

Between the Gods and the Emperors

—A New Reconstruction of the Early History of Japan—

By Kenzaburô TORIGOE*

Chapter I: The Existence of the Katsuragi Dynasty

1. The remains of the Katsuragi palaces, and the dynasty.
2. What the mausolea tell us.
3. The marriage range in the dynastic genealogy.
4. Rebellious attempts to overthrow the Yamato Court.

Chapter II: The dual sovereignties, of religion and of government.

1. Questions concerned with the succession to the throne.
2. The religious authority of the first son.

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Chapter I. The Existence of the Katsuragi Dynasty

1. The remains of the Katsuragi palaces, and the dynasty.

The two "Emperors Who First Ruled the Land". According to the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, the history of Japan begins with the Emperor Jimmu's removal eastwards from Kyûshû with Yamato his destination. The naval force led by the emperor passed along the Inland Sea and first tried to enter Yamato from Naniwa, but its advance was thwarted by the troops of Nagasunehiko, of the Mononobe 物部 clan. Thereupon he turned his ships southwards, overcame the Nakusatobe 名草戸畔 tribe, living in the region of what is now Wakayama City, moved on by way of Kumano and so entered Yamato. He then pacified the various tribes already living in Yamato and established his throne in the Kashihara Palace. For this reason the *Nihon Shoki* calls Jimmu the "Emperor Who First Ruled the Land", as being the first of the imperial line.

Jimmu is followed by eight further generations, Suizei, Annei, Itoku, Kôshô, Kôan, Kôrei, Kôgen and Kaika; then for some reason both the *Nihon Shoki* and the *Kojiki* refer to the tenth emperor, Sujin, as the "Emperor Who First Ruled the Land", the first founder of the country.

The question has frequently been posed in the past about the contradiction involved in naming Sujin the tenth emperor, as having founded the country a second time, after the first emperor, Jimmu. Now finally it has become the unanimous view in the academic world that Sujin is recognised as the rightful founder of the Yamato Court, while the preceding nine emperors are dismissed as fabrications. But the compilers of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* who had listed nine emperors before Sujin, "Emperor Who First Ruled the Land", cannot have failed to notice the contradiction. There was undoubtedly some reason for their positive assertion. I want to search out the secret of the history entwined round the foundation of the country, not simply consider whether it is satisfactory to dismiss the matter or not.

The remains of the palaces of the tenth emperor, Sujin, called "The Emperor Who First Ruled the Land", and his successors are in the south east part of the Yamato plain, concentrated round the foot of Mt. Miwa 三輪山. The region of which Mt. Miwa is the centre was formerly called Shiki 磯城, and Sujin's palace was known as the Palace of Mizugaki 瑞籬宮 in Shiki and was at the foot of Mt. Miwa. The eleventh emperor, Suinin's palace was the Palace of Tamaki 珠城宮 in Makimuku 纏向 at the foot of Mt. Miwa to the northwest, and that of the twelfth emperor, Keikô was the Palace of Hishiro 日代宮 also in Makimuku.

When we look at the mausolea too, while that of Suinin is far away, to

the west of Nara, those of Sujin and Keikô are grouped along the road that skirts Mt. Miwa to the north west; and these colossal 'square front, round back' tombs 前方後圓墳 are not just tombs of the Early Tomb Period of the fourth century, they also constitute chronological criteria for archaeology. The former of these mausolea, that of Sujin, measures about 240 metres in length along its axis, while that of the latter, Keikô, measures as much as 310 metres. As one stands in front of either of these mausolea, one has a view of the splendid shape of Mt. Miwa on the right hand side. And the colossal size of these ancient tombs is an indication of how firmly the sway of the Yamato Court had already been established.

It may be for this reason that the dominion of the Yamato Court can be seen to have spread so rapidly from Yamato to outlying regions with the expeditions to Mino and Tsukushi in the reign of Keikô, to Ômi in the reign of the thirteenth emperor, Seimu, and also in that of the fourteenth, Chûai, from Tsunuga and Kii to Tsukushi. With this extension of power, the palaces and tombs moved further away from the fort of Mt. Miwa, but the region round Mt. Miwa was at least the place of origin of the Yamato Court.

However, whereas the palaces and mausolea of the earlier emperors of the Yamato Court were situated in the south eastern part of the Yamato plain, those of the line of emperors beginning with Jimmu were in the south western part, apparently concentrated in the area stretching from the foot of Mt. Katsuragi 葛城山 to Mt. Unebi 叡傍山. Even supposing that these first nine emperors should be dismissed at one stroke as fabrications, why do they seem to be grouped along the side of Mt. Katsuragi? It is likely that there is some reason or other for this.

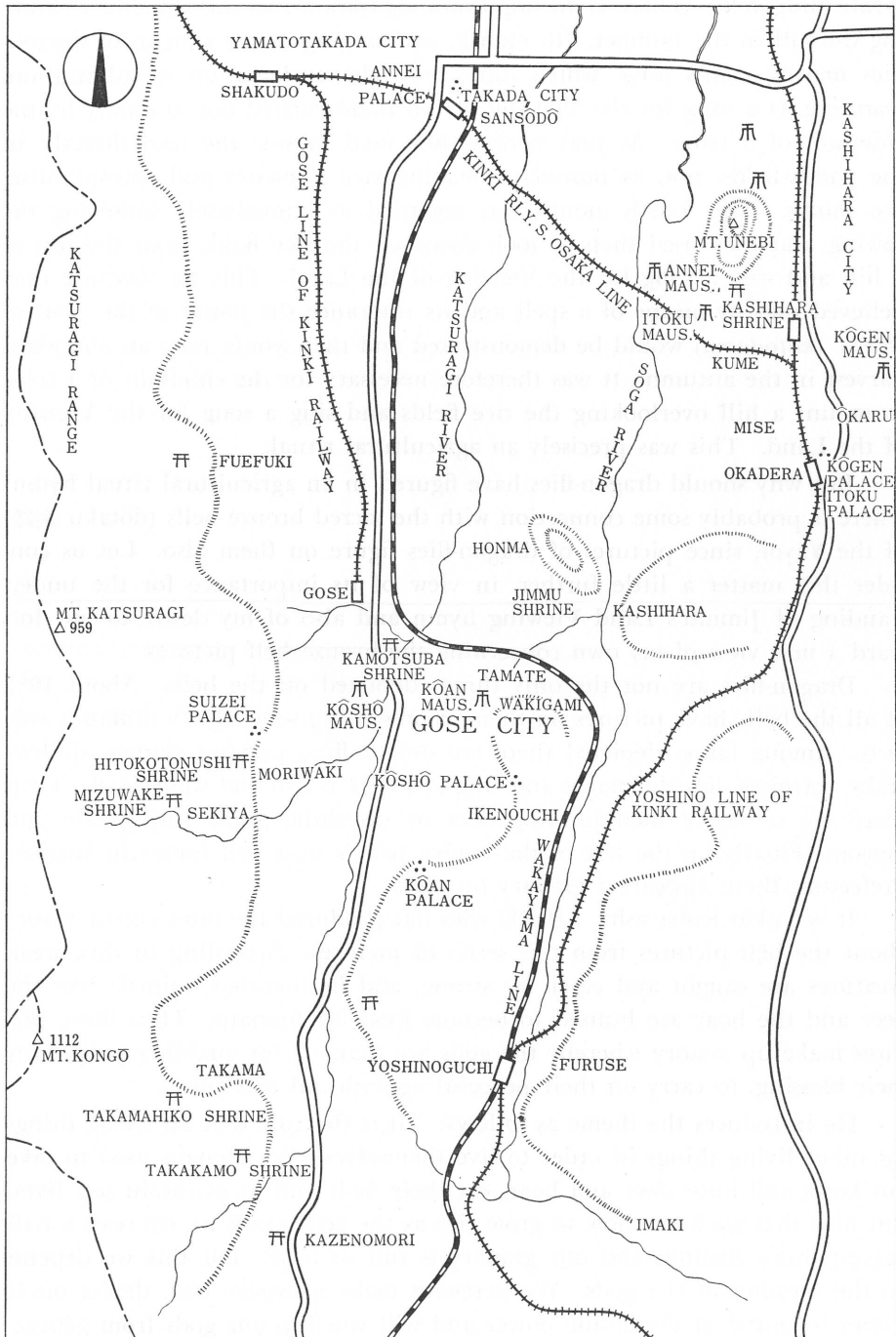
South west of the Yamato plain rise the Katsuragi and Kongô 金剛 mountains, and, standing on the 960 metre summit of Mount Katsuragi, one has a single view over the lovely plain of Yamato. Immediately below the mountain the town of Gose City 御所市 stands out among the green rice-fields. A wide valley runs south from Gose City. And it is in fact this very valley where the old capital of Japan was situated before the establishment of the Yamato Court and which was the old home of the myths of Japan.

After pacifying Yamato, Jimmu was enthroned at the Kashihara Palace. The *Nihon Shoki* says, "The land of Kashihara, to the south east of Mt. Unebi, is the heart of the country and I must rule there." And he at once ordered his officers to start building an imperial residence there.; and the *Kojiki* records, 'He dwelt in the Kashihara Palace at Unebi and ruled the kingdom.' And so the Kashihara Palace was built at the foot of Mt. Unebi to the south east; however, 'south east' in the *Nihon Shoki* would seem to be an error for 'south west' and the actual location of Kashihara would have been the present village of Kashihara about 4 kilometres from Mt. Unebi. In his *Rush Hat Diary* (*Sugekasa Nikki* 菅笠日記) for 1772, Motoori Norinaga

wrote, 'If you look at Mt. Unebi, there is the site of the great palace of the sage ruler, of splendid Kashibara (=Kashihara). But if now you inquire whether the name of Kashibara does not survive, there is just such a village about a *ri* [about 4 km.] away to the south; in no nearer place, is the name heard.' However, that Kashihara is not in the region of the present Kashihara City but is part of Gose City, formerly known as Kashihara Village. In the *Tôdaiji Temple Slave Register* 東大寺奴婢帳 for 738 there is mention of Kashihara Village, Ôyamato Province (*kuni*) 大倭國 and there even appears the title, Chieftain (*miyatsuko* 造) of Kashihara. Then again, in the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀 for the 11th month of 713, twenty five years earlier, there is also mention of the title Kashihara Headman (*suguri* 村主), so Kashihara is an ancient place name.

The Illustrated Explanations of Things Japanese and Chinese (*Wakan Sansai Zue* 倭漢三才圖繪) (1713) records of that Kashihara, 'Kashihara is within Districts of Katsuragi and Takechi.' In the *Yamato Gazetteer* (*Yamatoshi* 大和志) of 1736, even earlier than the *Rush Hat Diary* there is already the entry, 'Kashihara Palace was at Kashihara Village.' Thus such works as the *Illustrated Topography of Famous Places in Yamato* (*Yamato Meisho Zue* 大和名所圖會) or the *Illustrated Topography of Famous Places in West Japan* (*Saigoku Meisho Zue* 西國名所圖會) all repeat the Kashihara theory. In the village there is a small shrine to Jimmu, which, for the foregoing reasons, is pointed to as being the remains of the Kashihara palace, though we do not know when it was built. At the head of the shrine there is a small pillar giving the name of Jimmu in the inscription, 'Shrine dedicated to Kamu-yamato-iware-hiko,' but it is indeed a wretched little shrine.

This village of Kashihara stands beside the river Soga 會我川, where the valley opens out into level ground, with a hill of 131 metres to the north. The Emperor Jimmu climbed this hill and carried out a Viewing of the Land 國見. According to the *Nihon Shoki*, '31st year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Imperial palanquin made a circuit, in the course of which the Emperor ascended the Hill Wakikami (or Wakigami)-no-Hohoma 腋上の嘸間丘. Here, having viewed the shape of the land on all sides, he said: "Oh! What a beautiful country we have become possessed of! Though a blessed land of inner-tree-fibre, yet it resembles a dragon-fly licking its hinder-parts." From this it first received the name of Akitsushima (tr. Aston).' The Wakikami in Wakikami-no-Hohoma (now written with a different first character as 掖上) is the old name for the area adjoining Kashihara to the west. Moreover, the western half of this hill is now written Honma 本馬 and there is a village of Honma on the edge of it, which is now part of Gose City. It has been said that the Hohoma of the *Nihon Shoki* has been corrupted into Honma, and that would seem to be the case. The wide area of paddy fields that stretches from Honma Hill to the town of Gose City was called Akitsushima 秋津洲, which became the first name of Japan.



Map of the Foot of Mount Katsuragi

Why were dragonflies hymned? Akitsu, the appellation of the country, means dragon-fly. There is an important significance in the emperor's climbing the hill in the summer, 4th month, and singing of the swarms of dragonflies mating. This song, which starts with the exclamation of admiration, *ananieya*, is a song for the Viewing of the Land carried out annually by the chieftain of a tribe. At that period they used to sow the seed directly in the paddy-fields, not, as nowadays, making rice nurseries and transplanting the shoots. The fourth month was regarded as immediately following the sowing and they used then to look down on the rice fields from the top of a hill and sing a song for the Viewing of the Land. This was because they believed that by means of a spell and its utterance the power of the 'soul of words' (*kotodama*) would be demonstrated and they would reap an abundant harvest in the autumn. It was therefore necessary for the chieftain of a tribe to mount a hill overlooking the rice fields and sing a song for the Viewing of the Land. This was precisely an agricultural ritual.

But why should dragon-flies have figured in an agricultural ritual hymn? There is probably some connection with the sacred bronze bells (*dôtaku* 銅鐸) of the Yayoi, since pictures of dragon-flies figure on them also. Let us consider this matter a little further, in view of its importance for the understanding of Jimmu's Land Viewing hymn and also of my desire to put forward a new view of my own concerning the bronze bell pictures.

Dragon-flies are not the only things depicted on the bells. About 10% of all the bells have pictures on them, representing some thirty different subjects. Among fauna depicted there are dragon-flies, praying mantes, spiders, crabs, tortoises, lizards, snakes and frogs, as well as fish and water-fowl. Then there are scenes of men hunting deer or threshing grain with pestle and mortar. Finally on the last of the twelve panels of a bell found in Kagawa Prefecture there appears a granary on piles.

It is Yukio Kobayashi 小林行雄 who has produced the most recent theory about the bell pictures from this series of pictures. According to this, weak creatures are caught and eaten by strong, and herbivorous animals like the deer and the boar are hunted to become food for humans. Thus these pictures make up a story whereby the gods are thanked for enabling people, by their blessing, to carry on their peaceful agricultural existence.

He introduces the theme as follows: "It is the rule that all living things eat other living things in order to live themselves. We humans used to take our bows and hunt deer and boar, eat their flesh and so maintain our lives. But now that we know how to grow rice as the gods teach us, we reap a rich harvest every autumn and our granary is full of food. For this we depend on the blessing of the gods. We herewith make a bronze bell, depict on it stories in praise of the divine power and will worship our gods from generation unto generation" (*The Emergence of the Queen Country=Joô-koku no shutsugen* 女王國の出現). He thus understands the pictures as an agricultural

same as the rice field festivals or rice planting songs, which are ritual activities for the sake of agriculture, and that they simply appear as pictures instead.

But there is another vital point: at the beginning of the top row of the Kagawa 香川 Prefecture bell and that from Sakura-ga-Oka in Kôbe City a dragon-fly is shown. This is of the deepest interest when considered along with Jimmu's Land Viewing hymn. The phrase 'How like dragon-flies mating it is' concerns the dragon-fly as a representatively beneficial insect which eats those that damage the rice crop, but it further conveys the idea of propagation. Possibly some further verses, following those of the incantation, have been omitted in the *Nihon Shoki*. Even if there has been no such omission, we should regard the content of the pictures following the dragon-fly on the bells as being included. That is to say that this Land Viewing hymn implies, by means of the dragon-fly, a prayer continuing to the autumn ripening, the threshing and the storage in the high granary.

Akitsu-shima (Dragon-fly Land) and Shiki-shima (Land of the Rocks). However, there is no necessity to insist that Jimmu composed this Land Viewing hymn. The hymn used annually for the Land Viewing by the head of a tribe that flourished in this region was probably ascribed to Jimmu. It may then be thought of as a topographical myth accounting for this region being called Akitsu-shima. That is to say, it originated in words used by the king who established a tribal state at the foot of Mount Katsuragi as a prayer that his country be fruitful and as words of praise for it. This later presumably became the place name and then the name of the kingdom.

The same is the case with the birthplace of the Yamato Court at the foot of Mount Miwa. It seems that from 'Shiki 磯城', the sacred area encircled with rocks for the worship of the deity of Mount Miwa, came the name of the place, and that this in turn, with different spellings, became the name of the kingdom, Shiki-shima.

The name, Akitsu-shima 蜻蛉嶋 (Dragon-fly Land), with its implication of a land of abundant harvests, had a religious origin; subsequently, to make its meaning clearer, characters were altered to signify 'Land of Autumn' 秋津洲, still pronounced Akitsu-shima. As the name of the country this became Ô-Yamato-Toyoakitsu-shima 大倭豊秋津嶋 (*Kojiki*), or 大日本豊秋津洲 (*Nihon Shoki*), Land of Abundant Autumn of Great Yamato. One can see from the form Akitsu-shima-Yamatokuni (*Manyôshû*) and Toyoakitsu-Yamato 豊秋日本 (*Nihon Shoki*) that it was also used as a way of extolling and describing the country of Yamato.

Though the period is much later, I would like to adduce for reference a poem from the *Manyôshû*, which is a famous example of an emperor's Land Viewing hymn and also contains the expression, Akitsu-shima. It was written by the Emperor Jomei (A.D. 630-641):

An imperial composition on the occasion of the Emperor's climbing Mount Kagu and Viewing the Land.

Although in Yamato	Yamato ni wa
There are many mountains	mura yama aredo
Perfect among them	toriyorou
Is Mount Kagu, from the sky	ama no Kagu-yama
When I climb up it	nobori tachi
And perform my Land Viewing	kunimi wo sureba
Over the wide land	kunihara wa
Smoke is rising, rising	keburu tachitatsu
Over the wide water	unahara wa
Gulls are rising, rising	kamome tachitatsu
This is the good land	umashi kuni zo
Akitsu-shima	Akitsu-shima
Land of Yamato	Yamato no kuni wa

The place where the sixth emperor, Kōan, had his capital was also called the Palace of Akitsu-shima. The *Nihon Shoki* says, 'The capital was moved to Muro and was called the Palace of Akitsu-shima'. In the *Kojiki* it appears as 'the Palace of Akitsu-shima at Muro 室 in Katsuragi'. Muro is two kilometres south of the town of Gose City, skirting a hill. It is written with two phonetic characters as 牟婁 in the *Wamyōshō* 和名抄. In the survey of towns and villages of 1888, there are four other Muro-mura 室村 (villages), one of which was then altered to Akitsu-mura 秋津村, which in turn has now become an *ōaza* 大字 of Gose City. In the *Shoki Tsūshaku* 書紀通釋 we find, 'The Survey of Remains of Ancient Capitals 舊都址要覽 says, "The place known as Miyayama 宮山 (or Palace Mountain) in Azamuro in Akitsumura should be regarded as part of this imperial residence"'. In fact, there is Takenouchi Sukune's 武内宿禰 Great Tomb of Muro on Miyayama; a 'front square, back round' tomb 238 metres long, it is the largest in the Katsuragi region of the middle old tomb period. The foot of this Miyayama, to the east, is identified with the remains of this Akitsu-shima Palace. Therefore, Muro village, skirting the hill to the south of the town of Gose City becomes included in Akitsu-shima, and it becomes clear that Akitsu-shima is used as the general appellation of the level ground to the north.

We should also regard Honma 本馬 village as having belonged in ancient times to the region of Wakugami 掖上, from the existence of 'Wakugami-hohoma-oka 掖上畹間丘' (hill). However, the *Nihon Shoki* says, in the case of the Emperor Kōshō, 'The capital was moved to Wakugami. This was called the Palace of Ikegokoro', while the *Kojiki* has 'the Palace of Wakugami in Katsuragi'. This Palace of Ikegokoro is between the town of Gose City and Ōaza 大字 Ikenouchi 池之内. The lake (*ike*) has now disappeared, but there are the remains of the palace at the edge of the hamlet of Ikenouchi.

Again, of the mausoleum of Kôshô, the *Nihon Shoki* says, 'He was buried in the mausoleum on Mount Hakata 博多山 of Wakigami 掖上' but this is the Mount Hakata just beside Aza 字 Mimuro 三室 on National Highway 24 on the south western edge of the town of Gose city. It is clear that in ancient times the region of Wakigami controlled the wide level area from the hill of Honma in the east to the vicinity of Mimuro on Mount Hakata in the west. So the area of rice fields as far as the eye can see, centred on this Wakigami, is the place of origin of the encomiastic name of the country, Akitsushima.

Table of Remains of Palaces of the Katsuragi Dynasty

Reign	Sovereign	Palace	Location
1	Jimmu	Kashihara	Kashihara, Wakugami Village, South Katsuragi District (Gose City)
2	Suizei	Takaoka in Katsuragi	Moriwaki, Handagô Village, South Katsuragi District (Gose City)
3	Annei	Ukiana in Katashio	Sansôdô, Ukiana Village, North Katsuragi District (Yamato-Takada City)
4	Itoku	Magario in Karu	Mise, Unebi Machi, Takaichi District (Kashihara City)
5	Kôshô	Ikegokoro in Wakigami	Ikenouchi, Akitsu Village, South Katsuragi District (Gose City)
6	Kôan	Akitsushima in Muro	Muro, Akitsu Village, South Katsuragi District (Gose City)
7	Kôrei	Ihoto in Kuroda	Kuroda, Miyako Village, Shiki District, (Tawaramoto-chô)
8	Kôgen	Sakaibara in Karu	Mise, Unebi Machi, Takaichi District (Kashihara City)
9	Kaika	Izagawa in Kasuga	Komori-chô, Nara City.

葛城王朝の宮址表

世代	王名	王宮名	所在地
1	神武	橿原宮	南葛城郡掖上村柏原 (御所市)
2	綏靖	葛城の高丘宮	南葛城郡吐田郷村森脇 (御所市)
3	安寧	片鹽の浮孔宮	北葛城郡浮孔村三倉堂 (大和高田市)
4	懿德	輕の曲峽宮	高市郡敢傍町見瀬 (橿原市)
5	孝昭	掖上の池心宮	南葛城郡秋津村池之内 (御所市)
6	孝安	室の秋津嶋宮	南葛城郡秋津村室 (御所市)
7	孝靈	黒田の蘆戸宮	磯城郡都村黒田 (田原本町)
8	孝元	輕の境原宮	高市郡敢傍町見瀬 (橿原市)
9	開化	春日の率川宮	奈良市子守町

Takamiya 高宮 [=High Shrine], Home of the Katsuragi 葛城 and Soga 蘇我 Clans. The second emperor, Suizei, was another of those who established his capital in the Gose City region. The *Nihon Shoki* has, 'The capital was moved to Katsuragi, and was known as the Palace of Takaoka', while

the *Kojiki* records, 'Palace of Takaoka in Katsuragi'. This is also popularly called Takamiya. This place, Takamiya, is in the neighbourhood of the shrine of Hitokotonushi-no-mikoto 一言主命, which is at Moriwaki 森脇, Gose City, at the foot of Mount Katsuragi. In the *Shoku Nihongi*, section 12, we read that once when the Emperor Yûryaku was hunting on Mount Katsuragi, the god Hitokotonushi appeared in human form and competed with the emperor in the chase, but the emperor was very angry at the god's insolent speech and moved him to Tosa 土佐. Then we read that in A.D. 764 in the reign of the Emperor Shôtoku 'Takakamo-no-Ason Tamori 高賀茂朝臣田守, of the upper grade of the lower fifth rank, petitioned the emperor and was permitted to bring back the god and worship him on the hill of Takamiya at the foot of Mount Katsuragi to the east;' and probably the location of Hitokotonushi's shrine, at which he was then worshipped, was known as the hill of Takamiya. Also the *Shoki Tsûshaku* tells us, 'As stated in Takesato's 飯田武郷 [the author] *Survey of Remains of Ancient Palaces* 舊都址要覽, the place called Jingû-no-shiba 神宮の芝 at Moriwaki, Handagôri Village 吐田郷村, Katsuragi District should be regarded as part of a royal palace'. That shrine is some 200 metres north of Hitokotonushi's, and Mount Jingû [=shrine] used to be called Takaoka [=high mound].

This Takamiya was also the stronghold of the Katsuragi clan. We find Iwanohime 磐之媛, the daughter of Katsuragi-no-Sotsuhiko 葛城襲津彦, who became Nintoku's empress, crying out in a song with longing for Takamiya, her parental home. This empress Iwanohime, who was the mother of the three emperors, Richû, Hanzei and Ingyô, went on a journey to Kii 紀伊, and in her absence Nintoku brought Yata-no-Wakairatsume 八田若郎女 into his palace as a wife. Resenting this, the empress would not return to the Palace of Takatsu at Naniwa 難波, and went off to Yamashiro 山背. The story is almost too well known of how the emperor repeatedly begged her to return and how she refused each time and finally died desolately in the palace of Tsutsuki 筒城 in Yamashiro. The *Nihon Shoki* gives a detailed account of these events, and this includes a song in which the empress gazes towards distant Katsuragi, as she goes over Mount Nara 那羅山 on her way to the River Yamashiro, refusing to go back to Naniwa:

Going up to Miya,	Yamato I pass,
As I ascentd	Shielded by its mountains;
The River of Yamashiro	The land I long to see
(—Peak upon peak—)	Is Takamiya of Katsuragi,
Nara I pass	For there is my home. (tr. Aston)
Of fertile soil;	

Without going back to the capital and without going back to her parental home, she went as far as Mount Nara to hide herself in Yamashiro. Once she had gone over one mountain, she was parted from Yamato. And this was

the song she sang as she looked back, wishing to store in her breast the face of the Yamato she would never see again. And in this song, linked with 'The land I long to see Is Takamiya of Katsuragi, For there is my home', there comes out clearly the bitterness of the empress now alone, who loves the emperor too much to forgive Yata.

It may be because of the existence of this song that Iwanohime's mausoleum was built on a mound of Mount Nara and is a large one, 219 metres long, on a site which commands a view of the whole Yamato plain. Looking into the distance from the pines along the approach to the tomb, one can clearly see the hill valley of Katsuragi. One warms to the thought of the people who found such a site as this for her mausoleum.

As is clear from the above song, Takamiya, where Suizei located his capital was also the stronghold of the Katsuragi clan. And as I shall explain in detail in due course, the Soga clan who were the ultimate descendants, built their ancestral shrine at this Takamiya, in the first year of the reign of the empress Kôgyoku (A.D. 641), and this was because it was the old home of the Katsuragi clan.

Furthermore the capital of the third emperor, Annei, was at Sansôdô 三倉堂, Ukiana village 浮孔村, North Katsuragi District, only 4 kilometres north of the town of Gose City, though it now belongs in the region of Yamato-Takada City. In the *Nihon Shoki* we have, 'The capital was moved to Katashio and was called the Palace of Ukiana', and the *Kojiki* gives this name as 浮穴宮. It was somewhere near the Takada 高田 City station of the Kinki 近畿 Railway.

The capital of the fourth emperor, Itoku, was Mise 見瀬, Unebi town, Takaichi District 高市郡, now part of the Kashihara City district, and the precincts of the shrine of the great god of Sakaibara 境原, which are there, are identified as the remains of his palace. The *Nihon Shoki* has 'The capital was moved to Karu 輕, and was called the Palace Magario 曲峽', while the *Kojiki* says, 'The Palace of Sakaioka in Karu'. Formerly this was in Takaichi District, so the district is different, but the site is a mere five kilometres east of the town of Gose City.

Thus, the capitals of the first six emperors are shown to have been situated in the area stretching from the foot of Mount Katsuragi to Mount Unebi. I will discuss the mausolea of these emperors in detail in Section 2, and will only mention here that they too were built in this region. These facts lead to the hypothesis that the constitution of a tribal state took place in the level area which widens out from the foot of Mount Katsuragi.

The Advance to the Yamato Plain. Then suddenly with the accession of Kôrei, the seventh emperor, they moved right away from that region into the Palace of Ihoto at Kuroda 黒田, Miyako village 都村, Shiki, which became the capital. In the *Nihon Shoki* we find, 'The capital was moved to Kuroda, and this was called the Palace of Ihoto 廬戸宮', and the *Kojiki* is the

same. Its remains may be identified between the hamlets of Kuroda and Miyako, Tawara Honmachi town. This is at the western extremity of Shiki District, but at the centre of the Yamato Plain. What can be the meaning of this?

Moreover, this was not simply a matter of advancing the capital into the Yamato Plain. As I shall show in detail in Section 3, from the time of this emperor onwards, both the *Nihon Shoki* and the *Kojiki* list the names of the imperial wives as well as of the empresses, and show that women were taken from outside the region at the foot of Mount Katsuragi. Accordingly, we cannot but regard this move of the capital to the centre of Yamato as being intended to enable a tribal state from the foot of Mount Katsuragi to bring under its sway other tribal states then existing in Yamato and so dominate them all. This should emerge more clearly from the investigations outlined in Sections 2 and 3 below.

However, Kôgen, the eighth emperor, moved the capital back to Karu 輕 in the old region. The *Nihon Shoki* says, 'The capital was moved to Karu, and was called the Palace of Sakaibara 境原,' and the *Kojiki* is the same, and this is the same place as that of the palace of Itoku, the fourth emperor. However, this was not a retreat. This we can tell from the fact that the empress and two imperial wives were taken from the powerful clan of the Mononobe, who were then in control of north Yamato and Kawachi. This is because exogamous marriages mean political control of the tribes with which they are made. We should then probably do well to suppose that in this reign an area other than Yamato, Kawachi, was brought under control.

Moreover, there is an even better proof in the fact that in the reign of Kaika, the ninth emperor, the capital was moved to the northern end of the Yamato Plain, to a place in what is now Komori town 子守町 in Nara City. In the *Nihon Shoki* we find 'The capital was moved to Kasuga 春日, and called the Palace of Izagawa 率川', and the *Kojiki* gives the same name with different characters. This is an advance from the south west corner of the Yamato Plain to the north eastern edge outside it. What does this move of the capital tell us?

In fact, the reason for the location of the capital at Nara, which, though in the Yamato Plain, is at its northern extremity is a question to be regarded as of great importance. Were it a question of only controlling the Yamato Plain, central Yamato, as in the case of Kôrei's capital, would have been adequate. The bold venture of building a capital at the northern extremity was probably for the purpose of taking fuller advantage of the River Kitsu 木津 which waters the southern part of Yamashiro. The Kitsu was no more than six kilometres from the Nara capital. We may consider this advance of the capital to have been carried out either as a plan for political advance or following on a successful conquest.

From the marriage point of view, Kaika took a woman of the Mononobe

clan for his empress and one of Tanba 丹波 as his wife. Both Kôgen and Kaika successively took women of the Mononobe clan for their empresses. This surely indicates that unless political relations could be entered into with the powerful tribe that bestrode northern Yamato and Kawachi, advance of the capital as far as Nara at the northern extremity of Yamato would not have been possible. And the further taking of a woman from Tanba as imperial wife surely shows that political mastery of Yamashiro 山城 and Tanba was achieved during Kaika's reign.

This rapid political expansion between the reigns of Kôrei and Kaika is something that requires our very close attention. Until then the various tribes scattered over the Yamato region had preserved some sort of equilibrium and set up tribal states, but at this juncture the balance of power was broken. The subsequent strife ended in the emergence of a master of the Yamato Plain. And this was, furthermore, the emergence of a kingdom which achieved a political advance not limited to the single province of Yamato but extended to, at least, Kawachi, Yamashiro and Tanba outside it.

In the present work, the name of 'Katsuragi Dynasty' is used for this kingdom, but, to be precise, up to the time of the sixth emperor it should be referred to as a tribal state, and it is from the move of the capital to central Yamato under the seventh emperor that I think the term 'dynasty' becomes suitable. However, for convenience's sake, I prefer to include them all in the term, Katsuragi Dynasty.

There is one remark I would like to make here, and that is that we may trust without hesitation the locations of imperial capitals given in the *Kojiki* or *Nihon Shoki*. This is because the emperors used to be referred to in ancient times by citing the name of the palace in which they resided, with the result that the palace names, indicating place names were doubtless handed down with accuracy. For instance, Suinin, whose capital was at Makimuku 纏向, is called 'the emperor who ruled the world in the palace of Tamaki 珠城 in Makimuku 卷向'. Of course, it is to be supposed that at this epoch the title of 'emperor' was not used and that he was referred to as 'great king', and so we may well replace 'emperor' by this latter term. There is also archaeological evidence that the term, great king, was used: the inlaid inscription on a sword excavated from the Edafunayama 江田船山 Old Tomb says 'the reign of the great king Mizuha who ruled the world in the palace of Tajihî 治天下瓠宮瑞齒大王世. This is the emperor Mizuhawake (*i.e.* Hanzei) in the palace of Tajihî. Thus, with the emperors simply referred to by the names of their palaces, there is no objection to accepting the locations of the capitals as they stand.

This 'Katsuragi Dynasty' preceded the Emperor Sujin who was called 'the Emperor Who First Ruled The Land'. Thus the Katsuragi Dynasty which came before the establishment of the Yamato Court, was no fabrication

but had a genuine existence. We have to acknowledge that the Yamato Court was established on the political basis created by the Katsuragi Dynasty.

2. What the mausolea tell us.

The rule governing the bearing between the palace and the mausoleum.

The locations of the mausolea of the first nine emperors of the Katsuragi Dynasty also provide a true narrative of the political expansion of that dynasty. And what is of very profound interest is that I believe that one can discern a definite rule which governs the bearings between the mausolea and capitals, and that this raises a new issue in the field of the study of our ancient history.

Of the mausoleum of the first emperor, Jimmu, the *Nihon Shoki* says, 'the north eastern slopes of Mount Unebi', while the *Kojiki* has, 'Kashino-onoue 白檮尾上'. The most ancient subsequent reference to this mausoleum occurs in the account of the first year of the Emperor Temmu (A.D. 672) when he is fighting the Ômi troops. Takechi Kome 高市許梅, who was governor of the district of Takechi, became suddenly incapable of speech. After three days, he uttered in the names of the gods Kotoshironushi 事代主神 and Ikutama 生靈神: "Offer horses and all kinds of weapons at the mausoleum of the emperor Kamuyamatoiwahiko [Jimmu]". Then they continued, "We stood before and behind the imperial descendant and we escorted him to the pass and returned. Once again we stand among the imperial troops to protect them." Whereupon, we are told, Temmu sent Kome to do obeisance at the mausoleum and offer up horses and weapons.

Immediately to the north of Jimmu's mausoleum is that of Suizei, the second emperor, on the mound of Tsukida 桃花鳥田丘上陵 (*Kojiki* writes 衡田岡). Further, the mausoleum of Annei, the third emperor, was on Mihotoi-no-ue 御陰井上 (美富登 in *Kojiki*) and that of the next emperor, Itoku, was above the Masago-no-tani (Manago 眞名子 in *Kojiki*), and these are both to the south west of Mount Unebi. What then is the significance of all of the first four emperors' mausoleum being built round Mount Unebi.

As stated in the previous section, these four emperors' capitals were moved to different places. Jimmu's capital was at Kashihara village some four kilometres south west of Mount Unebi, that of Suizei at Moriwaki village, eight kilometres south west, that of Annei at Sansôdô, four kilometres north west, and that of Itoku at Mise village, two kilometres south east. I would like to consider that there was some reason for thus concentrating at the foot of Mount Unebi as if by some previous arrangement concerning their tombs. Another point to be noted is that there is a record of the tomb of Prince Kamuyaimimi 神八井耳命, the elder brother of Suizei, to whom he yielded the throne, 'He was buried to the north of Mount Unebi'. This is the sole instance of the record of any tomb other than those of the emperors, but it

Table of the Mausolea of the Katsuragi Dynasty

Reign	Sovereign	Name of Mausoleum	Location
1	Jimmu	Mausoleum to the Ushitora (North East) of Mount Unebi	Yamamoto, Unebi town, Takaichi (Kashihara City)
2	Suizei	Mausoleum on Yamato-no-Tsukida-no-oka-no-ue	Tainotsubo Shijo-aza, Unebi town, Takaichi District (Kashihara City)
3	Annei	Mausoleum of Mihotoi-no-ue to South of Mount Unebi	Nishiyama, Yoshida-aza, Unebi town, Takaichi District (Kashihara City)
4	Itoku	Mausoleum of Manago-no-tani-no-kami to South of Mount Unebi	Kashi, Ikejiri-aza, Unebi town, Takaichi District (Kashihara City)
5	Kôshô	Mausoleum of Waki-no-kami-no-Hakata-no-yama-no-kami on Mount Hakata, Wakigami	Hakata-yama, Mimuro-aza, Taishô-mura, South Katsuragi District (Gose City)
6	Kôan	Mausoleum of Tamate-no-oka-no-ue	Miya-yama, Tamate-aza, Wakigami-mura, South Katsuragi District (Gose City)
7	Kôrei	Mausoleum Kataoka-no-Umasaka	Harii, Ôji town, North Katsuragi District (Yamato-Takada City)
8	Kôgen	Mausoleum of Tsurugi-no-ike-no-shima-no-ue	Tsurugiike-no-ue, Ishikawa-aza, Unebi Town, Takaichi District (Kashihara City)
9	Kaika	Mausoleum at Sakamoto, Izakawa, Kasuga	Yama-no-tera, Aburasaka Town, Nara City

葛城王朝の御陵表

世代	王名	御陵名	所在地
1	神武	畝傍山東北陵	高市郡畝傍町山本 (橿原市)
2	綏靖	倭の桃花鳥田丘上陵	高市郡畝傍町四条字田井ノ坪 (橿原市)
3	安寧	畝傍山南, 御陰井上陵	高市郡畝傍町吉田字西山 (橿原市)
4	懿德	畝傍山南, 織沙谿上陵	高市郡畝傍町池尻字カシ (橿原市)
5	孝昭	掖上博多山上陵	南葛城郡大正村三室字博多山 (御所市)
6	孝安	玉手丘上陵	南葛城郡掖上村玉手字宮山 (御所市)
7	孝靈	片丘馬坂陵	北葛城郡王寺町張井 (大和高田市)
8	孝元	劔池嶋上陵	高市郡畝傍町石川字劔池の上 (橿原市)
9	開化	春日率川坂本陵	奈良市油坊町山の寺

contributes to one's impression of a concentration on Mount Unebi.

This does not mean that, with burial places of early emperors unknown, we can just settle for Mount Unebi in all cases. I am hoping to make this point on the present occasion, but we cannot unquestioningly believe in the places identified with the mausolea of the successive emperors. Nor is there any necessity for such belief. But I think we must believe in the fact of the tradition of a certain emperor having been buried in a certain place. We

should regard these as handed down by oral or written record. However, when later generations came to determine these tombs, they would identify as mausolea such tombs as seemed to fit in with the traditional place or region, and I think that for that reason there may in fact be cases where the tombs are those of other powerful tribes. For there is no clue whatever to determine precisely whose any tomb was, the general construction and contents being the only indications. Nothing is more difficult than to determine who was buried in any tomb.

However, when we try believing the tradition, setting aside the question of whether the actual identification of a mausoleum is correct or not, we are at least obliged to accept that burial took place in that region. In that case the question arises as to why the tombs of the first four emperors were concentrated at the foot of Mount Unebi. As a first step towards answering it, we should consider whether at that time Mount Unebi was not regarded as a place of burial, that is to say, a land of the shades.

There is documentary evidence, at least from the time of the *Manyōshū* onwards, that Mount Unebi was revered as one of the Three Mountains of Yamato. It is clear from the sections of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* concerning the Age of the Gods that, among the three, Mount Kagu was an object of religious worship as a sacred wood. But there is no such tradition of religious significance in the case of Unebi. There is, however, an interesting story in this connection. It appears in the *Kojiki's* section on Jimmu.

After fixing his capital in the Palace of Kashihara, Jimmu looked about him for a consort. At this point Ôkume-no-Mikoto 大久米命 introduced a beautiful girl said to be the child of a deity. The reason for this claim was that the Great God of Miwa 三輪 (Kotoshironushi 事代主神, however, in the *Nihon Shoki*) had fallen in love at first sight with Seyatatara-hime, the daughter of Mishimamizokui, and, when the girl went to the lavatory, he turned into a red painted arrow, came up out of the pit below the lavatory and struck her genitals. The girl ran from the lavatory in alarm, washed the arrow and placed it by her bed, whereupon it instantly turned into a beautiful young man. The issue of their intercourse was Isukeyori-hime, who was thus described as the child of a deity. So Jimmu took this Isukeyori-hime into his palace and made her his empress, and three princes were born to them, Hikoyai-no-mikoto, Kamuyaimimi-no-mikoto and Kamununakawamimi-no-mikoto.

However, when he was in Kyūshū, Jimmu had had another son, Prince Tagishimimi-no-mikoto, and this prince accompanied him on the eastward move to Yamato. On the death of Jimmu, this Tagishimimi-no-mikoto plotted to marry Isukeyori-hime. He then became jealous of her three sons and intended to kill them. The empress came to know about this and was troubled, and she sang a song to acquaint the princes with the danger in which they stood:

death.

More tragic still was the case of Tasa, *omi* of Kamitsumichi. While he was away on duty as governor of Mimana [the Japanese enclave in Korea], his wife, Wakahime, was seized by Yûryaku. The emperor probably did this on purpose, acting on his knowledge of the spirit of rebellion in Kibi. This was enough to enrage Tasa, who sought military aid from the kingdom of Silla and set himself in rebellion against the court, but it ended in defeat. But, it gave rise to a tremendous incident, on the occasion of the emperor's death. Whether or not because there was intelligence between Kibi and Wakahime, she and Prince Hoshikawa, the son she had by the emperor, planned to seize the office of the Treasury, gain some supporters and take the throne. A fleet of forty naval vessels stood by off Naniwa to help in the rebellion. Unhappily, they were betrayed and failed by the supporters they had relied on, and Wakahime and the prince were burnt to death in a fire which consumed the Treasury.

The *kuninomiya*s (chieftains) who were of prime importance to Kibi were now either killed or oppressed, and the province was broken up into a number of small ones. After that, central officials were sent and took charge. It was no doubt for these reasons that the two princes who had once subdued Kibi were shown genealogically to be ancestors of Kibi, which had now lost its power, linked by blood with the court.

In fact, the correct names of the two princes had originally no connection with Kibi, according to the *Nihon Shoki*, which gives Hikoisaserihiko-no-mikoto and Wakatakehiko-no-mikoto. Under the influence of the genealogical tables of Kibi, there is a note on the former, 'Another name was Kibitsuhiko-no-mikoto', and on the latter, 'the younger brother, Wakatakehiko-no-mikoto, was the first ancestor of the *omi* of Kibi'. We can well conclude from this manner of recording the facts, also, that they are later interpolations.

Consideration of the history of the rise and fall of ancient Kibi suggests that it may well be a fact that it was subjugated by the two sons of Kôrei. The subjugation of Kibi, not inferior in strength to the Mononobe clan of Kawachi, means that the Katsuragi Dynasty had seized almost complete authority in Japan. For the subjugation of the other small communities was no more than a question of time.

Sujin, 'The Emperor Who First Ruled The Land' established the Yamato Court on the basis of the sovereignty thus built up by the Katsuragi Dynasty. In the next section, I propose to show how this new Yamato Court seems to have arisen out of some sort of revolution.

4. Rebellious attempts to overthrow the Yamato Court.

The Rebellion of Takehaniyasuhiko. The Yamato Court, which replaced the Katsuragi Dynasty, came into existence at the foot of Mount

Miwa. The emperor Sujin who was its founder was called 'The Emperor Who First Ruled the Land'. But, we cannot know by what means this newly arisen Yamato Court replaced the preceding dynasty or anything of the manner in which the transfer of power took place.

However, it is at least clear that the new dynasty did not take over the power of the old in any peaceful manner. During the reigns of Sujin and Suinin, in the early period of the Yamato Court, there were revolts on the part of blood relations of the Katsuragi Dynasty aiming to recover the throne. I will begin to illustrate this with an incident which arose in Sujin's reign. The first rebel to attempt to kill Sujin was Takehanyasuhiko, younger half-brother of the last sovereign of the previous dynasty, Kaika. This revolt was probably designed to recover the throne that his elder brother had lost. According to the *Nihon Shoki*, Totohimomosohime-no-mikoto, a female shaman, reported the plot to Sujin: 'I have heard that Ata-hime, the wife of Takehanyasuhiko, came secretly and took earth from Mount Kagu 香山 in Yamato, wrapped it in her scarf and prayed, saying, "This is the symbol of Yamato", and she went home. By this I know that something is going to happen. Unless you make plans immediately, it will certainly be too late'.

This 'scarf' was worn by women on the head and shoulders and was also used in spells. There were also scarves among the sacred treasures of the ancient tribes. According to the *Kuji Hongi*, among the ten treasures brought down from heaven by the ancestor of the Mononobe clan, there were a snake scarf, a bee scarf and a stuff scarf in addition to the mirror, jewel and sword. And, when Ōkuninushi-no-mikoto was tested by being shut into the chamber of snakes, and the chamber of centipedes and bees, his wife secretly passed a snake scarf and a centipede-bee scarf, by waving which he was saved. Again, the eight treasures brought from Korea by Amenohiboko, according to the *Kojiki*, included a wave-raising scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-raising scarf and a wind-cutting scarf, which were no doubt intended as protection against gales and rough seas when crossing the Genkai-nada by boat.

Thus, Takehanyasuhiko's wife, wrapping the earth of Mount Kagu in a magic scarf and stealthily taking it home, was reported to the emperor as meaning a conspiracy. It is also related, in the account of Jimmu's pacification of Yamato, that he took earth of Mount Kagu, made earthen utensils of it, and then, having performed an act of worship, subdued the enemy.

In fact, Takehanyasuhiko and his wife, Atahime, were intending to attack the capital simultaneously, he from Yamashiro and she from Ōsaka. The emperor despatched a general, who first destroyed Atahime's force and killed her. He next moved his army forward, crossing Mount Nara, confronted Takehanyasuhiko across the river. At this point, Takehanyasuhiko asked the opposing general Hikokunibuku, 'Why have you come with this army of yours?' By this question, he probably wished to ask whether it was not his own troops who were loyal. Hikokunibuku replied, 'You are wickedly defy-

ing heaven. You want to overthrow the royal house. So I have raised loyal troops with which I shall punish your mutinousness. This is the will of heaven'.

The two men then strove which should shoot first, and Takehanyasuhiko shot first, but missed Hikokunibuku. Then the second arrow, shot by Hikokunibuku, struck him in the breast and he died, upon which his troops took fright and withdrew.

And, as the argument of the previous section shows, the reason for Takehanyasuhiko's raising his troops in southern Yamashiro was that this region had been under the control of the Katsuragi Dynasty. But, this counter attack intended to overthrow the Yamato Court finally ended in failure. Then, in the time of the next emperor, Suinin, there was a similar incident in which one of Kaika's grandsons, Sahohiko-no-kimi, tried to kill the emperor and seize the throne. This Sahohiko was the son of Kaika's son, Hikoimasu, and Sahonoôkuramitome.

The tragedy of the two Saho, brother and sister. The emperor Suinin made Saho-hime, the younger sister of Sahohiko, his empress. Homutsuwake-no-mikoto was born to them, and the emperor loved him truly. Such was the friendly atmosphere, but Sahohiko was plotting revolt, and asked his younger sister, Saho-hime, 'Which do you love, your brother or your husband the emperor?' She replied, 'I love my brother'. Then he said to her that if a man is served by beauty, when the beauty fades, then the love also ceases. And he went on, 'So what I hope is to ascend to the heavenly succession and inevitably rule over the world with you, piling high our pillows for a long hundred years. Would this not be delightful? So I am asking you to kill the emperor for me'.

The emperor, all unknowing, took his noon sleep pillowed on the empress's lap. The empress, thinking that this was the moment, three times raised the dagger, but her tears flowed and fell on the emperor's face. The emperor awoke with a start and told the empress how he had seen in a dream a small shimmering snake coil itself round his neck. And a great shower of rain had come from Saho and wet his face. Of what would this be a portent? The princess could continue her concealment no longer and disclosed all the details of her brother's plot. 'I could neither go counter to my brother's will nor go against the emperor's benevolence. If I divulged the plot, I lost my brother, if I said nothing I overthrew the throne. When the emperor was resting pillowed on my lap, I became a mad woman and, thinking that this was the only moment to perform my brother's will, I shed tears and wiped them away with my sleeve, and they fell again from my sleeve and finally wet the emperor's face. What the emperor has just seen in his dream must have been this. The small snake was my dagger and the great rain my tears? So she spoke.

Hearing this, the emperor told her that the crime was not hers, and

immediately directed his troops against Sahohiko. Sahohiko piled up rice and made a castle to defend himself. This rice castle was so strong that a month passed without its falling.

The empress was sad and, feeling that she could not go on living once her brother had gone, she took Homutsuwake in her arms and went into the rice castle. In order to rescue the empress and the prince, the emperor told the enemy to send them out of the rice castle, but the empress did not want to come out. Meanwhile, the general set fire to the rice castle. Thereupon, the empress came out of the rice castle with the prince in her arms. She said, 'When I fled into the castle in the first place, I thought that by doing so I would gain pardon for my brother's crime. But, as it has not been pardoned, I am guilty of crime. So rather than be strangled, I wish to bring about my own death. But, even though I am to die, I have not forgotten the emperor's benevolence'. She had no sooner ceased speaking, than the fire blazed more fiercely and the castle collapsed, and the empress with her brother Sahohiko perished in the flames.

We should note well the fact that, in the course of two reigns of the Yamato Court, barely established, attempts were made to kill the emperor and seize the throne by a younger brother and grandson of Kaika, the last sovereign of the preceding dynasty. And these two successive attempts at rebellion surely mean that the Katsuragi Dynasty fell to an insurrection and that Sujin appeared as the new holder of power to replace it.

Chapter II: The dual sovereignties, of religion and of government

I. Questions concerned with the succession to the throne.

The uninterrupted succession of second sons to the throne. The character of the royal authority in antiquity is an important question which must be once more minutely examined.

Up to now, it has been said of the imperial genealogy that our ancient system of succession involved the succession of the last son. Indeed, it does appear from a glance at the *Kojiki* or *Nihon Shoki* that the elder brothers were set aside and the last son succeeded. For this reason the belief arose, but closer examination shows that, though indeed a younger brother, it was in fact restricted to the second son. We are thus faced with a new question concerned with the right of succession in antiquity.

Had it in fact been the last son, however many elder brothers there might have been, no question would arise, but once it becomes the second,

the reason for the abstention of the first becomes a very important problem.

Had the first son, in fact, no right of succession? To put it another way, I think we should consider, while accepting the accession to the throne of the second son, whether or not succession to the throne signified the primary right of succession in our ancient society. This is something that has so far escaped our notice, but I think that, according to the ideas of our ancient society, the eldest son was, on the contrary accorded the highest right of succession, the right of succession to the throne held by the second being considered as coming second. If this is so, whatever can the highest right of succession, accorded to the first son, be represented as being? From this point, I propose to elucidate a new question revolving round dual sovereignties of worship and of government.

In the main text of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, Jimmu, the first emperor, was the fourth son of Ugayafukiaezu-no-mikoto. There were the first son Hikoitsuse-no-mikoto, Inai-no-mikoto, Mikeirinu-no-mikoto and then Kamuyamatoiwahiko-no-mikoto (Jimmu). This name of Jimmu's is a later one, and the *Kojiki* gives his original name as Wakamikenu-no-mikoto.

However, the fourth 'one writing' of the *Nihon Shoki*, representing a different tradition, gives only one earlier son, Hikoitsuse, so Jimmu's position is different. The first and second 'one writing' agree with the main text in making Jimmu the fourth son, but the third 'one writing' makes him third son, and the fourth 'one writing' makes him second son.

Even without particularly insisting on these shifts of position, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* differ from one another on a very important point. According to the *Nihon Shoki*, these four brothers set out from Kyûshû and, as they moved further and further from Naniwa in the direction of Yamato, their way was blocked by Nagasunehiko. Then, in the battle on the hill of Kusaka in Kawachi, the first, Itsuse, was hit by a stray arrow, was wounded and later died. They, then, retreated and made a detour towards Kii, but they ran into a storm, and, in order to calm the waves, the second and third sons offered themselves up, entered the sea and perished. Finally, only Jimmu was left, and finished the task of subjugating Yamato and mounted the throne.

In the *Kojiki* on the other hand, the second and third sons were dead before the move eastward to Yamato, and, it says at the beginning of the section about Jimmu, 'Kamuyamatoiwahiko-no-mikoto with his elder brother, Itsuse, was living in the Palace of Takachiho, and he consulted his brother, saying, "Where should we live to govern the world peacefully? I think of going eastwards"'. And thus it came about that only the first son, Itsuse, and the fourth, Jimmu went to Yamato.

It is a question as to which account is the right one, but, seeing that both books' accounts proceed on the assumption that Jimmu is to be the emperor, the *Kojiki* is perhaps to be preferred. It is the purpose of this section to inves-

tigate the matter of the second son's succession to the throne, but, if it was the case, then the *Nihon Shoki* would have had to proceed by first writing as if the second son were the emperor-to-be, and after his death as though it were the third, then finally the fourth son, Jimmu would have been shown to ascend the throne for lack of any other solution. Moreover, the sacrifice of the two brothers to calm the waves is in contradiction with such assumptions about the emperor-to-be. But, the *Kojiki's* account, whereby the second and third sons had already died in Kyûshû, so that only two, the first and the fourth, came to Yamato, proceeds satisfactorily from the start with Jimmu, properly placed in the position of second son, regarded as the emperor-to-be.

And so, though genealogically, Jimmu, as fourth son, was the last son, he may be said in fact to have occupied the position of the second. He was what might be called a fictitious second son.

The omission of daughters and of third and subsequent sons. The *Kojiki* relates that when he was still in Kyûshû, Jimmu married Ahira-hime, by whom he had two sons, Tagishimimi and Kisumimi. The *Nihon Shoki* recognizes only Tagishimimi. However, on ascending the throne in the Kashihara palace, after the pacification of Yamato, he took a new wife, Himetataraisuzu-hime, who bore him Kamuyaimimi-no-mikoto and Kamununagawamimi-no-mikoto. It was the last son, Kamununagawa, who succeeded to the throne and became the second emperor, Suizei. Genealogically speaking, this is a case of the last son's succession, but in this case too the situation is complicated and it was Kamununagawamimi, holding for practical purposes the position of second son, who succeeded to the throne instead of Kamuyaimimi, who held the position of first son.

According to the *Nihon Shoki*, the eldest brother, Tagishimimi, who was born in Kyûshû, came to Yamato with his father, Jimmu, but after Jimmu's death, he schemed to have intercourse with the empress, for which he was killed by the two princes who were her sons. There were then left just the two, Kamuyaimimi and Kamununagawamimi. Between these two, there was a mutual concession, whereby the younger, Kamununagawamimi succeeded to the throne, and the elder, Kamuyaimimi took charge of religious matters. I intend to deal with this question of the first son's responsibility for religious affairs later on; but here too is a case in which he who was in reality the second son became the successor to the throne.

Only one son, Shikitsuhikotamademi-no-mikoto, was born to this second emperor, Suizei. In this case, he naturally became successor to the throne.

But the princes of the third emperor, Annei, provide a plain example of the succession of the second son in this dynasty. This emperor had three sons, Ikishimimi-no-mikoto, Ôyamatohikosukitomo-no-mikoto and Shikitsuhiko-no-mikoto. It was Sukitomo who succeeded to the throne and became the emperor Itoku.

This fourth emperor, Itoku, also had only one son, Mimatsuhikokaeshine-

no-mikoto, and so he became the fifth emperor.

This fifth emperor, Kôshô, had two sons, Ametarashihikokunioshihito-no-mikoto and Yamatotarashihikokunioshihito-no-mikoto, and the second of them succeeded as the emperor Kôan.

This sixth emperor, Kôan, had only one son, Ôyamatonekohikofutoni-no-mikoto, who became the seventh emperor, Kôrei.

During this period up to the sixth reign, there was still only a tribal state in Katsuragi, and in the records of it, only the names of male children are given. Since it can hardly be that no girls were born, it seems that the names of girl children are omitted as having no relation to the succession. Furthermore, as regards the names of male children too, those of the third, fourth or subsequent sons, which we may well suppose to have existed sometimes at least, are omitted. About single sons, there is of course no problem, but in the cases where the second son succeeds, the names of the first and second sons are given and any others apparently omitted.

Only in the case of Annei's sons does the name of the third appear, and this third son is handled in the record in a manner equivalent to its omission. The *Nihon Shoki* says, 'Before this [before she had become empress], the empress had borne two princes. The first was called Ikishimimi. The second was named Ôyamatohikosukitomo'. The only mention of the later one is 'The youngest brother, Shikitsuhiko, was the first ancestor of the *muraji* of Itsukai'. This item was probably inserted at the time of compilation from the records of the *muraji* of Itsukai. Another account in the *Nihon Shoki* reads, 'one record says: she bore three princes. The first was called Tokotsuhikoirono. The second was called the emperor Ôyamatohikosukitomo. The third was called Shikitsuhiko-no-mikoto'. And, as the *Kojiki* gives the same, we are in the unusual position of knowing the names of three sons in the family tree of this sovereign. A case like this shows us that the names of princes younger than the successor were simply omitted as being inessential to the record.

On the other hand, from the reign of the seventh emperor, Kôrei, on, when the capital was moved into the central plain of Yamato and consorts and wives were taken from other tribes, perhaps because the state had developed into something worthy of the name of kingdom, the records become somewhat more detailed. This was perhaps because there became available as historical material genealogies handed down by tribes related to the emperors through their empresses and wives, to show their blood relationship with the emperors. Even so, the names thus recorded are limited either to those who played a role on the stage of history or were otherwise essential, while the omission of all other names went on as before.

The only name recorded of children born to the seventh emperor, Kôrei, and his empress is that of Ôyamatonekohikokunikuru. But there are three male children among those of his two wives. According to modern ways of

thinking, the sons of wives would not be recognized as having a right of succession, and one would say that the son of an empress should be made to succeed. However, as later examples will show, in the period following the establishment of the Yamato Court, sons of wives were also included in the number of those having a right to the succession. This is because there was originally no distinction between empress and wife, she who bore the successor being called empress. And so, on the analogy of material subsequent to the establishment of the Yamato Court, which will appear later, it is possible that in this case also, the first son was born to one of those called wives, and that the empress' son, Kunikuru, was in fact the second.

Genealogy of the princes and princesses of Kôrei.

(Empress) Hoso-hime—Ôyamatonekohikokunikuru-no-mikoto (emperor Kôgen)
 (Wife) Haeiro-the Elder { Yamatototohimomoso-hime-no-mikoto
 Hikoisaserihiko-no-mikoto (Kibitsu-hiko)
 Yamatototowakaya-hime-no-mikoto
 (Wife) Haeiro-the Younger { Hikosajima-no-mikoto
 Wakatakehiko-no-mikoto (Wakatakekibitsu-hiko)

If no distinction is recognized between the sons of empresses and wives in the matter of the right of succession, and if further, the empress' son, Kunikuru, is taken to have been the first son, then, according to the rule of succession so far, the wife's son, Hikoisaserihiko, as second son, should have succeeded to the throne. If, however, on the contrary Hikoisaserihiko is taken to have been the first son and Kunikuru the second, then the latter's accession to the throne becomes rightful according to the rule. In any case, it is at least clear that it was not a succession of the last son.

As I mentioned above, the genealogies subsequent to the establishment of the Yamato Court show that it was the regular usage in such circumstances as these where Kunikuru, who succeeded, was the second son and the first son was Hikoisaserihiko. I will later be examining in detail the position of Hikoisaserihiko as first son, when I hope to establish with accuracy whether or not it was of a religious character.

This Hikoisaserihiko was sent with his brother, Wakatakehiko, to subdue Kibi. This passed as recorded in the *Kojiki* which I introduced in section 3 of the preceding chapter. The record said, 'They placed ceremonial jars at the river Hi in Harima, and, starting out from Harima, subdued and pacified Kibi'. Hi is the old name for the river Kako in Harima, and the story tells us that they arranged a row of earthen vessels containing sacred wine at the mouth of the Kako, where it flows into the sea in Harima, and they prayed, and with the power of the gods entered Harima and brought Kibi into subjection. The power of Kibi extended to the Kako in antiquity and we are told that before penetrating into its territory they performed

religious and magic acts.

The power of the gods was naturally essential for the subjugation of the great state of Kibi. That is why they offered ceremonial jars to the gods and prayed for their help before going into battle. However, it was not permitted that any ordinary person perform such religious and magic acts. This was restricted to holy persons capable of worshipping the gods. Moreover, usually on the despatch of an expedition only one general's name is recorded, but in this case we are given the names of two princes, which makes one feel that this is on account of Hikoisaserihiko's role as a first son responsible for religious matters.

The first son as responsible for religious affairs and magic acts. Let us produce examples of two expedition leaders being named, and examine their content.

One such occurs in the incident in Sujin's reign, when Takehaniyasuhiko and his wife rebelled and tried to kill the emperor (Chapter I, section 4). On this occasion, Ôhiko and Hikokunibuku were sent against Takehaniyasuhiko's troops. This Ôhiko was Kôgen's first son, and his second succeeded him and became the emperor Kaika.

The second example also comes in Sujin's reign, when Izumo rebelled and Kibitsuhiko and Takenunakawawake were sent to deal with the matter. As is clear from the record of the *Nihon Shoki* already cited, this Kibitsuhiko was another name for Hikoisaserihiko, about whom there was question. And if he was the first son, then here too we should probably regard him as participating in his position of responsibility for religious and magic acts essential to battle.

Yet a third example involves a mission carrying a religious significance. The mission was to urge Amenohiboko, son of the king of Silla, to offer up the sacred treasures that he had brought from Silla. The envoys were Ôtomonushi, ancestor of the *Kimi* (lords) of Miwa and Nagauchi, *atai* (petty chieftain) of Yamato. The latter had become responsible for the rites at the Isonokami Shrine, and thus no ordinary man but two persons with religious responsibilities were despatched, competent to handle sacred treasures.

The third example does not involve a military expedition, and is not therefore a good example of our case, but the first and second make one feel that the participation of a first son with religious responsibilities was essential in warfare. And in the remote past, should not the participation of Hikoitsuse, a first son, with Jimmu in the subjugation of Yamato be considered to have had a similar significance? But I hope to be able to settle this question with a number of subsequent examples.

Genealogy of the princes and princesses of Kôgen.

(Empress) Uchishikome-no- mikoto	}	Ôhiko-no-mikoto
		Wakayamatonekohikofutohibi-no-mikoto (Kaika)
		Yamatototohime-no-mikoto
(Wife) Ikagashikome-no-mikoto		—Hikofuto (-futsu-) oshimakoto-no-mikoto
(Wife) Haniyasu-hime		—Takehaniyasuhiko-no-mikoto

The eighth emperor, Kôgen, had two princes and one princess by his empress, and one prince from each of his two wives. That is to say, the empress had Ôhiko, Wakayamatonekohikofutohibi and Yamatototo-hime, and the wives had Hikofutooshimakoto and Takehaniyasuhiko.

The empress's second son, Futohibi, ascended the throne and became the ninth emperor, Kaika. There were, in addition, the wives' two princes, but it is clear that they were younger brothers. As the genealogical table of the Mononobe clan, on page 49 shows, the empress Uchishikome belongs in the fifth generation of the Mononobe genealogy, and her younger brother's daughter was the wife Ikagashikome. The wife was thus the emperor's niece. And this too suggests that there was a considerable difference in age between the two princes. And in so far as the next wife, Haniyasu-hime, was the last to be taken on, her prince too would have been a younger brother. Then, in this case, Futohibi, as second son, succeeded, and the first son and the younger brothers were henceforth excluded.

As for the princes of Kaika, ninth and last of the Katsuragi Dynasty, the material is difficult to handle because they are a point of junction between the genealogies of the two dynasties. However, it so happens that, if one consults this material, one can extract some interesting facts from it.

Kaika took the previous emperor's wife, Ikagashikome, as his empress, but, according to the *Nihon Shoki*, he had previously taken Takeno-hime as wife, and she bore him Hikoyumusumi-no-mikoto. By another wife, Oketsu-hime [Hahatsu or Ochitsu], he had Hikoimasu-no-mikoto, so that he had three princes in all. Then the second son succeeded to the throne. It is clearly stated also in the section on Sujin that he was the second son, and it is an interesting point that the succession of the second son according to the rule is shown genealogically. However, this second son, Mimakiirihikoinie-no-mikoto, was he who overthrew the Katsuragi dynasty and founded the new Yamato Court. The two dynasties' genealogies joint here, but that was only in order to place the succeeding emperor in the position of second son, when the junction was being made, and there is probably no need for any further explanation.

Genealogy of Kaika's princes.

(Wife) Takeno-hime	—Hikoyumusumi-no-mikoto
(Empress) Ikagashikome	—Mimakiirihikoinie-no-mikoto (Sujin)
(Wife) Oketsu-hime	—Hikoimasu-no-miko

As has been shown in the foregoing, the entries in the Katsuragi Dynasty's genealogy are too abbreviated for it to be possible to arrive at a complete demonstration of the principle of second sons' succession. The first reason for this is the scarcity of entries of third or subsequent sons. Moreover, in the case of only one prince being born, it is impossible to see the role of first son, in addition to which there is the difficulty of dealing at all with the second son question. However, the following table should enable one to appreciate the principle of the second son's succession:

Order of succession to the throne under the Katsuragi Dynasty

Reign	Emperor	First son	Second son	Third son	Fourth son	
1	Jimmu	○	×	×	◎	Four sons. Second and third did not go to Yamato.
2	Suizei	☒	○	◎		First, one son by a wife but was killed. Next choice of two sons of empress.
3	Annei	◎				
4	Itoku	○	◎	○		
5	Kôshô	◎				<i>Nihon Shoki</i> 'one writing' and <i>Kojiki</i> recognize one younger brother
6	Kôan	○	◎			
7	Kôrei	◎				<i>Kojiki</i> recognizes one elder brother.
8	Kôgen	□	◎	□	□	<i>Nihon Shoki</i> recognizes three sons. <i>Kojiki</i> recognizes four. See text.
9	Kaika	○	◎	□	□	<i>Nihon Shoki</i> recognizes one younger brother. <i>Kojiki</i> three. Further two sons to two wives.

- ◎=son of empress
 ◎=successor to throne
 □=son of wife
 ×=died or lost status

However, this point can be made quite clear in the case of the Yamato Court which carried on with the same method of succession, so let us continue to clarify this question further.

No distinction made between wives and empresses. The emperor Sujin, who established the Yamato Court, had four princes by his empress and the eldest of these, Ikumeiribikoisachi-no-mikoto, succeeded to the throne. This Ikumeiribiko was, however, said to be the third son. Here, of course, two princes born of two wives were in the position of being his elder brothers.

He took as a wife Tôtsumayume-makuhashi-hime, daughter of Arakawato-be of Kii, and she bore his first son, Toyokiirihiko-no-mikoto, and Toyosukiiri-hime-no-mikoto, who was charged with the worship of the Great Goddess Amaterasu. Then, by Ôama-hime, of Owari clan origin, he had Yasakairihiko-no-mikoto, as well as Nunakiirihime-no-mikoto, who was charged with the worship of the god Ôyamatoôkunidama.

Genealogy of the offspring of Sujin (daughters omitted)

(Wife) Tôtsumayumemakuhashi-hime—	Toyokiirihiko-no-mikoto
(Wife) Ôama-hime	—Yasakairihiko-no-mikoto
(Empress) Mimaki-hime	{ Ikumeiribikoisachi-no-mikoto (Suinin)
	{ Hikoisachi-no-mikoto
	{ Yamatohiko-no-mikoto
	{ Ikatsuruhiko-no-mikoto

The story is that the emperor decided the question of the succession between the elder brother, Toyokiirihiko, and the younger Ikumeirihiko, by means of a dream. Only the first and third sons were concerned in this question of the succession, the second, Yasakairihiko, not appearing at all, which suggests that he had probably already died. Thus, from the beginning of the Yamato Court, no distinction was made between the children of empress and wife, and the pattern whereby the succession went to the second son was adopted. However many other younger brothers there might be, they were excluded from the succession question.

The next emperor, the eleventh, Suinin, took as his empress Saho-hime, the daughter of Hikoimasu-no-kimi, who was the son of one of Kaika's wives. But her elder brother, Sahohiko, plotted against the emperor and she shared his death in the fire. At the time, she had only born Homutsuwake-no-mikoto, and of this tragic prince it is recorded, 'when he was thirty and had an eight-span beard, he still wept like an infant and never uttered a word'. He was thus unfit and, though first son, had no connection with the succession, from which he was excluded.

After the death of Saho-hime, he took in the five daughters of Taniwanomichinushi, of whom he sent back the fifth because she was ugly, and made Hihasu-hime his empress and the remaining three his wives. In addition to them, he took two more wives, and had six princes by wives alone.

The second empress, Hihasu-hime, bore him three princes, Inishikiirihiko-no-mikoto Ôtarashihiko-no-mikoto and Wakiniirihiko-no-mikoto, as well as two princesses. So Ôtarashihiko, who for practical purposes occupied the position of second son, succeeded to the throne and became the emperor Keikô. Here too, the subsequent brothers were not concerned in the succession.

Genealogy of the offspring of Suinin (daughters omitted).

(Empress) Saho-hime	—Homutsuwake-no-mikoto
(Empress) Hihasu-hime	—{ Inshikiirihiko-no-mikoto Ôtarashihiko-no-mikoto (Keikô) Wakiniirihiko-no-mikoto
(Wife) Nubataniiri-hime	—Nuteshiwake-no-mikoto
(Wife) Matonu-hime	
(Wife) Azaminiiri-hime	—Ikehayawake-no-mikoto
(Wife) Karihatatobe	{ Ojiwake-no-mikoto Ikatarashihiko-no-mikoto Itakeruwake-no-mikoto
(Wife) Kanihatatobe	—Iwatsukuwake-no-mikoto

The case of the princes of the next emperor, Keikô, is somewhat complicated. By the empress Inahiôiratsume, whom he took from Harima, Prince Ôusu and Prince Ousu (Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto) were born, and the emperor appointed Ousu, the second son, as his heir. But the valiant Ousu, who had pacified the Kumaso and subdued the eastern provinces, fell ill and died. So, there was no other way out than to make his wife Yasakairi-hime, whom he obtained from Mino, his subsequent empress, and make her son, Prince Wakatarashihiko his heir; he later succeeded to the throne as Seimu.

Genealogy of the offspring of Keikô

(Empress) Inahiôiratsume	{ Prince Ôusu Prince Ousu (Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto, crown prince)
(Wife) Yasakairi-hime	{ Prince Ihokiirihiko Prince Wakatarashihiko (Seimu) (5 other princes)

One point I want to make is that the list of the seven sons and six daughters born by Yasakairi-hime is given in the form, 'The first was called Prince Wakatarashihiko, the second was called Prince Ihokiirihiko', with Wakatarashihiko mentioned first. However, Wakatarashihiko, who became the emperor Seimu, was the fourth son, and so this will not do unless Prince Ihokiirihiko was his elder brother, and it was no doubt because he became emperor that he is listed first. In fact, in another passage we find, 'Apart from Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto, the emperor Wakatarashihiko and Ihokiirihiko, all the seventy and more sons were given provinces as fiefs and each was made to go to his province'. The deliberate omission of Ihokiirihiko was due, it may be supposed, to his being put in charge of religious affairs, in his capacity of first son as I will show in the next section. And so, here too, the second son, Wakatarashihiko, succeeded to the throne.

However, as this thirteenth emperor, Seimu, had no son and because of the system requiring a direct descendant of the imperial line, the succession reverted to a son of Ousu, who had, unhappily, not succeeded himself. Specifically, the second of Prince Ousu's six sons, Tarashinakahiko, was chosen and succeeded to the throne, being the next emperor, Chûai.

Genealogy of the princes of Yamatotakeru

(Wife) Futajinoiri-hime—{Prince Inayoriwake
 Prince Tarashinakahiko
 Prince Wakatake
 (Wife) Kibi-no-Anato-no-Takehime {Prince Takekaigo
 Prince Tôkiwake
 (Wife) Ototachibana-hime—Prince Wakatakehiko

The fateful advent of Ôjin. The fourteenth emperor, Chûai, took as wife his uncle Hikohitonoôe's daughter, and she bore him two princes, Kagosaka and Oshikuma. These two princes attacked the Empress Jingû when she returned to Naniwa bearing in her arms Prince Hondawake, whom she had borne at the time of her expedition to Tsukushi (in Kyûshû), but they were themselves killed. So, Jingû's one son, Hondawake, though in fact the fourth son, was the second of the surviving ones, and, as such, succeeded to the throne and became the emperor Ôjin.

Genealogy of the princes of Chûai

(Wife) Ônakatsuhime {Prince Kagosaka
 Prince Oshikuma
 (Wife) Oto-hime —Prince Homuyawake
 (Empress) Empress Jingû—Prince Hondawake (Ôjin)

From the point of view of the usage in the matter of succession, it was proper that Jingû's son, Hondawake, should succeed, once his elder brothers, Kagosaka and Oshikuma, had lost their position by death. However, in this case, though apparently orthodox, there is a point in which there is a slight difference from the succession of second sons hitherto.

According to the usage, the second succeeded without distinction between empress and wife. When the second son, presumptive successor, was the son of a wife, that wife was promoted empress. This is clear from the example of the previous reign, when Keikô made Wakatarashihiko his heir, he made the mother, who was the wife Yasakairi-hime, his empress. And so, in this case too, it should have been Oshikuma, the second of the wife Ônakatsuhime's two sons after Kagosaka, who would properly have succeeded to the throne. But, in spite of this, he attacked Jingû and tried to kill her on her return from Kyûshû with the prince in her arms, and this was presumably

because he was afraid that the throne would be wrested from him by Jingû's son.

Nor was it without reason that the two princes entertained such an apprehension. Chûai had died in Tsukushi during the expedition there. After that, Jingû had concealed the death, subdued the Kumaso and other tribes in Kyûshû and gone on her daring overseas expedition to Silla. Then, on her return from Silla, Hondawake was born in Tsukushi. So when she returned in triumph to Naniwa after her splendid victories, Kagosaka and Oshikuma had their misgivings.

But, this is not all. The face of the times was changing to something different from what had gone before. The successions to the throne from Ôjin on clearly show a relaxation of the system of second son's succession and progressive development of fratricidal blood baths for the seizure of the throne. This was because, with the increasingly well ordered condition of the state, the princes' hearts began to be fascinated by the attraction of the power wielded by an emperor.

With this change in the times in mind, we can see how the empress Jingû, who wielded power herself after Chûai's death, did not consider handing over the throne to a prince by another wife, and thought that Kagosaka and Oshikuma would plan to strike first in a revolt against her. And we should regard Jingû herself as breaking the rule in scheming that her own son should succeed. A good proof of all this is the chaos of subsequent successions. The incidents surrounding the successions of Ôjin and Nintoku should serve to show the extent of the change which had come over the succession right.

Ôjin first took three sisters, the eldest of whom, Takagiiri-hime, bore him Prince Nukatanoônakatsuhiko, Prince Ôyamamori and Prince Izanomawaka. The next, Nakatsu-hime, who later became empress, bore him Prince Ôsazaki and Prince Netori. The youngest of the sisters, Oto-hime, bore him no sons. A further wife, Miyanushiyaka-hime, bore Prince Uji-no-Wakairatsuko. By three further wives he had two more princes, and he had, including daughters, twenty children altogether.

Genealogy of the princes of Ôjin

(Wife) Takagiiri-hime	{ Prince Nukatanoônakatsuhiko Prince Ôyamamori Prince Izanomawaka
(Empress) Nakatsu-hime	{ Prince Ôsazaki (Nintoku) Prince Netori
(Wife) Oto-hime	
(Wife) Miyanushiyaka-hime	—Prince Uji-no-Wakairatsuko
(Wife) Onabe-hime	
(Wife) Oto-hime	—Prince Wakanokefutamata

(Wife) Ito-hime	—Prince Hayabusawake
(Wife) Izumi-no-Naga-hime	{Prince Ôhae Prince Ohae

Of his ten princes, the one Ôjin chose to be successor was his sixth son, Uji-no-Wakairatsuko, born to him by the wife Miyanushiyaka-hime. It is clear that in this choice of crown prince Ôjin was breaking the usual rule. By the normal rule for the succession, Prince Ôyamamori, the second son of the first wife, ought to have been crown prince. Perhaps for this reason, it seeming that not even an emperor could ignore the rule, the following story was told about the choice of the crown prince:

The emperor summons Ôyamamori, his second son, and Ôsazaki, his fourth, and questioned them. "Do you love your children?" Both replied that they loved them greatly. Then he asked which they loved the more, the elder or the younger. Ôyamamori replied that for him it was the elder. The emperor looked displeased at this answer. Noticing this, Ôsazaki said that his eldest was a grown man, but his youngest was still childlike and so the more lovable. The emperor was pleased and said, "Your words are the same as my heart". In truth, in the back of his mind the emperor was thinking of Prince Uji-no-Wakairatsuko, his sixth son. And in the end he appointed his sixth son crown prince.

This story was no doubt made up later to account for the emperor's deliberately setting aside his second son and assigning the throne to his sixth. The appearance of the second son in the story was probably for that reason, and that of the fourth, Ôsazaki, because he later did succeed to the throne. However, the telling of such a story shows that the right of succession of the second son was still an underlying idea.

Two generations of brothers struggle for the throne. For that reason, perhaps, the question of the succession to the throne flared up again after the death of Ôjin, the father. The second son, Ôyamamori, could not abandon his right of succession simply at the emperor's wish. And so arose the incident in which he plotted to kill the heir apparent and ascend the throne himself.

Ôyamamori was always angry at the late emperor's setting him aside, and his resentment was great. So he plotted, saying, "I will kill the crown prince and mount the throne myself". Hereupon, Ôsazaki, who had previously heard of the plot, told the crown prince and advised him to provide himself with soldiers for his protection. The heir apparent then drew up his troops and waited.

Unaware that these troops had been prepared, Ôyamamori went off in the middle of the night at the head of only a few hundred soldiers. He arrived at Uji at dawn and intended to cross the river. At this point, the crown prince, wearing hemp clothes, took a helm and mingled with the ferrymen, taking Ôyamamori on board, to carry him across. When they

courage needed to kill and so being unable to kill. This rather bold rationalization was no doubt intended to justify the succession of the younger son in the light of the common sense notions of later times. It was of course based on later ideas according to which the succession to the throne was of first importance.

However, at this point, there is a fresh question that I propose to deal with, and that is the elder brother's becoming a sacred man, instead of succeeding, and participating in religious and ritual matters. The *Nihon Shoki's* account is almost the same as that given above, but the final passage is as follows: "It is surely fitting that you should shine upon the heavenly throne and rule, and so succeed to our imperial ancestor. I will help you in taking charge of the worship of the gods of heaven and earth".

The *Kojiki* says 'iwai-bito', while the *Nihon Shoki* speaks of the 'gods of heaven and earth', but it is only a difference of expression, and what it is extremely important to notice is that both tell of the elder brother's participation in religious matters. If the right of succession to the throne had been of primary importance, then the eldest brother would have had to succeed. It is, therefore, to be supposed that the custom whereby the younger definitely took that succession arose from the greater importance attached in antiquity to dealings with the tribal or national gods than to succession to the throne.

However, from among the sons of the younger brother who had succeeded to the throne came the next successor. Because of this a single genealogical chain shows a continuing stream in which sons of younger brothers hand over to their younger brothers; while the first sons always finish up outside the family line. Thus, the genealogy becomes a single family tree of successors to the throne only. We should then surely suppose that as time went on and religious affairs came to be regarded as secondary, the imperial line showing successors to the throne in its main line became more highly regarded.

In fact, in antiquity, religious affairs had precedence over political. In the country of Yamadai, too, in the third century, Himiko, who had charge of religious affairs, was made female sovereign, and her younger brother worked alongside her as male sovereign, and by this means it was possible to restore peace out of the tribal imbroglios. In this case, the primary power was vested in a female sovereign who had charge of religious affairs.

We can find any number of examples of this in our ancient history. For example, the women who appear in the account of Jimmu, such as Nakusa-tobe, Nishiki-tobe, Niiki-tobe, Kose-hafuri and I-hafuri, each of whom was chief of her respective tribe. As is clear particularly from the appellation *hafuri* or 'prayer', they were female shamans in charge of religious matters. Again, in the passage about Keikō's expedition to Tsukushi, there appears the name of Kamukashi-hime at Saba in Suhō, 'Here there was a

woman. She was called Kamukashi-hime. Her followers were very numerous. She was the chieftain of that whole country'. And then, there was also Hayatsu-hime of Hayami in Tsukushi, similarly chief of that place. I have listed examples which can be recognized to have been women from their names, but I think one can find similar instances in cases where the sex is not clear. As the example of Yamadai shows, there were males in charge of government, but the name of the brothers who exercised this secondary authority are omitted from the records.

Female shamans and male priests. There are also cases of males' and females' names being listed side by side as tribal chiefs. There are such cases as that of Asotsu-hiko and Asotsu-hime of Aso, a combination of brother and sister by the same mother having the same name. But, in such cases, the name of the male is given first under the influence of the ideas of later times when males were esteemed and females despised. Properly, the name of the female ought to have been first to indicate that the authority vested in the male who took part in government was secondary.

Accordingly, in places where at first glance, the sex is not clear, it would probably be best to regard such couples as Atsukaya and Sekaya of the country of So, or Ekuma and Otokuma of Kumano-agata as indicating the religious authority of a sister and the secular authority of a brother. In Yamato, we find the names of such couples as Ekuraji and Otokuraji, Eukashi and Otoukashi, Eshiki and Otoshiki. A similar relationship is shown in these cases by the fact the first of each carried no arms and at once consented to serve the emperor, while the second fought to the last and was killed.

In antiquity, it was a woman who was in charge of religious matters. Hitherto, this has been accounted for by saying that women possess by nature a divine or shamanistic temperament. In fact, we have been inclined to attribute importance to the divine or shamanistic character of women, physiological in origin. We seem to have simply settled it that divine worship was performed by women because of the nature of the female sex. However, if we look at cases of people temporarily becoming gods, we can count quite a number of males.

But perhaps it would be preferable to take the view that when a society is matrilinear, the head of the family is a woman, and therefore that religious worship, of which the head of the family is in charge, is in the hands of a woman. Then, when the society becomes patrilinear, the authority over religious worship is naturally transferred to a male, now head of the family. When the family is that of the chieftain of the tribe, we get the form in which the eldest male manages the religious worship both of the tribe and of his family.

Even in popular custom today, for the New Year festival the head of the family is called the Man of the Year and takes part in such ceremonies as putting the fire under the soup made with the first water drawn at the

New Year or in worshipping at the household shrine. It is the same for the bean scattering on the eve of spring. One could produce other instances almost limitlessly; there are probably more of these popular customs carried down from antiquity than one realises.

We, therefore, consider that the eldest male, in his capacity as head of the family was charged with the important duty of giving his undivided attention to religious affairs. Even in the foregoing case of Jimmu's sons, it was not because he was too weak to kill his adversary that the elder brother Kamuyaimimi ceded the throne to his brother instead of mounting it himself. This is a later, rationalized explanation. In fact, it was because he was priest from the start, charged, as the one responsible for his tribe's and his family's religious affairs, with the duty of worshipping the gods.

But later mythologists or historians did not understand that there was such a state of affairs in antiquity and doubtless felt there was something dubious about a younger brother setting his elder aside and succeeding to the throne. Perhaps it was for this reason that there was similar rationalization, similarly based on later day common sense, in the time of Sujin, first emperor of the Yamato Court, and that of Suinin his successor.

Sujin was in doubt as to which of his sons should succeed to the throne, the elder, Toyokiirihiko-no-mikoto, or the younger, Ikumeirihiko-no-mikoto, and he told them he would use their two dreams as the basis of a divination. So, the two princes purified themselves and went to sleep. 'Each had a dream. At dawn, the elder, Toyokiirihiko reported the story of his dream to the emperor. "I climbed up Mount Mimoro (Miwa), faced to the east and flourished my spear eight times and struck with my sword eight times". The younger, Ikume, reported the substance of his dream. "I climbed up Mount Mimoro and stretched a cord to the four quarters and so drove off the sparrows that were feeding on the grain". The emperor then compared the dreams and addressed his two sons. "You, the elder, only faced in one direction, the east, and so you shall rule the eastern provinces. You, the younger, faced in all directions, so you should succeed to Our position"'. (*Nihon Shoki*)

So far as the contents of the two legends go, that of Jimmu's sons is far the more splendid and it is also replete with the ideas of antiquity. This legend of Sujin's two sons is a later revision, or, to speak plainly, a change for the worse. This legend was made up just as it stands, and all it amounts to is to the effect that the elder brother was assigned power over the eastern provinces because he brandished his spear and sword in that one direction, while the younger was deemed suitable to succeed to the heavenly throne as ruler because he had stretched a cord in all four directions. An old legend was falsified and the resultant meaning is of the utmost banality.

But let us return to the legend before it was changed for the worse. We may then consider that the elder brother's facing the east meant that he was

worshipping the rising sun, that is to say the deity of the sun, and that in the original version there was nothing about brandishing a spear and sword. This was adapted by a later age, when the first son's religious responsibilities had been forgotten, so as to mean that his facing the east led to his assignment of control of the eastern provinces under the emperor. As for the younger brother's stretching a cord in the four directions to chase away the sparrows, there is no necessity to be excessively conscious of the state being based on agriculture, as in the interpretation current hitherto; it is probably better interpreted as a parable of defending and governing the country.

The idea that the sovereign on earth is issue of the supreme deity of the firmament, the deity of the sun, is a belief that arises at an early date among any people. Here, the elder brother worships the deity of the sun, fount of the sovereign power, while it is the younger brother who exercises the supreme power conferred by the deity by governing. The original form of the foregoing legend constitutes an explanation of this division of responsibility between elder and younger brother.

The following story of the sons of the next emperor, Suinin, is another example of a legend with the same content as that of the succession of the sons of Sujin, either somewhat simplified or more straightforwardly told: 'The emperor ordered Inishiki-no-mikoto and Ôtarashihiko-no-mikoto, "Tell me what you most desire". The elder prince said, "I would like to have a bow and arrows". The younger said, "I would like to have the throne". So, the emperor ordered, "You may each have what you desire". Then a bow and arrows were given to Inishiki, and then a decree was issued to Ôtarashihiko, "You must succeed to my place"'. (*Nihon Shoki*).

The motif of this legend is the same as that of the previous one. In both, the elder brother is given a connection with weapons and made to appear as a man of war, while the younger is made to succeed to the throne. There was reason for these two traditional records of the Yamato Court to connect the elder brother with weapons.

The sacred treasures in the charge of the eldest son. The traditional records of the Katsuragi Dynasty and those of the Yamato Court were probably handed down separately because of the difference of the two royal lines. We can understand how it was that these traditional records would first deal with the question of the succession and then append a myth to rationalize the position of the elder who did not possess the right of succession. But, such an explanatory legend ought to have been enough just once. The following situation accounts for the second occasion, when Suinin's princes are dealt with, following on those of Sujin.

The elder brother, Inishiki, made a thousand swords, which were deposited in the Isonokami Shrine, and he, on the orders of the emperor, was entrusted with the duty of looking after the sacred treasures of the Isonokami

Shrine. The words, "I would like to have a bow and arrows" were derived from this tradition that Inishiki had made a thousand swords. In their turn, the words, "I faced to the east and flourished my spear eight times and struck with my sword eight times" led to an erroneous legend attributing a connection with weapons to the role of Toyokirihiko, the elder brother in the previous reign.

But Inishiki's manufacture of a thousand swords was not because he was a man of war. The swords symbolize Futsunomitama, that is to say the god of war, who was the god worshipped at the Isonokami Shrine. When the shrine was first established, Inishiki was ordered to make swords to present to it. The expression, 'a thousand swords', means a very large number of swords, and they were not made for actual use but to be kept in the shrine as sacred treasures. He received the order to make the swords because he was a holy man whose role was the general control and supervision of religious affairs. For that reason, the swords were in the keeping of the Isonokami Shrine, of the sacred treasures of which he was the curator.

The *Nihon Shoki* gives the following account of what happened when he grew old and retired from his duties as curator of the sacred treasures of the Isonokami Shrine. 'Inishiki said to his younger sister, Ônaka-hime, "I am growing old. I cannot take care of the sacred treasures. From now on you must take charge" Ônaka-hime, declined, saying, "I am a weak woman. How can I mount to the storehouse of the heavenly gods?" . . . So finally Ônaka-hime entrusted the charge to the *ômuraji* (great chieftain), Mononobe-no-Tôchine. And so to this day, the Mononobe *muraji* are in charge of the sacred treasures of Isonokami. This is the reason for it'. (*Nihon Shoki*).

This account of the original reason for the Mononobe clan being entrusted with the worship at the Isonokami Shrine from generation to generation was probably based on Mononobe records. The god of war was worshipped at the Isonokami Shrine, and, on later occasions, there were further offerings of swords as prayers for military success, and these were kept in the storehouse of the god. The worship and supervision there were probably entrusted to Mononobe, whose duties were military, because the shrine was one where the god of war was worshipped. However, this record of the Mononobe clan happens to provide us with a clue to Inishiki's religious role.

This kind of close inspection of the traditional records of the Yamato Court makes it clear that the eldest son in two successive reigns was connected with religious affairs. This corresponds with the accounts in the traditional records of the Katsuragi Dynasty which show him as a priest (*iwai-bito*) or one who takes part in worship.

The eldest son's charge of the sacred treasures is particularly worthy of notice. A similar example is provided by the curatorship of the sacred treasures of the Great Shrine of Izumo, which was in the hands of the eldest son of the tribal chief. We find 'Izumo-no-furune, the ancestor of the *omi*

of Izumo, had charge of the sacred treasures'. However, while Furune was absent on a journey to Tsukushi, the Yamato Court sent a general, and the younger brother, Iirine handed over the sacred treasures without fighting. The act of offering up the sacred treasures which represented the tribe's sovereignty, signified the abandonment of an authority entrusted to the tribe by the god and expressed submission to the person to whom the sacred treasures had been presented. This provoked a terrible incident in Izumo. 'When Izumo-no-furune returned from Tsukushi and heard that the sacred treasures had been presented to the court, he reprimanded his younger brother, Iirine, and said, "Could you not wait a few days? What were you afraid of, so lightly to yield the sacred treasures?" After this, though the years passed, he still harboured anger against his brother and had a mind to kill him'. (*Nihon Shoki*).

What happened in fact was that the elder brother did kill the younger. No doubt the secular authority was vested in the younger, but it was the elder brother who wielded the supreme authority representative of the tribe, by his charge of the sacred treasures which symbolized the tribe's sovereignty and his holding all religious authority. This was based on the ancient religious belief which regarded religious affairs as taking precedence over secular.

Tomb of a first prince bigger than the mausoleum of the emperor. I have still another matter to which I propose to draw attention here. The location of first sons' tombs has in general not been passed down to posterity, but one example survives, the tomb of Suinin's prince, Inishiki, at Misaki town, Izumiminami District, Osaka Prefecture. It is a 'square front, round back' tomb surrounded by a moat, of which the *Engishiki* says: 'Udo Tomb Inieshiki-no-mikoto. In Hine District, Izumi Province. Dimensions of tomb: 3 *chō* east to west, 3 *chō* north to south. Five families take charge of it'. The dimensions of the tomb mean the moat and the area surrounded by it, and the scale of this represented the rank of the person buried. Thus, the social standing of the person may be judged by the size of the tomb area. Now, we may compare the dimensions of this one with those of the mausoleum of the emperor Keikō, the second son, which are recorded as follows: 'Mausoleum on Yamanobenomichi. The Emperor who ruled the World in the Palace of Hishiro in Makimuku. Exists in Kinokami District, Yamato Province. Dimensions of mausoleum: 2 *chō* east to west, 2 *chō* north to south'. That of the first son was 3 *chō* east to west and north to south, while that of the second, who was emperor, was 2 *chō* east to west and north to south. The tomb of the first son is conspicuously the larger.

Inishiki's tomb was not in Yamato, but far off in Izumi and this was because this area was the place of his palace, as we see in the *Nihon Shoki*, 'Palace of Uto-kawakami in Chinu (in Izumi)'. But, I do not think we can explain his tomb's being greater than that of the second son, who succeeded to the throne, simply on the grounds that it was located in an area outside

Yamato. I think it preferable to understand it as the outcome of the strict social rules on such matters. However, as there is no other tradition concerning the location of a first son's tomb, we can perhaps not be definite with this single example to go on. But it does at least seem to be clear that the first son's status was not inferior to that of the second.

Moreover, I think that one might find first sons' tombs, if one searched with this intention, among unidentified traditional locations of mausolea or other old tombs. However, with the passage of time, the first son's religious authority, which only derived its sanctity from the fact that it was a symbol of the state, gradually weakened. The reason was that with the strengthening of the secular authority of the younger brother, which became increasingly systematized as the central feature of the organization of the state, the governmental authority of the younger brother who wielded both military and political power came to establish his position as the sovereign head of the state.

The traditions and records show that with the extension of the area under control, political events on a national scale became people's main preoccupation. The result was that the exploits of the younger brother who wielded military power came to form the core of the stories. By contrast, the religious authority of the eldest sons seems imperceptibly to have become remote from people's concern until finally it ceases to appear in the records. Even so, and poor as the record is, the question of the religious authority of the eldest brother is one which both provides a large key to the elucidation of our ancient history and brings up further important questions which impose a further reconsideration of the authority of the emperor.

It seems to be true, as argued in the previous section, that the second son succeeded to the throne whereas the first had religious duties. This was the same both under the Katsuragi Dynasty and in the Yamato Court. We can conclude that this usage was adhered to regularly at least up to the time of the choice of Chûai, the fourteenth emperor.

But, there are cases under the Katsuragi Dynasty where only one son was born, and on those occasions that son succeeds to the throne. This emerges from the imperial genealogy which later recorded the successors to the throne, but even in cases of a single son being born, we can probably take it that someone of the same tribe would have been assigned responsibility for religious affairs.

We will look at the question from a different angle.

Ordinary common sense would suggest to us that, even if the first son did have responsibility, the headship of his family would pass to his son. However, the succession to the throne also passed to the younger brother among the younger brother's sons. Of course, the religious authority also passed to the first of the second son's sons. The first son's charge of religious affairs was restricted to the one generation. We can only suppose that there

was some reason for this. Just what would that reason have been?

In a tribe composed of patriarchal consanguineous groups, the tribal chief would not only wield political and administrative power over the tribe, but probably also, in his position as head of the family, authority in religious matters. When the stage is reached through further formal advance of control over a number of other tribes, it is to be supposed that separation of the secular and religious fields became inevitable. It probably became necessary to assign a holy, not ordinary, person to religious affairs, so as to produce a spiritual and religious unification through the person of the holy man as a symbol. In its first period the Katsuragi Dynasty was of course strictly speaking a tribal state. But at the time when it was forming a tribal state at the foot of Mount Katsuragi, it is to be supposed that the necessity arose for a holy man, symbolic of the whole state, to devote himself to religious matters. Moreover, since this was a period when religious affairs took precedence over secular, the first son would naturally take charge of religious affairs, while the secular would be assigned to the second.

Celibacy of the first son. In this situation, the first son was symbolic of the tribal state and he therefore had to be utterly holy. He could therefore come into contact with absolutely nothing vulgar and was of course, one supposes, naturally debarred from anything like taking a wife. Further, as might be seen in the Izumo annual event of the Fire Succession 火繼行事, this holy man would probably only eat, even for his daily nourishment, food cooked on a purified ritual fire. Then we may suppose that he never mingled with common people and was constrained to conduct himself as a holy man.

There appears the following passage in the *Account of the Wa People* in the *History of the Wei* 魏志倭人傳, concerning Himiko of the country of Yamadai: 'After she became queen, there were few who saw her. She was waited upon by a thousand women. Only one male served her food, and passed in and out of her residence for purposes of communication'. So she led a holy life not meeting common people. We can regard this sort of holy person's mode of living as being continued in the period of the sanctity of the first male.

Nor are such customs confined to antiquity; so long as there are people regarded as holy people they persist, and the custom of using a ritual fire is still to be found among the people today. Some time ago, I visited the village of Komatsu 小松 on Kitayama Valley 北山峽, East Muro District 東牟婁郡, Wakayama Prefecture; the son of the house of that year's lucky person did not cut his hair during the whole year and was not allowed to use the fire of any other household whatsoever. Therefore, while there was no objection to his making the journey to and from primary school in a day, the son of the lucky person could not take part in any journey involving an overnight stay. This was because he could not eat food cooked on another household's fire. Again, with his hair growing unchecked, it grew long like a

girl's, and when he quarrelled with his companions at school, they would pull his hair and he would be defeated and weep. Even in the village this became a question, and they proceeded to cut his hair, and at times of festival they just cut it short round the sides of his head so as to suggest the appearance of the previous long hair.

A similar practice goes on the coast. This is at Nigishima 二木島, now incorporated in Kumano City 熊野市. Here the lucky house changed over half yearly, but during that period the head of that house neither shaved nor cut his hair which grew as it would. However, in the case of a grown person who smoked cigarettes, matches were allowed but he could not borrow one from anyone else. So it was a terrible thing for him if he went on a journey and forgot his matches when he left the house. We can surely regard such surviving popular customs of the lucky house as bringing down to us part of the conduct observed by the holy men of antiquity.

It is, therefore, probable that the reason why no son succeeded the first son in the next generation was that the first son was occupied with religious matters, led a life suitable to a holy man who had come to symbolize the state and did not take a wife. It may then be supposed that there arose the peculiar custom whereby, the first son thus having no descendants, his succession passed to a son of his younger brother.

It is in fact a special feature of the references to first sons that one can find not the slightest allusion either to their taking a wife or to their having children. There is one single exception: there is no reference to his taking a wife but there is a record of a daughter of a first son. This is the daughter of Ôhiko-no-mikoto, the first son of the eighth emperor, Kôgen, who became Sujin's empress. She appears as the mother of Suinin in, 'The dowager empress was called Mimaki-hime. She was the daughter of Ôhiko-no-mikoto'.

There is only this one example of a record of one of the several first sons having had a daughter, and to the extent that it belongs to the period of the changeover from the Katsuragi Dynasty to the Yamato Court its reliability is questionable. This Ôhiko was the elder brother of Kaika, the last sovereign of the Katsuragi Dynasty. Kaika held the secular power and Ôhiko the religious. This was overthrown by a revolution and the new Yamato Court was implanted. The first sovereign of the latter, Sujin, took for his empress the daughter of Ôhiko, who had held the religious authority under the previous dynasty. Normal considerations would suggest that this could be explained away as a political marriage, but as it is wholly exceptional for a first son to have a daughter at all, it is also necessary to consider it on the whole doubtful whether we should accept it as it stands just on this single occasion. It is a question to what extent we can rely on the genealogy of Kaika's reign which even falsely represents Sujin to have been Kaika's son. The work of uniting the two dynasties genealogically was done at some later period. A period, moreover, when it had been forgotten that first sons did

not marry and so had no descendants. It was simply thought that the two dynasties could easily be linked by blood if Sujin were the second son of Kaika of the previous dynasty and his empress were the daughter of a first son of that dynasty. Of course, political marriage was a commonplace contemporary measure. With the next emperor, Suinin, also taking his empress from among those linked by blood with the previous dynasty, they could not have asserted that Sujin's empress was not so linked. But, at least, the statement that she was the daughter of a first son, Ôhiko, is too exceptional to be acceptable.

There is still one matter that I would like to take into account. During his reign, Sujin chose four generals, known as the generals of the four marches 四道將軍, whom he sent out in the four directions to reconcile the whole population of the country to monarchical rule. One of these four was this first son, Ôhiko. However, six months later, 'the generals of the four marches reported the circumstances of their pacification of the savages', without the slightest concrete account of their expeditions. This was no more than a piece of dramatisation, in the same style as the account of worship at the altars of heaven and the altars of earth throughout the country, designed to show Sujin, known as The Emperor Who First Ruled the Land, as a holy son of heaven. We will, therefore, go no further into this matter.

I think that on the whole we should accept that the first son did not take a wife. It is true that the genealogy of the Katsuragi Dynasty is somewhat abbreviated, but even in the *Kojiki*, more detailed in this respect, there is no mention of descendants of eldest sons. But there are details of the genealogy of other persons, such as this concerning a wife of Kôgen: 'He took as wife Ikagashikome-no-mikoto, daughter of Uchishikoo-no-mikoto and she bore a son, Hikofutsuoshinomakoto-no-mikoto. Hikofutsuoshinomakoto married Takachina-bime of Katsuragi, younger sister of Ônabi, ancestor of the *muraji* of Owari, and she bore a son, Umashi-no-sukune (he was the ancestor of the *uchi-no-omi* in Yamashiro)'. When we come to the Yamato Court, the genealogies become more detailed, and we find records of numerous princes, without distinction between empresses and the wives who bore them, and of the persons they married and their offspring. In spite of this, in the sole case of the important first son no such information whatever appears. So that all that is mentioned is the name of the first son. We can therefore conclude that the first son did not take wife and so had no descendants.

However, there are occasional entries under the names of these first sons giving the names of clans who regarded them as their ancestors. For instance, after Kamuyaimimi-no-mikoto there is 'he was the first ancestor of the *ô-no-omi*', and so on. However, it is questionable how far we should believe in the first ancestors.

We are, of course, dealing with men here, and one may be reasonably inclined to suppose that these people, priestly (*iwai-bito*) eldest sons though

they were, may sometimes have had intercourse with women. But I think that from the time of the separation between religious and secular responsibilities and the consideration of the first son as a holy man symbolizing the state, the first son was at least constrained in practice to lead a life suitable for a man of god. Or, rather, he would probably have been prudent of his own accord. For if by any possibility he were to become defiled, then this would greatly affect not only himself but the entire state. Moreover, unlike ourselves today, they must have feared the gods and so served them.

The significance of the story of the marriage of the god of Miwa. The story of the marriage of the god, previously quoted from the *Kojiki*, is a model of stories of marriages of gods elsewhere. It is generally held that there is a relationship between the celebrant of the cult of the Miwa god and a woman. But I think it is certainly preferable to suppose that a legend has been invented deliberately in order to make out that some person is holy as being the offspring of the god. And in this case, they sent far from Yamato for a girl called Ôtataneko to be the celebrant of the cult of the Miwa god in the reign of Sujin. As this girl became the ancestress of the *kimi* (princes) of Miwa, we should probably regard this as a later legend made up to make the ancestry of the *kimi* of Miwa divine.

First of all, this is the story: 'The reason that this person called Ôtataneko was known to be a god was this: Ikutamayori-bime was beautiful in appearance. Now, there was a young man, whose form and dignity were unparalleled at the time, who suddenly came in the middle of the night. They loved one another and were married and lived together, and so in scarcely any time the beautiful girl became pregnant. Hereupon, her father and mother found it strange that she was pregnant, and questioned their daughter, saying, "You have become pregnant by yourself. How have you been able to become pregnant without a husband?" She replied, "There is a beautiful young man, whose name I do not know, but he comes to me every evening, and as we have lived together I have naturally become pregnant". The father and mother then, wishing to know the man's name, instructed their daughter, saying, "Scatter red earth in front of your bed, thread a needle with hemp thread and sew it on to the hem of his clothing". She then did as she was told, and when they looked in the morning, the hemp thread attached to the needle went out through the keyhole, and there were only three reels (*miwa*) of thread left. Knowing now how it passed out through the keyhole, they followed right along the thread which arrived at Mount Miwa and stopped at the shrine. This was how they knew she was the child of a god.

This story that Ôtataneko, ancestress of the *kimi* of Miwa, was the child of a god, was made up in a later age when the priestly function was held by men. Of course, in later times, there are quite a number of examples of women put to the service of a shrine, who were seduced in the name of a

god by man-priests. We may say that this was a story of marriage of god invented out of the experience of the male world. In antiquity, women officiated as priests at individual shrines. From this point of view, too, these items do not date from antiquity.

We should consider that in antiquity, the first son, who in particular had full responsibility for the state was regarded as an utterly holy man who passed his days cut off from ordinary life. For this reason, we find no reference whatever to the first son taking a wife or having children.

So the first son, with special responsibility for religious affairs, was not only in charge of the sacred treasures which symbolized the supreme authority, but also no doubt carried out divination concerning the country's policies or the size of the harvests and supervised all religious ceremonial. For this I think he was frequently obliged to perform abstinence and go into seclusion for purposes of purification, and when calamities occurred, it was held that they were all due to his uncleanness.

However, though these first sons were supremely responsible for the religious affairs of the whole state, they did not, for example, serve as priests at individual shrines. And the relationship between Inishiki-no-mikoto and the Isonokami Shrine, which I dealt with earlier, arose from the necessity of the superintendence of the nationally important sacred treasures there. In 'one writing' of the *Nihon Shoki* we find, "They were stored in the Isonokami Shrine. At this time the god requested, "Let the person named Ichikawa of the tribe of the *omi* of Kasuga be given charge of them". So the order was given to Ichikawa and he was given the charge. He was the first ancestor of the *obito* of the Mononobe'. When the sacred treasures were deposited in the shrine, the order was given to the *obito* of the Mononobe as the priest directly appointed to officiate at the shrine. Inishiki had responsibilities of superintendence above this priest. Thus the first son had the supreme responsibility nationally, while other people were the priests responsible for service and ceremonial at the individual shrines. It should be mentioned that this *obito* of the Mononobe belonged to the Wani clan, natives of the locality of the shrine, and had no connection with the Mononobe clan proper.

Another good example is provided by the account of Jimmu praying for victory on the river Nifu, before fighting Yasotakeru of Yamato, on his way into Yamato. 'He commanded Michi-no-omi-no-mikoto, saying, "I myself will now perform worship to Takamimusubi-no-mikoto. I put you in charge of the rites and I confer on you the title of Itsuhime"'. .

As the first son, Itsuse-no-mikoto, was dead and it was also time to do battle, the emperor, who was the second son became responsible for the worship. But the priest directly responsible for the rites was Michi-no-omi. What is further to be remarked in this account is that Michi-no-omi, who is male, is given the female name, Itsu-hime. In ancient society the name was regarded as the essence of a human being. For instance, for the Eskimos, human beings

are made up of the three elements of flesh, spirit and name, and it seems clear moreover that the name is believed to be the essence. Thus, by being given a female name Michi-no-omi came to be regarded as essentially female.

And, as is also clear from this example, the system was that particular priests were appointed to be directly in charge of rites. In antiquity, there were many cases of females officiating. But the reason for this was not so much the divine or shamanistic character inherent in female physiology as the simple necessity of having a woman to cook the god's daily food and make the offerings.

So, in the earliest period, importance was attached to the part taken in religious affairs, as being of primary importance in the state organization, but this did not continue for long. With the expansion of the area under control, the secular power of the second son grew in strength and completeness, to surpass the religious authority of the first son. Then, finally, the first son's religious participation continued as a custom come down from ancient times, coming to be imperceptibly overshadowed by the sovereign power of the second son.

And this was the case up to the time of the choice of Chûtai, the fourteenth emperor. At that period, there were great movements with the power of the emperor at their centre. This was the cause of the disturbances surrounding the succession of Ôjin, in which the two eldest sons rebelled and were killed. There were also struggles for the throne between brothers for the succession to Nintoku and Ôjin, as a result of which incidents arose in two successive reigns, in the course of which the second sons were killed. In particular, Richû himself, though in the position of first son, killed the second son and seized the throne. At this point, the dual authority, of sacred and secular, completely collapsed.

Of course, the interests of the powerful clans surrounding the court were also involved here. But once the religious authority of the first son had become powerless, and was handed down by custom, there was inevitably destined to be a period of fraternal struggles for the throne. The emperor then held in his hands alone both the religious and the secular authority; and from this period, the imperial authority became holy as well as absolute, and the emperor inaugurated a new stage in the imperial conception.

Strangely enough, this period also corresponds with a new epoch for the Yamato Court and Japanese history. Prof. Ueda Masaaki 上田正昭 interprets it as the birth of the 'Kawachi Dynasty'. Be that as it may, there was a change enough to incline one to attempt some such periodisation. The change of period involved the emperor holding in his hands alone the two authorities, religious and secular and the consequent inauguration of a new conception of an inviolably holy emperor. We may say that the emergence of the colossal mausoiea of Ôjin, Nintoku and Richû was also a natural development.