

**“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”**

**Study Report**

**III**

***English Translation***

**2013**

**World Heritage Promotion Committee of  
“Okinoshima Island and Related Sites in the Munakata Region”**

# Rituals on Okinoshima Island Seen from the History of Exchanges

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 Although elucidation of the form of worship in concrete terms from the historical documents remains to be seen, I came up with an idea of the “Jisai (mourning keeper)-wise requital” that involves performing dedication rituals commemorating the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

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

## 1. Introduction

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

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

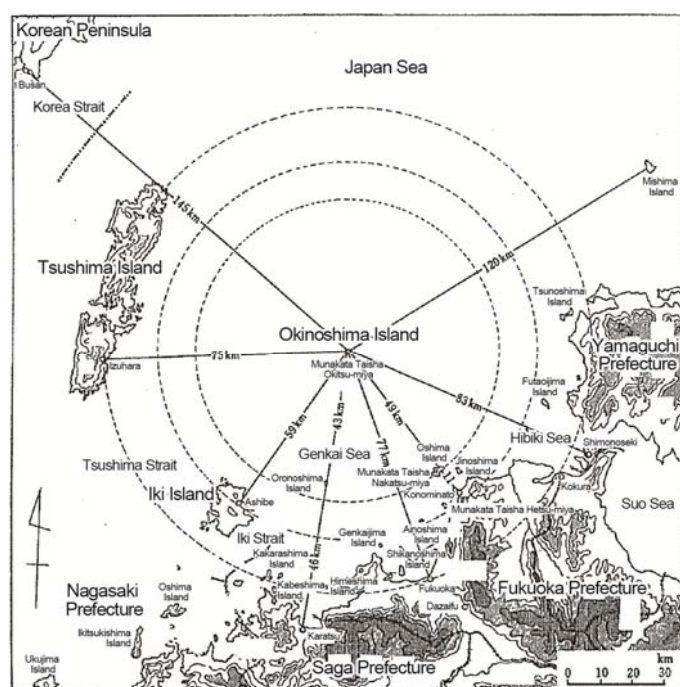


Figure 1 East Asia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century (ODA, Fujio. ed. *Thinking about the Antique age Okinoshima Island and the rituals in the Antique age Japan*. Yoshikawakobunkan, 1988. p.2)

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

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

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

condition or artifacts contributing to determine their date, the conventional research has been concentrated on the times of the formation process of the ancient state and their relationship with the history of exchange from the seventh to the tenth century is usually mentioned only briefly<sup>4)</sup>. During this time, the studies on the history of external relations have progressed in an attempt to reexamine the advance into Korean Peninsula by the Wa kingly power and the “Mimana Japanese Government” and the views on the time when a form of a national governing body was established have been deepened. Also, the history of exchanges focused on the aspects of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and the envoy itself from the seventh to the ninth century has been progressively revised and it is significant to question about the relations of the rituals on Okinoshima Island over the entire phases with the history of exchanges<sup>5)</sup>.

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

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

## 2. Beginning of the history of personal and cultural exchanges

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

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

Nakoku which paid tribute to Later Han Dynasty in 57 and received Kan-no-Wa-no-Na-no-kokuō Kin'in (the Golden Seal of the King of Japan) emerged and Suisho who paid tribute in 107 was also described as King of Wakoku (Account of Wa "History of Later Han Dynasty"), and therefore, it is believed that the state called "Wa" had been formed by the beginning of the second century<sup>6)</sup>. However, during the chaotic period between the late Later Han and the Three Kingdoms period, the Wakoku fell into a crisis situation called "Great Rebellion of Wa" where the reign by the male king didn't function and from the end of the second century to the beginning of the third century, Himiko was made a common queen reigning over Wakoku which is a united group of 30 states with the country of Yamatai as its center as described in the passage "事鬼道、能惑衆". The Queen Himiko had amicable relations with Daifang Commandery (near Seoul in South Korea) and maintained an interchange.

In 238, when Wei Dynasty, fearing about the alliance between Wu Dynasty in the south and the Gongsun clan, defeated the Gongsun clan<sup>7)</sup>, Himiko dispatched a messenger to the capital Luoyang via Daifang Commandery of the Wei Dynasty in 239 and was given the title of "Shingi Waō (the king of Wa)" and hundred bronze mirrors by the Wei Dynasty, which shows that it was indispensable for the reign of Himiko to win the powerful backing of the authoritative Chinese dynasty, get a share of the prestige goods and obtain the exclusive guarantee for diplomatic relations with China. In her domestic ruling, one military position called "taisui" (general) was placed in Itokoku (near Itoshima City in Fukuoka) which is described as ; "世有王、皆統属女王国、郡使往来常所駐" and "taisui" was responsible for monitoring the "自女王国以北" and "諸国畏憚之". In the same way, "taisui", as described in a passage ; "王遣使詣京都・帶方郡・諸韓国、及郡使倭国、皆臨津搜露、伝達文書・賜遺之物、詣女王、不得差錯", also assumed an important role in managing foreign diplomatic administrative affairs. In Wakoku, Himiko died around 250 and a male king was placed on the throne, but as described in the text ; "國中不服、更相誅殺、当時殺千余人". When Iyo, a daughter of Himiko's kin family was made queen, the stability was restored. When the Western Jin Dynasty destroyed Wei Dynasty in 265, Iyo dispatched the envoy to Jin Dynasty in 266 (Article in 266 in the 66<sup>th</sup> year of regent of the Empress Jingū on citation from the Kikyochū (Imperial diaries of the Jin Dynasty) in the "Nihonshoki"). It also shows that the diplomatic relations with China and official appointment of the King of Wa from China was indispensable for the existence of Wakoku.

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

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

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

It appears that this explanation of the establishment of the Wa-Baekje relations via the Gaya region is compatible with the conventional view on the state of exchanges between Wakoku and the regions in the Peninsula and the process of the international relations of that time. Baekje fought with Goguryeo on a large scale in 369 and 371 and succeeded in making Goguryeo retreat (Article of the ninth month in the twenty-fourth year of the King of Geunchogo, and in the twenty-sixth year in “History of Baekje” of “Samguk Sagi” (History of the Three Kingdoms)), and it started a relationship with Western Jin Dynasty in 372 (“History of the Jin Dynasty”, article of the sixth month, in the second year of Xianan Era in the reign of Emperor Jianwen) and showed the state’s policy of deploying its battle against Goguryeo with the backing of the Southern Dynasties of China. According to the Gwanggaeto Stele from Goguryeo, Wa crossed the ocean to the peninsula after the great King Gwanggaeto took the throne in 391 and made Baekje and Shilla its “subjects”. Considering that the stele was made as gravestone and monument of honor by the son Jangsu-wang for his father Gwanggaeto the Great in 414 with the characteristics of historical source<sup>8)</sup>, it is believed that Baekje wanted to join hands with Wakoku in the south with practical military power and it is possible that the reinforcements from Wakoku already participated in the battle of 369. The Seven-branched Sword with inscription written in the fourth year of Taehwa (dated 369 in the fourth year of the Taehwa era in Eastern Jin Dynasty) conserved in the Isonokami-jingū Shrine can be used to back up the establishment of the Wa-Baekje relations. According to the article in the fifty-second year of the regent of the Empress Jingū [in 252+120→372] in the “Nihonshoki”, this sword was brought to Wakoku in 372. Although there are various theories regarding the interpretation of the inscription including the identification of the date<sup>9)</sup>, I view it as a gift without a hierarchical relationship that reflects the actual situation of the relationship between Wa and Baekje of the time.

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

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

From the events mentioned above, it is noted that Wakoku didn’t participate in the battle of 396 which was an important battle for Baekje<sup>10)</sup>. There are two articles in the “Nihonshoki” in which “discourtesy” of the king of Baekje of the time was reprimanded (Article on the events in the third year of the Emperor Ōjin [272+120→392] and article in the third month in the eighth year of the Emperor Ōjin [277+120→397]). After the arrival of the later King Jeonji (Tenshi) (Reign: 405-420) to Wakoku as “hostage” (hostage with a connotation of a high-rank diplomat) the bilateral relationship got better and the Wakoku’s participation in the battle against Goguryeo was realized. According to the “Nihonshoki”, various goods and people have brought from Baekje to Wakoku since 397 including Achiki who brought seamstress and some good horses and the arrival of the scholar Dr. Wani, who is a descendant of the Kawachinofumi clan who was believed to introduce Chinese “Thousand Character Classic” (articles of the years between the fourteenth and sixteenth year of the Emperor Ōjin) and receiving these advance products is believed to be exactly what Wakoku expected for Baekje that had inherited the exchange base by way of Daifang Commandery. When King Jeonji took the throne, it is said that hundred soldiers from Wakoku attended the ceremony (records of events prior to the enthronement of King Jeonji in “History of Baekje” in the “Samguk Sagi”), which would provide evidence concerning the supply of armed force.

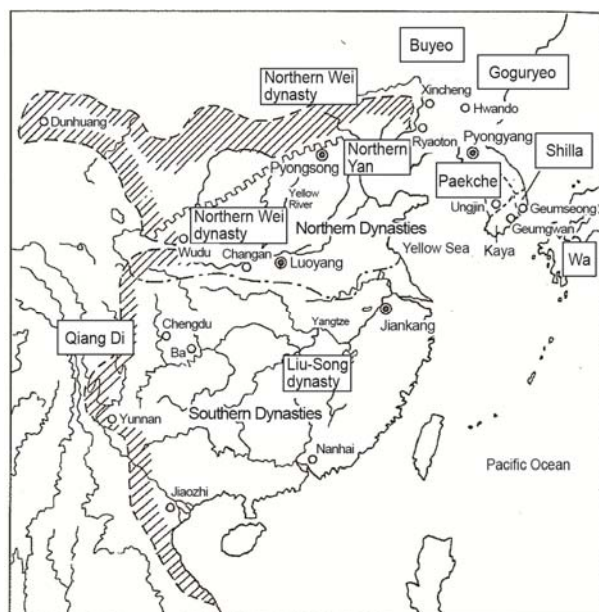


Figure 2 East Asia in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (MORI, Kimiyuki. *Conflicts in East Asia and Wa*. Yoshikawakobunkan, 2006. p. 53)

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

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



it appears that Wakoku had hostile relations with Shilla, it becomes clear from the relics that surprisingly large number of goods from Shilla were brought to Wakoku during this period<sup>11)</sup> and therefore, attention should be paid to the Wa-Shilla relations at the time.

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

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

In this context, in the note in the left margin of the poems from No.3860 to 3869 titled “10 Songs of the Shika-fishermen in Chikuzen Province” in Volume 16 of “Man'yōshū”, there is a text as follows; “右、以神龜年中、大宰府差筑前国宗像郡之百姓宗形部津麻呂、宛対馬送粮船舵師也。于時津麻呂詣於滓屋郡志賀村白水郎荒雄之許許語曰、僕有小事、若疑不許歟。荒雄答曰、走雖異郡、同船日久、志篤兄弟、在於殉死、豈復辞哉。津麻呂曰、府官差僕宛対馬送粮船舵師、容齒衰老、不堪海路、故来祇候、願垂相替矣。於是荒雄許諾、遂従彼事。自肥前国松浦県美祢良久埼発舶、直射対馬渡海。登時忽天暗冥、暴風交雨、竟無順風、沈没海中焉 (omitted below) ”. From this text, it is implied that as an instance in later years, Munakatabe-no-Tsumaro who was believed to be a fisherman under the dominion of the Munakata Ason was in a situation where he had to work together with a fisherman from Shika Village beyond the county border and he was known as skilled seafarer enough to be requisitioned first on the occasion of sending rations and provisions to Tsushima from Dazaifu and he was actively engaged in fishing on the route extending to Tsushima via Mineraku Cape of Chikashima Island in Mutsu-gun in Hiogo Province. The Mineraku Cape was also the starting point of the south route of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty since the Era of Taihō (“Topography of Hiogo Province”, article on Chikashima Island in Mutsu-gun) and it is interesting to learn about the active roles of the fishermen (seafarers) from the Munakata region in this sea area<sup>12)</sup>.

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

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



Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto) (“Kojiki” First Volume, “Topography of Harima Province” article on Kuroda Town in Taka-gun), “Chigihongi (the True Record of the Earthly Deities) in the “Sendai Kujihongi,”). In addition, there is a story of a chieftain of Izumo Region who had relations with Chikushi Province (article on the Kiyū day, seventh month of the sixtieth year of the Emperor Sujin in the “Nihonshoki”), and in an actual case of a helmsman of Chikushi who was going to Echizen Province by way of Izumo (Keikaicho (forwarding document) of Izumo Province in the 6th year of Tempyo Era “Dai Nihon Komonjo (the Archives in Japan)” Page 1-596), the route starting from Chikushi passing Izumo to Koshi was used (Also refer to a story of marriage between Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto and Nunakawahime in Koshi in the First Volume of “Kojiki”). As an instance of heading off to Chikushi through the Sea of Japan, there is a lore regarding “the conquest of three countries in old Korea” by the Empress Jingū, in which the empress moved from Tsunuganokehino-miya to Anatonotoyora-no-miya (near Toyora in Shimonoseki City, Yamaguchi) and from there reached Chikushi and its moving root deserves attention (article of the second year of Emperor Chūai, article on fifth day, first month in the eighth year of Emperor Chūai in the “Nihonshoki”). It is unthinkable that this route passed Okinoshima Island, however, Tsunugaarashito, son of the king of Ohokarakoku said to have arrived at Anato (Nagato) first and then got to Kehinoura in Koshi Province by way of “north sea”. Aside from the tale of origin of the place name “Tsunuga” because of “horns” he had on the forehead (a note on the article of the events of the second year of the Emperor Suinin), there may have been a route starting from the peninsula which passed Tsushima, Okinoshima Island and Nagato then reached Anato. In addition to the article about the events of 562 in the twenty-second year of the Emperor Kinmei recorded in “Nihonshoki” stating that a messenger from Shilla stopped at Anato on his way back home and the Anato Guest House was under repair and the Japanese messenger planned to stay there to accuse the “rudeness” of Shilla, there are instances of visits from foreigners to Nagato after eighth century (including the article of the Heishin day, tenth month in 814 in the fifth year of Kōnin Era in the “Nihonkōki (Later Chronicles of Japan), article of the Kigai day, the twelfth month in 843 in the tenth year of Jōwa Era of “Shoku Nihon Kōki” (Later Chronicles of Japan Continued), article of the third day, third month in 883 in the fifth year of Kampo Era of “Nihon Kiryaku (Summary of Japanese Chronologies)”), I want to pay attention to the Okinoshima-Nagato route as well<sup>13)</sup>. Regarding the arrival of islanders from Tamna Island recorded in the shōzeichō (balance sheet of tax rice) of Suou Province in the tenth year of Tempyō Era (Page 133, 138 of “Dai Nihon Komonjo”, they seemed to have reached Nagato Province following the route from Jeju Island to Nagato, via Tsushima and Okinoshima Island<sup>14)</sup>.

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

a 『日本書紀』神代・瑞珠盟約段本文

(上略) 所生神号曰田心姫、次湍津姫、次市杵嶋姫。凡三女矣。(中略) 筑紫胸肩君等所祭神是也。

b 同上第三の一書

(上略) 即以日神所生三女神者、使降居于葦原中国之宇佐嶋矣。今在海北道中、号曰道主貴。此筑紫水沼君等祭神是也。(下略)

c 『日本書紀』応神天皇 41 年 2 月是月条

阿知使主等自吳至筑紫。時胸形大神有乞工女等。故以兄媛奉於胸形大神。是則今在筑紫国御使君之祖也。既而率其三婦女以至津国、及于武庫、而天皇崩之不及。即献于大鷦鷯尊。是女人等之後、今吳衣縫・蚊屋衣縫是也。

d-1 『日本書紀』履中天皇 5 年 3 月戊午朔条 → 9 月癸卯条：皇妃の死去

於筑紫所居三神見于宮中言、何奪我民矣。吾今慚汝。於是禱而不祠。

d-2 『日本書紀』履中天皇 5 年 10 月甲子条

葬皇妃。既而天皇悔之不治神崇而亡皇妃、更求其咎。或者曰、車持君行於筑紫国、而悉校車持部、兼取充神者、必是罪矣。天皇則喚車持君、以推問之、事既実焉。因以数之曰、爾雖車持君、縦檢校天子之百姓、罪一也。即分寄于神祇車持部、兼奪取之、罪二也。則負惡解除・善解除、而出於長渚崎令祓禊。既而詔之曰、自今以後、不得掌筑紫之車持部。乃悉收以更分之奉於三神。

## e-1 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 9 年 2 月甲子朔条

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

## e-2 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 9 年 3 月条

天皇欲親伐新羅、神戒天皇曰、無往也。天皇由是不果行。（下略）

## f 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 10 年 9 月戊午条

身狹村主青将吳所献二鵝到於筑紫。是鵝為水間君犬所嚙死〈別本云、是鵝為筑紫嶺県主泥麻呂犬所嚙死〉。由是、水間君恐怖憂愁、不能自默、献鴻十隻与養鳥人、請以贖罪。天皇許焉。

## g 『日本書紀』雄略天皇 14 年 3 月条（参考）

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

## h 『肥前国風土記』基肄郡条

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

First, according to a, there is no doubt that the Munakata-no-Kimi (Ason) was responsible for the worship of the Three Goddesses of Munakata. Though considered as questionable ancient Fudoki (descriptions of regional climate, culture, etc), there is a passage that has been quoted from the Topography of Saikaidō in the [Diary of Sakimori] (AOYAGI Taenenobu); “其大海命子孫、今宗像朝臣等是也” which seems to depend on a lore about the Munakata clan in “Munakataki (Record of Munakata)” in a passage saying; “又曰、天神之子有四柱。只三柱神、教弟大海命曰、汝命者、為吾等三柱御身之像”, and the ancestor who deserves to be the chief of seafarers called “Ōama-no-Mikoto” was created. However, the article on Munakata Ason in the divine category (Chigi) in Ukyō of “Shinsen Shōjiroku” (New Selection and Record of Hereditary Titles and Family Names) defines that “大神朝臣同祖、吾田片隅命之後也”, and it seems that the Munakata clan acknowledged itself as the descendants of Susanowo<sup>15)</sup>. Seen in that light, a passage that has been quoted from the surviving fragments of Topography of Chikuzen Fudoki in Volume 11 of “Shaku Nihongi (annotated text in the Nihonshoki)” saying; “氣長足姫尊、欲伐新羅、整理軍士、發行之間、道中遁亡。占求其由、即有崇神、名曰大三輪神。所以樹此神社、遂平新羅” which is a legend associated with the Ohonamuchi Shrine in Yasu-gun listed in Engishiki Jinmyō-chō (a register of shrines in Japan) that is also interesting, in that the relationship between Ōmiwa-no-Kami and Chikuzen Province can be worked out from the legend.

However, according to b, Minuma-no-Kimi also worshipped the Three Goddesses and the Munakata clan wasn't solely involved in the rituals. If so, how were the chronological relationships and the parallel relationships between two clans? The chronology of mounded tombs in Munakata Region on which Minuma-no-Kimi was based<sup>16)</sup> and the conditions of the mounded tombs in the area on the Sea of Ariake and along the Chikugo River show that in the late fourth century Tōgō-Takatsuka Tomb and Kamitakamiya Tomb were built along the Tsuru River and it can be said that they respond to the rise of the new chief leading to the Munakata clan and the establishment of their status as the person responsible for presiding the rituals on Okinoshima Island. However, in the early fifth century, construction of the large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound fell into decline in the western coastal area of the Genkai Sea while they appeared in areas along the Sea of Ariake and along the Chikugo River and therefore it appears that the force associated with Minuma-no-Kimi had an occasion to be involved in the rituals on Okinoshima Island. In the middle of the fifth century, construction of the fairly large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound resumed in Munakata Region and this continued into the construction of large keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound from the late fifth century to the sixth century in the Tusyazaki Mounded Tomb Group situated south west of Kanazaki, which is a case only present in the Yame

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

The relevant time corresponds to the period of the five kings of Wa and as mentioned-above, there is a problem of inconsistency between the years of dispatch of five kings and the reign period of the emperors described in “Kiki” except for the last king of “Bu” as Emperor Yūryaku. However, as the “Nihonshoki” carries several articles regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses in the historical period presumed as a candidate for identification of the five kings, I will examine them in the next place. As for c, there is a similar account in g and according to some opinions, it is more appropriate to specify the arrival time of the weaver “Ehime” in the Emperor Yūryaku’s Era<sup>17)</sup>. However, there is a difference in the object of worship between the Munakata Goddesses in c and Ōmiwa deity in g and it’s impossible to judge which is the original model and so I rather like to pay attention to the manner of dedication and the elements related to the Munakata Region. Mitsukai-no-Kimi in c doesn’t appear in other historical materials and isn’t known very well, but it is considered to be the clan associated with Orihata Shrine, a shikinaisha shrines listed in Engishiki Jimmyōchō located in Munakata-gun. There are several instances indicating the relationship between the worship of deities and weaving (including the section of the commencement of a treasure mirror in the Volume 1 of the History of the Divine Age in the “Nihonshoki”, Article of Ōta Town in Kuji-gun and Nagahatabe Shrine of “Topography of Hitachi Province, etc.”, and above all, the votive offerings from the second phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island include gilt-bronze spinning and weaving tools (No.22 Site). And according to c, it should be noted that consecration was required when the envoys returned from abroad, that is to say, as in the case of “Jisai”, in requital for the safe return of the Japanese envoy overseas, female needle workers from China were presented and the dedication ceremonies were performed by the weavers.

d shows that Kurumamochibe (hereditary occupational group of providing royal palanquins to imperial families) was appropriated for the Munakata Goddesses and the existence of Kurumamochibe in Yoboro Village in Nakatsu-gun in Buzen Province (1-187 of “Dainihon Komonjo”) and Kurumamochiason written on a wooden strip unearthed from the Dazaifu Site (No.34, 35) attest to the existence of Kurumamochibe in Chikushi. The text of d suggests that the Munakata Goddesses were also held in awe as a tatari-gami (cursing god) who caused a curse if they were not worshipped appropriately. The text of e-1 is presumed to be the worshipping rituals associated with the punitive expedition to Shilla in e-2<sup>18)</sup> and as mentioned above, it corresponds to the fact that Shilla gradually increased its influence in the Korean peninsula. A notable point here is that the Munakata Goddesses had considerable influence over the foreign policy decision and the ritual manner described in e-1 is also worthy of attention. Specifically, although the act of sacred marriage (taking “Jingū Uneme” as mistress for religious services) seems to have been a common practice as specified in the Kampo (official document) issued on the eleventh day, tenth month in the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Enryaku Era of Volume 1 in the “Ruijūsandaikyaku (assorted regulations from Three Reigns)” ; 禁出雲国造託神事多娶百姓女子為妾事, the text of e-1 accused this act. According to some opinions, this reflected the value judgment of the time when the original significance of the act of holy marriage had been neglected<sup>19)</sup>. However, it appears that this custom continued into the ninth century in Izumo and another interpretation may be required. Along with the article on Sahioka in Ibo-gun of “Topography of Harima Province” stating that “Sahi (metal spade)” was offered to appease the anger and hate of goddesses, and the manner of quelling the curse of Ōtoshigami deity by offering “wowasegata (sexual device shaped like a phallus)” described in “Kogo Shūi (a historical record of the Inbe clan)”, it is known that there was an original system of worshipping goddesses as described in h. Therefore, it is believed that to enshrine the Three Goddesses of Munakata, it was necessary to take an appropriate measure different from the common way of performing Shintō rituals described in e-1 and regarding the issue of whether such measure has been reflected in the rituals on Okinoshima Island, I will leave it for later discussion <sup>additional note)</sup>.

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

later, there is also a mounded tomb called “ornamental tumulus” in Munakata (Mutajiri, Munakata City). However, seen from the competing situation of the mounded tombs after the late fifth century, it is understood that the Munakata Region didn’t belong to the federation of chiefs which provided a platform for the rebellion of Iwai<sup>20)</sup>. Then the affair described in f might have been a factor behind the decline in the power of Minuma-no-Kimi who had been involved in the foreign negotiations in the northern Kyūshū. The text in h states that the people in Munakata Region worshipped goddesses enshrined in the area on the Sea of Ariake and there was a deity called Munakata Tenjin in Hizen Province (Article of the third day, fourth month in 871 Jōgan 13 in the “Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku” (Veritable Records of Three Reigns of Japan)). Both this Munakata Tenjin and Himekoso Shrine mentioned in h aren’t shikinaisha (shrines listed in Englishiki) and the relationship between the two is unknown. However, the presence of deities crowned by “Munakata” suggests that the power of influence of the Munakata clan and the worshipping rituals associated with the sea traffic represented in the rituals on Okinoshima Island were widely known as far as the Sea of Ariake, which is worthy of attention in considering the development after the sixth century.

In the diplomatic message presented by the King of Wa Bu in 478 there is a passage saying ; “東征毛人五十五国、西服衆夷六十六国、渡平海北九十五国” (Account of Wakoku of “History of Song Dynasty”) which reminds us that the Wa kingly power established a firm ruling over the vast territory from Kantō to the northern and middle part of Kyūshū. However, on further study on the structural characteristics of the Wa kingly power of the time, it is revealed that there was only one rank difference between the title “General who Tranquilizes the East (Antō Shōgun)” bestowed to the King of Wa Chin and the title “General who brings Peace to the West (Heisei Shōgun)” bestowed to one of his subordinates Wazui for which Chin of Wazui had requested in 438 and Wazui assumed the name “Wa” like “Wasan” and therefore there was a system where the royal families (kinship families) and masters with the same level of power assisted the kingly power. As an example to illustrate the competing powers (local ruling families) within the ruling structure, there is a record indicating that the number of people for whom the conferring of official ranks and titles was petitioned was 13 in 438 and 23 in 451, which is higher than the cases in Baekje and from here it is estimated that the sovereign power by Wakoku had a system where more people with power supported the kingly power. The “Nihonshoki” provides instances where the Kazuraki clan one of the central dominant nobilities and the Kibi clan, a local ruling family gained power and a daughter of the Hyūga Morokata-no-Kimi family became the queen. The involvement of the central and local powerful ruling families in the kingly power was indispensable for the existence and maintenance of the sovereignty<sup>21)</sup>.

The written letters inscribed on the iron sword unearthed from the Inariyama Kofun Tumulus in Gyōda city in Saitama Prefecture, and the letters inscribed on the long sword excavated from the Eta Funayama Tumulus in Nagomi City of Tamana District in Kumamoto Prefecture show the letters Wakatakeru which refers to Emperor Yūryaku (Ohatsusewakatakeru-no-Mikoto), which suggests that in the reign of Emperor Yūryaku, the kingly power was already solidified<sup>22)</sup>. However, the relationship of the kingly power with Musashi Region mediated by Owakeko inscribed on the iron sword had just started<sup>23)</sup>, and the text of the above-mentioned diplomatic message might have been exaggerated. From the Eta Funayama Tumulus, a pair of gilt-bronze shoes (worn by court nobles) and a gilt-bronze crown from Baekje and it appears that the coastal area along the Sea of Ariake had its own exchange route that didn’t necessarily rely on the Wa kingly power. In this regard, the keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound scattered in the basin of the Yeongsam River in Jeollanam-do are worthy of attention<sup>24)</sup>.

In 475, Goguryeo captured Hanseong, the capital of Baekje and Baekje moved the capital southward to Ungjin and overburdened by the reconstruction of the kingdom and the threat from the Goguryeo in the north, Baekje had to find new opportunities for expansion in the south or in the east. Among the six states over which the five Kings of Wa had control under the military title of “shogunji (supervisor of military affairs)” conferred to them by the Chinese Court, apart from Tinhan (Jinhan) whose situation is unknown, Mohan showed the remaining power of Mahan in the southwest of the peninsula and it is believed that the state wasn’t fully the domain of Baekje in the stage of the Hanseong Baekje<sup>25)</sup>. From there, 13 keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mound from the late fifth century to the early sixth century were discovered and while their building technique and the haniwa (clay images) were similar to those in the middle and northern part of Kyūshū, many of the burial accessories unearthed had Baekje style characteristics except for some relics that were from Daegaya. Regarding who constructed these tombs, there are two theories; a theory that they were local lords and a theory that they were Wajin (Wa people).

And the Wajin theory is divided into two views; a theory that they were immigrants from Wakoku and a theory that they were Baekje officials from Wakoku. It was after the middle of sixth century that the said region was totally absorbed in the cultural sphere of Baekje and there is a view from the archaeological point of view that the period in question with many key-hole shaped tombs with round rear mound presents the state of the final conflict. Therefore, it is understood that there was an independent force with its own power that engaged in multifactorial exchanges with several forces within Wakoku, especially with those in the middle and northern part of Kyūshū and Daegaya keeping a proper distance from Baekje by the early sixth century and this was the actual situations in “Mohan”. While the power of Geumgwan Gaya which had long provided advanced products of culture to Wakoku declined when the great King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo controlled temporarily “Mimana Gaya (Geumgwan Gaya), the record shows that Wakoku, entering the fifth century, along with the exploration of the new iron mine, had active relationships with Daegaya (Goryeong, Banpa) in the northern Gaya Region where the rise of the forces were reflected in the Jisandong Tomb Group and the forces in the basin of the Yeongsam River in the southwestern Korean peninsula with an aim to develop new route to obtain the iron resources and the advanced products of culture<sup>26)</sup>, which would reflect the ebb and flow of the power conditions of the time.

Moreover, the Baekje officials from Wakoku are mentioned in the “Nihonshoki” as those who lived in the regin of Emperor Keitai and Kinmei in the early sixth century and were given such Japanese family names as Mononobe, Shinano, Kose, Ki-no-omi, Ashikita-no-omi, Kume, and Tsukushi and had official titles in Baekje and were responsible for foreign relations with Wakoku and military affairs<sup>27)</sup>. The article of the fourth month of the twenty-third year of the Emperor Yūryaku in the “Nihonshoki” states that in the enthronement of King Dongseong (Reign: 479-501) who stabilized Baekje during the Ungjin period, 500 soldiers from Chikushi escorted the king and this episode is believed to have been the origin of the Baekje officials from Wakoku. Other assessment is that the Wa people who became assimilated there became the Baekje officials in the process of complete absorption of the Yeongsam River basin area by Baekje. In any case, this shows that various powers in Wakoku including the central ruling families such as the Kazuraki clan, local ruling families from Shinano, Kyūshū and Kibi (Article on the events in the seventh year of the Emperor Yūryaku) as well as the king of Wa had increased multifactorial interaction with different places in the Korean Peninsula in the fifth century. Regarding story of the abuse (wrongful seizure) of Kurumamochibe in d-2, while there is an interpretation that it was an expression of opposing the requisition of people under the ruling of Munakata-no-Kimi for transporting of military supplies<sup>28)</sup>, regarding the example of dispatching soldiers from Chikushi, there is a well-known story that the Wa kingly power ordered Achi-no-omi and Umakai-no-omi in Chikushi to lead Funaikusa (warriors who battle in the sea) and defeated Goguryeo because tax and tributes from Baekje were greater than usual. From here, it is believed that the role of the powerful clans in Kyūshū was significant and in the course of the history of exchanges supported by these multifactorial relationships, Minuma-no-Kimi, as well as Munakata-no-Kimi intereved in the rituals on Okinoshima Island occasionally and the Wa kingly power failed to unify the rituals on Okinoshima Island and acquire the diplomatic authority in the context of the relations with the Korean Peninsula.

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

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

During this period, in the Korean Peninsula, Baekje and Shilla, with Goguryeo controlling the northern part, participated in a scramble for territory in the Gaya confederacy as opportunities to expand their lands and develop their states. Baekje invaded from the west and possessed Gimun (己汶) and Daesa (帶沙) from 512 to 515 and Shilla also launched a massive attack on Geumgwanguk in around 524 and in 529 abandoned the alliance of marriage with Daegaya since 522 and invaded and occupied several states of Gaya from the east and the north and by 530, Baekje and Shilla came into conflict with each other across Alla in between<sup>29)</sup>.

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

The Wa kingly power dispatched Mononobe-no-Arakahi, who killed Iwai by sword and quelled the war and it is said that his son, Tsukushi-no-kimi Kuzuko, requested for atonement by presenting the Miyake (base for paying a tribute) of Kasuya (Articles, the Kasshi day, eleventh month, and twelfth month in the twenty-second year of the Emperor Keitai in the “Nihonshoki”). Iwatoyama Mounded Tomb in Yame City, Fukuoka Prefecture is believed to be the tomb of Iwai, which constitutes the Yame Mounded Tomb Group where you can trace the genealogy of the tombs of the chiefs from the Sekijinyama Tomb and Iwatoyama Tomb built around the late fifth century to the Tsurumiyama Tomb built from the middle to the late sixth century. Quotation from the Itsubun (surviving fragments) of the Topography of Chikugo Province of Volume 9 of the “Shaku Nihongi (annotated text of the Nihonshoki)” describes different section corresponding to the square lot of the north-east corner of the back of the rear circular part of the Iwatoyama Mounded Tomb, which shows that a position called tokibe existed and tokibe was in charge of affairs of the state at the place called Gato i.e. Matsurigotodokoro where rituals and politics were performed, and robbery cases were judged. The descriptions of stone horses, stone pavillion, stone storehouse show Iwai’s residence, warehouses and the existence of horses supporting the military force. In addition, stone figures and stone horses peculiar to the relevant region, distribution of the ornamental mounded tombs, and the place where miyake was established after the rebellion also represent the authority and the sphere of influence of Iwai<sup>30)</sup> who is deemed as a chief who built a unique ruling system. After the repression of the Iwai War, the system for governing local areas by kuninomiya (local lord) was established with submission of local ruling families, offering of miyake as base for paying a tribute and acquisition of the diplomatic rights, etc. as conditions<sup>31)</sup>.

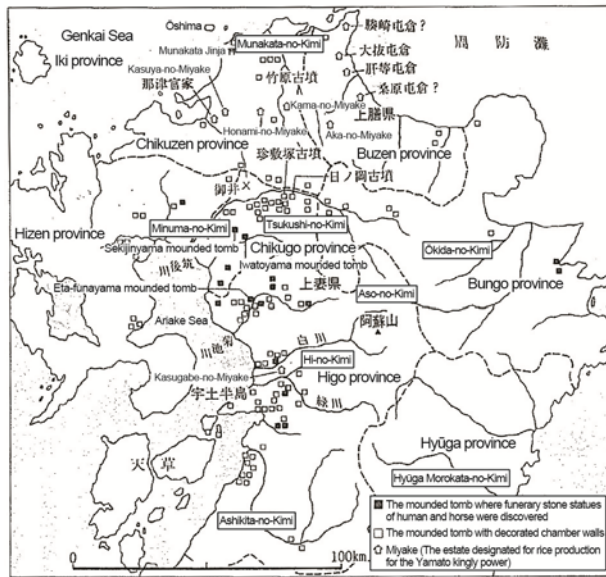


Figure 3 The power base of Tsukushi-no-Kimi Iwai (Vol. 3 of *New Edition. Japan in Ancient Times*. Kadokawa, 1991. p.158)

Let's get back to the discussion on the history of exchanges. The Wa kingly power basically supported the Baekje-led invasion of the Gaya confederacy and the scholar of the five "Confucian" classics called Dan Yangi reached Japan in 513 and then Gao Anjia reached Japan from Baekje to teach about Confucianism. These scholars are believed to be from the Southern Dynasty in China, however, because Wakoku severed friendly relations with the Southern Dynasty in China after 478, it was impossible to expect the Gaya confederacy and Shilla that didn't have routine relations with the Southern Dynasty to supply these products of culture and human resources from China. On the other hand, Buddhism was brought to Japan from Baekje in 538 or 552 and it played a significant role in the development and strengthening of the state kingship<sup>32</sup>. King Seong (Seimei) (Reign: 523-554) who transmitted Buddhism to Japan held "Mimana Reconstruction Meeting" in 541 and 544 where measures to secure Alla by Baekje were proposed. Then "the Japanese Mimana Government" participated there and tried to get in line with the remaining Gaya confederacy from the anti-Baekje and pro-Shilla standpoint<sup>33</sup>.

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

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



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

In such changing international affairs, it is also important to note that significant progress was made in the national ruling system in Wakoku and its centralized regional ruling system. In the “Kinmei section” of the “Nihonshoki”, after incidents such as the demise of “Yamato retainers in Alla”, and the background which led to the collapse of the Gaya confederacy were described, the article regarding the strengthening of the national ruling system starts to appear and it is noteworthy that Wakoku completely vanquished the Kibi clan by establishing Shirai Miyake and Kojima Miyake in Kibi Region (Articles in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Emperor Kinmei)<sup>34)</sup>. The local ruling families in Kibi Region, whose key-hole shaped tombs with round rear mound comparable to those of the central part of the Wa kingly power disappeared after late fifth century, were believed to maintain their own exchange route with the Peninsula as known from the continuance of the activities in “Mimana” (Article on events in the seventh year of Emperor Yūryaku) and the active and central role played by Kibi-no-omi among “Yamato retainers in Alla”. However, at this point, they lost this route and, the Wa kingly power, taking advantage of the clan’s weakened power, seized resources such as iron from the Chūgoku Mountains and salt from the Seto Inland Sea so as to seize the source of sovereignty of the Kibi clan and succeeded in gaining control of the major transport artery of the Seto Inland Sea by establishing Nanotsunomiyake, Kojima Miyake and Naniwa Miyake, of which Kojima Miyake was considered important where a position called Tasukai responsible for controlling miyake was dispatched from the central regime and stayed there. Nanotsunomiyake was established after the Rebellion of Iwai by consolidating rice and grains from the several miyake that had been installed in Chikushi, Bungo and Higo Provinces (Article, in the fifth month, the first day of which is Shinchū, in the first year of Emperor Senka) and Naniwa Miyake where Kishi Group in charge of foreign relations of the Wa kingly power was positioned<sup>35)</sup> was considered as important intersection of a military route and diplomatic route. Other than that, there is an article about the seizure of diplomatic rights of Koshino-michi-no-Kimi (article in the thirty-first year of Emperor Kinmei) and that the change of international relationship over the history of exchanges was inseparably related to the national politics should be emphasized.

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

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

By the way, how was the course of events in Munakata Region in relation to the rituals on Okinoshima Island? Except for the above-mentioned historical materials, there are no more articles regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses described in the “Nihonshoki” and it is difficult to refer to historical materials for examination. However, as mentioned above, assuming that the Munakata clan wasn’t affiliated with the support power of Iwai, it is presumed that the presentation of Kasuya-no-Miyake to the kingship by Tsukushi-no-kimi Kuzuko followed by the establishment of the Nanotsunomiyake (base for paying a tribute) showed that the Wa kingly power had already built up major foothold in the northern part of Kyūshū, and along with the unification of the diplomatic rights, the Wa kingship dissolved the situation where members of Minuma-no-Kimi based in the Chikugo area who were believed to have collaborated with Iwai, participated in the worship of the Munakata Goddesses, which marked a big milestone in determining whether the kingship would give the Munakata clan an exclusive right to perform rituals on Okinoshima Island<sup>36</sup>). In that regard, I like to pay attention to the fact that there are Munakata Shrine in Shikinokami-gun in Yamato Province, Munakata Shrine in Nakajima-gun in Owari Province, Munakata Shrine in Aimi-gun in Houki Province and Munakata Shrines in Akasaka-gun and Tsudaka-gun in Bizen Province, other than the Munakata-gun in Chikuzen Province according to “Engishiki” Jimmyōchō. In addition, although they are shikigai shrines (not listed in Jimmyōchō), Munkata Tenjin in Hizen Province mentioned above, and Munakatajin in Nagato Province (Article, the twenty-eighth day in the eighth month in 871, in the third year of Kampo Era of “Nihon Kiryaku” (Summary of Japanese Chronologies) are known. Among them, those located in Yamato and Owari Provinces are believed to reflect the relevance to such incidents as Kanjō (transfer of a divided deity to a new shrine) by Prince Takechi born from Prince Ōama (Emperor Temmu) as stated later and Amako-no-Iratsume, a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen and Ōama-no-Sukune arakama (supposed to be based in Amabe-gun in Owari Province) who gave eulogy concerning the story of Mibu (childhood) at the mortuary of Emperor Temmu. As for Hizen, it is associated with the above-mentioned relations with the area on the Sea of Ariake, and Nagato is located at the point of junction of two major traffic routes along the Sea of Japan and along the Seto Inland Sea and as for Houki, it is located at a relay point of the traffic route along the Sea of Japan connecting Chikushi, Izumo and Koshi. Then Munakata Shrine in Kibi Region is also associated with the control of Seto Inland Sea transportation by the Wa kingly power, and according to my view, the fact that the Munakata Goddesses were worshipped there shows the significance of the rituals on Okinoshima Island in the sea traffic and the importance of the worship by Munakata-no-Kimi<sup>37</sup>). It appears that the role of Munakata-no-Kimi and the positioning of the rituals on Okinoshima Island from a national point of view made significant progress in the embryonic stage of the centralized national system.

Coming back to the subject of the history of exchanges, it is said that the homeward journey of the Prince Hye from Baekje in 556 was escorted by the navy forces in Tsukushi Province and Tsukushi-no-hi-no-Kimi (a child of Tsukushi-no-kimi, also said to be a brother of Hinonaka-no-Kimi) (Article in the first month in the seventeenth year of Emperor Kinmei) and the Baekje’s dependence on 竹斯嶋上諸軍士, i.e., the powerful clans of Kyūshū in military affairs still continued. However, based on the centralization of power by the Wa kingly power and the appointment of local powerful clans to Kuninomiya-suko, the formation of the military organization called kokuzō army by the nation-wide mobilization of the local powerful clans was attempted<sup>38</sup>). According to the references, Kumenomiko, a brother of Prince Umayado (Prince Shoutoku) was appointed as a general to fight off Shilla in 602 and was stationed in Chikushi given the “諸神部及国造・伴造等、并軍衆二万五千人” (Article, in the second month, the first day of which is the Kiyū day in the tenth year of Empress Suiko) which is the first appearance of the article on the dispatch of the army based on mobilization of the kokuzō army to go on a foreign campaign. However, this expeditionary force failed to cross the sea and the first time the Wa kingly power made the 10 thousand troops cross the sea to the Peninsula was when it supported the Baekje Reconstruction Movement in the late seventh century. In this Baekje expedition that ended in defeat in the Battle

of Hakusonkō in 663, it is known that along with Tsukushi-no-kimi Satsuyama deemed as Kuninomiyaatsuko of Chikushi, and the clan in charge of managing the Nanotsunomiyake named Tsukushi-no-miyakeno-muraji Tokuko and Ōtomobe no Hakama who was a soldier in Kamitsuyame-gun on which Chikushi-no-kimi was based crossed the sea (article, the Kibou day in the twelfth month in the tenth year of Emperor Tenchi, article, the Kibi day in the eleventh month in the tenth year of Emperor Temmu, article, the Icchū day in the tenth month in the fourth year of Empress Jitō), which shows the way the local powerful clans were led by Kuninomiyaatsuko. Time of marriage between the above-mentioned Prince Ōama and a daughter of Munakata-no-Kimi Tokuzen is estimated around 650 considering from the birth date of Prince Takechi, a child of a consanguineous marriage when the upheaval in East Asia hadn't been predicted yet and the kingship's intention to strengthen ties with Munakata-no-Kimi assuming the dispatch of soldiers to the Peninsula<sup>39</sup>, or whether the Munakata-no-Kimi actually participated in the expeditionary force are not clear. However, in 589, the Sui Dynasty from the Northern Dynasties defeated Chen which is the last dynasty of the Southern Dynasties and unified the whole nation for the first time in 350 years since the turbulent time at the end of Later Han and the following the Three Kingdoms Period. The Sui Dynasty (581-618) and the following Tang Dynasty (618-917) were powerful dynasties erecting the comprehensive legal codes on which the so-called Luli system was based that became an example of the political systems in the pre-modern times in East Asia. The two dynasties eventually interfered with the battles and wars among the three kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula and in light of such changes in international affairs, it was imperative for Wakoku to improve its own state system.

Incidentally, in this regard, as stated in the title of this chapter, it should be noted that the Korean Peninsula which had been recognized as “in the north of the sea” in such descriptions as in the memorial to the Emperor by Waōbu became recognized as a place “in the west” afterward<sup>40</sup>. A description “Kaihoku–north of the sea” is seen in the “Original records of Baekje” deemed as one of the primary historical materials of “Nihonshoki” where a word “海北弥移居 Miyake located in the north of the sea” was used (article of the twelfth month in the fifteenth year of Emperor Kinmei). Along with another description “Kaihokudōchū- in the north of the sea, in the middle of the route” associated with the worship of the Three Goddesses of Munakata in b, they are considered to reflect the view of the place in the north of the specific “sea”, a view from the northern Kyūshū. This was a recognition until the middle of the sixth century when the Gaya confederacy were collapsed, which shows the stage defined by the positional relation with 竹斯嶋上諸軍士(soldiers or powerful clans from Kyūshū) as a starting point.. Preception of China and Korean states as states in the “west” started in 607 when the expressions such as “聞海西菩薩天子重興佛法” and “海西有大隋礼儀之國” (Account of Wakoku in “Book of Sui”) were first used on occasion of dispatching Japanese envoy to the Sui Dynasty. The starting point of the “west” is Yamato in Kinai region in which a milestone in the establishment of the centralized government system is reflected and the notion is associated with the establishment of the military mobilization system to mobilize kuninomiyaatsuko all over the country which evolved in the late sixth century.



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

Shilla is also written as one of the “foreign lands in the west” in the “Nihonshoki” from ancient times, however, it was only after the late sixth century when Shilla absorbed the Gaya confederacy and expanded its territory in the peninsula and when the relationship building with Shilla became a big issue for Wakoku. The votive offerings found from the second phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island include articles deemed as products from Shilla and I want to pay attention to the history of exchanges after the collapse of the Gaya confederacy along with the trend of the situations after the late fifth century. The challenge for Shilla that had succeeded in expanding its territory was to decide on how to deal with Baekje and Goguryeo and it was necessary to arrange things such as dispatching of tributary envoys to Wakoku so that it would not took sides with Baekje and Goguryeo. Then “Minama's tributes” was created. By setting up Shilla persons as Mimana’s envoys to bring “Mimana’s tributes” to Japan aside from Shilla’s envoys, Shilla intended to give Wakoku the nominal cause of restoring Mimana<sup>41)</sup>. Although Baekje’s state policy was to invade Shilla followed by the recapture of the former Gaya region, i.e. the revival of Mimana, Wakoku, which didn’t necessarily hope for the collapse of the Gaya confederacy accepted the ideological measures that are the negotiation with Shilla followed by the “Mimana’s envoys” to Japan and acquisition of “Mimana’s tributes”, that is, the “revival of Mimana”, and the international strategies of both states became separated<sup>42)</sup>. After that, due to the balanced power between three states of Korea, Wakoku got the benefit from the influx of products of culture and civilization including things related to Buddhism and people from the three states, which led to the further prosperity of the Asuka culture. Regarding the effect that the examples of the cultural exchanges listed in the Table 1 had on the changes in the votive offerings of the rituals on Okinoshima Island and in the procedures for conducting Shintō rituals, it will be a subject for future analysis.

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

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

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

This section will examine the aspects of the cultural exchanges promoted by the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty during the time corresponding to the third and fourth phases of the rituals on Okinoshima Island. The dispatches of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty are shown in the following Table 2. There are several opinions regarding the ordinary numbers and to avoid discrepancies in designating the ordinary numbers, the seventh Japanese mission to the Tang Dynasty, according to my suggestion, refers to the dispatch during the Taihō Era and the twelfth and thirteenth missions refer to ①・② in the Hōji Era and the fourteenth and fifteenth missions are separated from ①・② in the Hōki Era. In the Volume 1 of “Guketsugetenshō (Annotated list of the non-Buddhist scriptures)” compiled by Prince Tomohira, a son of Emperor Murakami, the “Record of the mission to the Tang Dynasty in the second year of the Tempyōshōhō Era” was quoted which refers to the record of the mission to the Tang Dynasty that had been authorized in the second year of the Tempyōshōhō Era but realized in the fourth year of the Tempyōshōhō Era which means the time of appointment shall be considered as the time of sending the missions to the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, the eighth mission (according to my view) which is often designated as the mission in the Yōrō Era should be designated as the mission in the Reiki Era. In addition, regarding the chronology of the Japanese missions to the Tang Dynasty, focusing on the navigation route that changed from northern route to the southern route, it is either divided into the early stage before the Taihō Era and the later stage after that or divided into three stages by subdividing the missions in the ninth century<sup>43)</sup>. In any case, the Taihō Era was a big milestone for the missions to the Tang Dynasty and here I will adopt the theory of dividing the time into two periods.

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

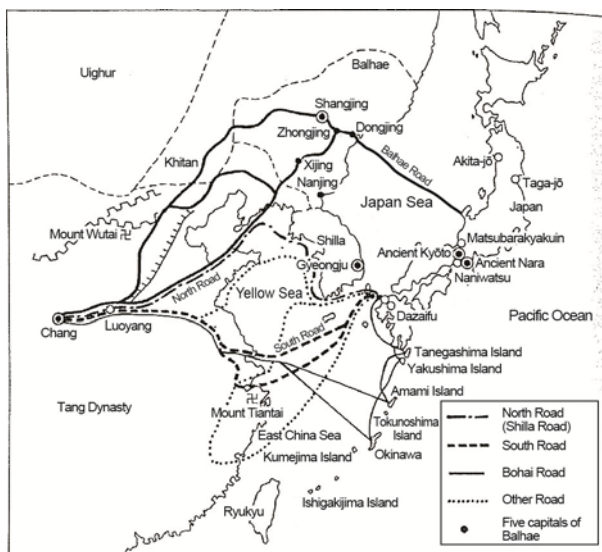


Figure 5 East Asia in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and the route of missions to Tang Dynasty China (SATO, Makoto ed. *Ritsuryō State and Tenpyō Culture*. Vol. 4 of *History of Different Periods of Japan*. Yoshikawakobunkan, 2002. p. 59)

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

To sum up the above, the Japanese missions to the Tang Dynasty dispatched in the early stage couldn’t establish stable relationships with Tang Dynasty amid the upheavals of the seventh century in East Asia<sup>44)</sup>. After the mission arrived in Tang in 670, Wakoku didn’t dispatch envoys to Tang Dynasty for about 30 years during which Wakoku could strive on establishing the state under the Ritsuryō codes without being disturbed by the external affairs. However, it was only after the mission to the Tang Dynasty in the Taihō secured a promise of sending the tribute missions once every twenty years<sup>45)</sup> and obtained approval for changing the name of the country from Wa to Nihon in the late stage that the enterprise of dispatching Japanese missions to Tang Dynasty and securing imports of Tang culture was established.

Looking at the history of exchanges during this time, it is important to note that the Shilla emissaries continued to come to Chikushi every year after 668, after the Battle of Hakusonkō and Wakoku also sent envoys to Shilla and the exchanges of embassies with Shilla were important for informing the Japanese of the foreign affairs and obtaining advanced cultural products<sup>46)</sup>. Shilla was still prosecuting the war against Tang and practiced diplomatic style with Wakoku/Japan in which Shilla brought such tributes to Japan including birds, beasts, and gold, silver and high-quality textiles (article of the Kasshi day in the tenth month in the eighth year of Emperor Temmu, article of the Itsuyū day in the tenth month in the tenth year of Emperor Temmu, article of the Shimbi day in the fifth month in the fourteenth year of Emperor Temmu, article of the Boshi day in the fourth month in the first year of the Shuchō Era, article of the Shinbō date in the second month in the second year of Empress Jitō, article of the Jin’in day in the fourth month in the third year of Empress Jitō (the above articles appear in the “Nihonshoki”) and article of the Kigai day in the tenth month in the fourth year of Emperor Mommu, article of the Kigai day in the intercalary seventh month in the third year of Yōrō Era, article of the Kōshin day in the fifth month in the fourth year of Tempyō Era (the above articles appear in the “Shoku Nihongi”). Shilla is defined as “treasure country” and “country of gold and silver” in the account of Empress Jingū and the “History of the Divine Age”, Chapter 1 of the “Nihonshoki”, and I believe that a view of defining Shilla as a vassal state or a barbarian country and the view of the world at that time is derived from the actual situations of the exchanges between Japan and Shilla of the said period. In relation to the votive offerings from the third phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, it is pointed out that the Tang Dynasty-style three-colored bottle-shaped vase with long neck and gilt-bronze dragon heads might have been the products from Shilla (including those imported via transit trade)<sup>47)</sup>, and an attempt to identify the place of origin of the votive offerings from the perspective of the kingship’s interaction with the Korean Peninsula will be an important issue.



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

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



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

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

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

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

遣唐使祠天神地祇於当国愛宕郡家門前。諸司為之廢務。

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

Each of the late-stage Japanese mission to Tang Dynasty, China was comprised of four ships as expressed in the entries of Man'yōshū ("Man'yōshū" Volume 19, Poem No.4264-65) as "four ships" and each ship carried 120 to 150 people and as many as 500 to 600 people sailed to China. The composition of the passengers in accordance with the provisions of the "foreign envoys" in the codes of the Ōkura-shō Ministry in Volume 30 of "Engishiki" is as follows: 1. Kanjin (government officials) (大使、副使、判官、録事、史生), Zōnin (lower-ranking officials) (雜使、僉人), Translator (訳語、新羅奄美等訳語), 2. Seafarers (知乗船事、船師、舵師、挾杓、水手長、水手), 3. Engineers (主神、卜部、医師、陰陽師、画師、射手、音声長、音声生、船匠), 4. Students and scholars (留学生、学問僧、僉從、還学僧、請益生) (those in parenthesis are terms used in "Engishiki"). Among these passengers, it is remarkable that Shushin (主神) was included as worshippers conducting religious rituals. The members of the Tsumori clan seemed to have been appointed as Shushin who were also involved with the launching ceremony of the "Ships of the Missions" held at Suminoe Shrine mentioned in j-1 (they are hereditary clan serving as district administrator of the Suminoe-gun in Settsu Province) and according to the "Record of Tsumori Family" and "Suminoe taisha jindaiki (records of the the History of the Divine Age from the Suminoe-taisha Shrine)" they were called Kentō shinshu (priest accompanying envoys to the Tang Dynasty). Among the clan members, Tsumori-no-Sukune Ikeyoshi in the Reiki Era and Tsumori-no-Sukune Maroudo in the Tempyō Era and Kunimaro in the Hōki Era are well-known and Tsumori-no-Sukune Otari, a second son of Ikeyoshi, served as priest for the envoys sent to Balhae Kingdom. Suminoe Shrine is where Uwatsutsunowo-no-Kami, Nakatsutsunowo-no-Kami and Sokotsutsunowo-no-Kami who were believed to have led and accompanied Empress Jingū during her Conquest of Three Korean Kingdoms are enshrined and from a passage in "Suminoe taisha jindaiki"; "住吉大神船边坐奉弓、辛国仁渡坐弓方定進退鎮給弓" (Record of Funakito), it is believed that Suminoe Ōkami (the great Gods of Suminoe) functioned as guardian deity of a ship and deity of navigation and was taken on a ship to sail for the mission to the Tang Dynasty in relation to the duties of the local ruling clans who controlled Suminoe no tsu (Suminoe port) which served as the outer port of the Wa kingly power since the fifth century<sup>48)</sup>.

By the way, according to the instances described in i, the court officials to be dispatched as members of a Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty departed after worshipping Tenjin chigi (the gods of heaven and earth) near Tojō (court). A poetry No. 406 in the category of Journey of Kokin Wakashū (A Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry) titled “A poetry made by looking at the moon in the Tang Dynasty, Abe-no-Nakamaro” is a famous tanka that goes; “あまの原 ふりさけみれば 春日なる みかさの山に いでし月かも” which also appears in “Hyakunin Isshu” (Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets). Abe-no-Nakamaro sailed to Tang Dynasty as a student in the Reiki Era and stayed there serving Emperor Xuanzong and never returned home. For him, the rinjisai (special festival) held at Kasuga Shrine described in i-1 must have remained as a distinct memory. Incidentally, according to “Tōdaiji Sankai Shiishi-zu (painting of mountain border of four paths to Tōdai-ji Temple)” in the middle of the eighth century, a place called Kasuga at the base of Mt. Mikasa was specified as “divine land” and there was no shrine building and it seems that the ceremonies were performed outdoors. The offerings in i-6 included pottery as well<sup>49)</sup>, which is common to the votive offerings from the third and the fourth phases of the rituals on Okinoshima Island featuring several pieces of pottery and this serves as a good reference for learning how the rituals were performed under the Ritsuryō system.

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

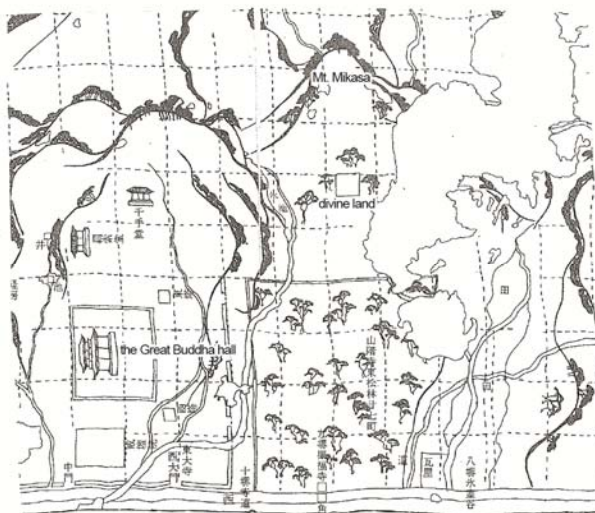


Figure 6 “Shinchi” (divine land) of Kasuga (KINDA, Akihiro. Drawings of Estatic Land in Ancient Japan. University of Tokyo Press, 1996. pp. 558-559)

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

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

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

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

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

no historical materials in the eighth century described the acts of dedicating offerings at respective shrines beforehand. Rather, it should be noted that the envoys, after returning to Japan from Tang, made offerings and were granted shinkai (divine rank) at Suminoe Shrine. Articles described in l show that the goods brought from Tang by the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty or articles brought by the Japanese envoy to Shilla and Balhae were dedicated to Ise Jingū Shrine and Imperial mausoleums as offerings, which attests to the act of making offerings and worshipping. However, in the eighth century, although articles on Shilla and Balhae in l -4 · 6 show the instance of making offerings at shosha (local shrines) in seven districts of ancient Japan, regarding the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, offerings were made at Ise Jingū Shrine in every case of l -3 · 12 · 13<sup>52)</sup>, and there is no reference to the rituals on Okinoshima Island. As described above, the article of c describes that the Munakata Grand Goddesses demanded that people brought from China by the Japanese envoy on their return home stay in Japan and serve the deities and considering from the deities' relationship with Amaterasu Ōmikami enshrined at Ise Jingū Shrine described in a · b and from a passage ; “汝三神宜降居道中奉助天孫而為天孫所祭也” (First addendum to the chapter on Zuishu Treaty in the first volume of the History of the Divine Age of the “Nihonshoki”), could it be said that there were rituals for worshipping the Three Goddesses of Munakata and the Jisai-wise requital through the Munakata clan enshrining the Munakata Shrine which correspond to the votive offerings in the third and fourth phase of the rituals on Okinoshima Island?

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

In the ninth century, the description of worship at Munakata Shrine is found in historical materials of which articles j-4 and o can be regarded as a special case of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty during the Jōwa Era. The relevant mission was eventually the last delegation to the Tang Dynasty that was realized for the first time after two failed attempts to cross the ocean and even though it finally made it to Tang China, it highlighted the disincentives including the issue of weakening leadership of the court officials to be dispatched, decline of Tang Dynasty and the changes in significance of studying and pursuing Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty regarding the enterprise of dispatching envoys to the Tang Dynasty<sup>53)</sup>. The “Ships of the missions” were occasionally shipwrecked and cancelled as in the case of the mission in the Enryaku Era, which made it to Tang on its second try. Regarding the mission of the Enryaku Era, due to the missing part in “Nihon Kōki (Later Chronicles of Japan)”, there is no articles describing the period between the first failure and the second departure, so whether such measures were taken in the Jōwa Era or not is unknown. Nonetheless, the description in o-1~3 refers to the measures associated with the first departure and it proved that the offerings were made at shosha (local shrines) prior to the voyage that was not so common in the eighth century. Also according to o-2, heihaku (sacred silk and other sacred materials) was widely offered at shrines that enshrine Meishin in Goki shichidō (five provinces and seven districts of ancient Japan) and it is considered a new method based on the experience in the Enryaku Era (another possibility is that this new method was based on the measures taken on the occasion of the second departure in the Enryaku Era).

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

second time in Enryaku Era, the sutra was chanted before Shintō altar at shosha (local shrines) in the middle and northern part of Kyūshū to pray for the safe journey and it is noteworthy that Munakata Shrine was mentioned there. The sutra chanting before the Shintō altar is believed to be based on the achievement of Saichō in the second mission in the Enryaku Era which was also the countermeasure for the failure of the first time. In the text of o-4, Kashii Shrine, Ōomi (minister = Takeshiuchi-no-Sukune), Hachiman Daibosatsu (Usa) are associated with the legend of Empress Jingū and although the origin of Aso Shrine is unknown, it appears in the dedication ceremony over the pirates from Shilla described below where the rare events were predicted, which proved that the shrine gradually gained recognition for its divine power in the critical moments (recorded in parallel in o-7). Then how should we view Munakata Shrine with the tradition of observing rituals on Okinoshima Island? Suppose ceremonies had been performed at Munakata Shrine on special occasions after the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty returned home, the fact that the shrine was mentioned in parallel with other shrines in this manner means that the shrine's status was leveled off. Descriptions of shosha (local shrines) related to the Empress Jingū appear in the documents related to the confrontation with Shilla in the eighth century but do not appear in the documents related to the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty and since around the time of the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty in the Enryaku Era, the shrines came to be used as sites for ritual worship on occasions regarding foreign affairs including the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty<sup>54</sup>). On the other hand, as described below, descriptions of the Munakata Goddesses appear in the scenes handling the pirates from Shilla and their role seems to have grown increasingly important.

Incidentally, the Munakata Ason clan in the eighth century maintained the relationship with the Kita-no-miya Imperial family whose genealogy can be traced from Prince Takechi (born from Prince Ōama (later Emperor Temmu) and Amako-no-Iratsume) to Prince Nagaya as evidenced by the label mokkan (wooden strips) excavated from the former Heijōkyō Capital Site deemed to be sent from the chief district official of Munakata-gun ("Executive summary of the mokkan unearthed from the research excavation of the former Heijōkyō Capital site" 21-24・25-29, 23-14, 27-21). The Munakata clan concurrently served as the chief district official of Munakata-gun and as the Shintō priest of Munakata Shrine and there were instances where a member of the clan married a wife from the imperial family (Table 3) and Uji-no-sen (subordinate people, servant people owned by the clan) were reportedly placed in Kanazaki who had to pay the repair fee of the Munakata Shrine that had been transferred to Shikinokami-gun in Yamato Province by Prince Takechi ("Ruijūsandaikyaku" Volume 1, official document dated December 29 of the fifth year of Kamyō Era). However, by the end of the eighth century, it was prohibited to assume the post of chief district official and Shintō priest concurrently and the Munakata clan who had a powerful reign as the head of both Shintō and the province faced a crisis. The Takashina-no-mahito clan who was a descendant from the Kita-no-miya Imperial family was lower-middle class official and as the clan didn't have the powerful backing of the imperial family, the Munakata clan seemed to have approached the Northern House of the Fujiwara clan and transferred the divided Munakata Goddesses to the mansion of Fuyutsugu (Higashi-no-kyō Ichijō-tei on a premise of the Heian-kyō Capital) who established a foothold for the rise of the Northern House of the Fujiwara and after that the rank of the deities were elevated as uchinokami (patron god) of this mansion and they were venerated from generation to generation in the Northern House of the Fujiwara<sup>55</sup>). The following Table 4 shows the transition of the Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen Province along with the conferment of the divine rank. Such a political selection by the Munakata clan may have brought changes in the role that the rituals on Okinoshima Island had to fulfill in the nation.

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



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

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

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

## 6. Countermeasures against the pirates from Shilla

The late-stage Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty were dispatched once every 15 to 20 years and between the mission in the Enryaku Era and in the Jōwa Era, there was an interval of more than 30 years. Of course a great impact was given to Japan by the direct transfer of Tang culture through the exchanges by the Japanese envoy, however, in the context of the frequency of travels and the consistency between the frequency of travels and the number of times the ritual worship was carried out on Okinoshima Island, it remains unknown to what extent such interrelation was established. There were active exchanges with the kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula after the eighth century and in spite of the gradual worsening relationship between Japan and Shilla as mentioned above, which eventually led to the cessation of the official relations between the states at the end of the eighth century, it was 21 times that the embassies from Shilla arrived in Japan in the eighth century and also 16 times that Japanese envoys were dispatched to Shilla and the relations with Balhae continued until 927 when the country collapsed and it was 35 times that the envoys from Balhae (including envoys from Dongdangguo) came to Japan and the Japanese envoys to Balhae were dispatched 13 times<sup>57)</sup>. Although Balhae was instructed to arrive at Dazaifu (article of the Boshin day in the sixth month in the fourth year of the Hōki Era of “Shoku Nihongi”), based on the

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

Despite frequent diplomatic disturbances between Japan and Shilla after the middle of the eighth century, it can be surmised that Shilla, after achieving a balanced relationship with the Tang Dynasty and the development of handicrafts, visited Japan only for fostering economic ties and commercial purposes and started to deploy the relay trade of Chinese products (karamono) and products from South China and even people not engaging in the state trade crossed the sea to arrive at the northern Kyūshū from Shilla<sup>58)</sup>. Such period of transition in the Japan-Shilla relationship appears to coincide with the category of the third and fourth stages of the rituals on Okinoshima Island, but whether there were changes in the votive offerings as *ritsuryō* style services of worship is unknown and I will leave it for future discussion. In the ninth century, in the late-Shilla period (*hadae*), Shilla fell into political confusion and on the contrary, the number of Shilla people who visited the northern Kyūshū increased significantly and with the existence of the migrant settlers for trade purpose, and the emergence of a merchant of Shilla named Chang Bogo who seized control of the seas covering Tang, Shilla and Japan and his decline, the establishment of the diplomatic policies became a pressing need for Japan<sup>59)</sup>.

Then in the late ninth century, as the unstable condition of Shilla and a path toward collapse were increasingly more evident, the pirates from Shilla started to wreak havoc in Japan<sup>60)</sup> and the new sources of textual data regarding the worship of the Munakata Goddesses in relation to the prevention of pirates and wish for suppression of the problems begin to appear again.

p 『日本三代実録』貞觀 12 年 2 月 15 日条

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

q 『日本三代実録』元慶 2 年 12 月 24 日条

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

r 『日本三代実録』貞觀 18 年正月 25 日条 (参考)

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

s 『日本三代実録』貞觀 18 年 3 月 9 日条 (参考)

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

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

details of the incident and presentation of the written report in prayer for the spiritual protection of the state and in the new year, similar steps were taken at the relevant local shrines in the middle and the northern part of Kyūshū. It is worthy of note that there is a new statement that the Munakata Goddesses assisted the Empress Jingū's punitive expeditions against the Three Korean Kingdoms, which is not mentioned in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki. Just as the deities associated with the Empress Jingū intervened in the above-mentioned affairs related to the Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, the Munakata Goddesses were also revered and worshipped in the context of countermeasures against Shilla and their divinity were anticipated. The Munakata Goddesses are also placed as "Kōtaijin" and as beings embodying the divinity of Amaterasu Ōmikami, myths described in a and b are evoked and narrated as the symbols of the "land of the deities" i.e. Japan<sup>61)</sup>.

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

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

t 『類聚符宣抄』第1 天元2年2月14日官符

応補任坐筑前国宗像宮大宮司正六位上宗形朝臣氏能事。右、得神祇官貞元三年八月五日解僞、彼宮司并氏人等去天延二年二月五日解狀僞、此宮從世初之時、已為日本之固。其奇異緣起不可勝計。謹檢旧例、去天慶年中以往不置件宮司、只以神主職為雜々執行之長。其時年慶度々祭、只臨山海為先漁獵。而藤原純友凶乱和平之後、登坐正一位勲一等之階。爰源清平朝臣為彼時大式之間、可言上公家奉授菩薩位之由、託宣頗了。仍且注託宣旨言上解文、且為使少弐藤原朝臣惟遠、奉授菩薩位矣。自尔以来、長停獵山漁海之祠祀、修法施登覺之善根。年首歲末并薰香花、或五日或三夜、囑僧侶唱法味、移彼田獵之料、充此功德之施。于時大式清平朝臣、可置宮司職令執印勤行之由、初以定行之日、以神主令兼行。其後繼踵任來之間、未有必蒙官符、只就府国遙以競望。仍雖神田地子三時六度祭料、而更闕其用、枉為贖勞。因之神宮雜務莫不陵遲。是則不蒙官符補任件職之所致也。重檢傍例、坐筑後国高良大神宮司、代々国司以郎等一人補任檢校職、令執印行事。每至遷替之日、不棄勤惰、弃以京上。仍去安和二年八月五日初蒙官符、補任大神宮司以降、神威弥嚴、修治無怠。加以当国住吉・香椎・筑紫・竈門・宮崎等宮、皆以大宮司為其所之貫首。而当宮以一人兼任、無分置其職。校於是等之例、事寄似輕。方今件氏能已為擬任職、能知先祖之風、才幹相備、尤足推舉。仍言上如件。(下略)

Incidentally, according to the text of r, it is known that the Shika fishermen participated in the ritual worship at Kashii Shrine associated with the Empress Jingū<sup>62)</sup>. From the description stating that : "年慶

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

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

## 7. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

## Notes (not translated):

- 1) 但し、『日本書紀』神代上・瑞珠盟約段、『古事記』上巻・天安河之宇氣比段に描かれた三女神の順序には諸説があり、鎮座地の比定も一定していない。ここに示したのは現在の比定である。
- 2) 宗像神社復興期成会編『沖ノ島』（吉川弘文館、1958年）・同編『続沖ノ島』（吉川弘文館、1961年）、第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊編『宗像沖ノ島』（本文・図版・史料、宗像大社復興期成会、1979年）、小田富士雄編『古代を考える沖ノ島と古代祭祀』（吉川弘文館、1988年、以下、小田編著と略記）、「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」世界遺産推進会議（福岡県・宗像市・福津市）編『「宗像・沖ノ島と関連遺産群」研究報告Ⅰ』（2010年、以下、研究報告Ⅰと略記）などを参照。
- 3) 井上光貞「古代沖の島の祭祀」（『日本古代の王権と祭祀』東京大学出版会、1984年）、佐田茂「沖ノ島祭祀の変遷（一）祭祀遺跡の形態」、弓場紀知「同（二）祭祀遺物の内容」（小田編著）、『研究報告Ⅰ』の共同研究：「祭祀遺跡、沖ノ島の再検討」所載諸論考など。
- 4) 和田萃「沖ノ島と大和王権」、小田富士雄「北海道中一大陸と沖ノ島祭祀」（小田編著）、亀井輝一郎「古代の宗像氏と宗像信仰」、白石太一郎「ヤマト王権と沖ノ島祭祀」（『研究報告Ⅰ』）など。岡崎敬「総括編（第1章宗像地域の展開と宗像大神／第2章律令時代における宗像大社と沖ノ島）」（註1）『宗像沖ノ島』）、宗像市史編纂委員会編『宗像市史』通史編第2巻（宗像市、1999年）などが概括的・網羅的に論究しているくらいである。
- 5) 私見を概括的に述べたものとしては、森公章 a『「白村江」以後』（講談社、1998年）、b『東アジアの動乱と倭国』（吉川弘文館、2006年）、c『倭の五王』（山川出版社、2010年）、d『遣唐使の光芒』（角川学芸出版、2010年）、e『東アジア史の中の古墳時代』（『古墳時代の考古学』1、同成社、2011年）などを参照。
- 6) 西嶋定生『倭国の出現』（東京大学出版会、1999年）。
- 7) 魏の対呉政策上の意図については、森公章「世界の中の邪馬台国」（『歴史読本』56の4、2011年）を参照。
- 8) 武田幸男『高句麗史と東アジア』（岩波書店、1989年）。
- 9) 村山正雄『石上神宮七支刀銘文図録』（吉川弘文館、1996年）、濱田耕策「古代日韓関係の成立」（『第2期日韓歴史共同研究報告書』第1分科会篇、2010年）など。
- 10) 角林文雄「高句麗広開土王碑文にみる各国の戦略」（『日本書紀研究』第19冊、塙書房、1994年）。
- 11) 朴天秀『加耶と倭国』（講談社、2007年）。
- 12) 東野治之「ありねよし、対馬の渡り」（『続日本紀の時代』塙書房、1994年）、川添昭二「宗像氏の対外貿易と志賀島の海人」（『海と列島文化』3、小学館、1990年）など。なお、正木喜三郎「筑紫胸形君考」（『東海史学』25、1991年）は、宗像郡海部郷を鐘崎付近に比定し、鐘崎―地島間の航跡＝鐘崎ソネ（暗礁）の海域には志賀神に対する信仰が存したと見る。
- 13) 和田註 4) 論文は、対馬に至るルートとして、壱岐を経由するもの、遠賀川河口の岡水門―大島―沖ノ島―対馬、関門海峡―沖ノ島―対馬の3つを想定し、穴門館は後二者に関係する施設と見ている。
- 14) 森公章「耽羅方補考」（『古代日本の対外認識と通交』吉川弘文館、1998年）。
- 15) 新川登亀男「宗像と宇佐」（『新版古代の日本』3、角川書店、1991年）は、9世紀中葉頃までは濁心の証しとして生まれたスサノヲの子である三女神、アマテラスに排斥される三女神として描く『日本書紀』本文の正統性が維持されていたが、9世紀後半以降にスサノヲの清浄心を証すとともに、日神の子として筑紫に降臨する三女神として位置づける異伝とも言える第一・三の一書や『古事記』の伝承が発言力を高めるとする。
- 16) 白石註 4) 論文、重藤輝行「宗像地域における古墳時代首長の対外交渉と沖ノ島祭祀」（『研究報告Ⅰ』）など。
- 17) 山尾幸久「雄略大王期の史的 position」（『日本古代王権形成史論』岩波書店、1983年）。
- 18) 正木喜三郎「宗像三女神と記紀神話」（小田編著）、小田註 4) 論文など。
- 19) 亀井註 4) 論文。
- 20) 重藤註 16) 論文 81 頁。
- 21) 河内春人「倭の五王と中国外交」（『日本の対外関係』1、吉川弘文館、2010年）、門脇禎二他編『古代を考える吉備』（吉川弘文館、2005年）、北郷泰道『古代日向・神話と歴史の間』（鉾脈社、2007年）など。
- 22) 岸俊男「画期としての雄略朝」（『日本古代文物の研究』塙書房、1988年）、佐伯有清編『古代

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

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

## Additional note

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



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

31 March 2013

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

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