

## Kibi and the Historical Environment of Inamino

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### ‘Inamino’ as a grassland

There is no direct reference to Inamino<sup>1</sup> as a place name in *Harima no Kuni Fudoki*, but it is thought that the mention of a ‘grassland’ at the beginning of the section on Kako *Kōri*, and ‘this grassland’ in Awawa *Sato*, Kako *Kōri*, both refer to Inamino. However, it seems that ‘Inamino’ was extremely familiar as a place name among people in the capital during the Nara and Heian Periods: apart from many poem-songs that mention it in *Man’yōshū*,<sup>2</sup> it was well known as an *uta-makura*<sup>3</sup> place name, and it was the second most-frequently mentioned ‘grassland’ after Sagano<sup>4</sup> in *Makura no Sōshi*.<sup>5</sup>

In the foundational Nara Period text *Shoku Nihongi*,<sup>6</sup> ‘Inamino’ appears as ‘Harima no Kuni Inamino’, ‘Kako no *Kōri* Inamino’, and ‘Inamino Oumi Tongū’ (i.e., ‘temporary palace at Oumi, Inamino’). The location of Oumi is indicated as ‘Akashi *Kōri* Ōmi no *Sato*’ in *Harima Fudoki*, and in *Wamyō Ruijushō*<sup>7</sup> Oumi *Sato* is listed under Akashi *Kōri*, so we know that part of Inamino must have extended into Akashi *Kōri*. In short, Inamino seems to have been thought of as covering a wide area straddling the three *kōri* of Akashi, Inami and Kako. This extent of Inamino accords with the setting of the tale of Nabitsuma (i.e., the tale of Inami no Waki Iratsume and King Keikō), and apart from Inamino’s meaning as a place name, this tale was also recited in verse among the poems of the *Man’yōshū*.

Places recorded as ‘grasslands’ in *Harima Fudoki* were characterised as where there were deities; it was where the king went hunting; and in one part, millet and rice grew, there were houses and accommodation, and comings and goings; it was even at times a scary place; and it was a place where new reclamation for farming was carried out among the hills and hamlets. ‘Inamino’ was also depicted as such a place.

### Archaeological sites in Inamino

The accompanying map shows the distribution of sites in Inamino associated with *Harima Fudoki* from the Kofun Period to the Nara Period. At the centre of the map is the place nowadays called the Inami Plateau, a triangular plateau between the Akashi River in the east, the Kako River in the west, and the Minō River in the north. Kofun–Nara Period sites are concentrated in the low alluvial lands that extend across each of those river valleys, but there are hardly any on top of the Inamino Plateau. There are *kofun* burial mounds around the edges of the plateau, and kilns were constructed where the river valleys cut through the slopes at the margins. The existence of kiln

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<sup>1</sup> Translator’s note: *no* refers to grassland that is still unreclaimed for farming: heath, moor, meadow, etc. Inamino is literally ‘Inami grassland.’

<sup>2</sup> Translator’s note: Japan’s oldest anthology of *waka* style poetry, compiled sometime after 759 CE, containing more than 4,000 poems.

<sup>3</sup> Translator’s note: a place name that was particularly frequently used as a rhetorical device in *waka* poetry.

<sup>4</sup> Translator’s note: present-day Sagano, Ukyō-ku, Kyōto-shi, Kyōto-fu.

<sup>5</sup> Translator’s note: otherwise known as *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*; completed in 1002.

<sup>6</sup> Translator’s note: A Japanese history completed in 797 CE.

<sup>7</sup> Translator’s note: The earliest extant Japanese dictionary of Chinese characters, compiled in 979 CE.

sites indicates that there was sufficient forest nearby to supply firewood for fuel. And the existence of tombs presents an image of ‘grassland’ between a hamlet and the hills, such as at ‘Tamano’ in Kamo *Kōri*. The straight line that cuts across the southern edge of the plateau (see accompanying map) is the route of the ancient San’yōdō road. Post roads were actively constructed by the state, and the locations of archaeological sites and post roads do not directly link. The post stations that were set up along the post roads were established at the eastern and western ends of the plateau, and sites were chosen for them where the view opened up respectively to the east and west.

### **Large *kofun* in the vicinity of Inamino**

Large *kofun* are memorials representing the connections between the Yamato Court and the provinces. That is to say, the appearance of huge burial mounds did not merely indicate an increase in the productive power and authority of a region, but was the result of their construction being approved through connection to the Court, so the observation of trends in large *kofun* in the provinces is instructive of changes in the relationship between the Yamato Court and the regions. The following table shows trends in large *kofun*.

Although the oldest keyhole mounds in Inamino are not as large as those in central and western Harima, the construction of comparatively large keyhole mounds of about 100 metres in length continued after the construction of Hirehaka in the middle of the early Kofun Period, and together formed the Hioka Kofun cluster. A bronze mirror (*sankakuen shinjūkyō*: triangular rimmed bronze mirror decorated with gods and animals) was found here, and is evidence that this area maintained a stable relationship with the Yamato centre. Moreover, there are no examples in other parts of Harima in which large mounds continued to be constructed likewise in the early Kofun Period, so this is a peculiarity of the Inamino area.

When construction of the Saijō Kofun cluster began thereafter, starting with Gyōjazuka Kofun, large mounds ceased to be built in the Hioka Kofun cluster. This phenomenon—of a shift in the location of such large mound clusters—can also be seen among the tombs of the Yamato kings. That is to say, the building of large mounds in the southeastern part of the Yamato Basin that had commenced with Hashihaka Kofun later shifted to the northern Yamato Basin, and later still to Kawachi. The shift from the Hioka cluster to the Saijō cluster occurred around the same time as the shift of Yamato tombs to Kawachi, so the changes in the Inamino district were probably the result of changes within the Yamato government. In Harima, Danjōzan Kofun (Himeji-shi) and Tamaoka Kofun (Kasai-shi) were erected at about the same time as Gyōjazuka Kofun. Both of these were constructed in places that until then had had no large-scale burial mounds, and judging by the fact that they used rectangular stone chest coffins that are said to have been the prerogative of Yamato kings, there must have been some kind of royal approval for their appearance on the scene. Also, the existence of subsidiary mounds there—which are not a feature of the Hioka Kofun cluster—suggests that there had been the development of stratification and greater organisation among the local provincial society. In Danjōzan Kofun, especially, rectangular stone chest coffins were used even in the subsidiary mounds, so it is thought that those who were interred in them controlled the stone quarries (in Takasago-shi) for Tatsuyama stone (rhyolitic tuff, the stone used in the manufacture of rectangular chest coffins) at the southern edge of Inamino, and that they were involved in the stonemason work and its haulage with the backing of the Yamato Court.

### **Inamino and Kibi**

There are tales concerning Kibi Province in the Inami *Kōri* section of *Harima Fudoki*, but what archaeological evidence is there for a connection with Kibi? At the time of construction of Gyōjazuka and Danjōzan, there were two large keyhole-shaped burial mounds being built in Kibi, both called Tsukuriyama: one was Tsukuriyama Kofun (造山: see photograph) on a scale with tombs of Yamato kings, and the other Tsukuriyama Kofun (作山) was also a large mound. The burial chambers and grave goods for both of these are unknown. However, the stone coffin placed in the top of the mound of the former did not use Tatsuyama stone but was a hollowed-out (*kurinukishiki*) stone coffin made at Aso in Kyūshū, that was modelled on assembled stone chest coffins. Later, the use of the same stone eventually appeared throughout Inamino, Bizen (southeastern Okayama Prefecture) and Bitchū (western Okayama Prefecture) from the late fifth century onwards. We start to see rectangular stone chest coffins of Tatsuyama stone and Iwami-type shield-shaped *haniwa* (*Iwami-gata tategata haniwa*) in Bizen (see photograph), and from the

seventh century in Bitchū the appearance of house-shaped stone coffins and stone burial chambers in Tatsuyama stone. I would like to draw attention to the period in which materials common to both the Kibi and Inamino districts appeared in relation to the legends of the Kibi rebellion and the Kojima *Miyake*.

Inamino, being located between the Kinai region and the western provinces, contributed to the Yamato state from early on. We start to see similar sources to those in Kibi appearing from the late fifth century onwards, and the background to that was probably connected with the Kibi rebellion described in the section on King Yūryaku in *Nihon Shoki*, and the involvement of the Yamato Court in Kibi thereafter. If that is the case, the Inamino district served as a transit post for the Yamato Court to the western provinces: that was probably why the legend of Kibi was recorded in *Harima Fudoki*.