

Development and Dispersal Process of Ancient Japanese Clan

Masanobu SUZUKI

Abstract

In ancient Japan, how did the Yamato Kingdom (大和政権) form? In order to research this question, I studied the Ōmiwa clan (大神氏). This clan served the Yamato Kingdom and took charge of religious services in ancient times. The clan was one of the most powerful ancient Japanese clans. Therefore, knowledge of how the imperial family and the Ōmiwa clan are related is indispensable for understanding the nature of the politics of the Yamato Kingdom. Furthermore, it is indispensable for understanding the process of forming the Japanese nation in ancient times.

In this paper, I extracted place names, Shinto shrine names, and clan names related to the “Miwa” (神, 三輪) or “Ōmiwa” (大神, 大三輪) from ancient historical documents. I found that they were distributed throughout almost all of the islands in ancient Japan, and some of the clans overlapped geographically. If we now find a related place name or Shinto shrine name, it is likely that related people who the Ōmiwa clan controlled lived there in ancient times. The Yamato Kingdom sent troops to or advanced into western and eastern Japan or foreign countries, so ancient people learned about the Ōmiwa god (大三輪神). They then established shrines for worshipping that god as a war god, and the Miwa clan (神氏), the Miwahito clan (神人氏), the Miwahitobe clan (神人部氏), and the Miwabe clan (神部氏) were established in various places in Japan to worship the god according to the local ruling systems of the Yamato Kingdom, including the Hito system (人制), the Bemin system (部民制), and the Kokuzō system (国造制).

1 Introduction

In ancient Japan, how did the Yamato Kingdom (大和政権) form? In order to research this question, I studied the Ōmiwa clan (大神氏). This clan served the Yamato Kingdom and took charge of religious services in ancient times. The clan was one of the most powerful ancient Japanese clans. Therefore, knowledge of how the imperial family and the Ōmiwa clan are related is indispensable for understanding the nature of the politics of the Yamato Kingdom. Furthermore, it is indispensable for understanding the process of forming the Japanese nation in ancient times.

In my previously published book, I examined the constitution of the Ōmiwa clan (Suzuki 2014). The Ōmiwa clan consisted of head lineage and cognate clans. In addition to these clans, the Ōmiwa clan had relationships with many other clans. In various places in Japan, there were clans that had “Miwa” (神, 三輪) or “Ōmiwa” (大神, 大三輪) in their names: the Miwa clan (神氏), the Miwahito clan (神人氏), the Miwahi-

tobe clan (神人部氏), and the Miwabe clan (神部氏). These clans were also an important element of the Ōmiwa clan. I collectively refer to all of these clans as the Ōmiwa clan⁽¹⁾.

In this paper, I analyze the process of the dispersal of the Ōmiwa clan, and I investigate the historical background of these clan’s distribution throughout the Japanese islands.

2 Circumstances of dispersal throughout Japan

First, I extracted the following place names thought to be related to “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa” from ancient historical materials.

Kinai⁽²⁾ (畿内)

- Miwa Village (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- Ōmiwa Village (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- Ōmiwa Village (Arima County, Settsu Province)

- ・ Ōmiwa Village (Kawabe County, Settsu Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Ōtori County, Izumi Province)
 - ・ Kamitsumiwa Village (Ōtori County, Izumi Province)
- Tōkaidō⁽³⁾ (東海道)
- ・ Miwa Village (Nakashima County, Owari Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Yana County, Mikawa Province)
 - ・ Ōmiwa Village (Hamana County, Tōtōumi Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Abe County, Suruga Province)
 - ・ Ōmiwa Village (Niihari County, Hitachi Province)
 - ・ Ōmiwa Station (Niihari County, Hitachi Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Kuji County, Hitachi Province)
- Tōsandō⁽⁴⁾ (東山道)
- ・ Miwa Village (Kamo County, Mino Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Mushirota County, Mino Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Ōno County, Mino Province)
 - ・ Ōmiwa Village (Ōno County, Mino Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Suwa County, Shinano Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Nasu County, Shimotsuke Province)
- Sanindō⁽⁴⁾ (山陰道)
- ・ Miwa Village (Hikami County, Tanba Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Ōmi County, Inaba Province)
 - ・ Kazuwa Village (Kume County, Hōki Province)
 - ・ Shimotsuwa Village, Kume County, Hōki Province)
- Sanyodō⁽⁶⁾ (山陽道)
- ・ Miwa Village (Kamo County, Harima Province)
 - ・ Ōmiwa Village (Kamo County, Harima Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Tomahigashi County, Mimasaka Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Ōba County, Mimasaka Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Kuboya County, Bicchū Province)
 - ・ Miwa Village (Kumage County, Suō Province)
- Saikaidō⁽⁷⁾ (西海道)

- ・ Ōmiwa Village (Yamato County, Chikushi Province)
- ・ Ōmiwa Village (Hayami County, Bungo Province)

Next, I extracted the following Shinto shrines thought to be related to the “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa” from the *Engishiki-Jinmyōchō*⁽⁸⁾ (延喜式神名帳) and older historical materials.

Kinai (畿内)

- ・ The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- ・ The Sai-jinja Shrine (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- ・ The Miwanimasuhimuka-jinja Shrine (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- ・ The Isagawa-jinja Shrine (Sōnokami County, Yamato Province)
- ・ The Isagawaawa-jinja Shrine (Sōnokami County, Yamato Province)
- ・ The Miwatakayasu-jinja Shrine (Kawachi Province)
- ・ The Tōsen-jinja Shrine (Arima County, Settsu Province)

Tōkaidō (東海道)

- ・ The Kuni-jinja Shrine (Ōtori County, Izumi Province)
- ・ The Ōwa-jinja Shrine (Iitaka County, Ise Province)
- ・ The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Asake County, Ise Province)
- ・ The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Nakashima County, Owari Province)
- ・ The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Hamana County, Tōtōumi Province)
- ・ The Miwayama-jinja Shrine (Hamana County, Tōtōumi Province)
- ・ The Miwabe-jinja Shrine (Abe County, Suruga Province)
- ・ The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Mashizu County, Suruga Province)
- ・ The Miwabe-jinja Shrine (Yamanashi County, Kai Province)
- ・ The Miwabe-jinja Shrine (Koma County, Kai Province)

Tōsandō (東山道)

- ・ The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Tagi County, Mino Province)
- ・ The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Minochi County, Shi-

nano Province)

- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Yamada County, Kōzuke Province)
- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Nasu County, Shimotsuke Province)
- The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Tsuge County, Shimotsuke Province)

Hokurikudō⁽⁹⁾ (北陸道)

- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Onyū County, Wakasa Province)
- The Ōmiwanoshimosaki-jinja Shrine (Tsuruga County, Echizen Province)
- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Kaga County, Kaga Province)
- The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Kubiki County, Echigo Province)

Sanindō (山陰道)

- The Awaga-jinja Shrine (Asako County, Tajima Province)
- The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Kono County, Inaba Province)
- The Ōgamiyama-jinja Shrine (Aimi County, Hōki Province)
- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Aimi County, Hōki Province)

Sanyodō (山陽道)

- The Ōyamatonomonoshironushi-jinja Shrine (Shisawa County, Harima Province)
- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Ōku County, Bizen Province)
- The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Kamitsumichi County, Bizen Province)
- The Miwa-jinja Shrine (Shimotsumichi County, Bicchū Province)
- The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Bingo Province)

Nankaidō⁽¹⁰⁾ (南海道)

- The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Nakata County, Awa Province)

Saikaidō (西海道)

- The Ōnamuchi-jinja Shrine (Yasu County, Chikuzen Province)

Finally, I extracted the names of the following clans thought to be related to the “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa” from ancient historical materials.

Kinai (畿内)

- The Miwa clan (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- The Ōmiwa clan (Shikinokami County, Yamato

Province)

- The Miwa-no-Hikita clan (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Hikita clan (Shikinokami County, Yamato Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Hata clan (Takaichi County, Yamato Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Makamuta clan (Takaichi County, Yamato Province)
- The Miwa clan (Otagi County, Yamashiro Province)
- The Miwa-no-Kurukuma clan (Kuze County, Yamashiro Province)
- The Miwa-no Miyabe clan (Uji County, Yamashiro Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Yamashiro Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Nose County, Settsu Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Ōyosami clan (Sumiyoshi County, Settsu Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Settsu Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kawachi Province)
- The Miwa clan (Izumi Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Izumi Province)

Tōkaidō (東海道)

- The Miwahitobe clan (Ano County, Ise Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Hakuri County, Owari Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Chita County, Owari Province)
- The Miwa clan (Hamana County, Tōtōmi Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Hamana County, Tōtōmi Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Hamana County, Tōtōmi Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Tagata County, Izu Province)
- The Ōmiwa clan (Ōsumi County, Sagami Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Musashi Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Hitachi Province)

Tōsandō (東山道)

- The Miwahito clan (Inugami County, Ōmi Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Ōmi Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kamo County, Mino Prov-

ince)

- The Miwahitobe clan (Kamo County, Mino Province)
- The Miwa clan (Ōno County, Mino Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Ōno County, Mino Province)
- The Miwa clan (Yamagata County, Mino Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Yamagata County, Mino Province)
- The Miwa clan (Kagamu County, Mino Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kagamu County, Mino Province)
- The Ōmiwa clan (Ahachima County, Mino Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Takai County, Shinano Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Hanishina County, Shinano Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Tone County, Kōzuke Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kuruma County, Kōzuke Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kōzuke Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Mutsu Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Dewa Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Dewa Province)

Hokurikudō (北陸道)

- The Ōmiwa clan (Tsuruga County, Echizen Province)
- The Miwa clan (Tsuruga County, Echizen Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Tsuruga County, Echizen Province)
- The Ōmiwabe clan (Tsuruga County, Echizen Province)
- The Miwa clan (Enuma County, Kaga Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Enuma County, Kaga Province)
- The Ōmiwa clan (Kaga Province)
- The Miwa clan (Ecchū Province)
- The Miwa clan (Echigo Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Echigo Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Echigo Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kamo County, Sado Province)

Sanindō (山陰道)

- The Miwahito clan (Hikami County, Tanba Province)
- The Miwa clan (Tanba Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Tanba Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Tanba Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Kumano County, Tango Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Asako County, Tajima Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Izushi County, Tajima Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Keta County, Inaba Province)
- The Miwa clan (Takakusa County, Inaba Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Takakusa County, Inaba Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Inaba Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Kando County, Izumo Province)
- The Miwa-no-Hakishi clan (Shimane County, Izumo Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Hakishi clan (Shimane County, Izumo Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Hakishi clan (Ou County, Izumo Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Ou County, Izumo Province)
- The Miwa clan (Ōchi County, Iwami Province)
- The Ikuwa-no-Ōmiwa clan (Ōchi County, Iwami Province)

Sanyodō (山陽道)

- The Miwahito clan (Shisawa County, Harima Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Shisawa County, Harima Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Ibo County, Harima Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Ako County, Harima Province)
- The Ōmiwa clan (Harima Province)
- The Miwa clan (Ōba County, Mimasaka Province)
- The Miwa clan (Kuboya County, Bicchū Province)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Kuboya County, Bicchū Province)

- The Miwabe clan (Asakuchi County, Bicchū Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Naka County, Suō Province)
- The Ōmiwa clan (Nagato Province)
- The Ōmiwabe clan (Nagato Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Nagato Province)
- The Shimotsumiwabe clan (Nagato Province)

Nankaidō (南海道)

- The Miwahitobe clan (Mihara County, Awaji Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Yamada County, Sanuki Province)

Saikaidō (西海道)

- The Ōgabe clan (Shima County, Chikuzen Province)
- The Ōga clan (Naka County, Chikuzen Province)
- The Ōgabe clan (Naka County, Chikuzen Province)
- The Ōgabe clan (Yasu County, Chikuzen Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Chikuzen Province)
- The Ōgabe clan (Nakatsu County, Buzen Province)
- The Ōmiwa-no-Shimotota clan (Miyako County, Buzen Province)
- The Ōga clan (Usa County, Buzen Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Usa County, Buzen Province)
- The Ōga clan (Bungo Province)
- The Miwa clan (Takaku County, Hizen Province)
- The Ōgabe clan (Hizen Province)
- The Miwahito clan (Hizen Province)
- The Miwabe clan (Takaki County, Satsuma Province)

Others

- The Miwa clan (Locations unknown)
- The Miwahitobe clan (Locations unknown)

Based on these lists, I make two observations. First, the place names, Shinto shrine names, and clan names thought to be related to the “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa” were distributed throughout the Japanese islands rather than limited to a specific district. Second, some place names, Shinto shrine names, and clan names overlap. For example, in Hamana County, Tōtōumi Province⁽¹⁾ (遠江国浜名郡), there was an Ōmiwa Village (大神

郷). In addition, the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (大神神社) and the Miwayama-jinja Shrine (弥和山神社) were in this county. Furthermore, the Miwa, Miwahito, and Miwahitobe clans lived in this county, too. Considering these examples, the distributions of place names, Shinto shrine names, and clan names were likely related (Ikebe 1972). Even if only the place name remains now, the Ōmiwa clan is more likely to have resided there in ancient times. In the same way, even if only the Shinto shrine remains, the shrine was likely erected by the Ōmiwa clan, who lived there in ancient times.

3 Advancement to western Japan and to foreign countries

How did the Ōmiwa clan disperse across the Japanese islands? In regard to this point, previous researchers have made much of the distribution of Shinto shrines. Takehiko Abe (阿部武彦) argues that, when the Yamato Kingdom sent troops to eastern and western Japan and to the Korean Peninsula (朝鮮半島), the soldiers worshiped the Ōmiwa god. Therefore, the Ōmiwa clan was dispatched to various places (Abe 1975). Atsumu Wada (和田萃) makes this point, as well. He notes that the Ōmiwa god was a “war god,” so the Ōmiwa god was enshrined when the Yamato Kingdom sent troops to eastern Japan. Accordingly, the Ōmiwa clan was dispatched to worship the Ōmiwa god in various places (Wada 1985). Many researchers support this theory (Maekawa 1986, Maeda 2006). I confirm the legends that are the basis for this theory.

At first, I examine the legends about the advancement of the Yamato Kingdom to western Japan and to foreign countries. They are as follows.

Article 1: 『日本書紀』神功皇后撰政前紀

(The record before the enthronement of Empress Jingū,⁽²⁾ *Nihonshoki*)

令=諸国-、集=船舶-練=兵甲-。時軍卒難=集。皇后曰、必神心焉、則立=大三輪社-、以奉=刀矛-矣。軍衆自聚。

Article 2: 『筑前国風土記』逸文

(The surviving fragments of *Chikuzennokuni-Fudoki*⁽³⁾)

氣長足姬尊、欲=伐=新羅-。整=理軍士-、發行之間、道中遁亡。占=求其由-、即有=崇神-。名曰=大三輪神-。所以樹=此神社-、遂平=新羅-。

In Article 1, Empress Jingū (神功皇后) tries to

send troops to Silla (新羅) but cannot gather the soldiers. She blames her failure on the curse of the Ōmiwa god. Then, she worships the Ōmiwa god and dedicates a sword and a pike. As a result, she succeeds in gathering soldiers.

The contents of Article 2 are similar to those of Article 1. In this article, Empress Jingū sends troops to Silla, but her soldiers escape. Then, she worships the Ōmiwa god, so she succeeds in conquering Silla.

Empress Jingū established the Ōnamuchi-jinja Shrine⁽¹⁴⁾ (於保奈牟智神社) at the place where she had worshiped the Ōmiwa god. It is listed in *Engishiki-Jinmyōchō*. Researchers have said that the Ōmiwa god had many characterizations (Ikeda 1971, Wada 1985). I rearrange the characterizations, such as the mountain and forest god, the god of light, the thunder god, the god of snakes, the god of curses, the god who marries a human woman, the clan deity, the war god, the national guardian deity, and so on. Of course, I acknowledge that one characterization among them—that of the war god—attracted attention and worship from ancient people during wartime. However, these multiple characterizations are indivisible from each other. Ancient people viewed the god as multilayered.

In Article 2, the Ōmiwa god is obviously presented as a god of curses. However, settling the curse led the troops to success. Therefore, the Ōmiwa god was both the god of curses and the war god. It is clear that the Ōmiwa god was presented as a war god in this article, even if the characterization was not clearly explained.

No member of the Ōmiwa clan appears in this article. However, in another legend, when Empress Jingū sends troops to Silla, the Suminoe gods⁽¹⁵⁾ (住吉神) haunt the empress. At that time, Tamoni-no-Sukune (田裳見宿禰), the ancestor of the Tsumori clan (津守氏), suggests that she conduct a religious service⁽¹⁶⁾. The Tsumori clan provided the Shinto priest for the Suminoe-taisha Shrine⁽¹⁷⁾ (住吉大社) and worshiped the Suminoe gods.

In addition, when Prince Kume (来目皇子) was dispatched to Silla in the era of Empress Suiko⁽¹⁸⁾ (推古天皇), Mononobe-no-Wakamiyabe (物部若宮部) enshrined Futsunushi-no-Kami (経津主神) on the way. The Mononobe clan (物部氏) worshiped the god.

In these legends, when a Shinto shrine is established or a religious service is conducted, a member of the clan that worships that god takes charge. Recent

research suggests that Empress Jingū was a fictional character, so the precise date of sending troops is unknown. However, the people of the Ōmiwa clan participated in the sending of troops at a certain ancient date, and they established the Ōnamuchi-jinja Shrine in Chikuzen Province.

Article 3: 『続日本紀』天平九年 (七三七) 四月乙巳条

(Isshi, April, the ninth year of Tenpyō [737], *Shokunihongi*)

遣=使於伊勢神宮、大神社、筑紫住吉・八幡二社及香椎宮、奉幣、以告=新羅无礼之状。

In Article 3, the government offers Heihaku⁽¹⁹⁾ (幣帛) to the Ise-jingū Grand Shrine⁽²⁰⁾ (伊勢神宮), the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine, the Chikushi-Suminoe-jinja Shrine⁽²¹⁾ (住吉神社), the Usa-jingū Shrine⁽²²⁾ (宇佐神宮), and the Kashii-gū Shrine⁽²³⁾ (香椎宮) and reports Silla's rudeness. At that time, Silla had restored its diplomatic relationship with the Tang Dynasty (唐) and insisted on equal diplomatic relations with Japan. The Japanese envoy to Silla⁽²⁴⁾ (遣新羅使) reported Silla's rudeness to the emperor. The government discussed diplomatic policy⁽²⁵⁾. Some government officials insisted that the government should dispatch a messenger to Silla and question them closely or severely. Some government officials insisted that the government should send troops to Silla⁽²⁶⁾. In response, the government dedicated Heihaku to these shrines.

Among these shrines, listed in Article 3, the Ise-jingū Grand Shrine enshrined Amaterasu-Ōmikami (天照大神), the ancestor of the Imperial Family. The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine and the Chikushi-Suminoe-jinja Shrine appeared in the legend of sending troops in the era of Empress Jingū. The Usa-jingū Shrine and Kashii-gū Shrine enshrined Empress Jingū. Ancient people believed that these Shinto shrines could provide a miracle for the dispatch of troops. The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine was included among those shrines.

Article 4: 『粟鹿大明神元記』太多彦命尻付 (The part of Ōtatahiko in *Awagadaimyōjinganki*⁽²⁷⁾)

右多太彦、磯城瑞籬宮御宇初国所知御間城入彦五十瓊殖天皇御世、国々荒振人等令=平服。以=大国主神術魂・荒(魂脱カ)、召著=於梓・楯・大刀・鏡、遣=於西国。于時、初貢=男女之調物。即但馬国朝来郡粟鹿村宿住矣也。

Article 5: 『粟鹿大明神元記』奥書

(The postscript of *Awagadaimyōjinganki*)

右、根闍氏大明神天美佐利命者、神氏最初之天降人、皇治化之崇基也。此境山陰道、但馬州朝來郡粟鹿郷也。余時、山海混沌、煙雲闇靄。庶民漸事=人王、神靈未=入=皇歸。吾親皇命、振固洲天下御坐。名曰=粟鹿大明神也。花夷未=頌之時、荊樹点=瑞之處、天下俄陰、霖雨久洪水、饑餓疾癘、生者流亡。時焉、朝廷驚奇、便下勅=宣天文陰(陽脱カ)家、勘奏占諮。大田彦(大國主命カ)子天美佐利、依=未=受=公崇、忽致=此怪災也云々。仍下=勅宣、忽建=宝殿、十二箇所別社、神戸二烟、神田七十五町五段百八十步、則定=神立(直カ)氏、并祝部氏請=下大和國大神明神氏人等也。

In Article 4, Emperor Sujin⁽²⁸⁾ (崇神天皇) dispatches Ōtatahiko (太多彦命) to western Japan to conquer people in the era of Emperor Sujin, and after the campaign, Ōtatahiko lives in Awaga Village, Asako County, Tajima Province⁽²⁹⁾ (但馬國朝來郡粟鹿郷). When he is dispatched, he brings a pike, a shield, a sword, and a mirror. The Sumemitama (術魂) and Aramitama⁽³⁰⁾ (荒魂) of Ōkuninushi-no-Kami⁽³¹⁾ (大國主神) haunted these holy treasures. Ōtatahiko was the ancestor of the Miwabe clan. This clan was based in Tajima Province and enshrined the Awaga-jinja Shrine⁽³²⁾ (粟鹿神社). In ancient legends, many troops carried holy treasures haunted by gods⁽³³⁾. This was a common custom practiced widely in the ancient ages.

In Article 5, a natural disaster has occurred and plague is rife. A fortune-teller says that the god Amemisari-no-Mikoto (天美佐利命), who is enshrined in the Awaga-jinja Shrine, complains that the government did not conduct religious services for him, so he has cursed the people. After receiving this report, the government mends the main hall of the shrine, dedicates parishioners and rice fields to the shrine, and appoints and settles the Shinto priest of the shrine. Furthermore, the government commands the Ōmiwa clan to dispatch their shrine parishioners from the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine in Yamato Province⁽³⁴⁾ (大和國) to the Awaga-jinja Shrine. It is important that shrine parishioners are dispatched from the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine, not another shrine. To quiet the curse, the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine is chosen from among many other Shinto shrines.

These legends of *Awagadaimyōjinganki* may partially include a fiction created by the succeeding generations. However, not all of the contents of these legends are regarded as fiction. That the ancestor of

the Miwabe clan was dispatched to western Japan, brought the holy treasures haunted by gods, and lived in Tajima Province and that the Ōmiwa clan dispatched their shrine parishioners from the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine to the Awaga-jinja Shrine are thought to be historical facts.

Considering the above-mentioned articles, the Ōmiwa god was considered a war god, and ancient people worshiped the Ōmiwa god when troops were dispatched.

4 Advancement to eastern Japan

Next, I examine the legends regarding the expansion of the Yamato Kingdom into eastern Japan.

Article 6: 『日本書紀』崇神四十八年正月戊子条 (Boshi, January, forty-eighth year of Emperor Sujin, *Nihonshoki*)

天皇勅=豐城命·活目尊=曰、汝等二子、慈愛共齋。不=知、曷為=嗣。各宜=夢。朕以=夢占之。二皇子、於是、被=命、淨沐而祈寐。各得=夢也。会明、兄豐城命以=夢辞=奏=于天皇=曰、自登=御諸山=向=東、而八廻弄槍、八廻擊刀。弟活目尊以=夢辞=奏言、自登=御諸山之嶺、繩=緜=四方、逐=食=粟雀。則天皇相夢、謂=二子=曰、兄則一片向=東。当治=東國。弟是悉臨=四方。宜繼=朕位。

Article 6 is a legend about divination through the interpretation of dreams. Emperor Sujin had two children. The older brother was Toyoki-no-Mikoto (豐城命), and the younger brother was Ikume-no-Mikoto (活目尊). The emperor could not decide which of the two to make his successor. The emperor conducted a divination through an interpretation of dreams. The brothers performed a purification ceremony and slept. The next morning, they reported the dream that they had had. Toyoki said that he climbed Mt. Miwa (三輪山), faced east, pricked a spear to the east eight times, and brandished a sword to the east eight times. Ikume said that he climbed to the top of Mt. Miwa, stretched a rope in all directions, and chased away sparrows that ate foxtail millet. The emperor heard two reports and decided that, because Toyoki faced east, the Emperor commanded Toyoki to dominate eastern Japan. In contrast, Ikume faced in all directions, so the emperor commanded Ikume to succeed to the Imperial Throne.

Although the stage was Mt. Miwa, the Ōmiwa clan and the Ōmiwa god did not appear in the legend. However, the emperor commanded Toyoki to domi-

nate eastern Japan. This shows that pricking a spear and brandishing a sword to the east at Mt. Miwa signaled the legitimacy to dominate eastern Japan. The Ōmiwa god and eastern Japan were related, and the Ōmiwa god played an important role in the advance to eastern Japan.

Article 7: 『日本書紀』景行五十一年八月壬子条 (Jinshi, August, fifty-first year of Emperor Keikō³⁵, *Nihonshoki*)

於是、所獻神宮-蝦夷等、晝夜喧譁、出入無禮。時倭姬命曰、是蝦夷等、不可近就於神宮。則進上於朝庭。仍令安置御諸山傍。未幾幾時、悉伐神山樹、叫呼隣里、而脅人民。天皇聞之、詔群卿曰、其置神山傍之蝦夷。是本有獸心。難住中国。故隨其情願、令班邦畿之外。是今播磨・讚岐・伊予・安芸・阿波、凡五国佐伯部之祖也。

In Article 7, Emishi³⁶ (蝦夷) are dedicated to the Ise-jingū Grand Shrine. However, they make noise day and night and are rude to the shrine. Therefore, the emperor moves them to the foot of Mt. Miwa. However, they immediately cut down the trees of the mountain and threaten the neighborhood residents. Therefore, the emperor moves them to the outskirts of the capital. Eventually, they became the ancestors of the Saekibe (佐伯部), who lived in Harima Province³⁷ (播磨国), Sanuki Province³⁸ (讚岐国), Iyo Province³⁹ (伊予国), Aki Province⁴⁰ (安芸国), and Awa Province⁴¹ (阿波国).

According to this article, the Emishi had savage souls. However, such a description is not historical fact. In order to explain the origins of the Saekibe clan, who were distributed across several provinces, the editor of *Nihonshoki* depicted the Emishi in this way. I prefer to note that the Emishi were moved to the foot of Mt. Miwa. The Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine was enshrined there. This means that the Emishi were dedicated to the Ōmiwa god, and ancient people believed that the Ōmiwa god had the miracle power to conquer the Emishi, and people expected this result.

Article 8: 『日本書紀』敏達十年 (五八一) 閏二月条

(Intercalary February, the tenth year of Emperor Bidatsu⁴², [581] *Nihonshoki*)

蝦夷数千、寇於边境。由是、召其魁帥綾糟等。〈魁帥者、大毛人也。〉詔曰、惟、備蝦夷者、大足彦天皇之世、合殺者斬、応原

者赦。今朕遵彼前例、欲誅元惡。於是、綾糟等懼然恐懼、乃下泊瀬中流、面三諸岳、歃水而盟曰、臣等蝦夷、自今以後、子々孫々、〈古語云生兒八十綿連。〉用清明心、事奉天闕。臣等若違盟者、天地諸神及天皇靈、絕滅臣種矣。

In Article 8, thousands of Emishi cross the border. Emperor Bidatsu summons Ayakasu (綾糟), the leader of the Emishi. The emperor declares that he will kill the ringleader of the rebellion, as in the era of Emperor Keikō. Ayakasu is afraid of being killed. He advances to the midstream of the Hatsusegawa River⁴³ (初瀬川), looking toward Mt. Miwa and swears that the Emishi will serve the Yamato Kingdom without treacherous thoughts until the following generation. If they were to break the vow, “the gods of heaven and earth” (天地諸神) and “Tennōrei”⁴⁴ (天皇靈) would destroy their descendants.

This legend is very important for analyzing the Emishi’s ritual of obedience before the seventh century (Kumagai 1985, Kumagai 1991). I focus on “Tennōrei” in this article. Many researchers have considered this case. Seishi Okada (岡田精司) states that “Tennōrei” was the root of the emperor’s prestige, and Mt. Miwa was the sacred place where “Tennōrei” existed (Okada 1966). Kimio Kumagai (熊谷公男) argues that “Tennōrei” was the mysterious power of the soul of the successive emperors; the ancient people believed that “the gods of heaven and earth” and “Tennōrei” descended from Mt. Miwa, and Ayakasu swore by these gods (Kumagai 1988).

In this way, many researchers related “Tennōrei” to Mt. Miwa. However, some dispute this theory. Takashi Tanaka (田中卓) argues that it is strange that “the gods of heaven and earth” and “Tennōrei” all existed on Mt. Miwa. He compared this with other examples. He argues that “Tennōrei” did not stay in one place; it was originally unrelated to Mt. Miwa, and Ayakasu swore by the Ōmiwa god who lived in Mt. Miwa (Tanaka 1987). Toshio Kobayashi (小林敏男) argues that it is unnecessary to relate “Tennōrei” with Mt. Miwa. Furthermore, “Tennōrei” was distinguished from the souls of the successive emperors in *Nihonshoki*, and Ayakasu swore by the Ōmiwa god as the god of curses (Kobayashi 1994).

Therefore, if “Tennōrei” existed in Mt. Miwa or descended from Mt. Miwa, the relations between “Tennōrei” and the Ōmiwa god cannot be explained

logically. It is clear that Ayakasu swore by the Ōmiwa god. In other words, ancient people believed that the Ōmiwa god had the magical power to conquer not only Ayakasu but also the Emishi as a whole. This shows that the Ōmiwa god was worshiped as a war god.

When the Yamato Kingdom advanced to eastern Japan, as with the advancement into western Japan and foreign countries, the Ōmiwa god was worshiped as a war god. It is thought that the Ōmiwa clan spread across Japan, the Ōmiwa god gained worshippers, and the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrines were established.

5 Local ruling systems of the Yamato Kingdom

As mentioned earlier, researchers associate the distribution of the Ōmiwa clan with that of the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrines. I agree with this theory, but this is not always the case. I present two points.

First, based on the list of clans above, the Miwahito, Miwahitobe, and Miwabe clans were in the majority over the others. This shows that the distribution of the Ōmiwa clan was deeply related to the Hito system⁽⁴⁵⁾ (人制) and the Bemin system⁽⁴⁶⁾ (部民制). These systems were two of the local ruling systems of the Yamato Kingdom and were enforced from approximately the fifth to the seventh century.

Until recently, scholar believed that the Hito system was enforced after the Bemin system (Naoki 1958). However, according to recent research, the Hito system was enforced prior to the Bemin system, and the Hito system was absorbed into the Bemin system (Yoshimura 1993). Strictly speaking, in the early stage of the late fifth century, the government frequently classified government officials as civil officers, called Tensōjin (典曹人), and military officers, called Jōtōjin (杖刀人). In this stage, Tensōjin and Jōtōjin were written as three characters. In the later stage of the late fifth century, the government classified government officials in detail to concrete roles, such as Kurahito (倉人), Sakahito (酒人), and Shishihito (宍人). In this stage, they were written down as two characters. In other words, the period when the Hito system was enforced is divided into two stages (Shinokawa 1996). “Miwahito,” whom I pick up here, belonged to the latter. Therefore, it is thought that the Miwahito clan was organized in the late stage of the late fifth century.

Although the Hito system is understudied, studies

of the Bemin system are numerous (Takemitsu 1981, Kanō 1993). According to the commonly accepted theory, under the influence of the Bushi system (部司制) and the Gobu system (五部制) in Baekje (百濟), the Bemin system was in effect from the end of the fifth century to the early sixth century. Therefore, it is thought that the Miwabe clan was organized in this period, at the earliest.

“Miwahitobe” has elements of both the Hito system and the Bemin system. The title Miwahitobe is constructed from “Miwa” (神), “Hito” (人), and “Be” (部). “Miwa” means to belong to the Ōmiwa clan. However, if it were organized after the Bemin system was introduced, “Hito” would not be added to the name. Therefore Miwahitobe was organized before the introduction of the Bemin system, and “Be” was added to the name after the introduction of the Bemin system.

The shift from the Hito system to the Bemin system did not only mean a change in names. In the Hito system, only those who served the emperor in the capital were organized as government officials. By contrast, in the Bemin system, not only those who served the emperor in the capital but also those who stayed in their hometowns and fed others were organized. Therefore, in the Hito system, Miwahito was restricted to the capital. By introducing the Bemin system, people living in various places were organized as Miwahitobe or Miwabe.

Of course, these titles were sometimes used flexibly. In *Nihonshoki*, there is a notation that one need not pronounce “Be.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ Based on this notation, Takehiko Yoshimura (吉村武彦) wrote that “Be,” which is derived from the Hito system, was not pronounced (Yoshimura 1993). For example, Shishihitobe (宍人部) was pronounced “Shishihito,” so it was often written as “Shishihito (宍人).” In regard to the Ōmiwa clan, Miwabe-no-Ushimaru (神部牛丸) was paraphrased as Miwa-no-Ushimaru (神牛丸) in the same ancient document⁽⁴⁸⁾. In this case, “Be” was omitted.

Therefore, the Miwahito, listed above, were actually the Miwahitobe, but both Miwahito and Miwahitobe were pronounced “Miwahito,” as “Be” was often omitted when written. The Miwahitobe and Miwabe clans took their names from the Hito system; they were influenced by the introduction of the Bemin system, and, as a result, they were distributed in various places. This lasted from the late fifth century to its

end.

The second point is that, in the list of clans above, there are many clans who had the Kabane⁽⁴⁹⁾ (姓) “Atai” (直), such as the Miwa-no-Atai clan (神直氏) and the Miwabe-no-Atai clan (神部直氏). These were the senior clans who administrated the Miwahitobe and Miwabe clans in the local areas (Naoki 1958, Ōyama 1975). This shows that the distribution of the Ōmiwa clan was related to the Kokuzō system⁽⁵⁰⁾ (国造制). This system was one of the local ruling systems of the Yamato Kingdom, which were enforced from approximately the sixth to the seventh century. It is well known that many clans that were appointed as Kokuzō had the Kabane Atai (Abe 1950, Inoue 1951, Shinokawa 1996). For example, the Ōyamato-no-Atai (大倭直) clan was appointed as the Ōyamato-no-Kokuzō (大倭国造), the Katsuragi-no-Atai clan (葛城直) was appointed as the Katsuragi-no-Kokuzō (葛城国造), and the Kii-no-Atai (紀直) was appointed as the Kii-no-Kokuzō (紀伊国造).

According to *Nihonshoki*, Sotōri-no-Iratsume (衣通郎姫) lived in Fujiwara Palace (藤原宮). Emperor Ingyō⁽⁵¹⁾ (允恭天皇) wanted to leave her name in history. Therefore, the emperor commanded the Kokuzō in each region to organize Fujiwarabe⁽⁵²⁾ (藤原部). In another legend, Ōyamato-no-Kokuzō dedicated Shishihitobe to the emperor. Then, other Kokuzōs dedicated Shishihitobe to the emperor in the same way⁽⁵³⁾. Based on these examples, Ken Shinokawa (篠川賢) notes that the Kokuzō often organized Be (Shinokawa 2009).

This tendency applies to the Miwahitobe and Miwabe clans. I list the following clans with the Kabane Atai.

- Yamashiro Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Izumi Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Tōtōumi Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Mino Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Tanba Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Tajima Province Miwabe-no-Atai (神部直)
- Inaba Province Miwabe-no-Atai (神部直)
- Iwami Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Ōmiwa-no-Atai (大神直)
- Mimasaka Province Miwa-no-Atai (神直)
- Nagato Province Ōmiwa-no-Atai (大神直)

In contrast, the names of clans appointed as Kokuzō in these provinces were as follows.

- Yamashiro Province

Yamashiro-no-Atai⁽⁵⁴⁾ (山代直)

• Izumi Province

Ōshikōchi-no-Atai⁽⁵⁵⁾ (凡河内直)

• Tōtōumi Province Unknown

• Mino Province Mino-no-Atai⁽⁵⁶⁾ (美濃直)

• Tanba Province Tanba-no-Atai⁽⁵⁷⁾ (丹波直)

Amabe-no-Atai⁽⁵⁸⁾ (海部直)

• Tajima Province Miwabe-no-Atai⁽⁵⁹⁾ (神部直)

• Inaba Province

Inaba-no-Kokuzō⁽⁶⁰⁾ (因幡国造),

Iokibe-no-Omi⁽⁶¹⁾ (伊福部臣)

• Iwami Province Unknown

• Mimasaka Province Did not exist

• Nagato Province Anato-no-Atai⁽⁶²⁾ (穴門直)

As before, many Ōmiwa clans distributed across various provinces had Atai, and Kokuzō, which were established in various provinces, had Atai as well. Inaba Province is the only exception. However, there was Miwabe-no-Atai in Keta County, Inaba Province⁽⁶³⁾ (因幡国気多郡). The county of the same name was in Tajima Province⁽⁶⁴⁾ (但馬国). The Miwabe-no-Atai who lived in Inaba Province emigrated from Tajima Province. Therefore, Inaba Province is not an exception.

Therefore, it is clear that the distribution of the Ōmiwa clan was related to the Kokuzō system in the same way as with the Hito system and the Bemin system. The Miwa-no-Atai and Miwabe-no-Atai clans were organized by the Kokuzō in the province in order to administrate the Miwahitobe and Miwabe clans, which were antecedently organized. In this process, Kokuzō had the Kabane Atai, so the Miwa-no-Atai and Miwabe-no-Atai clans called themselves the same Kabane.

Many researchers have discussed the time of the establishment of the Kokuzō system⁽⁶⁵⁾. I agree with Ken Shinokawa, who argues that the Kokuzō system was established in western Japan in the mid-sixth century. Then, it spread to eastern Japan in the late sixth century (Shinokawa 1996). Therefore, it is thought that the time of the organization of the Miwa-no-Atai and Miwabe-no-Atai clans was from the mid to late sixth century.

Haruto Maeda (前田晴人) disagrees with Shinokawa's theory (Maeda 2006). He argues that the Ōmiwa clan admitted Kokuzō, located in various provinces, into “the fictitious blood relationship.” Then, the Ōmiwa clan gave the name Miwa-no-Atai or Miwabe-no-Atai clan to Kokuzō. Furthermore, the

Ōmiwa clan gave the name of the Miwabe clan to the people controlled by Kokuzō. In this way, the Ōmiwa clan spread to various places by using local vertical relationships. This process applies to Mino⁽⁶⁶⁾ (美濃), Suruga⁽⁶⁷⁾ (駿河), Kai⁽⁶⁸⁾ (甲斐), Shinano⁽⁶⁹⁾ (信濃), Tajima, Tanba⁽⁷⁰⁾ (丹波), Inaba, Iwami⁽⁷¹⁾ (石見), Mimasaka⁽⁷²⁾ (美作), Bingo⁽⁷³⁾ (備後), Nagato⁽⁷⁴⁾ (長門), Chikuzen, and Buzen⁽⁷⁵⁾ (豊前) Provinces.

However, based on the existing historical materials, only the Miwabe-no-Atai clan living in Tajima Province was established to build “the fictitious blood relationship” with the Ōmiwa clan. It is highly unlikely that the Ōmiwa clan had the centripetal power to change freely the genealogy and name of Kokuzō. Of course, in some cases, the Ōmiwa clan strongly influenced Kokuzō. However, as I mentioned earlier, it seems likely that the Miwa-no-Atai and Miwabe-no-Atai clans were organized by Kokuzō, and they administrated the Miwahitobe and Miwabe clans in each province. As a result of these processes, the Ōmiwa clan was scattered across ancient Japanese islands.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I analyzed the process of the dispersal of the Ōmiwa clan and investigated its historical background.

First, I extracted the place names, Shinto shrine names, and clan names thought to be related to the “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa” from ancient historical materials. They were distributed throughout almost all of the Japanese islands and were not limited to a specific district. Furthermore, some places, shrines, and clans overlapped in the same place. Therefore, the distributions of place names, Shinto shrines, and clans were related to each other. If only a place name or Shinto shrine is found now, the Ōmiwa clan was more likely to have lived in that place in ancient times. Because they lived there, the place is called “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa.” They erected a shrine, so the shrine has “Miwa” or “Ōmiwa” in its name.

Next, I examined the Ōmiwa god’s characterization as a war god. Because researchers have made much of the distribution of Shinto shrines, I analyzed the legends that are the basis for these studies. According to my analysis, when the Yamato Kingdom sent troops to or advanced into western Japan, eastern Japan, or foreign countries, ancient Japanese viewed

the Ōmiwa god as a war god. Therefore, they worshiped the god and established Ōmiwa-jinja Shrines. As a result, the Ōmiwa clan was distributed to various places in Japan to worship the god.

Finally, I address the relationship between the distribution of the Ōmiwa clan and the local ruling systems of the Yamato Kingdom. In the list of clans above, the Miwahito, Miwahitobe, and Miwabe clans are in the majority. This shows that these clans were influenced by the introduction of the Hito and Bemim systems, which were in effect from the late fifth century to its end. Furthermore, there were many clans called Miwa-no-Atai or Miwabe-no-Atai clan. Many clans that were appointed as Kokuzōs had the Kabane Atai, as well. This shows that the distribution of the Ōmiwa clan was related to the Kokuzō system. In concrete terms, the Miwahitobe, and Miwabe clans were organized based on the Hito and Bemim systems, so the Miwa-no-Atai and Miwabe-no-Atai clans were organized by Kokuzō in order to administrate the Miwahitobe and Miwabe clans. Because Kokuzō had the Kabane Atai, the Miwa-no-Atai and Miwabe-no-Atai clans also had the Kabane Atai in their names. This was from the mid to late sixth century.

There were two patterns by which the Ōmiwa clan spread to various places in the ancient Japanese islands. One was by the expansion of the faith in the “war god” interpretation of the Ōmiwa god, and the other was by the advancement of the local ruling systems of the Yamato Kingdom. These two patterns were intertwined. For example, local people who worshiped the Ōmiwa god might later be organized as the Miwabe clan. Alternatively, if the Miwabe clan existed locally, they might later come to worship the Ōmiwa god.

Previous research emphasizes the Ōmiwa god’s characterization as a war god. Therefore, it clearly explains the process by which Shinto shrines were distributed. However, the process of the Ōmiwa clan’s dispersal is only explained vaguely. I add the influence of the local ruling systems to the previous theory. From both the perspective of faith and that of systems, I explain the process of the Ōmiwa clan’s dispersal more clearly and concretely than did previous research.

Acknowledgment

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Num-

ber 15K16834.

Notes

- (1) Some researchers include the Kamo clan (賀茂氏) and the Munakata clan (宗像氏) among the cognate clans of the Ōmiwa clan. Certainly, these clans had a “fictitious blood relationship” with the Ōmiwa clan. However, as the names suggest, these clans were separate from the Ōmiwa clan. Therefore, I exclude these clans from the Ōmiwa clan.
- (2) Kinai (畿内) refers to the territories near the capital in ancient Japan.
- (3) Tōkaidō (東海道) refers to the area along the Pacific coastline in eastern Japan.
- (4) Tōsandō (東山道) refers to the inland area in eastern Japan.
- (5) Sanindō (山陰道) refers to the north side of the Chūgoku Region (中国地方) in western Japan.
- (6) Sanyodō (山陽道) refers to the south side of the Chūgoku Region in western Japan.
- (7) Saikaidō (西海道) is almost equivalent to the current Kyūshū district (九州地方).
- (8) *Engishiki-Jinmyōchō* (延喜式神名帳) is a record of Shinto shrines in ancient Japan. It was edited in 927.
- (9) Hokurikudō (北陸道) refers to the area along the Sea of Japan coastline in eastern Japan.
- (10) Nankaidō (南海道) is almost equivalent to current Wakayama Prefecture (和歌山県) and Shikoku District (四国地方).
- (11) This was in present-day Kosai City, Shizuoka Prefecture (静岡県湖西市).
- (12) Empress Jingū (神功皇后) was the empress of Emperor Chūai (仲哀天皇), the fourteenth emperor.
- (13) *Chikuzennokuni-Fudoki* (筑前国風土記) is the topography of Chikuzen Province. In 713, the government ordered each province to edit its *Fudoki* (風土記). *Chikuzennokuni-Fudoki* was one of these. Chikuzen Province was in the northern part of present-day Fukuoka Prefecture (福岡県).
- (14) The Ōnamuchi-jinja (於保奈牟智神社) is located in present-day Iyanaga, Chikuzen Cho, Asakura County, Fukuoka Prefecture (福岡県朝倉郡筑前町弥永).
- (15) The Suminoe gods were Uwatsustunoo-no-Mikoto (表筒男命), Nakatsustunoo-no-Mikoto (中筒男命), and Sokotsustunoo-no-Mikoto (底筒男命). They are enshrined in the Suminoe-taisha Shrine.
- (16) The record before the enthronement of Empress Jingū, *Nihonshoki*.
- (17) The Suminoe-taisha Shrine (住吉大社) is located in Sumiyoshi Ward, Ōsaka City, Ōsaka Prefecture (大阪府大阪市住吉区).
- (18) Emperor Suiko (推古天皇) was the thirty-third emperor.
- (19) Heihaku refers to papers, silk cuttings, and cloth dedicated to a god or shrine.
- (20) The Ise-jingū Grand Shrine (伊勢神宮) is located in Ise City, Mie Prefecture (三重県伊勢市).
- (21) The Chikushi-Suminoe-jinja Shrine (住吉神社) is located in Sumiyoshi, Hakata Ward, Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture (福岡県福岡市博多区住吉).
- (22) The Usa-jingū Shrine (宇佐神宮) is located in Usa County, Ōita Prefecture (大分県宇佐市).
- (23) Kashii-gū Shrine (香椎宮) is located in Kashii, Higashi-ku Ward, Fukuoka City, Fukuoka Prefecture (福岡県福岡市東区香椎).
- (24) The Japanese envoy to Silla (遣新羅使) was dispatched for diplomatic relations from the seventh to the ninth century.
- (25) Kibi, February, the ninth year of Tenpyō [737], *Shokunihongi*.
- (26) Heiin, February, the ninth year of Tenpyō [737], *Shokunihongi*.
- (27) *Awagadaimyōjinganki* was the genealogy of the Miwabe clan living in Tajima Province.
- (28) Emperor Sujin (崇神天皇) was the tenth emperor.
- (29) This was in present-day Asako County, Hyōgo Province (兵庫県朝来市).
- (30) Aramitama (荒魂) was the savage soul of a god. The meaning of Sumemitama (術魂) is not precisely known, although it is thought to be the marvelous soul of a god.
- (31) Ōkuninushi-no-Kami (大国主神) was another name for Ōmononushi-no-Kami (大物主神), who lived in Mt. Miwa, or the Ōmiwa god.
- (32) The Awaga-jinja Shrine (粟鹿神社) is located in present-day Asako County, Hyōgo Province.
- (33) Jingo, January, the eighth year of Emperor Chūai, *Nihonshoki*.
- (34) This was in present-day Nara Prefecture (奈良県).
- (35) Emperor Keikō (景行天皇) was the twelfth emperor.
- (36) Emishi (蝦夷) refers to people who did not belong to the Yamato Kingdom. Most lived in northeastern Japan.
- (37) Harima Province (播磨国) was the southern part of present-day Hyōgo Prefecture (兵庫県).
- (38) Sanuki Province (讃岐国) was present-day Kagawa Prefecture (香川県).
- (39) Iyo Province (伊予国) was present-day Ehime Prefecture (愛媛県).
- (40) Aki Province (安芸国) was the western part of present-day Hiroshima Prefecture (広島県).
- (41) Awa Province (阿波国) was present-day Tokushima Prefecture (徳島県).
- (42) Emperor Bidatsu was the thirtieth emperor.
- (43) The Hatsusegawa River (初瀬川) has flowed past the foot of Mt. Miwa since ancient times.
- (44) Literally, “Tennōrei” (天皇靈) means “the soul of the emperor.”
- (45) In the Hito system (人制), the government organized people, who moved to the capital from various districts to serve the emperor as government officials according to their business, and gave them the title “Hito” (人). “Hito” means person.
- (46) In the Bemin system (部民制), the government organized people, who moved to the capital from various districts to serve the emperor as government officials according to their business, and gave them the title Be (部). “Be” means group. Furthermore, the government also gave the title “Be” (部) to people who stayed in their hometowns and supported the people who came to the capital to serve the emperor. “Bemin” was strictly called “Be-no-Tami” in Japanese. However, in recent works, it is common to call it by the sound of the Chinese character, “Bemin.”

- (47) The seventh year of Emperor Yūryaku, *Nihonshoki*. Emperor Yūryaku (雄略天皇) was the twenty-first emperor.
- (48) *Dainihon-Komonjyo* (大日本古文書), *Tōnaninmonjo* (東南院文書) 2–537.
- (49) Kabane (姓) was the hereditary title owned by ancient clans. It roughly represented the hierarchy in the Yamato Kingdom.
- (50) In the Kokuzō system (国造制), the government appointed a powerful local clan as the chief officer of a region or the Kokuzō (国造) and granted them local rule. In return, the Kokuzō was required to supply goods, workers, and military power to the government. For example, in Kii Province, the Kii-uji clan was appointed as Kii-Kokuzō (紀伊国造) by the Yamato Kingdom. The Kokuzō was strictly called Kuni-no-Miyatsuko in Japanese. However, in recent research, it is common to call it by the sound of the Chinese character, Kokuzō.
- (51) Emperor Ingyō (允恭天皇) was the nineteenth emperor.
- (52) Heigo, March, the eleventh year of Emperor Ingyō, *Nihonshoki*.
- (53) Heishi, October, The second year of Emperor Yūryaku, *Nihonshoki*.
- (54) The body (本文) of the sixth part of Jindaiki, *Nihonshoki*. Jindaiki (神代紀) is part of the myth in *Nihonshoki*.
- (55) The body of the sixth part of Jindaiki, *Nihonshoki*.
- (56) Boin, June, the second year of Jingokeiun [768], *Shokunihongi*.
- (57) Kigai, January, the fourth year of Enryaku [785], *Shokunihongi*.
- (58) *The Genealogy of the Amabe clan* (海部氏系図).
- (59) *Awagadaimyojinganki*.
- (60) Heishin, February, the second year of Hōki [771], *Shokunihongi*.
- (61) *The Genealogy of Iokibe clan* (因幡国伊福部臣古志).
- (62) The record before the enthronement of Empress Jingū, *Nihonshoki*.
- (63) This was in present-day Tottori City, Tottori Prefecture (鳥取県鳥取市).
- (64) This was in the northern part of present-day Hyōgo Province.
- (65) Naoyoshi Niino (新野直吉) and Ken Shinokawa arranged history of study in detail (Niino 1974, Shinokawa 1996).
- (66) This was in the southern part of present-day Gifu Prefecture (岐阜県).
- (67) This was in the center part of present-day Shizuoka Prefecture.
- (68) This was in present-day Yamanashi Prefecture (山梨県).
- (69) This was in present-day Nagano Prefecture (長野県).
- (70) This was in the center part of present-day Kyōto Prefecture (京都府).
- (71) This was in the western part of present-day Shimane Prefecture (島根県).
- (72) This was in the northern part of present-day Okayama Prefecture (岡山県).
- (73) This was in the western part of present-day Okayama Prefecture.
- (74) This was in present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture (山口県).
- (75) This was in the eastern part of present-day Fukuoka Prefecture

and the northern part of present-day Ōita Prefecture.

References

- Abe 1950: Takehiko Abe, “Clan Name and Genealogy of Kokuzō (Kokuzō no Sei to Keifu),” *Journal of the Historical Science Society (Shigaku Zasshi)* 59-11, 1950. Reprinted in: *Clan and Religious Service in Ancient Japan (Nihon Kodai no Shizoku to Saishi)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1984.
- Abe 1975: Takehiko Abe, “Ōmiwa Clan and the Ōmiwa God (Ōmiwa Uji to Ōmiwa no Kami),” Publication Committee on Editing Ōmiwa-jinja-shiryō, ed., *History of the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Ōmiwa Jinjashi)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1975. Reprinted in: *Clan and Religious Service in Ancient Japan (Nihon Kodai no Shizoku to Saishi)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1984.
- Ikeda 1971: Genta Ikeda, “Characteristics of the Ōmiwa God and the Guardian Spirit (Miwa no Kami no Shokeitai to Hogo Seirei),” *Ancient Culture (Kodai Bunka)* 23, 1971. Reprinted in: *A Study of Folklore and Culture in Ancient Japan (Kodai Nihon Minzoku Bunka Ronkō)*, Gakuseisha, Tokyo, Japan, 1979.
- Ikebe 1972: Wataru Ikebe, “Local Ōmiwa-jinja Shrines in Ancient Japan (Kodai niokeru Chihō no Ōmiwa-jinja),” *Ōmiwa* 42, 1972. Reprinted in: *A Study of Ancient Shrines (Kodai Jinjashi Ronkō)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1989.
- Inoue 1951: Mitsusada Inoue, “The Establishment of the Kokuzō System (Kokuzōsei no Seiritsu),” *Journal of the Historical Science Society (Shigaku Zasshi)* 60-11, 1951. Reprinted in: *Selections from Mitsusada Inoue’s Works (Inoue Mitsusada Chosakushū)* 4, Iwanamishoten, Tokyo, Japan, 1985.
- Kanō 1993: Hisashi Kanō, “The Bemin System and the Kokuzō System (Beminsei to Kokuzōsei),” Naohiro Asao, Yoshihiko Amino, Susumu Ishii, Masanao Kano, Shōhachi Hayakawa, Yoshio Yasumaru, ed., *The Iwanami Lectures on Japanese History (Iwanami Kōza Nihon Tsūshi)* 2, Iwanamishoten, Tokyo, Japan, 1993.
- Kobayashi 1994: Toshio Kobayashi, “Tennōrei and Enthronement Ceremonies (Tennōrei to Sokuigirei),” *A Basic Study on the Ancient Emperor System (Kodai Tennōsei no Kisotekikenkyū)*, Azekurashobō, Tokyo, Japan, 1994.
- Kumagai 1985: Kimio Kumagai, “Oath of Emishi (Emishi no Seiyaku),” *A Collection of Essays of Ancient Nara (Nara Kodaishi Ronshū)* 1, Shinyōsha, Kyoto, Japan, 1985.
- Kumagai 1991: Kimio Kumagai, “Emishi: Royal Palace and Kingdom (Emishi to Ōkyū to Ōken to),” *A Collection of Essays of Ancient Nara (Nara Kodaishi Ronshū)* 2, Shinyōsha, Kyoto, Japan, 1991.
- Maeda 2006: Haruto Maeda, *Mt. Miwa (Miwayama)*, Gakuseisha, Tokyo, Japan, 2006.
- Maekawa 1986: Akihisa Maekawa, “The Eastern Management of the Yamato Kingdom and the Ise-jingū Grand Shrine (Yamato Seiken no Tōgoku Keiei to Ise Jingū),” *A Study of Clan and Kingdom in Ancient Japan (Nihon Kodai Shizoku to Ōken no Kenkyū)*, Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, Tokyo, Japan, 1986.

- Naoki 1958: Kōjirō Naoki, “A Study of the Hito System (Hito-sei no Kenkyū),” *Structure of the Japanese Ancient Nation (Nihon Kodai Kokka no Kōzō)*, Aokishoten, Tokyo, Japan, 1958.
- Niino 1974: Naoyoshi Niino, *A Historical Study of Kokuzō (Kenkyūshi Kokuzō)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1974.
- Okada 1966: Seishi Okada, “The Establishment of the Kawachi Imperial Family (Kawachi Daiōke no Seiritsu),” *A Study of Nihonshoki (Nihonshoki Kenkyū)* 2, 1966. Reprinted in: *Religious Service and the Myth of the Ancient Kingdom (Kodai Ōken no Saishi to Shinwa)*, Hanawashobō, Tokyo, Japan, 1970.
- Ōyama 1975: Seiichi Ōyama, “The Historical Development of Hamana County and Tōtōumi Province Before the Taika Reforms (Taika Zendai Tōtōumi no Kuni Hamana Gun no Shiteki Tenkai),” *Japanese History (Nihon Rekishi)* 321, 1975. Reprinted in: *Diplomacy and Local Administration in Ancient Japan (Nihon Kodai no Gaiō to Chihō Gyōsei)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1999.
- Shinokawa 1996: Ken Shinokawa, *A Study of the Kokuzō System in Ancient Japan (Nihon Kodai Kokuzōsei no Kenkyū)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1996.
- Shinokawa 2009: Ken Shinokawa, *A Study of Mononobe Clan (Mononobe-Uji no Kenkyū)*, Yūzankaku, Tokyo, Japan, 2009.
- Suzuki 2014: Masanobu Suzuki, *A Study of Ōmiwa Clan (Ōmiwa-Uji no Kenkyū)*, Yūzankaku, Tokyo, Japan, 2014.
- Takemitsu 1981: Makoto Takemitsu, *A Historical Study of the Bemin System (Kenkyūshi Beminsei)*, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan, Tokyo, Japan, 1981.
- Tanaka 1987: Takashi Tanaka, “Establishment of the Ōmiwa-jinja Shrine (Ōmiwa-jinja no Sōshi),” *The Shinto History Review (Shintōshi Kenkyū)* 35-1, 1987. Reprinted in: *A Selection from Takashi Tanaka’s Works (Tanaka Takashi Chosakushū) 1*, Kokusho-Kankōkai, Tokyo, Japan, 1986.
- Wada 1985: Atsumu Wada, “A Reexamination of Religious Service at Mt. Miwa (Miwayama Saishi no Saikentō),” *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History (Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku)* 7, 1985. Reprinted in: *Courtesy, Religious Service, and Faith in Ancient Japan (Nihon Kodai no Girei to Saishi Shinkō)* 2, Hanawashobō, Tokyo, Japan, 1995.
- Yoshimura 1993: Takehiko Yoshimura, “Nation of the Wa and the Yamato Kingdom (Wakoku to Yamato Ōken),” Naohiro Asao, Yoshihiko Amino, Susumu Ishii, Masanao Kano, Shōhachi Hayakawa, Yoshio Yasumaru, ed., *The Iwanami Lectures on Japanese History (Iwanami Kōza Nihon Tsūshi)* 2, Iwanamishoten, Tokyo, Japan, 1993.