinforcements for battles against Goguryeo and Shilla. What Baekje expected from Wakoku was armed forces mainly composed of local powerful clans in Kyūshū called “竹斯嶋上諸軍士 soldiers in Kyūshū”, and the role of the local powerful clans in Kyūshū was still significant after the Rebellion of Iwai. In 554, due to the enforcements from Wakoku and efforts of Chikushi-no-Mononobe-no-Makawasaka using fire arrow, Baekje won the battle against Shilla once and requested for further reinforcements of armed forces from Kyūshū, however, before the armed forces reached, Prince Yeochang (King Wideok Reign: 554 or 557-598) rose up and King Seong who headed to the front died in a losing battle against Shilla (article in the twelfth month, in the fifteenth year of Emperor Kinmei). It is said that it was “能射人筑紫国造” (a local chiefman of Chikushi who was a good archer) that saved Prince Yeochang from crisis but Baekje suffered a major setback. Shilla made a great victory over Baekje, pushed on toward a conquest of the Gaya confederacy without the backup of Baekje and finally it completed its mission to absorb the Gaya Region in 562.

In such changing international affairs, it is also important to note that significant progress was made in the national ruling system in Wakoku and its centralized regional ruling system. In the “Kinmei section” of the “Nihonshoki”, after incidents such as the demise of “Yamato retainers in Alla”, and the background which led to the collapse of the Gaya confederacy were described, the article regarding the strengthening of the national ruling system starts to appear and it is noteworthy that Wakoku completely vanquished the Kibi clan by establishing Shirai Miyake and Kojima Miyake in Kibi Region (Articles in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Emperor Kinmei)³⁴⁾. The local ruling families in Kibi Region, whose key-hole shaped tombs with round rear mound comparable to those of the central part of the Wa kingly power disappeared after late fifth century, were believed to maintain their own exchange route with the Peninsula as known from the continuance of the activities in “Mimana” (Article on events in the seventh year of Emperor Yūryaku) and the active and central role played by Kibi-no-omi among “Yamato retainers in Alla”. However, at this point, they lost this route and, the Wa kingly power, taking advantage of the clan’s weakened power, seized resources such as iron from the Chūgoku Mountains and salt from the Seto Inland Sea so as to seize the source of sovereignty of the Kibi clan and succeeded in gaining control of the major transport artery of the Seto Inland Sea by establishing Nanotsunomiyake, Kojima Miyake and Naniwa Miyake, of which Kojima Miyake was considered important where a position called Tasukai responsible for controlling miyake was dispatched from the central regime and stayed there. Nanotsunomiyake was established after the Rebellion of Iwai by consolidating rice and grains from the several miyake that had been installed in Chikushi, Bungo and Higo Provinces (Article, in the fifth month, the first day of which is Shinchū, in the first year of Emperor Senka) and Naniwa Miyake where Kishi Group in charge of foreign relations of the Wa kingly power was positioned³⁵⁾ was considered as important intersection of a military route and diplomatic route. Other than that, there is an article about the seizure of diplomatic rights of Koshino-michi-no-Kimi (article in the thirty-first year of Emperor Kinmei) and that the change of international relationship over the history of exchanges was inseparably related to the national politics should be emphasized.

Incidentally, in relation to the seizure of the diplomatic rights by the Wa kingly power, the existence of Naniwabe as a clan name related with Munakata-gun is worthy of note (Article of the Kōshin day in the third month in the fifth year of Tenchō Era of Volume 54 in the “Ruijū Kokushi” : Naniwabe-no-Arame, a wife of Munakata Ason Akitari of Dairyo of Munakata-gun” and article of the Kōgo day of the ninth month Jōwa 12 in the “Shoku Nihon Kōki” ; 宗形郡人権主工難波部主足 Deputy chief in charge of carpentry and metal work from Munakata-gun named Naniwabe-no-Kazutari. Those who had sei (hereditary title) of Naniwabe appeared in the family register of Kawabe Village, Shima-gun in Chikuzen Province of the second year of Taihō Era and in the family register of Tou / Nakatsu Village in Kamitsumike-gun in Buzen Province (Page 1-134, 135, 154 and 205 of “Dai Nihon Komonjo”) and they were the clan members mostly concentrated in the northern region of Kyūshū. A deputy chief in charge of carpentry and metal work with junior eighth upper gradetank of Dazaifu (Kyūshū Government) named Naniwabe-no-Kazutari may have come from his honganchi (place where his family register was placed) in Kinai Region according to a passage ; “改本姓賜美努宿祢、貫河内国若江郡”. However, assuming that the ranking officials for

Dazaifu were adopted from the local ruling clans, it seems certain that Kazutari was based in Munakata-gun. However, the reason why Kinai was identified as honganchi of Kazutari would be that it was believed that the Naniwabe clan came to Kyūshū from Kinai and according to this assumption, I would like to present an idea that the Kishi Group who had been based in Naniwa and engaged in diplomatic affairs and its subordinate people were assigned to Kyūshū and created a stronghold there. In other words, the activity of Naniwakishi in the northern region of Kyūshū described in the text e-1 was the matter which supports the relationship between Kishi Group and the Munakata clan through diplomatic affairs and the fact that some members of the Naniwabe clan had marital relations with the lord of manor in the district would provide enough material for learning about the competition between two powers.

By the way, how was the course of events in Munakata Region in relation to the rituals on Okinoshima Island? Except for the above-mentioned historical materials, there are no more articles regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses described in the “Nihonshoki” and it is difficult to refer to historical materials for examination. However, as mentioned above, assuming that the Munakata clan wasn’t affiliated with the support power of Iwai, it is presumed that the presentation of Kasuya-no-Miyake to the kingship by Tsukushi-no-kimi Kuzuko followed by the establishment of the Nanotsunomiyake (base for paying a tribute) showed that the Wa kingly power had already built up major foothold in the northern part of Kyūshū, and along with the unification of the diplomatic rights, the Wa kingship dissolved the situation where members of Minuma-no-Kimi based in the Chikugo area who were believed to have collaborated with Iwai, participated in the worship of the Munakata Goddesses, which marked a big milestone in determining whether the kingship would give the Munakata clan an exclusive right to perform rituals on Okinoshima Island³⁶). In that regard, I like to pay attention to the fact that there are Munakata Shrine in Shikinokami-gun in Yamato Province, Munakata Shrine in Nakajima-gun in Owari Province, Munakata Shrine in Aimi-gun in Houki Province and Munakata Shrines in Akasaka-gun and Tsudaka-gun in Bizen Province, other than the Munakata-gun in Chikuzen Province according to “Engishiki” Jimmyōchō. In addition, although they are shikigai shrines (not listed in Jimmyōchō), Munkata Tenjin in Hizen Province mentioned above, and Munakatajin in Nagato Province (Article, the twenty-eighth day in the eighth month in 871, in the third year of Kampo Era of “Nihon Kiryaku” (Summary of Japanese Chronologies) are known. Among them, those located in Yamato and Owari Provinces are believed to reflect the relevance to such incidents as Kanjō (transfer of a divided deity to a new shrine) by Prince Takechi born from Prince Ōama (Emperor Temmu) as stated later and Amako-no-Iratsume, a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen and Ōama-no-Sukune arakama (supposed to be based in Amabe-gun in Owari Province) who gave eulogy concerning the story of Mibu (childhood) at the mortuary of Emperor Temmu. As for Hizen, it is associated with the above-mentioned relations with the area on the Sea of Ariake, and Nagato is located at the point of junction of two major traffic routes along the Sea of Japan and along the Seto Inland Sea and as for Houki, it is located at a relay point of the traffic route along the Sea of Japan connecting Chikushi, Izumo and Koshi. Then Munakata Shrine in Kibi Region is also associated with the control of Seto Inland Sea transportation by the Wa kingly power, and according to my view, the fact that the Munakata Goddesses were worshipped there shows the significance of the rituals on Okinoshima Island in the sea traffic and the importance of the worship by Munakata-no-Kimi³⁷). It appears that the role of Munakata-no-Kimi and the positioning of the rituals on Okinoshima Island from a national point of view made significant progress in the embryonic stage of the centralized national system.

Coming back to the subject of the history of exchanges, it is said that the homeward journey of the Prince Hye from Baekje in 556 was escorted by the navy forces in Tsukushi Province and Tsukushi-no-hi-no-Kimi (a child of Tsukushi-no-kimi, also said to be a brother of Hinonaka-no-Kimi) (Article in the first month in the seventeenth year of Emperor Kinmei) and the Baekje’s dependence on 竹斯嶋上諸軍士, i.e., the powerful clans of Kyūshū in military affairs still continued. However, based on the centralization of power by the Wa kingly power and the appointment of local powerful clans to Kuninomiya-suko, the formation of the military organization called kokuzō army by the nation-wide mobilization of the local powerful clans was attempted³⁸). According to the references, Kumenomiko, a brother of Prince Umayado (Prince Shōtoku) was appointed as a general to fight off Shilla in 602 and was stationed in Chikushi given the “諸神部及国造・伴造等、并軍衆二万五千人” (Article, in the second month, the first day of which is the Kiyū day in the tenth year of Empress Suiko) which is the first appearance of the article on the dispatch of the army based on mobilization of the kokuzō army to go on a foreign campaign. However, this expeditionary force failed to cross the sea and the first time the Wa kingly power made the 10 thousand troops cross the sea to the Peninsula was when it supported the Baekje Reconstruction Movement in the late seventh century. In this Baekje expedition that ended in defeat in the Battle

of Hakusonkō in 663, it is known that along with Tsukushi-no-kimi Satsuyama deemed as Kuninomiya-tsuko of Chikushi, and the clan in charge of managing the Nanotsunomiyake named Tsukushi-no-miyakeno-muraji Tokuko and Ōtomobe no Hakama who was a soldier in Kamitsuyame-gun on which Chikushi-no-kimi was based crossed the sea (article, the Kibou day in the twelfth month in the tenth year of Emperor Tenchi, article, the Kibi day in the eleventh month in the tenth year of Emperor Temmu, article, the Icchū day in the tenth month in the fourth year of Empress Jitō), which shows the way the local powerful clans were led by Kuninomiya-tsuko. Time of marriage between the above-mentioned Prince Ōama and a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen is estimated around 650 considering from the birth date of Prince Takechi, a child of a consanguineous marriage when the upheaval in East Asia hadn't been predicted yet and the kingship's intention to strengthen ties with Munakata-no-Kimi assuming the dispatch of soldiers to the Peninsula³⁹, or whether the Munakata-no-Kimi actually participated in the expeditionary force are not clear. However, in 589, the Sui Dynasty from the Northern Dynasties defeated Chen which is the last dynasty of the Southern Dynasties and unified the whole nation for the first time in 350 years since the turbulent time at the end of Later Han and the following the Three Kingdoms Period. The Sui Dynasty (581-618) and the following Tang Dynasty (618-917) were powerful dynasties erecting the comprehensive legal codes on which the so-called Luli system was based that became an example of the political systems in the pre-modern times in East Asia. The two dynasties eventually interfered with the battles and wars among the three kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula and in light of such changes in international affairs, it was imperative for Wakoku to improve its own state system.

Incidentally, in this regard, as stated in the title of this chapter, it should be noted that the Korean Peninsula which had been recognized as “in the north of the sea” in such descriptions as in the memorial to the Emperor by Waōbu became recognized as a place “in the west” afterward⁴⁰. A description “Kaihoku–north of the sea” is seen in the “Original records of Baekje” deemed as one of the primary historical materials of “Nihonshoki” where a word “海北弥移居 Miyake located in the north of the sea” was used (article of the twelfth month in the fifteenth year of Emperor Kinmei). Along with another description “Kaihokudōchū- in the north of the sea, in the middle of the route” associated with the worship of the Three Goddesses of Munakata in b, they are considered to reflect the view of the place in the north of the specific “sea”, a view from the northern Kyūshū. This was a recognition until the middle of the sixth century when the Gaya confederacy were collapsed, which shows the stage defined by the positional relation with 竹斯嶋上諸軍士(soldiers or powerful clans from Kyūshū) as a starting point.. Preception of China and Korean states as states in the “west” started in 607 when the expressions such as “聞海西菩薩天子重興佛法” and “海西有大隋礼儀之國” (Account of Wakoku in “Book of Sui”) were first used on occasion of dispatching Japanese envoy to the Sui Dynasty. The starting point of the “west” is Yamato in Kinai region in which a milestone in the establishment of the centralized government system is reflected and the notion is associated with the establishment of the military mobilization system to mobilize kuninomiya-tsuko all over the country which evolved in the late sixth century.



Figure 4 East Asia in the 7th century (MORI, Kimiyuki. “Conflicts in East Asia and Wa”. Yoshikawakobunkan, 2006. p.205)

Shilla is also written as one of the “foreign lands in the west” in the “Nihonshoki” from ancient times, however, it was only after the late sixth century when Shilla absorbed the Gaya confederacy and expanded its territory in the peninsula and when the relationship building with Shilla became a big issue for Wakoku. The votive offerings found from the second phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island include articles deemed as products from Shilla and I want to pay attention to the history of exchanges after the collapse of the Gaya confederacy along with the trend of the situations after the late fifth century. The challenge for Shilla that had succeeded in expanding its territory was to decide on how to deal with Baekje and Goguryeo and it was necessary to arrange things such as dispatching of tributary envoys to Wakoku so that it would not took sides with Baekje and Goguryeo. Then “Minama's tributes” was created. By setting up Shilla persons as Mimana’s envoys to bring “Mimana’s tributes” to Japan aside from Shilla’s envoys, Shilla intended to give Wakoku the nominal cause of restoring Mimana⁴¹⁾. Although Baekje’s state policy was to invade Shilla followed by the recapture of the former Gaya region, i.e. the revival of Mimana, Wakoku, which didn’t necessarily hope for the collapse of the Gaya confederacy accepted the ideological measures that are the negotiation with Shilla followed by the “Mimana’s envoys” to Japan and acquisition of “Mimana’s tributes”, that is, the “revival of Mimana”, and the international strategies of both states became separated⁴²⁾. After that, due to the balanced power between three states of Korea, Wakoku got the benefit from the influx of products of culture and civilization including things related to Buddhism and people from the three states, which led to the further prosperity of the Asuka culture. Regarding the effect that the examples of the cultural exchanges listed in the Table 1 had on the changes in the votive offerings of the rituals on Okinoshima Island and in the procedures for conducting Shintō rituals, it will be a subject for future analysis.

Table 1 Amicable relations with three nations of Korea, abridged chronological table

Year	Events
584	Kafuka-no-omi and Saeki-no-muraji who came to Japan from Baekje brought with them a stone statue of Miroku-butsu and a statue of Buddha.
587	Soga-no-Umako, Ōomi asked an envoy from Baekje to accompany Zenshin-ni to cross the sea and teach Buddhism precepts.
588	An envoy from Baekje came to Japan and offered busshari (Buddha's ashes), Buddhist monks and engineers. A visit to Baekje of Zenshin-ni and other nuns were realized.
595	A Buddhist priest, Eji from Goguryeo and a priest, Esou from Baekje came to Japan. Both of them became “三寶之棟梁(supereme advisor of the three treasures of Buddhism)”.
597	Prince Aja from Baekje paid a tribute to Japan. Kishino Iwakane was dispatched to Shilla.
598	Naniwano Kishino Iwakane returned from Shilla and offered 2 kasasagi (magpie). Shilla offered a peacock as a tribute.
599	Baekje offered a camel, a donkey, two sheep, a while pheasant as tributes.
602	A priest, Kanroku from Baekje came to Japan and presented calendars and books of astronomy and geography and Tonkō hōjutsu (divination). Priests, Sōryū and Unsō from Goguryeo came to Japan.
605	King of Goguryeo donated 300 taels of gold for Joroku Buddha statue at Aska Temple.
608	Japanese envoy to the Sui Dynasty China including Ono-no-Imoko returned home by way of Baekje.
610	Priests Damjing (Donchō), Beopjeong (Hōjō) from Goguryeo came to Japan. Damjing gave instruction in making saishiki (pint), paper and ink and manufacturing tengai (mill powered by water).
612	Nojagong (Shikimaro) from Baekje was naturalized and made Shumi-yamagata (the shape of Mt. Sumeru) and Kurehashi Bridge. A performer of Gigaku (ancient mask shows) named Mimaji came to Japan.
615	An envoy to Sui Dynasty, Inugami no Mitasuki returned home with an envoy from Baekje. A priest, Eji from Goguryeo went back to his country.
616	An envoy from Shilla offered a statue of Buddha.
621	An envoy from Shilla paid tribute to the Court and presented the Jōhyōbun (memorial to the Emperor).
622	Envoys from Shilla and “Mimana” came to Japan and presented a statue of Buddha, a golden stupa, shariras (Buddha’s ashes), big kanjōban (banner for the kanjō ceremony), small ban (decorative banner). They accompanied the Japanese scholars to Sui Dynasty on their way back home.
625	A priest Haegwan (Ekan) from Goguryeo came to Japan. Appointed as Sōjō (high-ranking Buddhist priest).
630	Envoys from Goguryeo and Baekje came to Japan.
632	Inugami no Mitasuki, an envoy to the Tang Dynasty returned home accompanied by an envoy from Baekje and an envoy from the Tang Dynasty named Gao Biaoren. Priests, Ryōun and Min who were sent to study in Sui Dynasty also came back to Japan.
635	An envoy from Baekje brought tributes.
638	Baekje, Shilla and “Mimana” paid the tribute.
639	Priests Eon and Eun who were sent to study in Sui Dynasty came back to Japan accompanied by a Shill’s envoy.
640	Priest Seian and a scholar Takamuko-no-Kuromaro, toraijin from China who were sent to study in Sui Dynasty came back to Japan by way of Shilla. Envoys from Baekje and Shilla came to Japan to bring tributes.

5. Era of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and the rituals

This section will examine the aspects of the cultural exchanges promoted by the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty during the time corresponding to the third and fourth phases of the rituals on Okinoshima Island. The dispatches of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty are shown in the following Table 2. There are several opinions regarding the ordinary numbers and to avoid discrepancies in designating the ordinary numbers, the seventh Japanese mission to the Tang Dynasty, according to my suggestion, refers to the dispatch during the Taihō Era and the twelfth and thirteenth missions refer to ①・② in the Hōji Era and the fourteenth and fifteenth missions are separated from ①・② in the Hōki Era. In the Volume 1 of “Guketsugetenshō (Annotated list of the non-Buddhist scriptures)” compiled by Prince Tomohira, a son of Emperor Murakami, the “Record of the mission to the Tang Dynasty in the second year of the Tempyōshōhō Era” was quoted which refers to the record of the mission to the Tang Dynasty that had been authorized in the second year of the Tempyōshōhō Era but realized in the fourth year of the Tempyōshōhō Era which means the time of appointment shall be considered as the time of sending the missions to the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, the eighth mission (according to my view) which is often designated as the mission in the Yōrō Era should be designated as the mission in the Reiki Era. In addition, regarding the chronology of the Japanese missions to the Tang Dynasty, focusing on the navigation route that changed from northern route to the southern route, it is either divided into the early stage before the Taihō Era and the later stage after that or divided into three stages by subdividing the missions in the ninth century⁴³⁾. In any case, the Taihō Era was a big milestone for the missions to the Tang Dynasty and here I will adopt the theory of dividing the time into two periods.

Regarding the missions to the Tang Dynasty dispatched in the early period in the seventh century, discord erupted between the two nations when the first mission to the Tang Dynasty was made in 630. While Tang Emperor Taizong exempted Japan from offering of the annual tributes on the premise that Japan received its inferior position, there was a difference in perception of the bilateral contacts between Tang Dynasty and Wakoku which showed the stance of not receiving sakuhō (document bestowing peerage by the Chinese emperor) from the Sui Dynasty period as a passage in the “Descriptions of Wakoku” of “Old Book of Tang” suggests ; 与王子争礼、不宜朝命而還 (This “prince” is referred to as “King” in “New Book of Tang”). Tang Dynasty, until 641, had devoted itself to the task of ruling the northern and western part of the empire and didn’t pay much attention to the reaction of Wakoku. When the autocratic regimes were established by King Uija in Baekje and by Yeon Gaesomun in Goguryeo in 642 and the invasion of Shilla was intensified, Tang Dynasty, at the request of Shilla for assistance, started a direct intervention in the affairs that were unfolding on the Korean Peninsula, which led to the fall of Baekje in 660 and Japan’s defeat in the Baekje restoration movement at the Battle of Hakusonkō in 663 and followed by the fall of Goguryeo in 668. This evolved into antagonism between Tang and Shilla and Shilla brought the Peninsula under unification and the unified Shilla was established in 676, thus the international map of East Asia was significantly redrawn.

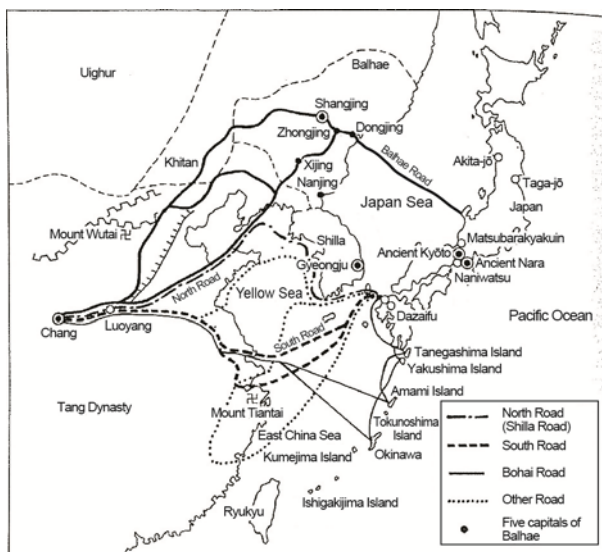


Figure 5 East Asia in the 8th and 9th centuries and the route of missions to Tang Dynasty China (SATO, Makoto ed. *Ritsuryō State and Tenpyō Culture*. Vol. 4 of *History of Different Periods of Japan*. Yoshikawakobunkan, 2002. p. 59)

During this period, Wakoku also experienced a transformative event called Isshi Incident in 645 in which led to fall of the head family of the Soga clan who had been central in the national political scene after the late sixth century and the seizure of absolute power by the Royal Family was sought, however the punitive expedition of Goguryeo by Tang Emperor Taizong started in 645 which suggests that Wakoku also had to deal with the drastic change in affairs in East Asia. Wakoku resumed sending Japanese missions to the Tang Dynasty in 653 and 654 consecutively after an absence of quarter century. However, there is no record that Wakoku actually responded to the request for support from Tang Dynasty on the side of Shilla (“New Book of Tang” “Descriptions of Japan”) and the next Japanese mission to the Tang Dynasty dispatched in 659 was detained in Changan to prevent information leakage on the punitive expedition of Baekje by Tang-Shilla allied forces in the following year and it is difficult to think that Wakoku understood the movement aiming at forming international order with Tang as its center. After going through a defeat in the battle against Tang at Battle of Hakusonkō Wakoku dispatched the mission to Tang Dynasty in 669 to congratulate the Tang’s suppression of Goguryeo (“New Book of Tang” “Descriptions of Japan”). Wakoku may have intended to restore its relationship with Tang Dynasty or avoid the possible punitive expedition to Wakoku by Tang (Article of the Icchū day, in the tenth month in the fourth year of Empress Jitō in the “Nihonshoki”, Article of the eleventh year of King Munmu of “History of Shilla” of “Samguk Sagi”), however, despite the outbreak of the Shilla-Tang war, Wakoku just observed the course of events calmly and gave silent approval of the unification of the peninsula by Shilla without responding to the requests for assistance from the Tang army stationed in the former Baekje territory, it is presumed that Wakoku failed to restore its relationship with Tang Dynasty.

To sum up the above, the Japanese missions to the Tang Dynasty dispatched in the early stage couldn’t establish stable relationships with Tang Dynasty amid the upheavals of the seventh century in East Asia⁴⁴⁾. After the mission arrived in Tang in 670, Wakoku didn’t dispatch envoys to Tang Dynasty for about 30 years during which Wakoku could strive on establishing the state under the Ritsuryō codes without being disturbed by the external affairs. However, it was only after the mission to the Tang Dynasty in the Taihō secured a promise of sending the tribute missions once every twenty years⁴⁵⁾ and obtained approval for changing the name of the country from Wa to Nihon in the late stage that the enterprise of dispatching Japanese missions to Tang Dynasty and securing imports of Tang culture was established.

Looking at the history of exchanges during this time, it is important to note that the Shilla emissaries continued to come to Chikushi every year after 668, after the Battle of Hakusonkō and Wakoku also sent envoys to Shilla and the exchanges of embassies with Shilla were important for informing the Japanese of the foreign affairs and obtaining advanced cultural products⁴⁶⁾. Shilla was still prosecuting the war against Tang and practiced diplomatic style with Wakoku/Japan in which Shilla brought such tributes to Japan including birds, beasts, and gold, silver and high-quality textiles (article of the Kasshi day in the tenth month in the eighth year of Emperor Temmu, article of the Itsuyū day in the tenth month in the tenth year of Emperor Temmu, article of the Shimbi day in the fifth month in the fourteenth year of Emperor Temmu, article of the Boshi day in the fourth month in the first year of the Shuchō Era, article of the Shinbō date in the second month in the second year of Empress Jitō, article of the Jin’in day in the fourth month in the third year of Empress Jitō (the above articles appear in the “Nihonshoki”) and article of the Kigai day in the tenth month in the fourth year of Emperor Mommu, article of the Kigai day in the intercalary seventh month in the third year of Yōrō Era, article of the Kōshin day in the fifth month in the fourth year of Tempyō Era (the above articles appear in the “Shoku Nihongi”). Shilla is defined as “treasure country” and “country of gold and silver” in the account of Empress Jingū and the “History of the Divine Age”, Chapter 1 of the “Nihonshoki”, and I believe that a view of defining Shilla as a vassal state or a barbarian country and the view of the world at that time is derived from the actual situations of the exchanges between Japan and Shilla of the said period. In relation to the votive offerings from the third phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, it is pointed out that the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck and gilt-bronze dragon heads might have been the products from Shilla (including those imported via transit trade)⁴⁷⁾, and an attempt to identify the place of origin of the votive offerings from the perspective of the kingship’s interaction with the Korean Peninsula will be an important issue.

My proposal	Ordinal numbers	Departure, Western calendar (Japanese calendar, Era name)	Envoys	Shipping route?	Number of ships	Date of entering the capitals (Changan, Luoyang)	Return to Japan	Shipping route	Remarks
23	1	630 (Emperor Jomei 2)	Inugami-no-Mitasuki Kusushi-no-enichi	North route?			632 • 8	North route	
	2	653 (Hakuchi Era 4)	Kishi-no-Nagani (chief envoy) Kishi-no-Koma (vice envoy)	North route?	1		654 • 7	North route	
	3	7th month?, 653 (Hakuchi 4)	Takada-no-Nemaro (chief envoy) Kanimo-no-Omaro (vice envoy)		1				Shipwrecked near Takeshima island in Satsuma on the outward voyage
	3	654 (Hakuchi 5)	Takamuko-no-Kuromaro (supreme commander) Kawabe-no-Marō (chief envoy) Kusushi-no-enishi (vice envoy)	North route	2		655	North route?	Takamuko no Kuromaro, died in Tang
	4	8th month, 659 (Empress Saimei 5)	Sakaibe-no-Iwashiki (chief envoy) Tsumori-no-Kisa (vice envoy) Iki-no-Hakatoko	North route	2	659 (Xianqing 1) Intercalary sixth month	661 • 5 (The second ship)	North route	The first ship was stranded off an island in the south sea on the outward voyage and the envoys including chief envoy were killed.
	5	665 (Emperor Tenchi 4)	Mori-no-Ōishi, Sakaibe-no-Iwatsumi, Kishi-no-Kimi, Kishi-no-Harima (envoys to send-off Tang emissaries)	North route			667 • 11	North route	Tang emissary Liu Degao was sent off. Tang emissary Facong came to Japan. 636 Battle of Hakusukinoe
	6	667 (Emperor Tenchi 6)	Iki-no-Hakatoko (envoy to send-off Tang emissaries) Kasa-no-Moroishi (envoy to send-off Tang emissaries)	North route			668	North route	Tang emissary Facong was sent off to Baekje. Emissaries of Wakoku didn't go to Tang mainland?
	7	669 (Emperor Tenchi 8)	Kawachi-no-Kujira	North route			(Unknown)	North route?	
33	8	6th month, 702 (Taihō 2)	Awata-no-Mahito (shisetsu-shi who was granted Setto, a symbol of authority over the military power) Takahasahi-no-Kasama (chief envoy) Sakaibe-no-Ōkida (vice envoy) Kose-no-Ōji (Tai-i-third-rank official) Yamanoue-no-Okura (Shōrokō Junior recorder)	South route		702 (Changan 2) 10th month	704 • 7 (Awata-no-Mahito) /0/ • 3 (Kose-no-Ōji) 718 • 10 (Sakaibe-no-Ōkida)	South route	Shilla unified the Korean Peninsula in 676. Dōji and Bensho joined the mission to study in Tang.
	9	717 (Yōrō 1)	Tajihhi-no-Agatamori (supreme commander) Ōtomo-no-Yamamori (chief envoy) Fujiwara-no-Umakai (vice envoy)	South route?	4	717 (Kaiyuan 5) 10th month	718 • 10	South route?	Genbō, Abe no Nakamaro, Kibi no Makibi, Seishinsei joined the mission to study in Tang. Dōji returned home.
	10	733 (Tenpyō 5)	Tajihhi-no-Hironari (chief envoy) Nakatomi-no-Nashiro (vice envoy)	South route?	4	(Kaiyuan 5) 1734 0th month?	734 • 11 (The first ship) 736 • 5 (The second ship) 739 (The third ship)	South route?	Genbō, Makibi returned. Bodhisena visited Japan. The fourth ship was shipwrecked. Abe no Nakamaro returned to Tang.
	11	746 (Tenpyō 18) appointed	Isonokami-no-Otomaro (chief envoy)						Cancelled
	12	752 (Tenpyōshōhō 4)	Fujiwara-no-Kiyokawa (chief envoy) Ōtomo-no-Komaro (vice envoy) Kibi-no-Makibi (vice envoy)	South route	4	752 (Tianbao 11) Before the 12th month	753 • 12 (The third ship) 754 (The second ship) 754 • 4 (The fourth ship)	South route	Jianzhen visited Japan. The first ship stranded in Annam on route home. The chief envoy Fujiwara no Kiyokawa returned to Tang and never came home.
	13	759 (Tenpyōhōji 3)	Kō Gendō (envoy for welcoming the envoy visiting Tang) Kura-no-Matanari (judge)	Ba hae route	1		761 • 8	South route	Magistrate Kurano Matanari in charge of welcoming Kiyokawa returned home via Ba hae route
	14	761 (Tenpyōhōji 5) appointed	Naka-no-Iwamoto (chief envoy) Isonokami-no-Yakatsugu (vice envoy) Fujiwara-no-Tamano (vice envoy)		4				Cancelled due to damage to ships
	15	762 (Tenpyōhōji 6) reorganized and appointed	Nakatomi-no-Takanushi (envoy to send-off Tang emissaries) Koma-no-Hirokuma (vice envoy)		2				Cancelled due to lack of favorable wind in July
	16	6th month, 777 (Hōki 8)	Saeki-no-Imamishi (chief envoy) Ōtomo-no-Masutate (vice envoy) Fujiwara-no-Takatori (vice envoy) Ono-no-Iwane (vice envoy) Ōmiwa-no-Suetari (vice envoy)	South route	4	778 (Dali 13) 1st month	778 • 10 (The third ship) 778 • 11 (The fourth ship) 778 • 11 (The second ship) 778 • 11 (The first ship, bow part) 778 • 11 (The first ship, stern part)	South route	Ambassador didn't join the mission under pretense of illness. Iyobe no Yakamori returned home. A daughter of Fujiwara Kiyokawa, named Kijō visited Japan.
	17	779 (Hōki 10)	Fuse-no-Kiyonao (envoy to send-off Tang emissaries)	South route	2	780 (Jianzhong 1) 2nd month	781		Transported Tang emissary Sun Xingjin
	18	803 (Enryaku 22) 7th month, 804 (Enryaku 23) for the second time	Fujiwara-no-Kadonamaro (chief envoy) Ishikawa-no-Michimasu (vice envoy)	South route	4	804 (Zhengyuan 20) 12th month	805 • 6 (The first ship) 805 • 6 (The second ship) 806 (The fourth ship?)		Vice envoy died in Tang. The third ship was shipwrecked at Matsuura District in Bizen on the outward voyage. Saichō and Ku-kai returned home.
	19	7th month, 835 (Shōwa 3) 7th month, 837 (Shōwa 4) for the second time 6th month, 838 (Shōwa 5) for the third time	Fujiwara-no-Tsunetsugu (chief envoy) Ono-no-Takamura (vice envoy)	South route	4	838 (Kaicheng 3) 12th month	839 • 8, 10 840 • 4, 6 (The second ship)	North route	Vice envoy didn't join the mission under pretense of illness. Nine Shilla ships were chartered en route home. The second ship was stranded in the south sea.
58	20	894 (Kanpyō 5) appointed	Sugawara-no-Michizane (chief envoy) Ki-no-Haseo (vice envoy)		4				Suspended by the ambassador Sugawara Michizane's Josō (report to the throne)?

Table 2 List of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty dispatched (MORI Kimiyuki "Japanese Envoy to the Tang Dynasty and the foreign policies of the ancient Japan" Yoshikawa Kōbunkan Press, 2008, pp.4-6)

Then, where should we place the rituals on Okinoshima Island in the history of exchanges during the Tang Dynasty when the Japanese envoys were dispatched to China? In the eighth century when the enterprises of sending the late-stage Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty were stabilized, there were an increased number of historical materials concerning the activities of the missions to Tang Dynasty. However, although some documents show that Munakata-no-Kimi (later given the title of Ason) responsible for conducting rites on Okinoshima Island existed as a clan serving as the hereditary district administrator (譜第郡領氏族) of the Munakata-gun in Chikuzen Province and the members of the Munakata clan served both administrator of the district and chief priest participating in the ritual worship of deities (Table 3) in the eighth century, few materials tell us the aspects of the rituals and their relations with the history of exchanges. In the following section, I will examine the role of the rituals performed by the Japanese envoy to foreign countries, mainly by the envoys to Tang Dynasty, China and search for clues as to where the rituals on Okinoshima Island were placed.

Table 3 Movement of the Munakata Ason Clan (hereditary title)

Article, Kishi day, third month, Emperor Mommu 2	詔、筑前国宗形、出雲国意宇二郡司、並聴連任三等已上親。
Article, Kōshin day, fifth month, Wadō 2	筑前国宗形郡大領外從五位下宗形朝臣等杼授外從五位上。
Article, Ichchū day, fourth month, Tempyō 1	筑前国宗形郡大領外從七位上宗形朝臣鳥麻呂奏可供奉神齋之狀、授外從五位下、賜物有数。
Article, Teishi day, second month, Tempyō 10	筑紫宗形神主外從五位下宗形朝臣鳥麻呂授外從五位上。出雲国造正六位上出雲臣広島外從五位下。
Article, Kōshi day, sixth month, Tempyō 17	筑前国宗形郡大領外從八位上宗形朝臣与呂志授外從五位下
Article, Shinshi day, eighth month, Jingokeiun 1	筑前国宗形郡大領外從六位下宗形朝臣深津授外從五位下。其妻無位竹生王從五位下。並以被僧寿応誘、造金崎船瀬也。
Article, Kōin day, ninth month, Hōki 9 (The source of the above articles is the “Shoku Nihongi”)	授筑前国宗形郡大領外從八位上宗形朝臣大德外從五位下。
Kampu(official document) dated fourth day, twelfth month, Enryaku 19 (“Ruijūsandaikyaku” Vol. 7)	応停筑前国宗像郡大領兼帶宗像神主事。 右得大宰府解僞、当郡大領補任之日、例兼神主即叙五位。而今准去延曆十七年三月十六日 勅、譜第之選永從停廢、擢用才能、具有条目。大領兼神主外從五位下宗像朝臣池作十七年二月廿四日卒去。自爾以來頻闕供祭、歷試才能、未得其人。又案神祇官去延曆七〔十七カ〕年二月廿二日符僞、自今以後簡拔彼氏之中潔清廉貞、堪祭事者、補任神主、限以六年相替者。然則神主之任既有其限、假使有才堪理郡兼帶神主、居終身之職、兼六年之任、事不穩便。謹請官裁者。右大臣宣僞、奉 勅、郡司・神主職掌各別、莫令郡司兼帶神主。

- i-1 『続日本紀』養老元年2月壬申朔条
遣唐使祠神祇於盖山之南。
- i-2 『万葉集』卷19—4240 番歌（天平勝宝4年）
春日祭神之日藤原太后御作歌一首。即賜入唐大使藤原朝臣清河〈参議從四位下遣唐使〉。
大船に ま梶しじ貫き この我子を 唐国に遣る 齋へ神たち
- i-3 『続日本紀』宝龜8年2月戊子条
遣唐使拜天神地祇於春日山下。去年風波不調、不得渡海。使人亦復頻以相替。至是副使小野朝臣石根重修祭祀也。
- i-4 『続日本後紀』承和3年2月庚午朔条
廢務。為遣唐使祠天神地祇於北野也。
- i-5 『続日本後紀』承和4年2月甲午朔条

遣唐使祠天神地祇於当国愛宕郡家門前。諸司為之廢務。

- i-6 『延喜式』卷3 臨時祭
遣蕃国使時祭〈使還之日准此〉。五色薄繩各三疋四丈八尺、繩四疋、倭文二端、木綿十五斤、麻十五斤、布十六端、明衣料庸布六段、鰯・堅魚各十連、鮭廿隻、腊十籠、海藻二籠、鮓二斗四升二合、塩二升四合二勺、缶四口、瓶五口、坏二百口、櫛二俵、白米二斗、飯二石、酒一石〈副案・壺盞・瓠飾等〉、葉薦廿枚。右、擬發使者、惣祭天神地祇於郊野。祭庭当国司掃脩其地。又所司葺苫并設座。所須雜物、神祇官申官請。其酒肴等、所司各儲会集祭所。神祇官率神部等〈並著明衣〉行祭事。大使自陳祝詞、神部奠幣。訖大使已下各供私幣〈神部執奠神座〉。
- j-1 『延喜式』卷3 臨時祭
開遣唐使船居祭〈住吉社〉。幣料絹四丈、五色薄繩各四尺、糸四絢、綿四屯、木綿八兩、麻一斤四兩。右、神祇官差使、向社祭之。
- j-2 『続日本紀』慶雲元年7月甲辰条（参考）
奉幣帛于住吉社。
- j-3 『日本後紀』大同元年四月丁巳条（参考）
撰津国住吉郡住吉大神奉授從一位。以遣唐使祈也。
- j-4 『続日本後紀』承和6年8月己巳条（参考）
（上略：承和度遣唐使の帰朝）是日、令十五大寺誦經祈願、以船到着為修法之終。遣神祇少副從五位下大中臣朝臣礪守・少祐正七位上大中臣朝臣蔭守、奉幣帛於撰津国住吉神・越前国氣比神。並祈船舶帰着。
- j-5 『日本三代実録』貞觀3年2月7日条...真如の入唐求法
遣唐使者向撰津国住吉神社奉神宝。
- k 『住吉大社神代記』
筑前国那珂郡住吉荒魂社〈三前〉。右社者、擊熊襲二国・新羅国時、遣唐使將御社祭、大宰府例供也。并能護嶋為御厨所領、從長門国西方九国内別小嶋皆所領御厨已了。

Each of the late-stage Japanese mission to Tang Dynasty, China was comprised of four ships as expressed in the entries of Man'yōshū ("Man'yōshū" Volume 19, Poem No.4264-65) as "four ships" and each ship carried 120 to 150 people and as many as 500 to 600 people sailed to China. The composition of the passengers in accordance with the provisions of the "foreign envoys" in the codes of the Ōkura-shō Ministry in Volume 30 of "Engishiki" is as follows: 1. Kanjin (government officials) (大使、副使、判官、録事、史生), Zōnin (lower-ranking officials) (雜使、僉人), Translator (訳語、新羅奄美等訳語), 2. Seafarers (知乗船事、船師、舵師、挾杪、水手長、水手), 3. Engineers (主神、卜部、医師、陰陽師、画師、射手、音声長、音声生、船匠), 4. Students and scholars (留学生、学問僧、僉從、還学僧、請益生) (those in parenthesis are terms used in "Engishiki"). Among these passengers, it is remarkable that Shushin (主神) was included as worshippers conducting religious rituals. The members of the Tsumori clan seemed to have been appointed as Shushin who were also involved with the launching ceremony of the "Ships of the Missions" held at Suminoe Shrine mentioned in j-1 (they are hereditary clan serving as district administrator of the Suminoe-gun in Settsu Province) and according to the "Record of Tsumori Family" and "Suminoe taisha jindaiki (records of the the History of the Divine Age from the Suminoe-taisha Shrine)" they were called Kentō shinshu (priest accompanying envoys to the Tang Dynasty). Among the clan members, Tsumori-no-Sukune Ikeyoshi in the Reiki Era and Tsumori-no-Sukune Maroudo in the Tempyō Era and Kunimaro in the Hōki Era are well-known and Tsumori-no-Sukune Otari, a second son of Ikeyoshi, served as priest for the envoys sent to Balhae Kingdom. Suminoe Shrine is where Uwatsutsunowo-no-Kami, Nakatsutsunowo-no-Kami and Sokotsutsunowo-no-Kami who were believed to have led and accompanied Empress Jingū during her Conquest of Three Korean Kingdoms are enshrined and from a passage in "Suminoe taisha jindaiki"; "住吉大神船边坐奉弓、辛国仁渡坐弓方定進退鎮給弓" (Record of Funakito), it is believed that Suminoe Ōkami (the great Gods of Suminoe) functioned as guardian deity of a ship and deity of navigation and was taken on a ship to sail for the mission to the Tang Dynasty in relation to the duties of the local ruling clans who controlled Suminoe no tsu (Suminoe port) which served as the outer port of the Wa kingly power since the fifth century⁴⁸⁾.

By the way, according to the instances described in i, the court officials to be dispatched as members of a Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty departed after worshipping Tenjin chigi (the gods of heaven and earth) near Tojō (court). A poetry No. 406 in the category of Journey of Kokin Wakashū (A Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry) titled “A poetry made by looking at the moon in the Tang Dynasty, Abe-no-Nakamaro” is a famous tanka that goes; “あまの原 ふりさけみれば 春日なる みかさの山に いでし月かも” which also appears in “Hyakunin Isshu” (Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets). Abe-no-Nakamaro sailed to Tang Dynasty as a student in the Reiki Era and stayed there serving Emperor Xuanzong and never returned home. For him, the rinjisai (special festival) held at Kasuga Shrine described in i-1 must have remained as a distinct memory. Incidentally, according to “Tōdaiji Sankai Shiishi-zu (painting of mountain border of four paths to Tōdai-ji Temple)” in the middle of the eighth century, a place called Kasuga at the base of Mt. Mikasa was specified as “divine land” and there was no shrine building and it seems that the ceremonies were performed outdoors. The offerings in i-6 included pottery as well⁴⁹⁾, which is common to the votive offerings from the third and the fourth phases of the rituals on Okinoshima Island featuring several pieces of pottery and this serves as a good reference for learning how the rituals were performed under the Ritsuryō system.

The Japanese envoy to the the Tang Dynasty who left Tojō were supposed to depart from Naniwatsu (Naniwa port) where the ship was sent from the launch ceremony held at the Suminoetsu Port. According to the sea route of the Japanese envoy to Shilla in the eighth year of Tempyō Era described in “Man'yōshū” Volume 15- No.3578 to 3722, the ship started off at Mitsunosaki (Naniwa) and passed the following points before arriving at Shilla: Mitsunosaki (Naniwa) — Minume — Nojimasaki (Awaji Island) — Fujie Ura (Akashi Shore) — Inamino — Ieshima — Tamanoura — Kamishima — Nagainoura (Mitsugi-gun, Bingo Province) — Kazahayanoura — Nagatojima (Aki Province) — Marifuura (Kuga-gun, Suō Province) — Ōshima-no-naruto — Kumageura — «drifted off the coast of Saba and arrived at Wakumanoura in Shimotsumike-gun of Buzen Province» — Chikushi Lodge — Kara no tomari (arbor) (Shima-gun in Chikuzen Province) — Hikitsu-no-tomari — Komashima in Matsura-gun, Hizen Province — Iki Island — Tsushima island Asō-no-ura — Takeshiki-no-Ura. It is believed that the previous envoys to Shilla that took the north route (Shilla route) passed the same points. As for the late-stage Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty that took the south route (Pacific route), the ship took the route crossing the East China Sea directly from the above-mentioned Mineraku Cape of the Chikashima Island in Matsura-gun in Hizen Province. The Japanese envoy to Shilla in the eighth year of Tempyō was adrift off Suō and then passed by Buzen which is different from the regular route of going from Toyoura-gun in Nagato Province to the northern Kyūshū, passing over the Moji Strait and it is believed that the ship carrying the delegation then went to Kanazaki near Munakata Shrine where Munakata Hetsu-miya is enshrined and arrived at Kōrokan (reception hall) in Chikushi via Shika-no-ura.

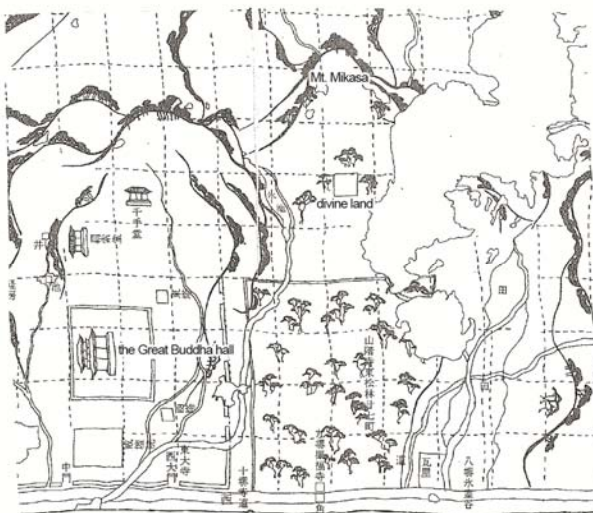


Figure 6 “Shinchi” (divine land) of Kasuga (KINDA, Akihiro. Drawings of Estatic Land in Ancient Japan. University of Tokyo Press, 1996. pp. 558-559)

According to k, the delegation held a religious service at Suminoe Shrine (also listed in the “Engishiki” Jimmyōchō) which had been enshrined in Hakatanotsu port and the offerings were prepared by Dazaifu headquarters. As mentioned above, the Suminoe Gods had a significant role in praying for the safe navigation as a deity of navigation. Additionally, as Shilla mended its relationship with Tang Dynasty from the end of the seventh century, Shilla with a view to having bilateral diplomatic relations with Japan on equal terms instead of paying tributes indicated its opposition to Japan. However, as Japan demanded that Shilla continue to bring tributes to the imperial court as a tribute state, several troubles arose over the diplomatic styles from the early to mid eighth century. Among them, there was a case in which Shilla’s discourtesy was consulted by Kanjin in 737 and the article in the fourth month, the first day of which is the Isshi day in the ninth year of Tempyō of “Shoku Nihongi” includes the following description; “遣使於伊勢神宮、大神社、筑紫住吉・八幡二社及香椎宮、奉幣以告新羅无礼之状。”。 Eventually this incident came to an end due to the epidemic in the country (whose cause was attributed to Shilla). The reason why Suminoe Shrine in Chikushi appeared here is that the shrine along with Usa Hachimangū Shrine and Kashii Shrine (also known as Kashii-Mausoleum) enshrining Empress Jingū are associated with the legend of the “The Conquest of the Three Korean Kingdoms” and reflects the positioning of the Suminoe Gods.

Then how was the worship of the Munakata Goddesses? How about the following view?⁵⁰⁾; “To my imagination, the ships carrying diplomatic envoys to the continent and expeditionary force dropped anchor off the coast of this island and a handful of people including representatives of the ship such as a general, chief envoy and priests got on a small boat and landed on the island. They built an altar with a huge rock as a rock-abode to make Three Goddesses of Munakata descend from heaven at midnight and performed an esoteric ritual. During the time, I imagine that people waiting in the ship also kept awake as if they had been holed up. How do you think of my guess?” According to the poems in the “Man’yōshū” such as ; “周防なる 磐国山を 越えむ日は 手向よくせよ 荒しその道” (Vol. 4, No. 567) and; “大き海の 波は恐し 然れども 神を祈りて 船出せばいか” (Vol.7, No. 1232), it was common practice to sail while offering prayers to the deities along the travel route and make a wish for safe navigation. It is known that the rituals to pray for the security and safe navigation were performed in the sites on Kōnoshima Island that was venerated as island god in the Seto Inland Sea transportation as the character 神 suggests (it is regarded as Kōnoshima in Kasaoka City in Okayama Prefecture which lies in a dangerous spot where the tidal current is fast) and Ōbushima where the articles were excavated similar to the votive offerings in the fourth phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island (located in the middle of the Seto Inland Sea in Kasaoka City in Okayama Prefecture, one of the Shiwaku Islands)⁵¹⁾. However, as I mentioned in the introduction, Okinoshima Island lies 60 km away from Hetsu-miya located near the coast of northern Kyūshū and even with the high navigation skill to sail on the open sea, it is questionable whether it was possible for a ship carrying Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty to change the scheduled route drastically and advance to Okinoshima Island in defiance of danger of founderin and shipwreck. Just because a chief envoy presided at the rinjisai festival described in i-6 doesn’t necessarily mean that the envoys performed rituals on Okinoshima Island and due to very scarce historical sources regarding the Munakata worship in the first place, the historical validity of the theory that the ship carrying envoys to the Tang Dynasty stopped at Okinoshima Island has yet to be established.

- 1-1 『続日本紀』文武天皇 2 年正月戊寅条
供新羅貢物于諸社。
- 1-2 『続日本紀』文武天皇 2 年正月庚辰条
遣直広参土師宿禰馬手献新羅貢物于大内山陵。
- 1-3 『続日本紀』慶雲元年 11 月庚寅条
遣從五位上忌部宿禰子首、供幣帛、鳳凰鏡、窠子錦于伊勢大神宮。
- 1-4 『続日本紀』慶雲 3 年閏正月戊午条
奉新羅調於伊勢太神宮及七道諸社。
- 1-5 『続日本紀』天平 2 年 9 月丙子条
遣使以渤海郡信物、令献山陵六所、并祭故太政大臣藤原朝臣墓。
- 1-6 『続日本紀』天平 2 年 10 月庚戌条
遣使奉渤海信物於諸国名神社。
- 1-7 『続日本紀』天平勝宝 4 年閏 3 月乙亥条
遣使於大内・山科・恵我・直山等陵、以告新羅王子来朝之状。

- l-8 『続日本紀』天平勝宝 6 年 3 月丙午条
遣使奉唐国信物於山科陵。
- l-9 『日本後紀』延暦 24 年 7 月甲午条
献唐国物于山科・後田原・崇道天皇三陵。
- l-10 『日本紀略』大同 2 年正月辛丑条
遣使奉大唐綵幣於香椎宮。
- l-11 『日本紀略』大同 2 年正月丙午条
献唐国信物於諸山陵。
- l-12 『日本紀略』大同 2 年 8 月癸亥条
遣使奉神宝并唐国信物於伊勢大神宮。
- l-13 『続日本後紀』承和 6 年 10 月辛酉条
奉唐物於伊勢大神宮。
- l-14 『続日本後紀』承和 6 年 12 月辛酉条
天皇御建礼門、分遣使者、奉唐物於後田原・八嶋・楊梅・柏原等山陵。
- l-15 『続日本後紀』承和 6 年 12 月庚午条
天皇御建礼門、奉唐物於長岡山陵。為漏先日之頒幣也。
- m 『続日本紀』天平 12 年 11 月戊子条（参考）
（上略）広嗣之船從知駕島發得東風往四ヶ日、行見島。船上人云、是耽羅島也。于時東風猶扇、船留海中不肯進行、漂蕩已經一日一夜。而西風卒起、更吹還船。於是、広嗣自捧馱鈴一口云、我是大忠臣也。神靈弃我哉。乞頼神力。風波暫静、以鈴投海。然猶風波弥甚。遂着等保知駕島色都島矣。（下略）
- m-1 『扶桑略記』延暦 22 年閏 10 月 23 日条
最澄和上、於大宰府竈門山寺、為渡海四船平達、敬造檀藥師仏四軀、高六尺余。其名号无勝浄土善名称吉祥王如来。
- n-2 『続日本後紀』承和 4 年 12 月庚子条
大宰府言、管豐前国田河郡香春岑神、辛国息長大姫大日命・忍骨命・豐比咩命、惣是三社。元來是石山、而上木惣無。至延暦年中、遣唐請益僧最澄躬到此山祈云、願縁神力、平得渡海。即於山下、為神造寺誦經。尔來草木蓊鬱、神驗如在。每有水旱疾疫之災、郡司百姓就之祈禱、必蒙感応、年登人壽、異於他郡。望預官社、以表崇祠。許之。
- o-1 『続日本後紀』承和 3 年 2 月丙子条
遣唐使奉幣帛賀茂大神社。
- o-2 『続日本後紀』承和 3 年 4 月甲午条 →5 月丁未条
頒奉幣帛五畿内七道名神。為有遣唐使事也。
- o-3 『続日本後紀』承和 3 年 5 月庚申条
為遣唐使奉山階・田原・柏原・神功皇后等陵幣帛曰、（下略）
- o-4 『続日本後紀』承和 5 年 3 月甲申条
勅曰、遣唐使頻年却廻、未遂過海。夫冥靈之道、至信乃応、神明之德、修善必祐。宜令大宰府監已上、每国一人率国司・講師、不論当国・他国、扨年廿五以上精進持經心行無變者、度之九人。香襲宮二人、大臣一人、八幡大菩薩宮二人、宗像神社二人、阿蘇神社二人、於国分寺及神宮寺安置供養、使等往還之間、専心行道、令得穩平云々。
- o-5 『続日本後紀』承和 5 年 4 月壬辰条→5 月乙未条：漂廻により大般若經転読を追加
勅、自遣唐使進發之日、至帰朝之日、令五畿内七道諸国、誦海龍王經。
- o-6 『続日本後紀』承和 7 年 4 月丙申条
奉授肥後国從四位下勲五等健甞龍神從四位上、余如故。筑前国從五位下竈門神、筑後国從五位下高良玉垂神並從五位上。又勲八等宗像神從五位下、余如故。
- o-7 『類聚国史』187 延暦 13 年 3 月戊寅条（参考）
遣少僧都伝灯大法師位等定等於豐前国八幡・筑前国宗形・肥後国阿蘇三神社誦經、為三神度七人。

While articles described in i show that the envoys to the Tang Dynasty had the custom of worshipping gods of heaven and earth near Tojō and praying for successful execution of the mission and the safe journey,

no historical materials in the eighth century described the acts of dedicating offerings at respective shrines beforehand. Rather, it should be noted that the envoys, after returning to Japan from Tang, made offerings and were granted shinkai (divine rank) at Suminoe Shrine. Articles described in l show that the goods brought from Tang by the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty or articles brought by the Japanese envoy to Shilla and Balhae were dedicated to Ise Jingū Shrine and Imperial mausoleums as offerings, which attests to the act of making offerings and worshipping. However, in the eighth century, although articles on Shilla and Balhae in l -4 · 6 show the instance of making offerings at shosha (local shrines) in seven districts of ancient Japan, regarding the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, offerings were made at Ise Jingū Shrine in every case of l -3 · 12 · 13⁵²⁾, and there is no reference to the rituals on Okinoshima Island. As described above, the article of c describes that the Munakata Grand Goddesses demanded that people brought from China by the Japanese envoy on their return home stay in Japan and serve the deities and considering from the deities' relationship with Amaterasu Ōmikami enshrined at Ise Jingū Shrine described in a · b and from a passage ; “汝三神宜降居道中奉助天孫而為天孫所祭也” (First addendum to the chapter on Zuishu Treaty in the first volume of the History of the Divine Age of the “Nihonshoki”), could it be said that there were rituals for worshipping the Three Goddesses of Munakata and the Jisai-wise requital through the Munakata clan enshrining the Munakata Shrine which correspond to the votive offerings in the third and fourth phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island?

Incidentally, attention should be given to the case in m, n-1 · 2 in which the envoy offered a prayer on an individual basis before setting out for a sea voyage and many of the seafarers employed for the Ships of the Missions were from the northern region of Kyūshū. A helmsman named Kawabe-no-Sakamaro who got on board the fourth ship of the embassies sent to the Tang Dynasty during the Tempyōshōhō is known to have been originally from the Matura-gun in Hizen Province and it is recorded that he was praised that he never let go of the ship's helm when there was an accidental fire even though he suffered a serious burn on his hand (article of the Jinshin day in the fourth month in the sixth year of the Hōki Era of “Shoku Nihongi”). In addition, on the occasion of the plan to conquest Shilla by Fujiwara-no-Nakamaro, seafarers from Hizen and Tsushima were appropriated to people to be conscripted from the eastern part of Japan while the regions including San'yōdō, Nankaidō and Saikaidō arranged respective ships and seafarers on their own account (article of the Teiyū day in the eleventh month in the fifth year of the Tempyōhōji Era) and it is implied that people from the northern region of Kyūshū who were familiar with this sea area played the central role of the seafarers. If so, just as the above-mentioned Munakata-no-Tsumaro, many lower-ranking officials under the Munakata clan were believed to have crossed the sea and have worshipped the deities of marine traffic that were regularly sacred, however, these instances of worship should be separated from the rituals on Okinoshima Island that had an aspect of a national ritual.

In the ninth century, the description of worship at Munakata Shrine is found in historical materials of which articles j-4 and o can be regarded as a special case of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty during the Jōwa Era. The relevant mission was eventually the last delegation to the Tang Dynasty that was realized for the first time after two failed attempts to cross the ocean and even though it finally made it to Tang China, it highlighted the disincentives including the issue of weakening leadership of the court officials to be dispatched, decline of Tang Dynasty and the changes in significance of studying and pursuing Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty regarding the enterprise of dispatching envoys to the Tang Dynasty⁵³⁾. The “Ships of the missions” were occasionally shipwrecked and cancelled as in the case of the mission in the Enryaku Era, which made it to Tang on its second try. Regarding the mission of the Enryaku Era, due to the missing part in “Nihon Kōki (Later Chronicles of Japan)”, there is no articles describing the period between the first failure and the second departure, so whether such measures were taken in the Jōwa Era or not is unknown. Nonetheless, the description in o-1~3 refers to the measures associated with the first departure and it proved that the offerings were made at shosha (local shrines) prior to the voyage that was not so common in the eighth century. Also according to o-2, heihaku (sacred silk and other sacred materials) was widely offered at shrines that enshrine Meishin in Goki shichidō (five provinces and seven districts of ancient Japan) and it is considered a new method based on the experience in the Enryaku Era (another possibility is that this new method was based on the measures taken on the occasion of the second departure in the Enryaku Era).

It is believed that the list of “Shichidō Meishin (deities with miraculous efficacy)” mentioned in o-2 included Three Goddesses of Munakata that were described as “three deities of Munakata Shrine <ordinary Meishin-dai>” in “Engishiki” Jimmyōchō and according to o-4, when the mission was departing for the

second time in Enryaku Era, the sutra was chanted before Shintō altar at shosha (local shrines) in the middle and northern part of Kyūshū to pray for the safe journey and it is noteworthy that Munakata Shrine was mentioned there. The sutra chanting before the Shintō altar is believed to be based on the achievement of Saichō in the second mission in the Enryaku Era which was also the countermeasure for the failure of the first time. In the text of o-4, Kashii Shrine, Ōomi (minister = Takeshiuchi-no-Sukune), Hachiman Daibosatsu (Usa) are associated with the legend of Empress Jingū and although the origin of Aso Shrine is unknown, it appears in the dedication ceremony over the pirates from Shilla described below where the rare events were predicted, which proved that the shrine gradually gained recognition for its divine power in the critical moments (recorded in parallel in o-7). Then how should we view Munakata Shrine with the tradition of observing rituals on Okinoshima Island? Suppose ceremonies had been performed at Munakata Shrine on special occasions after the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty returned home, the fact that the shrine was mentioned in parallel with other shrines in this manner means that the shrine's status was leveled off. Descriptions of shosha (local shrines) related to the Empress Jingū appear in the documents related to the confrontation with Shilla in the eighth century but do not appear in the documents related to the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and since around the time of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty in the Enryaku Era, the shrines came to be used as sites for ritual worship on occasions regarding foreign affairs including the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty⁵⁴). On the other hand, as described below, descriptions of the Munakata Goddesses appear in the scenes handling the pirates from Shilla and their role seems to have grown increasingly important.

Incidentally, the Munakata Ason clan in the eighth century maintained the relationship with the Kita-no-miya Imperial family whose genealogy can be traced from Prince Takechi (born from Prince Ōama (later Emperor Temmu) and Amako-no-Iratsume) to Prince Nagaya as evidenced by the label mokkan (wooden strips) excavated from the former Heijōkyō Capital Site deemed to be sent from the chief district official of Munakata-gun ("Executive summary of the mokkan unearthed from the research excavation of the former Heijōkyō Capital site" 21-24・25-29, 23-14, 27-21). The Munakata clan concurrently served as the chief district official of Munakata-gun and as the Shintō priest of Munakata Shrine and there were instances where a member of the clan married a wife from the imperial family (Table 3) and Uji-no-sen (subordinate people, servant people owned by the clan) were reportedly placed in Kanazaki who had to pay the repair fee of the Munakata Shrine that had been transferred to Shikinokami-gun in Yamato Province by Prince Takechi ("Ruijūsandaikyaku" Volume 1, official document dated December 29 of the fifth year of Kamyō Era). However, by the end of the eighth century, it was prohibited to assume the post of chief district official and Shintō priest concurrently and the Munakata clan who had a powerful reign as the head of both Shintō and the province faced a crisis. The Takashina-no-mahito clan who was a descendant from the Kita-no-miya Imperial family was lower-middle class official and as the clan didn't have the powerful backing of the imperial family, the Munakata clan seemed to have approached the Northern House of the Fujiwara clan and transferred the divided Munakata Goddesses to the mansion of Fuyutsugu (Higashi-no-kyō Ichijō-tei on a premise of the Heian-kyō Capital) who established a foothold for the rise of the Northern House of the Fujiwara and after that the rank of the deities were elevated as uchinokami (patron god) of this mansion and they were venerated from generation to generation in the Northern House of the Fujiwara⁵⁵). The following Table 4 shows the transition of the Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province along with the conferment of the divine rank. Such a political selection by the Munakata clan may have brought changes in the role that the rituals on Okinoshima Island had to fulfill in the nation.

To summarize what I've mentioned above, the original form of the rituals on Okinoshima Island is not conducting ritual worship for the Three Goddesses of Munakata prior to the departure of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, but performing the rite to dedicate treasures brought back from Tang by the envoys in the form of requital for Jisai in the eighth century from my viewpoint. Incidentally, it is thought that the Munakata goddesses were granted a shinkai (rank granted to Shintō gods) for the first time at the time of o-6 and before that despite their merits for protection of the nation they weren't incorporated into the hierarchy and leveling system by shinkai as divinity leading to Amaterasu Ōmikami (although they were granted rank and order)⁵⁶). This kind of changes in the positioning of the Munakata Goddesses and in the manner in which rituals were carried out associated with the Japanese envoy to foreign countries aren't necessarily in agreement with the third and fourth stages of the rituals on Okinoshima Island and above other things, since no documentary evidence which attests to the concrete aspects of the rituals of worship since the eighth century, we are left to speculate on the forms of worship based on the uncertain

circumstantial evidence and these issues remain in the elucidation of the rituals of worship in the time of the Japan's envoy to the Tang Dynasty.

Table 4 Chikuzen Province and the divine rank transition of the Munakata Goddesses in Heiankyo Palace

April 21, Jōwa 7	The Munakata Goddesses in Chikuzen Province in the Eighth Order of Merit→Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade
October 7, Kashō 3	The Munakata Goddesses in Chikuzen Province→Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade
February 3, Ninju 3	The Munakata Goddesses in Chikuzen Province→Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade
October 2, Ten'an 1	The Munakata Goddesses in Chikuzen Province in Senior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade in the Eighth Order of Merit→Senior Third Grade
January 27, Jōgan 1	Tagorihime-no-Kami, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami, Ichikishimahime-no-Kami in Chikuzen Province in Senior Third Rank in the Eighth Order of Merit→Junior Second Rank
February 30, Jōgan 1	Tagorihime-no-Kami, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami and Ichikishimahime-no-Kami transferred and enshrined at Dajōdaijin's Higashi-no-kyō Ichijō-tei (mansion) in Junior Second Rank in the Eighth Order of Merit→Senior Second Rank, Three Goddesses of Munaka also in Junior Second rank in the Eighth Order of Merit→Senior Second Rank
October 11, Jōgan 6	Tagorihime-no-Kami, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami, Ichikishimahime-no-Kami transferred and enshrined at Dajōdaijin's Higashi-no-kyō tei (mansion) in Senior Second Rank in the Eighth Order of Merit→Junior First Rank
March 21, Jōgan 7	Amanoiwato Kami At Dajōdaijin's Higashi-no-kyō tei with no rank→Junior Third Rank (Reference)
April 17, Jōgan 7	A messenger was dispatched to Dajōdaijin's Higashi-no-kyō tei shrine to present offerings and notifies Imperial instructions.
November 17, Jōgan 12	Due to its proximity to Kadono Mint, newly minted coins were dedicated to the Munakata Goddesses.
April 13, Gangyō 1	Imperial instruction was notified at the deity at the cornder of the late Dajōdaijin's Higashi Ichijō-tei (start of the construction of Daigokuden-council hall)
December 25, Kamyō 1	Ichikishimahime-no-Kami, Tagitsuhime-no-Kami and Tagorihime-no-Kami in Chikuzen Province in Senior Second Rank→ Junior First Rank
October 8, Kamyō 6	Tagorihime-no-Kami, Ichikishimahime-no-Kami and Tagitsuhime-no-Kami in Chikuzen Province in Junior First Rank in the Eighth Order of Merit→the Seventh Order of Merit
After the suppression of Fujiwara Sumitomo's War in Tengen 4	Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province→Senior First Rank, the First Order of Merit, granted the title of Bosatsu
February 2, Tengen 2	Daigūji (highest priest) at Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province was appointed by Kampo (official document).

6. Countermeasures against the pirates from Shilla

The late-stage Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty were dispatched once every 15 to 20 years and between the mission in the Enryaku Era and in the Jōwa Era, there was an interval of more than 30 years. Of course a great impact was given to Japan by the direct transfer of Tang culture through the exchanges by the Japanese envoy, however, in the context of the frequency of travels and the consistency between the frequency of travels and the number of times the ritual worship was carried out on Okinoshima Island, it remains unknown to what extent such interrelation was established. There were active exchanges with the kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula after the eighth century and in spite of the gradual worsening relationship between Japan and Shilla as mentioned above, which eventually led to the cessation of the official relations between the states at the end of the eighth century, it was 21 times that the embassies from Shilla arrived in Japan in the eighth century and also 16 times that Japanese envoys were dispatched to Shilla and the relations with Balhae continued until 927 when the country collapsed and it was 35 times that the envoys from Balhae (including envoys from Dongdangguo) came to Japan and the Japanese envoys to Balhae were dispatched 13 times⁵⁷⁾. Although Balhae was instructed to arrive at Dazaifu (article of the Boshin day in the sixth month in the fourth year of the Hōki Era of “Shoku Nihongi”), based on the

geographical condition and its navigation technique, the envoys from Balhae continued to arrive at Hokurikudō region and Dewa Province and those who arrived at the northern Kyūshū where Okinoshima Island is located were mostly from Shilla.

Despite frequent diplomatic disturbances between Japan and Shilla after the middle of the eighth century, it can be surmised that Shilla, after achieving a balanced relationship with the Tang Dynasty and the development of handicrafts, visited Japan only for fostering economic ties and commercial purposes and started to deploy the relay trade of Chinese products (karamono) and products from South China and even people not engaging in the state trade crossed the sea to arrive at the northern Kyūshū from Shilla⁵⁸⁾. Such period of transition in the Japan-Shilla relationship appears to coincide with the category of the third and fourth stages of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, but whether there were changes in the votive offerings as *ritsuryō* style services of worship is unknown and I will leave it for future discussion. In the ninth century, in the late-Shilla period (*hadae*), Shilla fell into political confusion and on the contrary, the number of Shilla people who visited the northern Kyūshū increased significantly and with the existence of the migrant settlers for trade purpose, and the emergence of a merchant of Shilla named Chang Bogo who seized control of the seas covering Tang, Shilla and Japan and his decline, the establishment of the diplomatic policies became a pressing need for Japan⁵⁹⁾.

Then in the late ninth century, as the unstable condition of Shilla and a path toward collapse were increasingly more evident, the pirates from Shilla started to wreak havoc in Japan⁶⁰⁾ and the new sources of textual data regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses in relation to the prevention of pirates and wish for suppression of the problems begin to appear again.

p 『日本三代実録』貞觀 12 年 2 月 15 日条

勅遣從五位下行主殿權助大中臣朝臣国雄、奉幣八幡大菩薩宮及香椎廟・宗像大神・甘南備神。告文曰、(中略)又曰、天皇我詔旨止掛畏岐宗像大神乃広前尔申賜倍止申、(中略)亦我皇太神波、掛毛畏岐大帶日姫乃、彼新羅人乎降伏賜時尔、相共加力倍賜天、我朝乎救賜比守賜奈利、(中略)上件寇賊之事在倍岐物奈利止毛、掛畏皇太神、国内乃諸神太知遠唱導岐賜比天、未發向之前尔沮拒排却賜倍。若賊謀已熟天、兵船必来倍久在波、境内尔入賜波須之天、逐還漂没米賜比天、我朝乃神国止憚良礼来礼留故実乎澆多之失賜布奈。(下略)

q 『日本三代実録』元慶 2 年 12 月 24 日条

遣兵部少輔從五位下兼行伊勢權介平朝臣季長、向大宰府、奉幣檀日・八幡及姫神・住吉・宗形等大神。其檀日・八幡・姫神、別奉綾羅御衣各一襲・金銀裝宝釧各一。以彼府奏有訛宣云新羅凶賊欲窺我隙、并肥後国有大鳥集、河水變赤等之恠也。

r 『日本三代実録』貞觀 18 年正月 25 日条 (参考)

先是、貞觀十六年大宰府言、香椎廟宮每年春秋祭日、志賀嶋白水郎男十人・女十人奏風俗樂。所着衣裳、去宝龜十一年大武正四位上佐伯宿祢今毛人所造也。年代久遠、不中服用。請以府庫物造充之。至是、太政官处分、依請焉。

s 『日本三代実録』貞觀 18 年 3 月 9 日条 (参考)

(上略)其二事、請合肥前国松浦郡庇羅・值嘉兩鄉更建二郡号上近・下近置值嘉嶋曰、(中略)加之地居海中境隣異俗、大唐・新羅人来者、本朝入唐使等、莫不經歷此嶋。府頭人民申云、去貞觀十一年、新羅人掠奪貢船絹綿等日、其賊同經件嶋来。以此觀之、此地是当国枢轄之地。宜挾令長以慎防禦。又去年或人民等申云、唐人等必先到件嶋、多採香藥、以加貨物、不令此間人民觀其物口。又其海濱多奇石、或鍛練得銀、或琢磨似玉。唐人等好取其石、不曉土人。以此言之、不委以其人之弊、大都皆如此者也。(下略)

The text of p depicts a part of various measures associated with the seizure of silk and cotton by the pirates from Shilla that was the annual tribute from the Buzen Province to the imperial court occurred in Hakata port (Article of the fifteenth day in the sixth month in the 11th year of Jōgan Era) and such steps as the enhancement of *senshi* (soldiers guarding the Kyūshū region) and *tōryō* (consul), disposition of *doshi* (commissioned officer of big bow) in the coast countries and offerings made to *shosha* (local shrines) were taken. Already on 14th day in the twelfth month at Ise Grand Shrine and on 29th day in the twelfth month at Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, offerings to the deities had been made along with the reporting of the

details of the incident and presentation of the written report in prayer for the spiritual protection of the state and in the new year, similar steps were taken at the relevant local shrines in the middle and the northern part of Kyūshū. It is worthy of note that there is a new statement that the Munakata Goddesses assisted the Empress Jingū's punitive expeditions against the Three Korean Kingdoms, which is not mentioned in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki. Just as the deities associated with the Empress Jingū intervened in the above-mentioned affairs related to the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, the Munakata Goddesses were also revered and worshipped in the context of countermeasures against Shilla and their divinity were anticipated. The Munakata Goddesses are also placed as "Kōtaijin" and as beings embodying the divinity of Amaterasu Ōmikami, myths described in a and b are evoked and narrated as the symbols of the "land of the deities" i.e. Japan⁶¹⁾.

Of the deities mentioned in p, there is no record on Kan'nabi deity other than the fact that the rank of Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade was granted. Other three deities were expected to demonstrate their divine power of leading the deities within the country to prevent the Shilla pirates from advancing beforehand and sinking them before they invade our territorial waters if they've already begun advancing toward Japan. According to the text in s, the pirates from Shilla seemed to attack from the direction of Chikanoshima and as mentioned above, as the power of the Munakata Goddesses was extended into the areas along the Sea of Ariake, they were expected to guard the whole northern Kyūshū as "Kōtaijin" along with the deities associated with the Empress Jingū. Although there was no attack from the Shilla pirates in the 2nd year of the Gangyo Era mentioned in the text of q, from the oracle obtained from Kashii no Miya, it was revealed that the ships carrying pirates from Shilla would advance (article of the eleventh day in the twelfth month) and mysterious incidents described in q actually occurred, so it is believed to be the measures for praying for the prevention of the disaster beforehand.

In addition, there was an incident that people claiming to be envoys from Shilla were cast ashore on Amakusa-gun in Higo Province (article of the twentieth day in the sixth month) and a warning was issued stating that "新羅国人、包蔵禍心、覬覦家園" and the orders to guard the coastal area were given to the Hokuriku-dō provinces, Nagato and Dazaifu (Article of the first day in the eighth month). After that, articles about the pirates from Shilla disappeared from the national history and even the remaining historical records have missing parts, it can be inferred from the relevant articles that the promotion of the order of merit of the Munakata Goddesses in the sixth year of the Kamyō Era in Table 4 was a reward for the suppression of the massive invasion of the pirates from Shilla in the same year (Article of the fifth day in the ninth month of "Fusō Ryakki" (A Brief History of Japan)) and that the divine power of the Munakata Goddesses were highly evaluated (also refer to the article of the tenth day in the fourth month of "Nihon Kiryaku" (Summary of Japanese Chronologies); "大宰府飛駟使来申、仰遣奉幣管内諸神")

t 『類聚符宣抄』第1 天元2年2月14日官符

応補任坐筑前国宗像宮大宮司正六位上宗形朝臣氏能事。右、得神祇官貞元三年八月五日解僞、彼宮司并氏人等去天延二年二月五日解狀僞、此宮從世初之時、已為日本之固。其奇異緣起不可勝計。謹檢旧例、去天慶年中以往不置件宮司、只以神主職為雜々執行之長。其時年慶度々祭、只臨山海為先漁獵。而藤原純友凶乱和平之後、登坐正一位勲一等之階。爰源清平朝臣為彼時大式之間、可言上公家奉授菩薩位之由、託宣頗了。仍且注託宣旨言上解文、且為使少貳藤原朝臣惟遠、奉授菩薩位矣。自尔以来、長停獵山漁海之祠祀、修法施登覺之善根。年首歲末并薰香花、或五日或三夜、囑僧侶唱法味、移彼田獵之料、充此功德之施。于時大式清平朝臣、可置宮司職令執印勤行之由、初以定行之日、以神主令兼行。其後繼踵任來之間、未有必蒙官符、只就府国遙以競望。仍雖神田地子三時六度祭料、而更闕其用、枉為贖勞。因之神宮雜務莫不陵遲。是則不蒙官符補任件職之所致也。重檢傍例、坐筑後国高良大神宮司、代々国司以郎等一人補任檢校職、令執印行事。每至遷替之日、不棄勤惰、弃以京上。仍去安和二年八月五日初蒙官符、補任大神宮司以降、神威弥嚴、修治無怠。加以当国住吉・香椎・筑紫・竈門・宮崎等宮、皆以大宮司為其所之貫首。而当宮以一人兼任、無分置其職。校於是等之例、事寄似輕。方今件氏能已為擬任職、能知先祖之風、才幹相備、尤足推舉。仍言上如件。（下略）

Incidentally, according to the text of r, it is known that the Shika fishermen participated in the ritual worship at Kashii Shrine associated with the Empress Jingū⁶²⁾. From the description stating that : "年慶

度々祭、只臨山海為先漁獵”, it is believed that the ritual worship of the Munakata Goddesses by fishermen and people engaged in hunting was conducted.

The said period is close to the final phase of the fourth phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island and as mentioned above, how the national ritual and the ordinary and local rituals observed by seafarers and fishermen were related to and coordinated with each other and whether or not the rituals underwent a change as a result of a change in their character due to the addition of Buddhist elements such as the title of Bosatsu described in it demand serious consideration in future. The text in it shows the background in which the position of Gūji (chief priest) was established at Daijingū Shrine and the appointment of the position by Kampo was approved in the middle of the tenth century, and in the Kampo, the fundamental character of the Munakata Goddesses as “beings that can defend the country since the dawn of the history” is stressed and that the promotion of the deities to the “Senior First Rank, the First Order of Merit” is described⁽⁶³⁾. It is inferred from here that although the rituals on Okinoshima Island came to an end, the ritual worship at Hetsu-Miya and worship and reverence for the Three Goddesses of Munakata never faltered and this unchanged faith continued to serve as the foundation to support the existence of the Island of Okinoshima as divine island.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed the beginning of the exchanges with the several states along the seas of East Asia, multi factorial friendly relations during the fifth century, etal movement into the centralized administrative framework and unification of diplomacy by the Wa kingly power, turmoil occurring in East Asia in the seventh century, aspects of the late-stage Japanese envoys to the Tang Dynasty and issues regarding the movements of Shilla after the eighth century with the purpose of inquiring into the positioning of the rituals on Okinoshima Island in the history of exchanges based on the four chronological division of the rituals. The chronological division of the rituals on Okinoshima Island based on the archaeological knowledge isn't necessarily coincident with the epochs in the history of exchanges in Wa state i.e. Japan in terms of its foreign relation and more than anything, there is an issue that the historical materials cannot clarify what kind of rituals of worship were performed in the diplomatic ceremonies and processes, which is left for future discussion.

From the end of the ninth century to the early tenth century, the national enterprise such as the project to dispatch Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, China ended and it appears that the end of the rituals on Okinoshima Island coincided with the changing international affairs due to the successive collapses of Tang, Shilla and Balhae. However, the merchants from Tang Dynasty and Song Dynasty frequently visited Japan after the middle of the ninth century and in terms of frequency of interactions and incoming transfer of the contemporary foreign things, it can therefore be said that more active exchanges were deployed after the said period.

The Munakata clan who presided over the rituals at Munakata Shrine was engaged in trade around Hakata as the governor general of Dazaifu and played an important role in the history of exchanges including an instance of marrying a woman from Song Dynasty⁽⁶⁴⁾. Therefore, it was only after the termination phase of the state rituals of worship that the more frequent and long-lasting history of exchanges than the time of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty was deployed and what part the Island of Okinoshima played in the said period and what implications the island had for people living along the Genkai Sea are matters that demand further study and consideration.

This paper tried to organize the knowledge concerning the history of exchanges and the aspects of the rituals on Okinoshima Island by around the end of the ninth century and although I am unable to explore some fundamental issues at present, I would be interested in taking them up at a future date.

Notes (not translated):

- 1) 但し、『日本書紀』神代上・瑞珠盟約段、『古事記』上巻・天安河之宇氣比段に描かれた三女神の順序には諸説があり、鎮座地の比定も一定していない。ここに示したのは現在の比定である。
- 2) 宗像神社復興期成会編『沖ノ島』（吉川弘文館、1958年）・同編『続沖ノ島』（吉川弘文館、1961年）、第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊編『宗像沖ノ島』（本文・図版・史料、宗像大社復興期成会、1979年）、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、1988年、以下、小田編著と略記）、「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議（福岡県・宗像市・福津市）編『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告Ⅰ』（2010年、以下、研究報告Ⅰと略記）などを参照。
- 3) 井上光貞「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年）、佐田茂「沖ノ島祭祀の変遷（一）祭祀遺跡の形態」、弓場紀知「同（二）祭祀遺物の内容」（小田編著）、『研究報告Ⅰ』の共同研究：「祭祀遺跡、沖ノ島の再検討」所載諸論考など。
- 4) 和田萃「沖ノ島と大和王権」、小田富士雄「北海道中一大陸と沖ノ島祭祀」（小田編著）、亀井輝一郎「古代の宗像氏と宗像信仰」、白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」（『研究報告Ⅰ』）など。岡崎敬「総括編（第1章宗像地域の展開と宗像大神／第2章律令時代における宗像大社と沖ノ島）」（註1）『宗像沖ノ島』）、宗像市史編纂委員会編『宗像市史』通史編第2巻（宗像市、1999年）などが概括的・網羅的に論究しているくらいである。
- 5) 私見を概括的に述べたものとしては、森公章 a『「白村江」以後』（講談社、1998年）、b『東アジアの動乱と倭国』（吉川弘文館、2006年）、c『倭の五王』（山川出版社、2010年）、d『遣唐使の光芒』（角川学芸出版、2010年）、e『東アジア史の中の古墳時代』（『古墳時代の考古学』1、同成社、2011年）などを参照。
- 6) 西嶋定生『倭国の出現』（東京大学出版会、1999年）。
- 7) 魏の対呉政策上の意図については、森公章「世界の中の邪馬台国」（『歴史読本』56の4、2011年）を参照。
- 8) 武田幸男『高句麗史と東アジア』（岩波書店、1989年）。
- 9) 村山正雄『石上神宮七支刀銘文図録』（吉川弘文館、1996年）、濱田耕策「古代日韓関係の成立」（『第2期日韓歴史共同研究報告書』第1分科会篇、2010年）など。
- 10) 角林文雄「高句麗広開土王碑文にみる各国の戦略」（『日本書紀研究』第19冊、塙書房、1994年）。
- 11) 朴天秀『加耶と倭国』（講談社、2007年）。
- 12) 東野治之「ありねよし、対馬の渡り」（『続日本紀の時代』塙書房、1994年）、川添昭二「宗像氏の対外貿易と志賀島の海人」（『海と列島文化』3、小学館、1990年）など。なお、正木喜三郎「筑紫胸形君考」（『東海史学』25、1991年）は、宗像郡海部郷を鐘崎付近に比定し、鐘崎―地島間の航跡＝鐘崎ソネ（暗礁）の海域には志賀神に対する信仰が存したと見る。
- 13) 和田註4）論文は、対馬に至るルートとして、壱岐を経由するもの、遠賀川河口の岡水門―大島―沖ノ島―対馬、関門海峡―沖ノ島―対馬の3つを想定し、穴門館は後二者に関係する施設と見ている。
- 14) 森公章「耽羅方補考」（『古代日本の対外認識と通交』吉川弘文館、1998年）。
- 15) 新川登亀男「宗像と宇佐」（『新版古代の日本』3、角川書店、1991年）は、9世紀中葉頃までは濁心の証しとして生まれたスサノヲの子である三女神、アマテラスに排斥される三女神として描く『日本書紀』本文の正統性が維持されていたが、9世紀後半以降にスサノヲの清浄心を証すとともに、日神の子として筑紫に降臨する三女神として位置づける異伝とも言える第一・三の一書や『古事記』の伝承が発言力を高めるとする。
- 16) 白石註4）論文、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」（『研究報告Ⅰ』）など。
- 17) 山尾幸久「雄略大王期の史的位罫」（『日本古代王権形成史論』岩波書店、1983年）。
- 18) 正木喜三郎「宗像三女神と記紀神話」（小田編著）、小田註4）論文など。
- 19) 亀井註4）論文。
- 20) 重藤註16）論文81頁。
- 21) 河内春人「倭の五王と中国外交」（『日本の対外関係』1、吉川弘文館、2010年）、門脇禎二他編『古代を考える吉備』（吉川弘文館、2005年）、北郷泰道『古代日向・神話と歴史の間』（鉾脈社、2007年）など。
- 22) 岸俊男「画期としての雄略朝」（『日本古代文物の研究』塙書房、1988年）、佐伯有清編『古代

- を考える雄略天皇とその時代』（吉川弘文館、1988年）など。
- 23) 稲荷山古墳が埼玉古墳群で最初に築造された墳墓であることについては、城倉正祥「武蔵国造争乱」（『史観』165、2011年）を参照。5世紀の地方統括の状況に関しては、森公章「五世紀の銘文刀剣と倭王権の支配体制」（『東洋大学文学部紀要』史学科篇38、2013年）を参照。
 - 24) 朝鮮学会編『前方後円墳と古代日朝関係』（同成社、2002年）、朴註11）書、辻秀人編『百済と倭国』（高志書院、2008年）など。
 - 25) 考古学的な特色の相違に関しては、朴淳發『百済国家形成過程の研究』（六一書房、2003年）などを参照。
 - 26) 白石太一郎「もう1つの倭・韓交易ルート」（『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』110、2001年）。
 - 27) 李弘植「任那問題を中心とする欽明紀の整理」（『青丘学叢』25、1936年）、笠井倭人「欽明朝における百済の対倭外交」（『古代の日朝関係と日本書紀』吉川弘文館、2000年）、金鉉球「日系百済官僚」（『大和政権の対外関係研究』、吉川弘文館、1985年）、熊谷公男「いわゆる「任那四県割譲」の再検討」（『東北学院論集』39、2005年）など。
 - 28) 正木註18）論文。
 - 29) 田中俊明『大加耶連盟の興亡と「任那」』（吉川弘文館、1992年）、『古代の日本と加耶』（山川出版社、2008年）などを参照。
 - 30) 小田富士雄編『古代を考える磐井の乱』（吉川弘文館、1991年）。
 - 31) 大川原竜一「国造制の成立とその歴史的背景」（『駿台史学』137、2009年）など。国造制の構造については、森公章「評司・国造の執務構造」（『地方木簡と郡家の機構』同成社、2009年）を参照。
 - 32) 古市晃『日本古代王権の支配論理』（塙書房、2009年）。
 - 33) 森公章「「任那」の用法と「任那日本府」（「在安羅諸倭臣等」）の実態に関する研究」（『東洋大学文学部紀要』史学科篇35、2010年）。
 - 34) 森公章「吉備白猪・児島屯倉と屯倉制」（『古代国家と天皇』同成社、2010年）。
 - 35) 森公章「古代難波における外交儀礼とその変遷」（註14）書）。
 - 36) 小嶋篤「墓制と領域—胸肩君一族の足跡—」（『九州歴史資料館研究論集』37、2012年）によると、糟屋屯倉に関連すると目される鹿部田淵遺跡の周囲には宗像型の石室が分布しており、玄界灘沿岸域の「入海」的地形が宗像君一族の活動範囲に含まれていたことを窺わせるという。
 - 37) 各地の宗形神社と宗像氏の関係という視角については、新川註15）論文を参照。なお、狩野久「津島部」をめぐって」（『日本古代の国家と村落』塙書房、1998年）は、備前国三野郡津島部に分布する津島部姓者（『平城宮跡発掘調査出土木簡概報』15-29頁）を、ト部を出す対馬の上・下県国造の部民であり、倭王権への上番途次の資養の便宜のために当地に設定されたと見ており、これも倭王権による瀬戸内海航路掌握と関連する配置であろう。
 - 38) 岸俊男「防人考」（『日本古代政治史研究』塙書房、1966年）。
 - 39) 亀井註4）論文は、舒明系の王統が早くから派兵ルートを掌握しようとしていたとし、大海人皇子の近侍の舍人に大分君・稚臣などの九州の豪族がいることにも着目すべしと述べる。
 - 40) 森公章「「海北」から「西」へ」（『遣唐使と古代日本の対外政策』吉川弘文館、2008年）。
 - 41) 鈴木英夫「「任那の調」の起源と性格」（『古代の倭国と朝鮮諸国』青木書店、1996年）。
 - 42) 森公章「加耶滅亡後の倭国と百済の「任那復興」策について」（註40）書）。
 - 43) 森公章「遣唐使の時期区分と大宝度の遣唐使」（註（40）書）、鈴木靖民「遣唐使研究と東アジア史論」（『日本の古代国家形成と東アジア』吉川弘文館、2011年）など。
 - 44) 森公章「七世紀の国際関係と律令体制の導入」（註40）書）。
 - 45) 東野治之「遣唐使の朝貢年期」（『遣唐使と正倉院』岩波書店、1992年）。
 - 46) 鈴木靖民「日本律令の成立と新羅」（『倭国史の展開と東アジア』岩波書店、2012年）など。
 - 47) 弓場註3）論文。
 - 48) 岡田精司「航海と外征の神—宗像と住吉—」（『神社の古代史』大阪書籍、1985年）。なお、j—5は正規の遣唐使ではなく、真如の入唐求法に伴うものである。真如は俗名を高丘親王といい、平城天皇の皇子で、菓子の宴により廃太子となった後に密教の修行などに打ち込んだ人物であるから、朝廷の扱いも鄭重で、その入唐に際しては遣唐使派遣に准じる儀礼が許されたのではないかと思われ、これはj—1に准じる行為と位置づけたい。
 - 49) 『延喜式』の土器の名称と実際の考古遺物との同定については、荒井秀規「延喜主計式の土器について」（『延喜式研究』20・21、2004・05年）を参照。
 - 50) 岡田註48）書85頁。

- 51) 亀井正道「海と川の祭り」（小田編著）、和田註 4）論文など。
- 52) 1—3 が大宝遣唐使の帰朝に係ることについては、三宅和朗「古代伊勢神宮の年中行事」（『史学』72 の 3・4、2003 年）を参照。
- 53) 佐伯有清『最後の遣唐使』（講談社、1978 年）、森公章「承和度の遣唐使と九世紀の対外政策」（註 40）書）など。
- 54) 森公章「平安貴族の国際認識についての一考察」（註 14）書）。
- 55) 森公章「王臣家と郡司」（『日本歴史』651、2002 年）。
- 56) 神階授与に関しては、上田正昭「神階昇叙の背景」（『日本古代の国家と宗教』上、吉川弘文館、1980 年）を参照。
- 57) 鈴木靖民『古代対外関係史の研究』（吉川弘文館、1985 年）、濱田耕策『新羅国史の研究』（吉川弘文館、2002 年）、『渤海国興亡史』（吉川弘文館、2000 年）、石井正敏『日本渤海関係史の研究』（吉川弘文館、2001 年）、酒寄雅志『渤海と古代の日本』（校倉書房、2001 年）、浜田久美子『日本古代の外交儀礼と渤海』（同成社、2011 年）など。
- 58) 森公章「奈良時代と唐物」（『唐物と東アジア』勉誠出版、2011 年）、田中史生「新羅人の交易活動と大宰府」、「筑前国における銀の流通と国際交易」（『国際交易と古代日本』吉川弘文館、2012 年）など。
- 59) 森註 53）論文、渡邊誠『平安時代貿易管理制度の研究』（思文閣出版、2012 年）など。
- 60) 遠藤元男「貞観期の日羅関係について」（『駿台史学』19、1966 年）、佐伯有清「九世紀の日本と朝鮮」（『日本古代の政治と社会』吉川弘文館、1970 年）など。
- 61) 神国観については、田村圓澄「神国思想の系譜」（『史淵』76、1958 年）、平田俊春「『神皇正統記』の神国観の形成」（『対外関係と政治文化』第 2、吉川弘文館、1974 年）、伊藤喜良「王土王民・神国思想」（『講座前近代の天皇』第 4 巻、青木書店、1995 年）、村井章介「王土王民思想と九世紀の転換」（『思想』847、1995 年）などを参照。
- 62) 坂上康俊「香椎 B 遺跡出土の木簡について」（『香椎 B 遺跡』福岡市教育委員会、2000 年）によると、当該遺跡出土の「□〔岐カ〕嶋雑掌直成安」の木簡は寛治 7 年の紀年銘木簡に伴出するもので、平安後期に壱岐島に香椎宮の封戸が存した可能性、あるいは壱岐島雑掌が香椎宮を参拝したことによるものと推定されるという。いずれにしても香椎宮の信仰圏を窺わせ材料となろう。
- 63) 高良社文書（『大宰府・太宰府天満宮史料』第 4、85～96 頁）によると、天慶 4 年 9 月 10 日、同 5 年 6 月 25 日の両度に大宰府が管内諸国島の神名帳を注進すべき官符を布達したとあるので、それを契機に昇叙がなされたと推定される。
- 64) 服部英雄「宗像の島々・小呂島、沖ノ島、大島の歴史と地誌」（『研究報告 I』）、正木喜三郎「律令制の崩壊と宗像」（『宗像市史』通史編第 2 巻、1999 年）、「宗像妙忠」（『古代・中世宗像の歴史と伝承』岩田書院、2004 年）、「大宰府の変質と宗像氏」（『古代中世史論集』吉川弘文館、1990 年）など。

Additional note

In the report by KAMEI Kiichiro titled “The Ancient Munakata Clan and the Worship of Munakata” presented at the “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region” International Academic Research Debriefing Session held on October 12, 2013, it is pointed out from the last sentence of the Kampo issued in the 17th year of Enryaku Era which goes: “筑紫国宗像神主准此”, the possibility that this sort of rite was included in the rituals on Okinoshima Island should be considered and therefore, the text in e-1 should be evaluated after further examination.

Profile

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“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region” Study Report III
English Translation

31 March 2013

Edited by the World Heritage Promotion Committee of “Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region” (Fukuoka Prefecture, Munakata City, and Fukutsu City)

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Publication coordinated by PREC Institute Inc.
3-7-6 Kōjimachi, Chiyoda-ku, Tōkyō, 102-0083 Japan