

“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”

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Establishment of *Shaden* in Japan and Munakata Shrine

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Abstract: By the review on the archeological evidence and written materials, this paper firstly clarified that one of the reasons behind the diversity found among the background and momentum for the establishment of each individual Shinto shrine architecture in Japan arises from the high degree of tolerance over multiplicity. Secondly, the paper clarified the characteristics of the role of visualization that the Shinto shrine architecture played in Japanese *Kamimatsuri* through understanding not only of the archaeological sites in Ancient Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Tashima but also of the architectural complex of Middle Ages Munakata Shrine in Tashima. Today the Main House and Worship House of Hetsu-miya are the only two architecture that have survived at the premises in Tashima after the reconstruction in the latter sixteenth century. The two pieces of architecture continue to of high value as the structures to remember the past glory, the object of admiration and worship by many people and as living *Shaden*.

Keywords: *Kamimatsuri*, visualization, multiplicity, Middle Ages Tashima Shrine, Mandala-like stratification

1. Introduction

The task assigned to me by the World Heritage Promotion Committee, namely, "Establishment of *Shaden*(社殿) in Japan and Munakata Shrine" involves several controversial points and concepts. Before opening the discussion, this paper will firstly clarify these controversies.

The primary of which is the term “*Shaden*”. While it seem to share the general focus on the architecture related to Shinto, the term has historically been used without solidly defined scope. In a narrowest sense, it can exclusively refer to the main shrine building (cf. Encyclopedia of Shinto), namely, the *shinden*(神殿) or the *honden*(本殿), while it is often used with wider scope covering the entire complex of architecture for *Kamimatsuri*¹⁾; typically including the *heiden*(幣殿, the offerings house), *haiden*(拝殿, the worship house), and *buden*(舞殿, the court dance house). The wider scope of the term can further include other architectural constructions within the shrine premise such as the *torii*(鳥居, a gateway at the entrance to Shinto shrine), *kaki* (垣, fences), *mon* (門, gates), *kairō*(回廊, corridors), *temizusha* (手水舎, a place with covered water-filled purification stone basin trough to rinse hands and mouth in symbolic purification), *tōrō* (灯籠, lanterns), *gokusho*(御供所, offerings preparation kitchen), *komoriya* (籠屋, hostel for ritual participant), and *shamusho* (社務所, shrine office). Moreover, each individual shrine has distinct landscape, scale and design of the constructions and the composition as a building complex, which would be evident to anyone visited multiple Shinto shrines. Without a solid definition, the term cannot avoid the verdict as a questionable category due to its ambiguous scope and vast diversity within its referent themselves. Further, despite the referent of *Shaden* is mainly Shinto-originated, origin in Shinto is not a necessary condition for a *Shaden*. For example, there are cases such as *Gionsha*, *Tenmangū* and *Tōshōgū*, where the Buddhist style architecture are called *Shaden*. In this paper, the term “*Shaden*” is defined "a permanent building or a group of permanent architecture that functions as the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan, which consequently serves to visualize the object and process of the *Kamimatsuri*".

The interrelations of *Kamimatsuri*'s at the three sites of Munakata Shrine—*Okitsu-miya* on the remote island of Okinoshima on the Genkai Sea, *Nakatsu-miya* on Ōshima Island not very far from the mainland coast, and *Hetsu-miya* on a low wetland a little up the Tsuru River— provide an important clue to the understanding of the structural order of religious stage in East Asia. The unique characteristics of Japanese *Kamimatsuri* demonstrated by the interrelation of these three shrines itself is significant independently from the existence of *Shaden*, just as much as other prominent concepts surrounding the topic such as multidimensionality of the conception of deities represented by *Ara-mitama* (raging spirit) and *Nigi-mitama* (consoling spirit) or the personification of divine spirit as reflected in the annual parade of *mikoshi* (divine

palanquin), *dashi* or *yatai*. Considering these, in what sense is a perspective needed on the establishment of *Shaden* in Japan, and why do the architecture of Munakata Shrine merit reevaluation?

In order to address the questions above, the first section of this paper, in order to address the questions above, will provide a broadly-based discussion on the momentum that gave birth to *Shaden* despite the stages of *Kamimatsuri* could exist without it in such a form as Okinoshima Island archaeological site. In parallel with this, the second section will reveal that the unique characteristics of the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan are confirmable by ca.eighth century through the compositional comparison with its Chinese equivalent. Following the general discussions in previous sections, the third section will analyze the establishment process of the surviving *Shaden* in Tashima, Munakata City, hypothesizing the history of the *Shaden* of Tashima as the layering process of multiple ritual models with different structural principles. By reconstructing the layered models into chronological order, the final section will offer a historical perspective on the establishment and transformation of *Shaden* in Japan and the architecture of Munakata Shrine .

It is hoped earnestly that an understanding of the establishment and transformation process of the *Shaden* in Munakata Shrine provides a hint to the appreciation of the diversity found among *Shaden* in Japan and the source of their individual beauty. It is further hoped that this paper will serve to offer a fresh perspective in the study of religious architecture in East Asia.

2. Construction of *Shaden* as the stage of *Kamimatsuri*

(1) Momentum for the establishment of *Shaden*

[This section will overview the past studies on the establishment of *Shaden* and its diversity, along with introducing the theory focusing on the political momentum for the visualization of “Kami as what exists in *Shaden*” proposed by YAMANO Yoshiro.

The establishment process of the Japanese *Shaden* is fundamentally different from the development model of the ancient Greek shrine. The Greek Shrines have clear prototype, which makes it possible to explain later diversification as the development of variations. On the other hand, there seems to be no common prototype for Japanese *Shaden*. Though many researchers currently accept this view, it was the mainstream of the academic trend to look for common prototype until half a century ago.

The diversity in the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan was at one point in time explained from the viewpoint of simple evolutionary theory or the progressive view of history. These views were first systematized in a lecture notes of ITÔ Chûta in the thirty-fourth year of Meiji (1901)²⁾. Taking Ōmiwa Shrine (Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture), Kanasana Shrine (Kamikawa Town, Saitama Prefecture) and others, the theory assumes “*Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden* (in this context, ITÔ refers to the main architecture, *Honden*)” as the prototype. It argues subsequent establishment of *Taisha-style* in Izumo(Izumo City, Shimane Prefecture) and *Sumiyoshi-style* in Settsu(Ōsaka City, Ōsaka Prefecture) during the era of shrine-palace non-separation, followed by establishment of *Shinmei-style* of Ise-jingū Shrine (Ise City, Mie Prefecture) during the era of shrine-palace separation. Further diversification of the styles were simply explained as branching process with the lapse of time in the same manner.

The linear development hypothesis was widely accepted with no major modifications until after the end of World War Two³⁾. However, it was put to fundamental review by INAGAKI Eizō who argued that an epoch of the entire shrine architecture should be dated to the latter seventh century⁴⁾. The theory argues that the momentum behind the establishment of *Shaden* was the national level counter-reaction to Chinese culture which required *Shaden* to be a symbol of solidarity that could match magnificence of the Buddhist architectures. This implies that the root of the vast diversity of the *Shaden* is embedded in its initial design motive as anti-thesis to Buddhist architecture, in other words, their diversity necessarily exited from their initial establishment rather than emerging as the result of branching process from the prototype. In fact, it seems apparent that the construction and maintenance of, vast and magnificent architectural complex of such Shrines as Ise-jingū Shrine, Izumo Shrine, Itsukushima Shrine, Nikkō Tōshōgū would require national-project-level mobilisation of material, technology and labour force. It is convincing that any

discussions on the establishment of those *Shaden* complexes without consideration over politico-economic background would be hollow.

However, it should be also noted that the stage of *Kamimatsuri* did not always accompany such a fabulous architectural complex. ŌTA Hirotarō took note of the fact that, whilst many of the existing Buddhist temple architecture in Nara date from Kamakura Period, the largest group of existing *Shaden* is those dating from Muromachi period and locating outside Kyoto and Nara⁵⁾. While ŌTA left its reason unexplained, it seems reasonable to assume that the number of structures constructed itself had been increased considering that the surviving small *Shadens* maintained by units of village communities generally dates after this period throughout Japanese archipelagos. It suggests that large *Shaden* complex of national-level major shrines and small *Shaden* of local shrines had different period, background, and maintenance base for their establishment.

In addition, YAMANO Yoshiro proposed a hypothesis that the establishment of *Shaden* was motivated by the need for the concrete visualization of abstract political regimes and ideas by constant public presentation of *Kami* as “what exists in *Shaden*”, instead of the dedicatetion of “*Shaden* for the *Kami* to reside”⁶⁾. This hypothesis proposes a perspective focused on the structure of the stage of rituals to understand *Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden* that are abundantly reported in ethnological studies. For example, in case where rocks with extraordinary size and those exposed above ground with odd-shaped cracks (*Iwakura*; “rock-abode”: dwelling place to which the deity descends from heaven temporarily) or mountains and isolated islands (*Kannabi*) that can enclose spiritual object of worship in a limited area and suffice visualization function for *Kamimatsuri*, there would be little intrinsic momentum for constructing a *Shaden*. Likewise, for the *Kamimatsuri* performed by particular people in a particular community along with the flow of time or the passing of the season (for example, village agricultural rites, rites of passage and the “*marebito*” worship), the stages of *Kamimatsuri* installed inside a house or in a small space by the rice paddies are temporary for each event, which provides little intrinsic incentives for construction of *Shaden*.

If the hypothesis is accepted, the survival of “*Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden*” to our age would not cause controversy that the linear development hypothesis has to confront. It can further explain extraordinary variety and uniqueness in scale, layout, form and detailed designs found among existing *Shaden* architecture of each shrine and localities as the essential outcome of the differences in the motives, techniques, construction materials and power bases behind their construction and refurbishment. The hypothesis could also be applied to propose an answer to the question raised by ŌTA, the existence of pan-Japanese threshold era for the establishment of *Shaden*, since the simultaneous rise of the political need for permanent *Shaden* and the constant public presentation of *Kami* as “what exists in *Shaden*” could be speculated in the context of 15th century self-rule of hamlets, thanks to the contribution of study in literature-based historiography.

(2) Okinoshima Island archeological site and *Kamimatsuri*

This section of the paper will examine discussion on possibilities surrounding rituals in Munakata Shrine, especially in the Okinoshima archaeological sites.

The archaeological sites in Okinoshima are conventionally classified into four phases associated with four corresponding location types. The relocation of the sites were supposed to have occurred in the following order: atop rocks, the latter half of the fourth century to the fifth century (Phase I); rock shades, the latter half of the fifth century to the seventh century (Phase II); half rock shade-half open air of the latter seventh century to the former eighth century (Phase III); open air of the eighth century to the end of the ninth century (Phase IV)⁷⁾.

YUBA Tadanori, participant of the Third Research Excavation Team, paid particular attention to the discovery of flat iron ingots and gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness at the sites dating from latter half of the fourth century to the sixth century⁸⁾. While the vast majority of the metal objects (saddle buckle, crupper strap divider with spangles, gilt bronze-made leaf-shaped horse equipment ornament, bridle, bell and belt-end ornament) excavated from Archaeological Site #7 were Korean product that shows familiarity with those unearthed from Silla royal tombs, discovery of items other than potteries and steatite objects

from Japanese archaeological ritual site was rare at the point of his time. In addition, he pointed out that gilt-bronze horse trappings and harness, glass plates, bronze bowl and bronze platter were found at the Miyajidake Tomb, which belongs to the group of tumuli stretching from Munakata to Tsuyazaki. He continued, among the 21 mirrors unearthed in Okinoshima at Archeological Site #17 on atop a rock, domestically manufactured copies were of inferior quality both in terms of design and bronze compared with continental originals, suggesting a possibility that they could have been produced not as a treasure mirror but especially for the use in rituals. Nevertheless, rather strangely, he neither linked Okinoshima Island directly with the archeological sites at the group of tumuli in Munakata nor did he make direct comparison of the archeological sites on Okinoshima Island with those on the Korean Peninsula.

This confusing indifference in YUBA's otherwise straightforward report is likely to have derived from the works of INOUE Mitsusada that YUBA referred to ⁹⁾. INOUE's hypothesis, along with preceding analysis by HARADA Dairoku, emphasizes the seeming similarity of artifacts unearthed from Okinoshima to those unearthed in Kinai (ancient provinces in the immediate vicinity of Kyōtō and Nara: Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi). To construct a consistent explanation of Okinoshima archaeological sites within the context of the establishment of the ritual systems in Japan, INOUE overviewed that characterizing artifacts at Phase I sites (atop a rock) are mirrors, agate beads and swords, and those at Phase II sites (rock shades) are armor and horse trappings, arguing that they "were parallel with the grave goods found at tumuli" ¹⁰⁾. These observations served as an intentional foreshadowing to put into relief his argument that the function of the artifacts changed into "exclusive use for rituals" from Phase III onwards. The underlying approach behind his argument is the stance to seek norms of *Kamimatsuri* to *ritsuryō* system rituals that have historiographic ceiling at early eighth century, and this stance continues to be shared by archeologists today. YUBA even went so far as to suggest a possibility of participants "reading aloud an imperial edicts before the rock-abode, playing music and performing dances" at a rock shade archeological site ¹¹⁾.

As we reviewed in the preceding section, tokens of Okinoshima Island such as huge rocks and isolation from mainland itself bear potential chance of presenting themselves as visualized objects of *Kamimatsuri* by enclosing spiritual object of worship in a limited area. However, it does not indicate that the people who created the archeological sites on Okinoshima Island should have belonged to a specific country. In other words, the relation between tokens and the people who enshrine them are determined in cultural terms, which do not necessarily correspond with political group. Similarly, it obviously offers no ground to assume that all phases of *Kamimatsuri* performed in Okinoshima Island over approximately 600 years were continuous series of rituals conducted by a single entity.

As INOUE Hideo correctly pointed out, the Sea People up to the first half of Ancient Japan. There is no choice but to conclude it is uncertain that to what extent the documentations edited subsequently by intellectuals accustomed to farming culture and living in the imperial capital correctly reflect the real life of the people who sailed on the seas around Okinoshima ¹²⁾. It would be reasonable to consider that the Sea People could have regarded either of the political powers in the Korean Peninsula and Yamato the latter fourth century to the former fifth century as landed social groups profoundly different from them. Even though they are referred to as "Munakata-no-kimi" in the subsequent document "Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan)," unless it is proven that the people of Munakata should not have been involved in any multiple diplomacy and that they should not have been subjugated to a certain political power through all the phases of the archeological sites. The self-completing political theory of *Wa-koku* is not free from fragility. Procurement of flat iron ingots and horse trappings which was unthinkable for a clan in northern Kyushu before the eyes of Kinai people of later times could well have been possible for chieftains and unions of chieftains based in the Genkai Sea.

Artifacts of Okinoshima Island dating to the latter fourth century to the sixth century are unique in the sense that they are simpler than the contemporary counterparts of Silla, while being comparably gorgeous to artifacts of Kinai. If these artifacts represent any trace of rituals, the possibility of treasure-like artifacts having been repeatedly placed atop a rock or under a rock shade, unlike the permanent burial inside a grave chamber of a mounded tomb should be considered. Unfortunately, for the time being, there is no way to estimate these artefacts were offered how many times or how those lay-out changed within this period.

Turning to YUBA Tadanori's study again, he argues that the Archeological Site #22 represents a transition

period for the composition of artifacts¹³⁾. After Site #22, flat iron ingots, horse trappings, mirrors, accessories and other treasure artifacts largely disappear; instead, metal miniatures and steatite representations of objects begin to appear. In particular, open air archeological sites (Phase IV) contained a large quantity of potteries. Whilst small Haji potteries and steatite objects could be found practically throughout entire period, it was the configuration of artifacts that attracted discussion on Okinoshima Archaeological sites of the seventh century onwards.

INOUE Mitsusada paid a particular attention to Archeological Site #5 among the half rock shade-half open air sites (Phase III) and argued that he was able to confirm "a form of pottery set" consisting of "large pot in the back, then jars on vessel stand in the middle and line of long neck jars in the front". Moreover, he took up the gilt-bronze miniatures, especially the spinner and the gogenkin (musical instrument) that were unearthed from rock shade (Phase II) Archeological Sites #6 and #22, and from half rock shade-half open air (Phase III) Archeological Site #5 and argued that they correspond with the divine treasures of the Inner Shrine (Kōtai-jingū) of Ise-jingū Shrine from the beginning of the ninth century onwards¹⁴⁾. He further argued that the large amount of potteries accumulated at the open air (Phase VI) Archeological Site #1 corresponded to the forms of potteries listed in Engishiki¹⁵⁾. He linked this to his own hypothesis that assumes processes of gradual separation of the ritual stage from the rocks (where deities reside) and the formation of ritual stage independent from the rocks¹⁶⁾, arguing that conditions for the establishment of rituals, namely "(i) separation of deity and spirit, (ii) definition of items with which to enshrine the deity and (iii) formation of the stage of ritual" can be confirmed at the archeological sites of Okinoshima Island at the cross of the sixth and the seventh Centuries¹⁷⁾. INOUE was so hasty in arguing that the archeological sites on Okinoshima Island represent the precursor, if not already by themselves, of *ritsuryō-style* rituals that his discussions are silent as to how he envisaged concretely the stage of enshrinement.

A case in point is Archeological Site #1 that spreads out in an oval shape of 10 meters north-south and 9 meters east-west at a location approximately 47 meters away from the huge rocks. According to YUBA Tadanori, major artifacts were a large quantity of potteries that were found in many layers. It also seemed to him that quarry stones were laid out from the big stone at the southeastern corner to southwards. However, even though they were indeed laid out artificially, they were barely a row of stones placed along the contour, presenting themselves as a sort of earth retainer. YUBA frankly reports the scene of excavation, that he had "an impression that the place was like a yard for objects finished use in rituals"¹⁸⁾. It is difficult for the time being to term Archeological Site #1 as an open air ritual site and regard it as the stage of *Kamimatsuri*.

The heavy accumulation of potteries would mean that the alleged *Kamimatsuri* was frequently repeated for a rather long period of time. The interpretation that the artifacts of Archeological Site #22 demonstrate a transition period and the observation that many of the subsequent artifacts have high affinities with the *ritsuryō-style* ritual of Japan are acceptable. However, so many aspects of the stage of *Kamimatsuri* still remains unknown that it is difficult to determine which period/phase of the Okinoshima Archaeological site involved political momentum for the establishment of *Shaden*, unless further information were obtained from future studies including excavation of estimated location of the Shinto shrine building and underwater archaeology.

INOUE Mitsusada acknowledged "The main route of Japan-Korea traffic at the time was from Nanotsu in Tsukushi to Pusan via Iki and Tsushima, possibly involving a stopover at Karatsu in between Nanotsu and Iki" and estimated that Okinoshima Island "did not belong to this main route"¹⁹⁾. If this view is to be accepted, it raises question about the background and frequency of the dedication and offering ceremony, allegedly conducted by the Yamato kingly power and often associated with the large amount of potteries left at Archeological Site #1 on Okinoshima Island. It is unclear whether it is adequate to assume the Yamato kingly power really performed such a frequent dedication and offerings ceremonies over a long period of time on a remote island out of the main traffic route. Did the Yamato kingly power really used to perform dedication and offerings ceremonies so frequently for a long period of time on a remote island out of main traffic route?

Further, it is widely accepted that the *Kamimatsuri* at ancient Okinoshima sites were related to prayer for safety of voyage, diplomacy and trade between countries of Korean Peninsula. However, possibly as the consequence of the fixed concept surrounding *Kamimatsuri* and Shinto, it is often overlooked that the Japan-Korea sea route was also the transmission course of the Buddhism chronologically overlapping with

ancient *Kamimatsuri* at Okinoshima and strongly connected to the East Asian political current at the time. It would be inadequate to associate Okinoshima exclusively with Shinto as we imagine today, especially because it could be inferred that the emergence of Shinto out of preceding more primitive forms of *Kamimatsuri* could be understood in the context of anti-thesis to Buddhism.

Next Section will review the characteristics of *Kamimatsuri* of Japan at the time.

3. Characteristics of *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan

(1) Objectives of this Section

The scope of the hypothesis on the mechanism behind the establishment of permanent religious architecture presented in the preceding Section would not be limited to Japan but probably applies generally to any other parts of the world. However, in order to understand the establishment of *Shaden* in Japan in accordance with their specific layouts and architectural styles, it is necessary to clarify the characteristics of Japanese *Kamimatsuri* that differentiate it from other rituals in the world, particularly those in China and Korea. This Section will attempt to identify the characteristics of *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan focusing on the architectural structure of the stage of *Kamimatsuri*, which have been inherited to Munakata Shrine.

The momentum behind the creation of majestic architectural complex at the stage of *Kamimatsuri* in Japan as we see today is discussed in a work of INAGAKI Eizō²⁰⁾. INAGAKI compared architectural structure and detailed design of state-controlled Shinto shrines and those of contemporary Buddhist architecture, and emphasized that they are strictly contrastive. The essence of the INAGAKI's hypothesis is that unique architectural style of Shinto Shrines was established as the result of the elimination of strongly Buddhist elements from the architectural style of Shinto shrine, which was enabled after comprehensive mastery of the technical innovations brought by the Buddhist architecture. INAGAKI then argued that the innovational period for the shrine architecture is the latter seventh century "when history and traditions were emphasized, and the establishment of (ritsuryō) state regime attracted awakening, for instance, the period between the Taika Reform and the aftermath of Jinshin War".

This interpretation of INAGAKI's was so fresh and attractive that the several reservations he carefully made have been often overlooked. One of them is the difference between the Japanese ritsuryō state regime and the Chinese regime after which the former was modeled. While INAGAKI certainly have considered the reinforcement of ritsuryō regime in Japan that was accelerated following Japan's defeat in the 663 Battle of Baekgang in arguing that the latter seventh century to be an epoch in *Shaden*, there are no detailed discussions on this point in any of his works. Though INAGAKI does not do a clear statement at this point, a close examination of the eighth century state rituals in Japan reveals that the *Kamimatsuri* in Japan was not only non-Buddhist but also different from the contemporary Táng Dynasty rituals that were governed by *Ciling*(祠令) or *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*(大唐開元禮).

A review of *Tō-Nichi Ryōrei Taishō Ichiran* (*A Comparative Overview of Táng and Japanese Laws*) shows that, for example, Japan's *Koryō* (戸令: Codes for Household) mirrors the *Hùlǐng* of Táng Dynasty China with articulate additions and deletions based on close examination into every stipulation²¹⁾. Considering such a background of mixed attitude of inclination and/or rivalry against Táng systems, the uniquely Japanese stipulations contained in *The Jingi-ryō* (神祇令: Laws on the Ministry of Shinto cults called *Jingi-kan* in the *Taihō* and *Yōrō* Codes) draws particular attention. The following section will review the characteristics of non-*Ciling*, non-*Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan and the attitude of the Ancient Japanese state against *Shaden* in their control and offerings dedication. The discussion would be based on modification of YAMANO Yashiro's 1992 oral presentation briefing²²⁾ that compared the basic principles behind Táng Dynasty *Ciling* and Japanese *Jingi-ryō*. *The Jingi-ryō* along with his 1994 oral presentation briefing²³⁾ that discussed the differences in the patterns of ritual procedures stipulated by the *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* and by the the *Kōtai-jingū Gishiki Chō* (Report on Rituals in the Kōtai-jingū).

(2) Differences in the stipulations of Japanese *Jingi-ryō* and Chinese *Ciling* for *Yuánqǐū* (圓丘: round knoll) Rituals

There are many outstanding works on the comparison between Chinese *Ciling* and Japanese *Jingi-ryō*, and their evaluation is not an objective of this paper and hence is omitted. It should be pointed out nonetheless that many of the works to this date tended to emphasize the differences in the philosophies and power structures. At the same time, the enthusiasm for restoration of missing words was so strong that they tended to be overly focused on the similarities and differences of the words and phrases of *Ciling* and The *Jingi-ryō*. Not much work has been made to look at the fact squarely that the actual stages of *Kamimatsuri* in China and Japan are different.

The *Jingi-ryō* do not contain stipulations on *Tàimiào* (太廟: imperial ancestral temple), *Yuánqǐū* or *Shèjītán* (altar of earth and harvests) that are stipulated in *Ciling* to be the stage of performing rituals. Put differently, the (Ise) Jingū is not denominated as "*Tàimiào*" and there are no stipulations about architectural facilities at which the emperor or his/her proxy would worship heavens and celebrate the earth at every directional corner of the city. *Shoku-nihongi* writes in its Page Rén(壬)-Yín(寅), November, the fourth year of Enryaku (785) and Page Jiǎ(甲)-Yín(寅), November, the sixth year of Enryaku (787) that Emperor Kammu prayed for god of heavens at the field in Kashiwara, Katano, and *Nihon Montoku Tennō Jitsuroku* ("The True History of Emperor Montoku of Japan") writes in its Page Xīn(辛)-Yǒu(酉), November, the third year of Saikō(856) Emperor Montoku prayed for *Hàotiān* (昊天: heavenly sky) at Katano. Many scholars recognize these records as examples of *Jiāocí* (郊祀: imperial suburban ritual) in Japan²⁴). However, there are no records of *Jiāocí* rituals performed other than the three examples specified above, and there have been no reports of discovery of facilities corresponding to the altar in China at the archeological site in Kinya-Honmachi, Hirakata City (formerly of Katano Country) that is often referred to as being associated with the three examples.

With respect to around the 8th Korean Peninsula, the descriptions in Page April of the seventh year of Sinmun Wang of Silla (687) in *Records of Silla, Samguk Sagi* ("History of the Three Kingdoms") are cited as the evidence of *Wǔmiào*(五廟: mausoleums of the first five kings) having been established following the Táng rituals²⁵). In addition, the descriptions in Page the fourth year of King-Seondeok Wang of Silla (783), Vol. 10 of *Tōgoku-tsūkan*, that "*Shèjītán* (社稷壇) was erected and the ritual was performed" has attracted attention²⁶). Later in history, *Goryeosa* ("History of Goryeo") writes that on the first Xīn(辛) day of the New Year in the second year of Seongjong of Goryeo (983) a *Sitiānlǐ* (祀天礼: ritual) was performed to pray heavens for good harvest and rainfall at a *Yuánqǐūtán* (圓丘壇: altar on a knoll)²⁷). It is thus quite unusual in East Asia of the time that the Japanese *Jingi-ryō* include no traces at all of stipulations on altars, except for those that later in history came to be known as *Takamikura* (imperial thrones).

The body text of *Jingi-ryō* only lists the timings and the names of *Kamimatsuri* rituals such as *Kinensai* in *zhōngchūn* (midspring) (the second of three spring months), *Chinkasai* in *jìchūn* (late spring) (the last of three spring months), *Kanmisosai*, *Saikusa-no-Matsuri*, *Ōimi-no-Matsuri* and *Fūjinsai*, the last four all in *mèngxia*(early summer) (lunar April). There are barely brief descriptions about *heihaku* (offerings to gods) to be dedicated to deity, *kessai* (purification) before performing the ritual and *kambe* (shrine estate) as economic backbone. If not for the two commentaries, *Ryōnogige* and *Ryōnoshūge*, even the name of enshrined deity would not be known. There are no stipulations at all as to the facilities at which *Kamimatsuri* would be performed. Further, in *Jingi-ryō* the worshiped gods are not of abstract characters but often are named after the place they are enshrined or the family clan that enshrine them. According to the annotations contained in *Ryōnoshūge*, gods of Ōmiwa, Sai, Ise, Isagawa, Hirose, Tatsuta, Ōyamato, Suminoe, Anashi, Onchi, Ofu, Katsuragikamo and Kiinokuni-Hinokuma, at least, are so named after real place names or family clan names. The annotation of which writes that "*Koki*" (a reliable commentary written in 738) has the same passage, suggesting that this stipulation dates back to around the tenth year of Tenpyō (738)²⁸).

It is clear that certain principles and power structure unique to *Kamimatsuri* of Ancient Japan were behind these phenomenon. Still, questions remain as to the reason why the 8th century Japan did not set out standards and norms for the stage of state-run *Kamimatsuri*, while having the established political order strong enough to adopt Chinese *ritsuryō* regime and the economic and technical strengths sufficient for

constructing temples, palace architectures and grid-pattern layout capital city consisting of accurately measured square blocks. As a prelude before exploring the reasons, let us first review the stage or ritual and the architectural facilities that are stipulated in Chinese *Ciling*.

KANEKO Shūichi argues that *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* "does not reflect the real situation of rituals as performed at that time" ²⁹⁾. At the same time he makes a reference to the excavation report of Xī'ān Táng Chéng (working team on Táng era city of Xī'ān) Institute of Archeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and writes that "the *Yuánqǐū* of Táng is four-layered, presumably following the *Yuánqǐū* of Sui Dynasty, and is the only surviving pre-Ming, pre-Qing *Yuánqǐū*." He continues that the *Every Winter Solstice Speculation* (每歲冬至條: Měisuidōngzhìtiáo) of *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* provides with respect to the *Yuánqǐū* that "an altar should be set up 2-li east outside the City's *Mingdemen*. The altar should be four-layered (the original language is "four stories"). Each layer (floor) should be 8-chi 1-cun, the bottom layer (lowest floor) should be 20-zhàng wide, the second layer (second floor) 15-zhàng wide, the third layer (third floor) 10-zhàng wide and the top layer (fourth floor) should be 5-zhàng wide" ³⁰⁾.

While KANEKO's work revealed the deviation of the actual performance of imperial rituals from the institutional stipulations, he still admitted that there was the *Yuánqǐū* (round knoll) in the suburbs of Táng Dynasty capital of Chang'an (modern Xi'an) and its archeological site has been passed on to this date. With respect to the altar for the Earth, or the *Fāngqǐū* (方丘: square knoll), which presumably located in the northern suburbs of the city, KANEKO writes "the location of Táng's *Fāngqǐū* is not known," however he admits the existence of *Tàimiào* and *Shèjì tán* by writing "Táng's *Tàimiào* was located at the southeastern corner of the *Huángchéng* (皇城: imperial palace) in a symmetrical position to that of *Shèjì tán* at the southwestern corner" ³¹⁾.

It seems undeniable that at least *Yuánqǐū*, *Shèjì tán* and *Tàimiào* were constructed among the facilities stipulated in the ritual codes in the Táng era China. Well, then, why *Jingi-ryō*, which mirrored the Táng Dynasty *Ciling* in form, does not mention *Yuánqǐū*, *Shèjì tán* or *Tàimiào* at all?

It seems clear that Japan at the time had a mastery of techniques sufficient to build large altars considering the existence of the gigantic mounded tomb groups in Osaka Plain. Abstention of rituals at the *Yuánqǐū* could possibly be explained as a result of diplomatic consideration since the ceremony for the Heaven was under exclusive authority of the Chinese Emperor. However, this does not explain why *Shèjì tán* to enshrine gods of earth and harvest and *Tàimiào* to honour the imperial ancestors should have also been avoided. In attempt to explain this controversy, this paper proposes that it was bureaucrats of *Jingikan* (Council of Religious Affairs) who found the facilities for imperial ritual unacceptable, not out of technical or diplomatic reasons, but as an issue of Japanese tradition as to the stage of rituals.

Fig.1 illustrates the rituals that are stipulated by the provisions of *Ciling* relating to the *Guó chéng* (国城: Capital City), four suburbs, four comers and *zhōu* in all four directions, based on Tōrei Shūi-ho ³²⁾. It can be seen that the Táng *Ciling* was a highly abstract ritual code with ritual dates based on *dōngzhì*(winter solstice) - *xiàzhì*(summer solstice) - *chūnfēn*(spring equinox) - and *qiūfēn*(autumn equinox) or *lichūn*(beginning of spring) - *lixià*(beginning of summer) - *liqiū*(beginning of autumn) - *lidōng*(beginning of winter), each of which dates were allocated to the four directions of south - north - east - west. In *Ciling*, the *Yuánqǐū* was presumably conceived as an architectural setting for the Son of Shangdi, namely, the Chinese Emperor to gather and worship the celestial order that spreads out of the imperial palace into four directions and upward, the temporal order of stably passing four seasons to bring rich cereals crop and the abstract being of Shangdi who governs these orders.

Jingi-ryō likewise provides for routine rituals to be performed respectively in *zhōngchūn* (midspring), *jìchūn* (late spring), *mèngxià*(early summer), *jìxià*(late summer), *mèngqiū*(early autumn), *jìqiū*(late autumn), *zhōngdōng*(midwinter) and *jìdōng*(late winter).

And Ōimi-no-Matsuri and Fūjinsai in *mèngxià*(early summer) are also performed in *mèngqiū* (early autumn), Tsukinami-sai (monthly festival), Michiae-no-Matsuri and Chinkasai that are conducted in *jìxià*(late summer) are to be repeated in *jìdōng* (late winter) and Kanmiso-no-Matsuri that is performed in *mèngxià*(early summer) is to be repeated in *jìqiū* (late autumn). The ritual calendar under *Jingi-ryō* was more enumerative and less abstractly structured than *Ciling*.

In the case of *Jingi-ryō*, the occasion of *Kamimatsuri* that is comparable with the Chinese counterpart held

at the *Yuánqū* is Kinensai. This *Kamimatsuri* is to worship the deities in the sky and earth. This may be regarded as the *Kamimatsuri* that shows the emperor possesses the right of rituals over the entire homeland. But that *Kamimatsuri* in Japan, unlike the Chinese counterpart which was performed centrally at the *Yuánqū*, was performed by a procedure called *hanpei*. *Hafuri* (Shito priests) of shrines around the country travels to the office of *Jingikan*, receive *heihaku* distributed by *Jingikan*, take it back home and offer it to their respective deities enshrined. There is an official document dated the sixth year Hōki(775) that warned against failure of *hafuri* to report to *Jingikan* for the occasion³³⁾. This was an event totally different from the sky-worshipping ritual performance that was audio-visually extravagant and heart-catching to the audience.

Full attention should be paid to the fact that the illustrative chart about *Ciling* does not accurately depict the actual scenes of Táng imperial rituals; rather it reflects the concepts and principles of *Ciling*. It should be remembered also that it is not a matter of our immediate concern to what extent the principles of imperial rituals match the reality.

Let us now continue our discussions with a focus on the hypothesis that the editors of *Jingi-ryō* did not prepare a *Yuánqū*, *Shèjītán* or *Tàimiào*, not only out of diplomatic consideration but rather out of their perception on the stage of *Kamimatsuri* and the tradition of space recognition in Japan.

(3) Differences in the procedural provisions for *Shè jì* rituals

Among the rituals stipulated in *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*, the ritual of *Shè* (社: deity of soil) and *Jì* (稷: deity of grain) is performed not as a privilege of the emperor but also by the local officials at *zhōu*(州: province), *xiàn*(縣: county) and *lǐ* (里: village) levels. In this sense, it is somewhat similar to the *hanpei* system of Kinensai prescribed in Japanese *Jingi-ryō*.

And the imperial ritual to worship *Dàshè*(大社) on the first Day of *wù*(戊) in *zhòngchūn* (midspring) and *zhòngqiū*(midautumn) is full of decorations to show dignity and is complicated, but the fundamental elements are same as those of *lǐ* ritual.

In the *lǐ* ritual, the divined throne is set up near a *Shénshù*(神樹: divine tree), instead of building the square-shaped *Shè* and *Jì* altars used in *zhōu* and *xiàn* rituals. Here we see the original prototype of rituals dedicated to deities of soil and grain. The *Shèjì* rituals performed at provincial and *xiàn* levels are generally identical in content and procedures except for the ranking of the presiding and other officials involved; both lack the straightforwardness of *lǐ* ritual and are too decorative. We will direct our attention to the movements of people at the ritual site of *Shèjì* in *lǐ* and compare them with those in the *hanpei* ritual in Japan.

The stipulations about *Shèjì* ritual mostly refer to taboos (purification) that should precede the ritual, preparation of seating signboard and objects, preparation of sacrifice animal, dedication of offerings and divine foods and dedication of divine wine and ritual meat. The movement of people on the ritual site mostly related to the dedication of offerings and divine foods and that of divine wine and ritual meat.

Fig.2 illustrates schematically the movements of participants in a *lǐ Shèjì* ritual³⁴⁾. The central player of the ritual procedures is (1) the *Shèzhēng*(社正: chief priest). Even though (2) the dedication of divine foods is performed by an assistant official, the *Shèzhēng* is ushered, (3) washes hands, cleanses the dipper and (4) scoops divine wine out of the barrel in the dedication of divine wine and ritual meat. He then approaches the divine throne from north to south and (5) dedicates the divine wine.

When (6) the *hafuri* finishes reciting the praise to the virtues of the deity of the soil, the priest (7) dedicates the divine wine now to (8) the deity of grain. When (9) recital for that is over, (10) he drinks up the divine wine in front of the enshrined deity and when that is completed, (11) returns to the position from which the dedication began.

In the corresponding rituals at the imperial, *zhōu* and *xiàn* levels, the chain of actions is attended by many more assistants. In addition to divine foods, precious offerings are dedicated, and the emperor, *cìshǐ* (刺

史: governor) or *xiànlíng*(県令: corresponding to the *Shèzhēng*) not only drink the divined wine but also eat the meat after the dedication. There are also stipulations providing for repeated dedication by the deputies and other officials as well as for music playing in the case of emperor. The emperor and his proxy perform the ritual facing the deity to the south.

The oldest documentation of *hanpei* ritual, which is comparable to the Chinese rituals described above, is Report on rituals in the *Kōtai-jingū* which was submitted to *Jingikan* by Daigūji (Senior Priest) Ōnakatomi-no-Masatsugu on August 28, the twenty third year of Enryaku (804). This document also contains descriptions about the annual events at Ise-jingū Shrine including somewhat detailed procedures for three *Kamimatsuri* --- the *heihaku* dedication in February Nenkisai, dedication of Akarahiki thread in June and Autumn Harvest Festival (Kannamesai) in September.

INOUE Mitsusada saw the essential point of Kinensai is in the act of "priests around the country paying a visit to *Jingikan* and receive the distributed *heihaku*," and argued that "it is by nature different from, for instance, an emperor dispatching his envoy to Ise-jingū Shrine to dedicate *heihaku* on his behalf" ³⁵⁾. When one considers the act of extraordinary dedication for which an envoy is dispatched to Ise-jingū Shrine or certain other shrine for a special reason, INOUE's view that such a practice must be clearly distinguished from the *hanpei* distribution to shrines at Kinensai is indeed to the point. What we would like to consider here is, however, in what way the distributed *heihaku* was dedicated to deity at the actual stages of *Kamimatsuri*.

Accordingly, an analysis of offerings dedication at Ise-jingū Shrine would be useful to analyze the offerings dedication made at shrines around the country during Kinensai which *Jingi-ryō* stipulates to be a ritual to worship celestial and earth deities. The locations of places and objects indicating the stage of *Kamimatsuri*, such as Daisanjū and Daini Gomon, inside Ise-jingū Shrine (the inner shrine) are estimated, based on the draft proposal for Imperial Palace restoration by FUKUYAMA Toshio ³⁶⁾ and the work of YAMANO Yoshiro referenced earlier ²²⁾.

Principal participants of the *heihaku* dedication ritual in Kinensai included: the official of the central government who was dispatched for the purpose of delivering *heihaku* (gifts from *Jingikan*) --- historical records refer to him as "Ekishi (station envoy)" or "Shi (envoy)" --- Daigūji, Negi and Uji-no-Ōuchindo. But unlike the Cíling in Chinese *lǐ* ritual of *Shèjì*, these participants do not move around themselves. For the ritual which is performed in the front garden of Shōden of Naikū, the Ekishi sees to it that there should be no errors in the ritual proceeding. Daigūji, Negi and Uji-no-Ōuchindo hold Futo-tamagushi in the hand and hand it over to a number of lower-ranking Monoimi-no-Chichi, instructing them to carry it onto and place it at the Gomon. Futo-tamagushi, not the people, move in the garden ritual at the Shōden of inner shrine. It should be remembered that Futo-tamagushi per se is not a *heihaku* (offering to god); it is a ritual utensil that is prepared by Yamamukai Monoimi-no-Chichi in the case of Ise-jingū Shrine.

And in this ritual, the deity faces southward and people northward.

In Fig.3 "Procedural pattern of Nenkisai *heihaku* envoy dedication (based on "*Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō*" (Book of rituals and ceremonies of the *Kōtai jingū*), (1) indicates Daigūji, Negi, Uji-no-Ōuchindo, Uchi-Monoimi-no-Ko and other participants take their respective positions. (2) denotes Norito recital. (3) indicates that the Futo-tamagushi held by Daigūji, Negi and Uji-no-Ōuchindo are carried away by Monoimi-no-Chichi (their respective assistants) and placed on the right and left sides of Gomon. (4) shows the act of bowing by all the participants without stepping out of their prescribed positions to the direction of Shōden which lies behind the (Uchi-tamagaki) Gomon hidden by Uchi-tamagaki and Mizugaki fences, (5) shows that then they move to Aramatsuri-no-Miya, bow and Negi and officials of lower ranks offer tamagushi while the Ekishi and Daigūji are seated in the outer Naorai-den (banquet hall) and monitor the ritual. (6) indicates that Negi and officials of lower rank dedicate to the Shōden the *heihaku* presented by *Jingikan*. (7) represents Naorai that concludes the ritual.

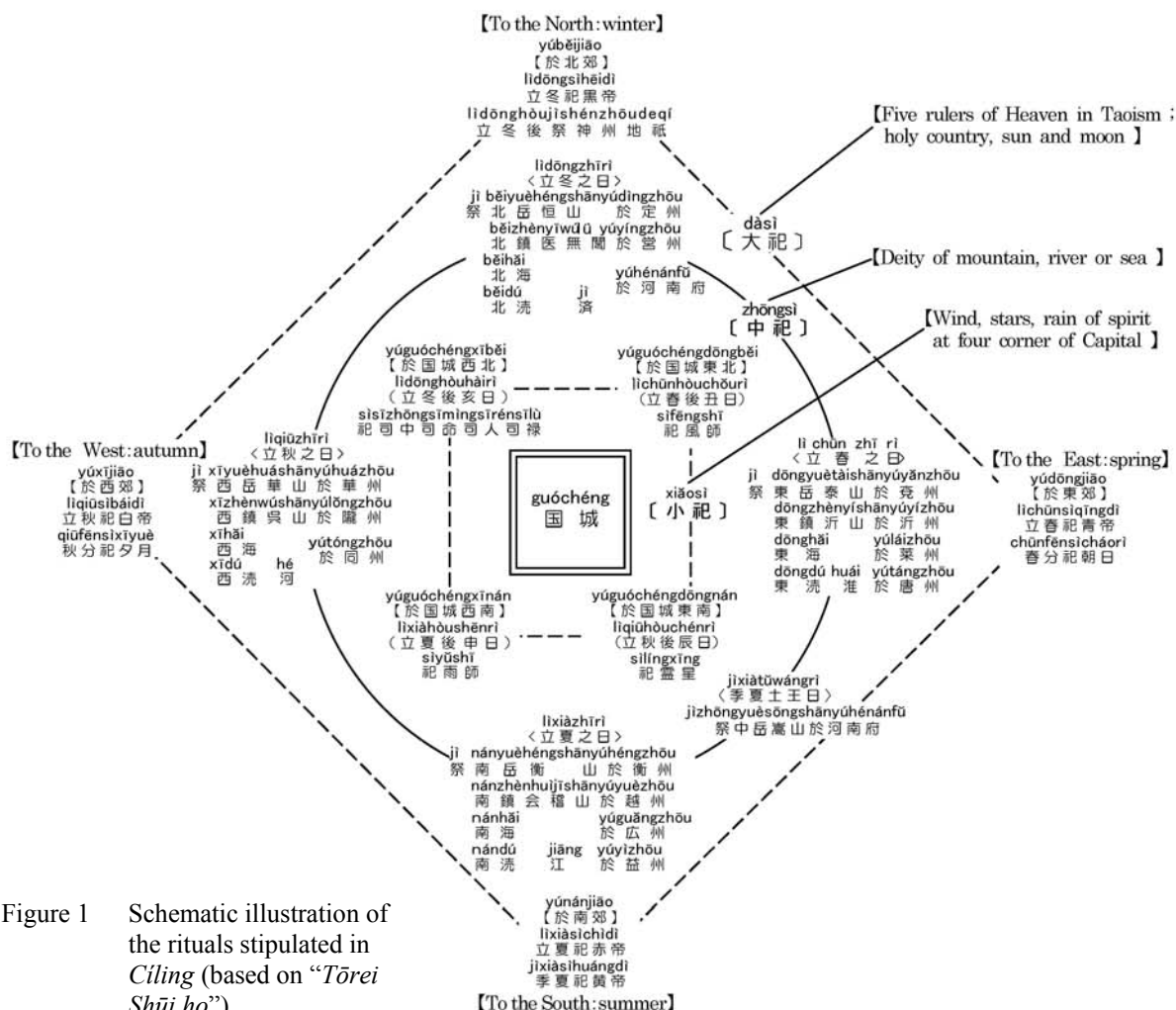


Figure 1 Schematic illustration of the rituals stipulated in *Ciling* (based on “*Tōrei Shūi ho*”)

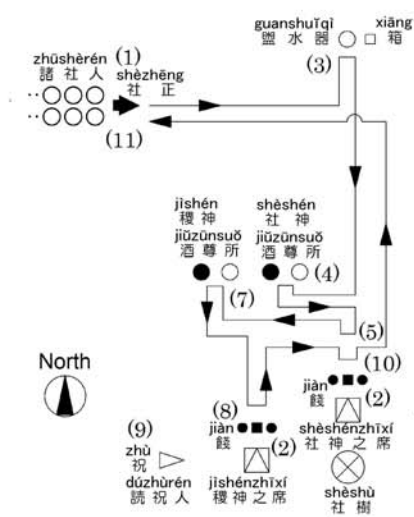


Figure 2 Schematic illustration of ritual Proceedings in a *Li Shèjì* Ritual (based on “*Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*”)

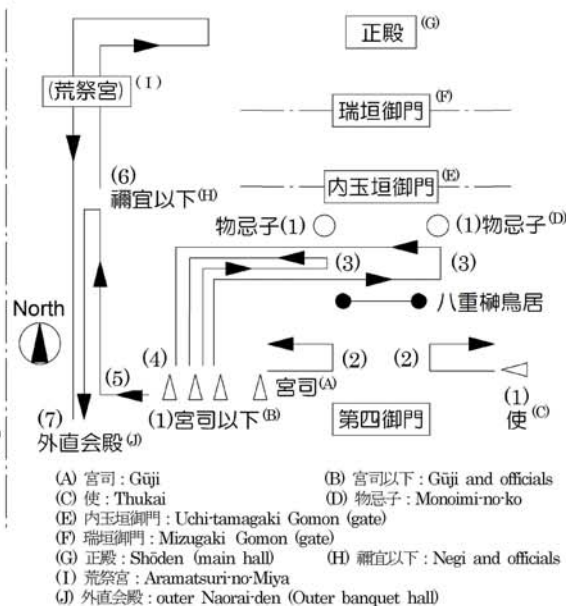


Figure 3 Procedural pattern of Nenkisai heihaku Envoy dedication (based on “*Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*”)

(4) Uniqueness of *Kamimatsuri* in Ancient Japan

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss which of the rituals in *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ* the ritual of heikaku dedication before deity in Japan's Kinensai resembles to. Of higher significance is the reason why *Jingi-ryō* intentionally ignored the stipulations of *Ciling* relating to the stage of *Kamimatsuri*.

It is believed that the *Kamimatsuri* of Ancient Japan was viable only by involving *heihaku* dedication to the concrete representations that were traditionally recognized as such in the respective localities. Abstract worshipping of divine spirits by inviting them to one *Yuánqū* would not have been realistic. There, a force must have been at work to defend the hometown *Kamimatsuri* as cultural heritage and refuse centralistic standardization.

This can be also inferred by the observer status given even to *Ekishi* who is asked to be seated outside the double fence surrounding *Shōden* of Ise-jingū Shrine which is often referred to as the Japanese counterpart of *Tàimiào*. *Ekishi* is not allowed to inspect if the *Shōden* architecture is in accordance with the rules or not. His functions merely are: to recite *Norito*, to observe the priest perform the ritual in his own way, and to confirm that the *heihaku* from *Jingikan* is duly dedicated to deity.

The foregoing discussion may provide an answer to one of the questions posed in the preceding Section concerning the *ritsuryō-style* ritual at the archeological site on Okinoshima Island, namely, why the regal power in Yamato was involved with the *Kamimatsuri* frequently for a long period of time that was performed on a remote island away from the main sea route of interchange with Korea. Whilst the central institution made rules on the utensil and potteries to be used in the offerings dedications, the stage of *Kamimatsuri* was left to the hands of indigenous ritual performer and the representative of the central institution abstained from entering deep into the secret ritual site. This practice can be considered as one the characteristics of *ritsuryō-style* rituals in Ancient Japan.

According to YAMANO Yoshiro, maintenance of architecture at official shrines was a heavy duty with little financial backing for the provincial *cishǐs* and priests. The *Rikkokushi* (Six National Histories) contains a passage that a shrine received warning messages from *Jingikan* and other central government officials for the neglect of architectural damages³⁷⁾. He also mentions in the paper that *Jingikan* itself found it more convenient to conduct *heihaku* dedication than to issue warnings for shrine building maintenance, because while the former can be planned according to a schedule the latter involved a heavy financial burden. With the passage of time, there are more records on *heihaku* dedication, the paper points out.

In the Chinese *Shèjì* ritual the emperor or his proxy such as *cishǐ* of the *zhōu, xiàn* ling or chief shrine priest makes the performance to the crowd by performing the ritual in honor of the deities of soil and grain. It would have been an emergency situation, if the *Shèjìtán* or *Shénshùs* should not have been prepared in accordance with the standards or damaged. Building of the *Yuánqū* and maintenance and repair of the *Tàimiào* were projects on which the national authority was at stake. It was hardly a matter of issuing warning letters.

As INAGAKI Eizō pointed out, an epoch in *Shaden* in Ancient Japan is found in the latter seventh century, particularly during the reigns of Emperors Temmu and Jitō. During that period most probably the sacred forms of Japan were created and established to a level rivaling that of Buddhist architectures. However, it is dangerously naive to assume that the prototype Shinto shrine building that was then established developed over time by evolutionarily branching out and spreading throughout Japan.

The development process of Japanese *Shaden* must be understood not by growth models of basis form and its development as is represented by the Greek pantheon but by untangling the layers of locally-distinct motives and almost arbitrary adoption of multiple form principles.

In the Section to follow, we will attempt to analyze this architectural development process, focusing on Munakata Shrine, especially Hetsu-miya.

4. Establishment of *Shaden* at Munakata Shrine

(1) Summary of issues

"History of Munakata Shrine volume one" provides an exhaustive compilation of documents and their authentication on the architecture of the Shrine³⁸⁾. But a close look at the histories of Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Tashima in Munakata City reveals that there has been a very complicated process before the *Shaden* or the groups of *Shaden* that we see today came to be found at the present locations.

The first issue of our interest is when the first Shinto shrine building of Munakata Shrine was built. It is widely known that the first officially confirmed record is the article in *Chūyūki* (A Diary of Fujiwara-no-Munetada) for December 29, the first year of Chōshō (1132) writing about the loss of the shrine building by a fire on September 11 that year. The same *Chūyūki* reads that the *jin-no-sadame* (court administrative meeting) of May 28, the second year of Chōshō (1133) decided that the *Ciling* (祠令) should be ordered to construct a new building following the case example of the second year of Gen'ei (1119). So, that shows some form of construction had already existed by the second year of Gen'ei. Some argues that the Shinto shrine architecture was renovated during the reign of Emperor Kōnin in the seventh year of Hōki (776), the first year of Ten'ō (781) or the second year of Ten'ō (782). But this view in either case is based on a kind of popularized histories written as far apart as in the fourteenth century and after; it can hardly be considered a true record.

More worthy of attention is the plea Munakata Shrine in Yamato made that was quoted in the Kanpu (ministerial order) dated October 29, the fifth year of Kanpyō (893) appearing in Ruijū Sandaikyaku (a statute book). "Our ancestor shrine in Chikuzen owns Fuko (feudal subjects) and *Shinden* (divine paddies), but we in Yamato do not have them. We therefore filed an application in accordance with the June 28, the tenth years of Jōgan (868) Kyaku (imperial decree) to the effect that the shrine in Chikuzen should be responsible for the cost of repairs of our shrine building in Yamato. Time has passed idly without anything having been realized." Whether or not this allegation was legitimate is not of our immediate concern. If this Kanpu is not fraudulent, it suggests that Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen in the latter ninth century was believed by the Imperial Court to have a financial base strong enough to support the building repairs of Munakata Shrine in Yamato.

As we discussed in Section One, the more important question is when and how the political trigger visited Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen, requiring construction of permanent *Shaden*. In so far as we rely on documentations, we can only state some time before the Twentieth century, probably earlier than the latter ninth century, and we cannot make any definitive statements about the motives that triggered construction. Accordingly future works will be focused on the motives for Shinto shrine building construction at Munakata Shrine based on what may be described as circumstantial evidences.

The second point of issue is how to interpret the situation of Tashima in the Middle Ages where Tei-ichi-gū (*Sōja*), Tei-ni-gū (*Chūden*), Tei-san-gū (*Jishu*) and other *Shaden* coexisted with Buddhist halls and towers, namely, the situation before the fire disaster of the third year of Kōji (1557). Is not there a way to analyze this coexistence of these *Shaden* and Buddhist halls and towers other than by using the cliché word of syncretistic fusion?

The third issue is how to analyze the existing *Shaden* of Okitsu-miya and how to understand its establishment and transformation process. As can be seen by the conservative attitude once shown by ICOMOS with respect to the question of registration as a World Cultural Heritage, maintenance work involving repairs and modifications is indispensable for wooden architecture. In the case of Japanese *Shaden*, furthermore, it is a rather common tradition to use repairing as an opportunity to modify some designs out of nostalgic intentions, which makes exact understanding of currently existing architecture more difficult. This paper will rely on the documentations in *Munakata Jinja-shi* (History of Munakata Shrine) to revisit the Main House and Worship House of Hetsu-miya that have survived to the present day since the late sixteenth century with several renovations.

The first point of issue, namely the dating of first construction predominantly belongs to the political history domain and because of the constraints in page space is omitted here for a separate work.

(2) The Hetsu-miya architectural complex in the Middle Ages before the Grate fire

A useful picture to estimate the layout of *Shaden* and Buddhist construction at Hetsu-miya before the April 24, the third year of Kōji (1557) Grate fire is the *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* (Old picture of Tashima Shrine Frontyard)³⁹⁾. The picture is reportedly contained in one of the manuscripts of "Munakata Tsuiki Kō" written in the third year of Gen'na (1617) now owned by Mr. RIKIMARU Yohachirō⁴⁰⁾. It is color painted. *Munakata Jinja-shi* judges it to be an accurate depiction of the architecture as in the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) with minor addition of architecture subsequently construction. Using place names as clue, attempts were made to estimate the original locations of architecture.

As the works by MANO Kazuo⁴¹⁾ and SUZUKI Takatoshi⁴²⁾ on Usa-gū Ōei Kozu demonstrate, however, pictures drawn in the latter sixteenth century for the purpose of reconstructing the architecture lost by wars or disasters tended to illustrate into one picture architecture that had existed in different times. Unless proven by excavation as was done for the temple attached to a shrine (Jingū-ji) of Usa Hachiman-gū, the *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* should not be easily understood to be an accurate document showing the true picture of the *Shaden* at a certain time in history. The former sites of Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū which were relocated between the third and the fourth years of Enpō (1675 - 76), in particular, were scraped and flattened in the fourth year of Taishō (1915), according to *Munakata Jinja-shi*⁴³⁾. It is rather difficult to rely on future excavation. Therefore, this paper will regard *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* not as a document from which to recapture the shrine front yard at a given time in history, but as a visualized material which shows how the Middle Ages Munakata Shrine architectural complex was estimated in the third year of Gen'na (1617).

Fig.4 Tracing of *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* is a traced drawing of *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* of the third year of Genna (1617) contained in *Munakata Jinja-shi*. The outlines of Munakata Shrine architecture were traced and analytical comments were added.

One thing that catches the eye immediately is that the captions are placed in various directions. For instance, the captions for Tei-ichi-gū and Tei-san-gū face each other; one needs to turn the picture 180 degrees around in order to read the facing caption. And one needs to turn the picture 90 degrees in order to read the caption for Tei-ni-gū. Similar caption layout is used also for some other objects in the picture, suggesting that it is intentionally done. And as far as Tei-ichi-gū, Tei-ni-gū and Tei-san-gū are concerned, the relative locations of each building with the Worship House suggest that the layout of the caption indicates to which direction the worshipper should face. It is clear from the write-ins of " 丑寅向(facing northeast)" alongside Tei-ni-gū shrine and Zuigan-ji (Temple) as well as " 辰巳(southeast)" between Tei-ichi-gū and Tei-san-gū that the producer of *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* was strongly aware of directions. That the write-in " 辰巳(southeast)" is made there without any annotation suggests that the principal direction of the old painting is on the axis of Tei-ichi-gū that faces northeast.

The relative positions of East and West Towers here are significantly different from in a standard Buddhist temple, but it can be understood as a scheme of the Kondō being surrounded by three Kyūjū-no-tō (nine stories towers) if one notes that Tei-ichi-gū is situated nearly in the middle of the line connecting the two Towers and directly to the south of Tei-ichi-gū is drawn the picture of Miroku-dō (See Fig.5 Relational Drawing of Honji-butsu and Waki-ji).

In the case of Tei-san-gū, Bishamon (Mikagimochi) to the south and Monju (Shōsanmi) to the north serve as two Waki-ji and at the center stands Yakushi Nyorai (Tei-san-gū) as Chūson (central statue) (Fig.5 (1)-1). And if Kannon (Naminori DaiMyōjin) is considered in a pair with Fudō Myō'ō (Uebakama-sha), Yakushi Nyorai (Tei-san-gū) is on the axis of symmetry of the pair (Fig.5 (1)-2). Tei-ni-gū, which has Shaka Nyorai (Buddha) as Honji-butsu, is accompanied by Fugen Bosatsu (*Jishu* Myōjin) to the right and by Monju Bosatsu (Tokoronushi Myōjin) to the left, though not exactly symmetrical distance-wise. The foregoing results were obtained because Uebakama-sha is described on *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu*, while it describes Kannon as Honji-butsu of Naminori DaiMyōjin at the same time.

According to a document by Council of State (Dajōkan) dated August 9, the second year of Bun'ei (1265) (Chinkokuji document) and *Munakata Daibosatsu Goengi* (Legend of Great Bodhisattva in Munakata) of the first year of Bun'an (1444), Yakushi Nyorai (Tei-san-gū) is regarded as Chūson, and Fugen Bosatsu

(Namiori DaiMyōjin) and Monju Bosatsu (Shōsanmi-sha) make a pair. If this is projected to the old picture, one can see that Tei-san-gū sits on the axis of symmetry between Namiori DaiMyōjin and Shōsanmi (Fig.5 (2)). Mikagimochi-sha is regarded as a subsidiary shrine of either Tei-ni-gū or Tei-san-gū, depending on documents. It is possible that two different views existed in the Middle Ages as to the Honji-butsu.

What one can see in *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* is a projection of many Buddha statues with Dainichi Nyorai (Tei-ichi-gū) at its center reflecting the esoteric view of cosmos, being laid over a complex of *Shaden* and Buddhist halls and towers in a Mandala-like manner. The large number of Buddhism-based architectures is understood more visually, if they are erased from the old picture (Fig.6 Layout without Buddhism-based architectures). But it is not to say that this old picture was drawn conceptually as ordinary Mandala drawings. For instance, there is a note in *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* nearby Hōtōin mentioning that "昔時五知如来鎮座當院／鎮國寺建立然而移五佛／彼寺畢仍稱鎮國寺／喚神宮寺也。" When this old painting was produced, Gochi Nyorai (Five Dhyani Buddhas) (to be more exact, five sculptures of Honji-butsu) had been moved to Chinkoku-ji (Temple) and they were not kept in Hōtōin. If the painting had been intended as a Mandala drawing, absence of Honji-butsu would have been a crucial flaw and there was no motive to state the fact outright. On the other hand, most of the architectures drawn in Fig.6 show typical layout of Middle Ages Shinto Shrine which resembles the "*Dai chū shō sha sabetsu no koto*" (one of the article in "*Ruijū jingi hongen*" written for the 1320).

Amongst the architectures described in *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu*, Tei-san-gū is the first to have been confirmed of its existence. The important cultural property, a pair of stone lion-like guardian statues (to be exact, lion statues) has an inscription: "奉施入宗像宮第三御前宝前," followed by the year name of the first year of Kennin (1201) and the name of FUJIWARA Nakafusa⁴⁴⁾. *Munakata Sanjo Daibosatsu Goza Shidai* of the third year of Kenji (1277) (hereinafter "*Kenji the third Goza Shidai* ") writes: "右惣社九間四面"⁴⁵⁾, and it has been regarded as the documentation of the presence of a building in the Middle Ages having a size comparable to today's Main House of Hetsu-miya.

But that is not all. If we do not confine our discussions on specific layouts, design, dimensions and structures of the architecture, this document has a much higher value in terms of architectural history. *Kenji the third Goza Shidai* tells us that three statues (No.1, No.2 and No.3) of Great Bodhisattva were installed in the *Sōja* (combined shrine) together with many divine statues of subordinate messenger gods, and many other divine statues were installed in *Chūden*, Tei-san (*Jishu*), Shōsanmi, Kami-takamiya, Shimo-takamiya, Naiden and Hama-miya shrines. The "stage of *Kamimatsuri* with no Shinto shrine building" that was discussed earlier to have stemmed out of awe to the isolation and huge rocks found at the archeological site of Okinoshima Island came to be visualized, though the dates are not identifiable, by the "deity that lives in a shrine" in the course of the establishment of Shinto shrine building complex at Hetsu-miya (Tashima) of Munakata Shrine. The document tells us further that the objects of worship came to be visualized as "divine statues" by the end of the thirteenth century as a result of syncretism with Buddhism. It should be quickly added that, as the use of the term "Great Bodhisattva" suggests, divine statues might have been merely in name and they might have been created as "uniquely Japanese Buddhist statues" embodying both kami and hotoke.

As we reviewed above, the stage model of *Kamimatsuri* at Munakata Shrine presents a complexly stratified structure which cannot be understood simply by the concept of syncretism. First, practice of interlinked *Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden* among Okitsu-miya (Okinoshima Shrine, Okinoshima Island), Nakatsu-miya (Nakatsu-miya Shrine, Ōshima Island) and Hetsu-miya (Hetsu-miya Shrine, Tashima) is confirmed to have existed since as early as the eighth to the end of the ninth century. During the Middle Ages in Tashima, the second layer of *Kamimatsuri* stage characterized by a conglomerate of *Shaden*, Buddhist halls and towers and divine statues (or uniquely Japanese Buddhist statues) was overlaid on the original base layer. And the stage of *Kamimatsuri* that had existed at Shimo-takamiya and Kami-takamiya since Kofun Period lies on the very top. In the land of Tashima, therefore, at least three kinds of *Kamimatsuri* stage of different origin and construction principles formed a stratified structure and constituted the architectural complex of Munakata Shrine during the Middle Ages.

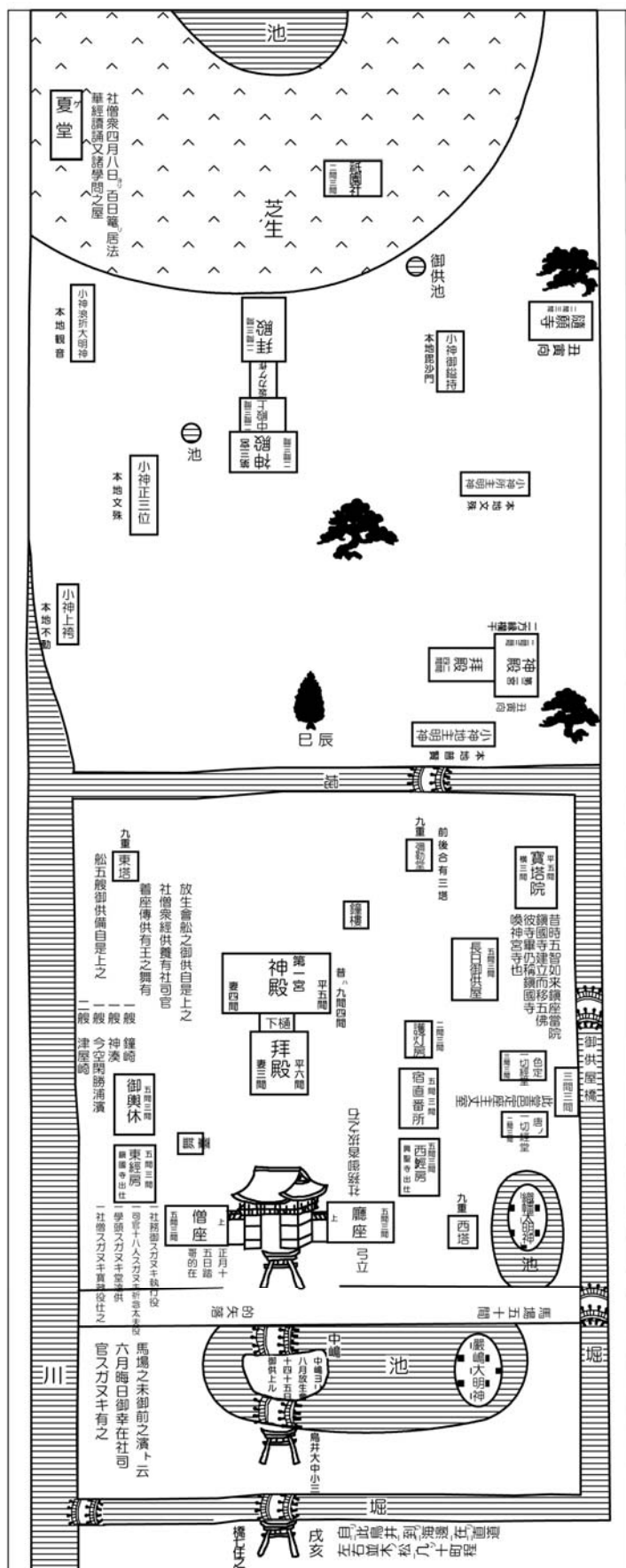


Figure 4 Tracing of Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu

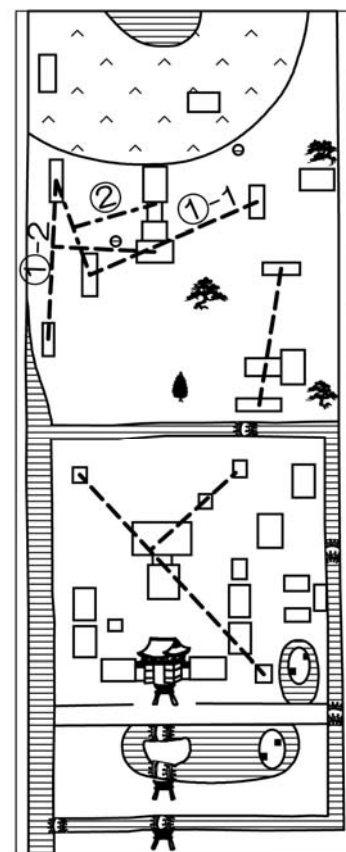


Figure 5 Relational Drawing of Honjibutsu Halls

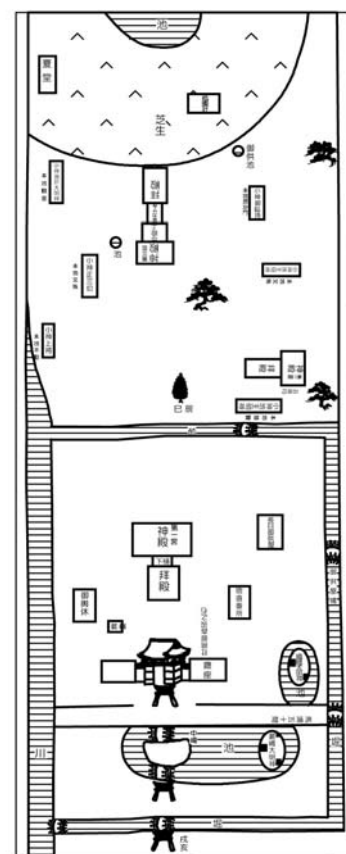


Figure 6 Lay out without Buddhism-based architectures

(3) Establishment of major existing *Shaden*

The Grate fire of the third year of Kōji (1557) destroyed the shrine area of *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū) only: *Chūden* (Tei-ni-gū), *Jishu* (Tei-san-gū), Shōsanmi, Kami-takamiya, Shimo-takamiya, Naiden (shrine office) and 75 massha (subsidiary shrines) survived it. However, what we can see today are only the Main House and Worship House of *Sōja* (Tei-ichi-gū) that were reconstructed during the Tenshō Period. KURODA Tadayuki, the second provincial lord of Fukuoka Domain had Tei-ni-gū, Tei-san-gū, Kami-takamiya and Shimo-takamiya repaired in the third year of Keian (1630). But KURODA Mitsuyuki, the third provincial lord, had a new small main house of 20 architecture built in the shrine premises of *Sōja* (Tei-ichi-gū) in the third year of Enpō (1675) and the *Chūden* and all other shrines dating back to the Middle Ages were treated as minor shrines within the shrine grounds ⁴⁶⁾.

This put an end to the stage of *Kamimatsuri* of Middle Age Munakata Shrine that was characterized by the stratified three models; thereafter *Kamimatsuri* was to be practiced before the group of *Shaden* of significantly reduced scale built in the shrine area of former *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū).

This section of the paper will review the process of the establishment to the present-day of two houses of Hetsu-miya (Tei-ichi-gū) both of which are designated Important Cultural Properties of Japan: the Main House constructed in the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) and the Worship House constructed in the eighteenth year of Tenshō (1590).

Munakata Jinja-shi, Volume One contains a plan view (Fig.69) of the Main House of Tei-ichi-gū (*Sōja*) as reconstructed in the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) as well as a study and reproduction of the inner structures. The moya (core of the building) is three span and two span. The House has a plain view similar to a Buddhist temple hall surrounded by hisashi in all directions. The roof is of Kirizuma-zukuri style and covered with Koita (wooden strips) ⁴⁷⁾. The ryo-nagare-zukuri style (roof having a long, flowing, curved roof line on both the rear slope and the front slope) consisting of moya surrounded by the hisashi in the front and rear and the yoma (side rooms) to the right and left is rarely found in main houses of Shinto shrine. Existing national Important Cultural Property structures include: (besides the Main House of Hetsu-miya, Munakata Shrine) the Main House of Marōdo Shrine designated as a National Treasure, a sessha (auxiliary shrine) to Itsukushima Shrine and believed to have been built in the second year of Ninji (1241), the Main House of Itsukushima Shrine Main Shrine designated as a National Treasure which was reconstructed in the second year of Genki (1571), the Main House of Matsuo Shrine that has a ridge piece with inscription of the eleventh year of Tenbun (1542) and the Main House of Dazaifu Tenmangū presumably built during the Momoyama Period ⁴⁸⁾. Another unique feature is the door that opens in the back. The same feature is found at the two main halls of Itsukushima Shrine mentioned above.

INAGAKI Eizō in his review of *Shaden* of Itsukushima Shrine touches upon its possible relationship with the Main House of Hetsu-miya, Munakata Shrine ⁴⁹⁾. INAGAKI wrote that the ryo-nagare-zukuri, four-directions hisashi and door-opening in the center back are "extremely unique features of plan view commonly shared by the three Main Houses." He also took note of the similarity in character of the two shrines being located at an important crossroad of marine traffic. Depending on the counterargument by SHIGETA Sadakazu in his *Itsukushima-shi* of the 43rd year of Meiji (1910), however, INAGAKI rejected as post-Middle Ages sophism the description in *Shosha Kongen-ki* that Itsukushima-no-kami, the enshrined deity of Itsukushima Shrine corresponds to Ichikishimahime-no-Kami, one of the three deities of Munakata.

We will not dwell on the issue of various arguments about the enshrined deity, because that is not the purpose of this paper. Instead, it is worth noting the interesting observation from the perspective of architectural history that "the rear hisashi may have been attached because of some necessity for ritual performance" with respect the four ryo-nagare-zukuri main houses of the above-mentioned shrines except for the Matsuo Shrine ⁵⁰⁾. INAGAKI discussed that the plane is same as that of four-directions hisashi even though the outer appearance is like two-directional, and went on to propose "the original design was to permit movement around the divine throne." He thought there was "a scene in the old ritual" to walk around the deity.

Munakata Jinja-shi, Volume One reproduced a sketch of *Sōja* before the Kōji Grate fire as a house of nine

span at the front and hisashi extending in all four directions in its Fig.62⁵¹⁾. The reproduction was based on the description of "九間四面" in *Kenji the third Goza Shidai* and relying on the study by ADACHI Yasushi on Ken-men-kihō (an annotation method for classic architecture)⁵¹⁾. The end result matches INAGAKI's observation. Addition of hisashi in all four directions to the nine span moya makes the entire main house a grandiose eleven span wide building. But this is not necessarily unrealistic because the main house of Sumiyoshi Shrine in Yamaguchi prefecture, a National Treasure, which is supposed to have been reconstructed by ŌUCHI Hiroyo in the third year of Ōan (1370), is an eleven span nagare-zukuri building.

Granted, there is no documentation other than *Kenji the third Goza Shidai* that attest to the existence of four-directions hisashi in the *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū) before it was burned down by the Kōji fire. And no document has been discovered that would demonstratively show the "scene in the old ritual" of walking around the deity that INAGAKI alluded to. That the back hisashi of the Main House of Itsukushima Shrine Main Shrine is divided into small rooms reminds us of a possible association with ushirodo (backdoor) and dōkura (store room) that are featured in Middle Ages Buddhist temples⁵³⁾. In this paper, we will simply point out that the proposed reproduction in Fig.62 of *Munakata Jinja-shi*, Volume One has a room for further perusal.

According to the four Okifuda (wooden plate record of construction work)⁵⁴⁾ that are kept at Munakata Shrine, *Sōja* (Tei-ichi-gū) and most of the constructions around it were totally burned down by the April 24, the third year of Kōji (1557) Grate fire, as was mentioned earlier. These Okifuda are dated the first of June, the sixth year of Tenshō (1578) and they present a detailed report of post-Kōji Grate fire events, namely that, in order to reconstruct the Tei-ichi-gū Gohōden, Munakata Daigūji Ujisada had the divine statue reproduced, solicited contributions, performed sengu (transfer of the deity) to a temporary shrine, had a new Hōden constructed and celebrated senza-sai (festival for the return transfer of the deity). With respect to the scale and construction of the Hōden then built, there exists a logbook of repairs called Munakata Tei-ichi-gū Gozōei Kiroku⁵⁵⁾ that contains records up to the fourth year of Kōka (1847). This logbook is a precious documentation that supports the history of Hetsu-miya Main House as described in *Munakata Jinja-shi*⁵⁶⁾.

There is no doubt that the existing building is this reconstruction of the Tenshō Period, because its principal scale and architectural style as well as the detailed designs including the lengths of kiwari (relative dimensions), the curves and sectional forms of kōryō (curved beams) and the warps of the rafters do not contradict the dating of the latter sixteenth century. It is, however, a wooden building which is susceptible to damages by weather and fire and requires constant repairs for preservation; not a few alterations have been made to this date. Of such changes, records of re-roofing in early modern period are detailed in a table contained in *Munakata Jinja-shi* together with the re-roofing records of the Worship House⁵⁷⁾.

More than these routine maintenance and repair, the turnaround that was carried out between the eleventh and the fifteenth years of Taishō (1922 - 1926) brought about a clear alteration in the outer appearance of the Main House⁵⁸⁾. The Kirigakoi (wooden apron which covers the gabled roof side) that had existed before the dismantle-and-repair project to protect the building from rain and wind was permanently removed. And the Kuruma-yose (porch) with stairs to provide access to the south hisashi of the Main House from east and west sides as well as the Hashigakushi (attached roof), the hisashi for Kuruma-yose, were eliminated.

An old photograph captioned "Before the Taishō-6 (1917) Repair"⁵⁹⁾ and the plan view of Hetsu-miya Main House contained in *Meisai Toshō*⁶⁰⁾ show that the Hashigakushi was a Kata-nagare (one directional incline) with Kokera-buki (thin and wide wooden strip) roofing. The upper end is attached to the Kirigakoi and is supported by a pillar located at the base of the Kuruma-yose stairway. As recorded in the seventeenth year of Meiji (1884) *Hetsu-miya Meisai Toshō*⁶¹⁾, the outer face of the lower pillar of Kuruma-yose was outside the outer face of the main pillar by 1-jo 4-shaku (4.24 meters), which is nearly equal to the stretching length of the present-day Kōhai (pent roof). Incidentally, the width of Kuruma-yose is recorded to be 7-shaku 7-sun (2.33 meters). It would be understandable if it had been removed temporarily during the repair for structural dynamic reasons, but there is no accounting why neither the Kuruma-yose nor the Hashigakushi was reinstalled and finally eliminated.

In addition, *Munakata Jinja-shi* reviewed the account books of Munakata Shrine and found that the

foundations that support the moya and hisashi underwent filling of 1-shaku 2-sun (ca.364 millimeters) at the time of a repair at the end of Taishō Period. As a result, the number of stairs at the front center increased from five to eight and accordingly the main pillar of the Nobori-kōran (handrail) sit on the third stair from the floor ⁶²⁾. Such an alteration must have forced splicing at the base or replacement by new lumber with respect to the Kōhai pillars of the front three span and the tsuka (short pillar connecting the beam and ridges). This, too, must have altered the outer appearance to some extent.

Because of lack of documentation, little is known about the Worship House of *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū) before it was reconstructed in the eighteenth year of Tenshō (1590) supposedly by KOBAYAKAWA Takakage, following the Great fire of the third year of Kōji (1557). A *Shinji-shidai* (book of ritual proceedings) with a date of the eighth year of Ōan (1375) in the back cover mentions going around the deck of the Worship House. Though the dimensions and design are unknown, existence of decks around the House is considered probable. The same document reads: "拝殿ノ桶ノ下ニテ," suggesting the possibility of the Main House and the Worship House being connected by a rain gutter to be prepared for rituals on a rainy day ⁶³⁾. The date shown in the back cover of *Ōan Shinji-shidai* is March 17 according to the enlarged edition of the Bibliographical Introduction to *Munakata Jinja-shi* ⁶⁴⁾, but the eighth year of Ōan was changed to Eiwa as of February 27. Another doubt about the book is the reference to Ujitoshi as Ciling who served as Daigūji only after the twenty eighth years of Ōei (1421).

"Estimated Plan View Beneath Rain Gutter of the Main House and Worship House of Tei-ichi-gū (*Sōja*)" shown as Fig.62 in *Munakata Jinja-shi*, Volume One ⁶⁵⁾ relied on *Ōan Shinji-shidai* and *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* of the third year of Genna (1617) ³⁸⁾ and cannot be considered as dependable. As far as documentation is concerned, the date of reconstruction of the Worship House can only be estimated on the basis of *Munakata Hachiman-gū Gohaiden Onmuneage Chūmon* ⁶⁶⁾ dated June 21, the eighteenth year of Tenshō. It is, however, felt reasonable to believe that, judging from the Ita-kaerumata attached to Tsuma-men (end of gable roof) and other detailed architectural designs, the Hetsu-miya Worship House that we see today was reconstructed at the end of the sixteenth century.

Re-roofing records of the Worship House in the early modern period can be traced with about half the frequency of that of the Main House ⁶⁷⁾. It may well have been due to the fact that roof tiles were used in the Worship House instead of the less weather-proof Kokera-buki roofing, with the exception of short periods in the early seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, which reduced the frequency of the need for re-roofing. The latest alterations were made during the dismantle-and-repair project between the sixth and the seventh years of Taishō (1917 - 1918) that included replacement of roof tiles by Kokera-buki and filling of the foundation by 8-sun (approximately 242 millimeters).

5. Conclusions

This paper firstly discussed the Okinoshima archaeological sites, based on the general hypothesis that certain political momentum that requires constant public presentation of Kami as "what exists in *Shaden*" established *Shaden* upon the stage of Japanese *Kamimatsuri*. The paper initially admitted the option to postulate an epoch of involvement of the Yamato kingly power during Phase III(half rock shade-half open archaeological sites) and Phase VI(open-air archaeological sites); the former showing the significant changes to the composition and quantity of artefacts and the latter the evidence of constant and repeated rituals. However, the paper suggested that this possibility does not necessarily provide a strong link to the establishment of *Kamimatsuri* that required *Shaden* as an indispensable element.

The second section discussed the *ritsuryō-style ritual* of Japan, allegedly established in the eighth century. The paper compared its ritual procedure with Chinese equivalent, taking the *Nenkisai heihaku* envoy dedication of the early ninth century Ise-jingū Naikū for Japan and the Táng *Shè jì* (社稷) ritual for China as the representative examples. Despite the Japanese *ritsuryō-style* ritual codes originates from Táng ritual codes, Táng *Shè jì* ritual, audio-visually splendid and filled with performances to capture the minds of populace, presented clear heterogeneity against Japanese counterpart that attempts to enclose the sacred ritual from the eyes of the populace. The paper argued that at the root of the heterogeneity lies a peculiar attribute of Ancient Japanese *Kamimatsuri*, namely, the essential independency of the local rituals which makes even the imperial envoys to leave the local priest in charge and refrain from entering deep into the

hidden sanctuary. Further, tolerance over multiplicity deriving from this attribute could provide answer to the extraordinary diversity found among *Shaden* discussed in the introduction, from the architecture and the shrine landscape to the period and the momentum for their establishment.

Following the general discussions in previous sections, the third section analyzed the establishment process of the surviving *Shaden* in Tashima. At Middle Ages Hetsu-miya (Tashima) of Munakata Shrine, the tolerance over diversity allowed multiple *Kamimatsuri*'s of varying origin and structural principles to form a flexible stratification, in which surface layer rotates over historical phases. Originally, the rituals at Kami-takamiya, Shimo-takamiya, Mitakesan of Ōshima Island started as "stages of *Kamimatsuri* without *Shaden*". From unconfirmed date comes the period when the rituals came to be covered by the *Shaden* complex of Munakata Shrine Hetsu-miya (Tashima). Further than simply visualising Kami as "what exists in *Shaden*", the *Shaden* incidentally visualised enshrined objects as "divine statues" by the end of the thirteenth century as the result of the Kami-Buddha syncretism of the era. *Tashima-gū Shatō Koezu* represents a Mandala-like projection of Buddha statues over the complex of *Shaden* and Buddhist houses and towers, reflecting the Esoteric Buddhist view of cosmology. The establishment of complicated large-scale architectural complex at Tashima could be explained by underlying tolerance over diversity found in *Kamimatsuri*.

However, the present Tashima complex has been vastly downscaled from what it has been in the Middle Ages. (Large fraction of *Sōja* (Hetsu-miya Tei-ichi-gū), the core of the complex, was lost in the Great fire of mid-sixteenth century, and the Middle Ages Chūden (Tei-ni-gū) and other minor shrine houses were moved from the original location through the realignment of Munakata Shrine Site in the late seventeenth century. Today the Main House and Worship House of Hetsu-miya are the only two architecture that have survived at the premises in Tashima after the reconstruction in the latter sixteenth century. Even though necessary minor changes have been added for maintenance purposes, the two pieces of architecture continue to of high value as the structures to remember the past glory, the object of admiration and worship by many people and as living *Shaden*.

In conclusion, the foregoing analysis and review firstly clarified that one of the reasons behind the diversity found among the background and momentum for the establishment of each individual *Shaden* in Japan arises from the high degree of tolerance over multiplicity. Secondly, the paper clarified the characteristics of the role of visualization that the Shinto shrine architecture played in Japanese *Kamimatsuri* through understanding not only of the archaeological sites in Ancient Okinoshima Island, Ōshima Island and Tashima but also of the architectural complex of Middle Ages Munakata Shrine in Tashima.

Before closing the paper, brief remarks should be given to the recent discovery. Shortly before the deadline of this paper in March 2012, a report on the Mitakesan archaeological site of Ōshima Island was published⁶⁸⁾. According to the report, unearthed objects included pieces of the Nara Tricolor Ceramics, talcum objects representing miniature boats, disc-shaped objects with hole and earthenware pots. The dating of the archaeological site is suggested to be from the eighth to the end of ninth-century as there were more Sue wares than Haji potteries to be found. Among the discoveries, the lead-glazed pottery is analysed to be manufactured of raw material obtained around Naganobori copper mine, which indicates its highly likeliness to be a Japanese domestic product. The inclusion of artifacts contemporary and similar to the objects discovered at the open-air archaeological sites (Phase VI) of Okinoshima Island and Shimo-Takamiya archaeological site in Tashima attracted attention and there have already been references at the symposium⁶⁹⁾. For the evaluation of the seeming parallel, I would like to wait for the progress in the area of archaeological studies.

In the context of this paper, what is more relevant about the discovery is that it confirmed the development and expansion of the *Shaden* of Nakatsu-miya and Hetsu-miya have occurred at the skirt of each archaeological sites. *Munakata Jinja-shi* cites the folklore concept of *Yama-miya* (mountain shrine) and *Sato-miya* (village shrine) to explain the relation between Kami-Takamiya and Shimo-Takamiya and that between the Takamiya archaeological site and Hetsu-miya⁷⁰⁾. However, documentation on *Kamimatsuri* at the Munakata Shrine before the eleventh century is totally lacking, with the lone exception of the late ninth century record of Buddhist ceremony, telling that several monks have recited sutra in front of deities. To avoid hasty generalization, its objective categorization as a form of *Kamimatsuri* particular to Munakata Shrine and observations in accordance with chronology will be required.

Many unsolved questions are left to future investigation due to the absence of abundant documentation before early modern period and the sporadic destruction of some of the precious archaeological sites between the sixteenth and 20th centuries. Development of new perspectives and methodologies are indispensable for deeper understanding of Japanese *Kamimatsuri* through Munakata Shrine. It is hoped sincerely that this brief paper makes even a small contribution to the stepwise progress.

(Written on March 23, 2012)

Special Thanks To: Mr. YAMANO Yoshinori gave me assist with my English. Ms. MATSUO Miyuki redrew the all figures for this article. I would appreciate their cooperation.

Endnotes:

- 1) Kamimatsuri is an all-inclusive term referring to Japanese rituals that are directed at “Kami”. Kami is a complex term which roughly means “deities” or “spiritual beings”, but hardly defined that simple, nor exclusively associated with Shinto as is often misunderstood. For details, look at works such as: ŌNO Susumu(1997), *Kami*, Tōkyō: Sanseidō.
- 2) See reference 1)
- 3) Typical references are:
SATŌ Tasuku(1931), *Nihon jinja kenchikushi*, Ōsaka, Bungendou. YAMAUCHI Yasuaki(1967), *Jinja kenchiku*, Tōkyō, Jinjasinpōsha.
- 4) See reference 2). OKADA Seiji (1970) “Ritsuryō teki saishi keitai no seiritsu”(In *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, Tōkyō: Hanawashobō) later provided detailed discussion on the state ritual of the late 7th Century, evaluated as the determining period for the establishment of shrine architectures by Eizō Inagaki, from the perspective of literature-based historiography.
- 5) See reference 3) pp. 191-192
- 6) See reference 4) pp. 2-6
- 7) While the effectiveness of four phase classification leaves room for re-examination, this paper nevertheless refers to it up to the necessary extent. Also, there is considerable discussion on items possibly lost from the site. SASŌ Mamoru, in reference 5), has speculated that the unearthed object does not represent entire ritual artefacts but they involved perishable organic materials such as fabrics. Sugiyama Shigetsugu has suggested the possibility that some part of the artefacts of Okinoshima could have been taken away from the island in later years, taking Kantō-tachi (環頭大刀: ring-headed long sword) as example. Further, the Third Research Excavation Team reports grave robbery at the Site 8 (OKAZAKI Takashi, ODA Fujio, YUBA Tadanori(1972), Okinoshima, in *Shinto kōkogaku kōza* (神道考古学講座) Vol.5 *Saishi iseki tokusetsu*, Tōkyō, Yūzankaku.inc). While these are basic and substantial problems to be considered, no reasonable methodology for reconstruction is available for the time being. The focus of this paper will be limited to the unearthed object.
- 8) Reference 7) pp.97-101
- 9) Reference 8) pp. 219-221
- 10) Reference 8) pp.227-228
- 11) Reference 7) p.102
- 12) Reference 9) p.44, pp.52-55
- 13) Reference 7) pp.104-106. Reference 5) classifies Archeological Site 22 as Phase III site.
- 14) Reference 8) pp.236-238, pp.242-243. Based on the argument, SASŌ Mamoru developed a far-fetched discussion in reference 5). Relying on early 9th Century document, *Kōtai-jingū gishiki chō*, he firstly drew a sweeping overview of archaeological ritual sites dating after mid -4th Century. Then by amplifying religious ceremonies of the post-Shaden-establishment Ise-Jingū he attempts to analogically identify whether the function of the rocks and its surrounding site in Okinoshima corresponds with Dedication place of “Yorishiro” or “Mikata” in Ise-Jingū. The theory cannot explain what change has been brought by the establishment of ritsuryō-style ritual after 7th Century and what momentum required Shaden to perform the function that Large Rocks can suffice, which leads the theory to contradiction.
- 15) Reference 8) pp.234-235
- 16) Reference 8) p.227
- 17) Reference 8) p.229

- 18) Reference 7) pp.107-108
- 19) Reference 8) p.212
- 20) Reference 2) pp.206-207
- 21) Reference 10) pp.1010-1041
- 22) Reference 11)
- 23) Reference 12)
- 24) Many references, for example, TŌNO Haruyuki(1994) : *Rekisho wo yominaosu asahihiyakka Nihon no rekishi bessatsu Vol.4 Kentōshi-sen*, Tōkyō: Asahi newspaper company.
- 25) Reference 13) p.401
- 26) Reference 13) p.402
- 27) Reference 14) p.380
- 28) NOMURA Tadao, Ryō no shūge, in *Shintei zōho Kokushitaikei Vol.23(1966) Furoku Geppō No.39* , Tōkyō:Yoshikawakobunkan.
- 29) Reference 15) p.19
- 30) Reference 15) p.20
- 31) Reference 15) p.21
- 32) “Pattern Diagram of the ritual principle in *Ciling*” (based on Tōryō Shūi-ho). Modified from “Fig.1 *Tang ritsuryō-style* ritual stage according to *Kāiyuánlǐng* code of 719 (part2)” in Reference 11). (*Simplified and additional comments were added for English edition.*)
- 33) Quoted from the Decree of the Dajōkan issued on 28th June 10th year of the Jōgan. ”Ruijū sandaikyaku”
- 34) “Progression pattern of *Shèjì* ritual in *lǐ*” (based on *Dàtángkāiyuánlǐ*). Copied from “Fig.1 Schematic illustration of the rituals stipulated in ciling (based on Tōryō Shūi-ho: 大唐開元礼「諸里祭社稷」の主要動線” in Reference 12). (*Modified for English edition.*)
- 35) Reference 8) pp.40-41
- 36) Reference 16), Diagram No.24 (largely based on *Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*)
- 37) Reference 17) pp.197-206
- 38) Reference 18) pp.319-530
- 39) Reference 18) Frontispiece No.2. The original picture is privately owned *and the author did not have access*. The characters indecipherable from the picture were complemented by the text in “*Munakata jinja-shi (vol.1,2)*”.
- 40) Reference 18) pp.130-132
- 41) MANO Kazuo, Usagū keidai ezu-kō: Ōeikozu to Kanei 5th ezu, *Ōitaken chihō-shi* , 125(1987), pp.1-26, Ōita:Ōita chihō-shi kenkyūkai. And Ōita Prefectural Museum History(1989), Mirokuzi : Usagū mirokuji kyū-keidai hakkutsu tyōsa hōkokusyo.
- 42) SUZUKI Takatoshi, Usagū-kozu no seiritsu ni tsuite, *Ōitaken chihōshi* ,189(1989), pp.25-60, Ōita:Ōita chihō-shi kenkyūkai.
- 43) Reference 18) p.366, pp.376-377
- 44) Reference 18) p.197
- 45) Reference 18) Fig.40
- 46) Reference 18) p.452
- 47) Reference 18) p.421. While this drawing for restoration seems to be mostly reasonable, three questionable points should be mentioned.
 1. It draws no break in the balustrade on the edge of veranda nor stairs in the front.
 2. It lacks doors on the both sides of the canopy
 3. It draws kurumayose (車寄: porch) without drawing pillars for *kirigakoi*(a simple wooden wall for water proof), which does not explain how the stair concealment were supported.
- 48) Reference 19)
- 49) Reference 20) Comments p.61
- 50) Reference 20) preface pp.5-6
- 51) ADACHI Kō , Chūko ni okeru Kenchiku heimen no kihō, in *Kōkogaku zasshi*, 23-8(1933), pp.495-518, Tōkyō:Japanese Archaeological Association. ; reed., ŌTA Hirotarō (ed.) , *ADACHI Kō chosakushu* □: *Kodai kenchiku no kenkyū*, Vol.2(1987) ,Tōkyō : Chūōkōronbijutsu shuppan .
- 52) Reference 18) p.353. This drawing for restoration involves two inconsistencies with the main article.
 1. It lacks the backdoor in the central span suggested in the main article.
 2. The main article writes “the Tensho-reconstructed *Honden* had *side stairs* with *concealment* attached onto both side”. However, the drawing includes neither *side stairs* with its *concealments*

nor a gap in the *balustrade* on the *hurdle veranda* apart from one in the front, while drawing doors on both sides of the *peripheral chamber* (*hisashi*). Although it seems these doors are added for the possible need of locking as the speculated all the front spans of the *peripheral chamber* (*hisashi*) to be filled with *overhung doors* (*shitomi*), the inconsistency with the main article is undeniable.

- 53) YAMAGISHI Tsuneto, Chūsei-butsudō ni okeru Ushiro-do, *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, 167(1986), *Tōkyō: Bukkyō Geijutsu gakkai*. ;reed., YAMAGISHI Tuneto, Chūsei Ziin shakai to butsudō, *Tōkyō: Hanawashobō*, 1990. And KURODA Ryūji, Ushiro-do no shinkō, *Gekkan hyakka*, 292(1987), *Tōkyō: Heibonsha*. KURODA Ryūji, DŌGURA (Storage room in Buddhist Main Temple), *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering (Transactions of AIJ)*, 436(1992), *Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan*. KURODA Ryūji, "The Historical Meaning of DŌGURA (Storage Room in Buddhist Main Temple), *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering (Transactions of AIJ)*, 444(1999), *Tōkyō: Architectural Institute of Japan*. Reed., KURODA Ryūji, Chūsei jisha shinkō no Ba, *Kyōto: Shibunkaku Co., Ltd.*, 1999.
- 54) Reference 18) Fig.43 and pp.424-438
- 55) Owned by Munakata Shrine. The author referred to the mimeograph owned by the library of the Historiographical Institute, the University of Tōkyō.
- 56) Reference 18) pp.442-466
- 57) Reference 18) pp.444-445
- 58) Reference 18) p.476
- 59) Reference 18) Fig.48
- 60) Reference 18) p.476
- 61) Reference 18) pp.475-476
- 62) Reference 18) pp.487-488
- 63) Reference 18) p.353
- 64) Reference 21) pp.41-49
- 65) Reference 18) p.353
- 66) Reference 18) p.423, pp.439-441
- 67) Reference 18) pp.476-477
- 68) Reference 22)
- 69) World Heritage Promotion Committee of "Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region"(2011): "The second international symposium on 'Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in Munakata Region' in Tōkyō", in *News from Okinoshima*. (available from: http://www.okinoshima-heritage.jp/files/Pamphlet_5_file.pdf)
- 70) Reference 18) p.392. The so-called ancient ritual stage seems to have been newly built in 20th century over the actual remain buried under Edo era dry field, and its direction was modified to current condition from original direction facing Northwest (the construction began on October 17, 1952 and completed on April 1, 1955. according to Reference 18) p.486). While the site is valuable as it tells how mid-century Shinto circles imagined ancient ritual stages, it is unclear from what perspective they attempted to understand the characteristics of Shimo-Takamiya site. If the background assumption was not rituals in Yama-miya and Sato-miya form but ritual in Okinoshima, the discovery of Mitakesan site will bring the understanding of the site under need of academic re-examination.

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