

## Activity of the Aya and Hata in the Domain of the Sacred

a translation of the sixth chapter of  
Bruno Lewin's  
*Aya und Hata: Bevölkerungsgruppen  
Altjapans kontinentaler Herkunft*  
Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962  
Studien zur Japanologie, vol. 3

translation by  
Richard K. Payne, with Ellen Rozett  
Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley

All of the *kikajin* (immigrants) have a close connection with the introduction and dissemination of Buddhism in Japan. In the same way that Buddhism was brought to Japan via China and Korea, they came into the country, and there are numerous monks to be found among the Korean and Chinese immigrants who had made Japan their adopted country since the sixth century. But also, the oldest strata of immigrants, who had already been residing in Japan for a century and a half prior to the introduction of Buddhism, show a certain affinity to the new teaching.

It is well known that beginning in the second half of the sixth century the powerful Soga clan brought their influence to bear in support of Buddhism, against the opposition of the conservative, high aristocracy. In close contact with the Soga stood the Kura families of the Aya and Hata,<sup>1</sup> who—under the supervision of the Soga—were to administer state finances. This may have contributed to the oldest foreign aristocrats, who, being under the influence of the Soga, accepted the Buddhist teachings early on. The proof is found in some temple foundations which go back to the activity of the Kochi-no-Aya no Obito, the descendants of Wani, and of the Hata no Miyatsuko, the descendants of Yuzuki.

In the city of Furuchi in the Minami-kawachi district of Kawachi Province (Osaka-fu) is found the Sairinji Temple.<sup>2</sup> It lies in the old settlement territory of Kochi-no-Aya no Obito<sup>3</sup> and was the house temple of this association of families. The original name refers back to the site of Furuchidera. According to the *Kawachi-shi* this temple was established in the twentieth reign year of Kimmei-tenno (558) on the estate and land of the Soga.<sup>4</sup> That the founding was actually done by the Fumi no Obito, is proven by the inscription which has been preserved on the bronze statue of Amida Buddha, who is worshipped there. According to it [the inscription] Fumi no Obito Oashiko and his son Kimiko, made a vow to erect the temple. The Buddha Hall was built by Fumi no Obito Sendanko (?), Yako and Karaeko, as well as by Hanishi no Muraji Nagaeko, probably related to the Fumi no Obito by marriage. The year of the temple's founding is given as Hogen 5, Tsuchinoto-hitsuji, which most probably denotes the year 659.<sup>5</sup> The question of dating leaves us without a clear certainty.<sup>6</sup> The source is unequivocal, however, in its proof that the Fumi no Obito already maintained the Amida cult there quite early. Even in the late Heian era the temple stood under the administration of the Fumi no Obito, as a record of the year 1063 demonstrates.<sup>7</sup>

From a branch line of the Fumi no Obito, the Koshi no Fubito, descends the priest Gyoki (668-749) of the Hosso-shu, founder of the Todai-ji and of another forty-eight temples in the country, first defender of the Ryobu-Shinto and first Archbishop (Daisojō) of Japan.<sup>8</sup>

Better known than the Sairinji in Kawachi is the Koryuji in Yamashiro, founded by the Hata. According to the *Nihongi* this temple was established in the year 603.<sup>9</sup> In the *Suiko-ki* it is reported:

The crown prince (Shotoku-taishi) spoke to all the dignitaries: "I have a statue of the Buddha who is worthy of worship. Who would like to receive this statue and devotedly venerate it?"—Then Hata no Miyatsuko Kawakatsu stepped forward and said: "I would like to venerate it."—Thus he received the Buddha statue and constructed the Hachiokadera for it.<sup>10</sup>

Hachiokadera is the original name of this temple, named for the placttlement, beside Uzumasa, the site of the main family.<sup>12</sup> It was henceforth the house temple of the Hata, therefore it was also known as the Hata-no-kimi-dera. It is the oldest Buddhist temple in the district of today's Kyoto. The founding year of 603 is, however, not confirmed by the temple records of Koryuji: In the *Koryuji-engi* and *Koryuji-shizai-kotai-jitsuroku* the year is said to be Muzunoe-uma, i.e., the thirtieth reign year of Suiko-tenno (622).<sup>13</sup> Moreover, this also corresponds with

another report in the *Nihongi*, that in the year 623 a Buddha statue presented by envoys from Silla and Mimana was installed in the Hatadera in Kadono.<sup>14</sup> In the year 818 the temple burned down for the first time. In the reports transmitted by the *Nihon-kiryaku* it is called Uzumasa-no-Kimi-dera,<sup>15</sup> a sign that its ties with the name of the Hata lasted after its founding in Heian-kyo. Besides, on the temple grounds there is an Uzumasaden, in which Hata no Kawakatsu is venerated as the temple's founder.

The inclination of the Hata toward Buddhism also found expression, later, in the Nara and Heian eras, in several Buddhist dignitaries who came from their midst. Gonzō (758-827), born to a Hata family in the Takechi district, was an adherent of Sanron-shu. He worked in turn as the Abbot of Tōdaiji (Heijōkyō) and of the Saiji (Heiankyō) and founded the Iwabuchidera in the Sonokami district of Yamato. Shortly before his death he was appointed First Bishop (?).<sup>16</sup> Just as well known is Priest Dōshō (798-875) of the Shingon-shū, born in the Kagawa district of Sanuki province. For quite a while he was Bettō of the Kōryūji and founded the Hōrinji not too far to the west of that temple. He made it [to the rank of] Second Bishop.<sup>17</sup> Also from Sanuki came the Shingon priest Kangen (853-925). He was supervisor of the Ninnaji and Tōji in Heiankyō and later became Meditation Master at Daigoji (Uji district, Yamashiro). He was invested with the rank of Archbishop a few months before his death.<sup>18</sup> Gomyō (750 to 834) from Mino (Kagami district) belonged to the Hossō-shū. From time to time he functioned as Court Priest and was named as First Bishop in the year 827.<sup>19</sup> The only monk of the Hata clan born in Heiankyō whom we could identify is Jōro (731 to 814), who lived in the Akishinodera (Yamato) and who belonged to the Jōdo-shū.<sup>20</sup> Finally, one should also note the monk Etatsu (796 to 878) from Mimasaka Province, who belonged to the Hossō-shū and who lived and was active in the Yakushiji (Yamato).<sup>21</sup>

In contrast to the Kōchi-no-Aya no Obito and the Hata are the Aya no Atae who do not appear at all in the history of Japanese Buddhism. This is all the more surprising, since because of their close ties with the Soga family they were direct witnesses to the introduction of the Buddhist teaching into Japan. Founding of temples by the Aya no Atae or priests from this family group are unknown. Only in connection with sacred art work do the names of the Fumi no Atae, Naga no Atae and Yamaguchi no Atae appear during the seventh century.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand the families of Kuratsukuri no Suguri and the Mitsu no Obito—apparently part of the same wave of immigrants, but not related to the Aya no Atae to which the Yamato no Aya belonged—produced many strong Buddhist figures. The foremost of those to be remembered here is Kuratsukuri no Suguri Shiba-tattō and his descen-

dants.<sup>23</sup> Shiba-tattō was one of the first Buddhists in Japan, an ally of the Soga no Umako for the propagation of the new teaching. His daughter Shima became a nun at eleven years of age.<sup>24</sup> His son Tasuna also became a monk, as he is supposed to have vowed to the dying Yōmei-tennō.<sup>25</sup> In the year 590 he entered the order and took the monastic name Tokusai. At the same time seven members of the Aya hito took monastic vows: Zensō, Zentsu, Myōtoku, Zenchisō, Zenchikei, and Zenkō.<sup>26</sup> The son of Tasuna, Tori, continued the tradition.

Supposedly he gave to the Empress Suiko the model for the seventeen foot tall statue of the Buddha which was set up in the newly erected Hōkōji (Takechi district, Yamato). Tori found a means of conveying the large statue into the temple, without having to tear down the gate. Empress Suiko praised the merits of this family in the propagation of Buddhism and granted him twenty *cho* of wet fields in the Sakata district of Ōmi, and with the income [from the fields] Tori established the Kongōji.<sup>27</sup> The three-fold bronze Buddha statues (*shaka-sanzonzō*) bear an inscription to the effect that Tori had made it in the thirty-first reign year of Emperor Suiko (623) at the commission of the Princes and dignitaries to honor the late Shōtoku-taishi.<sup>28</sup> With the decline of the Soga reports of the Buddhist activity of the Kuratsukuri clan were silenced. Apparently they had enjoyed the support of the Soga family and were dragged along in their downfall.<sup>29</sup>

The most famous Buddhist priest amongst the descendants of the Yamato-no-Aya is Saichō (767 to 822), the founder of the Tendai-shū and builder of the Enryakuji on Hieizan [Mt. Hiei] near Kyōto. His lay name was Mitsu no Obito Hirono, and he came from the Shiga district in Ōmi. The biographies agree in their reports that the ancestors of this family came from the Hsien-ti, the later Han, who emigrated to Japan under Emperor Ōjin and were later settled in Shiga.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, the family can be traced back to Achi no Omi's wave of immigrants.<sup>31</sup>

From amongst the old *kikajin*, the Hata acquired a special position in the domain of the sacred. It is remarkable that the Hata found entrance into the national kami cult, that they established Shintō shrines and were active as Shintō priests. It is hardly probable that the Hata took on foreign religious forms, but rather that the Japanese cult of ancestors and nature deities may have corresponded with their own ancient religious form, which along with their ancient conceptions of the sacred had been influenced by many centuries of living with the Korean peoples. In contrast to the other old *kikajin*, the Hata possessed larger ancestral shrines, which were probably located at all of their places of settlement.<sup>32</sup> The Ōsaka shrines in Yamashiro (Kadono district) and Harima (Akaho district) are well known, which were consecrated to the memory of Hata no Kimi Sake. Also, a few Hata shrines

should be noted which are mentioned in the *Engi Shiki*, but which no longer exist: in the Sōnokami and Takechi districts of Yamato, in the Izumi and Hine districts of Izumi, in the Ikaruga district of Tamba, and in the Ichishi district of Ise.<sup>33</sup> The administration of the Tamura shrine (Ichi no miya) in the Kagawa district of Sanuki, the principle settlement area of the Hata on Shikoku, was the duty of the Hata clans.<sup>34</sup> It is noteworthy that the Hata played a remarkable role in the Hachiman cult of Kyūshū. They were responsible for the administration of the Hakozaki shrine in the Kazuya district of Chikuzen, in which Ōjin Tennō and Jingū-kogo are worshipped as the main deities.<sup>35</sup> In the main shrine of Hachiman at Usa in Buzen, relatives of the Karashima no Suguri family were employed as prayer priests (*negi*). The rank-title points without a doubt to *kikajin*, and since in Buzen many Hata were settled, it is very probable, therefore, that these Karashima no Suguri stemmed from their circles.<sup>36</sup>

The name of the Hata is particularly attached, however, to the three great shrine grounds in Yamashiro. These are the Kamo shrines, the Matsuno'o and the Inari shrine, all situated in the central area of Hata settlement in the Kyoto basin.

To the north of Heiankyō, in the Otagi district, there are the Kamo shrines where three gods are worshipped: in the Kamikamo shrine, the god Waki'ikazuchi-no-mikoto, wherefore the shrine is also known as Kamo-no-Waki-ikazuchi-no-jinsha; and in the Shimokamo shrine, the gods Taketsunumi-no-mikoto and Tameyori hime-no-mikoto, the divine grandfather and grandmother of the Waki'ikazuchi, wherefore this shrine is also known as the Kami-no-mioya-no-jinsha.<sup>37</sup> In the *Yamashiro-fudoki* the history of these gods is described,<sup>38</sup> Taketsunumi-no-mikoto is identical with Yatagarasu, the heavenly crow, who accompanied Jimmu-tennō in his victorious march to Yamato.<sup>39</sup> Taketsunumi-no-mikoto had taken as wife Ikakoyahime, the daughter of an earth deity from Tamba, and produced two children: Tamayorihiko and Tamayorihime. One day Tamayorihime had seen a red lacquered arrow floating in the Semi-no-ogawa (Otagi district), which she fished out of the water and which she laid beside herself on her bower. Soon she was pregnant and gave birth to a boy. Since the father of the boy was not determined, Taketsunumi-no-mikoto summoned all the deities to a drinking party, in the course of which she let the maturing boy himself decide on his father. The boy selected the storm god Honoikazuchi-no-mikoto, who is identified with the red lacquered arrow. Thereupon, he received the name Waki'ikazuchi.<sup>40</sup>

A variant form of this myth is reproduced in the Hata-ujihonkeichō.<sup>41</sup> Here a Hata maiden and her parents take the place of Tamayorihime and Taketsunumi. The father makes the same test with

the guests—relatives and neighbors—and his grandchild indicated the said arrow, which was recognized as the storm deity. Further, it says:

Hence, the deity of the upper Kamo shrine is known as Waki'ikazuchi-no-mikoto, the deity of the lower Kamo shrine, Mioya-no-kami. The arrow in the house is the great, very well-known deity of Matsuno'o.<sup>42</sup> Hence the Hata clan worships the three very well-known deities there, and the relations of the Kamo clan are the in-laws of the Hata family.<sup>43</sup>

This family tradition of the Hata reflects the historical circumstances. It is probable that the long-established Japanese family of Kamo no Agatanushi<sup>44</sup> married into the Hata families who were settled in their surroundings, and that from this connection emerged the priestly families of the Kamo shrines. Since the name of the priestly families was handed down through the male line, the Hata do not appear, but the portion of their family's blood is large.<sup>45</sup> This also explains the worship of the Kamo deities by the Hata in these districts. After the Imperial residence was transferred to Heiankyō, the Kamo shrines of the north became the protective shrines of the new capital, whereby the shrines and their priests attained power and influence.

Whereas in the history of the Kamo shrines the Hata are not directly visible, the Hata are unequivocally responsible for the founding and cult of the Matsuno'o shrines. The founding tale is retained in the Hata-uchi-honkeichō<sup>46</sup>:

Concerning the shrine of the great deity of Matsuno'o of the actual first rank and merit rank of first grade<sup>47</sup>: the Munakata at Tsukuchi enthrones the middle great deity<sup>48</sup> [who] descended on the third day of the third month in the year Tsuchinoetatsu<sup>49</sup> at Matsuzakibiwo.<sup>50</sup> In the first year of the Taiho era (701) Hata no Imiki Tsuru, a son of the family branch of Kawakatsu<sup>51</sup> requested that she descend from the peak of Hizaki<sup>52</sup> to Matsuno'o. Further, a daughter of a branch family of Taguchi,<sup>53</sup> Hata no Imiki Chimarume, first raised up offerings, and the son of the Chimarume, Hata no Imiki Tsukafu, was installed as offering priest in the year Tsuchinoe-uma.<sup>54</sup> Sons and grandsons succeeded one another (to the position), and prayed and sacrificed to the great deity.<sup>55</sup>

Many priestly families of the Matsuno'o shrine descended from the Hata: the Kanushi of the eastern house, the Shōnegi of the southern house, the Shōhōri, the Gonkannushi of the eastern house, the Tsukiyomi-negi of the Matsumuro house and the Tsukiyomi-hori of the



Matsumuro house.<sup>56</sup> In addition to the clan-like associations of the priesthood, there are cultic ties between the Matsuno'o and the Kamo shrines. Besides Nakatsushima hime, the father deity of the Waki'ikazuchi (Kami-Kamo shrine!) is also worshipped in the Matsuo'o shrine. This is Ōyamaguchi-no-mikoto, a deity who is identified with Honoikazuchi (Otokuni-shrine).<sup>57</sup> The rise of the Matsuno'o shrine and its priesthood began in the year 784, when the capitol was transferred from Nara into its vicinity at Nagaoka. Immediately after the transfer, high dignitaries were dispatched to the Kamo shrines and also the Matsuno'o and Otokuni<sup>58</sup> shrines to report the event to the deities worshipped there and to promote the shrines to a higher rank.<sup>59</sup> In the course of the Middle Ages the Matsuno'o became a guardian shrine for sake brewers. Seemingly this is a conversion recalling of Hata no Kimi Sake, who as forefather of the Hata priests of this shrine was perhaps also worshipped there. Because of his name (Sake) he was associated with the production of rice wine.<sup>60</sup>

One of the most wide-sweeping impacts on folk Shinto was the Inari cult initiated by the Hata, which consists of the worship of the deities of the crops. The point of origin of the cult was the Inari Shrine, in the Kii District of Yamashiro and situated in the territory of the old royal domain of Fukakusa.<sup>61</sup> Concerning the establishment of this shrine, the *Yamashiro-fudoki*<sup>62</sup> reports:

Hata no Kimi Irogu, a distant ancestor of Hata-no-Nakatsue no Imiki, had amassed rice and possessed overflowing wealth. When he made a target (for archery) from pounded rice, this transformed itself into a white bird, which flew up and alighted atop a mountain. There it again became rice and grew upward. Inenari ("becoming rice") is given therefore as the shrine's name.<sup>63</sup>

In addition the *Jingi-shiryō*<sup>64</sup> clarifies this, saying that Irogu, moved by this wonder, in the fourth year of Wado (711) erected a shrine there and worshipped the transformed rice plant, on account of which the shrine was called Inari (< inenari). Accordingly, the shrine is of a comparatively late date, though there can be no doubt that the Hata as long-standing cultivators of rice had long possessed the cultic worship of the rice gods, but now mixed with the cult of Inari shrine worship of the Japanese food deity Ukemochi-no-kami.<sup>65</sup> In the Inari shrine the deities Uka-no-mitama-no-kami, Saruka-biko-no-kami and Ōmiya-no-me-no-mikoto are worshipped. Uka-no-mitama is the main deity of the shrine, identical with Ukemochi.<sup>66</sup> During the middle ages, the worship of the rice and food deities in the Inari cult spread over the whole of Japan. One can still count about 1,500 Inari shrines, most of them small

field and village shrines, in which the fox, whom one frequently comes across in the fields, is also worshipped, either as messenger of the deity or even as an incarnation [or the deity] itself. The Inari shrine of Fukakusa is considered to be the mother shrine of all of these cultic sites. Its priesthood descended without exception from the prosperous Hata families of the surrounding area. From the Heian era the priests have borne the status name of Hata no Sukune. Gradually there separated out from amongst them more branch families: the Nakatsue, Nakatsuse, Ōushi, Matsumoto, Haraigawa, Yasuda, Toriiminami and Mori.<sup>67</sup>

The Inari shrine forms a triangle with the shrines of Kamo and Matsuno'o, in the middle of which was placed the final capital, Heian kyō. All three cultic sites enjoyed the support of the Imperial palaces and were visited in the course of history again and again by individual emperors to venerate the divinities there. The integration of the Hata with the history of these powerful shrines shows what a prominent position they possessed in the territory around Heian kyō. We can well assume that Kammu-tennō, in shifting the capital, allowed himself to be guided by the effort to remove himself from the immediate of the Yamato aristocracy and to lean [instead] on the rich and loyal, though politically unambitious, Hata clans.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> [The author refers the reader to *supra* pp. 148-9, where he says: "In the battles of the year 587, in which the Soga no Ōomi totally defeated their adversaries, the Mononobe no Ōmuraji, the Aya no Atae were not mentioned as partisans of the Soga; however, the Aya knights doubtless fulfilled the role of allies."]
- <sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *Zusetsu-Nihon-bunkashi-taikei* (1957), vol. 2, p. 38. The present temple is a reconstruction of Sairinji, which fell into decay in the middle ages.
- <sup>3</sup> [The author refers the reader to p. 71, where he discusses the settlement patterns of the Kōchi-no-Aya.]
- <sup>4</sup> Cited in Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai-Nihon-chimei-jisho* (*DChJ*. 1907), p. 336.
- <sup>5</sup> The 5th year of the reign of Saimyō-tennō (659) bears these cyclic designations. "Hōgen" is presumably an old year name, which has not been carried on. Inoue Mitsusada gives an analysis of this inscription, *Wani no kōei-shizoku to sono bukkyō* (*Shigaku-zasshi* 54, 9/1943), pp. 940-2.
- <sup>6</sup> In a cabinet order of the year 1281 (Kōan 4) the founding year of Sairinji is given as the "thirtieth year before (Shi-) Tennōji," i.e., 557 (cited in *DChJ*, p. 336). In his *Kokyō-ibun* Kariya Ekisai also notes



that a passage in the *Sairinji-engi* from the year Tempyō 5 (733) states that since the year Tsuchimoto-u of Kimmei-tennō (559) Fumi no Obito Ashiko together with all of his relations had been dedicated to temple service (cited *DChJ*, p. 336). Evidently this Ashiko is identical with the previously mentioned Ōashiko; but he is here attired in the rank-cap "Daisan-jō," which, like all of these rank-caps, was only introduced in the year 649, which again could support the date 659. [For information regarding rank-caps, cf. G. B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, p. 91.]

- <sup>7</sup> Kōhei 6/I/10: "Since the establishment of this temple the administration of the temple has gone to the Fumi family." Cf. Inoue-Mitsusada, *op. cit.*, p. 947.
- <sup>8</sup> Biography in the *Genkō-shakushō*, Dai-Nihon-bukkyō-zensho 101, p. 299 (167). [For further information regarding Koshi no Fubito, the author refers readers to *supra*, p. 73.]
- <sup>9</sup> *Nihongi* (N), Suiko-ki, 11/XI/1.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. Karl Florenz, *Japanische Annalen AD 592-697, Nihongi (Books 22-30)*, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Tokyo), suppl. 1903, 10.
- <sup>11</sup> A different name, Kadonodera, also refers to this district.
- <sup>12</sup> Illustration in *Zusetsu-Nihon-bunkashi-taiki* (1957), vol. 2, p. 39. In the course of history the Kōryūji has been repeatedly burned down, but was always rebuilt in its original form.
- <sup>13</sup> Cited *DChJ*, p. 121.
- <sup>14</sup> N 22, Suiko-ki 31/VII.
- <sup>15</sup> *Nihon-kiryaku*, Kōnin 9/IV/23.
- <sup>16</sup> Biography in *Genkō-shakushō*, *op. cit.*, p. 164 (32).
- <sup>17</sup> Biography, *ibid.*, p. 175 (43).
- <sup>18</sup> Biography, *ibid.*, p. 255 (123).
- <sup>19</sup> Biography, *ibid.*, p. 165 (33).
- <sup>20</sup> Biography, *ibid.*, p. 163 (31).
- <sup>21</sup> Biography, *ibid.*, p. 250 (118).
- <sup>22</sup> [The author refers readers *supra*, p. 150.]
- <sup>23</sup> [Regarding the questionable origin of Shiba-tattō, the author refers readers to see *supra* p. 148.]
- <sup>24</sup> N 20, Bidatsu-ki 13/IX.
- <sup>25</sup> N 21, Yōmei-ki 2/IV.
- <sup>26</sup> N 21, Sujun-ki 3/X. The monks' lay names are not given.
- <sup>27</sup> N 22, Suikō-ki 14/IV/8, 14/V/5 (606). The Kongōji is identical with the Sakata-dera in Minabuchi (Takechi district).
- <sup>28</sup> Cf. *Zusetsu-Nihon-bunkashi-taiki* (1957), vol. 2, p. 179. His name is inscribed as follows: Shiba no Kura (-tsukuri) no Obito Tori. Furthermore, although the *Nihongi* does not explicitly mention it, the same

artist created the sixteen foot tall Buddha statue of Hōkōji. Although this statue is not extant, there are others, such as the Shaka-san-zonzō, which show the style which derives from Tori or his school.

<sup>29</sup> Indicative of the close union between Soga and Kuratsukuri is the epithet by which Soga no Iruka was known: "Kuratsukuri no Omi" (N 24, Kōgyoku-ki 4/VI/12). Seki Akira (*Kikajin*, 1956, p. 126) considers it possible that Iruka's wet nurse descended from the Kuratsukuri clan and for this reason he bore this epithet.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Genkō-shakusho*, op. cit., p. 147 (15); see also *Eigaku-yōki*, *Kujō bukkaku-shō*, *Sōgō-bunin* (cited by Ōta Akira, *Seishi-kakei-daijiten*, p. 5804).

<sup>31</sup> Which family the monk Chiyū was a member of has not been established. He is twice mentioned in the *Nihongi* as the builder of compass vehicles (*shinsha*). The second entry identifies him as belonging to the Yamato-no-Aya. Cf. N 26, Saimyō-ki 4/XI/11; N 27, Tenchi-ki 5/X/26.

<sup>32</sup> The only shrine which can be seen as having a connection with the ancestral cult of the Aya no Atae is the Omiashi-no-jinsha in Yamato (Takechi district). [The author refers readers to see supra, p. 53.]

<sup>33</sup> [The author refers readers to see supra, pp. 84 ff., under the district in question.]

<sup>34</sup> This shrine is supposed to have been established in the year 709. The statement that the Hata were the chief of the shrine officials (Daigūji, Chief Priest) there is taken from the *Zensanshi*, a history of the Sanuki district from the beginning of the nineteenth century (cited *DChJ*, p. 1257).

<sup>35</sup> In the genealogical history of these shrine administrators it says: "A descendant of Hata no Hayao no Sukune in the tenth or later generation, Hata no Sukune Tonori, Chief Priest of the upper fourth rank, served under Daigo-tennō (897-930). During the Engi era [901-930] he was first given the family name Hata. He was awarded the upper fourth rank. He is the ancestor of the Chief Priests of the Hakozaiki shrine." Cited in Ōta Akira, *Seishi-kakei-daijiten*, p. 4674.

<sup>36</sup> According to the *Usa-engi*. See Handa Yasuo, *Hata-ujī to sono kami* (Rekishhi-chiri 82, 3/1943), pp. 98-9. Handa especially examines the connections between the Hata who had settled in Buzen and the Usa-Hachiman cult, and holds the view that the Hata had worked there as priests in the pre-Nara and Nara periods.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Jinsha-taikan*, Tokyo 1940, p. 373.

<sup>38</sup> Transmitted in *Shaku-Nihongi* 9, Yatagarasu (Kokushi-taiki, vol. 7, p. 633).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Karl Florenz, *Die Historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 88.

- <sup>40</sup> Cr. R.A.B. Ponsonby-Fane, *Studies in Shintō and Shrines*, Kyoto, 1953, p. 202.
- <sup>41</sup> Transmitted in *Honchō-getsurei*, Naka-no-tori no Kamo no saiji.
- <sup>42</sup> Ōyamagui = Honoikazuchi; see *infra*, p. 224.
- <sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, Gunsho-ruijū 5 (Kōjibu), p. 91.
- <sup>44</sup> See *ShSh* [Shinsen-shōjiroku ?] 16, Shimbetsu, Yamashiro: Taketsunumi-no-mikoto is noted as the ancestral deity, who, as the tutelary deity of Jimmu-tennō, transformed himself into an eight-headed crow (Yatagarasu).
- <sup>45</sup> The Hata are not mentioned in the genealogies of the priestly families of the Kamo shrines, however—as with all such genealogies—these only note the patrilineage. Cf. Ponsonby-Fane, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-217.
- <sup>46</sup> See *Honchō-getsurei*, Kami-no-saru no Matsuno'o no saiji.
- <sup>47</sup> The classification of this shrine into the highest rank was achieved in the year 866 (*SJ* [Sandai-jitsuroku ?] 13, Seiwa-ki, Jōgan 8/XI/20). The registry of ranks in the *Hata-uji-honkeichō* shows that these family historical records begin no earlier than the end of the ninth century, and presumably resulted from the decree concerning the delivery of albums in the year 881 (Gangyō 5/III/26).
- <sup>48</sup> I.e., Ichishimahime-no-mikoto, divine daughter of Amaterasu. As the middle of three divine sisters who were worshipped in Munakata (Chikuzen), she is also known as Nakatsu-ōkami. Cf. Florenz, *Quellen*, p. 35.
- <sup>49</sup> Corresponds to the seventh reign year of Tenchi-tennō (668).
- <sup>50</sup> The shrine is located on the eastern slopes of Arashiyama, which is identical with Matsuzakibiwo, near the Ōigawa. Cf. *DChJ*, p. 125.
- <sup>51</sup> Hata no Miyatsuko Kawakatsu.
- <sup>52</sup> Evidently the same as the aforementioned Matsuzakibiwo (cf. *Anm.* 50). Neither of these two names for the peak of Arashiyama are transmitted elsewhere.
- <sup>53</sup> Hata no Imiki-Taguchi. Further evidence of this name is lacking. This Taguchi certainly seems to correspond chronologically with the General Takutsu known in the Tenchi-ki.
- <sup>54</sup> Yōrō 2 = 718.
- <sup>55</sup> Cf. Gunsho-ruijū 81, Kujibu 3, p. 84.
- <sup>56</sup> Cf. Ōta Akira, *Seishi-kakei-daijiten*, p. 5593. This account is drawn from the *Matsu-no'o-shake-keizu*.
- <sup>57</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 223. *DChJ*, pp. 125, 132.
- <sup>58</sup> The Otokuni shrine was in the same area, immediately adjacent to Nagaoka.
- <sup>59</sup> *Shoku Nihongi* 38, Kammu-ki, Enryaku 3/XI/20.
- <sup>60</sup> Cf. *DChJ*, p. 125.

- <sup>61</sup> Today the district of Fushimi-ku in Kyoto. One should remember that the homeland of Hata no Miyatsuko Ōtsuchi, the confidante and financial chancellor of Kimmei-tennō, was known as Fukakusa [the author refers the reader to *supra*, p. 146]. Besides Uzumasa in the district of Kadono, this district appears to be one of the oldest Hata settlements. The lands were probably at that time Hata estates.
- <sup>62</sup> Cited *DChJ*, p. 141.
- <sup>63</sup> A different etymology, originating in the old, chief commentary on the Shimmei-chō of the *Engi-shiki* explains *inari* as "that (divinity) who carries rice on his shoulder," accordingly written *ina-ni* (*ine wo niwau*). A satisfactory explanation has yet to be found.
- <sup>64</sup> Materials on the History of the Kami Cults, compiled by Kurita Hiroshi. Cited *DChJ*, p. 141.
- <sup>65</sup> Cf. Florenz, *Quellen*, pp. 144-6.
- <sup>66</sup> This divinity also bears the names: Toyo'uke-hime, Waka'ukame, Ōgetsu-hime, Miketsu.
- <sup>67</sup> Cf. Ōta Akira, *Sesihi-kakei-daijiten*, p. 481. Only the Inari priestly family of Kada, to which the renowned Kokugakusha Azumamaro (1668-1736) belonged, trace their genealogy back to Yūryaku-tennō (Kōbetsu); *op. cit.*, p. 1504.