

Ancient Exchange between Izumo and the Korean Peninsula: Clues from Izumo Shrines

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The Izumo [出雲] region played a substantial role in ancient Japanese history. Although the geographical environment of the Izumo region is believed to be influenced by the Korean peninsula, further evidence is needed to confirm this. This paper is an attempt to shed light on the relationship between the Izumo region and the Korean peninsula, based on clues provided by ancient shrines in this area.

Keywords: Izumo in ancient Japan, Korean peninsula, Exchange, Shrines, Kaya, Steelmaking, Susanoo

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I. Background and Issues

Exploring exchanges between regions can be a good starting point in any research on the history of the Japanese archipelago. As a matter of fact, quite a few studies have focused on exchanges between regions, though a great majority of studies on inter-regional exchanges are concerned with a region's relationship with the central government.

The relationships between powerful central regimes of the Japanese archipelago, such as the Yamato regime or the Ritsuryo government, and its outer regions are certainly an important area of research in understanding ancient Japan. Yet equally important is achieving a clear understanding of relationships that existed between regions surrounding these political centers. It must be said that research in this area has suffered from the daunting paucity of historical sources available.

The Izumo region, on which this paper focuses, is one of the most important regions in the ancient history of the Japanese archipelago. Izumo extended across an area corresponding to the eastern half of

today's Shimane Prefecture. It bordered the East Sea¹ from its north side and formed close ties with several regions along the Korea Strait, such as northern Kyushu [九州] and Hokuriku [北陸]. In addition, located in close proximity to the Korean peninsula, which served as the gateway through which continental cultures reached the Japanese archipelago, Izumo occupied a strategic location in ancient Japan.

Culture and technology generally reached the Japanese archipelago from the continent through the central government, then spread gradually to outer regions at the edges of the political center. The propagation of Buddhism in Japan was a case in point. However, in the cases of Izumo and other areas bordering the East Sea, it is conceivable that continental culture and technology were directly brought from the Korean peninsula.²

The close ties that could have existed between Izumo and the Korean peninsula, meanwhile, have been frequently suggested, but seldom conclusively proven. The basis for supposing such close ties between this region and the Korean peninsula often amounted to nothing more than certain Japanese and Korean words with a similar pronunciation or other isolated similarities. Such idle speculations, based on little firm evidence, linking all things related to Izumo to the Korean peninsula are, needless to say, of no use. Meanwhile, more recently, there are some historians that have refuted outright the factuality of Korean influence on Izumo. Just as it is unwise to frivolously associate all of the

¹ [Editor's note: Since the original manuscript is written in Japanese by a Japanese scholar, *the East Sea* is referred to as 'the Sea of Japan [日本海]' and *the Korea Strait* as 'the Tsushima Strait [対馬海峡]'. With the author's consent, we have changed these geographical names into those used in Korea.]

² This point was already made by Yu Mizuno [水野祐] (1956), who noted the influence of Silla's *yeogwonje* [驛院制], while interpreting the meaning of the term "sinjown [新造院]," appearing in *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* [出雲国風土記, The Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region] and wrote: "Silla Buddhism was spread across Japan by Silla monks, including the Yamato region, the political center at that time, and Izumo in the Sannin region, where it was separately transmitted" (p. 474).

many cultural characteristics of Izumo with the Korean peninsula, it is equally unwise to deny all influence of the Korean peninsula in this region.

In this paper, I will explore the possible ties that could have existed between ancient Izumo and the Korean peninsula, based on related evidence provided by local shrines. One of the shrines in Izumo that have maintained a relationship with the Korean peninsula is Karakuni Itate Jinja [韓國伊大氏神社], a shrine mentioned in the *Jinmyocho* [神名帳, List of God Names] of *The Code of Engi* [延喜式, Engi-Shiki], a Japanese book of laws and regulations published in the mid-Heian period. This shrine with a highly original name, however, has been covered in prior studies (Takioto, 1991, p. 337; 1998, pp. 141-164), and will, for this reason, be excluded from consideration in the present paper. This paper will attempt to reconstruct ancient exchange activities between Izumo and the Korean peninsula by focusing on shrines mentioned in *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* [出雲国風土記, The Culture and Geogrphy of the Izumo Region].³

II. *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* [出雲国風土記, The Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region] and Shrines

I would like to begin my discussion by briefly describing *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* [出雲国風土記, The Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region] (henceforth, *Izumo Fudoki*), the main source used in this study. *Izumo Fudoki*, compiled in 733 (5th Tenpyo year), is considered invaluable for being the only example of the extant *fudoki* (treatises on the culture and

³ I have discussed shrines (jinja) mentioned in *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* [出雲国風土記, The Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region], in several previously-published papers of mine, including '*Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* and East Asia [出雲国風土記と東アジア, *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki-to Higashi Ajia*],' *Gakuto* [學鑑] 94-3 (1997). But these previous studies of mine will not be reviewed in detail in this paper, due to the lack of space.

geography of a region), surviving in a nearly complete form. Containing a wealth of information about Izumo, this book is indeed an essential primary source for studying the ancient history of this region. Thanks to the existence of *Izumo Fudoki*, one is able to research on the ancient society that existed in the Izumo region, concerning far more aspects than for any other regions. Shrines are precisely one such aspect into which this book allows us to gain an understanding.

Below is an example of passages related to shrines, found in *Izumo Fudoki*:

合神社 參伯玖拾玖所
壹佰捌拾肆所 在神祇官
貳佰壹拾伍所 不在神祇官 (*Izumo Fudoki*, 733/1989, p. 94)

We can learn from the passage above that there were a total of 399 shrines in the Izumo region in 733, the year *Izumo Fudoki* was completed, or in the earlier part of the 8th century. The number of shrines in Izumo is again stated as 399 in another passage in the entry on Yasukino-Sato [安來郷] of Ou District [意字郡], where a certain Katari-no-Omi Imaro [語臣猪麻呂], whose daughter was killed by a wani [和爾, hammerhead shark], is praying to the gods, swearing to take his daughter's revenge:

天神千五百万 地祇千五百万 并当国静
坐三百九十九社 及海若等 大神之和魂
者静思考而 荒魂者皆悉依 給猪麻呂之
所乞 (*ibid.*, p. 104)

The letters marked with square dots in the above passage means “399 shrines”, informing us again that there were 399 shrines in the Izumo region.

Equally noteworthy is the mention that 184 of them “are with” the

Board for Religious Affairs or *Jingikan* [神祇官]. In other words, 184 of them were registered with *Jingikan*; hence, the government was aware of their existence, and by extension, they were state-managed shrines. Meanwhile, the remaining 215 shrines, described as “not with *Jingikan*,” are those that were not managed by the state; hence non-state shrines or *hikansha* [非官社]. The information provided in this work is, therefore, quite complete: not only do we know the total number of shrines that existed in the Izumo region, but also how many of them were state-managed shrines.

The main source of information regarding the number of state shrines is *The Code of Engi* [延喜式, Engi Shiki], where they are listed by province [國]. The ‘Rules on Gods’ Names [神名式, Shinmei Shiki], Chapter 10 in Volume 9 of *The Code of Engi*, provides the list of shrines across Japan. Shrines listed in this chapter, popularly referred to as *Jinmyocho* [神名帳] or *Registry of Gods’ Names*, are designated as (*Engi*) *Shikinaisha* [(延喜)式内社] or (*Engi*) *Code-included Shrines*. What this means is that these shrines were founded during antiquity, and that they were protected and accredited by the state. In other words, the name *Shikinaisha* signified a shrine’s status as a historic shrine [古寺: meaning a shrine with an old history, having an important architectural and religious significance].

However, *The Code of Engi* was completed in 927 (5th Encho year), which means the content of *Jinmyocho* reflects the situation in the early 10th century. Apparently, the shrines included in *Jinmyocho* were built before the 10th century. It is also certain from this record that these historic shrines (*shikinaisha*) were treated as state shrines at least in the early 10th century.

In comparison, *Izumo Fudoki* was completed in 733 (5th Tenpyo year), in other words, in the early 8th century, about two centuries earlier than *The Code of Engi*. The number of shrines in the Izumo region provided in this book, therefore, predates information about other regions by close to two hundred years. Also, information provided in *Izumo*

Fudoki is more complete than that in *The Code of Engi*, which only lists state shrines, as the former also lists non-state shrines. Thanks to this book surviving to the present, one can access this type of detailed information, not available for any other regions, and this makes the Izumo region unique for historical research.

III. Karakama-no-Yashiro [韓銓社] and Kaya-no-Yashiro [加夜社]

Of these 399 shrines, mentioned in *Izumo Fudoki*, one can identify only a handful as shrines related to the Korean peninsula. Even under a generous estimation, based on a broad interpretation of the names of shrines and the names of gods, the number of shrines that could be linked to the Korean peninsula is quite moderate. Strictly-speaking, there are only two shrines which may be confirmed to have had ties with the Korean peninsula: Karakama-no-Yashiro [韓銓社] and Kaya-no-Yashiro [加夜社].

Karakama-no-Yashiro is the 54th of the 58 Jingikan shrines listed for Izumo District in *Izumo Fudoki* (733/1989, p. 186). We, therefore, can assume that Karakama-no-Yashiro is one of the shrines located in Izumo District, and that it was considered a state shrine at least during the early 8th century. Karakama-no-Yashiro also appears in *Jinmyocho of The Code of Engi*, but there it is referenced as “Karakama Jinja [韓竈神社].” This shrine, located in Karakawa [唐川] in the City of Izumo, is even today referred to as “Karakama Jinja” (Yamamoto, 1972, p. 292). The name “Karakama-no-Yashiro”, used in *Izumo Fudoki*, however, must be older and could be closer to the original name of this shrine.

Little is known about this shrine, other than it is enshrouded in mystery. Kato Yoshinari [加藤義成] (1987), who attempted a complete annotation of *Izumo Fudoki*, for example, offers very little information when it comes to Karakama-no-Yashiro. Citing from *Izumo Fudokisho*

[出雲風土記抄, Annotations to Izumo Fudoki], the oldest annotations to *Izumo Fudoki*, Kato identifies the gongensha [權現社] in Karakawa-mura of Uka-no-Sato [宇賀郷], mentioned in the latter work, as Karakama Jinja. He states: “People worship the god of Susanoo-no-Mikoto [素盞鳴命] at the Karakama Jinja located in *Gongennishi* [權現西] of Karakawaji [唐川字] in today’s City of Izumo. It was a *Sonsha* [村社: *Sonsha* is a rank of Shinto shrines]” (p. 330).

Karakama Jinja, although still located in Karakawa of Hirata [平田], is said to have previously been in Oozakarkawa [大字唐川] of Wanibuchi-Mura [鰐淵村] in Hikawa District [簸川郡] (*Shimane*, 1996, p. 252). The shrine was relocated to its current location in 1815 (12th Bunka year), and became a village shrine in 1872 (5th Meiji year). Currently, worship services are held for two gods: Susanoo [スサノオ] and Guninosatsuchi [クニノサツチ].

Primary sources related to Karakama-no-Yashiro are virtually nonexistent. Uka-no-Sato, discussed in *Izumo Fudokisho*, an Edo-era book mentioned earlier, for example, is also given a mention in the Izumo District section of *Izumo Fudoki*:

郡家正北一十七里廿五步 所造天下大神
命 譚坐神魂命御子 綾門日如命爾來
女神不肯 逃隱之時 大神伺求給所 是
則比郷也 故云宇賀 (*Izumo Fudoki*, 733/1989, p. 182)

This passage, however, says nothing about Karakama-no-Yashiro. Further, Ayato Hime-no-Makoto [綾門日女命], the goddess referenced in this passage, is one that is mentioned in no other historical sources. The only thing we can gather from the information provided here is that Ayato Hime-no-Makoto is an earth god [地主神] of Uka-no-Sato, and based on her name, the goddess must be a silk-weaving goddess. However, there is a shrine named “Uka-no-Yashiro [宇賀社]” (*Izumo Fudokisho*, as in Akimoto, 1989, p. 185), listed in the Izumo District

section of *Izumo Fudoki* as the first of the 58 *jingikanja*, the state-managed shrines, in this area. One possibility is that Ayato Hime-no-Makoto was the goddess worshipped in Uka-no-Yashiro.

Now, to return to Karakama-no-Yashiro [韓銚社], the first character of its name, ‘韓’, is clearly related to ‘韓國’, in other words, Korea and by extension the Korean peninsula. The second character ‘銚’ meanwhile, means a sickle for cutting grain ears; hence, conjuring up the image of a steel sickle. If one considers the fact that steelmaking technology, indispensable for forging a steel sickle, was brought to Japan from the Korean peninsula, the character ‘銚’ also hints at a relationship with the latter. Also noteworthy is the fact that one of the gods currently worshipped in Karakama Jinja is Susanoo. One can certainly not conclude from the fact that Susanoo is currently worshipped in Karakama Jinja, that this god was worshipped there in Karakama-no-Yashiro in ancient times. It is, nevertheless, very interesting that Susanoo, a blacksmith god, is the deity worshipped in this shrine.⁴ Even though more research is needed to ascertain whether Susanoo was worshipped in Karakama-no-Yashiro, this god seems like a befitting object of worship for a shrine containing the character ‘銚 [sickle]’ in its name, hence, a shrine for a community of new settlers with steelmaking technology.

As for Kaya-no-Yashiro [加夜社], it is listed, in the Kando District [神門郡] section of *Izumo Fudoki*, as the sixth of the area’s twelve non-state shrines (733/1989, p. 206). The name of this shrine evokes Kaya

⁴ Various theories exist as to the identity of Susanoo. That Susanoo may be a blacksmith god is an idea I discussed in my own *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki-to Kodai Nihon: Izumo Chiiki-shi no Kenkyu* [出雲国風土記と古代日本—出雲地域史の研究—, The Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region and Ancient Japan: The Local History of the Izumo Region] (1994).

[伽倻]⁵, the polity based in the southern Korean peninsula. In the Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷] entry of the Kando District section of *Izumo Fudoki*, we read this passage containing the name of a goddess, who may have been the main deity worshipped in Kaya-no-Yashiro, although there is not enough evidence to ascertain this:

郡家南西廿里 所造天下大神之御子 阿
陀加夜怒志多伎吉比売命坐之 故伝多吉
神龜三年改字多伎 (ibid., p. 204)

Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比賣命] is a goddess never mentioned in any other historical records. What this means is that this goddess probably was an earth god of Taki-no-Sato, but the fact that her name contains the word ‘Kaya’ is quite remarkable.

About this goddess, Kato Yoshinari (1987) wrote that she is likely to be the main deity worshipped in Kaya-no-Yashiro, based on the relationship between her name and the name of the shrine. He further stated that this goddess was originally the guardian goddess of Atagai-no-Sato [出雲(あだがい)郷] of Ou District, who later became the deity of Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷], worshipped in Takijisha [多伎枳社] (p. 169, p. 330).

Interesting though the remark by Kato is concerning the identity of Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比賣命], in 733, when *Izumo Fudoki* was written, there was no town named Izumo-no-Sato [出雲郷] in Ou District. The Ou District section of *Izumo Fudoki* lists eleven *sato* [郷] in Ou District; namely, Mori-no-Sato [母理郷], Yashiro-no-Sato [屋代郷], Tateinui-no-Sato [楯縫郷], Yasuki-no-Sato

⁵[Editor’s Note: This ancient kingdom of Korea, *Kaya* [伽倻] or 가야, is usually transcribed as Gaya in South Korea, following the Romanization transcription rules adopted in the country. In order to avoid the confusion due to different roman transcriptions for the same word, *Kaya* is used throughout the article accommodating the Japanese pronunciation, although it is not a standard way of transcribing the Korean word.]

[安來郷], Yamakuni-no-Sato [山國郷], Ihinashi-no-Sato [飯梨郷], Tonu-no-Sato [舍人郷], Sakusa-no-Sato [大草郷], Yamashiro-no-Sato [山代郷], Hayashi-no-Sato [排志郷] and Shishiji-no-Sato [宍道郷]. Therefore, Izumo-no-Sato did not exist in Ou District, at least in the early 8th century. Nor is the name “Izumo [出雲]” used as any other place name within Ou District, at least according to *Izumo Fudoki*.

One question to ask is when Izumo-no-Sato was created. But no information is available to determine the date of creation of this town. One reads, for example, the following in a passage of *Unyo-shi* [雲陽誌] (1717/1977, p. 100), a geographical treatise from the Edo era, on Izumo-Ko [出雲江] in Ou District:

俚民出雲里と書てあたかへと読む、或人のいはく加茂の競馬の事書たりし文を見るに、出雲江の馬一匹とあるをあたかへと假名はけたりと語、しかれは中古よりいひならはせる事にや、出雲江にも阿太加夜の神社を勧請す、故に本名出雲江をいはずして阿太加夜といひけるにや、いまた詳ならず、

[The name] is written “俚民出雲里” and read “Atakae.” People say that a horse of Izumo-Ko [出雲江], according to a writing about horse racing in Kamo [加茂], was nicknamed “Atakae.” This name, therefore, has been said habitually since the middle ancient times. In Izumo-Ko, people also pray at the shrine of Atae-kaya [阿太加夜]. Hence, they use ‘Atae-kaya [阿太加夜]’ to refer to their town, instead of Izumo-Ko [出雲江], but this needs to be confirmed.

This passage suggests ‘Atakahe’, in other words, ‘Atakae’ as the pronunciation of Izumo-Ko, adding that this was the way this name was pronounced since the middle ancient times. It is further said that the name was not originally ‘Atae-kaya’ and cites Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro [阿太加夜社] as the evidence. Concerning Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro, the author of *Unyo-shi* writes, in the description of Ashitakaki Jinja [足高明神社] in the Izumo-Ko entry, that “this is precisely Ata-kaya-no-

Yashiro,” adding the following:

大穴持命の御子阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比売命は神門郡多岐に坐となり、今此里に阿太加夜社勸請なるへし、

Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比賣命], the son of Oo-na-mochi-Mikoto [大穴持命] was settled in Taki [多岐] of Kando District [神門郡], and this village invoked Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro [阿太加夜社].

Expressing a view opposite to the one voiced by Kato Yoshinari (1987), *Uryo-shi*, therefore, states that Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比賣命], based in Kando District, was invoked in Ou District. At any rate, it is correct to assume that Izumo-no-Sato of Ou District did not exist in the early 8th century when *Izumo Fudoki* was written.⁶

The shrine named “Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro [阿太加夜社]” is mentioned in *Izumo Fudoki*, as one of the nineteen non-state shrines in Ou District. Accordingly, this confirms that Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro existed in the early 8th century, suggesting that its founding goes back further in time. I will further discuss the relationship between Kaya-no-Yashiro of Kando District and Kaya-no-Yashiro of Ou District later in this paper. Before that, I would like to muse a bit about the god worshipped in Kaya-no-Yashiro of Kando District.

As has been said earlier, Kato Yoshinari believes that the god

⁶ Although there is no conclusive evidence allowing the precise determination of the time when Izumo-no-Sato was created in Ou District, given the fact that this town is said to have been referred to as “Atagae [阿陀加江]” since the Muromachi [室町] period, in *Shimane-ken-no Chimei* [島根県の地名, Place Names of Shimane Prefecture]; in *Compendium of Historical Japanese Place Names* [日本歴史地名大系, Nihon Rekishi Chimei Daikai] (1995), it is likely that its name became progressively established as the name of a medieval town (*Sato*), written as “Izumo-no-Sato [出雲郷], but pronounced as “Atakaya [あだかや]” or “Atakae [あだかえ]” (p. 132).

worshipped in Kaya-no-Yashiro is Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto, the son of Oo-na-mochi-Mikoto [大穴持命], said to have created what exists below the sky. He says, at the same time, that Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto was the patron god of Taki-no-Yashiro [多伎杵社], located in Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷], a shrine with records related to this god. This view of Kato appears to make sense at first glance. But, if we return to the Kando District entry of *Izumo Fudoki*, where Taki-no-Sato is mentioned, which we discussed earlier, the origin of this town is provided with a very simple explanation: that ‘Taki’ of ‘Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷]’ derives from the fact that Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto is based there. It is further stated in this book that ‘Taki’, originally written as ‘多吉’, was changed to ‘多伎’ in 726 (3rd Jingi year).

One interesting detail here is that the portion of the name ‘Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比賣命]’ which is related to the place name ‘Taki’ is ‘Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto,’ and that this place name was changed from ‘多吉’ to ‘多伎.’ In other words, the first half of this god’s name, ‘Ata-kaya-nushi [阿陀加夜怒志],’ has no relationship with the origin of this place name.

One question that comes naturally to mind is what kind of god Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto is. However, as has been said already, this deity is only mentioned in *Izumo Fudoki*, which, besides, does not provide much detail about it. We can, however, guess that this god is the local earth god of Taki-no-Sato, but that is the extent of what we can know about it. Although it seems reasonable to consider this deity as the earth god of Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷], if such is the case, the name “Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [多伎(吉)比賣命]” would be more suitable. The first half of this name, ‘Ata-kaya-nushi [阿陀加夜怒志],’ has no relation whatsoever with the place name ‘Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷]’. This issue has not been extensively explored due to an extreme dearth of historical

sources.⁷ Partly because of this, the view advanced by Akimoto Kichiro [秋本吉郎] that ‘Ata-kaya [阿陀加夜]’ is, in fact, a place name has become the de facto official theory (*Izumo Fudoki*, 733/1989, p. 204).

Yet, while ‘Kaya’ can be certainly construed as a place name, it is necessary to examine carefully whether ‘Ata-kaya’ itself has come from a place name. If it is indeed a place name, where is this place? Or if this is the combination of two place names, ‘Ata’ and ‘Kaya’, the question, then, is where Ata is to be found.

What I propose is to divide ‘Ata-kaya-nushi’ into three parts: ‘Ata’, ‘Kaya’ and ‘Nushi’. ‘Kaya [加夜]’ ostensibly designates ‘Kaya [伽椰]’, and as for ‘Nushi [怒志]’, this could mean ‘nushi (主: master)’. Finally, ‘Ata [阿陀]’ could mean ‘ata (他: others)’ or ‘i (異: different)’, hence signifying the outside. The meaning of Ata-kaya-nushi [阿陀加夜怒志], in this case, would be the ‘master of Kaya that is outside/elsewhere.’

Now, based on this, we can treat the entire name ‘Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [阿陀加夜怒志多伎吉比賣命]’ as consisting of two gods’ names. In other words, one god is a deity originating in Kaya, “Ata-kaya-nushi [阿陀加夜怒志],” and the other, a goddess named “Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [多伎吉比賣命]”. Then, it is not easy to clarify the exact nature of the goddess ‘Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [多伎吉比賣命]’. In the absence of evidence allowing us to identify this goddess with certainty, judging from the mention in *Izumo Fudoki* that Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷] used to be written as ‘多吉郷’, it is possible that the name of this goddess was originally ‘Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [多伎比賣命]’ or ‘Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto [多吉比賣命]’. This name could further have a relationship with rapids (滝), as suggested by Seki Kazuhiko [関和彦]

⁷ In *The Gods of Shimane* [島根の神々, Shimane-no Kamigami, Shimane-ken Jinjacho], (1987), this god is simply said to be one that has Ata-kaya [阿陀加夜] as his main base [本郷], and that, furthermore, is worshipped by the farming community that developed Taki (p. 7).

(1987).⁸

At any rate, if we consider that the name ‘Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto’ consists of two parts, as I have proposed, the earth god of Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷] would be a composite deity from the merger of two different gods. Further, if one focuses on the relationship between this god’s name and the place name of where it is worshipped, a reasonable guess would be that Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto is the native deity of this town, and Ata-kaya-nushi, a deity who was later adopted and worshipped. If we consider Ata-kaya-nushi a foreign deity worshipped by new settlers in Japan, this is entirely plausible.

In addition, I propose to take a look at a passage in *Izumo Fudoki*, from the section on shrines located in Kando District, which reads as follows:

美久我社	阿須理社
比布知社	又比布知社
多古社	夜牟夜社
矢野社	波加佐社
素売佐社	知乃社
浅山社	久奈為社
佐志牟社	多支枳社
阿利社	阿如社
国村社	那売佐社
阿利社	大山社
保乃加社	多吉社

⁸ In Seki Kazuhiko [関和彦]’s work, ‘The Four Entries on Kando District in the Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region [出雲国風土記』註論 その4 神門郡条, *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki Churon Sono 4 Kanto-gunjo*], *Kodai Bunka Kenkyu*, No. 7 (1987), and in the passage on Taki of Kando District in *Unyo-shi* [雲陽誌] in *Great Anthology of Japanese Geographical Works 42* [大日本地誌大系42, *Dai Nihon Chishi Taikei 42*] (1977), it is said that there is a rapid whose height measures one *jyo* (one *jyo* being 303cm) two *shaku* (one *shaku* being 30.3m) and which runs north, joining other streams in Taki to flow into the sea (p. 334).

夜牟夜社	同夜牟夜社
比奈社	以上廿五所並在神祇官

(These 25 shrines are *Jingikan* [神祇官].)

塩夜社	火守社
同塩夜社	久奈子社
同久奈子社	加夜社
小田社	波加佐社
同波加佐社	多支社
多支支社	波須波社 以上十二所 並不在神祇官

(These 12 shrines are NOT *Jingikan* [神祇官].)

(*Izumo Fudoki*, 733/1989, p. 204, p. 206, p. 208) According to the above passage, there were thirty-seven shrines in Kando-gun. Among them, those based in Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷] appear to be the following six:

- ① 多吉社 (神祇官社)
- ② 多支枳社 (神祇官社)
- ③ 多吉社 (神祇官社)
- ④ 多伎社 (非神祇官社)
- ⑤ 多支支社 (非神祇官社)
- ⑥ 加夜社 (非神祇官社)

The names of the above shrines, presumed to have been based in Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷], all contain, except Kaya-no-Yashiro [加夜社], the place name ‘Taki [多支]’ or ‘Taki [多吉]’. Hence, an overwhelming majority of shrine names in Kando District contain the place name ‘Taki [多支(吉)]’, and ‘Kaya-no-Yashiro [加夜社]’ is the only example not containing these two syllables. Further, given the fact that Kaya-no-Yashiro is not a *Jingikan* shrine [神祇官社] or state shrine, one may safely assume that those shrines containing a reference to ‘Taki’ were the mainstream ones.

Seen from a historical perspective, this leads us to think that shrines with ‘Taki’ in their names were the ones dedicated to native deities, and a new deity was later introduced and was worshipped in Kaya-no-Yashiro. In other words, the Ata-kaya-nushi cult was imported to this area where people were originally worshipping Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto. Finally, the fact that Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto is mentioned as a single deity in *Izumo Fudoki*, completed in the early 8th century, suggests that the two deities merged together no later than the early 8th century. This also warrants us to think that this composite deity, Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto, was also worshipped in shrines of this area, other than Kaya-no-Yashiro—in other words, native shrines containing ‘Taki’ in their names—by this time.

In what preceded, we examined shrine-based religious practices in Taki-no-Sato [多伎郷] of Kando District in the early 8th century. In what follows, I try to reconstruct what happened thereafter to Kaya-no-Yashiro, a shrine dedicated to an imported deity. Doing that, however, is easier said than done, due to the extreme paucity of related historical sources. Yet, we find in the Taki entry in the Kando District section of *Unyo-shi*, compiled during the 18th century, the mention of a certain Kayado [加夜堂] (*Unyo-shi*, 1717/1977, p. 334). The following is the passage where Kayado is discussed:

本尊阿弥陀、或日 [風土記] に載る加夜社なり、世降時移て兩部習合のため社は変して仏閣となる、今の加夜堂は阿太加夜怒志吉比売命の鎮座成り何時仏となるや未考、

The main Buddha worshipped here is Amitabha [阿彌陀]. Some say that this used to be Kaya-no-Yashiro, the shrine mentioned in the *Fudoki*, and that this shrine, through the process of merger between native faiths and Buddhism, later became a Buddhist temple [佛閣]. In Kayado [加夜堂], Ata-kaya-nushi Hime-no-Mikoto is currently worshipped, and it is unclear to us when the worship of Buddha was

introduced to the shrine.

This passage, therefore, indicates that once into the Edo era, sometime during the 18th century, Kaya-no-Yashiro became Kayado. Whilst it says that Kayado houses Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto, the passage also states that the main Buddha worshipped there is Amitabha Buddha. This means that Kayado served, by then, as a Buddhist temple, indeed as part of the phenomenon of native faiths merging with Buddhism. However, as for precisely when Kaya-no-Yashiro became Kayado, *Unyo-shi* provides no clear information.

In any case, based on the information provided in *Unyo-Shi*, Kaya-no-Yashiro, under the influence of the phenomenon of merger between native faiths and Buddhism, became at some point in time, a Buddhist temple, known as “Kayado,” and remained so until the late Edo period.

Now, if one tries to trace Kaya-no-Yashiro during the Meiji era, it appears to have ceased to be a shrine which it still was in the early Meiji era, by the late 19th century. Kaya-no-Yashiro is presumed to have become, by then, a certain Ichimori Jinja [市森神社] (Yamamoto, 1995, p. 348). Ichimori Jinja, currently located in Hieharacho of Izumo [出雲市稗原町], is said to have been in Azaichikaido [字石畑] of Hiehara [大字名稗原] in Hieharacho [稗原村] of Hikawa District [簸川郡] (Shimane, 1996, p. 282). In February of 1699 (12th Genroku year), the shrine was moved to its current location, and in 1871 (4th Meiji year) became the village shrine. The main deity worshipped there is Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto, and other deities such as Amaterasu Omikami [天照大神], Ame-no-Minakanushi-no-Kami [天御中主神], Takamimusubi-no-Kami [高皇産靈神], Himachi-Hime-no-Mikoto [肥町肥売命] and Kagaseo-no-Kami [香々背男神] are also worshipped. About the founding of this shrine, it is said that Ichimori Jinja derives from Kaya-no-Yashiro, which was founded when Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto came to a place named Kayasho [加夜床] in Kaya-ri [加夜里]. Not far from Ichimori Jinja is another shrine known as

“Kayagen [加夜原]”, “Takaya [陀加夜]” or “Kayagamaru [加夜ヶ丸]”, names that are said to originate from the name of this deity. As for the name “Ichimori Jinja [市森神社]”, they say that merchants of a market in Chukichi [中吉] who relocated Kaya-no-Yashiro to their village wanted to make the latter’s god the protector of this market, renaming it “Ichimori Jinja [市守神社]”, meaning the ‘god protecting the market,’ and this name later became “Ichimori Jinja [市森神社]”.

The above is, therefore, the history of Kaya-no-Yashiro, based on the accounts of the locals concerning the origin of Ichimori Jinja. Although further confirmation is needed, the sources being orally-transmitted accounts, the information gathered suggests that Kaya-no-Yashiro survived in subsequent periods first as Kayado, then as Ichimori Jinja.

We have, thus far, traced the history of Kaya-no-Yashiro, under the assumption that this shrine is a foreign shrine created by new settlers. Lastly, I would like to examine the possible relationship of this shrine with Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro [阿太加夜社], located in Ou District according to *Izumo Fudoki*. Based on its name, Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro could have been also a shrine dedicated to Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto.

However, if one attempts to link Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro to the worship of Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto, we run into a sticky problem. Kando-gun, where Kaya-no-Yashiro was located, is in the western section of the Izumo region, whilst Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro in Ou District is in the eastern section of the same region. In other words, the two shrines were in two distinct locations, removed from each other by some distance. About this point, as we have stated earlier in this paper, Kato Yoshinari (1987) advanced the view that Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto, originally worshipped in Ou District in eastern Izumo, was later adopted in Kando District in western Izumo. Meanwhile, the opposite view is expressed in *Unyo-shi*, where this deity is seen as originally based in Kando District, but was later worshipped in Ou District.

Whether the worship of Ata-kaya-nushi Takiki Hime-no-Mikoto spread from eastern Izumo to western Izumo or the other way around is as such an interesting question. However, it is widely believed that ancient shrines, and particularly shrines of the 6th ~7th century, did not have branches; in other words, there were no main shrines having branch shrines. In light of this, it may not be absurd to think the two shrines were created independently, rather than one influencing and preceding the other chronologically. For example, one can very well imagine that people from the Kaya region of the Korean peninsula settled in eastern Izumo and worshipped their god in Ata-kaya-no-Yashiro, and that there were other people from Kaya, this time, settled in western Izumo, who set up their own shrine, Kaya-no-Yashiro.

At any rate, Karakama-no-Yashiro [韓經社] and Kaya-no-Yashiro [加夜社] are two shrines that are very clearly related to the Korean peninsula, and these shrines appearing in *Izumo Fudoki* are conclusive evidence to the ancient exchange between Izumo and the Korean peninsula.

IV. Conclusion

That the Izumo region was under a strong influence from the Korean peninsula is a fact that has been frequently noted. But, as has been said at the outset of this paper, much of the discussion on this topic consisted of poorly-documented assertions or impressionistic arguments. At the same time, in recent years, there is a tendency to reductively assess the influence of the Korean peninsula on Izumo. Although it is wrong to link all things related to Izumo to the Korean peninsula, uncritically and indiscriminately, it is equally absurd to systematically deny any influence of the latter on this region. Fortunately, however, for Izumo, an ancient source documenting this region, *Izumo-no-kuni Fudoki* [出雲国風土記, The Culture and Geography of the Izumo Region], has survived to the present. *Izumo Fudoki* is a geographical treatise compiled in 733 (3rd

Tenpyo year), in other words, in the early 8th century, and is, as has already been said earlier in this paper, the only extant *fudoki* (cultural and geographical account of a region) which has survived in a nearly complete form. This book contains many interesting and thought-provoking facts.

The relationship of exchange with the Korean peninsula, discussed in this paper, is one of these interesting aspects of Izumo's history revealed by this book. *Izumo Fudoki*, although widely used as a primary source for historical research and literary research as well as in many other fields of study, is mostly discussed in the context of issues that are internal to the Japanese archipelago. However, depending on how one interprets it, *Izumo Fudoki* could very well become an indispensable historical source for East Asia as a whole, and not just for Japan. This is also true for *fudoki* in general, and not just for *Izumo Fudoki*.

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