

The Izu Islands: Their Role in the Historical Development of Ancient Japan



NAOTAKE HASHIGUCHI
TRANSLATED BY MARK HUDSON
AND MARIKO YAMAGATA

THE THEME OF this paper is the role of the Izu Islands in the historical development of ancient Japan. Through an in-depth analysis of four areas of the archaeological record, I show that this role was an important one. Despite their small size, the Izu Islands were often at the center stage of ancient Japanese history, a fact that has become clear through increasing archaeological activity in the Islands in recent years.

Scientific archaeology was first introduced into Japan in 1877 with the excavation of the Omori shell mound by Edward S. Morse (1838–1925). Archaeological research in the Izu Islands began some 24 years after that with the publication of an article in *Tokyo Jinruigaku Zasshi* entitled “A Stone Age Site in the Izu Islands” dealing with the Tatsunokuchi site on Oshima (Tsuboi 1901). By the following year, eight other articles and reports on the archaeology of the Islands had appeared, representing the very beginning of archaeological research in this region.

Because pottery and stone tools were found both above and below a layer of volcanic lava at Tatsunokuchi (Fig. 1), the question of how human beings co-existed with an active volcano and what sort of natural disasters occurred were the focus of these early works. Moreover, the discovery of human bones at this site led to discussions on the relationship of these remains to prehistoric volcanic eruptions as well as on their ethnic affiliations. Based on detailed observations of the excavational context of the artifacts, Torii Ryuzo (1870–1953) noted that the volcanic stratigraphy could be read like a chronological chart and hypothesized an ethnic explanation for the difference in artifacts from above and below the lava layer (Torii 1901). The site above the lava layer was considered to be the remains of Japanese and that below the remains of a pre-Japanese people such as the Koropok guru, although they were not specifically identified as such by Torii. With recent progress in research, we now know that the upper layer belongs

Naotake Hashiguchi is a teacher at the Musashimurayama Higashi High School, Tokyo, Japan. Mark Hudson is a graduate student in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Mariko Yamagata is a graduate student in the Department of Archaeology, University of Tokyo, Japan.

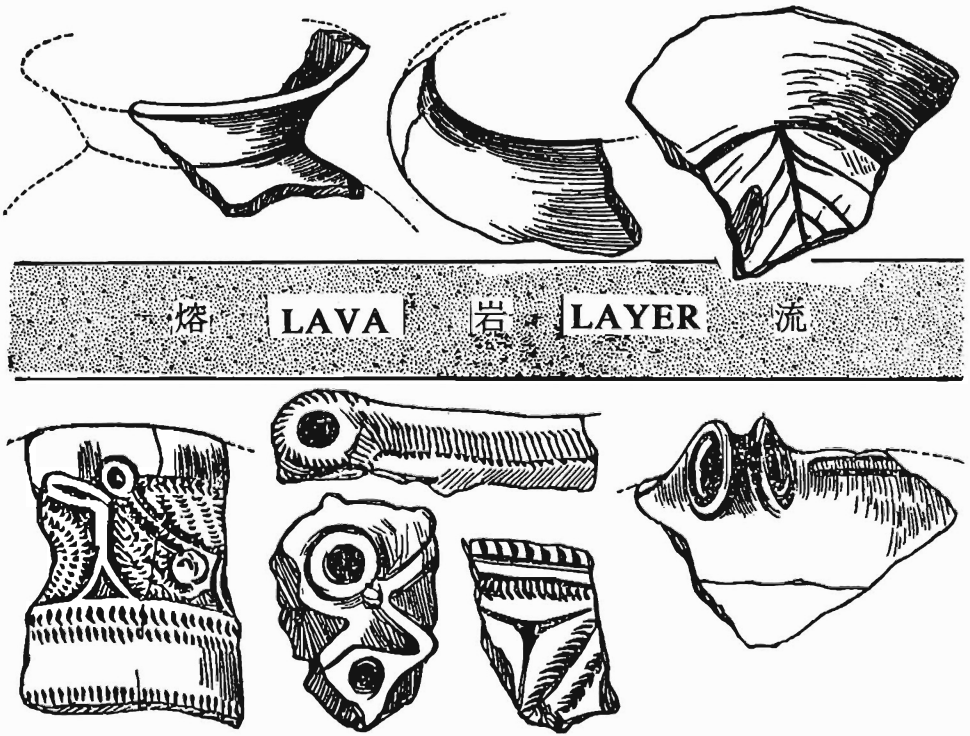


Fig. 1. Pottery from the Tatsunokuchi site, Oshima Island.

to the Kofun period and the lower to the Katsusaka and Kasori E phases of the Middle Jomon. Research at the Tatsunokuchi site, however, was the real beginning of archaeology in the Izu Islands.

With its release from nationalistic ideology after World War II, scientific historical research began to concentrate on the origins of the Japanese people and particularly on the date of the beginning of the Jomon period. Research on the distribution and chronology of *yoritomon*, the then earliest-known Jomon pottery, which had been discovered in 1939, was centered on the southern Kanto. A trend that saw *yoritomon* pottery as originating from the south led to an increased interest in the Izu Islands,¹ although it is now realized that *yoritomon* was an indigenous ceramic tradition of the Kanto Incipient Jomon.

The interest in *yoritomon* was one reason behind the general survey of the Izu Islands conducted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in the mid-1950s. The major surveys in 1956 and 1957 not only saw the participation of several newspaper and radio journalists, but also received the cooperation of the Maritime Safety Agency. The fact that during these surveys no sites were discovered on the southernmost islands of Hachijo, Hachijo Kojima, and Aogashima led to the rejection of the so-called "southern hypothesis" of *yoritomon* origins. It was, however, confirmed that the islands as far as Mikura fell into the cultural sphere of Honshu Island (hereafter referred to as "the mainland"), and the basis of an archaeological understanding of the Izu Islands was established. Over the following years a number of sites were excavated on Hachijo, leading to considerable progress in our understanding of the archaeology of the Islands as a whole:

thick-walled, plain pottery was found at Yubama, a late Early to early Middle Jomon site at Kurawa, and a Middle Yayoi and final Kofun to Ritsuryo period site at Yaene. A large literature has now appeared on the prehistory of the Islands, including a general overview by Hashiguchi (1988).

As can be seen from the brief history just presented, all archaeological research so far conducted in the Islands can be ascribed to a stage of site and artifact discovery. This development matches the desire of the Island people to discover remains of their own ancestors. Each excavation project has been met with high expectations of the Island inhabitants to illuminate their history. The initial clue to the discovery of Tatsunokuchi on Oshima in 1901 was a letter from the Island people to Tokyo Imperial University, and many other sites have been found in a similar way from information from Islanders. Such sites include Kokomanokoshi on Miyake (Middle Yayoi), Okubo on Oshima (Kofun period), Zou on Mikura (Initial and Early Jomon), and Tabara and Tobune on Nijijima. Among these, few details of the Late and Final Jomon Tobune site have yet been published, but a hair ornament made from deer antler and a complete vessel of Kori I pottery corresponding to the Early Yayoi were found in an undisturbed state (Kawasaki 1984).

Until 1975 or shortly thereafter, it was maintained that all of the Island sites represented no more than brief, temporary camps. Since then, however, the presence of fixed dwellings has been confirmed at almost all excavated sites. From now on it will be necessary to view archaeological sites in the Islands not just as chance finds, but as the remains of people who consciously crossed from the mainland and actually lived on the Islands. These people should be seen as playing quite an important role in Japan's past. In other words, we should consider the contribution of the Izu Islands to the overall development of Japanese history.

THE FIRST CROSSINGS TO THE ISLANDS

Human beings first crossed the sea to the Izu Islands more than 20,000 years ago during the Late Palaeolithic. At that time Japan was in the middle of the Würm glacial period and sea levels were more than 100 m lower than at present. The straits between the Izu Peninsula and the Izu Islands were some 30 km wide. The Tone, Ara, and Tama rivers joined to make the Palaeo-Tokyo Bay River, which flowed into Sagami Bay. At this time the present Toshima, Nijijima, Shikine, Koze, Onbase, and Zenizu islands all formed one large Palaeo-Izu Island. The people who crossed to this Island gathered obsidian from what is now Cape Sanukazaki on Koze and from Onbase Island. This obsidian was taken back to the mainland as raw material for stone tools and is now being excavated from Palaeolithic sites across the South Kanto and Tokai regions. Unfortunately, however, sites of these Palaeolithic people have not yet been found in the Islands themselves.

The oldest sites in the Izu Islands were confirmed in 1974 with the discovery of chevron *oshigatamon* pottery of the Initial Jomon at the Kamanoshiri and Nishihara sites on Miyake. Other discoveries of Jomon pottery soon followed at Senki on Koze and at Shimotakabora on Oshima, and from this period onward humans appear to have colonized and settled in the Islands (Hashiguchi 1985). Possibly slightly after this, people using thick, undecorated ceramics were living at the Yubama site on Hachijo. The dating for this pottery is not presently

known. More securely dated remains on Hachijo are present from the end of the Early Jomon. By the beginning of the Middle Jomon, sedentary settlement with pit houses and burials had begun at the Kurawa site (Hachijo Municipal Board of Education 1987). All of the main Islands thus have archaeological sites (Fig. 2). Generally, this lack of unoccupied Islands may be said to reflect the increase in site numbers throughout Japan from the end of the Initial to the beginning of the Early Jomon.

With the settlement of the Izu Archipelago, interisland as well as island-mainland movement became frequent. Through this interaction the inhabitants of the Islands began to play an increasingly important role in the history, not just of the Kanto region but of Japan as a whole. This role can be summarized by the following four points:

(1) From the Palaeolithic until the Middle Yayoi, Kozu obsidian was brought to the mainland as raw material for stone tools and was a major contribution to the life of prehistoric people.

(2) The Izu Islands were a primary source of the limpet *Penepatella*, which was used to make shell bracelets that were distributed through eastern Japan from the Initial Jomon until the end of the Kofun period.

(3) In the Kofun and Ritsuryo periods, the Islands were essential to the maintenance of sea routes used by the Yamato state in governing the Kanto region. This is demonstrated by the distribution of many ritual sites in the Islands.

(4) In the Ritsuryo period, ritual groups specializing in plastromancy (turtle shell divination) and known as *urabe* were dispatched from the Islands to the *Jingikan*, the office of Shinto worship in the capital. Plastromancy continued in the Izu Islands until the early Meiji period.

In this paper I discuss each of these four contributions played by the people of the Izu Islands to Japanese history.

OBSIDIAN EXCHANGE

From the Palaeolithic through the Jomon period, obsidian was used as a raw material for knife-shaped tools, points, arrowheads, and other tools. There are about 40 obsidian outcrops in Japan. Of these, a number are known as sources from which obsidian was transported long distances from a very early period: Shirataki in Hokkaido, Wada Pass and Kirigamine on Mount Yatsugatake, Sanukazaki and Onbasejima on Kozu, and Mount Koshi and Hime Island in Kyushu. In particular, it is clear that obsidian from Mount Koshi and from Hime and Kozu islands was carried to areas over 20 km distant (Hashiguchi 1985), something which is well known to students of prehistoric trade.

Because Hime Island is close to shore, Kozu Island was the only true offshore source and would have necessitated voyages by dugout canoe between this Island and the mainland. Palaeolithic sites with Kozu obsidian number more than five in Tokyo, three in Kanagawa, and seven in Shizuoka. The site farthest east is Biku-nibashi in Nerima Ward, Tokyo, and that farthest west is Nakahanba in Iwata City, Shizuoka Prefecture. In a direct line, these sites are, respectively, 180 and 160 km from Kozu. The fact that sites are not yet known from the Boso Peninsula or from Aichi Prefecture is no doubt due to the lack of characterized specimens; it is certain that examples will be found in the future.

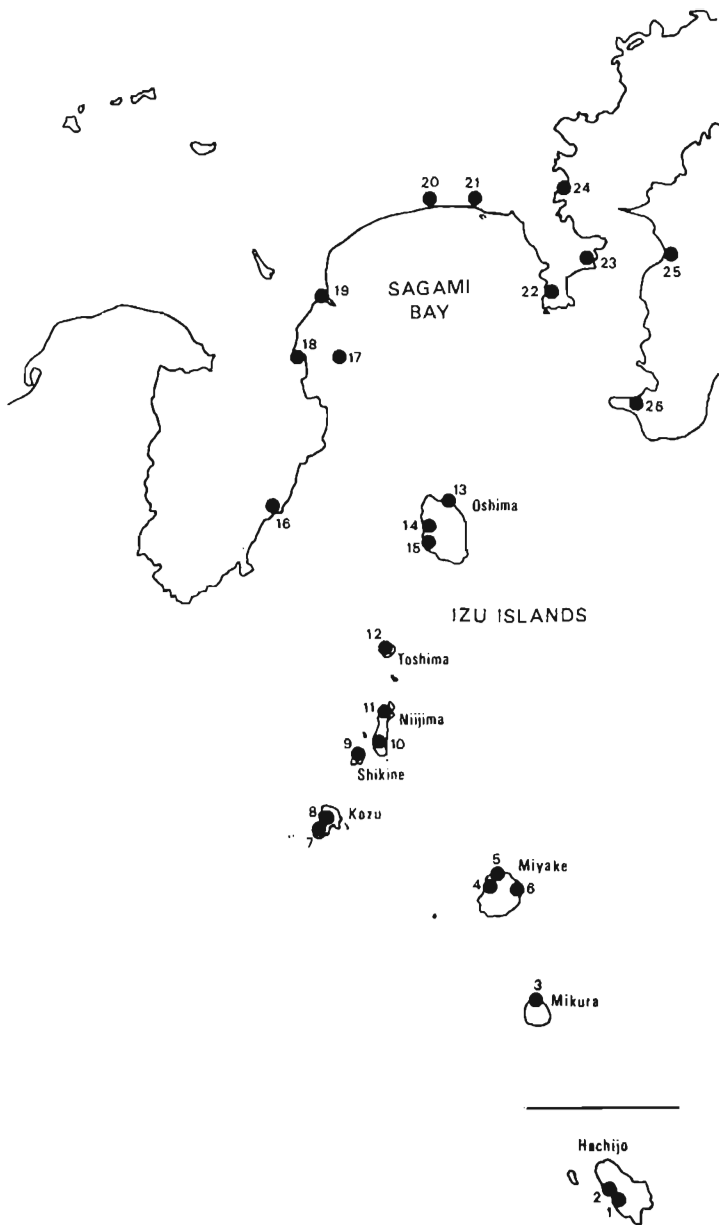


Fig. 2. Major Jomon sites from the Izu Islands and Sagami Bay area (location of Hachijo Island is only in relative, not absolute position to other islands). Key: 1, Yubama (Initial?); 2, Kurawa (Early and Middle); 3, Zou (Initial, Early, and Middle); 4, Nishihara (Initial, Early, and Middle); 5, Tomoji (Late and Final); 6, Kamaji (Initial); 7, Hanzaka (Middle and Late); 8, Uenoyama (Early); 9, Honuibara (Initial and Middle); 10, Tabara (Initial-Final); 11, Tobune (Late and Final); 12, Oishiyama (Initial-Late); 13, Teppobaya (Early and Middle); 14, Shimotakabora (Initial, Middle, Late, and Final); 15, Tatsunokuchi (Middle); 16, Danma (Initial-Middle); 17, Miyanomae (Middle); 18, Idogawa (Late and Final); 19, Kamishakado (Early and Middle); 20, Goryogadai (Early and Middle); 21, Tsutsumi (Middle and Late); 22, Moroiso (Initial and Early); 23, Yoshihiroshima (Initial-Late); 24, Natsushima (Initial); 25, Fujimidai (Late); 26, Natagiri Cave (Middle and Late).

At present the earliest sample dated by physical and chemical analyses is from the Hashimoto site in Sagami-hara, Kanagawa, dating to 22,000 B.P.² This corresponds to the height of the Würm glaciation; thereafter the climate of the Japanese Archipelago became steadily warmer. After the beginning of the Jomon period there was an increase in the utilization of obsidian together with a rise in site numbers. In particular, the Middle Jomon saw an explosive increase in the use of obsidian from Ko-ku (Fig. 3). In that stage the exchange sphere of Ko-ku obsidian was surprisingly large, reaching as far as Ishikawa Prefecture.

In any attempt to understand the social processes behind the spread of Ko-ku obsidian it is important to consider to which mainland sites this raw material was first transported. A primary candidate is the Danma site in Kawazu on the Izu Peninsula; not only does it overlook the Islands, but an extremely large quantity of obsidian has been excavated there. The Danma site was discovered in the mid-1920s and first excavated soon afterward by Oba Iwao (1898–1975). Six excavations have now been conducted, during which over 500 kg of obsidian (both flakes and unmodified blocks) were recovered. The largest pieces of obsidian, including one block that weighs over 19 kg, are now on display at the Mitaka Elementary School in Kawazu. Because there are no other sites on the mainland where such a quantity of obsidian has been found, Danma may represent a preliminary transport point. The site has a clear view of Niijima, Shikine, and Ko-ku, and Miyake and Mikura can be seen in the far distance.

Large quantities of obsidian have also been excavated from Izu Island sites. From Shimotakabora on Oshima (Initial Jomon) came 2037 tools and 1828 flakes [*sic*]; Kurawa on Hachijo (Early-Middle Jomon) produced more than 7000 flakes; more than 50 and 4.52 kg of obsidian were excavated from Oishiyama on Toshima (Initial-Late Jomon) and Nishihara on Miyake (Initial-Middle Jomon), respectively. Not just limited to Jomon sites, 9.572 kg comprising 1108 flakes were collected from the Middle Yayoi Ozato site on Miyake.

At Kekkeiyama on Toshima a piece of iron was excavated from a Middle Yayoi stratum, and a deer antler excavated from the Middle Yayoi site of Kokomanokoshi on Miyake bore cut marks from what is believed to have been an iron tool. Both these discoveries testify to the spread of iron at that time.

Ko-ku obsidian was used as a raw material for stone tools for a period spanning around 20,000 years from the Late Palaeolithic through the Jomon until the Middle Yayoi. The fact that over 500 kg of obsidian was excavated at the preliminary transportation point of Danma alone may give some idea of the total quantity brought to the mainland. Over the several thousand years of the occupation at Danma from the Initial to the Late Jomon, the total quantity of obsidian may have been several tons. From here it was carried through exchange to other mainland sites. In exchange for the obsidian, it is believed that wild boar, deer antlers, and, most important, pottery, were brought to the Islands, which had almost no clay deposits. Apart from obsidian, trade items from the Islands also included the star-shaped limpet *Penepatella*.

PENEPATELLA AND THE "SECOND SHELL ROAD"

From as early as the Jomon period the Japanese have had a history and tradition of prizing personal ornaments made of shell. Most common were shell bracelets and pendants. Along the Pacific coast of eastern Japan the shells used for bracelets

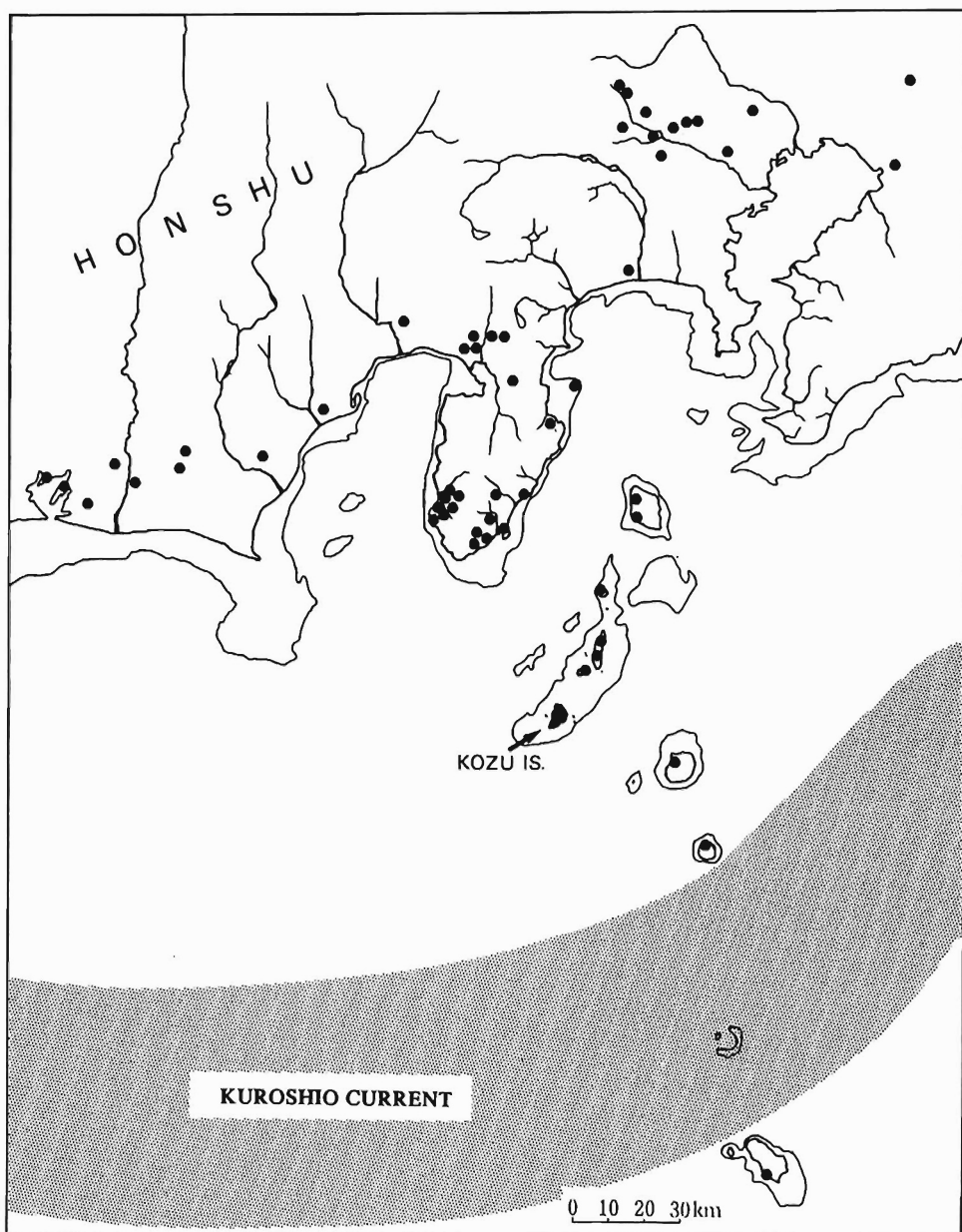


Fig. 3. Major Middle Jomon sites with obsidian from Koju Island. Thin line denotes coastline during height of last glaciation c. 20,000 B.P. At that time the present islands of Koju, Shikine, Niijima, and Toshima formed one large island.

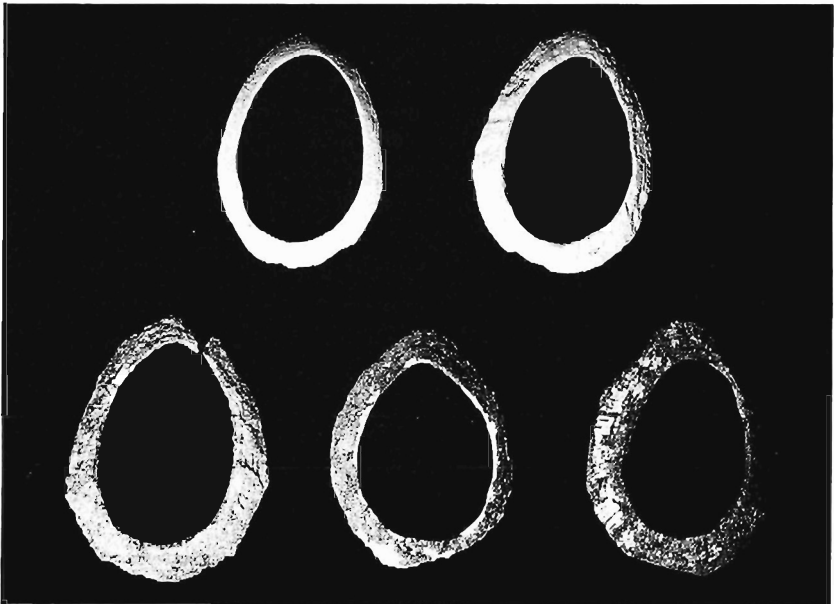
were the ark shells *Anadara subcrenata* (*sarubogai*) and *A. broughtonii* (*akagai*), the oyster *Ostrea denselamellosa* (*itabogaki*), the whelk *Rapana thomasi* (*akanishi*), and the limpet *Penepatella* (*otsutanohagai*). Conidae (*imogai*) were the main material for pendants. In western Japan, tropical species such as the conch *Tricornis latisimus* (*gohora*), the cone *Cleobula betulina* (*daimyo-imogai*), the spider conch *Harpago chiragra* (*suijigai*) as well as *Penepatella* were mainly used, showing the wide variety

of shells utilized for these ornaments in ancient Japan. The most beautiful shell was the Widest Pacific Conch (*Tricornis latissimus*), which probably held some sort of mystical fascination for those who used it.

Tropical shells were mainly used in the Yayoi and Kofun periods, when they spread through Kyushu and across western Japan. Some were even carried up the Tsushima current to Toyama, Yamagata, and the coast of Volcano Bay in southern Hokkaido. A Yayoi-period *Cleobula* bracelet was discovered from the Usu 10 site in Hokkaido, and *Penepatella* bracelets were associated with a burial of a woman dated to the end of the Jomon period.

In eastern Honshu shell bracelets appear from the Initial Jomon; examples made from *Penepatella* are the most noticeable. The geographical limits of these ornaments were the Late-Final Jomon Yoshigo shell mound in Aichi Prefecture in the west and the Final Jomon Kaitori shell mound in Iwate Prefecture in the north. Between these limits some 34 sites have produced *Penepatella* or bracelets made of this shell (Fig. 4; Pl. I).

Penepatella optima Pilsbury (*otsutanohagai*) is larger than *Penepatella stellaeformis* Reeve (*tsutanohagai*), but the exact taxonomy remains unclear. *P. stellaeformis* is believed by some to grow into *P. optima*. For a long time it was believed that the habitat of this shell was limited to the south of Amami Oshima in the Ryukyus. Because of this the *Penepatella* bracelets found at the Satohama shell midden on Sendai Bay in Miyagi Prefecture were thought to have been brought from the distant Ryukyus. Recently, however, it has been discovered that *P. stellaeformis* also inhabits the waters around Hachijo and Kozu islands. Apart from the "First Shell Road" between the Ryukyus and Kyushu, I have suggested the existence of a "Second Shell Road" between the Izu Islands and eastern Honshu (Hashi-



Pl. I. *Penepatella* limpet bracelets from the Azumamae cliff tomb (Fig. 4, no. 13).

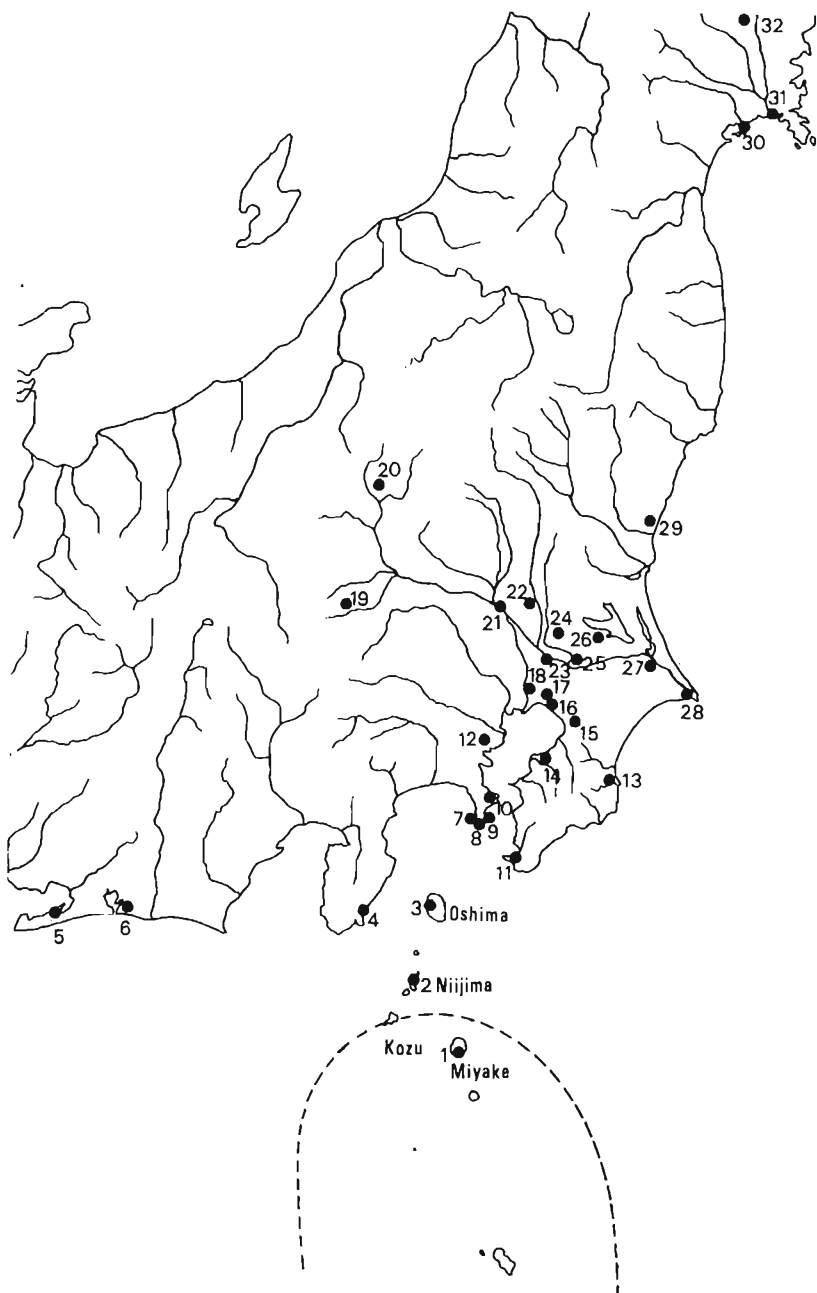
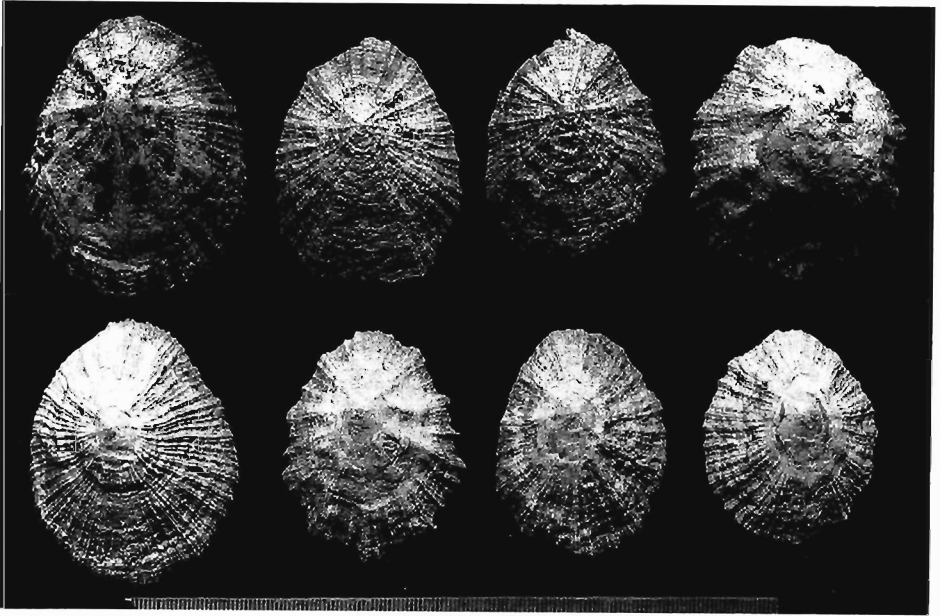


Fig. 4. Distribution of *Penepatella* limpet bracelets from Jomon, Yayoi, and Kofun period sites. Dotted line shows habitat of *P. stellaeformis*. Key: 1, Kokomanokoshi; 2, Tobune; 3, Shimotakabora D; 4, Hitachisan; 5, Yoshigo; 6, Shijimizuka; 7, Kaigai; 8, Bishamon; 9, Amagasaki; 10, Yoshi-shiroyama; 11, Awa shrine; 12, Miya-no-hara; 13, Azumamae; 14, Yamano; 15, Kasori Kita and Kasori Minami; 16, Kosaku; 17, Niiyama; 18, Horinouchi; 19, Iwatsubo; 20, Yappagi; 21, Fuyugi; 22, Kanedo; 23, Nakatsuma; 24, Kanno; 25, Tatsuki; 26, Okitsu; 27, Shiraiikazuchi; 28, Yoyama; 29, Minamikoya; 30, Satohama; 31, Minami Sakai and Gshozan; 32, Kaitori.



Pl. II. Middle Yayoi *Penepatella stellaeformis* limpets from the Kokomanokoshi site on Miyake. Scale is 15 cm. Although these examples are not big enough to make bracelets, actual *Penepatella* bracelets came from the same site.

guchi 1988, 1991a). Further proof of this route could be provided by the discovery of large *P. optima* on the shores of the southern Izu Islands, but such evidence has been difficult to obtain. While studying the shells collected from the Middle Yayoi Kokomanokoshi site on Miyake, however, I noticed that the quantity of *Penepatella* was greater than expected; thus there is a strong possibility that this shellfish lived around Miyake in the past (Pl. II).

I once believed that people crossed to the Izu Islands simply because of an adventurous spirit, but by itself this is far too simple a reason. I have gradually come to the opinion that a sea-faring people may have gone to the Islands in search of obsidian and shells.

The earliest shell bracelet from eastern Japan is probably an example of *Anadara granosa* (*haigai*) from the Tado Upper Layer pottery phase of the early Initial Jomon at the Natsushima shell midden in Yokosuka, Kanagawa. *Penepatella* bracelets first appear slightly later, around the middle of the Initial phase, at the Yoshiishiroyama midden, also located in Yokosuka. At this time, the number of sites producing Kayama-type pottery increased at an explosive rate throughout the Kanto and people started to settle on Toshima, Shikine, Kozu, Miyake, and Mikura islands. After this, despite a brief period of abandonment, people lived continuously at the Zou site on Mikura through the Early and until the Middle Jomon periods (Goto et al. 1958).

At the same time as the Zou site was occupied, people crossed the fast current of the Kuroshio and began living at the Kurawa site on Hachijo Island. Several pit houses and even a cemetery were found during excavations there, and, be-

cause one of the burials was a female, the inhabitants are thought to have lived as families. What is remarkable about both the Zou and Kurawa sites is that pottery from the Kansai region (modern Nara-Kyoto-Osaka) has been found at both of these localities. From Zou came Kitashirakawa Lower Layer pottery, a type first identified at the Kitashirakawa site in Kyoto. At Kurawa, Takashima pottery, which is best known from the type site of the same name in Wakayama Prefecture, was discovered together with pottery thought to have been made at the beginning of the Middle Jomon in the Chubu and southern Tohoku regions. This gives a good idea of the extent of ceramic exchange or interaction at that time. As well as pottery, amber beads thought to derive from the eastern Kanto were brought to Kurawa.

In this way during the Early and Middle Jomon the main Izu Islands were settled by people. In particular, the presence of settlements on the southernmost islands of Miyake, Mikura, and Hachijo is probably reflected by the discovery of *Penepatella* bracelets at the Okitsu midden, Ibaragi (Early Jomon); at Shiraiikazuchi, Chiba (early Middle Jomon); and at Miyanohara, Yokohama (early Middle Jomon) (Fig. 4). Around the mid-Middle Jomon, people stopped living on Hachijo and Mikura, and sites are found only as far as Miyake. On the mainland, however, *Penepatella* bracelets are found at Kasori Kita in Chiba City, Niiyama in Funabashi, and Tatsuki in Tone, Ibaragi, as well as a complete example from the Hidachisan site in Shimoda on the Izu Peninsula.

In eastern Honshu, *Penepatella* shell bracelets were most common in the Late and Final Jomon. More than 17 sites are known, and their distribution is quite dense. The bracelets were widely distributed along the Pacific coast of eastern Honshu and are even found in the Izu Islands themselves at that time. Two examples have come from Shimotakabora D on Oshima and two from Tobune on Niijima. At most Early and Middle Jomon sites on the mainland, no more than two or three *Penepatella* bracelets have been recovered, but in the Late and Final phases the number of examples increases: nine from Kosaku in Funabashi, five from Kasori Minami in Chiba City, more than nine from Fuyuki A in Goka, Ibaragi, 12 from Minamikoya in Hitachi, Ibaragi, and seven from Satohama, Miyagi. At that time the southern limit of settlement in the Izu Islands was the Tomochi site on Miyake.

The custom of using *Penepatella* for shell bracelets continued through the Yayoi until the following Kofun period. On the mainland, bracelets have been recovered from the Kaigai Cave on the Miura Peninsula. Further in the interior, more than 20 *Penepatella* bracelets were found buried with a woman in the Iwatsubo Cave in Manba, Gunma. Examples are also said to have been discovered from Yappagi Cave D in the same prefecture. At that time a large number of *Penepatella* shells and bracelets come from Kokomanokoshi on Miyake, and people once again crossed the Kuroshio and appear at the Yaene site on Hachijo, leaving Miyanodai pottery of the Middle Yayoi.

In the Late Yayoi, three *Penepatella* bracelets have been excavated from Bishamon Cave and one from Amagasaki Cave, both on the Miura Peninsula. Sites are also found on Miyake during that period.

In the Kofun period stone and bronze copies of shell ornaments appeared. Stone rings called *ishikushiro* were patterned after limpet bracelets and were buried in tomb mounds. At several coastal sites in eastern Japan, however, *Pene-*

patella bracelets have been found in burial contexts. Such bracelets seem to have been found in the Awa Shrine Cave in Chiba; according to Oba (1933) "complete ornament(s) made of *kasagai* [the Bonin Island limpet *Cellana nigrisquamata*]" were clearly related to the stone and bronze bracelets found in Kofun tomb mounds. From this statement we can infer that the ornaments are likely to have been *Penepatella*, not *Cellana*. The miniature ceramics excavated in association with the bracelets are known to be *kan* jars of the Early Kofun, and such vessels are also known on Miyake at that time.

In the late Kofun several sites with Onitaka-phase Haji ware are known as far south as Miyake. At one of these sites, Togahama A, two gold bracelets of a type usually found only in burials were discovered. At Togahama B, which is believed to be part of the same site and to date from the end of the Kofun to the beginning of the Ritsuryo periods, Sunto pottery from eastern Shizuoka was found. At that time there are also traces of settlement at Yaene on Hachijo, showing that people once again moved to the very south of the Izu Islands. On the mainland, six complete *Penepatella* bracelets were found at the Azumamae side-chamber tombs in Chiba and one at Goshozan Cave in Miyagi. This appears to be the end of the use of *Penepatella* in eastern Japan.

As we have seen in the above overview, *Penepatella* limpet bracelets were used from surprisingly early (the middle of the Initial Jomon) until quite late (the end of the Kofun period). As the prototype for stone and bronze bracelets excavated from Kofun-period tomb mounds, the importance of the *Penepatella* bracelets in eastern Japan was once again renewed. These ornaments may have been used by a seafaring people.

In Kyushu *Penepatella* bracelets seem to have been mainly grave goods for females, and this was also the case in eastern Japan at the Middle Yayoi Iwatsubo Cave. They were missing from the Pacific coast of Shikoku and the Kansai, but had a wide distribution from the Atsumi Peninsula in Aichi Prefecture through the Kanto as far as central Tohoku. Bearing this in mind, it is reasonable to consider the southern Izu Islands as a potential supply zone of *Penepatella*. The habitat of *P. stellaeformis* now includes Hachijo, and a large quantity of such shells was discovered at Kokomanokoshi. We may infer that the Islands from Miyake south were the supply zone. According to Kawaguchi (1989), *P. optima* lives only at a depth of more than 10 m and thus the as-yet barely explored rocks and islets such as Zenizu Island south of Kozu, Itanba Island to the south of Mikura, and the southern part of Mikura itself need to be searched for the shell.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOKOKU:

RITUAL SITES AND THE MAINTENANCE OF SEA ROUTES

Between the end of the Final Jomon until the Middle Yayoi, the period spanning the adoption of rice agriculture in Japan, the Izu Islands show a corresponding change witnessed by dynamic trends in the archaeology, something that is thought to reflect the new economic conditions that prevailed at that time. There is an increase in both the number of sites and in the types of artifacts found. During this period when rice cultivation was being diffused through western Japan, Tohoku pottery thought to date to the end of the Final Jomon has been found at Shimotakabora D on Oshima, at Tobune and Tabara on Niijima,

and at Shimashita on Miyake. Kori I pottery, which developed in the Chubu under Tohoku influence, was also brought to Tobune. Ongagawa pottery, which co-occurred with evidence for rice agriculture in western Japan, has been excavated from Tabara on Niijima, where wet rice farming is not possible. In the following Middle Yayoi, Mariko pottery, which was spread through Shizuoka Prefecture, reached the Izu Islands, lending further support to the occurrence of maritime voyaging at that time. During the stage when Yayoi culture became established in this area, sea voyagers seem to have gone around the tip of the Izu Peninsula and up past the Izu Islands, as shown by the site distribution of Mariko sites in the Tokai and south Kanto.

In the Kofun period, this route was naturally used for the subjugation of the Kanto by the powerful central families and also, it is thought, for the administration of the *Tokoku* (Kanto) in the Ritsuryo period. This is believed to be the reason for the remarkable appearance of ritual sites in the Islands in those periods.

The Distribution and Significance of Ritual Sites

On the Izu Peninsula most ritual sites are located in southernmost Kamo County. Nine such sites from the Kofun and four from the Ritsuryo periods are known. As Tono'oka (1991) has pointed out, these peninsular sites were intimately linked with the Islands (Fig. 5). Kofun-period sites such as Cape Tarai in Minami Izu and Ebisu Island and Mihogasaki in Shimoda are located at the end of capes or the top of small islets, giving the appearance of ritual sites connected with the sea and islands. Similar sites from the Ritsuryo period include Ebisu Island, Ongoku Island and Hidachisan in Shimoda, and Hinno in Minami Izu. From these sites ritual artifacts and remains of bonfires were discovered. Of these four sites, the first three are located at the end of capes or tops of islands, and the bonfire remains came from Ebisu Island. It is believed that rituals took the form of lighting fires to pray for safety at sea.

On the Izu Islands there are two Kofun and three Ritsuryo-period ritual sites. The Nishihara D site on Miyake is located on top of a cliff some 80 m above Ofunato Bay (Hashiguchi 1975). The ritual artifact found there was a flat *magatama* (comma-shaped bead) of the Kofun period. It is made of diabase and is 3.5 cm long and 0.65 cm thick. It probably belongs to the Izumi ceramic phase of the early Kofun. Usually this type of object is found with other stone artifacts, but this was discovered during construction work and was the only find.

Two gold earrings and a tubular bead with two holes were found at the Togahama A site on Miyake, suggesting that this may also be a ritual site, although it is perhaps still best interpreted as a burial site.

The other Kofun-period ritual site in the Islands is Oishiyama on Toshima (Nagamine et al. 1986). During the fourth excavation season here in 1985, ten ritual artifacts were found in an excavated area of only 52 m² on a terrace some 40–42 m above sea level. These objects are believed to belong to the Izumi ceramic phase (fifth century A.D.) of the Early Kofun. Oishiyama is situated on sloping ground at the top of sea-eroded cliffs and affords an extremely good view of the Izu Peninsula. The 1985 excavation area was particularly close to the cliff edge, indicating the strong possibility that ritual activities were directed toward the sea. The excavated ritual artifacts were all stone copies: four mirrorlike disks

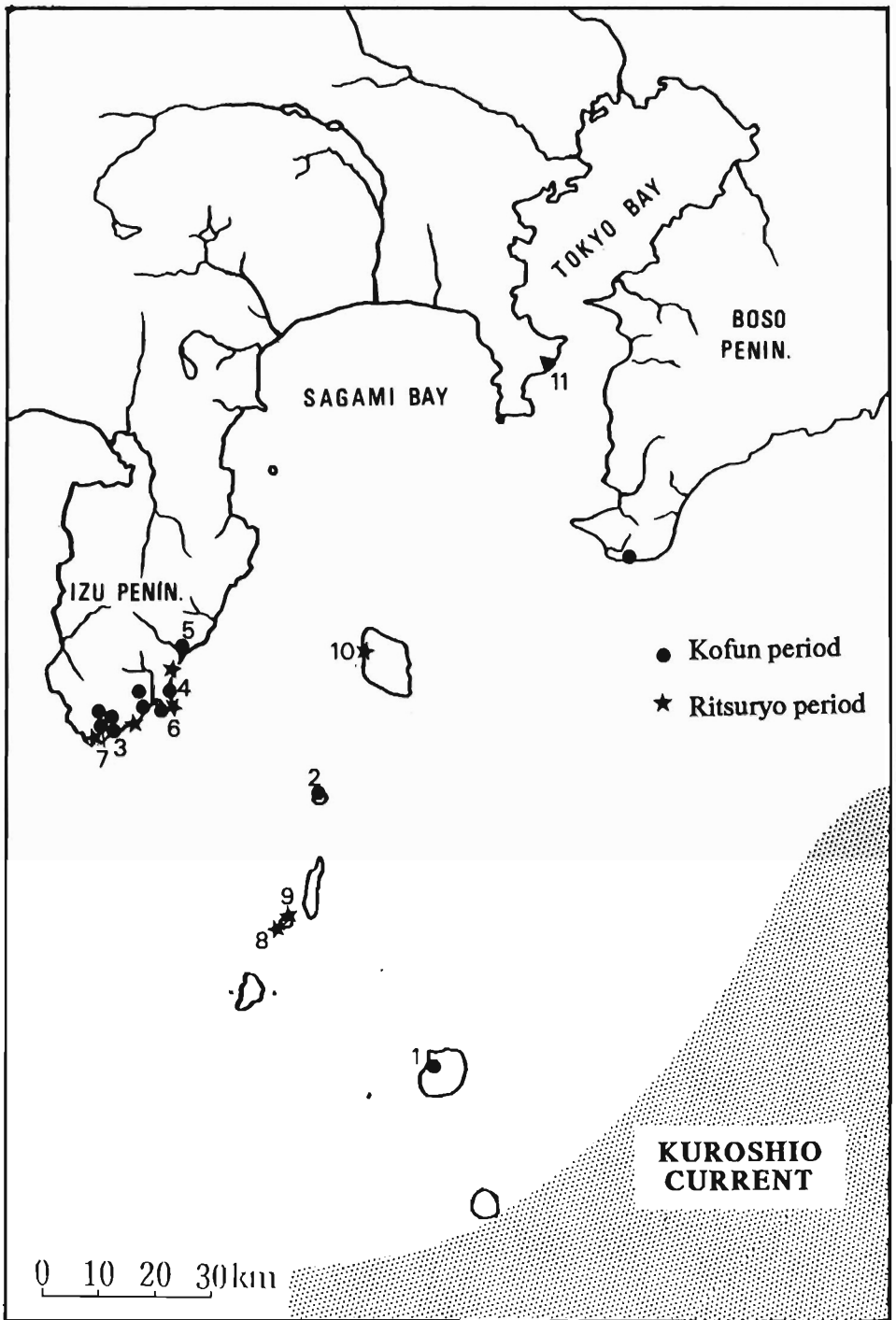


Fig. 5. Kofun and Ritsuryo period ritual sites in the Izu Islands and Izu Peninsula. Key: 1, Nishihara D; 2, Oishiyama; 3, Cape Tarai; 4, Mihogasaki; 5, Himemiya; 6, Ebisu Island; 7, Hinno; 8, Nobuetsenishi; 9, Fukinoe C; 10, Izumihama C; 11, Nagasawa 1 Kofun.

with twin holes, one dagger-shaped object, one tubular bead, and four mortar-shaped beads (*usudama*). This was a relatively large quantity of finds from such a small area of excavation.

There are two Ritsuryo-period ritual sites on Shikine and one on Oshima. Unlike in the Kofun, everyday pottery and other objects were used in Ritsuryo rituals. All of this pottery was brought from the mainland; with some examples of Sue ware it has been possible to determine the actual kiln involved. Ritual artifacts from this period include swords, spearheads, iron and bronze mirrors, and bronze bells, finds that are more varied than the rather uniform objects discovered at Kofun sites in the Islands.

The Fukinoe site on Shikine was found during the construction of an emergency heliport on that island, and excavations to confirm the boundaries of the site were conducted in three seasons from 1984 to 1986. The discoveries in Area C were particularly remarkable: no jars, pots, pans (*nabe*), or other vessels for everyday use were found; instead 22 sets of dishes (*tsuki*) and lids were all uncovered in the upright position in which they had probably been deposited. The lids were also found facing up as if they had been used as containers as well as the dishes. Iron objects included one straight sword, at least six short swords, seven socketed spearheads, and five mirror-shaped objects. Fabric impressions were visible on two of the spearheads, and lacquer was attached to one of the mirror-shaped objects. From their excavational contexts, it is considered that the dishes and lids were used as containers for offerings and that the iron goods were deposited wrapped in cloth or other material.

From Fukinoe the Izu Peninsula can be seen, and right below the site is Tomari, the best natural harbor in the Islands. It is thus difficult to consider Fukinoe as anything but a ritual site for safety at sea.

Most of the Sue ware found at Fukinoe is believed to have been fired in the Kosai kilns in western Shizuoka Prefecture. The dishes and lids include both Sue and Haji types, but all date from about the same time. The rather pointed, unstable feet of the Sue dishes identify them as products of the Kosai kilns, and as such they are important markers in dating the Ritsuryo period in the Islands (Fig. 6).

The Nobusenishi site, located at the highest inhabited point on Shikine, was discovered at a depth of 2.5 m during the construction of a well in 1972 (Kobayashi and Maeda 1988). According to the landowner, Yoshimoto Maeda, dishes and lids were distributed in a circle, in the center of which was a small bronze mirror decorated with sea mammals and grape vines. At first not recognized as this type of mirror, it was kept carefully with the other excavated objects by the Maeda family. This mirror is 6.2 cm in diameter, 7 mm thick at the rim, and weighs 80 g. In 1987, during work some 5 m south of the well, eight long-necked Sue bottles, a Haji dish, and five Haji pots were found. This time a rough sketch of their excavated positions was made. Both discoveries came from strata below the A.D. 838 ash layer from Kozu's Mount Tenjo, and in this respect Nobusenishi is similar to Fukinoe. Unstable-footed dishes from the Kosai kilns were also found at Nobusenishi. Furthermore, the Haji dish found in 1987 was from the Kinai and may prove to be an important chronological marker. This is discussed in more detail later.

Fukinoe Area C and Nobusenishi are only 500–600 m apart. Because Kosai

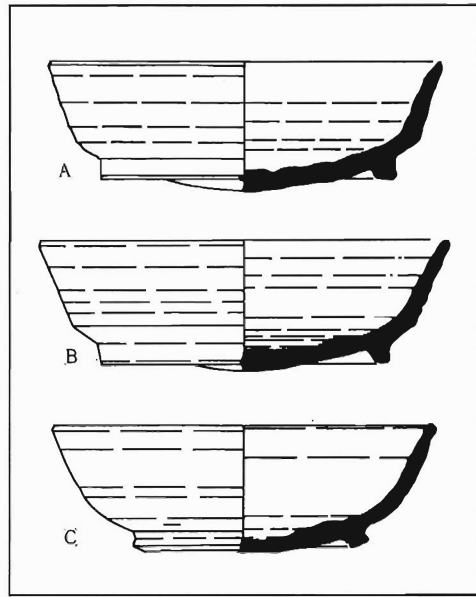


Fig. 6. Pedestaled Sue dishes: A, Fukinoe; B, Nobusenishi; C, Izumihama C.

Sue and dishes with unusual scratch marks existed at both sites, ritual activities may have been conducted at both locations simultaneously.

Area C of the Izumihama site is located on the low west coast of Oshima Island, facing the Izu Peninsula. Its coastal position must have exposed it to erosion from typhoons and other storms. The pottery found in the first excavations in 1986 and 1987 was all broken and was surrounded by iron objects. When reconstructed, the pottery proved to consist of both Sue ware (14 lids, six dishes, three footed dishes, two pedestaled dishes, two barrel-shaped jugs (*yokobe*), one short-necked jar, and several pots) and Haji ware (three lids, six dishes, and four pots). The iron artifacts found were four short swords, 21 knives, 61 arrowheads, and many indeterminate fragments. The quantity of knives and arrowheads was extremely high. A gilt bronze bell and two stone circular beads were also uncovered.

Although the artifacts excavated at Izumihama appear to belong to the Kofun period, they also bear the characteristics of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, and thus the site is considered here as a Ritsuryo-period ritual site. This age corresponds to the local division between the Kofun and Ritsuryo periods after the formation of Izu Province (*Izu no Kuni*) from the two easternmost counties of Suruga Province in A.D. 680 (Hashiguchi 1988: 108–109).

The Kofun and Ritsuryo period ritual sites in the Izu Islands were all positioned close to the shore, facing the Izu Peninsula. From these locations rituals directed to the sea and harbors could be easily performed. This geographic position mirrored the location of ritual sites on the Izu Peninsula during the same period.

The Kofun-period ritual sites seem to have been used in the Izumi pottery

phase of the first half of the period. There are no *kofun* tomb mounds from this phase in the Izu region, and the ritual sites probably functioned to pray for safety of transport at sea in Sagami Bay between the Islands and the peninsula. At the top of Sagami Bay lies Uraga Channel, the entrance to Tokyo Bay (Fig. 5). This narrow channel appears in the story of the suicide of Otō-Tatibana-Pime in the *Kojiki* (A.D. 712) (cf. Philippi 1968:241). A navigation route, which went around the Izu Peninsula, up past the Izu Islands, and then entered Tokyo Bay through the Uraga Channel when currents were favorable, connected the central Boso Peninsula with western Japan from as early as the Yayoi period. Use of this route seems to have continued in the following Kofun period.

The political importance of the Uraga Channel is reflected not only by the presence of a fifth-century keyhole-shaped tomb mound at the tip of the Miura Peninsula (Nagasawa Mound 1), but also by many fifth-century ritual sites on the same peninsula. From the discovery of the Nagasawa 1 *kofun*, the existence of a powerful aristocratic family that controlled the strait can be presumed (Koide 1989).

At this point I want to discuss the similarities, differences, chronology, and significance of the three Ritsuryo-period ritual sites mentioned above, namely Izumihama C, Nobusenishi, and Fukinoe. Although there can be no doubt that all three sites belong to the first half of the Ritsuryo period, Kofun-period influence was still visible at Izumihama from the presence of a barrel-shaped jug and stone circular beads. This site appears to be slightly older than Nobusenishi and Fukinoe. All three sites have pattern-burnished (*anmon*) Haji bowls from the Kinai (Fig. 7); the Izumihama C examples date to the early eighth century, the last phase of Fujiwara Palace (A.D. 694–710), and the bowls from the Shikine sites more or less correspond to phase III of Heijokyo (i.e., from about A.D. 730 to 750). The Haji bowl chronology thus suggests a gap of about 30 years between the sites on the two Islands.

The unstable-footed Sue bowls mentioned above are similar to bowls from Fujiwarakyo, which was the capital of Japan until A.D. 710. Their latest date may be indicated by a similar bowl found in a pit house at the Kadowaki site in Ichihara City, Chiba (Kobayashi 1985). This bowl bore an ink inscription: “*Umi (no) Richo*”; the character *ri* means “village.” According to the *Izumo Fudoki*, however, the word *ri*, used as a Ritsuryo administrative unit, was replaced by *go* in A.D. 715. The Sue bowls from both Kadowaki and the Izu sites, therefore, probably date from before that year.

Bearing in mind the evidence just discussed, the unstable-footed Sue bowls can be dated to around A.D. 700–710. This matches the time span of the Kinai Haji bowls at Izumihama C, but implies a hiatus of about 20 years at Nobusenishi and Fukinoe. An explanation of this hiatus has to await further research, and here we can only conclude that all three sites belong to the first half of the eighth century, but that Izumihama C is slightly earlier than the other two.

We should next consider the problem of the bronze bell from Izumihama C and the small sea mammal-grape vine mirror from Nobusenishi. Although the chronology of these artifacts is important, they also have a historical significance in understanding not just the role of the Izu Islands but the administration of the eastern provinces as a whole under the Ritsuryo state. Tang-style mirrors (including sea mammal-grape mirrors) excavated in Japan were compiled and

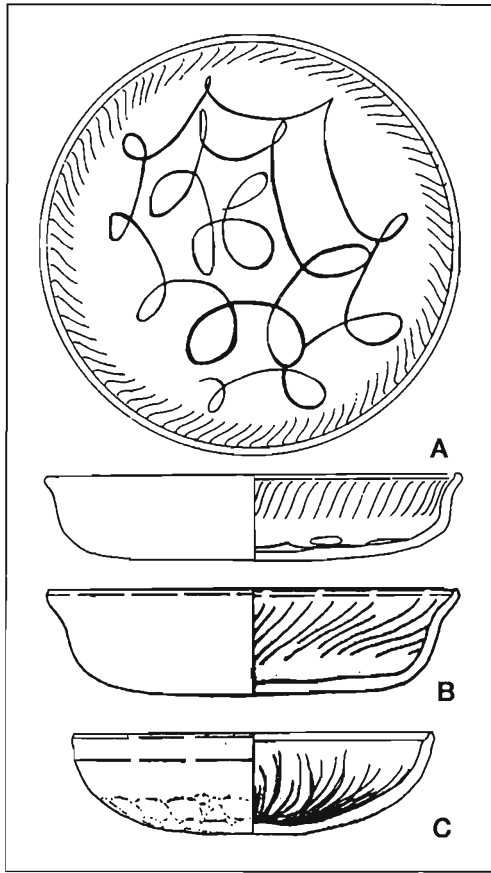
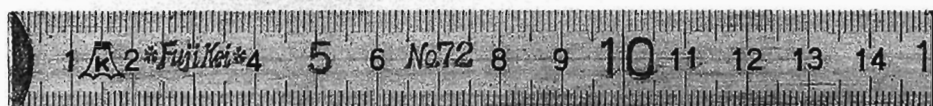


Fig. 7. Pattern-burnished (*anmon*) Haji dishes: A, Fukinoe; B, Nobusenishi; C, Izumihama C.

analyzed by Nakano (1972). This work has been continued by the research of other scholars, but widely accepted conclusions have proved difficult because of the various excavational contexts of the sea mammal-grape (SMG) mirrors. Twenty-four of these mirrors have been found in Japan (Pls. III and IV; Fig. 8). Four examples are from the Kanto: one is from Nobusenishi on Shikine Island as mentioned above; the second was excavated with three knives from the moat of a square *kofun*, Matsunoki Mound 2, in Tomisato, Inba County, Chiba; this same county in Chiba produced a third mirror from Setosuzu Kochi, but the context here is unknown; the last example came from a late Heian pit at the Soji Temple in Kokubunji, Tokyo (Fukuda 1985, 1988). This fourth mirror appears to have been handed down for some time, but it can be seen that these mirrors were found from various contexts.

These mirrors were probably made in or near Heijokyo. From there they seem to have been brought to Kami Island at the entrance to Ise Bay, Shizuoka, and the Izu Peninsula as part of the ritual administration of the Tokaido. One mirror then made its way to Shikine, where it was used in rituals to ensure safe sea pas-



Pl. III. Sea mammal-grape vine mirror from Nobusenishi.



Pl. IV. Sea mammal-grape vine mirror from Kami Island.

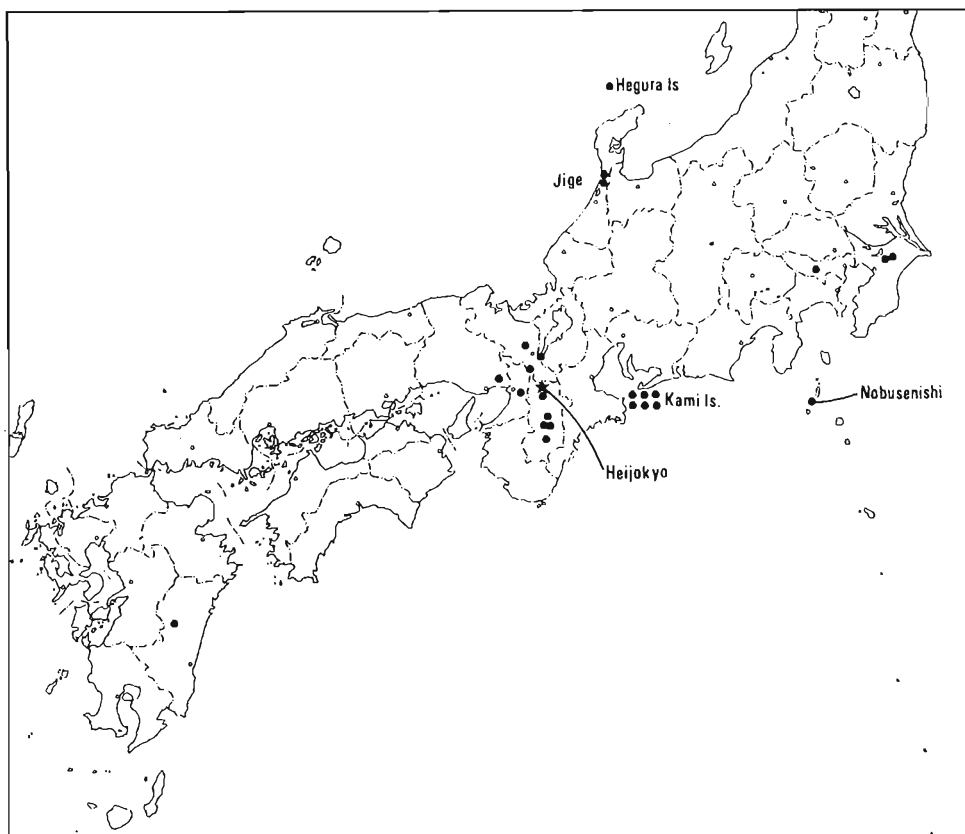


Fig. 8. Distribution of miniature sea mammal-grape vine mirrors.

sage to the Kanto, thus contributing to the administration of the *Tokoku*. From this viewpoint, it is interesting to compare the distribution of SMG mirrors along the Pacific coast with that on the Noto Peninsula on the Japan Sea side of Honshu (Fig. 8). The discovery of such a mirror at the Jige site in Hakui City on the Noto Peninsula makes it almost certain that rituals to ensure safe navigation were directed to a deity named *keta no kami* in the area of Jige (Yokoyama 1989). With this in mind, the presence of a SMG mirror handed down at the Okutsuhime Shrine on Hegura Island lends extra significance to the mirror from Shikine. Kami Island in Ise Bay and Shikine played the same geographical role in the administration of the Tokaido as did Jige and Hegura Island in controlling the Hokurikudo.

Although slightly later than the SMG mirrors, it is surely no coincidence that Okutsuhime Shrine on Hegura and Tomari Shrine on Shikine are both mentioned in the *Engishiki* (A.D. 927) as shrines where official rituals were performed. The fact that the SMG mirrors from Kujo-oji in Heijokyo, Yashiro Shrine on Kami Island, and Nobusenishi were all cast from the same original probably means that they were used in similar government ritual activities.

If we accept that the Nara *sansai* (three-colored glazed ware) and glass contain-

er found at Jige were also connected with state rituals, then the Nara *sansai* jar lid found at Hinno on the Izu Peninsula and Nara *sansai* reportedly from Kami Island take on added importance. Hinno may be the site of the county seat (*gun-ga*) of Kamo County at the tip of the Izu Peninsula. As such, the harbor at the end of the Aono River, which flows close to Hinno, would have been an important port in the administration of the *Tokoku*.

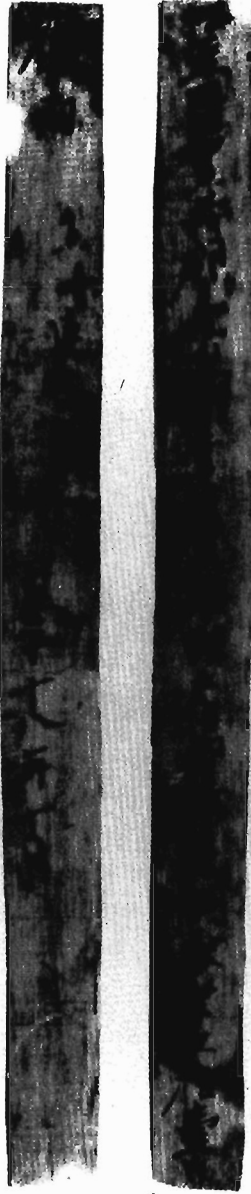
From the associated Heijokyo III pottery, the SMG mirror found at Kujo-oji in Heijokyo was in use between A.D. 730 and 750 (NABUNKEN 1981). Thus, it is probably acceptable to assign a similar date to the mirror from Shikine. Such a date, however, cannot explain the chronological gap of about 30 years with the unstable-footed Sue bowls. Almost all of the Sue bowls found in the Izu Islands came from kilns in Kosai as mentioned above; the iron objects from Fukinoe were made with magnetic iron ore from Omi Province (present-day Shiga) and may have been made outside of the Kinai (Sasaki 1987). Therefore, the problem of sea transport must be considered.

The gilt bronze bell from Izumihama C was also used in ritual activities. There are many examples of mirrors and bells used in Heijokyo and some cases where several of these objects were used together. Some of these bells also bear traces of gilt. Kaneko (1985) noted that in the ritual section (*Jingi*) of the *Engishiki*, which was compiled in the early Heian period, mirrors were used in nine rituals, bells in three, and spearheads in six. Although dating to before the *Engishiki*, the excavation of a mirror at Nobusenishi, a mirror-shaped iron object and spearhead at Fukinoe, and a gilt bronze bell at Izumihama C is thus clear evidence of state-sponsored ritual activities. These activities were directly connected with the administration of the Tokaido. The *urabe*, the actual practitioners of the Kofun and Ritsuryo period rituals that we have just considered, are the subject of the next section.

PLASTROMANCY IN THE IZU ISLANDS

The fact that Izu Province was the home of specialists in turtle shell divination (plastromancy) known as *urabe* has been known from various studies, the most detailed of which is the work of Inoue (1980). I have already discussed the ritual sites that are believed to have been connected with these *urabe*; next I want to move one step further and consider the historical evidence for plastromancy.

Three kinds of tax were levied under the Ritsuryo system: the *so* or rice tax; the *yo*, a labor tax for which local commodities were often paid in lieu; and the *cho*, a local products tax. Dried bonito was one of the special products of Izu Province paid as *cho* tax. Inscribed wooden labels were attached to goods brought to the capital from the provinces, and in recent years many of these labels, known as *mokkan*, have been excavated in Nara. Among these, a number of *mokkan* that mention Izu bonito have been discovered. One of these (Pl. V) reads as follows: (*front*) "Dried bonito³ as *cho* tax from Urabe Hironiwa of the family Urabe Kusuri in Mishima District, Kamo County, Izu Province, to the weight of eleven *kin* (*back*) and ten *ryo*, and to the number of ten strings and three.⁴ Tenth month of the eighteenth year of Tenpyo" [A.D. 746]. From this *mokkan*, therefore, we know that in the mid-eighth century an *urabe* family was living in Mishima, a district of the province that is believed to refer to the Izu



Pl. V. Bonito *mokkan* from Izu Province (see text for details).

Islands. This is the earliest documentary evidence we have for the existence of *urabe* in the Islands. After this they were not mentioned for almost a century, until the *Ryo no shuge*, a commentary on the administrative and civil codes (the *ryo*) written between A.D. 859 and 884. From this text we know that the *urabe* of Izu Province were under the control of the local governor (*atai*) of the Islands.

After this, two divination specialists from Izu had the rare honor of being

mentioned in official histories. The *Nihon Montoku Tenno Jitsuroku* (completed A.D. 879) recounts that, "Urabe Sukune Osada, Shrine Warden and Outer Rank, Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, died on the tenth day of the fourth month of the year 858. He was a specialist in turtle shell divination, as are his brothers. . . . He was 48 years of age at death." Osada's brother, Hiramaro, is mentioned in the *Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku* as having reached the number three rank of Secretary (*taijo*) in the Jingikan before his death in A.D. 901 at the age of 75. This document records that, "Urabe Sukune Hiramaro, Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade and Assistant Governor of Tanba [central Kyoto Prefecture], died. Hiramaro was from Izu Province. From his childhood he practiced turtle shell divination. He became an *urabe* of the Jingikan. He divined using heat applied to turtle shells with great effectiveness. In the [A.D. 830s] he divined in preparation for the embassy to the Tang."⁵ This text thus shows that two brothers from Izu Province served as *urabe* for the central government.

The *Engishiki*, an exhaustive compilation of the regulations of Ritsuryo society completed in A.D. 927, prescribes that when the Local Chieftain of Izumo Province recited the "Laudatory Ritual to the Deities," "At all times, for Chief Diviner, one of the diviners who qualifies is taken. For diviners, take those who excel in the divining arts from three provinces. (Five persons from Izu, five from Iki, and ten from Tsushima.) If they use persons living in the Capital it will not be easy to fill the need from those who excel in arts of divination" (translated by Bock 1970:116 [corrected version]). This also shows that *urabe* from Izu formed part of the twenty-man *urabe* group of the Jingikan.

The tradition of the court taking *urabe* into service thus continued into the late Heian. In the early Kamakura period, the *Kojidan* of Minamoto Akikane (A.D. 1215) noted that, "Turtle shell divination was carried out at the Futo-no-To-no-Myojin shrine, which is found in the western corner of Kasuga Minamitora [Kyoto]. . . . All the people from Oshima in Izu Province perform divinations. In the reign of the Emperor Horikawa, three people [men] from that island came to the capital [Kyoto] and were caused to perform divinations. All (three) carried out these duties." Thus we know that *urabe* were brought to the capital during the reign of Emperor Horikawa (A.D. 1086-1107). The *Hagiharake Kiboku Den* relates, however, that plastromancy "was only transmitted to one (in a particular family) and its methods were extremely secret." Although this contradicts the account of the Sukune brothers, it is of course unlikely that all the population of Oshima performed such divinations.

The *urabe* were traditionally located near water, beside the sea or a lake. The *urabe* of Tsushima and Iki Islands, and Izu and Hitachi provinces were considered to be particularly important. The *urabe* of Tsushima and Iki were endowed with a ritual role in opposition to the outside world of Korea and China; the Hitachi *urabe* in present-day Ibaragi played the same role with regard to the Emishi. The Onmyo Bureau section of the *Engishiki* relates that the *kegarawashikieyami no oni* (the plague demon) was kept "beyond a thousand *ri* [a figurative distance], outside of the boundaries of the four quarters, which were Mutsu in the east, Ojika [the Goto Islands] in the west, Tosa [Kochi] in the south, and Sado in the north." It is clear that the *urabe* had a strong connection with the political administration of the Tokaido. It was no doubt thought necessary to have *urabe* both in Hitachi, at the very end of the Tokaido, to counter the Emishi, as well as in

Kamo County in Izu Province, which comprised the Islands and southern peninsula and was the most dangerous section of the sea route to the east.

Under the Ritsuryo system the *urabe* were indispensable to the Jingikan that was run by the Nakatomi family. The duties of the *urabe* included ritual cleansing at the most important rituals of the Ritsuryo capital: the Great Purifications of the sixth and twelfth months, the extraordinary purifications, purifications on the last day of each month, the annual First-Fruits Ceremony held in the eleventh month, and the Sacred Food Ritual of the sixth and twelfth months.

Of the three places from where *urabe* were dispatched to the Jingikan (i.e., Tsushima, Iki, and Izu), plastromancy continued on Tsushima until the Tokugawa period, and good historical documentation is available in works such as the *Tsushima Kiboku Den* and the *Tsushima Urabe Kiboku Shidai* (see Nagatome 1982). These works describe in great detail the process of catching a turtle, removing and preparing the shell, divining, and reading the result and formed the basis for Ban no Nobutomo's famous work *Shobokuko* (1844).

In the Izu Islands, historical references to turtle shell divination disappear after the *Kojidan* account of Oshima *urabe* being brought to Kyoto by Emperor Horikawa. The *Miyake Ki*, however, a document that is believed to have been written in the Tokugawa period and handed down in the Mibu family, who were Shinto priests on Miyake, contains a diagram used in plastromancy. Such divination appears to have been one of the most important ritual activities carried out by the Mibu family.

By 1983 (Kanzawa 1976, 1983), there were four excavated examples from two sites of turtle shells used in divination. After this, other examples were found at the Natagari site in Yokosuka and the Kushiya Mirume-ura site on Iki Island, Nagasaki, bringing the total to seven from four sites (Anraku 1990), but this is still considerably less than the 27 sites that have produced oracle bones. Turtle shells used for divination and then discarded have been excavated from Tsushima in the west and the Miura Peninsula in the east. Chronologically, the examples from the Maguchi Cave in Miura City date to the Late Kofun, and the Natagari site plastron probably belongs to the Nara period.

Unfortunately, no oracle bones or plastrons have been discovered in the Izu region, which is known to have been the home of plastromancy specialists. Divination specialists, the *urabe*, were distributed through the Kanto from an early date. That this region was a center for such activity is also proved by the mention in historical documents of shrines linked with divination in Hitachi Province; the occurrence of scapulamancy at the Musashi-akiru Shrine, Tokyo, until the early Meiji period; and the continuation until the present day of a simplified form of scapulamancy at the Kozukenukisaki (Gunma) and Musashi-mitake (Tokyo) shrines. Clearly, divination flourished in the Kanto.

On Tsushima, turtle shell divination continued officially at Sago on the north island and Tsutsu on the south island until 1871, the year when the local feudal lord relinquished all power to the Meiji authorities. In contrast, in the Izu Islands this type of divination was not discontinued until the late 1880s.

In the *Hachijo Jikki*, written by Tomizo Kondo (1805–1887), who was exiled to Hachijo at the very end of the Tokugawa period, we read that "In this year 1885, I write for those who are interested that both families have fled and [illeg-

ible character] turtle shell divination has died out across the island." The *Hachijo Jikki* begins with a chapter entitled "Turtle Shell Divination on Hachijo Island." This begins by informing the reader that, "Plastromancy appeared in the [Chinese histories called the] *Shangshu* and *Chunqiu Shichuan*. That tradition has disappeared from China but was transmitted to Hachijo." Later, various details regarding divination are recounted: "Plastromancy begins on the seventh day of the New Year. This is called the *tsujiura* of the Seventh. The plastron is burnt on the fifteenth day. This is called the *ugae*. If there are no inauspicious occurrences, then the plastron is burnt during the New Year. Otherwise an auspicious day must be chosen and the plastron burnt." Also mentioned are the preparation of the plastron, its size (eight *sun* by three *sun* and five *bu*⁶), the type of wood used to apply heat (cherry tree), the reading of divination diagrams, and traditional custom and conventions. The result of "the divination was recited with the diagram generally on the left-hand side."

The late continuation of plastromancy in the Izu Islands was probably linked with the custom of catching sea turtles. The Islands are the northern limit of sea turtle consumption along the Pacific coast of Japan and this tradition continued from as early as the Jomon period.

Turtle shells were found in tombs hollowed into the cliff at Kashiwaya Hyaketsu in Kannami, near Mishima, which was the administrative center of Izu Province during the Ritsuryo period. During Jion Karube's excavation in 1947, shells were found in tombs no. 2 and no. 11 from area D. Although only a few came from tomb no. 2, the site's "most distinctive find was the turtle plastrons from Tomb no. 11. Human skeletal remains were completely absent in this tomb. A Haji bowl was placed in the entrance passage and in the main chamber plastrons were spread across the floor from the center to the back wall. . . . One or two of the plastron fragments showed signs of having been burnt" (Karube 1975: 47-48). Later, in his report on the site, Shoji Yamauchi (1975) wrote that the total number of turtle plastrons from tomb 11 was about 100. Yamauchi suggested that the plastrons are from sea turtles and should be considered as linked with divination. He concluded that considering the significance of turtle plastrons, they would not have been buried with people who did not have such a special position [as diviners]. As mentioned previously, these chamber tombs [*yokoana*] had a strong connection with the *urabe* and their graves are probably located within this cemetery. Considering the political circumstances of the time, just as there were *Kyo* [capital] *urabe* in the capital, it is not at all strange that groups of *urabe* should have lived near the capital of Izu Province.

The *Engishiki* notes that "At all times, the total number of tortoise shells to be used during the year is fixed at 50 (Kii Prov. provides 17 from young male workers, Awa Prov. provides 13 from young male workers and 6 in lieu [of taxes], and Tosa Prov. 10 from young male workers and 4 in lieu)" (Bock 1970: 119 with correction⁷). These shells for divination were brought as tax from the coastal provinces of Kii, Awa, and Tosa, which were close to the capital. These were all for the use of court rituals, however, and Izu and Tsushima people no doubt procured shells for themselves through catching sea turtles.

In his discussion of turtle shell divination in the Izu Islands, Kawaoka (1983) argued that the five *urabe* mentioned in the *Engishiki* were taken from the islands

of Oshima, Nijijima, Koze, Miyake, and Hachijo. Of these five islands, however, I would replace Nijijima with Shikine because no late Kofun or Ritsuryo sites have been discovered on the former.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, archaeological research in the Izu Islands began in 1901 and has thus continued for over 90 years. With the gradual accumulation of this data, particularly based on the results of the past two decades, we can now begin to relate the role played by the Islands in the formation of the prehistoric and early historic cultures of Japan. In this paper I have presented four topics where that role can be said to have been particularly important (see also Hashiguchi 1991*b*). The research summarized here represents a major accomplishment in scholarship on the Izu Islands, yet it also marks a departure point for further exciting work. During the writing of this article, for example, a Late Jomon stone pavement was excavated at the Tabara site on Nijijima, adding a further complex facet to the prehistory of the Islands.

Although the Izu Islands are small compared with the four main islands of Kyushu, Shikoku, Honshu, and Hokkaido, they clearly show the original maritime characteristics of Japanese culture. For this reason I find myself more interested in the archaeology of the Islands than in that of the mainland. I realize, however, that the Islands cannot really be understood by themselves, and in the future I plan to research the archaeology and folklore of the whole Kuroshio region.

In the Jomon period, contacts between the Izu Islands and western Japan are known from the Early phase onward. Kansai-type Takashima pottery from the beginning of the Middle Jomon has even been found at Kurawa on Hachijojima. There is a strong possibility that much of this contact was conducted up the Kuroshio Current (Hashiguchi 1988:32-35). Pottery from the latter half of the Kofun period from southern Kyushu has been discovered in the Islands, implying direct contact between the two regions. Finds of glazed Nara *sansai* ceramics have also appeared one after another from the Boso Peninsula, which lies just beyond the Islands on the same sea route.

Through finds such as these, research based around the Izu Islands and their role within the Kuroshio cultural sphere is becoming increasingly interesting. Though not mentioned here, a great deal of ethnological information as well as archaeological data exists on the Kuroshio (e.g., Miyata 1991), and our challenge for the future is the integration of these two types of evidence.

TRANSLATORS' NOTES

1. This view was particularly associated with Teruya Esaka, who in a 1986 paper in English wrote that, "... it is possible that [*yori itomon*] pottery is derived from the Hoabinh culture in Vietnam through Izu and the Bonin (Ogasawara) Islands, although it is not possible to demonstrate this at present" (Esaka 1986:224-225).
2. One piece of Koze obsidian is reported from the Musashidai site in Tokyo from a layer estimated to be some 28,000 years old.
3. The exact meaning of this term (*ara-katsuo*) is unknown.

4. The total weight was about 7 kg. We have translated the original "ju ren, san satsu" as "ten strings and three," but it is unclear exactly how many pieces of bonito these units represent.
5. This proved to be the last embassy to the Tang court. It is the embassy described by the monk Ennin. See Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955).
6. 24.24 by 13.82 cm.
7. In her original translation, Bock (1970:119, note 368) was apparently unsure of the meaning of the term *chunan*. This clearly refers, however, to a Ritsuryo tax known as *chunan sakumotsu*, which was levied on males aged 17 to 20. Bock realized this in the Corrigenda to the volume and changed her translation from "medium males" to "young male workers." She also noted that the age limits for this tax were later changed to 18 to 21 years.

REFERENCES

- ANRAKU, T.
1990 Nagasaki-ken Iki-gun Katsumoto-machi Kushiyama Mirume Ura iseki [The Kushiyama Mirume Ura site, Iki, Nagasaki]. *Nihon Kokogaku Nenpo* 41:593-595.
- BOCK, F. G.
1970 *Engi-Shiki. Procedures of the Engi Era. Books I-V*. Tokyo: Sophia University.
- ESAKA, T.
1986 The origins and characteristics of Jomon ceramic culture: A brief introduction, in *Windows on the Japanese Past*: 223-228, ed. R. Pearson, G. L. Barnes, and K. Hutterer. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.
- FUKUDA, N.
1985 *Musashi Kokubunjiato hakkutsu chosa hokoku VIII* [Excavation Report on the Musashi Kokubunji Site VIII]. Tokyo: Musashi Kokubunji Iseki Chosakai.
1988 *Musashi Kokubunjiato ni tsuite: Sono hakkutsu keika to seika* [The Musashi Kokubunji site: The excavations and their results]. *Tama no Ayumi* 52.
- GOTO, S., ED.
1958 Miyake, Mikura ryoto ni okeru kokogakuteki kenkyu [Archaeological research on Miyake and Mikura], in *Izu shoto bunkazai sogo chosa* [General Survey of Cultural Properties in the Izu Islands]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education.
- HACHIJO MUNICIPAL BOARD OF EDUCATION, EDS.
1987 *Kurawa iseki* [The Kurawa Site]. Tokyo: Hachijo-machi.
- HASHIGUCHI, N.
1985 Izu shoto no kokogakuteki, minzokugakuteki kenkyu: Yoho [Archaeological and ethnological research on the Izu Islands: Introduction], in *Nihonshi no reimei: Yahata Ichiro sensei shoju kinen kokogaku ronshu*, ed. Yahata Ichiro. Festschrift Editorial Committee. Tokyo: Rokko.
1988 *Shima no kokogaku: Kuroshioken no Izu shoto* [Island Archaeology: The Izu Islands and the Black Current]. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.
1991a *Shima no kokogaku* [Island archaeology], in *Kanto chihi no kokogaku* [The Archaeology of the Kanto Region]: 244-288. Tokyo: Gakuseisha.
1991b *Retto no kodai bunka to Izu shoto* [The Izu Islands and the ancient culture of the archipelago], in *Kuroshio no michi* [The Kuroshio Route]: 54-88, ed. N. Miyata. Tokyo: Shogakkan.
- HASHIGUCHI, N., ED.
1975 *Miyakejima no maizobunkazai* [The Buried Cultural Properties of Miyakejima]. Tokyo: Izu Shoto Kokogaku Kenkyukai.
- INOUE, T.
1980 *Urabe no kenkyu* [Research on urabe], in *Kodai oken to shukyoteki bemin* [Ancient Political Authority and Religious be Groups] pp. 124-184. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo.

KANEKO, H.

- 1985 Heijokyo to saijo [Ritual locations and the Heijo capital]. *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan Kenkyu Hokoku* 7:219-290.

KANZAWA, Y.

- 1976 Yayoi jidai, Kofun jidai oyobi Nara jidai no bokkotsu, bokko ni tsuite [On the scapulamancy and plastronomy of the Yayoi, Kofun and Nara periods]. *Sundai Shigaku* 38: 1-25.
- 1983 Nihon ni okeru kotsuboku, kiboku ni kansuru ni, san no kosatsu [Some thoughts on scapulamancy and plastronomy in Japan]. *Kanagawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyu Hokoku* 11.

KARUBE, J.

- 1975 Izu Kashiwaya Hyaketsu kofungun no hakkutsu ni tsuite [The excavations at the Kashiwaya Hyaketsu Kofun group in Izu]. First published in 1948 in *Nihon Kokogaku Ronshi* 2. Reprinted in *Izu Kashiwaya Hyaketsu*, ed. Shoji Yamauchi. Shizuoka: Shizuoka-ken Bunkazai Hozon Kyokai.

KAWAGUCHI, T.

- 1989 *Jomon jidai kaizuka shutsudo no kaiseihin ni kansuru yototeiki kenkyu* [A Study on the Use of Shell Artifacts Excavated from Jomon Shell Middens]. Yokohama: Kanagawa Prefectural Museum.

KAWAOKA, T.

- 1983 Kuroshio no kaijin [Sea people of the Black Current], in *Nihon Minzoku Bunka Taikei* 5: *Sanmin to kaijin* [The Ethnology of Japan 5: Mountain People and Sea People]: 363-393. Tokyo: Shogakukan.

KAWASAKI, Y.

- 1984 Tobune iseki [The Tobune site]. *Bunkazai no Hogo* 16:20-82.

KOBAYASHI, K., ED.

- 1985 *Ichihara-shi Kadowaki iseki* [The Kadowaki Site, Ichihara City]. Chiba: Chiba ken Bunkazai Senta.

KOBAYASHI, S., AND M. MITSUO

- 1988 Shikinejima Nobusenishi saishi iseki shutsudo no ibutsu ni tsuite [The artifacts from the ritual site at Nobusenishi on Shikine Island]. *Musashi* 1:35-43.

KOIDE, Y.

- 1989 Sagami no kuni kodaishi no dansho [A literary fragment concerning the ancient history of Sagami Province]. *Kanagawa Shika Daigaku Kyoyo Katei Kiyō Kiso Kagaku Ronshu* 7.

KONDO, T.

- 1972 *Hachijo Jikki* [An Account of Hachijo]. Tokyo: Ryokuchisha.

MIYATA, N., ED.

- 1991 *Kuroshio no michi* [The Kuroshio Route]. Tokyo: Shogakkan.

NABUNKEN [NARA NATIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES RESEARCH CENTER], ED.

- 1981 *Heijokyo kujo oji* [The Heijo Capital Kujo Oji Site]. Nara: Nara Prefectural Board of Education.

NAGAMINE, M., ED.

- 1986 *Toshima-mura Oishiyama iseki IV* [The Oishiyama Site, Toshima IV]. Tokyo: Toshima Board of Education.

NAGATOME, H.

- 1982 Tsushima no kiboku [Plastronomy on Tsushima], in *Kagawa Mitsuo sensei kanreki kinen ronshu* [60th Birthday Memorial Volume for Professor Mitsuo Kagawa]: 303-327, Beppu: Beppu University.

NAKANO, M.

- 1972 Nara jidai ni okeru shutsudo, densei Toshiki kagami no kiso shiryō oyobi dohankyo no bunpu to sono chuzō gijitsu [Nara-period Tang-style mirrors: Basic materials including distribution of mirrors from same molds and casting technology]. *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kiyō* 8.

OBA, I.

- 1933 Awa jinja keidai hakken kodai dokutsu chosa gaiho [Preliminary report on excavations in the ancient cave within the Awa shrine]. *Shizengakku Zasshi* 5(1).

PHILIPPI, D. L. (TRANSLATOR)

1968 *Kojiki*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

SASAKI, M.

1987 Tekkyo sabihen kinzokugakuteki kaiseki [A metallurgical analysis of rust fragments from iron mirrors], Appendix in *Fukinoe iseki* [The Fukinoe Site]. Tokyo: Nijima Honson Ryoiku linkai.

TONO'OKA, T.

1991 Minami Izu no Saishi Iseki [Ritual sites of southern Izu], in *Kuroshio no Michi* [The Kuroshio route]: 89-129, ed. N. Miyata. Tokyo: Shogakkan.

TORII, R.

1901 Oshima no sekki jidai iseki [A Stone Age site on Oshima]. *Jiji Shinpo* No. 6482.

TSUBOI, S.

1901 Izu shoto no sekki jidai iseki [A Stone Age site in the Izu Islands]. *Tokyo Jinruigaku Zasshi* 186:517.

YAMAUCHI, S., ED.

1975 *Izu Kashiwaya Hyaketsu* [The Kashiwaya Hyaketsu Tombs, Izu]. Shizuoka: Shizuoka-ken Bunkazai Hozon Kyokai.

YOKOYAMA, T.

1989 Kaiju budokyo koron [Some thoughts on sea mammal-grape vine mirrors], in *Jige II* [The Jige Site II], ed. Ishikawa Prefectural Buried Cultural Properties Center. Kanazawa: Ishikawa Prefectural Buried Cultural Properties Center.

ABSTRACT

Four areas in which the Izu Islands played an important role in Japanese historical development are discussed in detail. The first of these is the obsidian trade from the source on Kozu Island that was exploited from the Palaeolithic until the Yayoi period. Kozu obsidian was distributed widely through central Honshu and was of major economic significance to the prehistoric inhabitants of this region. Another item traded from the Izu Islands was the limpet *Penepatella*, which was used to make bracelets that were spread through eastern Japan from the Initial Jomon until the end of the Kofun period. After the formation of the Yamato state, the Izu Islands took on a new importance because of their strategic geographic position on the sea route to the east. The presence of a number of ritual sites in the Izu Islands and on the Izu Peninsula can be explained by this political need to maintain communication routes from the capital to the eastern provinces. Finally, in the Ritsuryo period the Islands became known as one of the major sources of ritual groups specializing in turtle shell divination. Historical records show that individual diviners from the Islands played an important part in court rituals held in the capital. **KEYWORDS:** Japanese archaeology, Izu Islands, obsidian and shell exchange, ritual interaction.

The above is a translated and revised version of an earlier article by Naotake Hashiguchi, "Retto no kodai bunka to Izu shoto" [The Izu Islands and the ancient culture of the archipelago] published in *Kuroshio no michi* [The Kuroshio Route] (1991, ed. N. Miyata, Tokyo: Shogakkan).