

The Hata clan and the deities of Munakata: Seeking clues from the Hata-shi Honkei-cho

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Introduction

Prior to the seventh century Japan was known as Wakoku, or the Land of Wa. The history of Munakata and Okinoshima during this Wa period is often referred to in the context of international sea routes that connected the Japanese archipelago and the Korean Peninsula. However, there are hardly any references in ancient texts or other documents that clearly indicate the existence of such sea routes. It is for this reason that in this paper I would like to shift perspective slightly to focus on the historical document “Hata-shi Honkei-cho,” which records the spread of belief in the Munakata deities, and in so doing reconsider the significance of the Munakata maritime region in the context of transportation in ancient times.

I . Considerations from the perspective of the Iwai Rebellion

1. Iwai Rebellion

Often-used routes for international interactions during the Wa period were the maritime lanes linking Hakata and Karatsu bays in northern Kyushu with the southern coastal region of the Korean Peninsula, via Iki and Tsushima islands. However, the Japan-Korea exchange route via Okinoshima (the Okinoshima route) was different to these. The rituals performed on Okinoshima are known to have served an important role in the Munakata region. It is for this reason that the general Okinoshima route is thought to have been the route from Munakata via Okinoshima to Tsushima and the Korean Peninsula. This route does not call at places such as Hakata or Karatsu bays, or Iki (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 : Estimated external transportation routes of Wa in fifth century

On the other hand, archaeological studies in recent years have uncovered evidence that rituals on Okinoshima were initiated by the Kingdom of Yamato (the Kingdom of Wa) from the middle of the fourth century. This was a period during which Wa had a heightened involvement with what was an increasingly tense situation on the Korean Peninsula. Some people contend that from the latter half of the fourth century onwards, the Kingdom of Yamato (Kingdom of Wa), for which direct negotiations with the Korean Peninsula had taken on greater importance, focused on the Okinoshima route as an independent negotiation route with the Korean Peninsula, distinct from the Hakata Bay-Iki route, which was dependent on powerful northern Kyushu elites. I would question such a hypothesis, however, not least because of the Iwai Rebellion.

The Iwai Rebellion, which took place in Tsukushi in the first half of the sixth century, was a rebellion led by a powerful local clan that questioned the control of the Yamato kings over the archipelago. Details of this

uprising are recorded in the *Nihon Shoki*, as summarized below.

In 527, Lord Omi no Kena, having received a command from the Emperor, was about to head for the Korean Peninsula with an army of 60,000 men to rebuild the southern region of Gaya, which had been defeated by Silla. However, when Silla learned of this, they secretly bribed Iwai, the governor of Tsukushi Province, who had been plotting rebellion for some time, and encouraged him to prevent the army of Lord Omi no Kena from making the passage to Korea. Iwai extended his influence to include the two provinces of Hi and Toyo, preventing them from serving the Yamato Kingdom and blocking sea routes to Korea, instead inviting envoys from Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, and Mimana to Japan, thereby preventing the advance of the army of Lord Omi no Kena. In other words, the Yamato Kingdom found its sea routes blocked by Iwai, meaning that they were neither able to negotiate with the Korean kingdoms, nor dispatch armies to the Korean Peninsula.

2. Significance of Kasuya-no-miyake

In response to this rebellion Emperor Keitai dispatched Mononobe no Arakabi. In 528 Arakabi fought the armies of Iwai in Mii District in Tsukushi and Iwai was slain in battle. Iwai's son Kuzuko, fearing that he would be held responsible for the crimes of his father offered the Kasuya-no-miyake to the victorious Yamato Kingdom, thus evading the death penalty.

A “miyake” is the term for a fief, or a base for regional management and local control of a kingdom. Some of these miyake subsequently developed into counties (*gun*), which later became local administrative districts under the Ritsuryo system. These miyake are thought to have been positioned in various parts of the Japanese archipelago following the Iwai Rebellion. I believe that this process of development began shortly after the establishment of Kasuya-no-miyake, when miyake were placed predominantly in western Japan, which was a strategic region in terms of the kingdom's external routes,

and this process then expanded out to various other regions. One of the most likely candidates for being the place where the Kasuya-no-miyake was located is the Shishibu-Tabuchi site in Koga City, Fukuoka Prefecture, which is adjacent to the sea, between Munakata and Hakata Bay.

Incidentally, judging from the subsequent development of chieftain's tombs, archaeological studies suggest that Munakata, which possessed similar influence and military might as Iwai in northern Kyushu at the time, did not support Iwai's forces (Shigefuji, 2011). Therefore the navy of Lord Omi no Kena should have been able to reach the Munakata maritime region from the Seto Inland Sea via the Kanmon Straits. Just beyond there is Kasuya, which was under the control of Iwai forces, which is why it is considered that it was Kasuya that was the location where Iwai closed off the sea route. When viewed from the perspective of the Yamato Kingdom, Kasuya lies before Hakata Bay, meaning that Lord Omi no Kena's military vessels would not have been able to travel any further west than Hakata Bay, which would also suggest that the envoy ships of the Korean kingdoms coming via Tsushima and Iki also experienced difficulty in communicating with the Yamato Kingdom (Fig. 2). It is thought that Iwai's son, Kuzuko, offered the land of Kasuya as a miyake because this had served as the



Fig. 2 : Diagram depicting the development of the Iwai Rebellion

base for Iwai's maritime blockade, a symbolic site of the rebellion itself, and a key maritime staging point connecting the Hibiki Sea and Munakata maritime region with Hakata Bay and the Genkai Sea (Tanaka, 2018).

3. Distinctive features of Nanotsu-no-miyake

Later, along the shores of Hakata Bay, the Nanotsu-no-miyake, which later developed to become the regional government of Dazaifu, was established. The *Nihon Shoki* records the following Imperial decree concerning the Nanotsu-no-miyake, in the first year of Senka (around the fifth month of 538).

“Given that the province receives tribute from foreign countries, Tsukushi has always stored rice and grain to prepare for bad harvests and for welcoming guests. Here, orders were given to bring the grain from the various miyake, and to build a government warehouse at the mouth of Nanotsu (Hakata Bay). The miyake of Tsukushi, Hi and Toyo were scattered across the region, making transportation inconvenient and making it difficult to prepare for emergencies. So let this grain be shared and gathered together at Nanotsu-no-kuchi, so as to be ready for any emergency (abridged).”

From the above it can be appreciated that Nanotsu-no-miyake on the shores of Hakata Bay had important external functions, and that all the miyake of the Kyushu region were integrated here, with rice and grain from Hi, Tsukushi and Toyo provinces being amassed at this one place. In other words, the Nanotsu-no-miyake of Hakata Bay can be seen to have functioned as something of a regional control center for the Yamato Kingdom, where supplies and materials from all miyake in Kyushu were gathered together.

Given the above, it is thought that following the Iwai Rebellion, rule in Kyushu proceeded in the following manner.

i) After the suppression of the Iwai Rebellion, a miyake was established in Kasuya, and land at the entrance to Hakata Bay was brought under the control of the Yamato Kingdom.

ii) Miyake were established in various locations, mainly in the Seto Inland Sea region and Kyushu, for the purpose of securing external transportation routes.

iii) The Nanotsu-no-miyake was located specifically in Hakata Bay, a hub for external traffic, to oversee miyake in all regions of Kyushu.

As can be seen from the above, when considering the events of the Iwai Rebellion and subsequent developments it can be appreciated that the Yamato Kingdom was intensely focused on controlling transportation routes in and around Hakata Bay, as a strategic hub for external exchange. Given that the armies of Yamato were able to advance as far as Munakata at the time of the Iwai Rebellion, even if the sea route beyond that point was blocked, they could have been expected to use the Okinoshima route, but they did not and could not. If the waters west of Hakata Bay were controlled by Iwai, this meant that the envoy ships from the Korean kingdoms could not find passage for negotiations with the Kingdom of Wa. This would therefore suggest that the main international route for the Yamato Kingdom was predominantly from Hakata, via Iki and Tsushima (Tanaka, 2018).

This raises the possibility that Munakata's significance to the Yamato Kingdom in terms of external transportation routes was not simply as a key point on the north-south route connecting it to Okinoshima, but also as a strategic way point on the east-west route connecting the Hibiki Sea and Genkai Sea. This indicates that Munakata was important because it was also a place that had to be passed through in order to reach Hakata Bay from the waters off the main island of Honshu. This raises a further question: how is the issue of maritime transportation reflected in the belief in deities in the Munakata region?

II. Considerations from the perspective of the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho”

1. What is the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho”?

In order to consider the various matters set out above, I would like to concentrate on the historical document known as the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho.” This is a work that is quoted in the *Honcho Gatsurei*, a chronicle of annual court events in the earth 10th century, which records the following, with the statement, as detailed in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” (Fig. 3).

The shrine of Matsuo no Okami, one of the most senior-

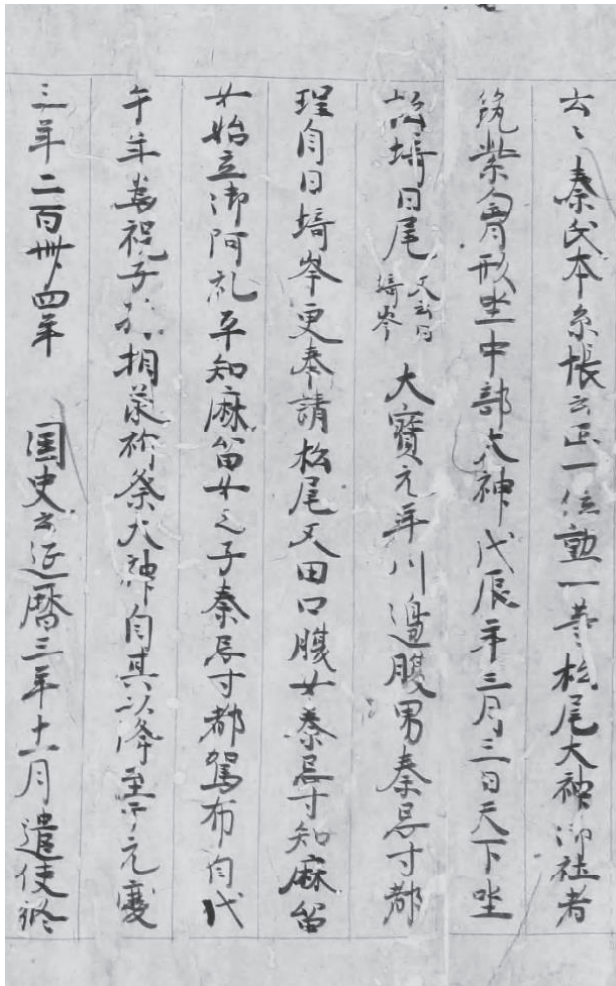


Fig. 3 : “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” quoted in the *Honcho Gatsurei*, formerly in the possession of the Kujo family.

(From the cataloging and image access system for the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency)

ranked among all shrines, was established when Nakabe (中部) no Okami, the kami enshrined in Munakata in Tsukushi, descended on the third day of the third month of the Year of the Earth Dragon to Matsuzaki-no-Hio (also called Hisaki-no-Mine), and in the first year of Taiho (701), Hata no Imiki Tori, a son of Kawabe invited the kami from Hisaki-no-Mine to Matsuo, where the kami was further enshrined. Furthermore, Hata no Imiki Chimarume, a daughter of Taguchi was the first to raise up offerings to the deity, and so it was that the child of Chimarume, Hata no Imiki Tsugafu, perpetuated the rituals of worship from the Year of the Earth Horse (as priest) and since then the descendants of Hata no Imiki have continued to worship the kami. From then until today, the third year of Gangyo (879), a total of 244 years have passed.

In the *Honcho Gatsurei* it is recorded that the deity enshrined and worshipped at Matsunoo Shrine in Yamashiro Province was originally the “Nakabe (中部) no Okami” of Munakata in Tsukushi Province. It is thought that the “be” (部) of Nakabe should be “tsu” (都), and the deity being referred to is “Nakatsu no Okami.” In other words, this ancient document is a valuable text that specifically describes how the deity of Munakata was accepted in a region other than Munakata itself. However, there are various theories about how to interpret the contents of this document, and a definitive theory has yet to be determined. Particularly problematic is the question of precisely when the events that the document refers to took place. Although many specific dates in the form of years appear in the text, other than era names such as the first year of Taiho (701) and the third year of Gangyo (879), the document also refers to Chinese zodiacal years, such as the Year of the Earth Dragon and the Year of the Earth Horse. As zodiacal years repeat in a 60-year cycle it is impossible to know for sure which year is being referred to in the western calendar. It is for this reason that there are various interpretations as to precisely when the text is referring.

2. Matsunoo Taisha and the Hata Clan

The “Matsuo no Okami” shrine as recorded in the Hata-shi Honkei-cho is none other than present-day Matsunoo Taisha in Arashiyama, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto. The deities worshipped at this shrine are Oyamagui-no-kami and Ichikishimahime-no-Mikoto, one of the three female deities of Munakata. Oyamagui-no-kami is believed to be a deity that was enshrined in this area before the deity of Munakata came to be worshipped in Yamashiro. In addition, the area where the deity of Munakata is said to have descended is thought to be located near the “iwakura” rock “dwelling place,” where the shrine deities were worshipped prior to formalization of shrine rituals, that is to say, close to the summit of Mt. Matsunoo, which stands behind Matsunoo Taisha (Hojo, 1997).

Three statues of deities from the early Heian period, designated as Important Cultural Properties, are also on display in the current Statue Hall of Matsunoo Taisha (Fig. 4). Of these, the two male figures depict Oyamagui-no-kami, and the female figure is thought to be the depiction of the female deity that descended from Munakata. This statue of the deity may be one of the oldest existing wooden statues representing the female deity of Munakata.

According to the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho,” in the Year of the Earth Dragon the deity of Munakata descended to “Matsuzaki-no-Hio,” after which in the first year of Taiho it was Hata no Imiki Tori, “son of Kawabe (Kawabe-no-hara)” who invited the deity to Matsuo, where it was enshrined. According to Hata no Imiki Tori, who is recorded in the *Shinsenshojiroku* (Newly Compiled Record of Clan Names) in the domains of Yamashiro Province, the suffix “xx-no-hara” (lit. “from the loins of xx”) refers to the Hata Clan lineage, which is divided into various groups, according to residence and office. It is believed that the “Kawabe-no-hara” referred to in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” is the Hata Clan based in Kawanobe village, in Kadono Country, Yamashiro Province (Saeki, 1983). As the subject of the sentence is



Fig. 4 : Carved images of deities in the possession of Matsunoo Taisha (Statue Hall of Matsunoo Taisha)

“the shrine of Matsuo no Okami,” it is thought that this part of the story concerns the founding of the Matsunoo Taisha shrine buildings.

The “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” goes on to describe how Hata no Imiki Chimarume, who was descended from the “Taguchi-no-hara” branch of the Hata Clan, distinct from the “Kawabe-no-hara” branch, was the first to raise up offerings to the deity and how, in the Year of the Earth Horse, her son Tsugafu perpetuated the rituals, which were then passed down and carried forward by subsequent generations of the family. The text also describes the passage of time and how “since then” 244 years have passed up to the third year of Gangyo (879).

3. Mysteries of the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho”

However, there are various points in the abovementioned text that are open to question. The first is when exactly the “Year of the Earth Dragon” was when the deity of Munakata descended to Matsuo. The shrine buildings of

Matsunoo Taisha were first constructed in the first year of Taiho, so therefore the “Year of the Earth Dragon” would have to be prior to 701. However, as the Chinese zodiacal calendar runs in sixty year cycles, it is unclear as to whether the year referred to is 668, 608, 548, or earlier. Next is the matter of the sentence that reads, “From then until today, the third year of Gangyo (879), a total of 244 years have passed.” The “then” referred to in the text is 244 years before 879, which would equate to 635. This would be the seventh year of Jomei in the Imperial era naming terminology and in the Chinese zodiac it would be the Year of the Wood Goat. However, in the *Honcho Gatsurei* the only years that refer to a time prior to the third year of Gangyo, are the “Year of the Earth Dragon,” “the first year of Taiho,” and the “Year of the Earth Horse.” It is therefore impossible to pinpoint what kind of event the “then” as written in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” is referring.

The *Gunshoruiju* which contains the *Honcho Gatsurei* refers to “244 years” as being “234 years.” There has been much debate as to where to place the 234 years prior to the third year of Gangyo, as it appears in the *Gunshoruiju*. However, all of the extant manuscripts refer to “244 years,” so the timing should be considered as being 244 years prior to third year of Gangyo (Shimizu, ed., 2002). Incidentally, even if the “234 years” notation were to be used, there are no corresponding records for such a year in the *Honcho Gatsurei*.

One point that bears consideration here is that the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” is thought to be a historical document created around the time of the third year of Gangyo (879), which is the last specific year to be recorded in the document. The era of Gangyo was a time when the central government of Japan was engaged in an attempt to control shrines nationwide by requiring all shrines to submit the family chronicles (honkei-cho) of their priests (*Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku* (True History of the Three Reigns of Japan) 26th day of the third month of the fifth year of Gangyo; *Ruiju Sandaikyaku* (Collection of Laws and Ordinances from the Three Reigns), vol 1, 26th day

of the third month of the fifth year of Gangyo, issued by the Daijo-kan Council of State). As priests were exempt from paying taxes, the government was trying to tighten regulations concerning the appointment of priests, and thereby prevent tax evasion by people using the priesthood as a loophole (Kawahara, 1997). The “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” also records the roots and lineage of the priests of Matsuo Shrine, so it can be assumed that it was originally compiled in relation to this government policy.

III. Chinese zodiacal year terminology and Imperial era year terminology

1. Setting events in chronological order

Another point that requires attention in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” is that it mixes both Imperial era year terminology with Chinese zodiacal year terminology. Bearing this point in mind, the events as detailed in the document can be arranged as follows.

With regard to the shrine of Matsuo no Okami, (1) the Nakabe no Okami that was enshrined in Munakata in Tsukushi descended to Matsuzaki no Hio on the third day of the third month of the Year of the Earth Dragon, and (2) in the first year of Taiho, Hata no Imiki Tori, a son of the Kawabe lineage, invited the kami down from the Hisakinomine to Matsuo, where the kami was enshrined. (3) Also, Hata no Imiki Chimarume, a daughter of the Taguchi lineage was the first to raise up offerings, and (4) the son of Chimarume, Hata no Imiki Tsugafu became a priest himself, after which his descendants continued to perpetuate and pass down the tradition of venerating the kami. (5) Since that time, 244 years have passed until the third year of Gangyo.

Of the above events, (1) and (2) relate to the establishment of the shrine (buildings) of Matsuo no Okami by the Hata Clan of Kawabe lineage. Also, in (3) and (4) it is explained that the Hata Clan of the Taguchi lineage became priests at the shrine. In other words (1) and (2) are a different story to (3) and (4). The lineage (as

described by use of “...no-hara”) of the Hata Clan involved in each event is also different. That is why it is thought that between the stories of (1) and (2) and those of (3) and (4) there is the character “mata” (又), indicative of something separate, or additional. Of course, the story relating to Matsuo no Okami begins with the descent of the deity of Munakata, therefore (1) is the first historical event. However, given that (3) and (4) are on a different narrative trajectory to (1) and (2) it is not necessarily the case that they occurred after the events of (2). Also, (5) is linked to (3) and (4). Therefore, with regard to the point of origin for “since then, until the third year of Gangyo” described in (5), the most natural way to read this would be as the time from when the Hata Clan of the Taguchi lineage first started making ritual offerings.

Based on the above understanding, 244 years before the third year of Gangyo brings us to the year 635 (the Year of the Wood Goat), which would be the year when Hata no Imiki Chimarume first began making ritual offerings. Following this, the next Year of the Earth Horse would be 658 (the fourth year of Saimei). It is natural to consider this period as the time during which the children of Chimarume were active and between 635 and the first year of Taiho (701) it is the only candidate among the 60-year Chinese zodiac cycle. Given that it is from the era of Taiho that era names came to be consistently used, the Chinese zodiacal years that feature in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” are thought to have been used as a notation describing the year an event happened prior to the establishment of era names.

That is to say, the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” seeks to undergird the historical legitimacy of members of the Hata Clan of Taguchi lineage, as having served as priests of the Matsuo Shrine for 244 years. As noted above, this assertion was entirely in response to the government’s policy at the time of obliging all shrines throughout the country to submit the family lineages of all their priests, in an attempt to control the priestly classes serving at shrines around Japan.

2. The descent of the “Nakabe (Nakatsu) no Okami” of Munakata

The next question requiring attention is when it was that the deity of Munakata was invited to Yamashiro and enshrined there. From the considerations set out above, it is clear that (1) the “Year of the Earth Dragon” was (2) prior to 635. The question remains, however, whether this was 608, 548, or earlier.

To start with a conclusion, my contention is that it was most likely 608. In 602 the Wa Kingdom had fully introduced the calendar system of Baekje and thereafter its use can actually be confirmed domestically in Japan (Tanaka, 2019). At the same time, prior to this introduction, the year 548 corresponds to the era of Emperor Kinmei in the *Nihon Shoki*. However, this year is even older than the time of the arrival of the *Reki Hakase* (Chief Court Calendar Maker) from Baekje, as recorded in the second month of the 15th year of Kinmei (554) in the *Nihon Shoki*. The “Hata-shi Honkei-cho,” which is quoted in the *Honcho Gatsurei* refers in a separate passage about the era of Emperor Kinmei, but this is simply a reference to the “Era of Emperor Kinmei being marked at the palace of Shikishima.” It is therefore reasonable to assume that the “Year of the Earth Dragon” as described in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho” is 608.

This raises the next question, as to why the deity of Munakata was invited to and enshrined at Yamashiro in 608, or the 16th year of Suiko.

What I would focus on here is that the deity of Munakata is given to be the “Nakabe (Nakatsu) no Okami.” The deity actually enshrined by the Hata Clan of Yamashiro was not all three of the female deities of Munakata, but only “Nakabe (Nakatsu) no Okami.” It is naturally to assume that “Nakabe (Nakatsu) no Okami” refers to Nakatsumiya-no-Okami, or in other words the female deity of Oshima (Fig. 5). So why did the Hata Clan choose only to worship the female deity of Oshima? This question relates to the issue of miyake, which has already been touched on above.



Fig. 5 : Nakatsu-miya of Oshima (photo taken by the author)

IV. *Miyake* transportation, external conflict and the Hata Clan

1. The Buzen *miyake*, the Hata Clan and Oshima

Looking beyond Munakata to the surrounding areas, people of the Hata Clan were distributed in Buzen Province, to the southeast of Munakata, overlapping with “Munakatabe” (according to the “Buzen Province Family Register” of the second year of Taiho). Another similar overlap between the “Hata-be” and “Munakata-be” was to the west of Munakata in Shima County, Chikuzen Province, or in other words, on the Itoshima Peninsula (according to the Kawabe Village Family Register, Shima County, Chikuzen Province of the second year of Taiho). Of these, it has been noted that the Hata Clan of Buzen were involved in operation and management of the *miyake* (Kato, 1998, etc.). As noted above, Buzen and the other *miyake* of Kyushu were basically all obligated to transport rice to the Nanotsu-no-*miyake*, and it is

generally considered that the Hata Clan were most likely engaged in a daily basis on transporting *miyake* supplies from Hakata Bay to Nanotsu-no-*miyake*. If transporting by sea, the route heads towards the Hibiki Sea and Genkai Sea, along which lies Oshima island. What is more, in ancient times, the sea area encompassed by Kanesaki, Jinoshima and Oshima in Munakata, which bordered the Hibiki Sea and Genkai Sea, was renowned as a perilous place for ship navigation. Volume 7-1230 of the *Manyoshu* poetry anthology features a poem that expresses thanks to the deity of Shika for granting safe passage across stormy seas to a boat sailing along the seas off Kanesaki. Shika refers to Shikanoshima located in the north of Hakata Bay, and it is believed that this is a reference to the deity of Shikaumi Shrine. This poem therefore relates to the east-west passage of ships across the Hibiki Sea and Genkai Sea. Here we can ascertain the conditions under which the Hata Clan of Buzen venerated Oshima as an object of worship.

In other words, it is thought that from the latter half of the sixth century, the Hata Clan of Buzen, deepened their ties with the Munakata Clan and the religious beliefs associated with Oshima, through the translation of *miyake* supplies and goods.

2. Wa’s military pressure on Silla

So why would it be that people of the Hata and Munakata clans were also to be found on Itoshima, a short journey across Hakata Bay from Buzen? What is worth noting here is the general situation that prevailed from the latter half of the sixth century to the early seventh century, when Wa was placing Silla under military pressure.

According to the *Nihon Shoki*, from the fourth year of Sushun (591), the government of Wa sought to restore the state of Mimana (Geumgwan-guk), which had been annexed by Silla, and stationed a large army in Tsukushi in an attempt to exert military pressure on Silla. They attempted to get the materials that should have been supplied by Gaya to be provided by Silla instead as “tribute from Mimana.” This most likely indicates that

because the materials that were caused to be brought from the Gaya region had a great deal of symbolic political meaning for the Kingdom of Wa, the loss of such materials due to the annexation of Gaya by Silla would have been considered a serious matter that brought the legitimacy of royal authority into question.

It was for this reason that in 591, an army headed by Lord Ki-no-Omaro-no-Sukune comprised of more than 20,000 troops was mobilized and dispatched to Tsukushi. This army continued to be stationed in Tsukushi until the third year of Suiko (595). Next, in the 10th year of Suiko (602), Prince Kume-no-miko was made general of an army to attack Silla, mobilizing a force of 25,000 men, including priests (*kanbe*) and court officials (*kuninomiya*suko and *tomonomiya*suko) force, which once again headed to Tsukushi. The *Nihon Shoki* recounts how, at the beginning of April that year, Prince Kume-no-miko arrived in Tsukushi, where he stationed his troops in Shima County, gathering vessels there, which brought in food supplies for the war effort. This deployment was probably devised with the route from the Itoshima Peninsula to the Korean Peninsula via Iki and Tsushima in mind.

The deployment is also probably related to the fact that the Hata and Munakata clans were also distributed throughout Shima County. The Hata clan of Buzen transported materials from their own miyake to the Nanotsu-no-miyake, with the help of the Munakata clansmen and divine assistance of the deity of Oshima, but when military action against Silla was stepped up, Shima County was added to their transportation destinations. For the Hata Clan the importance of the deity of Oshima would only have continued to increase.

Later, in the 11th year of Suiko, Prince Kume-no-miko died in Tsukushi. Even then the Yamato Kingdom did not give up. In the fourth month of the same year, Prince Tagima-no-miko, the older brother of Prince Kume-no-miko, was appointed to head the army to subdue Silla. However, in the seventh month, just as the Prince had reached Banshu Province, word came that his wife had died, and he turned back, leaving the military plans in

disarray.

However, Kume-no-miko and Tagima-no-miko were in actual fact brothers of Prince Umayado-no-miko, better known to history as Prince Shotoku. Prince Umayado-no-miko was very deeply involved with the Hata Clan of Yamashiro. In particular, Hata-no-Kawakatsu was one of Prince Umayado's primary retainers. Also in light of the fact that two of Prince Umayado's brothers headed the armies stationed in Tsukushi, it is my belief that the Hata Clan of Yamashiro was deeply involved in this through the Hata Clan of Buzen.

3. Various stages in the relationship between the Hata clan of Yamashiro and the deities of Munakata

Based on the above, the following can be considered with regard to the various stages of the relationship between the Hata Clan of Yamashiro and the deities of Munakata.

The Hata Clan grouping in Buzen deepened their relationship with the Munakata Clan and religious belief in the female deity of Oshima due to the need to pass frequently through the perilous waters to the south of Oshima, when transporting materials from their miyake to the Nanotsu-no-miyake. Based on the development of the miyake fief system in Kyushu, centered around Nanotsu-no-miyake, as explained earlier, the stationing of Wa Kingdom troops developed from the late sixth century to the early seventh century, with an eye on keeping Silla in check.

In particular, Prince Kume-no-miko, who led a large army of powerful clans from central Japan, stationed his forces in Shima County, where he accumulated large quantities of materials via sea transportation. At that time, the Hata clan, which was responsible for the management of the miyake in Buzen, was also responsible for transporting supplies not only to the Nanotsu-no-miyake, but also to the Itoshima Peninsula. That is why for the Hata Clan the seas around Oshima became ever more important. What is more, it is likely that the Hata Clan of Yamashiro were also deeply involved in the area, through

their interactions with the Hata Clan of Buzen. That is why it is plausible that in the 16th year of Suiko (608), or in other words the Year of the Earth Dragon, the female deity of Oshima was invited to Matsuo in Yamashiro and enshrined there.

Incidentally, the first time that the *Nihon Shoki* mentions “Tsukushi-no-Omikotomochi,” which is considered to be the forerunner of the Dazaifu government, is the following year, the 17th of Suiko (609). It is possible that this “Tsukushi-no-Omikotomochi” was located at the Nanotsu-no-miyake, and I believe that here too there was the influence of the large-scale military presence in Tsukushi that began from the end of the sixth century onwards.

4. Sharing and compounding of beliefs brought about by the influence of overseas conflicts

The impact of the large military force dispatched from Yamato on religious beliefs in Kyushu was not limited to issues relating to Munakata. For example, in the text about Mononobeno Village in Mine County in the *Hizen-no-kuni Fudoki* (Gazette of Hizen Province), it is recounted how the shrine dedicated to the Mononobe deity Futsunushi-no-kami was first built in the village during the reign of Emperor Suiko, and was begun when Prince Kume-no-miko, who had assumed leadership of the army to quell the forces of Silla, arrived in Tsukushi, whereupon he dispatched Wakamiyabe, who was affiliated to the Mononobe Clan, giving instructions to erect a shrine. As noted above, the army of Prince Kume-no-miko also included priests, who were responsible for conducting rituals to honor the kami, and the story of Wakamiyabe is one that is thought to be related to such priestly members of the army. This shrine remains to this day as Mononobe Shrine in Miyaki County in Saga Prefecture (Fig. 6). This demonstrates the significant impact the stationing of Yamato military forces had on religious beliefs and practices in Kyushu.

As explained above, from the late sixth century to the early seventh century the large-scale stationing of



Fig. 6 : Mononobe Shrine, Miyaki-gun, Saga Prefecture (photo taken by the author)

Wa military forces provided the impetus for a sharing and compounding of the faith Kyushu with that of the centrally located powers of the Kingdom of Yamato. Although space limitations mean that further details cannot be provided here, the influence of the Wa military presence during this period can be seen in the Orihata Shrine in Munakata and the Hachiman faith that originated at Usa.

Conclusion

This paper has set out an argument detailing how the “Nakabe (Nakatsu) no Okami” of Munakata, which appears in the “Hata-shi Honkei-cho,” is the female deity of Oshima, which was invited to and enshrined at Yamashiro in 608, and that these events were influenced by externally-oriented military activities of the Wa Kingdom that took place in Tsukushi around the beginning of the seventh century, based on the miyake system. In northern Kyushu, which had become a base for international exchange and interactions of the Wa Kingdom, the miyake system and the military deployment based around the miyake had a major impact on social relations and religious beliefs and practices in the region. These historical developments underscore the importance of the religious faith of Munakata in Oshima, as part of

ancient maritime traffic not limited to and distinct from the Okinoshima route. This, I believe, has important implications when considering the positioning of Munakata. This is because it suggests that the Munakata region held an important position in the history of foreign exchange, not only through its relationship with Okinoshima linking north and south, which has been the primary focus of attention to date, but also in terms of the east-west route running from the Hibiki Sea to the Genkai Sea. The historical spread of belief in the deities of Munakata should therefore be reevaluated from just such a perspective.

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