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

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

1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Positioning of the rituals on the Okinoshima Island

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

Ritual forms and a view of kami (deities)

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

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

Here, Mr. Ōba showed a theory of setting a divine seat in the shade of a rock and making it a ritual place. The practice of hanging beads on the branches of a tree like himorogi, performing rituals while arranging the dedicated products and divine offerings and burying the pottery as a whole is similar to the image of the prehistorical rituals (Kofun period) described in the “Ritual Sites”. There was recognition of considering the shade of a massive rock as a ritual place from an early stage as described by Mr. Dairoku Harada in the report titled “Okinoshima” issued in 1958 as follows: “The artifacts at the ritual sites were arranged in an
orderly fashion as if the arrangement of the relics that were placed in the mounded tomb as mortuary goods were substituted with those decorated at the altar in the rock shadows. We can say that Ōba, going a bit further with this theory, restored the form of the ancient rituals of Okinoshima comparing them with his own image of rituals.

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

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

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

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

**Differentiation between funeral and ritual**

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

Full-fledged studies on the ancient rituals through the archaeological resources have already a long history since the survey of the Yosami Senda site conducted in 1927 by Mr. Ōba Iwao. Against this background, the ritual sites on Okinoshima Island have been considered the most important ritual sites in the study of the course of the establishment of the ancient rituals, transformation of the views of kami (deities) and the
issue of differentiation between funerals and rituals, because the history of the sites and relics can be traced for lengthy periods of time from the later 4th century to the beginning of 10th century. On the other hand, as to the rituals on Okinoshima Island, their peculiarity as state rituals has been stressed due to abundance in unearthed objects. In the next chapter, I would like to review the features of the rituals on Okinoshima Island from the perspective of the composition of the relics and the view of kami (deities) by adding the recent new materials regarding the ritual sites and relics.

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

Background of the composition of the artifacts in ritual sites

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pottery and containers</th>
<th>other elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Commonalities with the votive offerings in the Ritsuryō Ritual

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

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

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Relationship with the rituals on Okinoshima Island

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

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

Re-examination of funeral and divine rite

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is reasonable to consider that the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group is the grave area of the Munakata-no-kimi (Munakata clan) from its positional relationship with Munakata Shrine and the formation of the tomb group shows the establishment of the genealogic consciousness of the Munakata clan.
According to the “Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)” written in the beginning of the 8th century, Munakata-no-kimi was designated as a clan in charge of religious services for three goddesses at Munakata Shrine and from this can we conclude that the grave area of the Tsuyazaki mounded tomb group and the rights relating to rituals at Munakata and Okinoshima were inherited due to its genealogy consciousness?

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

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

Consistency with historical materials

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

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

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

In addition, a mortar and pestle and a pedestal are also described in the “Gishikichō” as cooking utensils of food offerings and the equipment to put offerings on and the horse trappings and harness unearthed from the Okinoshima Site No.7 is added to heihaku in the “Gishikichō” and flat iron ingot unearthed from the Okinoshima Site No. 21, Shōsanmi Shrine Front site and the ritual sites built during the 5th century are described as “iron” as raw material for making ritual utensils.
Assuming that the rituals using common utensils also have similarities and commonalities in their structures and ritual procedures, the ritual procedures described in “Gishikicho” using the utensils in common with the unearthed objects from the ritual sites dating back to the 5th century could be considered as having elements that date back to the 5th century. Moreover, comparing rituals at Jingū shrine with those on Okinoshima shows that shingun (a district dedicated to deities) were established in both places in ancient times and it is highly probable that the rituals had the state characteristics with similar dedicatory divine treasuries and the ritual procedures were similar in both places.

**Restoration of ritual procedures**

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

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

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

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

Generally, when we talk about the establishment of a shrine and its history, the completion of construction of a shrine building has been the priority issue. However, as long as the shrine building is a constituent element of the ritual place, its presence and establishment should be discussed in the context of the structure of rituals and ritual procedures as a whole 38).
When the “Gishikichō” was prepared, Jingū shrine already became a place equipped with shrine buildings. However, the register specifies that the recitation of Shinto prayers and dedication of the kammiso robes and heihaku shall be performed in the enclosed area surrounded by the third layer of the fence, which is the garden outdoors. On the other hand, the main function of the main sanctuary is to enshrine the divine mirror as mikata and store the divine treasures and heihaku and it has floors raised from the ground. The east and west treasury houses and the offering hall that store kammiso robe, heihaku, horse trappings and harness have similar structures and there was also a fenced-off area containing rice storehouses called “mikurain”. It is believed that in the ancient ritual places, a storehouse with an elevated floor to facilitate the storage function was a highly important facility.

This is not limited to Jingū shrine and a similar situation can be observed as well in Isonokami-jingū shrine. The ritual place of Isonokami-jingū shrine is established on a point where Furu River flows out from the hilly area to the Yamato Plains and there is a high possibility that the divine storehouses housing numerous weapons existed from the early stage. In Isonokami-jingū shrine, iron products, the seven-branched swords and iron shields made between the 4th and 5th centuries have been transmitted from generation to generation and from this perspective alone, the above speculation can be convincing.

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

Actual condition of the ritual places

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

Comparison with the rituals on Okinoshima Island

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

Rituals of dedicating food and alcohol offerings to deities

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

Dedication and storage of heihaku (offerings to deities)

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, Site No.22 is located in the shade of a rock of the south side of the massive rock No.M where an altar-style flat surface is arranged by stacked stones. From the part in the foreground of the rock shade (south side), the shards of pottery such as the wide mouth big jar and narrow-mouthed jar of Sue ware are intensively unearthed. On the other hand, the unearthed iron miniatures of single-edged sword, spear, gilt-bronze miniatures of spinning and weaving tools, vessels and shell objects were stored in an approximately 50 cm-square enclosure surrounded by stones that adjoins the massive rock in the back of the rock shade.
In both Site No. 5 and Site No. 22, it can be confirmed that the food vessels for making offerings such as jars with wide mouth and a bottle with long neck of Sue ware, pedestaled dishes are intensively unearthed from the part in the foreground of the rock shade and the gilt-bronze imitations of spinning and weaving tools, Japanese zither and iron miniatures of weapons are intensively unearthed. It is likely that the part in the foreground of the rock shade front corresponded to the place presumed to be in front of the grand deity where food and alcohol offerings are made in “Gishikichō” and the part in the back of the rock shade acted as main sanctuary and treasure house that housed divine treasures and heihaku. In this view, the massive rock and its environs are deemed to perform two functions of dedicating food and alcohol offerings and storing divine treasures and heihaku and they correspond to the area within the mizugaki fence where the main sanctuary and offering hall are located in a Jingū shrine. From the above-mentioned correspondence in ritual procedures, it seems necessary to consider the characteristics of “mikata” as representation of divine spirits just as the sacred mirror enshrined in the main sanctuary is called as “mikata” when discussing the characteristics of massive rocks. I would like to reconsider the interpretation of this view of kami (deities) in the following section.

Figure 3  Status of excavation of the objects from Site No. 5  [created by combining the map of excavation state in the report Okinosima Island in Munakata (1979)]
Figure 4  State of excavation of the objects from Site No. 22
[created by combining the map of excavation state in the report Okinosima Island in Munakata (1979)]
5. Views of Kami (Deities) in the Rituals on Okinoshima Island in Munakata and their Objective

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

・ “Kojiki” (Record of Ancient Matters) First Volume

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the 5th century, as indicated by the characters “大王” (great king) and “治天下” (reign under the sky/under the reign of …) inscribed on the iron sword unearthed from the Inariyama mound at Gyoda City, Saitama Prefecture62), the consciousness of state territory focused on the Yamato kingdom that the whole country was ruled by the great king emerged. And in the western frontier and the eastern frontier of the kingdom, the rituals in the early-period ritual sites including Okinoshima were performed. The rituals on Okinoshima Island had great historical significance not only in their relationship with the Korean Peninsula and Mainland China but also in the formation of the state in the archipelago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes and references (not translated):

1) 大場磐雄『神道考古学論叢』葦牙書店 1943、1971 雄山閣で再版
2) 大場磐雄『祭祀遺蹟—神道考古学の基礎的研究—』角川書店 1970
3) 大場磐雄「一四南豆洗田の祭祀遺蹟」註1文献に同じ。
4) 大場磐雄「第一部祭祀遺跡的研究」註2文献に同じ。
5) 亀井正道「第五章祭祀遺跡の年代」『建鉾山』吉川弘文館 1966
6) 亀井正道 「浜松市坂上遺跡の土製模造品」 『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告第7集共同研究「古代の祭祀と信仰」』 国立歴史民俗博物館 1985
7) 註5）に同じ。
8) 大場磐雄「11 お言わず島—沖ノ島」 『まつり考古学から探る日本古代の祭—解説付新装版』 学生社 1996（1967年版の再版）
9) 井上光貞「第二編古代沖ノ島の祭祀」 『日本古代の王権と祭祀』 東京大学出版会 1984
10) 註8）に同じ。
11) 原田大六「第三章第十節祭祀遺物の特徴」 『沖ノ島宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡』 宗像神社復興期成会 1958
12) 小田富士雄「第4 章 沖ノ島祭祀遺跡の時代とその祭祀形態」 『宗像沖ノ島』 宗像大社復興期成会 1979
13) 松本寛「第3章第9節21号遺跡4. 小結」 註12文献に同じ。
14) 例えば、アサヒグラフ別冊『戦後50年古代史発掘総まくり』においても、21号遺跡の祭壇復元写真を掲載し、本文中で21号遺跡について「この巨岩上の「広場」の中央に、組み石が方形（中略）に置かれ、組み石の真ん中に約一メートル四方、厚さ五十センチの大石があった。この大石は、神が降臨する場としての「磐座」の意味をもたれていたらしく、石の真ん中には長さ十五センチ、幅三センチのくぼみがつけられていた。「この大石の上に、神が宿るところを表す神籬を立て、木には玉類を飾っていたのではないか」」としている。
15) 註11）に同じ。
16) 註9）に同じ。
17) 筿生衛「古墳時代における祭具の再検討—千束台遺跡祭祀遺構の分析と鉄製品の評価を中心に—」 『日本古代の祭祀考古学』 吉川弘文館 2012（初出2010）
18) 註17）に同じ。
19) 筿生衛「古代の祭りと幣帛・神饌・神庫—古墳時代の祭祀遺跡・遺物から復元する祭具と祭式—」 『延喜式研究』 第27号 2011
20) 『南条遺跡群青木下遺跡Ⅱ・Ⅲ』 坂城町教育委員会 2007
21) 『館山市東田遺跡』 印旛郡市文化財センター 1999
22) 註17）に同じ。
23) 筿生衛「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡における遺物組成と祭り構造—鉄鋌・金属製模造品を中心に—」 『宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群』 研究報告1「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」 世界遺産推進会議 2011 註17）文献に収録。
24) 『行者塚古墳発掘調査概報』 加古川市教育委員会 1997
25) 篠原祐一「五世紀における石製祭具と沖ノ島の石材」 註23文献に同じ。
26) 禰宜田佳男 「生産経済民の副葬行為弥生文化」・大久保徹也「古墳文化(前期)」 『季刊考古学第70号特集副葬を通してみた社会の変化』 雄山閣 2000
27) 近藤義郎「第6章集団墓地から弥生墳丘墓へ」 『前方後円墳の時代』 岩波書店 1983
28) 『埼玉稲荷山古墳』 埼玉県教育委員会 1980
29) 藤森馨「鎮花祭と三枝祭の祭祀構造」 『神道宗教』 第211号神道宗教学会 2008
30) 註29・30）に同じ。
31) 籠原祐一「五世紀における石製祭具と沖ノ島の石材」 註23文献に同じ。
32) 註23）篠生論文。
加瀬直弥氏による平安時代の神宝の整理・分析によると、一代一度大神宝や住吉大社に捧げた神宝には、桙・剣（大刀）・弓箭といった武器とともに紡織具（平紋麻桶・線柱、麻樋笥・・桙・杼頭）が含まれており、5世紀代に形成された祭具セットの伝統が平安時代の神宝類に継承されていた可能性は高い。

加瀬直弥「古代朝廷と神宝との関係について」『國學院大學伝統文化リサーチセンター研究紀要』第4号 2012

『皇太神宮儀式帳』の読みと解釈は、『神道大系神宮編一』（神道大系編纂会 1979）及び中川経雅『大神宮叢書大神宮儀式解前篇』・『大神宮儀式解後篇・外宮儀式解』（臨川書店 1970・1976）を参考にしたもの。

『皇太神宮儀式帳』の読みと解釈は、『神道大系神宮編一』（神道大系編纂会 1979）及び中川経雅『大神宮叢書大神宮儀式解前篇』・『大神宮儀式解後篇・外宮儀式解』（臨川書店 1970・1976）を参考にしたもの。

『皇太神宮儀式帳』の読みと解釈は、『神道大系神宮編一』（神道大系編纂会 1979）及び中川経雅『大神宮叢書大神宮儀式解前篇』・『大神宮儀式解後篇・外宮儀式解』（臨川書店 1970・1976）を参考にしたもの。
兒、樱大刀自動と称す。形石に坐します。また苔虫の神。形石に坐します。また大山罪命の子、朝熊水の神。形石に坐します」とある。
『神道大系神宮編一皇大神宮儀式帳・止由志宮儀式帳・太神宮諸雑事記』（神道大系編纂会 1979）により読み下し。
59）註 4）同じ。
60）白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」著 23 神道論、初出 2010
61）矢生衛「祭祀遺跡の分布と変遷から見た東国神郡の歴史的背景―安房国安房郡の事例を中心に―」文献、初出 2010
62）註 27）同じ。
63）註 55）同じ。
64）武田祐吉・佐藤謙三訳『読み下し日本三代実録（上巻）清和天皇』戎光祥出版株式会社 2010
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