Okinoshima Island from the Perspectives of Folklore Study (Traditionology)

- Formation and Development of Jingi Rituals in Ancient Japan -

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

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

1. Introduction

- Perspective of Folklore Study (Traditionology) -

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

Secondly, the author will elucidate the process from the beginning of the rituals of Okinoshima Island in ancient times to the subsequent development, while learning from the data analysis method that covers the complete history and is based on the study of analysis of YANAGIDA Kunio and ORIKUCHI Shinobu from the viewpoint of the formation and development of the Jingi Rituals (rituals dedicated to Kami of heaven and earth) in Japan, and referring and utilizing as is done in the comparative theory the information of the research results of each archaeology and history as traditional information. I would like to reserve a trial discussion which is standing on the first viewpoint to the next opportunity and submit a trial discussion based on the second viewpoint for this thesis. For one, the author considers it indispensable to reconfirm the origin of Japan’s folklore among the work of YANAGIDA Kunio and ORIKUCHI Shinobu when watching from the current situation of recent Japan’s folklore and to revitalize it thence 1), worked on a little the problem of the original ritual of Japanese shrines from the viewpoint of folklore in books and others such as my humble book “Ise-jingū Shrine and Izumo Shrine – Birth of ‘Nippon (Japan)’ and ‘Ten-nō (Emperor)’” which I published in relation to it 2), and I would like to correlate with it the valuable information which the Okinoshima Ritual Site transmits. Another reason is that I would like to reward Mr.
INOUE Mitsusada, who was the first Director of the National Museum of Japanese History, for which I had worked for many years, for his academic guidance as much as possible. Mr. INOUE, who drastically altered the original concept of a museum to be administered by the Agency for Cultural Affairs and made great efforts to the establishment of the research museum to be administered by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, strongly desired a creation of new history in a broad term based on the cooperation of three studies of the study of history on literature, archaeology and folklore, emphasized the importance of the study around problems of Jingi Rituals in ancient times as part of his assertion, and acted enthusiastically for the promotion of the research by placing a corner of Okinoshima Island, in particular, in the exhibits of the National Museum of Japanese History. From these two reasons, I considered I would challenge the interdisciplinary work that may be related to the fields of the archaeology or the study of history on literature though I am in a position of an export on folklore. This point, I first would like you to understand and forgive me.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The basis of the Tomb Rituals of a tribal chief in the Kofun period as described above is to awe and worship both the flesh and soul of the tribal chief together. This is because the flesh and soul are not separated in their concept. Most probably the concept of “death” as previously described was still in a stage of vague recognition. In the Izumo mythology, particularly, the mythology of the transfer of the country which is described in the Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan), a precious mirror (hōkyo) and a comma-shaped bead as tools symbolizing Amaterasu-Ōmikami, a wide spearhead and a comma-shaped bead as tools symbolizing Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto are described. Although a comma-shaped bead is a common item or a linking item, the contrast between a bronze mirror which symbolizes the Kofun period and a bronze spearhead which symbolizes the Yayoi period is there. Also in the world of memories which Nihonshoki describes, we can guess the possibility that the conversion of the history from the Yayoi period to the Kofun period had been memorized and handed down generation-to-generation. Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto with a mysterious power concealed himself saying “I will hide myself in many curved places”, but he is positioned as an existence that can present a wonder at any time. In the mythology and traditions, the god of Izumo often appears in a critical aspect in “Sujin-ki (Record of the Emperor Sujin)” and “Suinin-ki (Record of the Emperor Suinin)”. As an expression such as “kam-agari” (ascending from death) is used for successive Emperors, I guess the occupants of the tombs in a keyhole-shaped tomb in the Kofun period had not been deemed as a dead person as in the mythology of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto, and had been awed and worshiped as an existence that could emerge in the present world and perform its forces and mysterious power at any time\(^7\). When analyzing the mythology of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto, we can read as its feature the descriptions in a condensed manner of the trend and changes up to the stage of Jingi Rituals through the stage of Tomb Rituals from the stage of Bronze Implement Rituals\(^8\). I guess such huge mounded tombs were able to have a political, religious meaning only because it was a society where weapons and a
mysterious power of a tribal chief was ideally shared as was described in the expression “I will hide myself in many curved places” told by Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto. The mind that such a large mounded tomb is equipment that can reveal the mysterious power is known as a tradition in the article of August 8, the 2nd year of Taihō (702) of subsequent Shoku-nihongi; people were amazed at the vibration of the tomb of Yamato-takeru-no-Mikoto (Prince Yamato-Takeru), and the court immediately sent a mission to enshrine it 9).

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

However, the origin of the rituals of the Great God of Izumo or Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto is far earlier than that, dating back to the Yayoi period, as is estimated from bronze halberds and jade comma-shaped beads that were unearthed under the big stone at the back of Inochinonushi-no-yashiro standing in the place adjacent to current Izumo Shrine. Artifacts from the Yayoi period up to the first half of the Kofun period were unearthed in the land of Kizuki where the Izumo Shrine is located, and it is estimated the concept of the sacred land of the base of the peninsula which was the frontier for the continent or the Peninsula had been nurtured from the ancient time. And what is emerging as an original image of Ōnamuchi-no-Mikoto is memories to the world of the Bronze Implement Rituals of the Yayoi period. It is not merely memories of the Bronze Implement Rituals in Kaminiva Kōjindani Site and Kamoiwakura Site, but the recollection to the age of Bronze Implement Rituals which, including those, once existed in the place of Izumo, continued to be memorized until after they had been soon cached and hided and changed during the process of a long time as a matter of course. It is thought that the collective memories and recollection working as the core, the memories of kings in Izumo in the age of the Mounded Tomb Rituals that followed had also piled up on that and, additionally, they had been mixed as well, and the original image of the Great God of Izumo had been formulated into the accumulation of historical memories thereof amid the advent of the age of new Jing rituals. It is considered that it had originated in the stimuli of the foreign culture such as bronze bells as musical instruments which came through the Sea of Japan from the Korean Peninsula and were in the accumulation of the memories of the long history of the collection of the memories of the age of Bronze Rituals that subsequently were developed in Izumo to the new age of Mounded Tomb Rituals of tribal chiefs and further to the advance of the new Yamato Kingly Power and obedience to it, indeed was the collection of the memories of the leaders since the age of Bronze Implement Rituals in Izumo, who hided themselves and became invisible and the chieftains of the age of the next Mounded Tomb Rituals, who were like shaman kings or martial kings. The mythologically crystallized memories of it as described above are the original image of Ōnamuchi-no-mikoto, and we can mention that it was indeed the collective image of the memories of kings of rituals in ancient Izumo. The “Izumonokuni Fudoki” (ancient report on the customs and land of the province of Izumo) puts as the origin of the place name of Ōhara-gun kambara-no-sato (village of the divine field of Ōhara county), “an old-timer with memories of the distant past says that this is the place where the Great God had piled its treasures. That is to say, people should refer this place as the village of the divine treasures. But today’s people still commit an error and say the village of Kambara (field of the god) only.” This is not a completely unfounded legend, but, as a result of the subsequent multiple-layer of accumulated memories and variations in the history of the local people about the historical facts such as burial and dedication of a lot of bronze bells of the Kamoiwakura Site and burial of a dead person’s personal belongings with the corpse of the Triangular-Rimmed Deity-and-Beast Mirror (Sankakubuchi-Shinjūkyō) to which 3rd year of Keisho is engraved to the Kambara Shrine Tomb, such things had echoed each other as still remote, subtle memories and traditions albeit beyond the days past. As a result, this episode is considered to have been written as the local legend in the “Izumonokuni Fudoki.”
4. From the Concept of Flesh and Soul Reverence to the Concept of Defilement Avoidance  
- Thought on the Span of the 4th Century to the 10th Century -

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

However, the rituals of Mountaneous Imperial Graves to which every consideration had been given had become rapidly an empty shell and been eliminated subsequently in 10th century toward the 11th century.

This is the scene of Kohata Cemetery in Uji of the clan eligible for regents Fujiwara clan which Fujiwara-no-Michizane (966 – 1027), a grandchild after the 5th generation from Yoshifusa (804 – 872) saw approximately 150 years later. The cemetery where the ancestors of the clan eligible for regents who stood on the summit on the power were sleeping had become a shamble and devastated cemetery as if the cemetery was provided to abandon corpses. Tang collapsed in 907, Silla collapsed in 935. From the 10th century to the subsequent 11th century, when ancient states in eastern Asia collapsed, Japan converged to the new state system by the nobles of the clan eligible for regents based on the purification of an Emperor to the king of rituals and an emphasis on its sacredness. The sources of the power of such nobles of the clan...
eligible for regents were a thought that extremely loathes touching the defiled, which is the other side of the coin with emphasis on the sacredness. The core portion of it is a strong concept of avoiding the defilement of death. Even an Emperor or a noble person had been thought to be extremely dangerous as its corpse emits the defilement of death like terrifying radioactivity.\(^{(11)}\) That had linked concurrently to the acceleration of the separate concept of flesh and soul. And as this 10th century being an epoch, the ancient tradition of the rituals of imperial cemeteries which had continued under the Ritsuryō state system even after the termination of the Kofun period at the end of the 5th century had begun to vanish. Rituals on Okinoshima Island also underwent changes from birth to transformation and to termination into large fluctuations and conversions of ancient Japan of the second half of the first stage of the Kofun period in the second half of the 4th century to the breaking up or alteration of the Ritsuryō state system in the period from the second half of the 9th century to the 10th century. I think it necessary to make an analysis from the viewpoint of the respective responses and the comparison of the history of the ancient state as described above and the history of Okinoshima Island rituals.

5. Rituals of Okinoshima Island

(1) Commencement of Okinoshima Island Rituals
- Period from the Second Half of the 4th Century to Early 5th Century: Offering of Properties/Treasures -

Tōgō-takatsuka (mounded) Tomb

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

Period from the Second Half of the 4th Century to the First Half of the 6th Century

It is not remote primitive time that Okinoshima Island rituals started. The rituals are ritual folkways initiated in an ancient society in a certain political/economical/cultural relation of dynamics. The important thing in considering its point of origin is a problem concerning its period of the second half of the 4th century. That is the period of the Hashisaka Tomb (keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound whose burial mound is 280m long) in the middle third of the 3rd century considered to be the initial period of the Kofun period, that is, the period where approximately 100 years had already passed if viewed from the age of Himiko described in the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (the Wei Chronicle). In other words, it is considered that Okinoshima Island rituals began in the period when the Yamato Kingly Power was established and started to invigorate the exchanges with the Korean Peninsula. Concerning the situation of this age, exchanges between Wa and Paekche in the second half of the 4th century, southward advance by Goguryeo and the antagonism thereof, and the confrontation with Silla and the tensions have been estimated with the history materials such as Samguk-sagi (the Historical Records of the Three Countries) or the Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo.
Figure 1  Location of Okinoshima Island (“Okinoshima Island”, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958).

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

Figure 2  Map of Okinoshima Island (“Munakata Okiishoshima”, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979)
Figure 3  Distribution of the Archaeological Excavation Sites (“Munakata Okinoishima”)

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

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

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

Information which Site No. 17 Transmits

According to the traditional segregation of the periods about the Okinoshima Island Ritual Site (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, and Photo 1), presumably the oldest site is Rock No. 17 in which artifacts were focused on the narrow place of the rock skirt of Rock No. 1. In an area of merely less than 3m², a lot of artifacts as many as about 500 had been offered. Such artifacts included bronze mirrors, steel objects (swords, knives, iron knives with a hilt resembling a curved fern frond), jasper objects (wheel-shaped bracelets, ring-shaped bracelets, cylindrical beads), steatite (talc) objects (comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, small beads, barrel-shaped beads. In order to consider the original point of Okinoshima Island rituals, we must pay attention to the information which Rock No. 17 believed to be the earliest site transmits above all.

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

A: What We Can Say From Unearthed Objects

- Second Half of the 4th Century, Period When Wa Had Relations with Geumgwan Gaya -

The first thing which we can know from a lot of objects as many as about 500 items discovered from Rock No. 17 is its relative age, and the second thing is the character of the site. First, concerning the relative age of the first point, because all 21 bronze mirrors in 8 kinds are mirrors manufactured in Japan after continental prototypes, by comparing such mirrors in accordance with the standards of their mother mirrors, mirrors of the same type, similar mirrors and sites where many mirrors were unearthed, this site can be estimated to be later than Yamato-shinyama Site and earlier than Bizen-maruyama Site, a site from the end of the 4th century to early 5th century. According to this estimation, this is supposed to be the age of the Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Gonguryeo, which is said basically to be an event which happened in A.D. 391. From the history of the exchanges between Wa and countries in the Peninsula as mentioned earlier, this period falls on the age when the diplomatic strategy of Wa in the 4th century had focused on acquiring steel materials and advanced knowledge from Geumgwan Gaya, and we can use the fact that a huge amount of both steel materials and dignity treasures were unearthed in the Gimhae Daeseong-dong Mounded Tomb Group of Gaya as a reference. In the early period of the next 5th century, Goguryeo strengthened its attacks to Paekche and the Gaya region, which made it high time for Wa to gradually change its diplomatic strategy to that focusing on Paekche instead of Geumgwan Gaya. In other words, it is considered that Okinoshima Island rituals started while Wa continued the exchanges with Geumgwan Gaya or Paekche in the Peninsula, on the other, Wa had been in tense relations due to its opposition to Goguryeo or to Silla. What can we know about the character of the ritual site referred secondly from the offered artifacts? That is their resemblance to the composition of the grave goods in the first half stage of the Kofun period, but there are different points as well. Mr. HARADA Dairoku who conducted the excavation stated in “The Sequel Okinoshima Island”: Twenty-one (21) bronze mirrors were too many. In case of a mounded tomb, if such a lot of bronze mirrors were buried, the length of the burial
mound would have extended to 100m – 200m, and it would have been surrounded by cylindrical *haniwa* (ceramic clay figure), or *haniwa* representing utensils and other objects would have been placed, and the interior structure would also have boasted magnificent construction such as a layer of clay surrounding a coffin, a wooden coffin or a stone coffin in a pit-style stone chamber (vertical chamber). However, the outer facilities of Rock No. 17 are too simple compared to its plentiful artifacts, and its structure is primitive and simple as if it was built before the Yayoi period.

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

![Photo 2](image) "TLV mirror (mirror with TLV patterns) ("Okinoshima Island II", Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1961)"

![Photo 3](image) "Bronze mirrors of Okinoshima Island ("The Shosoin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island", Munakata Taisha, 2003)"

Also, about the handling and the recognition of the three kinds of treasure of the bronze mirror, the iron double-edged sword and the comma-shaped bead in the world of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki, the following articles will be helpful (15): The Article of the Descent of the Heavenly Grandchild (Amaterasu’s grandchild, Ninigi, descended from Takamagahara to Takachiho Peak in Hyuga), Volume One, Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) which states, “Worship this mirror as if you worship in front me exactly as my soul.” Or, the article of the New Year of the 8th Year of the Record of the Emperor Chūai states, “pulled up
a tree of Japan cleayera with five hundred branches, set it up on the stern and head of a very long ship, and hung a white bronze mirror (Yasakani-no-Magatama: comma-shaped bead) on an upper branch, very long Totsuka-no-Tsurugi (a white bronze mirror) on a middle branch and Yasakani-no-Magatama (Totsuuka-no-Nigiri) on a low branch.” Or, another article states, “they say ‘the reason why I dare to offer these objects is May the Emperor reign very smoothly as the Yasakani-no-Magatama is curved, and, overview mountains, rivers and oceans very clearly like the White Bronze Mirror, and carry this Totsuka-no-Tsurugi and establish peace in the country’.” The bronze mirror is believed to be the Soul of Amaterasu-Ômikami, and the method to worship the god in combination with the bronze mirror, iron double-edged sword and comma-shaped bead is common. We will know that the reign by an emperor had been considered in an analogy of “curved comma-shaped bead”, “clear bronze mirror” and “establishment of peace by the iron double-edged sword” in the world of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki.

B: What We Can Say From the Situation Where Such Artifacts Were Unearthed
- Buildup of Stones and Artifacts and its Meaning -
One of the features of Rock No. 17 is, as previously stated, that a lot of artifacts as many as 500 items in total such as 21 bronze mirrors had been offered in a narrow area of merely less than 3 m². Another feature is that natural stones were piled, and not only cairn for covering artifacts, bronze mirrors in particular from above but also paved stones for placing artifacts steadily and stones for inserting to stabilize artifacts (shore stones) had been piled up artificially (picture 4, chart 4).

In the center of the accumulation, mirror No. 7 (TLV Mirror (mirror with TLV pattern) with Borders of Varied Design of Bird with the longest diameter had been placed almost horizontally, mirror-face upside. One piece of an iron single-edged sword and four small beads had been over the mirror. Fourteen mirrors had been piled up, some of the mirrors had been touched to this mirror No. 7 and some piled up over it. But because the center portion of the back of a mirror had a button, wheel-shaped (steatite) bracelets and edgeless and round shore stones which people picked up from the water’s edge on the shore had been used as stones to be put in order to stabilize the layer of mirrors when piling the mirrors. Namely, such artifacts had been piled in such a way as paved stones were in the lowest bottom of the bronze mirrors, the artifacts were placed over the paved stones, stones to be placed were over the artifacts and again artifacts were over them and stones for piling covered all of those artifacts and stones. In the vicinity of the center of the place of accumulation, items such as bronze mirrors, wheel-shaped (steatite) bracelets, shore stones, iron single (double)-edged swords, beads had been piled in seven or eight layers. What can we think of the fact that artifacts mainly consisted of bronze mirrors and beads and similar items had been piled up? The first one is a physical interpretation. It is a simple interpretation that this is for the purpose of offering a lot of contributory things to one place in a concentrated manner. The accumulation of concrete ritual paraphernalia can be interpreted as the concentration of the will of the psychological offerings. The second one is a symbolic interpretation. What is the method of the piling-up necessitated by the concentration of things and objects? This is an interpretation to consider its meaning. When considering the possibility of the second one, the points which the author discussed before in a small thesis called “Folklore of Stone-piling” may serve as a reference. This is an hypothesis elicited from the collection of the group of examples such as (1): a folkway of piling of stones, suspending of stones in a burial plot and dropping of stones for the purpose of holding a memorial service for the dead (piling of stones in a cemetery, suspending of stones in a cemetery, dropping of stones in a funeral, offering of stones for a Gosh-guruma (stone- or wooden-pillar with a wheel) in a cemetery, piling of stones endlessly in Children’s Limbo, etc.), (2): a folkways of picking stones, piling stones or suspending stones in a shrine (a folk belief of picking stones in a dry river bed or seashore, and offering and piling the stones to and in the shrine, a folk belief that if a man throws a stone up on the stone archway to a shrine and the stone gets on the beam, then you are lucky!, etc.). This is an interpretation in which “stone in the aqua world” and “stone in the air” are key words. The aqua world of “stone in the aqua world” is a world that was regarded also as an entrance or exit to the accessible different world, and a function as intermedium between this world and the different world is often given to a round stone picked up in the dry river bed or seashore in folk traditions. “Stone in the air” is piled up or suspended by man and it will fall someday on the ground to be stabilized, but it is a stone that transmits the past ambiguous uncertainty to the surrounding area, and it is often made to be equipped with the functions as equipment which leads to the different world, the world of spirit from this world, equipment which leads to the holy invisible world from the chthonic world in front of our own eyes. Namely, it is an interpretation that piling or suspending is an action to put an object in the unstable air artificially, and it is an action done by people who wish to communicate with the different world or the
world of spirit using the object as an intermedium. In other words, the first and second interpretation is possible for the fact of the accumulation of the artifacts and other objects in the No. 17 Site as above described. At least, without a doubt, this was kind of offering of treasures to the world of spirit. However, in either of the interpretations of the first or second, the possibility that the spiritual subject of which people who offered such items were aware was a specific god confined in terms of religious ideology would be extremely low. It is thought that such gods was highly likely gods in the level of nature worship such as god of sea, god of tide, god of wind, god of island, god of rock or god of mountains vaguely.

Photo 4  Site No. 17 artifacts as unearthed (“Okinoshima Island II”)
Figure 4  Distribution of artifacts at Site No. 17 ("Okihnoshima Island II")
**Animism and Shamanism**

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

“Anima” of animism is originally a Latin word meaning spirit, life, breath. Tylor said that there are two of spirit that are closely connected to flesh (flesh spirit) and spirit that is not restricted to flesh (free spirit), and “Anima” of animism is originally a Latin word meaning spirit, life, breath. Tylor said that there are two of spirit that are closely connected to flesh (flesh spirit) and spirit that is not restricted to flesh (free spirit), and submitted the two concepts of the soul (flesh soul) that works separately from flesh both before and after a death of a man and the soul (free spirit) that is recognized in all the beings from animals/plants to gods or spirit as a life principle.

By contrast, it was R.R. Maret, a pupil of E.B. Tylor, who said we should pay attention to Mana that is power of non-personal nature world rather than personal animism as the origin of a religion and set for animatism (pre-animism).

The concept of Mana was induced from the local language Mana meaning incantatory and spiritual power which was derived from the study on various societies of Melanesia. On the other hand, in contrast with them, the concept of shamanism came to be used among European and American scholars since the 19th century from the attention to a religious phenomenon that is said that a magician in northeast Asia in particular communicates with a super-natural being (divine spirit, spirit, departed soul) in a state of a trance is a concept called shamanism. The concept of the shaman, shamanism are originally derived from saman in languages such as Tungus or Gordes. In the theory of shamanism, the methods in which a magician shaman directly touches a super-natural being are roughly divided into two types; one is the free-from-soul type in which the soul of a shaman gets out of the flesh and flies to and travels through heaven, ground or underground, and another is the possession type in which a divine soul or a spirit on the ground or in the other world enters into the body of a shaman and take his/her possession. For instance, M. Eriade called the former as ecstasy and the latter as possession, and interpreted that the former was the basis of shamanism and the latter was a secondary phenomenon. By contrast, T. M. Lewis called the former as soul loss and the latter as spirit possession, and said that the both were the way how to explain a state of a trance of a shaman, and the free-from-soul type were highly developed in the Indian societies in North America, but there were overwhelmingly lots of the possession types in other areas on the globe, and the both types were coexistent in each society although its degree was individual, he said. Mr. SASAKI Kōkan, summarizing these assertions, introduced R. L. Jones’ “Shamanism in South Asia” and others from examples of researches of South Asia, particularly, India and pointed out that while in tribal societies in Assam in northeast India and those which have not been affected by Hinduism, the ecstatic/free-from-soul type is noticeable, on the other hand, in societies of Hinduism in the continent of India and the plain, the possession type is remarkable, and in societies of the Munda and the Saora in central east of India which are mediate of the two types of societies above, the free-from-soul type in which the soul flies to that world in the world of concept is considered as the mainstream, but ceremonies of the possession type are actually conducted. And on the relationship of both of the societies, he discussed the background thereof whether each society is the ecstatic/free-from-soul type or the possession type by assuming indicators such as an emergence of an icon or not, development of worship of ancestors, from traveling living to settled living. While shamanism of the possession type is prominently found in modern Japan in general, shamanism of ecstatic/ free-from-soul is partly found in the Ainu society in the northeast and the Okinawa society in the
southwest rim of the archipelago as we may call. Moreover, if we go back into history, the tradition of En-no Ozunu in ancient times is pointed out to be close to shamanism of ecstatic/free-from-soul as he used Zen-ki and Go-ki (a married couple of ogres) 23).

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

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

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

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

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

**“Imibito” as an Analytical Concept**

The structure in which a certain group or community imposes a strong mourning to a specific person as just described above and good or bad luck of the group or community is bestowed is the basic structure around the kingly power and its functions. In the famous decree of the Emperor Shomu in March, or the 13th year of Tempyō (741), to build provincial Buddhist temples and nunneries, the Emperor states “although I am a person of low moral character, I am deeply grateful to be undertaking a heavy duty of the emperor. This is unworthy of me. I still cannot spread good politics which guides the people. Therefore, I am fully ashamed
of it whether while I am awake or sleeping. … Recently lean years have continued, and infectious diseases are prevalent. I am so ashamed, I am so terrible, and I am blaming myself.” This is a typical example of the recognition of the function of the ancient kingly power. This structure has a certain strong power in terms of transmission, and there are many such examples in the world of folklore transmission. One of such examples is that of Tōjin and Tōya of Miyaza who serve festivals of the Miho Shrine in Izumo. We will also find something that leads up to the role recognition of the sacred there. Festivals of the Miho Shrines starts with the ritual of Aofushigaki (a ceremony wishing for a heavy catch and sea safety) and it is conducted with the cooperation of Shinto priests at the shrine and the Miyaza, an organization of its parishioners. The roles of Tōya and Tōjin are valued very much at the Miyaza. Two persons are Chōsen from parishioners as Tōya by a divine lot, and they will perform the first Tōya and the second Tōya, keep abstinence from eating meat or fish for one year, and perform the deity role in the ritual of Aofushigaki on April 7. The wife of the Tōya is called Ondo and her son is called Tomodo, they kneel formally together with the Tōya in front of a large Shinto altar and receive worships of the people. After the person performs the role of Tōya, he may draw a role of Maroudo Tou (head of customers) by a divine lot. Maroudo Tou also keeps abstinence from eating meat or fish for one year and plays a central role of the ritual of Morotabune (a rowboat race at cold sea). Subsequently, he finally becomes Tōjin in the 3rd year. Tōjin is a person totally responsible for the Miyaza. It has been customary that, after appointed as Tōjin, the person must leave hair and beard growing without cutting for three years. When he was exceptionally asked a prayer by parishioners, he paddled sea water at midnight and repeated worships to the shrine many times until “Osatoshi (admonishment)” was issued. This is called “Oukagai (asking for someone’s instructions)”. Tōya, Maroudo Tō and Tōjin conduct Misogi (practice of purifying oneself through washing one’s entire) every night and go and worship the shrine (called Nissan) for one year. If abstinence from eating meat or fish by Tōya or Tōjin is lacking or it rains on a festival day, they are blamed because “Osatoshi” is not issued by the god or abstinence from eating meat or fish by Tōya or Tōjin was not enough. I would like to call such a certain person in relation to a religious belief as Imibito temporarily here by abstracting from Japanese words of Imuhito, Oiminohito and Imibito and set it as an academic concept. This is because it is a concept that should be distinguished from shaman. Himiko is an existence which had been positioned as a shaman as I wrote earlier. However, compared to “Jisai”, and in addition to it, as the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) describes “few people see since she became the king”, it is considered that Himiko also had a strong character as Imibito. Features of a shaman are, firstly, he/she becomes an unconscious and nonchalant state both in the free-from-soul type and possession type. Secondly, he/she exchanges with a divine spirit or a natural spirit in that state and listens to its message, and thirdly delivers it to the people in general; a role of an intermediary. Meanwhile, a feature of an Imibito is to show the result of a message of a divine spirit or a natural spirit; a role of an object which displays a supernatural efficacy. A key point of the difference between the two is that while a shaman is regarded to have the bidirectional transmitting ability of exorcism and incantation as well as the reception ability of possession, on the other hand, an Imibito has the function of displaying or receiving the results of good or bad luck in one direction only. In the age of the country of Yamatai in the middle of the 3rd century and its societies, the both of Himiko who was an Imibito as well as a shaman and “Jisai” as an Imibito existed in a form of opposite poles. Incidentally, the concept of Imibito is somewhat connected to the concept of the sacred is “the separated”, le sacre or the sacred of Emile Durkheim who established the concept of sacrament and vulgarity and explained the concept of a religion. However, Durkheim in setting the concepts of sacrament and vulgarity assumes a totemism as a religion and pays attention to the phenomenon in which pictures of animals and plants, adults of a clan, animals and plants themselves and others are separated from others, put under a taboo or worshiped in that totemism. On the other hand, the Imibito which the author establishes here is different from the concept of le sacre of Durkheim in that my Imibito is a certain human being. Therefore, I think that it is meaningful to set the new concept as an operating concept.

By contrast, in the world of the mythology of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki or the religious recognition of the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki whose editing had been completed in early 5th century by setting the historical recognition of the reign of the Emperor Yuryaku in the second half of the 5th century as the starting point, as earlier mentioned, there existed a belief of Sakitama, Kushitama which came nearer from the open sea and was worshiped on the mountain and Nikitama and Aratama which protected the marching on the sea. The belief of the “Shi-kon” had been kind of mana belief in awe to a natural spirit or a divine spirit, and the belief in Imibito called “Jisai” in the account of the Japanese of the “Gishi” (Wei Chronicle) had been a passive belief of awe and reverence to that mana-like natural spirit or divine spirit,
either of which had not been a belief furnished with all of the technologies of active invocation of the spirits of the dead and gods. A natural spirit or a divine spirit on the open sea, which attracted faith from people travelling in extremely dangerous voyages, had not quite been considered as a spirit which a small thing like a human being could control with simple enchantment or exorcism. We can estimate that there had been a concept of soul in a more primitive, animatistic level, something that had mixed awe and reverence and exorcism to the vast open sea and heaven sky and climate, different from a belief of shamanism.

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

 Offering of a Large Quantity of Ritual Paraphernalia and its Meaning

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

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

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

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

Among the sites in the stage of rituals on top of rocks in the First Period on the periodization of the Okinoshima Ritual Site, the one which draws attention next is Rock No. 21. In terms of the period, it is later than Rock No. 17, thought to be a site of the middle third of the 5th century. Using the valuable research results shown in “Munakata Okinoshima Island” (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979) and “Thinking about Ancient Times - Okinoshima Island and Rituals in Ancient Japan” (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988) as reference, the information from Rock No. 21 will be summarized as follows:
The site is positioned on the huge rock No. F, a square-shaped stone enclosure was put, and large stones had been placed in the central part and the western corner. There are clear marks of scraped rocks in the northwest side and the southwest side. A person in charge of the excavation interpreted this that an altar on the rock had been set up in this place in the report of “Munakata Okinoshima Island”. On a large stone in the center of the altar, there is a dent of 3cm wide and 10 cm long, and three mortar-shaped steatite (talc) beads had been discovered there. This is interrupted that branches of a tree on which beads and other objects were hung had been stood against the large stone and worshiped, and the beads had dropped to the dent soon after the ritual was over. It says that the beads and other objects scattered inside the circle of stones means the same thing. Total 35 comma-shaped beads, made of hard bead, jasper, steatite (talc) and amber, had been excavated in this site. “Munakata Okinoshima Island” emphasizes the establishment of an altar on the rock in this way. However, comparing the picture of “(ii) after the survey” of the picture 6 of the overall view of the site on the huge rock No. F with the picture 7 of “(iii) restoration (site on top of the rock), the reason why the author feels that the situation is too much fit is I wonder I am a layman in archaeology? Also, looking at the “chart indicating the situation when artifacts were unearthed”, because the important locations of the bronze mirrors and iron-double-edges swords are not displayed, I am forced to reserve a judgment on whether that was an altar in which small stones were laid in neat order in the square division and a large stone was put in the center as the restoration picture shows. The concept of a “ritual on top of a rock” which they have given makes me feel a little rash, I’m afraid, from the viewpoint of one layman.

According to Thinking about Ancient Times - Okinoshima Island and Rituals in Ancient Japan, the artifacts were composed of six bronze mirrors, of which one mirror was a beast-band mirror of imported mirrors, and a beast-band mirror similar to this was excavated in attributed to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Nintoku (currently a property of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, U.S.)) and in the Mausoleum of King Muryeong (died in 523) of Paekche. It is pointed out that bronze mirrors and bracelets tended to decrease and steatite (talc) objects and miniatures of iron products tended to increase compared to other older sites such as Rock No. 17. Noteworthy point is the excavation of miniatures of iron products (sickle, single-edged sword, knife, halberd, chisel, spear-style planning tool, adze, etc.), each of them was small with 5 to 10cm long, and such items are considered to be artifacts for rituals. Also, practical iron double-edged swords, iron single-edged swords, cast iron adzes, forged iron adzes, visorless keeled helmets to which gilt-bronze is attached on steel ground, flat iron ingot, etc. had been excavated, characterized by the coexistence of miniatures and practical objects. Concerning the opinion that offering of miniatures is for use of rituals, I would like to agree to this, but hold the agreement to some extent. This is because a meaning of miniatures can be interrupted as a tool for a ritual, but it means simplification as an object for offering or a substitute at the same time. A particularly noteworthy new unearthed object is a flat iron ingot. It is approximately 7cm wide and more or less 5mm thick, and it is entirely consisted of remaining fragments. The length after restoration would be approximately 15cm. Eight hundred seventy two (872) pieces of this flat iron ingot had been discovered from the Yamato Tomb No. I in Nara City and about three hundred (300) had been discovered from the Nonaka Tomb in Fujiidera City, Osaka Prefecture. The article of March, the 46th year of the Empress Jingū Regent states that King Chog of Paekche sent 40 flat iron ingots. It is common knowledge that a flat iron ingot is a valuable import item from the Korean Peninsula. In addition to this flat iron ingot, what attracts attention on Rock No. 21 is that steel objects such as iron double-edged swords and iron adzes including miniatures objects as earlier described were important offering objects. It is also remarkable that small potteries made by manually kneading were unearthed in Rock No. 21 for the first time, albeit totally in a form of remaining fragments. The number of such type is small, and the shape categories are cup, dish with pedestal, jar, steaming vessel and others. These are still small and kinds of miniature objects. The possibility of having actually offered food or drink with such objects is low. Large practical vessels had appeared and the possibility of offering food and drink using such vessels is estimated to be the stage of subsequent Site No. 6 and Site No. 22. Now, the summary of the features of Rock No. 21 is as follows: First, Rock No. 17 which I explained earlier is the site for, as it were, offering treasures, but Rock No. 21 changed to a ritual site by setting an altar as well as offering treasures (this could be said if in accordance with the report, but I would like to hold my judgment as I said earlier). Secondly, judging from the fact that one out of 6 bronze mirrors is a beast-band mirror, and a beast-band mirror similar to this was excavated in attributed to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Nintoku (currently a property of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, U.S.)) and in the Mausoleum of King Muryeong (died in 523) of Paekche. If this is the case, the estimated age span of Rock No. 21 is wide, from the middle third of the 5th century and early 6th century.
Thirdly, this may be related to the movement of new invigoration of the trade system focusing on iron resources between Wa and Paekche from the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century which is narrated by the information from the Jungmakkdong Ritual Site located in the west coast of Paekche which Mr. WOO Jae Pyoung who was mentioned earlier pointed out 32). The third point or the trend of the invigoration of exchanges between Paekche and Wa from the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century is, as pointed out by Mr. WOO Jae Pyoung, can be assumed from the fact that the tomb system which applied the corridor-style stone chamber with horizontal lateral (side) entrance (horizontal chamber) in Paekche style had become prevalent in the central Wa (Kinai area) from the 6th century for one 33) and the housing/cooking/heating system in Paekche style had been introduced and spread to Wa in those days for another. 34) And about the first point again, from the viewpoint of the theory of the origin of a ritual, in this manuscript, I will not use the language and concepts in the stage of the so-called Ritsuryō Ritual or the ritual system of the Ritsuryō state (a system of government based on Chinese models of penal [ritsu] and civil [ryō] (codes) from subsequent end of the 7th century to the 8th century such as “oblong ritual”, “kamioroshi (communicating with a god)”, “yorishiro”, “iwakura (rock-abode)” and “himorogi (temporarily erected sacred space or altar)” we may have an interpretation that it is still in the stage of offering of treasures as is the same as Rock No. 17 and its quantity had rather decreased and the tendency to be a miniature and become simplified is seen in its quality. Meanwhile, we may mention that it reflects the diplomatic, realistic movement of the age which emphasized steel resources by adding newly flat iron ingots. Also, we can see one of the changes during this period and may pay attention to it from excavation of potteries although the number of such potteries are small and the size are also small and such objects had been less likely used actually for offering food and drink. Namely, the stage of Rock No. 21 may lead up to the belief in Jingi in ancient Japan and the form and the essence of rituals of shrines or subsequent “Ritsuryō Rituals” which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada assumed, but I think it better to position it as a stage earlier than its tendency became clear.
(2) Changes in Okinoshima Rituals
- From the Second Half of the 5th Century to the End of the 7th Century: Bronze Mirror, Gilt-bronze Horse Trappings and Harness, Ritual Tools -

Information from Rock No. 7 and Site No. 8

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

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

Photo 8  Gilt bronze crupper boss with ornamented hairpin
(“The Shosoin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”, except for the first and last images, which are taken from the “Divine Treasures of the Shosoin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”, Munakata Taisha, 1992)

Horse trappings. These metal fittings to be mounted to the crossing of the crupper, which have been found on Okinoshima Island, are greatly decorative. A shaft is put in a standing position in the center of the pedestal of a hemisphere form, and Yoraku (lit. (a thing) swings and falls) are attached to the border. Although similar ones have been excavated in mainland Japan too, they have been seen in great quantities particularly in the Korean Peninsula. These are also thought to have been brought from Silla.
One hundred and several tens of horse trappings were found from Rock No. 7 and Site No. 8. All of these are made of gilt-bronze and include a lot of imported objects from Silla. Flat pendant horse harness ornament is an ornament attached to the horse harness and hung over the chest or waist. These are representative offering objects made in Silla of rock shelter rituals in the second half of the 6th century, in the second stage of Okinoshima Island ancient rituals.

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

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

Photo 10  Gold ring (Site No. 7) (“The Shōsōin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”)
Information from Rock No. 6 and Site No. 22

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

Information from Rock No. 5

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

Photo 14  Pentachord musical instrument excavated at Site No. 5
(“The Shōsōin of the Sea, Okinoshima Island”)
From Rock No. 17 (second half of the 4th century) until Rock No. 5 (end of the 7th century)

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

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

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

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

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

Fifthly, it is also difficult to estimate the age of Rock No. 5, but the kinds of artifacts there makes us estimate to be from the second half of the 7th century to around the end of the 7th century. Namely, offering of ritual tools for the sake of Jingi Rituals which had been clarified in Rock No. 6 and Site No. 22 have
become more clearly related to kinds of divine treasures at the Jingū Rituals, and this reflects that the form of “Ritsuryō Rituals” which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada had assumed had been established.

Table 2 Transition of Rituals on Okinoshima Island

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4th century = 300s</th>
<th>Site No. 17 (mirrors, swords, beads)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>313 Gonguryeo ruined Rakurō-gun (ancient district)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From this time around, Paekche from Mahan confederacy and Silla from Ch’en Han formed a state respectively and raise its head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314 Gonguryeo captured Taihō-gun</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>316 Xiongnu ruined Xijin (to the age of the Sixteen Kingdoms, until the unification of the North China by Northern Wei dynasty)</td>
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<tr>
<td>343 Gonguryeo paid tribute to Qian-yan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372 King of Paekche paid tribute to Dongjin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377 Gonguryeo/Silla paid tribute to Qian-qin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>391 Wa military crossed the sea; “Epitaph on the Tombstone of King Gwanggaeto of Gonguryeo”</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5th century = 400s</th>
<th>Site No. 21 (mirrors, swords, beads, flat iron ingots)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>421 Wa king San paid tribute to Song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438 Wa king Chin paid tribute to Song; ‘General to Settle East and King of Wa’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>451 Wa king Sai; ‘General To Settle Military Affairs of Six Countries in East’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>475 Gonguryeo attacked Paekche, king of Paekche died in the battle, its capital Seoul fallen</td>
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<tr>
<td>478 Wa king Bu presented a memorial; ‘Great General To Settle Military Affairs of Six Countries in East’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6th century = 500s</th>
<th>Site No. 7 (gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>512 Ōtomo-o-Kanamura ceded 4 prefectures of Gaya (Imna) to Paekche</td>
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<tr>
<td>Site No. 8 (cut glass)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527 Riot of Chikushi-no-Kimi Iwai</td>
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<tr>
<td>538 Seong-wang of Paekche sent Buddhism and books of religious teachings to the king of Wa</td>
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<tr>
<td>562 Silla ruined Gaya</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>End of the 6th century Kofun period ended</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7th century = 600s</th>
<th>Site No. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>600 Japanese mission to Tang-dynasty China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>607 Japanese mission to Sui-dynasty China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 7th century Early sign of Ritsuryō Rituals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the second half Formation of Ritsuryō Rituals</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Site No. 22 (gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Site No. 5</td>
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<tr>
<th>8th century = 700s</th>
<th>No. 1 (continued until the 9th century)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of Ritsuryō Rituals</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>9th century = 800s</th>
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<tr>
<td>Site</td>
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(3) Ritsuryō Ritual and its Pioneering Form
- Historical Meaning of the 7th Century -

End of the Kofun period

The Kofun period when the external representation of a large mounted tomb of a tribal chief had a political, religious meaning ended in the end of the 6th century. The Mise Maruyama Tomb in Nara Prefecture can be said to be a tomb in the last stage of the period. The Kofun period started in the age of the Hashihaka Tomb (keyhole-shaped tomb with round near mound) around A.D. 240. in the middle of the 3rd century to the Mise Maruyama Tomb (keyhole-shaped tomb with round near mound) of the end of the 6th century to the
beginning of the 7th century or around A.D. 600, thus lasted for approximately 350 years. The Kofun period ended in around A.D. 600, when such keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound had disappeared. We must avoid confusing the period division of the age. In other words, the 7th century (in the century of the 600s) is not any more the Kofun period. Approximately 100 years in the 7th century or years in the 600s were the age which have been gradually clarified as the target of the history on literature using the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki as basic materials. And its period from the reign of the Empress Suiko to the Emperor Temmu and the Empress Jitō is reasonably positioned as the starting period toward the Ritsuryō state system to its completion period.

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

From the External Representation to the Internal Representation

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

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

Cloud which is trailing facing southward over Kitayama North Mountain,
Like the blue cloud which has left stars and even the moon,
Soul of my husband has risen to heaven
(Volume 2, 161 Man’yōshū (“Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves”; oldest existing anthology of Japanese poetry))

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

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

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

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

When we consider an issue of ancient Jingi Rituals, it was Mr. INOUE Mitsusada who prepared concepts of “kind of Ritsuryō Ritual” and “Ritsuryō Ritual” and made efforts to verify it. Mr. INOUE prudently used an expression of “kind of Ritsuryō Ritual”, but he used an expression of “Ritsuryō Ritual” as well. In this manuscript, I would like to frankly use an expression of “Ritsuryō Ritual” in this paper. The insightful view of Mr. INOUE is expressed in his book “Kingly Power and Ritual in Ancient Japan” and it is very convincing. First of all, it states “what I call “kind of Ritsuryō Ritual” here is a national ritual which had been regulated and executed in accordance with the laws called Jingiryō (the Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes) of the Taihō Administrative Code (Taihōryō) promulgated in early 8th century”, and it further states that Shiki (legal procedures) as regulations concerning application of the law incidental to the Taihō Administrative Code of early 8th century must have also existed, and the Shiki is considered to be the one that should be called the original form of “Engishiki” established in early 10th century. And it mentions “therefore, when I call ‘kind of Ritsuryō Ritual’, I concurrently include in the word “Shiki” incidental to it as well as “Ryō”. Further it mentions “the form of the kind of Ritsuryō Rituals had been established, not for
the first time by the implementation of the Taihō Penal and Administrative Code (Taihō Ritsuryō) formed and completed in the end of the 7th century, early 8th century, but ‘precursory form’ of the kind of Ritsuryō Rituals had existed before that, and it had already been conducted at the time when the 6th century ended and the 7th century began or around the reign of the Empress Suiko. The Laws on Deities of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes and Shiki incidental to it are regarded to be the ones which improved the Ritsuryō-like Rituals as the pioneering form in Chinese way and in a form of a code of laws and codified.”

The book states that this is supported by the information from the Okinoshima Ritual Site, and is assumed firstly from changes in vessels (appearance of pot (Kame) of Sue ware (unglazed stoneware), vessel stand, long-necked jar, dish with pedestal, rounded jar of Hajiki, etc.), and secondly, changes in metal miniatures (appearance of weapon tool, tools, spinning and weaving tool, container, Hitogata, musical instrument (Japanese zither with five strings) made of iron, gilt-bronze, copper, etc.). About vessels, it states “ritual vessels that have not been excavated so far and maintained the form as one set has emerged from Rock No. 5” is a large change, and kinds of the vessels in Rock No. 1 shows the subsequent succession and development. It says that “the situation thereof is clearly matched to the various forms of vessels of Engishiki”, and “this would be narrating that ‘Ritsuryō-like Ritual’ or its ‘pioneering form’ seen in Engishiki “… will emerge between the middle third of the 6th century to the middle third of the 7th century.”

Also about metal miniatures, it states “in the 7th century, unique aspects begin to appear”, “(i) gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools, (ii) gilt-bronze containers, (iii) other gilt-bronze objects (such as Hitogata are excavated in large lots”, and “the point here is that Ritsuryō-like Rituals have also appeared in these aspects, and particularly, the fact that such objects are identical to the divine objects of the Inner Shrine of Ise.”

Based on such matters as just described above, the book states it is considered that “what it is like’ kind of Ritsuryō ‘can never have been formulated for the first time by the Ritsuryō code formed and promulgated in the end of the 7th century, early 8th century, and “Ritsuryō-like Rituals had already begun to be formed probably around the reign of the Empress Suiko.”

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

Epoch of the Reign of the Empress Suiko
The reign of the Empress Suiko is the age in which a major shock that hit the kings of Wa and their kingly power as a result of sending Japanese envoys to Sui Dynasty China twice -- in the 20th year of Kaihuang (600) and the 3rd year of Daye (607), as mentioned in the “Zuishō Wakokuden” (account of Japan of the History of Sui) -- prompted a first step to the structural innovation of the Yamato Kingly Power. This is the age which Mr. INOUE Mitsusada as a matter of course, his teacher Mr. SAKAMOTO Tarō, and predecessor TSUDA Sōkichi, positioned clearly as a major turning point of the ancient history 43). This is
the age in which the kingly power of kings of Wa imitated the Chine-style Ritsuryō state system and began to try to start an establishment of own kingly system anew. This start was a major renovation inclusive of establishment of a bureaucratic structure, editing of codes, improvement of clothing/ceremonies/music, acceptance/utilization of Buddhism, editing of national history and so on. But what we cannot miss in the period of the beginning of the 7th century is the termination of the Kofun period as I referred to earlier. It is a complete ending of the age when huge mounded tombs as representation had been the political power. The main hall of a palace complex or temples would play its roles as a new representation of the power, but the meaning of a new development of the Jingi Rituals seen during that period is grave. This falls on the age of Rock No. 6 or Site No. 22 in the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island, and the pioneering form to Ritsuryō Rituals which Mr. INOUE refers began to be formed in the reign of the Empress Suiko, in early 7th century as just explained above. It also would mean that a hypothetical viewpoint of “Jingi Rituals are the conquering of Mounted Tomb Rituals” which I presented earlier in the section of “3. Ancient history of Izumo and Concept of the Spirit” will be supported.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The basics of Ritsuryō Rituals defined in the Laws on Deities of the Taiho and Yōrō Codes are Araimi and Maimi and the Purification Rituals in addition to Prayer Festivals and the System of Allotting Helhaku, and Repose of Soul and Great Thanksgiving. Araimi in Japanese reading means a light fasting to be conducted before Maimi (the severest fasting). By contrast, Maimi is the severest fasting conducted after Araimi, meaning Maimi (“true imi” with the same reading with the first Maimi ). As actions to be avoided, it cites six items of mourn for the dead, question about one’s disease, eating meat, judgment of a death by execution, composition of music and involving with defilement. Meanwhile, the Purification Ritual is conducted on the last day of June and December, and the order of the event is as follows: First, Nakatomi Clan offers the purification tool to the emperor, Mombu of East/West offers the purifying sword to the emperor and reads a purifying poem. Next, males and females of all the duties gather in the place of purity and the Nakatomi Clan reads the purifying poem while the Urabe Clan purifies the defilement. Mr. INOUE states that the purifying poem above would be lead up to the one described in the subsequent Engishiki. The Mombu of East/West, chanting the originally Chinese words of the purifying poem, offers persons as stipends and prays for the removal of a misfortune from the body of the emperor, and offers a golden sword and prays for the eternity of the age of the emperor. He pointed out 491 that the “persons as stipends” might be 36 iron Hitogata (each 16 of gold appearance and silver appearance, 4 no-decoration) of offering of the purification for the emperor and empress to be set in the Jōgan Gishiki (ceremonies), each 2 of gold/silver plating Hitogata of offering of the Purification Ritual in Engishiki and similarly 2 iron Hitogata of offering of the purification for the emperor and empress. Each of them is Hitogata as a purification tool.
It is Mr. KANEKO Hiroyuki, one of those who developed its study, inspired by the concept of the Ritsuryō-like Rituals or Ritsuryō Rituals of Mr. INOUE. Mr. KANEKO, in accordance with the concept of the Ritsuryō-like Rituals of Mr. INOUE, gave a consideration to the characters of potteries with a human face inscribed with sumi writings and designs, clay horse, model cooking range, metal ritual tools as well as wooden ritual tools in ancient walled cities, and mentioned that such items would be those related to the Purification Rituals which had been in an important position in the Ritsuryō-like Rituals in principle 50). On the contrary to the excavation report which interprets the artifacts of each object representing the human being/horse/ship in huge amounts discovered in the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island as offerings to gods, he interpreted that such items are ritual tools used for purification. The problem of whether the artifacts on Okinoshima Island are offering items or ritual tools is very important, but if we answer to it in the past context of this manuscript, it will not use many words any more. A huge sum of miniatures artifacts of objects representing the human being/horse/ship unearthed from Rock No. 6, Site No. 22 and subsequently Site No. 5 might be considered to have had a meaning as a ritual tool as Mr. KANEKO states. These must be sites of the period in which the Wa Kingly Power had entered the stage of Ritsuryō rituals. Establishment and improvement of the ceremonies of Araimi and Maimi and Purification Rituals as described above would have also been creation of new substitute equipment and substitute ceremonies under the Ritsuryō state system of a function as the sacred Imibito as an important attribute of the kingly power of a traditional great king (emperor).

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

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

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

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

Formation of Jingi Rituals of Ancient Japan
- One great Conversion in early 7th Century -

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

1. Relation between a belief in natural spirits or divine spirits assumed in a hunting and gathering economic society of Jōmon period and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
2. Relation between the concept of the sacred place and bronze implement rituals in an agricultural economic society in the Yayoi period and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
3. Relation between tribal chief Mounded Tomb Rituals in the Kofun period and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
4. Relation between the movement from the starting period toward a Ritsuryō state to the formation of its development and the Jingi Rituals under subsequent Ritsuryō system,
5. Completion of the formation of a Ritsuryō state and features of its Jingi Rituals.
The problem here is a chronological development of the division of five periods and the concept of soul and behaviors on belief of its each period. And the information of formation of Jingi Rituals in the periods of aforementioned (3), (4) and (5) in particular is provided from the archaeological sites on Okinoshima Island, and if I summarize major discussion points here, they are the following five points:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In this manuscript, I pursued mainly from the beginning period of Okinoshima Island Rituals in the second half of the 4th century to the formation process of Ritsuryō state Jingi Rituals in the 7th century from the viewpoint of exploring the source of Jingi Rituals in ancient Japan. Consequently, there are definitely many
important issues which I have not been able to work on; these crucial issues include (1) meaning of rituals of the Three Goddesses and its history, (2) construction of historical Munakata Shrine and its subsequent history, (3) traffic between the continent and the Peninsula and rituals of the Sea God, (4) relation with the Sumiyoshi Shrine, (5) relation with the Itsukushima Shrine, etc. I am considering taking time and devoting myself to such issues 54).

Supplementary Notes (not translated):

1) 新谷尚紀『民俗学とは何か-柳田・折口・渋沢に学び直す-』吉川弘文館 2011 年
2) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と岡崎大社-「日本」と「天皇」の誕生-』講談社 2009 年、そのもとになった論文は、新谷尚紀「伊勢神宮の創祀-日本民俗学の古代王権論-」『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』148 集 2008 年、新谷尚紀「大和王権と鎮魂祭-民俗学の王権論：折口鎮魂論と文献史学との接点を求めて-」『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』152 集 2009 年
3) 水原洋城『猿学漫才』光文社 1988 年、伊谷純一郎「老い-生物と人間-」伊東光晴ら編『老いの人類史(老いの発見』岩波書店 1986 年
4) 海部陽介『人類がたどってきた道』日本放送出版協会 2005 年
5) 新谷尚紀『生と死の民俗史』木耳社 1986 年
6) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社-「日本」と「天皇」の誕生-』前掲注 2
7) 『三代実録』貞観 11 年(869)6 月に新羅の海賊船が博多津に来襲して豊前国の年貢の絹綿を掠奪した事件に対してその年の 12 月に伊勢太神宮と石清水八幡宮へ、そして翌年 2 月に宇佐の八幡大菩薩宮、香椎宮、宗像大神、甘南備神に奉幣と祈念を行なったとき、それと併せて仁明天皇の深草山陵、文徳天皇の田邑山陵、神功皇后の楯列山陵へも八幡大菩薩宮への告文に準じたものを捧げているのも、まだ山陵に霊威力を発現しうる力があると考えられていたことを示す例であろう。岡崎敬「律令時代における宗像大社と沖ノ島」『宗像沖ノ島』吉川弘文館 1979 年
8) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社-「日本」と「天皇」の誕生-』前掲注 2
9) 『三代実録』貞観 11 年(869)6 月に新羅の海賊船が博多津に来襲して豊前国の年貢の絹綿を掠奪した事件に対してその年の 12 月に伊勢太神宮と石清水八幡宮へ、そして翌年 2 月に宇佐の八幡大菩薩宮、香椎宮、宗像大神、甘南備神に奉幣と祈念を行なったとき、それと併せて仁明天皇の深草山陵、文徳天皇の田邑山陵、神功皇后の楯列山陵へも八幡大菩薩宮への告文に準じたものを捧げているのも、まだ山陵に霊威力を発現しうる力があると考えられていたことを示す例であろう。岡崎敬「律令時代における宗像大社と沖ノ島」『宗像沖ノ島』吉川弘文館 1979 年
10) 新谷尚紀『生と死の民俗史』木耳社 1986 年
11) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と岡崎大社-「日本」と「天皇」の誕生-』前掲注 2
12) 海上交通技術の発達したこの地の首長にとって、大海上の航海の上での必須の知識と技術の一つは方角認識能力であったと考えられる。墳墓の造営にはその造営者でもあり被葬者でもある首長の一定の世界認識や世界観が反映されている可能性は大であろう。それを現代人の認識論によっただけでなく古代人の認識論への想像力をも含めて、推定し議論を重ねていくことは研究作業の上でも大するのではないか。
13) 禹在柄「竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告Ⅰ』「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議 2011 年
14) 小田富士雄編『古代を考える沖ノ島と古代祭祀』101 頁吉川弘文館 1988 年
15) 『古事記』上巻天孫降臨条、『日本書紀』神代下第 9 段 1 書第 1、同書仲哀天皇 8 年正月条など参照。
16) 新谷尚紀『石積みのフォークロア』網野善彦・石井進編『中世の都市と墳墓』日本エディターズクール出版部 1988 年、新谷尚紀『日本人の葬儀』紀伊國屋書店 1992 年
17) E.B.タイラー『原始文化』(比屋根安定訳)誠信書房 1962 年、古野清人『原始宗教』角川書店 1964 年
18) R.R.マレット『宗教と呪術』(竹中信常訳)誠信書房 1964 年
19) M.Eliade (1907-1986), ”Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l’extase”, 1951 年(堀一郎訳『シャーマニズム』冬樹社 1974 年)
22) 佐々木宏幹「Ecstasy and Possession に関する若干の覚え書」古野清人教授古稀記念会編『現代諸民族の宗教と文化』社会思想社 1972 年
23) 宮家準・佐々木宏幹「民俗宗教研究の現在」(歴博対談第 18 回)『歴博』88 号 1998 年
24) 関沢まゆみ「神社祭祀と宮座運営」『宮座と墓制の歴史民俗』吉川弘文館 2005 年
25) Emile Durkheim “Les formes elementaires de la vie religieuse”，1912年（古野清人訳『宗教生活の原初形態』上・下 刀江書院 1930年（岩波書店 1975年）
26) 岸俊男「期差としての雄略朝」岸俊男教授退官記念会編『日本政治社会史研究』上塙書房 1984年、加藤謙吉「歴史の出発点」としての雄略朝遠山美都男編『日本書紀の読み方』講談社 2004年など。
27) 『続沖ノ島』からの発掘情報を読む限り、第17号遺跡に対しては、「岩上祭祀」という把握はここではいったん留保しておいた方がよいように思える。第17号遺跡の遺物情報からいえば、岩上での祭祀とは言い難く、むしろここでは「巨岩の岩元へ岩影への祭器奉納」という事実把握で解釈してみるべきではないかというのが本稿の立場である。
28) たとえば、『続日本紀』天平11年（739）11月辛卯（13日）条の平群朝臣広成の奏上文などが有名。
29) 禹在柄「竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」前掲注13)
31) 新谷尚紀『民俗学からみる古墳時代』季刊考古学第117号雄山閣 2011年に参照のこと。なお、以下の「外部表象から内部表象へ」という見出し項目の部分では本稿の論旨への理解を得るためにその文章を引用しておくことにする。
32) 禹在柄「竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と沖ノ島祭祀遺跡」前掲注13
33) 柳沢一男「古墳の変質」白石太一郎編『古代を考える古墳』吉川弘文館 1989年
34) 杉井健「朝鮮半島系渡来文化の動向と古墳の比較研究試論—九州本島北部地域を題材として—」『考古学研究』第57巻 4号 2001年、菊地芳朗「東北地方における古墳時代中～後期の渡来系文化」『渡来文化の受容と展開』第49回埋蔵文化財研究集会実行委員会 1999年、羽在柄（5～6世紀の百済の住居・暖房・墓制文化の倭国伝播とその背景）『韓国史学報』第23号高麗史学会 2006年
35) こののちの20号遺跡では滑石製の勾玉類は大型化し、その後、滑石製人形・馬形・舟形として1号遺跡で顕著化する。
36) 新谷尚紀『民俗学からみる古墳時代』季刊考古学第117号雄山閣 2011年に参照のこと。なお、以下の「外部表象から内部表象へ」という見出し項目の部分では本稿の論旨への理解を得るためにその文章を引用しておくことにする。
37) 岸俊男「京域の想定と藤原京条坊制」『藤原宮』奈良県教育委員会 1969年、笠野毅「天智天皇山科陵の墳丘遺構」『書陵部紀要』39号 1987年、藤堂かほる「天智陵の営造と律令国家の先帝意識」『日本歴史』602号 1998年、羽在柄（5～6世紀の百済の住居・暖房・墓制文化の倭国伝播とその背景）『韓国史学報』第23号高麗史学会 2006年
38) 斎藤茂吉『万葉秀歌』(上巻)岩波書店 1938年
39) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社－「日本」と「天皇」の誕生－』東京大学出版会 1984年。なお、本稿で井上光貞先生を井上氏と書くのはきわめて心苦しいことであるという心情をここにぜひとも注記させていただきたい。それは第1に、前掲注1）で言及している拙著『民俗学とは何か—柳田・折口・渋沢に学び直す』においても指摘しているように、井上光貞先生こそが柳田・折口・渋沢の創設した日本の民俗学の学術的活動の場を公的に設営してくださった学問の歴史的恩人であるからである。それによって、筆者のような日本民俗学に軸足を置きながらも文献学や文化人類学や考古学や社会学などとの学際交流をさせていただけるような、まさにマージナルな研究学者の人生を与えていたいたためである。第2に、井上光貞先生がその卓越した古代史研究の学問生活の後半の段階でとくに研究関心を傾注されたのが、日本古代の神祇信仰についての実証史学的研究であったということであり、なかでもこの4世紀後半から9世紀前半までの祭祀習俗をその時間的な継続性とともにその現物資料の具体性をもって情報を発信している宗像沖ノ島の祭祀に特別な研究関心を示しておられたということ、そのことに敬意を表するからである。そして第3に、まだ60歳代という若さで急逝されてしまい、先生のにさらに深く研究上的卓見をいかにして残しておられたかということ、そのことに敬意を表すからである。筆者がここに無知にして僭越なる駄文を連ねていることへの羞恥心からでもある。
41) 筆者のよくとる方法の一つであるが、卓越した研究者の論文は最初からは読まないようにしている。なぜなら博識で鋭敏なその論調に誘導されてしまい、その説の賛同者の一人となって独自の視点から解釈する危険性があるからである。したがって、「無知からの出発」を常に肝に銘じており、今回も井上氏の『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会 1984年は、本稿の(4)節
の執筆へと取り掛かった段階で、はじめて虚心坦懐な状態で拝読させていただいた。そして、僭越ながら井上氏の卓見に驚いたというのが実情である。

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

第2に、沖ノ島遺跡の編年に対する見解の相違である。筆者は5世紀中頃までに成立した祭具のセットのその後の展開について、沖ノ島遺跡の情報を活用しながら、沖ノ島遺跡の変化の画期を、Ⅰ類(17号遺跡など)、Ⅱ-1類(21号遺跡)、Ⅱ-2類(7号・8号遺跡など)、Ⅲ類(22号遺跡など)と位置づけて、Ⅰ類の21号遺跡を前記のような日本各地の5世紀代の祭祀遺跡と共通するものとして、神々への供献品のセットが現われる段階と認めているが、筆者の編年案は前掲の表に示したように、5世紀半ばと推定される21号遺跡にはまだ紡績具は登場せず、その遺品の中心は鉄資源の鉄鋌などであり、次の6世紀前半と推定される7号遺跡に至ってはじめて紡績具が登場するという点に注目するものである。つまり、5世紀半ばの21号遺跡と7世紀初頭の7号遺跡の間に約150年間もの時代的な開きがあるということに留意する必要があるという見解である。第3に、律令的な神祇祭祀の萌芽という一大画期の背景や要因についての見解の相違である。笹生氏の見解はその画期の背景として5世紀半ばの朝鮮半島からの鉄資源や先端技術の導入に注目する、というものであるが、筆者の見解は南北統一を果たした中国王朝の先進文化との接触、つまり600年頃の文化衝撃とそれに間接的にかかわるであろう中央王権の古墳祭祀からの完全な撤退脱皮という一大転換を画期とする、というものである。なお、このような考古学の門外漢からの見解についても、それを包み込みながら校正の段階で考古学の最先端の知識を教示いただいた筆者に、ここでもあらためて謝意を表する次第である。
る大型の銅矛が多数出土しているという。朝鮮半島から九州にもたらされた武器としての銅矛の長さは、20センチをこえる程度にすぎないが、対馬から出土する九州産の銅矛は鋭い刃部をもたず、銅質も悪く、武器としての実質的機能はなく、武器の形式をもつ祭祀具となっている。その大型銅矛が対馬からは190本も発見されているのに対して、福岡県では126本が発見されている程度である。対馬の190本というのは異常な多さであり、それが集中しているのは天然の良港、浅茅湾に向かって突出する細長い台地上や山腹である。同じ朝鮮半島への航路上にあった対馬からはわずか4本しか発見されていない。春成秀爾氏は、それは対馬が北九州勢力によって把握されていた北の守りを固める最前線の意味をもっていたからだという。沖ノ島は、弥生時代の半島との交流ではその重要な中継地としての位置を占めていなかったといってよい。したがって、その時代には特別な祭祀も行なわれていなかったということになる。銅矛や銅鐸の原料は古い時期には朝鮮産、新しい時期になると中国北部産のものであったという化学分析の結果が示されているが、対馬からは銅矛は大量に出土するが、銅鐸はまだまったく発見されていない。出雲地方には加茂岩倉遺跡や荒神谷遺跡など大量の銅鐸が出土しているのと比較すれば、非常に対照的である。朝鮮半島や中国大陸からの日本列島へのルートには大別して、玄界灘を南下する対馬経由の北九州沿岸に到着するそれと、対馬海流に乗って東南方向に向かって出雲半島へ、丹後半島から若狭湾へ、そして能登半島へ、という2つの選択肢があったものと推定されるが、そのうち、銅矛は北九州に、銅鐸は出雲において、それぞれ大量に発見されている。

53) 新谷尚紀『伊勢神宮と出雲大社－「日本」と「天皇」の誕生－』149頁－154頁前掲注2)
54) それが、僭越ながら、学恩ある井上光貞先生へのわずかながらの報恩の一つになるかもしれないと思っている。