

## Tales of Royal Progresses by King Ōjin in *Harima no Kuni Fudoki*

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### *Harima Fudoki* and tales of sovereigns

There are no fewer than ninety-nine examples of tales about sovereigns in *Harima Fudoki*. Fifty-two of these refer to King Ōjin, with the next most frequent references being twelve to King Keikō. Then there are nine entries in which either Queen-Consort Jingū appears alone (albeit not strictly speaking a king), or she and her husband King Chūai appear together. Below I shall focus on King Ōjin, about whom there is the largest number of tales.

King Ōjin is referred to as ‘Homuda no sumera mikoto’ in *Harima Fudoki*. Tales about him appear in Shikama, Ihibo, Kamusaki, Taka and Kamo *Kōri*, and are especially concentrated in the two *kōri* of Shikama and Ihibo. He does not appear in Kako or Inami, however, where there are stories about ‘Ōtarashihiko no mikoto’ (King Keikō) instead. There is no territorial overlap between these two kings as regards their ‘occupation of the land’ (*kunishime*), including reference to their royal progresses.<sup>1</sup>

When we analyse tales about royal progresses in *Harima Fudoki* in detail, it becomes clear that most of them were for purposes of ‘land-viewing’ (*kunimi*).<sup>2</sup> For example, it says in the entries for Hiramata *Sato*, Ihibo *Kōri*, and Hozumi *Sato*, Kamo *Kōri*, that King Ōjin climbed a hill and respectively ‘gazed in the four directions’ and ‘viewed the land’; likewise, in the entries for Kochi *Sato*, Shikama *Kōri*, and Kuwahara *Sato*, Ihibo *Kōri*, King Ōjin stood on a hill and ‘viewed the landscape’. The next most frequent tales after land-viewing are for the purpose of a ‘royal hunt’ (*mikari*). Tales about hunting appear in Wogawa *Sato*, Shikama *Kōri*; Ōchi Post Station, Ihibo *Kōri*; Kawanobe *Sato*, Kamusaki *Kōri*; and Tsuma *Sato*, Shimo Kamo *Sato* and Sufu *Sato*, in Kamo *Kōri*. The act of hunting birds and animals symbolised the king’s authority over the land in question, as with ‘land-viewing’. And then there are tales about King Ōjin’s mother, Queen-Consort Jingū, in the *kōri* of Shikama, Ihibo and Sayo. These all relate to her military expedition to the Korean Peninsula as depicted in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, and the territory they cover overlaps with that of King Ōjin. Stories about ‘occupation of the land’ (*kunishime*) comprise the majority of stories about these two and King Keikō. *Kunishime* was originally a religious rite carried out by an ancient chieftain in order to assert authority over the people of the region, but in *Harima Fudoki* it is the act of a sovereign.

When it comes to other kings mentioned in *Harima Fudoki*, it indicates only a time period rather than a name, such as ‘in the reign of King So-and-so’ or ‘in the So-and-so Palace’. We could go so far as to say, therefore, that in the perception of time within *Harima Fudoki*, narratives about the Yamato Court’s authority over specific areas of Harima and the establishment of a hierarchical relationship between them intensified at the time of Kings Keikō and Ōjin (including Queen-Consort Jingū).

### Iwa no Ōkami and the Yamato Court

One characteristic of *Harima Fudoki* is that tales about kings and stories about deities—particularly Iwa no Ōkami (the Great Deity of Iwa)—covered a wide area. Iwa no Ōkami is a deity who appears only in *Harima Fudoki* and not at all in *Kojiki* or *Nihon Shoki*. Myths about him are centred on Shisawa *Kōri*, but they also spread into Shikama, Ihibo and Sayo *Kōri*. What is

<sup>1</sup> Translator’s note: a ‘royal progress’ means a tour by a monarch and his/her retinue around territories over which he/she reigns. It serves the politico-religious function of consolidating the sovereign’s claim of the right to rule the land.

<sup>2</sup> Translator’s note: ‘Land viewing’ was a religious and political Daoist-influenced agricultural rite of spring practised by ancient Chinese emperors and emulated by ancient Japanese chiefs and kings, whereby the ruler climbed to a high point on the landscape from which to view the ‘Four Quarters’ (i.e., the four cardinal points) and to pray for a bountiful harvest and a peaceful state.

noteworthy about that here is that tales about King Ōjin's royal progresses also appear in the *kōri* of Shikama and Ihibo. It is recorded under Shikama *Kōri* that the Shikama *Miyake* (rice estate) was established during the reign of Ōsazaki no sumera mikoto (King Nintoku), and that the Harima Provincial Government Office (*kokufu*) was set up in this *kōri*. And in Ihibo *Kōri* there is the tale that Okinaga Tarashihime no mikoto (Queen-Consort Jingū) had a well bored here that was called Harima Well, which gave its name to the whole province. The jurisdiction of the Harima no Kuni no Miyatsuko as recorded in *Kokuzō Hongi*<sup>3</sup> also covers the *kōri* of Shikama and Ihibo, so we can assume that the territory of these two *kōri* formed the centre of the Harima region. In this central area there are tales of the royal progresses of King Ōjin along with myths about Iwa no Ōkami, the main deity worshipped in Harima, so *kunishime* by the deity and *kunishime* by the king territorially overlapped.

In Shikama *Kōri*, the origins of the *sato* names for Masaki *Sato* and Kaya *Sato*, and the origins of the place names Tenugawa and Tohori are examples recorded as being related to King Ōjin's 'occupation of the land'. In Ihibo *Kōri*, likewise, the place names Sasa *Mura*, Kanaya River, Awiyama, Ōchi Post Station, Mt. Tsukiore, Mitachi Hill, and Mt. Ōnori are said to have originated in one of his royal progresses; and Kurami, the former name of Kuwahara *Sato*, originated in his act of *kunimi* (ritual land viewing). Traced on a map, these places straddle the *kōri* of Shikama and Ihibo, and are concentrated along what later became the San'yōdō Road, and the route that led to Mimasaka Province. In other words, these tales of King Ōjin's royal progresses suggest that the Yamato Court had gained a grasp over this region through its transportation routes. Of course, as previous scholarship has pointed out, this grasp did not occur all at once but was no doubt carried out gradually in stages, across some stretch of time.

### **The impression of King Ōjin from *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki***

One question that then arises is why the Yamato Court's grip in Harima is presented as being during the reign of King Ōjin. There is no mention of royal progresses to Harima by King Ōjin in either *Kojiki* or *Nihon Shoki*: scattered throughout them instead are entries indicating his connections with harbours and *ama* seafarers along the route from the western provinces to the Korean Peninsula. In the historical perspective of *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, the era from Queen-Consort Jingū in the fifth century and throughout King Ōjin's reign is when Japan's (i.e., Wa's) preeminence on the Korean Peninsula was established and the Yamato Court held sway over the routes to and from the Korean Peninsula. Some scholars believe that this historical perspective in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* was formed with the compilation of national histories (the so-called 'historiographic project')<sup>4</sup> from the reign of Emperor Tenmu (r. 672–686 CE) onwards, but actually, it can also be seen as evolving in several stages predicated upon the Yamato Court's connection to the Harima region from the fifth century onwards, with King Ōjin as the pretext. So in the following section I should like to discuss the period when tales about King Ōjin's royal progresses in the Harima region were appropriated into legends of the Yamato centre's control over the region.

### **The 'memory' that links the regions with the centre**

The relationship between the centre and the regions was expressed in ancient times by means of genealogies. Because of that, it was essential for each of the local social groupings to demonstrate during which sovereign's reign they had served the Yamato Court. The compilation of national histories from Queen Suiko (r. 593–628) onwards — the 'great historiographic project' — played a key role when it comes to considering when the expression of such relationships to the imperial line began.

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<sup>3</sup> Translator's note: Early Heian period, 9th century.

<sup>4</sup> Translator's note: Gary Ebersole's (1989) translation for *shūshi jigyo* 修史事業, the overall impetus by the Yamato Court to produce 'national' historical and literary works, which ultimately included *Teiki*, *Kyūji*, *Kokki*, *Tennōki*, *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, *Man'yōshū*, *Kaifūsō*, *Shoku Nihongi*, *Sendai Kuji Hongi*, etc. — not all of which are extant.

*Kokki*<sup>5</sup> was compiled in the year Suiko 28 (620 CE), and along with the genealogy of the emperors (kings), it said ‘This records the kings and chronicles the nation, and records the origins of more than one hundred and eighty *omi no muraji*, *tomo no miyatsuko*, *kuni no miyatsuko* and public servants’. The passage in *Nihon Shoki* that says it ‘records the origins of more than one hundred and eighty *omi no muraji*, *tomo no miyatsuko*, *kuni no miyatsuko* and public servants’ is currently thought to be a note about this *Kokki*. Assuming that to be the case, the reference reveals a deliberate attempt to systematise the genealogies of not only the *omi no muraji* and *tomo no miyatsuko*, the aristocratic families at the centre of Yamato government, but also those of the *kuni no miyatsuko*, the hereditary local powerful gentry in the provinces. In the event, this historiographic project was not completed at that time but was deferred until the reign of Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–686 CE). Nevertheless, it was deeply significant, insofar as the work was to systematise the concept of service linking the various local groups—that had hitherto existed independently—with the centre.

Before this historiographic project commenced, the *kisaichibe* (*kisakibe*) was set up by the court of King Bidatsu for the purpose of financing and serving queens-consort; under Queen Suiko the *mibube* were established to do the same for princes, and *miyake* estates were also founded in each of the provinces. In the entry for Kamuki Sato in *Harima Fudoki*, it says it was originally given the name Mikaochi (“Dropped jug”) during the reign at the Kawachi Takatsu no Ōmiya Palace (i.e., King Nintoku), because Wosada no Kumachi, a distant ancestor of Kisakibe no Yumitori, dropped a jug of oblatory sake here. In the entry for Wogawa Sato, Shikama Kōri, it says it was originally called Kisaki Sato, because in the reign of ‘the king who reigned from the Shikishima palace’ (King Jomei), Tataro no Kimihiro, ancestor of the Kisakibe no Yuzukara, petitioned the king for this land and settled there. These passages might seem to suggest the origins of the *kisakibe*’s service in Harima, but they were not in fact when the *kisakibe* were established but instead they explain the family’s origins to connect them with a particular king.

When the edict for the compilation of *fudoki* was issued in 713 CE, the occupation of the ‘mountains, rivers and grasslands’ (i.e., the land) by aristocratic families closely related to the emperor had become a political issue, so it was deemed necessary to reinforce afresh the relationship between the emperor and the land through the origins of place names. However, *Harima Fudoki* is thought to have been compiled very shortly after the Wadō Order of 713 was issued. So it is possible to interpret the tales of royal progresses within it not merely from the political perspective of the early eighth century, but in the whole context of the historiographical project of the seventh century. That is to say, *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* were not themselves direct sources for *Harima Fudoki*: rather, stories that were not in the royal lineage presented in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* are alive within *Harima Fudoki*, from various stages starting with Queen Suiko’s historiographical project and ending in the chronicles and histories centrally systematised under Emperor Tenmu.

### Table of kings mentioned in *Harima Fudoki*

King/ Queen/ Prince	Kako	Inami	Shikama	Ihibo	Sayo	Shisawa	Kamu- saki	Taka	Kamo	Minagi	Total
Keikō	8	3		1							12
Seimu		1									1
Ritchū										2	2
Chūai		1									1
Jingū			1	5	2						8

<sup>5</sup> Translator’s note: *Kokki*, or *Kunitsufumi*, is mentioned in *Nihon Shoki* as a history of Japan compiled in 620 by Shōtoku Taishi and Soga no Umako, but there are no known extant copies, only quotations in later works.

King/ Queen/ Prince	Kako	Inami	Shikama	Ihiko	Sayo	Shisawa	Kamu- saki	Taka	Kamo	Minagi	Total
Ōjin			14	17	1		6	5	9		52
Uji				1							1
Nintoku			1	3	1				1		6
Ichibe										1	1
Yūryaku			1								1
Kensō										1	1
Ninken										1	1
Ankan				1							1
Kinmei			2								2
Suiko				1							1
Shōtoku		1									1
Kōtoku				1	1	1	1				4
Tenchi					2						2
Tenmu					1						1
<b>Total</b>	8	6	19	30	8	1	7	5	10	5	99