

## Eastern Harima and Western Settsu: the ancient history of the Harima–Settsu provincial border region

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### Yunoyama Kaidō and an H-shaped transportation route

The extant *Harima Fudoki* is missing the section on Akashi *Kōri*, so we cannot look to it for entries on the Akashi side of the boundary zone between Harima and Settsu Provinces (hereafter referred to as eastern Harima, western Settsu or the Harima–Settsu border), except in *Fudoki itsubun (fragmenta)*. There are plenty of historical documents about the marine transportation routes along the coast of Ōsaka Bay, and what immediately comes to mind as a route across the Harima–Settsu border is the Sanyōdō Road; but there were other routes apart from those. Let us explore the regional characteristics of the Harima–Settsu border, focusing on land transportation, and the historical characteristics that these overland routes brought about in this area.

The Sanyōdō later became the main road, but the inland route passing east–west on the northern flanks of the Rokkō Mountains is also noteworthy in the history of eastern Harima and western Settsu, as represented by the Yunoyama Kaidō (also known as the Yuyama Kaidō). It started from Koya in Settsu Province, crossed the Muko River at Namaze, passed through Funasaka alongside the Ōtata River, and led to Arima no Yu (hot spring). FUJIWARA Teika went along this road to take the cure at Arima (*Meigetsuki*).<sup>1</sup> From Arima westwards the road forked to Misaka in Minagi *Kōri*, Harima Province, via the Awakawa route or the Yamada route. And the Yunoyama Kaidō led to Kunikane on the Kako River, passing through the lands of the ancient Shijimi *Miyake* (rice estate).

There was also a route from Arima Hot Spring down the Arima River to Yamaguchi. According to a later source from the Nanbokuchō period,<sup>2</sup> the route that Kensen, former priest (*shigyō*) of Gion Shrine in Kyōto, took went from Arima Hot Spring to Hiromine Shrine in Himeji, through Yamaguchi, Hata, Dōjō, Ibarā, Kōzu and Yokawa, and then crossed the Kako River (*Gion Shake Kiroku*).<sup>3</sup> This journey followed the Arima River, Arino River and Nagao River: tributaries of the Muko River. Judging by the fact that pottery inscribed in ink with the word ‘*kōri*’ (評) was excavated at the Ibarā Archaeological Site on the south bank of the Nagao River, Ibarā was one of the main centres of Arima *Kōri* in ancient times. Kensen crossed the Harima–Settsu border at Akamatsu Pass. Nagao Shrine at the source of the Nagao River is near to Akamatsu Pass, while the Minō River starts from Ōsawa in Kita-ku, Kōbe-shi. The route along the Nagao and Minō Rivers links the Muko River system with the Kako River system inland, entering Yokawa from the Akamatsu Pass.

So although the Kako River and the Muko River catchment areas emanate from Tanba and run north–south, they form an inland east–west route via their respective tributaries that flow through the Harima–Settsu border district. These east–west inland routes and north–south river valley routes connect the Harima–Settsu border zone; and if you went northward up the north–south route, you could reach the Heian capital (i.e., Kyōto) through Tanba Province. In understanding the history of this region, medieval historian Tetsu ICHIZAWA has dubbed these north–south and east–west routes as ‘H-shaped transportation routes,’ and he argues that the topographical locations of the Fukuhara capital of the Minamoto clan, and Yamada-shō Manor, in the Genpei Wars and Nanbokuchō Uprisings respectively, should be understood in terms of the importance of the Inami Plain terraces. In this way analysis of the regional control of the ancient

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<sup>1</sup> Translator’s note: ‘*The Record of the Clear Moon*,’ by man of letters FUJIWARA Sadaie/Teika, a diary compiled 1180–1235.

<sup>2</sup> Translator’s note: 1336–1392.

<sup>3</sup> Translator’s note: ca. 1343.

Harima–Settsu border district in connection with central government and the political history of the centre is instructive.

### The uppermost reaches of the Muko and Ina Rivers

So an inland H-shaped transportation route linking the Kako and Muko River systems has been observed for the medieval period, but also the Muko River system and the Ina River system form another important inland H-shaped transportation route. The shrine names listed in the Shrine Name Register of Volumes 9 and 10 of *Engishiki* (927 CE) offer a clue to their ancient modality. Three are listed for Arima *Kōri* in Settsu Province: Yu Shrine, Kukura Shrine and Arima Shrine. These are all located along the Muko River tributaries in Arima *Kōri* as explained above, and they probably reflected the local transportation routes. There is a place name origin tale in *Settsu Fudoki Itsubun* regarding this route, to the effect that the mountain where timber was taken for building the temporary palace when King Kōtoku visited ‘Shio no Yu’ (Arima Hot Spring), being a ‘meritorious mountain’, was called Kuchi Mountain (Mt. Kumuchi). Apparently Mt. Kumuchi was located in Yamaguchi-chō, Nishinomiya-shi, along the Arima River, and nowadays there is a Kuchi Shrine at Shimoyamaguchi.

Misaka Shrine in Minagi *Kōri*, Harima Province, is at a strategic point on the Yunoyama Kaidō. If we direct our attention to the shrines inland on the Settsu side of the Harima–Settsu border district, *Engishiki* lists Takamefu, Kamo, Tabuto, Obe and Mefu Shrines in Kawabe *Kōri*; and Kine, Kusasa and Noma Shrines in Nose *Kōri*. The Kusasa land was in the catchment of the Ōroji River (i.e., the ‘Kusasa River’ which will be explained later)—meaning the upper reaches of the Ina River.<sup>4</sup> The entry for the 17th year of Yūryaku in *Nihon Shoki* mentions ‘Kusasa *Mura* in Settsu Province.’ It says that there were *bemin* (service groups) under the supervision of the Haji family, who were present in various places including Uji and Fushimi in Yamashiro Province, and in Ise, Tanba, Tajima and Inaba Provinces: they were particularly selected and were established as a producer group called the Nie no Hajibe (‘tableware potters’), who made the pottery utensils for serving food at the king’s table. The reason why these particular groups were singled out from among the Hajibe, who were dispersed throughout the regions and were involved in funerary rites, and also the reason for the connection between Ise Province and Fushimi and Uji in Yamashiro Province, can be found in an entry in *Nihon Shoki* (the entry prior to Kinmei’s accession)<sup>5</sup> which recalls that the head of the Hata family was travelling back and forth between Fushimi and Ise. It is plausible that he had a connection also with Tajima and Inaba Provinces through Tanba, via the land at Kusasa in the uppermost reaches of the Ina River.

Tabuto Shrine and Obe Shrine in Kawabe *Sato* were in the Ina River valley; and Takamefu Shrine is thought to have been located in the valley of the Hatsuka River, a tributary of the Muko River, but its source was the Shitsu River in Tanba. The Hatsuka River flowed near Mt. Kashita, which was also called ‘Hatsukayama’ as a *makura kotoba* (pillow word) in poetry, and rose on the provincial boundary between Settsu and Tanba. Likewise, tributaries of the Muko River, including the catchments of the Hazu and Yamada Rivers, formed an east–west corridor (at present the Kawanishi–Sanda Prefectural Road), which cut north–south across the *kōri* boundary between Arima *Kōri* in Settsu Province and Kawabe *Kōri*.

Among historical documents rich in tales of the Ina River valley there is *Sumiyoshi Taisha Jindaiki* (or *Sumiyoshi Taisha Ge*) (*Records of the Age of the Gods from Sumiyoshi Grand Shrine*). It is dated Tenpyō 3 (731), but it is thought that it was more likely compiled in the early Heian Period. Nevertheless, it contains information that is in neither *Kojiki* nor *Nihon Shoki*. For example, there is a geographical description of the Ina River basin: to the east of the upper reaches of the Ina and Kizu Rivers was the Kusasa River, and to the west was the Bidono River. It says that their confluence was at Uneno, and then the river flowed alongside ‘Mt. Kinohe’ (possibly present-day Kibe in Ikeda-shi) in Teshima *Kōri*; and the northern boundary of ‘Mt. Ina’ (also called Mt. Sakane) in Kawabe *Kōri* on the west bank adjoined ‘Hatsukashi no kuni’ (‘the land of Hatsukashi’). ‘Mt. Sakane’ is the site of Sakane Archaeological Site, where the remains of Eikonji *Haji* (late 6th

<sup>4</sup> Translator’s note: Japanese rivers often have several names between source and mouth, depending on the stretch of the river in question.

<sup>5</sup> Translator’s note: King Kinmei (509–571), r. 539–571. The *Nihon Shoki* entry presumably refers to 539.

century Buddhist Temple) and a building with a large central wooden pillar (*ōgata hottate-bashira*) were revealed, located on the river terrace to the north of JR Nishi Ikeda Station. The Bidono River refers to the present-day Mutsuse River, the name given to the upper reaches of the Ina River, where it flows along the Sasayama Kaidō Road; and the Kusasa River valley (nowadays the Hitokura Ōroji River) is the location of the aforementioned Kusasa Shrine. From this record we learn that the Hazu River valley was the linking point between the uppermost reaches of the Ina River and the Arima district, and that it had the geographical designation of ‘the land of Hatsukashi’. This formed an H-shaped transportation route that went through the Muko and Ina River systems.

### **The boundary zones between Harima, Settsu and Tanba Provinces**

There is also the ‘*Funagi Hongi*’ entry in *Sumiyoshi Taisha Jindaiki*, which relates the history of the ancestors of the Funagi no Muraji family, emphasising that their territory was Somayama in Hashikayama in Kamo *Kōri* in Harima Province: the ancestors of the Funagi family are said to have lived in the Akashi River valley and were ‘shrine households’ attached to Sumiyoshi Grand Shrine. Hashika *Sato* appears in the Kamo *Kōri* section of *Harima Fudoki*, and there is a story about the perambulations of the Great Deity of Sumiyoshi in the entry for Kafuchi *Sato* in the same *kōri*.

When we take into consideration the spread of the above-mentioned Nie no Hajibe, along with the east–west route between the upper reaches of the Inase and Muko Rivers, we can appreciate the development in ancient times of the provincial boundaries of Settsu, Harima and Tanba that straddle the Akashi and Kako River systems.