Re-examination of the Okinoshima Ritual Sites. Part III

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

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

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

Foreword

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

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

Okinoshima ritual sites which began to be put to service in the second half of 4th century developed into a sacred area stretching some 60 meters to the valley head to the north from the valley mouth where Okitsu-miya Shrine building now stands and spanning some 30 meters on both of the side slopes, characterized by the accumulation of huge rocks (coded “A” through “L”) at elevations varying between 78 and 88 meters above the sea level. Rituals that initially involved the huge rocks inextricably passed
through Phase I (atop rocks), Phase II (in the shade of rocks) and Phase III (partly in the shade of rocks) and then gradually departed from the rocks. In the 8th century, the fourth and final phase of rituals in the open air began. Site No. 1 found at some 50 meters south of Okitsu-miya (elevation: 80 - 82 meters) is a representative example.

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

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

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

Artifacts discovered at this Site include by category:

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

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

**Site No. 5** is the largest among the sites pertaining to this Phase. A climb along the west side of Okitsu-miya shrine building by the western edge of the ritual zone up toward Rocks “B” and “C” leads to a flat space adjoining the southern bottom of Rock “C” (elevation: 84 meters). This space “is engulfed to the north, east and south by the mother Rock ‘C,’ Rock ‘B’ and a large rock just underneath Rock ‘C’.
Rock ‘C’ is a massive rock standing some 10 meters, and as in Site No.6 (which is dependent on the northern overhang of Rock ‘C’ --- italics added by Oda), it serves as the eave for the ritual site in the shadow of a rock” (p.164). The ritual site thus engulfed by huge rocks on three sides and open only to the west measures about 4.2 meters in the east-west direction and about 2.5 meters south-north. An aperture on the north side goes up in some steps to the western edge of Site No.6. “The ritual site is open to the west. To the south of the entrance is a large stone, which makes the entrance somewhat narrow, but it serves to delineate the ritual site borders in all four directions. The top of Rock ‘C’ functions as the eave which covers the ritual site almost entirely. The southwestern part barely escapes the shadow.” (p.164)

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

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

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

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

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

Gilt bronze miniatures and iron miniatures are also noteworthy in terms of the variety and quantity. While iron miniature weapons are known to have been used already at a ritual site atop a rock (Site No.21), gilt bronze containers and spinning tools have been discovered also in ritual sites in the shade of a rock (Sites No.6 and No.22). The similarity with Site No.22 merits particular attention because it has certain features that suggest transition to Site No.5. Furthermore, the discovery of metal Katashiho (representations of objects, used in rites of purification to represent the subject of the rite), namely the gilt bronze hitogata and the iron hitogata (Figs.5 and 6) is of particular interest as precursor to steatite hitogata that was found in a large quantity at a succeeding ritual site in the open air (Site No.1). Together with the gilt bronze pentachord and other artifacts, the metal Katashiho that appeared rather suddenly at this phase are a feature that is not known at other ritual sites. This can be understood as an important phenomenon that indicates a transition from Kofun Period rituals to Historical Period rituals in the evolution of ancient rituals. The author pointed out already in the Report that this can well be regarded as the emergence of state-related rituals that became more apparent in the 8th century. It should be remembered that there is clearly no comparison with the aforesaid Site No.20 of the same phase in terms of site area and quality and quantity of the offerings. Of particular mention are the pair of gilt-bronze dragon heads and the fragments of one Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck. They are high-quality items made in China; no local clan alone should have been able to acquire such items. The author takes no exception to the conventional view that these were offerings acquired through the intervention of Yamato polity. More recent advances in the research since the time of writing the Reports will be reviewed in later paragraphs.
Fig. 1  Site No. 5 (after the excavation) --- pottery offerings reconstructed
(reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima II, PL. 73)
Fig. 2  Site No. 5 plan view (top) and artifacts location (bottom)  
(reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima I, Fig. 67)
Fig. 3 Site No.5 Excavation of gilt bronze pentachord (top) and pottery (bottom) (reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima I, Fig. 67)
Fig. 4  Site No. 5 Excavation of gilt bronze miniature pentachord  
(reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima II  PL. 72)
Fig.5  Gilt bronze dragon heads, metal hitogata, vessel stand and pot (Site No.5) and Nara-style three-colored small jar with cover (Site No.1)
(From Munakata Okinoshima II, PL. 39, 76,77; Okinoshima Chōsa Gaihō I, p.53)
The sudden increase of metal miniatures is a salient characteristic of this phase. The emergence of hitogata, spinning tools, containers and the gilt bronze pentachord, in addition to weapons and tools, is of particular interest because they are comparable to the kind of ritual items and divine treasures mentioned in the Engishiki Jingi (in the chapter relating to Shijisai or quarterly rite, Rinjisai or extraordinary rite and Ise Daijingū or the Grand Shrine of Ise). This point was already detailed in the Reports, but from the perspective of the entire academic investigations and research on Okinoshima rituals, one will recall that metal miniatures were discovered in sites of earlier phases. Let us now list them up according to the phase.

I. Ritual atop a rock
   Site No.16 Miniature iron sword
   Site No.21 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron chisel-shaped object, miniature iron adze, miniature iron disc with holes

II. Ritual in the shade of a rock
   Site No.4 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron chisel-shaped object, miniature iron adze
   Site No.6 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron adze, miniature iron spear, miniature iron spear-like plane, miniature iron ceremonial mirror, miniature gilt bronze ceremonial mirror, gilt bronze oke, gilt bronze tight-neck jar, miniature bell-like object
   Site No.7 Miniature iron sword
   Site No.8 Miniature iron adze, Miniature iron knife
   Site No.22 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron spear, miniature iron adze, miniature iron disc, miniature gilt bronze disc, gilt bronze hitogata, gilt bronze spinning tools (tatari, spindle, sword-shaped beater, warp beam, cross beam (nuki), tool for winding thread (kuruheki)), gilt bronze container (tight-neck jar), bronze container (dish with pedestal), bronze ring
   Site No.23 Miniature iron sword

III. Ritual partly in the shade of a rock
   Site No.4 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron chisel-like object, miniature iron adze
   Site No.5 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron knife, miniature iron adze, miniature gilt bronze adze, miniature iron spear, miniature iron disc, miniature gilt bronze disc, gilt bronze hitogata, iron hitogata, bronze containers (tight-neck jar, dish with pedestal), bronze spinning tools (tatari, spindle, sword-shaped beater, chikiri, oke), gilt bronze pentachord, bronze bell, iron bell
   Site No.20 (+Site No.14) Miniature iron knife, miniature iron ceremonial mirror, gilt bronze container (dish)

IV: Ritual in the open air
   Site No.1 Miniature iron sword, miniature iron arrowhead, miniature iron spear, miniature iron disc, bronze disc, bronze cylindrical object (bell-shaped), bronze spinning tools (sword-shaped beater, kasei (H-(or X-)shaped frame for winding (reeling, rolling up, coiling up) spun yarn (thread, strand)), tatari, oke, dish, bowl, tight-neck jar), gilt bronze bell, gilt bronze funagata (boat-shaped object)
   * Steatite katashiro (hitogata, umagata (horse-shaped object), funagata)

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

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

* 一年春二月：是月、阿知使主等、自呉至筑紫、時胸形大神、有乞工女等、故以兄媛奉於胸形
   大神、是則今在筑紫國、御使君之祖也、[是の月に、阿知使主等、呉より筑紫に至る。時に胸
The book writes that in February of the 37th year of Ōjin, Achi-no-Omi and some others were dispatched to Wu (a land in Jiangnan, China) to ask for lady weavers. In February of the 41st year he returned to Tsukushi with lady weavers. On that occasion, weaver Ehime was offered to the Munakata Grand Goddesses upon their request. Spinning tools which had such great historical significance were tantamount to divine treasures and were an indispensable part of Munakata Goddesses worship rituals.

Likewise the gilt bronze pentachord offered in Site No.5 is an indispensable ritual object which merits a particular attention. Gilt bronze pentachords represent the tradition from the time of Kofun Period. In North Kyūshū, a haniwa harp was discovered in Iwatoyama mound tomb in Yame City (popularly known as the tomb of Tsukushi-no-kimi Iwai). The harp neck thin plate of the pentachord found in Okinoshima was of fan-like shape. This suggests that it was a precursor to the zither with kite-tail-shaped end (tobino-o-no-koto; tobi-o-koto), a divine treasure of Ise-jingu Shrine. There is a similar looking gilt bronze plate considered to be a harp bridge of similar kind that is known to be an artifact unearthed from Site No.6 already before the scholarly investigation9 (Fig.16). This means there were at least two miniature harps offered in Okinoshima. SADA Shigeru who investigated these miniature harps of Okinoshima including studies on miniature harps of China and Korea has the view that “The miniature harps unearthed in Okinoshima are of transitory form in the evolution of Japanese harp from Kofun Period to Nara Period.”7) (Note 7 (two) p.24)

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

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

It should be further noted that pottery offering became clearly dominant in Site No.5 in comparison with sites of preceding ritual phases. This led to the overwhelming volume of Sue ware and other pottery accumulations in Site No.1 representing the further succeeding phase of ritual in the open air. As was discussed earlier in this paper, they were unearthed in such conditions that the large pots were merely “pressed down” as had been in position, the vessel stands were “pushed down” with the Haji ware jar still placed on top, and the long-neck jars preserved the line-up. It was very fortunate that, after reconstruction of each of the pieces, they could be repositioned to what was believed to be the ritual alignment for photo recording (Fig.1).
Fig. 6  Metal miniatures (hitogata, funagata, gilt bronze pentachord) (1/2) (reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima I, Figs. 31, 71, 72 and 111)
Fig. 7  Metal miniature spinning tools (1/2)
(reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima I, Figs. 36, 37, 72, 75, 86, 111 and 113)
Fig. 8  Metal miniature containers (1/2)
Bronze tight-neck jars (Site No.5-28, No.6-5, No.22-22, No.1-15)
Bronze dishes with pedestal (Site No.5-26, No.22-20, -21)
Bronze dishes, pots (Site No.1-1 through -12)
(reprinted from Munakata Okinoshima I, Figs. 37, 72, 86 and 111)
Table 1 Divine treasures of Ise-Jingū Shrine by category
(Encircled numbers represent the order of appearance, ordinary numbers represent the quantity)

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<th>Item</th>
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<th>Engi-shiki</th>
<th>Aramatsuri-no-miya</th>
<th>Izawa-no-miya</th>
<th>Tsuki-yomi-no-miya</th>
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(Betumiya has other divine treasures than listed here)
(edited from INOUE Mitsusada, *Rituals in Ancient Okinoshima*, in Dynasties and Rituals in Ancient Japan, 1984)
To the westerly spot of the pottery concentration were the pair of gilt-bronze dragon heads and at the slit between the eastern and southern walls to the east of the pottery concentration were found the gilt bronze pentachord and other metal miniatures. Bronze tight-neck jar, bronze dish with pedestal and other metal miniatures were discovered at a spot somewhat deep into the direction leading to Site No.6 by the north wall. The Tang Dynasty-style three-colored vase was found in 18 small fractures at nearly the center of the site, but it was not possible to determine the original position. In short, it was the pottery that played the major role in the rituals at Site No.5. Metal miniature and imported artifacts are believed to have been placed adjacent to the pottery concentration. In the phase of ritual in the shade of a rock, pottery was placed outside the rock eaves shade line. In stark contrast, pottery was the mainstream item in this phase along with metal miniatures. Between these two phases, there was also a shift in the imported items from Korean (Shila) to Chinese. These are two major characteristics of Site No.5. Still another point to be noted is that these artifacts were placed alongside the contour of the ritual site formed by the huge rocks, which fact suggests that the worshippers were not yet free from the reliance on huge rock that characterized the previous phase. The term “phase of ritual partly in the shade of a rock” was invented by the author of this paper on an ad hoc basis in the course of the scientific investigation. The term does not really have a nice ring and the author intended to devise a better term, without success to this date. As I think of it now, the term depicts simply and clearly the nature of the rituals performed at this site with the artifacts laid out in proper positions as described above. There is no need to alter it, after all. That this term has been used widely already may need to be taken into account.

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

At the time of the scientific investigation, the present author and his team referred to the above-described visually differences between the offering of Phases I and II having similarity with those of Kofun Period and the new kinds of offerings found in Phase III simply as “undifferentiation of funeral and ritual” and differentiation of funeral and ritual.”(p.294) What was truly meant by these two rather simplified terms is what has been discussed in detail just above. As I think of it today, the terminology may have been somewhat misleading because this distinction is not necessarily exhaustive if one considers the rituals of Kofun Period and Historical Period from the perspective of rituals archeology for the entire peninsula of Japan. From such a perspective, we should perhaps go back to the basics and use the terms “beginning stage of Shintō” and “stage of historical Shintō” as advocated by ŌBA Iwao. Or perhaps we should rely on INOUE Mitsusada and use his terminology of “pre-ritsuryō ritual period” and “ritsuryō ritual emergence period.” In this connection, the interpretation that INOUE Mitsusada gave about the two terms correctly describes what the author and his colleague really wanted to convey. He writes:

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

It should be recalled that soft stone imitations of objects have been found in ritual sites of this period, not just at mounded tombs of Middle Kofun Period. SHIRAISHI Taichirō argues that the mirrors, swords, beads and other soft stone imitations of objects unearthed from ritual sites “have a strong nature of offering to deities” while farm utensils, weaving tools, wine-making tools and other soft stone imitations of objects unearthed from mounded tombs are “tools used by the clan head as priest for the purpose of enshrining.
gods, namely, ritual paraphernalia. If one takes the position of dividing the identity or purpose of ritual objects, one may well argue that offerings to deities on one hand and ritual paraphernalia that displayed the function of the priest (clan head) on the other were used in the rituals of Kofun Period (Okinoshima Ritual Phases I and II). The terminology the author et al offered was directed to the chronological divisions in the ritual objects in comparison with the succeeding ritsuryō ritual phase and the preceding phase (Kofun Period). The perspectives are apparently different.

With respect to hitogata, KANEKO Hiroyuki investigated the details of rituals in Heijō-kyō11a) and the collection of ritsuryō ritual artifacts11c) and concluded that hitogata inclusive of the hitogata, umagata and funagata of the succeeding Site No.1 in the open air (Phase IV ritual) were all items used for purification.11b) He goes on to name two possible objects to be purified. “One of the two objects is an ordinary individual in a capital city.” In this case it is “the servant of Munakata Goddesses.” “The other object is a defined space,” he writes. However, the purification rites in the capital city began only during the time of Fujiwara-kyō. The emergence of hitogata in Okinoshima rituals is older. The purpose of offering hitogata is to pray for guarding by the deity in the hope of escaping the evil and receiving happiness. It is unquestionable that the original meaning of purification is to protect from a variety of dangers and disasters the ship and the people on board that voyage over high waves to the intended destination. The purification ceremony in capital cities can be understood as an evolutionary form of this original. There are no convincing reasons to seek the origin of katashiro in the purification ceremonies in capital cities which are subsequent events. It has been established already that the origin of hitogata rituals can be dated back to about the last stage of Western Han Dynasty in China and with the birth of Taoism, interactions with Taoist rituals took place.12) It appears that the way of thoughts were tolerated promptly into the beginning stage of Shintō in Japan and became one of its components.

More recently, HIROSE Kazuo13) who referred to “the idea of kami in Kofun Period” through his analysis of ritual sites of Kofun Period writes: “Those [ritual objects --- addition by Oda] of 4th to 6th century have fundamental commonality with the grave goods of mounded tombs, particularly those of major mounded tombs.” (p.124) In this sense he accepts the notion of “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” and argues that the ritual objects of Okinoshima were offered to kami of the sea and the “grave goods” of mounded tombs, which have commonality to them, were also “offered to kami.” And so, he claims, the rituals performed at key-hole shaped tombs were based on “the community idea of the dead clan head transfiguring to be a kami and guarding the community.”(p.125) He has taken the position to claim that the spirit of clan head (ancestral spirit) is identical to kami. Moreover, he writes that: “The Kofun Period rituals in Okinoshima were abandoned around the second half of 6th century, and after a blank interval of one hundred and some years, resumed afresh around the first half of 8th century as ritsuryō rituals.” (p.127) It is clear that his relies on KANEKO Hiroyuki’s capital city purification succession theory. For this reason, he believed that there must have been a blank interval of some one hundred years before the beginning of the Phase III rituals in Okinoshima. As was discussed in the previous paper4), however, the author et al do not consider such a long period of void in the transition from Phase II to Phase III. The upper limit of Phase III, in our view, is no later than the middle of or the second half of 7th century.

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

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

It is a generally establish view that the rituals of Okinoshima began in the second half of 4th century and continued into 9th century, while evolving in the four phases of: I – Ritual atop a rock, II – Ritual in the shade of a rock, III – Ritual partly in the shade of a rock and IV - Ritual in the open air, and that the final phase IV represent itself as the precursor to the shrine building rituals that have been passed on to the present day. In short, the ritual began on the basis of rudimentary style of worship a rock as “yorishiro,” an object representative of a divine spirit. The people gradually started to depart from rocks in the Historical Period, set up an altar on the ground, and then reached the more formalized stage of building shrine building to “invite” the divine spirit according to necessity.
Rock worship is said to be rooted in the Japanese traditional worship of nature. The evolution of Okinoshima rituals reviewed here testifies to that historical background deeply associated with massive rocks. ŌBA Iwao, the first advocate of Shintō archeology, was one of the earliest scholars who since an early time made literature search and archeological surveys on rock worship in Japan as well as “iwa-kura” or the “rock-abode” (dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily) and “iwa-saka” or the concept of an area that has been encircled by piles of stones, where a deity (god) is thought to have descended; a stone altar or cairn erected for the purpose of invoking the presence of a kami (deity) that is closely related to the beginning stage of Shintō.\(^\text{15}\) He wrote that ishigami (stone deity) and iwa-kura that appear in ancient documents “may appear to mean different things, but in reality these two are mostly the same and no clear distinction can be made.” He continued: “there are both natural ones and those to which man-made additions have been made.” Iwa-saka, he summarized, is “a spot having stones vastly laid out either naturally or by humans.”\(^\text{15b}\) Further, he made the point that while “there are many ishigami and iwa-kura that were converted directly into shrines and have survived to this date,” no shrines were found in ancient documents that had inherited the name of iwa-saka. And so iwa-saka “should be regarded as something that was set up temporarily and was torn down or abandoned when the ritual ended.”

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

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

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

**Iwa-kura**

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

**Iwa-saka**

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

**Himorogi**

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

**Himorogi/Iwasaka**

Both terms refer to the place to have deities descend upon. Until permanent shrine constructions began to be built by the influence of Buddhist temples, special facilities called himorogi or iwasaka or other yorishiro were prepared. The episode of tenson kōrin, book 2-1 of Nihon Shoki states as the words of Takamimusubi-no-mikoto that: "I shall erect amatsu-himorogi and amatsu-iwasaka and pray for my descendants." He ordered Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto (Ame-no-futodama) to prepare for himorogi down on the lower world and perform rituals. Himorogi is a zone formed by a row of planted evergreen trees around a sacred hill or a forest. It can also mean a place for worship centered on a yorishiro (to which the deity descends upon) consisting of an centrally-placed evergreen tree or wands of such a tree (like sakaki) and a cotton cloth put over it. In subsequent periods, himorogi was used to mean a shrine, too. Etymological interpretations vary; one is that "hi" means "spirit," and the word means a tree or a hill on which the divine spirit falls upon. Even today himorogi is at times erected as a temporary divine seat. The ritual site that utilizes a natural rock either as such or by adding human touch to prepare the spot for kami’s descent is termed "iwasaka," while the rock which serves as the divine seat is called "iwakura." In many parts of the world, trees and rocks were worshipped since long time ago as the yorishiro of deity. …… (pp.275 – 276)
Iwakura
A kind of himorogi (heavenly spirit descending zone), that is to say, a spot to invite the heavenly deity of come down. Himorogi consisting of stones and rocks is referred to iwakura. There are over 400 known iwakura throughout Japan. While the origin is said to date back to Yayoi Period, many became clearer during the Kofun Period. …… Among the Engi-Shikinaisha (listed shrines), many around the country have iwakura as their shintai (a physical object serving as an object of worship at shrines, and in which the spirit of the kami is believed to reside) and are named after it such as Iwakura Shrine, Ishimiya Shrine, Iwaishi Shrine and Oushiko Shrine. The forms of iwakura vary, but still it is possible to classify them into: (1) a huge rock wall, (2) a singularly outstanding large rock, (3) a pair of rocks, (4) an overlay of rocks, (5) a rock with cleavage or hollow space, (6) A group of scattered large and small rocks, and (7) a conglomeration of huge and large rocks. [Specific examples found in various places that follow are omitted here.] (p.101)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Earlier at the time of the third investigation of Okinoshima, the terms “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” and “differentiation between funeral and ritual were used somewhat conveniently to describe the stark contrast between (a) the observed commonality of offerings during the Phases I and II (Kofun Period) with the grave good of contemporary mounded tombs and (b) their disappearance in the succeeding Phases III and IV (Historic Period) and the replacement by ritsuryō ritual objects. However, this observation of ours was preceded by the proposal by KOIDE Yoshiharu, SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu and others to decouple funeral (mounded tomb) and ritual (archeological ritual site), namely, the decoupling of burial and kami-matsuri. They noted the differences in the soft stone imitations of objects of Middle Kofun Period between those in mounded tombs and at ritual sites. Following these preceding studies, SHIRAISHI Taichirō believed the iron farming utensils that were buried in the mounded tombs of Early Kofun Period were ritual paraphernalia used by the clan head for agricultural rites during his lifetime. He continued that the steatite miniatures buried in mounded tombs originated with farm utensils and came to be supplied also to ritual sites by the first half of 5th century. In this way, SHIRAISHI developed a theory of funeral and ritual decoupling by which he argued kami-matsuri as burial rite of a clan head existed as an
independent event already from Early Kofun Period. More recently, light is shed again on the soft stone imitations of objects and there have been many studies on the subject. Reflection on the historical streams of research brings into relief that the observations made at the time of third Okinoshima investigation were concerned with the identities of the offerings only in the context of the evolution of Okinoshima rituals and that did not consider mounded tombs or ritual sites in other regions. It should be remembered that the soft stone imitations of knife, adze, sickle, spear-like plane, chisel, mallet and containers on which SHIRAISHI’s assertion is largely based are mostly found in the mounded tombs located to the east of Kinki and in Kanto region. These kinds of soft stone imitations have been rarely found in western Japan, particularly in Kyūshū region. Of the ritual objects discovered in Okinoshima ritual sites, those which have parallels in both the western and eastern parts of Japan count only the comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted, discs with holes, mortar-shaped beads and a small quantity of sword-shaped objects as far as steatite imitations are concerned. This obvious difference between the west and east in soft stone imitations of objects has received hardly any attention to this date. In addition, a review may be required perhaps from the perspective of Okinoshima ritual as a representative site of state-related ritual levels as opposed to ritual of local clan head level. Recently, HOZUMI prepared a matrix table (Table 2, in the original publication Table 5) and concluded that “the objects offered at mounded tombs and at ritual sites had a high degree of commonality, albeit differences in the materials of construction.” Of the category by materials of construction listed in the Table, soft stone imitation, wooden imitation, clay miniature, stone object, wood/leather object and haniwa (ceramic clay figures placed on the surface of tumuli) are absent in Okinoshima rituals. This may suggest the need for a perspective on Okinoshima rituals as having a unique level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 List of offering by materials of construction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soft stone imitations of objects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirror</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spade/hoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
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<td>Sickle</td>
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<td>Iron objects</td>
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<td>Wooden imitations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay imitations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stone objects</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iron objects</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wood/leather objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haniwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron shield is an Isonokami divine treasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft stone imitation from Shiraishi Inariyama tomb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From HOZUMI Hiromasa, *Funerals and Rituals in Kofun Period*, p.258)
Meanwhile, the concept of “undifferentiation between funeral and ritual” in the Kofun Period that the authors et al proposed at the time of the third Okinoshima investigation was later carried on by INOUE Mitsusada, HIROSE Kazuo and others. Today HOZUMI Hiromasa also is of the view that the concept of separating funeral and ritual (kami-matsuri) in the Middle Kofun Period “should have emphasized the exteriorization of kami-matsuri” rather than their separation, because “setting aside the differences in the materials of construction, the objects [found at mounded tombs and ritual sites] converge to be mostly identical in terms of category.” And as proofs of this, he cites the Early Kofun Period sites of Okinoshima and Isonokami Kinsokuchi (Tenri City, Nara Prefecture). He argues then that “The vertical descent-type of ritual whereby kami descends from high above and resides on a mountain or some other high place does not appear to be generally established during the Early Kofun Period. Such a notion or ritual form possibly began with the ritual atop a rock in Okinoshima, Fukuoka Prefecture and the establishment of the so-called Miwayama Ritual at Miwayama, Nara Prefecture, and then gradually spread in the second half of 4th century starting with the rituals of higher echelon.” (p.258 – 259)

The term “higher echelon” used here implicitly recognizes the establishment of specific sites where direct or semi-direct state-related rituals by the Yamato kingly power were performed. In this way, he explains that “the rituals (the so-called kami-matsuri) which were triggered by the action vis-à-vis “the ground soul and the spirits of earth, well and the like from the previous period (once termed as ‘earthly rites’) as well as “the deadly evil spirits (‘mono’) which cause epidemics and natural disaster during the Early Kofun Period” came to be more focused about their objects during the second half of the Period and became established as “fixed ritual sites” such as Okinoshima, Miwayama and Isonokami Kinsokuchi. This explanation is considered to be generally correct with respect to the establishment of Okinoshima rituals which involved massive rocks.

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

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

Site No.1 extends on a somewhat flat space at the end of the stairway to Okitsu-miya and leading to the shrine building. It is about 80 meters above sea level and is about 50 meters southwest of the shrine building. It is a very quiet plot of land tilted down to the east and overlooking the sea beyond a virgin forest. All over this tilted slope were found layers of Sue ware, Haji ware, steatite objects and the like. At first look, they appear to be a dumping site of waste pottery. The spread measures 10 meters south-north and 9 meters east-west. “Since the site is situated at the end of the mild slope coming down from the north, the artifacts appear to be as if drawn down to the south. According to the sectional view chart prepared by measurement in the north-south direction, the southern part alongside the old entrance path to the shrine is the lowest point and is 1.5 meters lower than the northern part of the site. In the east-west direction, the center part is somewhat high like in a mound, which makes it possible to estimate the center of the ritual site.” (p.60)
For the purpose of the excavation survey, the site was divided in grids of 2 meters by 2 meters each, and they were numbered 1 through 7 in north-south direction and A through G east-west. Six (about one third) of these grids were excavated completely: rows 2 through 5 of column “C” south-north and columns “B” through “D” of row 3 east-west. A large stone was placed, as if to let it lean, against the southern slope in the southeastern corner of the site. In the excavation grids to the south (2C) and to the east (3B) were found a stone pavement structure of laying out debris like slates. On the low slope in the south were found slates that formed the edge of the altar, and on the east the edge line blurred as going up northward. The conditions were believed to be similar on the countering west side. The outer formation having edges on three sides constitutes a square or rectangular altar-like plane inside. The place of the large leaning stone at the southeastern corner is reminiscent of the altar structure in Site No.21, a site of ritual atop a rock. Because it was not possible to excavate the entire area, no exact dimensions of the altar-like archeological site are available. There is no question, however, that the altar-like site was the largest in terms of area among all sites of Okinoshima, though it must have been somewhat smaller than the artifacts collection area mentioned above. The artifacts of Site No.1 consist of offerings from different performances of rituals during 8th and 9th centuries. And there are no other contemporary sites, be they for ritual performances or for dumping of used offerings. These two facts suggest the preparation of a large site was planned from the start in anticipation of such needs.

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

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

We have so far reviewed the archeological sites and artifacts of Okinoshima rituals during the 7th and 8th centuries termed as the phases of rituals partly in the shade of a rock and in open air. Admittedly, there are still many points that need to be elucidated in terms of actual details of the rituals, dating, etc. More recently, excavation studies of Mitakesan ritual site in Ōshima, Munakata City and of Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb in Fukutsu City, a mounded tomb of the terminal stage of Kofun Period, were conducted. The research outcomes from these studies have a no small amount of information and knowledge which are seem useful and beneficial for a review of the abovementioned two phases of Okinoshima rituals. In the remaining pages, the author would like to touch upon some of the outcomes for the sake of further studies on Okinoshima rituals.
Fig. 9 Site No. 1 artifacts as unearthed at the southeast corner
(Munakata Okinoshima I, Fig. 29 with additions)
Fig. 10 Site No.1 Pavement stone structure and unearthed artifacts in Grids 3B/C (view from northeast) (From Munakata Okinoshima II, PL.27)
Fig. 11  Artifacts of Site No.1 as unearthed
(From *Munakata Okinoshima II*, PL 32 and 35)
Table 3  List of artifacts unearthed from Site No.1 by category

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<tr>
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<th>2C</th>
<th>3A</th>
<th>3B</th>
<th>3C</th>
<th>3D</th>
<th>3E</th>
<th>4C</th>
<th>5C</th>
<th>6C</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl w/ dish</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish w/ bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pottery with holes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>182</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small Sue jar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small Haji</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sue Haji</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude pottery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand-formed pottery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-colored glazed jar</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lid jar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand-formed pottery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only complete or nearly complete objects are listed. Small fractures are omitted. Pottery is all Sue ware, unless Sue/Haji distinction is made. (From Munakata Okinoshima I Report, p.65)
3. Mitakesan Ritual Site and Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb

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

(1) Mitakesan site on Ōshima Island

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

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

1. Pottery
   - Nara three-colored small jars (5 pieces), lids (6 pieces)
   - Sue ware Lid, dish, plate, bowl, plate with legs (dish), dish with pedestal, bottles, pottery with holes, vessel stand, long-neck jar bottoms of jar, pot, etc.
   - Haji ware Plate, dish, dish with pedestal, bottles, jar
   - Pottery for salt-making

2. Steatite objects
   - Katashiro hitogata, umagata, funagata
   - Disc Disc with holes, disc without holes
   - Beads Comma-shaped bead, mortar-shaped bead

3. Metal objects
   - Bronze objects Mirror (eight-lobed), container (wrought miniature), harp-like object (miniature), bell, belt-like object, cylindrical object, studded object, unidentifiable object, bronze bell, bronze coins (medieval age Song Dynasty coin, Kan-ei Tsūhō)
   - Silver objects Utsurodama, cylindrical object
   - Iron objects Arrowhead, spear, knife (miniature, actual), disc (ceremonial mirror), bell, nail, unidentified object
   - Unidentified metal object Modern period object (?)

4. Clay objects
   - Beads Tubular bead, spherical bead

As the report pointed out, the above composition and types of artifacts suggest resemblance to those of Okinoshima Site No.1. And as indicated by the presence of metal miniatures, possible connection with the Okinoshima sites of preceding phase (Phase III) of sites partly in the shade of a rock (Sites No.5 and No.20) is worth attention. Because of these features the report dated this site to some point in time between Site No.5 and Site No.1. It means between the second half of 7th century and 9th century. Because a southwestern portion of the archeological site was destroyed in the course of the construction of Mitake Jinja shrine building, the total volume of ritual artifacts in this site must have been greater than what have been discovered. Yet still, it is rather unlikely that they should have exceeded those of Okinoshima.
Site No.5 or Site No.1. During the visit to the site on October 27, 2010, the author left a request to the investigators to check out if the ground beneath the unearthed Sue ware pots and other finds had any pockets in the ground earth. The result was yes, as was mentioned above. At one edge around the mountain top, a trace of man-made pocket of the ground earth was confirmed on which some object must have been set. Like the reconstructed layout of large pots and others in Okinoshima Site No.5, the conditions of this site suggest that rituals were indeed performed at this location. This point has a bearing on the question whether the conditions of the artifacts discovered at Okinoshima Site No.1, a ritual site in the open air, show that the site was a place for rituals or a dumping site for used ritual objects.

Turning to the composition of the ritual artifacts, features common to Phase III (partly in the shade of a rock) and Phase IV (in the open air) are both observed, as the report mentions. Among the finds, salt-making pottery, bronze objects (miniature containers, miniature harp-like objects), iron objects (miniature weapons, discs, bell-like objects) are uniquely representative of Phase III. The Nara three-colored small jar with lid, steatite objects (katashiro, discs) are artifacts uniquely belonging to Phase IV. The Sue ware has features representative of both phases. In total, some began during Phase III but most of the finds pertain to Phase IV; the ritual site is dated to from (the last stage of 7th century) 8th to 9th century. It is believed that the rituals here were performed in very close coordination with the rituals of Phases III and IV on Okinoshima. This leads to a view that by this time the triplet rituals involving Okinoshia Island, Ōshima Island and Munakata had established itself.
Fig. 12  Present state of Ōshima Mitakesan Site (bottom) and artifacts locations (top)
Fig. 13 Actual measurements of ritual objects unearthed from Ōshima Mitakesan Site (From Ōshima Mitakesan Site)
(2) Tebika-namikirifudō mounded tomb

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

Back room: length 2.1 m, width 1.3 m, height 1.9 m
Front room: length 1.8 m, width 1.6 m, height 2 m

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

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

The outcomes of the above-described investigations of the two archeological sites provide a new base for re-examination of Phases III and IV rituals in Okinosima. First, Ōshima Mitakesan site is a mountain top site pertaining to rituals in the open air. About a quarter of its area to the southwest was lost to land preparation work for the shrine building construction of the present-day Nakatsu-miya Auxiliary Shrine of Mitake Jinja. It is no longer possible to look at the entire site. Yet still it has been brought to light that artifacts were offered in the area stretching from the mountain top flat space down to the eastern slope. One point of concern already from the time of the investigation was whether the site as discovered represented a ritual site or a dumping site of used offerings. Because the mountain top flat space is not spacious at all, most of the offerings have drained down to the slopes over time. However, it was very important that a Sue ware large pot discovered in the flat space had been actually placed in a man-made pocket on the earth ground. The flat space was indeed a place for rituals by placing offerings in position, as was done with the pottery in Site No.5 on Okinosima Island.
The unearthed offerings included Nara-style three-colored jar with lid (five small pieces and six lids), eight-lobed mirror, steatite katashiro (hitogata, umagata, funagata), steatite disc, steatite beads (comma-shaped bead, mortar-shaped bead) as well as many pieces of Sue ware and miniature iron weapons. The first impression is this site resembles Okinoshima Site No.1, and that impression becomes stronger when one looks at the Sue ware vessel stand and pottery with holes, in particular. One should note however that bronze miniature containers and miniature harp-like objects indicate commonality with Okinoshima Site No.5 and the miniature weapons and some of the Sue ware are common to both Okinoshima Sites Nos. 1 and 5. Accordingly, the upper limit would go as far back as Phase III and the lower limit in Phase IV, while a majority will be from the latter. Above all, the vessel stands are mostly of small short-legged type, which are not found in Phase III. The accompaniment of pottery with holes is also reminiscent of Site No.1, a Phase IV ritual site. The metal miniatures unearthed here include bronze long-neck jars and dishes and harp-like objects (sheet fractures), but do not include hitogata or spinning tools that were found at Okinoshima Site No.5. With respect to katashiro, hitogata that was found in Okinoshima Site No. 22 (terminal stage of Phase II) or in Site No.5 (Phase III) are inexistent and so was funagata that was found in Site No.1. All these facts considered, it would not be correct to assume the upper limit to Phase III. Rather, it seems more appropriate to move it to the first half of Phase IV and assume that the Phase of rituals in the open air emerged already in the second half to the last stage of Phase III. If this is indeed the case, it will not be necessary to date the beginning of this archeological site no earlier than 8th century. At any rate, this is supporting evidence that the Phases II, III and IV developed in consequence without interruptions. Given the fact that an altar was formed in Okinoshima Site No.1, the confirmation of the large pot having been placed in a predetermined position is strong collateral evidence that the site was used for rituals in the first half of the period. There is a possibility that the lower limit of this archeological site ended before Okinoshima Site No.1. There is still much to be done in the comparative archeological study of Mitakesan Site and Okinoshima Site No.1. Further efforts are hoped for. Another interest discovery is of the evidence that suggest, as the report mentions, the triplet structure of Munakata Goddesses was already established in 8th century. This was a major contribution to Shintō shrine history.

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

The Sue ware vessel stands with holes and pottery with holes that were discovered at Okinoshima ritual sites were a focus of attention already at the time of the Okinoshima investigations, because such types had not been known even in the mounded tombs in northern Kyūshū. What are termed as vessel stands with holes comprise two types: the long-body type with the upper and lower rims spreading out and the other type characterized by the short outspreading upper rim and outspreading short body. The former type has been unearthed in Sites No.6, No.5 and No.1 and encompasses Phases II, III and IV. The latter was confined to Site No.1 and was discovered in abundance. The former type emerged in Phase II (Site No.6), became popular in Phase III (Site No.5) and continued into Phase IV (Site No.1). But in the transition from Site No.5 to No.1, there was a change from long-body to medium-body, heralding the approaching popularity of short-length, short-leg style. The long-body vessel stands of Sites No.6 and No.5 have round appliqué and convex belts as well as round holes, rectangular holes and long triangle holes. The medium-boy vessel stands of Site No.1 no longer have the convex belts in the lower half and the rectangular and long triangle holes in the body part are somewhat deformed loosely, even though round appliqué and convex belts on the upper half remain. The low-height short-leg type vessel stands continue to have round appliqué on the bent part of the outspreading upper half and triangle or rectangular holer in the short leg part, but their rim lines are somewhat blurred. It is rather easy to note the diminution in size from Phase III to IV, but where do we find the prototype of the vessel stands that were discovered in Sites No.6 and No.5? A clue to this question is the vessel stand that had been kept by the Munakata Grand Shrine prior to the archeological investigation and reported to be found in Site No.4. It is a large vessel stand of long-body type with round holes and long triangular holes on which a little shallow bowl-like dish sits. It is one of the large vessel stands that were quite popular from 5th century to about the middle of 6th century. Vessel stands of this type are often found among the finds of mounded tombs. The vessel stand is buried with a jar or comma-shaped beads with miniature comma-shaped beads mounted jar placed in the dish. There are not a few examples of such combinations found having been already fabricated in the kiln. At times, the combination is found firet together and inseparable. The item found in Soubaru Mounded
Tomb in Munakata City is perhaps the most resembling example of the large vessel stand of the reportedly Okinoshima Site No.4 origin. The vessel stand unearthed from Funabaru Tomb No.3 in Koga City is also close. And the three vessel stands unearthed from Hyakuta B2 Tomb in Asamachi, Munakata City are interesting because they are a mixture of items comparable to the one reportedly found in Okinoshima Site No.4 and the one found in Soubara Mounded Tomb as well as the one found in Okinoshima Site No.5. While no details of this mounded tomb are known, the artifact is reportedly unearthed from the front yard of the mounded tomb. In this connection, attention is paid to the kiln complex site at the Asamachi Kiyama Archeological Site located at the base of the hill on which this mounded tomb is situated.\(^{31}\)

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

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

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

In summary, the investigations of the ritual site on Ōshima Island and the mounded tomb in Tebikari, Fukutsu City produced outcomes that provide new facts and knowledge on the rituals of Okinoshima during the Phases III and IV and shed an important light for future studies.
Fig. 14  Measurements of Tebika-namikirifudō Mounded Tomb: mound, stone chamber as unearthed (from Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Complex III)
Fig.15 Artifacts unearthed from Okinoshima Site No.1 (1 & 2: 1/3, 3 - 17 & 20 - 23: 1/6, 18 & 19: 1/8, 20 - 24: 1/4) (Artifacts similar to those of Mitakesan Site are shown selectively.)

(From Ōshima Mitakesan Archeological Site)

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

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

(From Tsuyazaki Mounded Tomb Complex III, p.53)
Fig. 16 Harp-like objects, vessel stands with holes, pottery with holes (of Okinoshima and reference items) (From respective reports)
Fig.17  Sue ware vessel stands unearthed from Okinoshima ritual sites (1/6)
(From Okinoshima and Munakata Okinoshima I)
4. Update on the studies on imported ritual objects

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

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

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

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

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

With respect to the route of import to our country, SUGIMURA alludes to Article 8th Month of Kinmei-ki Year 23 (562 A.D.) that says: General Ōtomo-no-muraji Satehiko was dispatched to defeat Goguryeo with some few tens of thousands soldiers. Satehiko took advantage of the victory to enter into the palace and took with him some precious treasures to offer to the Emperor and Soga-no-Iname. Among them was mentioned ‘two penta-color banners.’ “It is believed that gilt bronze dragon heads that decorate the top end of the poles are extremely close to the unearthed gilt bronze dragon heads, also from the chronological perspective.”33b) (p.178) This is quite an interesting view. OKAZAKI Takashi reviewed SUGIMURA’s views in the report and subsequently endorsed his views including those on the design of the dragon heads and the importation route to Japan by expounding the discussions to the pole-top dragon heads of United Shilla and Goguryeo.34) Later in 1985 YUBA Tadanori proposed a new interpretation that the dragon heads were made in the United Shilla.35a) YUBA starts with the thesis that: “Rather [than China] Korea has more similar examples of the dragon heads and many are very close to that of Okinoshima.” (p.197) Then he makes references to the finds of Anapji Pond Site in Gyeongju City (7th – 8th century), items among the collections of Ho-Am Art Museum (10th century) and Gwangju National Museum (12th century) and the finds from Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do (in the National Museum of Korea, 9th century) and claims that the item from Yeongju is the closest to that of Okinoshima (Fig.18). The most important common feature he claims is “the gourd-shaped design that decorates the body part of the dragon head” (Fig.20). He describes: “The dragon head of Yeongju has irregular cloud-like decorations scattered over the bulges between the eyeballs and the comb and around the lips. Some are gourd-shaped while some others have yunqiwen (cloud-like pattern). The find from Okinoshima Site No.5 has similar design scattered around the bulge of lips. In the case of the dragon heads unearthed in Okinoshima, gourd-like patterns are put irregularly from behind the bulge around the lips to around the lower lip. Even though there is no directional consistency, the concentration is uniquely over the bulge around the lips.”35a) (p.201) He claims this design is not seen in other unearthed similar samples.
In his 2005 book\textsuperscript{35b} YUBA further provided the following explanation:

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

During a visit to Korea, the author of this paper also had an opportunity to look at the piece unearthed in Yeongju. It did not look so similar to the Okinoshima piece at all as YUBA claims. It is because:

Although the upper lips of both dragons are lifted upward, the Yeongju dragon has the mouth opened and bites a ball between the upper and lower teeth and fangs, while the Okinoshima dragon has the mouth almost closed and the lower lip is pushed downward. The mouth extending deep into the back (sideways) show the upper fangs and teeth bending downward and no lower fangs or teeth can be seen.

1. “The decoration over the comb above the eyeballs” flows all the way to behind the eyeballs and the ends are amplified upward into curls in the case of Okinoshima dragon. It also has whisker-like patterns below the curls and around the corners of the mouth in streams to the direction of the body as well as fin-like expressions below the lower lip. The Yeongju dragon has none of these.

2. The Okinoshima dragon has a horn from the head to the body side in a horizontal direction, the top of which turns upward. The Yeongju dragon has no expression of horns.

Those are major differences in outer appearance. After all, the only commonality is the “engraved gourd-like patterns.” But they are seen in the case of Yeongju dragon “over the bulges between the eyeballs and the comb and around the lips,” while in the case of Okinoshima dragon they over the lower lip to the jaw. In the morphological discussion of dragon heads, would the gourd-like engraved patterns which are hard to notice from outer appearance have greater importance than the three differences mentioned above? It was probably the case that the discovery of the engraved pattern in the details was given so much instinctive focus that the differences the author noted in (1) and (2) above were confused to be approximate enough and the point (3) was left untouched. The author et al visited Mr. Kang U-bang\textsuperscript{(supplementary note 2)} who was examining the Yeongju dragon from the viewpoint of art history (then president of Gyeongju National Museum) and showed photos of the Okinoshima dragon heads. He commented that the Yeongju dragon must be preceded by the Okinoshima counterparts. As a result of these re-examinations the author finds it difficult to endorse YUBA’s interpretations and believes it correct to support SUGIMURA’s.
Fig. 18 Dragon head samples in China and Korea
Next the subsequent developments in the study of the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck unearthed from Site No.5 (Fig.19) after the report will be reviewed. By way of introduction, let us first revisit the views of KOYAMA Fujio and OKAZAKI Takashi expressed before the report.

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

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

Subsequent publications on the Tang Dynasty three colored vase unearthed in Okinoshima includes the 1995 book by YUBA Tadanori.\(^{38}\) YUBA reviewed the new discoveries and advances in the studies in China since the time of the Okinoshima report and in particular noted the discovery by SU PAI of a three colored artifact dated to Period 2 (653 – 675) of the fifth phase of Xian Mural Tomb. Accordingly, he termed this period “Early Tang Dynasty-style Three Colored.” He considered for this category pieces “which have the forms and decorations recognizable to be of the second half of 6\(^{th}\) century to the first half of 7\(^{th}\) century and are believed to have been produced in the second half of 7\(^{th}\) century (Early Tang Dynasty to Heyday Tang Dynasty).”\(^{38}\) (p.108) This was indeed a new perspective because Tang Dynasty-style three colored pieces were generally thought to have concentrated in the first half of 8\(^{th}\) century, the heyday of Tang Dynasty. It was however difficult to substantiate the new perspective then because definitive dating was not possible with only the little amount of finds from one dated grave. More recently at last, “Dated graves such as the Zheng Rentai grave and Li Feng grave were excavated and it is now possible to confirm that Tang Dynasty-style pieces were already produced around 660 to 670.”\(^{38}\) (p.113) The piece collected in Tōkyō National Museum and the one unearthed from a Tang Dynasty grave in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province in China that are often quoted in reference to the Tang Dynasty-style three colored vase of Okinoshima are understood as typical examples of the Early Tang Dynasty-style Three Colored (Fig.19).

In light of such advances in research, it is now possible to date the Okinoshima vase back to the second half of 7\(^{th}\) century and the discrepancy with the dating of Site No.5 has been solved.
Fig. 19 Okinoshima artifacts imported from China and reference items
Now finally, let us take up the gilt bronze open-worked incense burner-like object (Figs.19 and 20). This artifact has been given many different names and it is only in recent years that this piece is viewed as imported. It has been kept in the warehouse of Munakata Grand Shrine as an item brought back from the Okinoshima Okanegura (Ritual Site No.). It was first introduced to the academia in 1940 (Showa 15) by TOYO Motokuni as “a open-worked bowl-like gilt bronze container.” Since then names like ‘incense burner-like piece’40 ‘open-work metal piece’41 ‘gilt bronze incense burner-like object’42 were given. It has body part diameter of maximum 13.5 cm and height of 9.5 cm. Its side-view is oblate. It has two convex belts and mezzo relieve open-worked patterns are given in three stages. The uppermost stage has nine compound petal lotus flower patterns and the tip forms points.

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

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

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

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Notes (not translated):

1) 5号遺跡の祭祀場所について報告書の「1. 遺跡」の項では「東西約8.1m、南北5.2m ほどの範囲」 (164 頁) とする記述があるが、同書 Fig. 67 の平面図 (168〜169 頁) でみても、これは実際の約 2 倍の数値であり「4. 小結」 (196 頁) の項で「東西 4.2m、南北 2.5m」あるのが正しい。
2) 報告書196 頁の「4. 小総」の項で、「岩の上方が西へのび、庇の役目をはたしている。巨岩が前面にのみて形成する庇は高いがせきて深くないので、良好とは言い難く、測量の結果でも祭場前面を覆うにいたってはいない。特に南側の部分などは庇がついていない。」と述べられている点は、本稿の記述とあい応じている。
3) 小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭祀遺跡の時代とその祭祀形態」 (『宗像・沖ノ島』I・報告編第 4 章 254〜266 頁) 1979年
4) 松本肇「金属製雛形祭祀品」 (『宗像・沖ノ島』I・考察編第 2 章第 6 節 391〜403 頁) 1979年
5) 奈良県立橿原考古学研究所附属博物館『特別展・伊勢神宮と考古学』p.28, p.59〜60、1985年
6) 宗像神社復興期成会『続沖ノ島―宗像神社沖津宮祭祀遺跡―』第七章第三節、1961年、「用途不明の金銅製品」として第 124 図 16・17 に収録された。
7) 佐田茂「沖ノ島発見の雛形琴について」 (一)・(二) (『西日本文化』第 82 号・第 83 号) 1972年 6月・7月
8) 井上光貞「古代沖ノ島の祭祀」 (『東大三十余年』私家版) 1978年、のち (『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会) 1984年、本稿収録時は後者に拠っている。
9) 小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭祀の遺構と遺宝―昭和 44〜46年度の調査―」 (『海の正倉院沖ノ島』206〜211 頁) 1972年、毎日新聞社
10a) 白石太郎「神まつりと古墳の祭祀―古墳出土の石製模造品を中心として―」 (『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第 7 集 79〜114 頁) 1985年
b) 同上「東国の祭祀遺跡とその遺物」 (群馬県立歴史博物館第 51 回企画展『海の正倉院沖ノ島―古代の祭祀』西・東) 118〜121 頁) 1995年
11a) 金子裕之「平城京と祭場」（『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第7集 219～290頁）1985年
b) 同上「都城と祭祀」（小田編『古代を考える・沖ノ島と古代祭祀』198～226頁）1988年、吉川弘文館
c) 同上「律令期祭祀遺物集成」（菊地康明編『律令制祭祀論考』323～602頁）1991年、塙書房
12）泉武「人形祭祀の基礎的考察」（『橿原考古学研究所紀要』第8号）1982年、吉藤忠編『日本考古学論集3』144～191頁による）収録1986年、吉川弘文館
13）広瀬和雄「カミ観念と古代国家」第4章、角川学芸出版
14）小田富士雄「沖ノ島祭遺銘跡の再検討」（『『宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群』研究報告』219～290頁）1991年
15a) 大場磐雄「日本上代の巨石崇拝」（『神道考古学論収』158～184頁）1943年、華文書房（初出1937年）
b) 同上「磐座磐境等の考古学的考察」（同上185～241頁）1943年、華文書房（初出1942年）
16）吉川宗明『岩石を信仰していた日本人―石神・磐座・磐境・奇岩・巨岩と呼ばれるものの研究』1991年、雄山閣
17）椙山林継「創刊にあたって」（『祭祀考古学』創刊号）1997年、祭祀考古学会
18）韓国国立全州博物館編『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』（同館学術調査報告第1輯）1994年
19）小田富士雄「韓国竹幕洞祭祀遺跡と古代祭祀」（小田『古代九州と東アジアⅠ』229～271頁）1998年、同成社
20）穂積裕昌「古墳時代の喪葬と祭祀」2012年、雄山閣
21）乙益重隆・網干善教・坂詰秀一「座談会・宗教考古学のイメージを語る」（『季刊考古学』第2号）1983年
22）小出義治「祭祀」（『日本の考古学』Ⅴ276～314頁）1966年、河出書房新社
23）椙山林継「祭と葬の文化―石製模造遺物を中心として」（斉藤忠編『日本考古学論集3』229～271頁）1972年（初出1972年）
24）宮本大社・上宮神宮編『石上神宮宝物誌』1929年、1980年復刊、吉川弘文館
25）和田萃「三輪山祭祀の再検討」（『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告』第7集323～340頁）1985年
26）三島彰英「銅鍬小考」（三品論文集第5巻『古代祭政と穀霊信仰』10～28頁）1973年、平凡社（初出1968年）
27）小田富士雄・真野和夫「1号遺跡1. 遺跡」（『宗像・沖ノ島』I報告書第3章第2節）1979年
28）山田広幸・重住真貴子・降幡順子『大島御嶽山遺跡―福岡県宗像市大島所在遺跡の発掘調査報告―』（宗像市文化財調査報告書第64集）2012年
29）井浦一「津屋崎古墳群Ⅲ―手光波切不動古墳の調査・手光湯ノ浦古墳群の調査―」（福津市文化財調査報告書第7集）2013年
30）森本徹「シシヨツカ古墳の喪葬儀礼」（大阪府立近つ飛鳥博物館『館報』16号）2012年
31）小原興治「祭祀」（『日本の考古学』V276～314頁）1966年、河出書房新社
32）椙山林継「祭と葬の文化―石製模造遺物を中心として」（斉藤忠編『日本考古学論集3』229～271頁）1986年（初出1972年）
33）杉村勇造「金銅製龍頭」（『沖ノ島Ⅰ』1970年、宗像大社復興期成会）
34）岡崎敬「金銅製龍頭」（『宗像・沖ノ島』I報告書第3章第2節）1979年
35）岩崎敬「金銅製龍頭」（『宗像・沖ノ島』I考察編第2章第2節328～333頁）1979年
36）弓場紀知「沖ノ島出土舶載遺物の再検討―特に金銅製龍頭の流伝に関して―」（『国立歴史民俗博物馆研究報告』第7集191～218頁）1985年
37）森本徹「香炉状品」（『沖ノ島』第三章第六節四、170～171頁）1958年
38）鏡山猛「香炉状品」（『沖ノ島』第三章第六節四、170～171頁）1958年
39）岡村秀典「伝沖ノ島出土の透彫り金具について」（茂木雅博編『日中交流の考古学』398～405頁）
2007 年、同成社
42）宗像大社神宝館『国宝一括指定記念：沖ノ島祭祀と宗像・福津の文化財展』2006 年 10 月 28 日～11 月 26 日
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44）小田富士雄「南朝塼墓よりみた百済・新羅文物の源流」（小田『九州古代文化の形成』下巻第四部第六章 462 ～ 509 頁・図版 41 ～ 47）1985 年、学生社（初出 1981 年）

Supplementary Notes (not translated):

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

2）姜友邦「統一新羅法幢의復元的考察—豊基出土金銅龍頭의出現과契機로—」（『三佛金元龍教授停年退任紀念論叢Ⅱ』）1987 年、346 ～ 358 頁、一志社（韓国）