

Dual Kingship in the Kofun Period as Seen from the Keyhole Tombs

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Explanatory Note

Heralding the beginning of Japan's state formation, the Kofun period (3rd-6th century) witnessed the emergence of a supra-regional consolidation of the Japanese archipelago superseding that of the preceding Yayoi period. The enormous number of tombs spread across the archipelago palpably limns the relationship between local chieftains and the paramount Wa kings. For four hundred years, this relationship was characterized by the construction of monumental kingly tombs commissioned by the Wa elite and the building of smaller-scale iterations by local rulers.

A diachronic analysis of keyhole tomb (*zenpōkōdenfun*) construction in the Kinki region of central Japan suggests the co-existence of two disparate lines of tombs adopting separate blueprints. A clear reason for this, however, has yet to be proposed. I have come to view the nature of Kofun-period rulership as divided between two kings: one orchestrating state ritual and the other managing administrative affairs. This view, known as "sacred-secular dual kingship," has long been espoused by historians of Japan's early texts. Even from an archaeological perspective, the tombs of the incipient Ōyamato Tomb Group suggest the coexistence of two different types of kings. Arguments for "sacred-secular dual kingship," however, have focused on a gendered division of labor between male and female paramounts, while nevertheless adhering to the image of a monolithic imperial line of male administrative emperors, informed by Japan's earliest domestic histories, the *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihon shoki* (720). In this paper, however, I propose a politico-ritual model of dual kingship in which two coexisting male kings assumed different leadership roles; furthermore, I suggest that even the role of the sacred king (often framed as a shamanistic queen) had been filled by a male from early on. There were thus two nuclei of authority in the Kofun period. Before unifying into a single line in the early-6th century, however, this structure was responsible for political instability and regime changes.

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Close scrutiny of the monumental keyhole tombs attributed to the Wa kings of early Japan (often dubbed "emperors" in the English literature) reveals that they structurally came in two lineages. The nature of Wa kingship and its power structure is limned by the numerous tombs throughout the archipelago made in the image of one or the other of these lineages, albeit on a lesser scale. From these concurrent lineages we can tease the coexistence of a sacral king in charge of state ritual (harkening back to Himiko) and a secular king commanding political and military power – seemingly giving form to the sacred-secular dual hegemony proposed by the historians of Japan's earliest texts.¹ Not only does the Ōyamato Tomb Group give reason to assume this diarchy existed in the early-Early Kofun Period (latter-3rd century to early-4th century), it also seems possible to view it as continuing into the 5th century based on an analysis of these two tomb lineages.

I would like to begin by discussing how I came to frame Wa kingship in this light.

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1. The Japanese terminology varies by scholar. Shiraishi Taichirō's use of the term *seizoku nijū ōsei* (*shuchōsei*) ("sacred-secular dual kingship (chieftainship)") has been especially influential (Shiraishi 2003, note 6). [Translator's note: In contrast, Kishimoto here uses *seisai bunken ōsei*, which is more along the lines of "politico-ritual dual kingship." As Kishimoto's contention takes issue not with a division of authority between sacred and secular rulers, but rather with gender and contemporaneity, I have decided against using separate English terms.]

First, research into the evolution of keyhole tombs has greatly progressed. In the 1990s, while I clarified the general trajectory of Wa tombs and suggested that there were two lineages, I viewed them within the context of the Middle Kofun period (late-4th century to 5th century) and diverging only in the late-Early Kofun (middle- to late-4th century), when the kingly tombs moved to the Saki Tomb Group in the northern Nara Basin.² Although I considered the preceding Ōyamato Tomb Group to have possessed two lineages as well, the main line beginning with Hashihaka (believed to be the tomb of Himiko), I suggested that the subordinate line died off. I no longer believe this, however, to be an accurate understanding of the political history of the Kofun period: the evolution of paramount tombs suggests the continuation of these two lineages from the latter-3rd century until the 5th century.

Second, surveys conducted by Osaka City University on the Sakurai-chausuyama and Mesuriyama tombs revealed that both were models for smaller copies built elsewhere. This strongly suggests their elevated status as the tombs of Wa kings presiding over subordinate rulers.

Third, Kuranishi Yūko's research suggests not only that there were two kings of different character in 5th-century Japan, but also that the reign dates of the kings ("emperors") can be recreated based on the *Nihon shoki* (720).

This article represents the junction of these three lines of thought and presents a new understanding of Wa kingship, framing the governing structure as a bilateral, politico-ritual hegemony.

1. Introduction: The Structure of Kingship in the Kofun Period

(1) Sacred-Secular Dual Kingship As Seen in the Early Texts

The concept of a sacred-secular division of administration within Wa kingship has long been advanced by scholars of Japan's early literature, inspired by the male-female pairing found in the *History of the Three Kingdoms'* description of the shaman Queen Himiko and her ruling younger brother. A considerable amount of research in this area has been amassed, represented particularly by the *hime-hiko* model^{***} of dual-gender rulership presented by Takamura Itsue (Takamura 1954). Additional research includes Hora Tomio's concept of a kingship characterized by "the duality of religious female and administrative male rulership" (Hora 1979) and Inoue Mitsusada's investigation into male/female "dual rulership" of local chiefs (Inoue 1965).

Yamao Yukihisa has also commented on this segmented kingship between male and female rulers. He argued that the kingdom of Wa was formed in the early-3rd century with the installation of Queen Himiko and that a male king with administrative authority emerged during the late-3rd to early-4th century, accompanying legitimating ritual headed by the Wa queen (Yamao 1983). According to Yamao, following the inception of the Wa kingdom with the successive reigns of Queens Himiko and Toyo (or Iyo), a male king was established with political authority, thus beginning the construction of megalithic keyhole tombs.

This view proposes that while male authority increased in the latter-4th century at the expense of female authority, female rulers in charge of the succession rituals of male kings nevertheless existed throughout the 4th and 5th centuries.³

The various views espoused by historians find common ground in their assessment of sacred-secular kingship segmented along gender lines: they envision a female complement to the male king wielding political authority found in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The nature of this female ruler in charge of ritual, however, has by no means been clarified.

(2) Sacred-Secular Dual Kingship According to Archaeology

Influenced by this approach, Amakasu Ken proposed that adjacent keyhole tombs of differing sizes in the

^{**} Additional notes on specialized terminology in the following sections are shown with i, ii, iii... The list of the notes is attached to the end of the main body of text.

2. Please consult Kishimoto (1992) and Kishimoto (1995) for my earlier treatment of this subject. Citations for these earlier iterations have not been included throughout the text.

3. Hora Tomio (1979) saw the unification of politico-ritual rulership as a result of progressing patrilineal descent. In other words, by transferring the royal princess-priestess (*saigū*) to Ise, the Wa king bearing administrative and military roles came also to bear the female ruler's religious authority. Hora interpreted this as strengthening the nature of Wa kings as indirect religious rulers.

Ōyamato Tomb Group were perhaps those of male and female rulers (Amakasu 1975).⁴ The dual nature of kingship was further corroborated by Ishino Hironobu (Ishino 1985), whose dating of kingly tombs according to their pottery suggested that the Sakurai-chausuyama and Mesuriyama tombs of the southern half of the Ōyamato Tomb Group (the Iware region) were concurrent with paramount tombs of the northern half (the Shiki region). This led him to propose a functional division of kingship.⁵

Meanwhile, Matsuo Masahiko suggested from his analysis of local chiefly tombs that authority was divided along politico-ritual lines. Through an analysis of tombs with multiple burials, he proposed that the presence or amount of weapons and armor suggested not a difference in gender, but rather a difference in function (Matsuo 1983). Matsuo envisioned the coalition of a chief fulfilling a military role and one fulfilling a ritual role, with the orchestration of government being conducted through their cooperation (Matsuo 2002).

Shiraishi Taichirō arrived at the same conclusion through his analysis of 4th-century tombs with mass interments of stone bracelets. According to his classification, Type A burials bore relatively no weapons or armor and belonged to religious or cultic chiefs. In many cases, a separate burial within the same tomb bears numerous weapons and armor, suggesting a politico-military counterpart. On the other hand, Type B graves with both stone bracelets and weapons/armor are often a lone burial, signifying an individual assuming both ritual and politico-military roles (Shiraishi 2003).

In conclusion, archaeology thus corroborates a distinction between sacred and secular powers in the Early Kofun period. The concurrent reign of two kings is therefore not a peculiar case and is not necessarily drawn along sexual lines. It is also important to note that male kings can be understood to have been orchestrators of ritual affairs.⁶

2. The Ōyamato Tomb Group

(1) Two Mortuary Lines

Emergent paramount tombs were located in the Ōyamato Tomb Group in the southeastern Nara Basin from the mid-3rd to the mid-4th century. Of the numerous tombs of varying sizes composing this tomb group, the six largest keyhole tombs can be organized into two lines based on their structure. I will refer to the line beginning with Hashihaka as the “main line” and the line beginning with Sakurai-chausuyama as the “subsidiary line.”

The main line is composed of Hashihaka, Nishitonozuka, and Andon’yama – all three tombs are located in the northern half of the Ōyamato Tomb Group. The main line begins with Hashihaka (approximately 280m or 200 paces [Amakasu 1975]), considered to be the archipelago’s oldest keyhole tomb, and continues until Gojōno-maruyama (traditionally assigned as the tomb of Kinmei) in the latter-6th century. Additionally, this measurement of 200 pacesⁱⁱ continued to serve as an indicator of main-line status throughout the line’s tenure.⁷ The early keyhole tombs of the main line underwent a noticeable structural evolution: the square frontal projection evolved from a rounded outward curve (Hashihaka) to a straight, elongated projection (Nishitonozuka), displaying a wider spread. The number of terraces between the tombs’ rounded rear and square front evolved respectively from 4:2 (Hashihaka) to 3:3 (Nishitonozuka). Additionally, the incline between the rear and the front became much more pronounced.

The subsidiary line, on the other hand, is composed of Sakurai-chausuyama, Mesuriyama, and Shibusutani-mukaiyama. Emerging one step behind the main line, the subsidiary line is headed by Sakurai-chausuyama, measuring

4. Amakasu envisioned three pairs of tombs: (1) Hashihaka and Nishitonozuka, (2) Sakurai-chausuyama and Mesuriyama, and (3) Shibusutani-mukaiyama and Andon’yama. While we now know there to have been gaps in time, thus negating the “pair” theory, Amakasu’s pioneering work deserves recognition for attempting to shed light on the existence of contemporaneous tombs.

5. Ishino viewed (1) Nishitonozuka and Sakurai-chausuyama and (2) Shibusutani-mukaiyama and Mesuriyama as more or less contemporaneous. While we now know there to have been a gap between the construction of the latter, the former designation is appropriate.

6. Through an analysis of skeletal data, Tanaka Yoshiyuki proposed that Japan of the 4th and 5th centuries had a bilateral system of kinship: all multiple burials examined from this period were of same-generation siblings; single burials display a 6:4 ratio of men to women; and it was not unusual for groups to have female leaders (Tanaka 1995). In response to Tanaka’s research, Seike Akira has suggested that female rulers declined in number during the Middle Kofun, following efforts by the central government to consolidate its military in the late-Early Kofun (1998). Tanaka’s research into the relationship between members of multiple burials of the Kofun period is truly revolutionary. We are left with a picture of joint rule conducted between siblings bearing separate politico-military and ritual roles.

7. For a discussion of keyhole-tomb scale, see Kishimoto (2004a).

just under 200m (approximately 140 paces; Osaka City University. 2005. *Sakurai-chausuyama kofun no kenkyū*.”). Diverging from the shape of the main line, they are often likened to a hand mirror (*e-kagami*), as their squared projection does not fan open significantly to the sides. Additionally, the incline from the rounded rear to the squared front is not prominent and the ratio of terraces is respectively 3:2. Of the subsidiary-line tombs, Chausuyama and Mesuriyama belong to the southern half of the Ōyamato Tomb Group.

While there is debate as to whether these two tombs belong to paramount kings, Toyooka Takushi’s research into the structural differences in the terracing of the various tombs is important (Toyooka 1992) in clarifying their nature from an archaeological standpoint. It thus becomes clear that the six tombs mentioned above can be organized into two lines, each of three tombs.

(2) Concurrent Lines

These six tombs were constructed in the following order: Hashihaka, Sakurai-chausuyama, Nishitonozuka, Mesuriyama, Andon’yama, and Shibusutani-mukaiyama.⁸ Structurally similar copies made on a smaller scale have also been recognized for both lines.⁹

The structural changes in the keyhole tombs of the Wa elite progressed with the tombs from the previous generation as a model. If there were only one Wa king, surely only one trajectory would be expected. In reality, however, we witness in the Ōyamato Tomb Group a main line and a subsidiary line comprising three tombs each – we are left to assume some difference in lineage or role. The presence of structurally similar local copies and the assumed relationship between the center and the periphery reward consideration: assuming that the essential political mechanism of the Kofun period is reflected in the regional construction of smaller tombs built after central paramount models,ⁱⁱⁱ the fact that all six of these tombs were elevated as typological standards for construction indicates that they fulfilled an important qualification of rulership.

Shiraishi Taichirō includes Chausuyama and Mesuriyama in his chronology of early tombs, identifying six paramount tombs in the Ōyamato Tomb Group (Shiraishi 1968, 1989). Assuming that Shibusutani-mukaiyama was constructed in the mid-4th century, this would allow for five kings in the one-hundred years following the death of Himiko. Two lines existing at the same time would seem to suggest two royal lineages supplying kings to the throne alternatively.

Some researchers, however, do not consider the subsidiary tombs from the southern half of the Ōyamato Tomb Group to be paramount tombs (Hirose 1987, Wada 1994, Tsukaguchi 1997). According to this line of reasoning, the numerous weapons and hoe-shaped stone bracelets suggest that the individuals interred in Chausuyama and Mesuriyama were men (Seike 1996), and the jasper staffs, ritual arrowheads, and Mesuriyama’s side-chamber filled with weapons suggest they bore military roles (Tsukaguchi 1997, Seiki 2005).

Meanwhile, let us return to the main line. Many researchers agree that Hashihaka is the tomb of Queen Himiko, who is recorded to have died around AD 247. The author’s own research into the manufacture dates of triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors (*sankakubuchi-shinjūkyō*)^{iv} and derivative tombs modeled after Hashihaka corroborates this. Furthermore, as the reign of Himiko’s successor, Toyo, is dated to the second half of the 3rd century and a male is believed to be interred inside Chausuyama, Nishitonozuka is positioned as her tomb. The first two generations of main-line tombs are thus those of queens. Moreover, it is highly likely that Andon’yama is the tomb of Sujin (Kishimoto 2004b).¹⁰

8. While there is disagreement surrounding the order of construction of Sakurai-chausuyama and Nishitonozuka, I interpret the level of pronouncement of the rear mound’s top terrace to suggest that Sakurai-chausuyama is older. The date of interment can be calculated to the 270s based on an analysis of the triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors buried inside (Kishimoto 2005a). While some view Mesuriyama as newer, based on the stone arrowheads and talc lidded-containers, the tomb’s structure and *haniwa* suggest that it predates Andon’yama. For further information see *Mesuriyama kofun no kenkyū* (Ōsaka shiritsu daigaku kōkōgaku kenkyū hōkoku, vol. 3), Ōsaka shiritsu daigaku nihonshi kenkyūshitsu 2008).

9. Prominent Hashihaka-style tombs include Kurozuka, Bentenyama-A1, and Nishimotomezuka. For likely candidates for additional replicate tombs, see below. Sakurai-chausuyama-style: Tsubai-ōtsukayama and Shinobugaoka. Nishitonozuka-style: Urama-chausuyama, Gongenyama-50, and Tamateyama-3. Mesuriyama-style: Terado-ōtsuka and Umanoyama-4. Andon’yama-style: Ogumayama, Aizu-ōtsukayama, Tamateyama-7, and Hioka-minamiōtsuka. Shibusutani-mukaiyama-style: Tamateyama-1 and Zeze-chausuyama.

10. Wa kings will hereafter be referred to by their commonly used Chinese-style posthumous names created in the 8th century.

We can thus conclude that the main-line tombs Hashihaka and Nishitonozuka belong to Himiko and Toyo, rulers whose existence is attested to in the Chinese *Account of the Wa*.^v The different character of Chausuyama and Mesuriyama of the subsidiary line can be inferred from their massive interment of weapons. The role of “sacred king” embodied by Himiko and her successor was passed down through the main line, with Sujin presumably bearing this role as well. In contrast, it seems possible to frame the members of the subsidiary line (beginning with Sakurai-chausuyama) as administrative kings with politico-military authority. The coexistence of two lines of tombs, therefore, does not imply two lineages of king-makers, but rather two concurrent kings of complementary function, and not the existence of six generations of kingly tombs, but rather three generations of dual hegemony. Taking this one step further, we can assume that the age differences in the construction of the six tombs imply not bounded pairs from the main and subsidiary lines, but rather that succession to each position was conducted independently.¹¹

Within the mechanism of Wa kingship, individuals of disparate natures shouldered sacred and secular authority, each constructing different types of keyhole tombs.¹² This understanding will serve as the central pillar of this article.

(3) The Significance of Tomb Size

The Chinese *Account of the Wa* relays that a male successor took the throne after Himiko’s death; another female ruler, Toyo, however, was subsequently installed after the country fell into turmoil. While Toyo’s succession is viewed as the factor quelling the unrest, the existence of Chausuyama suggests that the position of administrative king was firmly established by the latter half of the 3rd century (Kishimoto 2005a).¹³

While Chausuyama (subsidiary line) measures just under 200m (approximately 140 paces), Nishitonozuka (main line) drops down in size from Hashihaka to 160 paces, reducing the size difference between the lines. Mesuriyama (subsidiary line) is estimated at 170 paces, exceeding Nishitonozuka. However, Andon’yama (main line) exceeds Mesuriyama at 180 paces, and Shibutani-mukaiyama (subsidiary line) exceeds Andon’yama, returning to Hashihaka’s size (at 200 paces, in addition to the foundation). The increasing size of the subsidiary line suggests an increase in the power of the administrative king. A comparison of tomb scale suggests that the two lines stood on equal footing during the latter half of the 3rd century, engaging in a form of competitive emulation that drove their respective scales higher.

The mound proper of Shibutani-mukaiyama (subsidiary line) is the same scale as that of Hashihaka. An analysis of the mound structure suggests that the interred was the subsidiary-line successor to Mesuriyama as administrative king. Its construction not in the southern half of the Ōyamato Tomb Group, but in the northern half, represents a major watershed. Meanwhile, the next main-line tomb following Andon’yama is believed to be Hōraisan in the Saki Tomb Group, located in the northern Nara Basin. Clarifying the chronological relationship between Shibutani-mukaiyama, Hōraisan, and Misasagiyama is crucial for understanding the move from the Ōyamato to the Saki Tomb Group. This, however, has been insufficiently discussed in the literature.

11. While Numasawa Yutaka also suggests the existence of contemporary kings during the Ōyamato Tomb Group stage, progress in dating has rendered his designation of Shibutani-mukaiyama (subsidiary) as the tomb of Toyo (Iyo) untenable. Additionally, his suggestion (2007) that Nishitonozuka (main), Andon’yama (main), and Mesuriyama (subsidiary) were “secular kings,” while being sensitive to the existence of distinct tomb lineages, differs from my understanding of a functional division.

12. The square, staged platform on the frontal projection of Nishitonozuka strongly suggests the presence of a burial facility in addition to that inside the rear mound. Shiraishi (2003) has suggested that two kings were buried inside Nishitonozuka, as the estimated size of both burial facilities is nearly equal. Additionally, Shiraishi, citing the numerous weapons and stone goods (including stone bracelets), has proposed that the individuals buried inside Sakurai-chausuyama and Mesuriyama were leaders possessing both functions. Nevertheless, one’s evaluation of the burial in Nishitonozuka’s frontal projection comes heavily to play on one’s consideration of the contemporary political structure. It is worth remembering that both Nishitonozuka (main line) and Sakurai-chausuyama (subsidiary) were built in the later 3rd century, suggesting an overlap in their periods of activity, and that there is not a significant size difference between them, with Sakurai-chausuyama measuring approximately 200m long.

13. The presence of keyhole tombs in the area measuring approximately 100m during Himiko’s rule in the first half of the 3rd century may hint at the existence of administrative kings before Sakurai-chausuyama.

3. The Saki Tomb Group

(1) A Reconsideration of Misasagiyama

The Saki Tomb Group is insufficiently understood, creating a noticeable lacuna in our understanding of early kingship in Japan. In this article, I will only attempt to clarify paramount lines through an analysis of tomb construction. It will be necessary, however, to begin by tracing the evolution of our understanding of these lineages.

As I mentioned at the beginning of the article, when I articulated the general framework of tomb evolution in the 1990s, it was already clear that there were two concurrent lines in the Middle Kofun period. I considered these to have diverged, however, with the emergence of the Saki Tomb Group during the late-Early Kofun. Meanwhile, I understood the Sakurai-chausuyama, Mesuriyama, and Shibutani-mukaiyama series to be discrete from the main line, but to have died off with Shibutani-mukaiyama. This is because I considered Saki-misasagiyama (hereafter, “Misasagiyama”), the proposed beginning of the subsidiary line, to have evolved from Gosashi (Saki Tomb Group) of the main line.

As Sawada Hidemi (2000) had already suggested, however, I came to consider Misasagiyama not to follow Gosashi but Shibutani-mukaiyama (Ōyamato Tomb Group). Furthermore, following the 2003 survey conducted by the Imperial Household Agency, the construction date of Gosashi was revised as newer, thus antedating Misasagiyama.

As Sawada’s foresight had suggested, Misasagiyama was located on the same typological trajectory as the preceding Shibutani-mukaiyama, locating it within the same subsidiary line. This thus corroborated the view that dual hegemony lasted from the late-3rd century through the 5th century.¹⁴

(2) Dual Lines within the Saki Tomb Group

Limiting our approach to only the main line, the order of construction can be reconstructed as follows: Andon’yama (Ōyamato Tomb Group), Hōraisan (Saki Tomb Group), and then Gosashi (Saki).

An unsatisfactory topographical map and a lack of *haniwa* made an understanding of Gosashi difficult, but the fact that it is surrounded by a stepped moat functionally utilizing a ridge presents structural common ground with Andon’yama and Shibutani-mukaiyama of the Ōyamato Tomb Group. This suggested to previous researchers that it was thus the oldest tomb in the Saki Tomb Group, preceding both Misasagiyama and Hōraisan. Meanwhile, located on a flat terrace plain and bearing a keyhole-shaped moat with a uniform water level, Hōraisan was suggested to have prefigured the shield-shaped moats^{vi} characteristic of the Middle Kofun period (Shiraishi 1983).

The survey conducted by the Imperial Household Agency on Gosashi, however, suggested that this assessment needed to be reconsidered. Gosashi is believed to bear a protrusion (*tsukuridashi*)^{vii} on one side, where the rear mound connects to the frontal projection.¹⁵ Combined with an understanding of the *haniwa* unearthed, it was announced that the date of construction would have to be revised as newer (Kunaichō 2005).

The Imperial Household Agency announced several *haniwa* surface finds during its non-invasive survey of Hōraisan (Kunaichō 2006), but the tomb’s exact date of construction remains uncertain due to the small number of recovered sherds. The shape of the mound, however, offers clues as to its relative age: the low square front suggests its temporal proximity to Andon’yama and its lack of *tsukuridashi* characteristic of the Saki Tomb Group indicates that it very likely antedates Gosashi.

Meanwhile, the subsidiary line jumps from Shibutani-mukaiyama (Ōyamato Tomb Group) to Misasagiyama (Saki), and then to Ishizukayama (Saki).

Shibutani-mukaiyama has a three-terraced rear and two-terraced front, but if the foundation is included, the

14. While I once discussed structural change from Shibutani-mukaiyama to Misasagiyama (1997), and reiterated my thoughts at a later date (2000), I reserved judgment on the subject of specific lineages. Following the results of the Gosashi survey, I presented an image close to the one I now bear in Kishimoto 2005d, but did not clarify how this recognition affected the conception of mortuary lineages. While the accepted order of construction of tombs in the Saki period has changed (Misasagiyama came after Shibutani-mukaiyama, not Gosashi), my understanding of main-line/subsidiary-line relations remains the same. I will here limit discussion to a clarification of the order of succession for both lines.

15. It was later discovered that there are *tsukuridashi* projections on both sides.

ratio becomes 4:3, respectively; the three-tiered structure of Misasagiyama is believed to be an extension of this (Kishimoto 2000). Additionally, its frontal projection does not open very wide. While these factors suggest that Misasagiyama can be understood to have developed out of Shibutani-mukaiyama, their *haniwa* indicate that the two tombs were constructed considerably close in time.

While its original shape no longer remains, rendering the terrace structure of Ishizukayama unclear, it is believed to have been contemporaneous with Gosashi: not only does it bear a *tsukuridashi* on only one side, just as Gosashi, but its *haniwa* are dated newer than those recovered from Misasagiyama.

Candidates for paramount tombs in the Saki Tomb Group from the late-Early Kofun period are limited to these four – but there are still many uncertainties surrounding each. The most pressing issue is the temporal relationship between the preceding Ōyamato and succeeding Furuichi Tomb Groups. At this point in time, Shibutani-mukaiyama (Ōyamato) and Misasagiyama (Saki) are believed to be more or less contemporary. The leader buried in Misasagiyama would therefore have been active in the northern Nara Basin while the individual buried in Shibutani-mukaiyama was still alive. The same interpretation could also be applied to the individual interred inside Hōraisan.

Organizing the chronology of tombs constructed from the late-Early Kofun to early-Middle Kofun period is essential for our understanding of the Saki Tomb Group, but I will cover this in more detail in a separate article.¹⁶ Here, it is my intention to confirm (1) that the two lines do indeed continue; and (2) that the Saki period can be roughly divided in half, with Hōraisan and Misasagiyama predating Gosashi and Ishizukayama.

(3) The Spread of Monumental Tombs and the Decentralization of Power

At 150 paces (208 meters), Misasagiyama measures three-fourths the length of Shibutani-mukaiyama (the measurement of its mound proper). Its length and the ninety-pace diameter of its rear mound serve as two structural elements adopted by the succeeding Tsudōshiroyama of the Furuichi Tomb Group. As I have already mentioned, it is from this point that the width of the frontal projection of subsidiary-line tombs begins to expand. Additionally, standards evolve in the mid-5th century, resulting in 210m-230m becoming the new length for subsidiary tombs. While subsidiary tomb size does increase through time, the establishment of a revised convention of scale during the Saki period placed main-line tombs at 200 paces and subsidiary line tombs at 150 paces.

It is significant that keyhole tombs measuring around 200m-220m appear not only in the Saki Tomb Group, but across the whole archipelago as well. Amino-chōshiyama (198m) in Tango and Goshikizuka (194m) in Harima appear as local copies of Misasagiyama. Around the time of Ishizukayama, numerous giant tombs appear throughout Japan, including Tsudōshiroyama (208m) of the Furuichi Tomb Group, Tsukiyama and Suyama (approximately 220m) of the Umami Tomb Group, Mayuyama (approximately 200m) in Izumi, Shinmeiyama (approximately 190m) in Tango, and Mihakayama (approximately 190m) in Iga. Many researchers interpret the far-flung distribution of massive tombs in this period as resulting from central instability (Wada 1994, etc.).

I have discussed elsewhere the possibility that these monumental tombs in Izumi, Tango, and Harima are related to the late-4th century military expeditions to the Korean Peninsula (Kishimoto 2005c). Meanwhile, the presence of large-scale keyhole tombs in the Furuichi and Umami Tomb Groups in the Kinai region can be taken to suggest the existence of multiple administrative rulers within the central Wa government. Alongside the sacred king, there appears to have been several administrative rulers with political authority in addition to the individual interred within Ishizukayama; the mechanism of government would thus have been supported by their respective roles.

While the dispersal of monumental tombs deserves a more thorough coverage, it was my intent to clarify the decentralized nature of administrative authority; it was against this backdrop that the subsequent Kawachi-based power came to rule (Kishimoto 2005b).

16. I discuss the temporal relationship between the Ōyamato, Saki, and Furuichi Tomb Groups in Kishimoto (2010).

4. The Furuichi-Mozu Tomb Groups

(1) Two Lines of Paramount Tombs

I have touched upon the two lines of tombs during the Middle Kofun period in previous work (Kishimoto 1992): in short, the main line inherited the general framework since Hashihaka; the subsidiary line was reworked at the Misasagi-yama-level; and both experienced an increase in the size of their frontal projections. The main difference between the two lines during the Middle Kofun period was the relative size of their frontal projections, with the main line displaying a long, extended variety, and the subsidiary line displaying a short, squatty type.

Following Gosashi (Saki), the main-line tombs proceed as follows: Nakatsuyama, Daisen, and Haze-nisanzai. The standard for tomb construction settled at 200 paces, and, while Nakatsuyama and Daisen grew temporarily to gigantic proportions, subsequent tombs, starting with Haze-nisanzai, returned to the former scale. After a period of reduced size, tombs once again enlarge to an average 280-300m, with Kawachi-ōtsukayama,¹⁷ a sixth-century tomb believed to be incomplete, and Gojōno-maruyama, dating the latter-6th century. The main-line tombs can be effectively framed as paramount tombs during each period.

Meanwhile, after Misasagi-yama (Saki), the subsidiary line follows the following progression: Tsudōshiro-yama, Kamiishizu-misanzai, Konda-gobyō-yama, Ichinoyama, and Oka-misanzai. The standard size is 150 paces, with Kamiishizu-misanzai and Konda-gobyō-yama temporarily reaching gigantic proportions. These two are no doubt paramount tombs, their existence refuting any assertion that subsidiary tombs could not belong to Wa kings. While giant subsidiary-line tombs do appear elsewhere throughout Japan, classifications of paramount tombs contained within the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*,^{viii} and *Engishiki*,^{ix} are limited to those within the Furuichi-Mozu Tomb Groups, in addition to Iwanohimeryō of the Saki Tomb Group. Alongside Kamiishizu-misanzai and Konda-gobyō-yama, subsidiary tombs in the Furuichi-Mozu Tomb Groups in the 210-230m range, such as Tsudōshiro-yama, Ichinoyama, and Oka-misanzai, the largest for their respective times, are candidates for paramount-tomb status.¹⁸

The regional construction of smaller-scale copies of these giant keyhole tombs (from either line) lends additional credence to their assignment as the paramount tombs of Wa kings.¹⁹

Concerning the dating of these tombs, the chronology of cylindrical *haniwa* is well established, and the relationship between the *haniwa* and *sue* stoneware^x of each period has been greatly clarified (Table 1).²⁰

(3) Do the Two Lines Symbolize Two Lineages?

Looking over the two trajectories of tombs in the Furuichi-Mozu Groups, it becomes clear that main-line identity or subsidiary-line identity cannot be neatly organized into one or the other tomb group.

For example, concerning the main line, Nakatsuyama is located in Furuichi, while Daisen is in Mozu; from

17. While Ryōgūzan (Akaiwa city, Okayama prefecture) has for some time been said to lack both *fuki'ishi* (paving stones) and *haniwa*, the possibility that construction of the tomb itself was never completed was recently strengthened by a survey of the mound (Ugaki 2006). This strongly suggests that construction of the tomb was begun during the ruler's lifetime. Kawachi-ōtsukayama is also believed to be incomplete; its lack of *haniwa* has prompted its positioning as a Late-Kofun-period tomb. Based on an analysis of tomb shape, I once suggested the possibility that it was built between Imashirozuka and Gojōno-maruyama (Kishimoto 1992). It is difficult to envision, however, the requisite number of individuals for this many tombs in the mid-6th century. Judging by its placement along the Ōtsu Highway (Ōtsumichi), it seems more likely that Kawachi-ōtsukayama is an incomplete tomb belonging to the Furuichi-Mozu period. *Supplementary Note*: I now consider Kawachi-ōtsukayama to be the tomb of Ankan and date to the 2nd quarter of the 6th century. For more information, see Kishimoto (2011).

18. Hakayama (Furuichi Tomb Group) was modeled after subsidiary-line Kamiishizu-misanzai and Ōta-chausuyama (in the Mishima region) was modeled after Konda-gobyō-yama. Neither are kingly tombs.

19. First, let us examine regional copies of main-line tombs. Nakatsuyama-style: Mesahozuka and Danjōzan; Daisen-style: Ryōgūzan, Shionjiyama, Bashōzuka, Dairizuka, Funatsukayama, and Iwabarufutagozuka; Haze-nisanzai-style: Nanakoshiyama and Matsumotozuka. Next, let us examine models of the subsidiary line. Tsudōshiro-yama-style: Tamaoka and Ota-tenjinyama; Kamiishizu-misanzai-style: Tsukuriyama, Muromiyayama, Hakayama, and Konabe; Konda-gobyō-yama-style: Ōta-chausuyama, Kumobe-kurumazuka, Kutsukawa-kurumazuka, and Igenoyama; Ichinoyama-style: Kotozuka, Marishitenzuka, and Kanda-goshoyama.

20. Ichinose Kazuo (1992) established the chronology of Middle-Kofun cylindrical *haniwa* (*entō haniwa*) in the 1980s. In this article, I have relied on the joint chronology produced by the Haniwa Kenkyūkai (*Haniwa Ronsō* volumes 4/5, 2003), the chronology for Middle-Kofun *haniwa* by Ueda Mutsumi (*Haniwa Ronsō* volume 5), and Sogō Yoshikazu's chronology of *haniwa* from the Izumi region. Concerning the cross-dating of *haniwa* and *sue* ware, I have relied on the *Nendai no monosashi: suemura no sueki* exhibition catalogue released by Osaka Prefectural Chikatsu Asuka Museum (Chikatsu 2006a).

Table 1: Construction order of the kingly tombs of the Furuichi-Mozu Tomb Groups

Haniwa			Sue ware	Furuichi	Mozu	Subsidiary line	Main line
Joint chronology*1	Ueda	Yokohake*2		*Grayed boxes indicate main-line tombs		*Grayed boxes indicate Mozu tombs	
III-1	Stage 1			Tsudōshiroyama (sub)	Chinooka	Tsudōshiroyama (Furuichi)	
III-2	Stage 2			Nakatsuyama (main)	Kamiishizu-misanzai (sub)	Kamiishizu-misanzai (Mozu)	Nakatsuyama (Furuichi)
IV-1	Stage 3	Bb	TG232	Hakayama	(Terayama-minamiyama)		
	Stage 4		TK73	Konda-gobyōyama (sub)	(Itasuke) Mozu-gobyōyama	Konda-gobyōyama (Furuichi)	
IV-2	Stage 5	Bc	TK216		Daisen (main)		Daisen (Mozu)
			(ON46) TK208		Tadeiyama		
IV-3	Stage 6-7			Ichinoyama (sub)	Haze-nisanzai (main)	Ichinoyama (Furuichi)	Haze-nisanzai (Mozu)
V-1	Stage 8	Bd	TK23				
			TK47	Oka-misanzai (sub)		Oka-misanzai (Furuichi)	

*1 Haniwa chronology established by the Haniwa Kenkūkai

*2 Chronology based on style of horizontal (yoko) surface treatment (hake)

the subsidiary line, Tsudōshiroyama and Konda-gobyōyama are located in Furuichi, while Kamiishizu-misanzai is in Mozu. After Daisen, however, it appears that each line can be filed into one of the respective tomb groups, with main-line Haze-nisanzai being built in Mozu and Ichinoyama and Oka-misanzai (subsidiary) being built in Furuichi.

Tanaka Shinsaku interprets the groups responsible for the construction of the Furuichi and Mozu Tomb Groups as either the same entity or two groups in an extremely close relationship (2001). I also view the two tomb groups as being built by the same entity, with the inland Furuichi Tomb Group being the home graveyard of the kings, and the Mozu Tomb Group, an outpost near the Osaka Bay coast, built for visual effect from the ocean. The possibility that sectarian activities could arise between the two geographically separate tomb groups, however, cannot be denied.²¹

What, then, does the presence of two trajectories of keyhole tombs suggest? We can at least be sure that the two lines of paramount tombs, and their regional copies, had not yet converged by the Middle Kofun period (5th century). Surely there was some significance in the coexistence of these two structurally different traditions, preserved and reproduced over many generations.

It is easy to jump to the conclusion of discrete kingly lineages. In the well-known “Five Kings of Wa” passage of the Chinese *Book of Song*, five Japanese kings are listed by name: San, Chin, Sai, Kō, and Bu. Of these five, the relationship between Chin and Sai is not clarified. Since Tōma Seita (Toma 1968), some have suggested the existence of a lineage break between San and Chin on one side and Sai, Kō, and Bu on the other. Moreover, while some hold that the concept of a kingly house was not fully matured at this time and that those with power were installed

21. Shiraishi Taichirō interprets the difference in location between Furuichi and Mozu as a difference of groups (1969, 1989). This perspective devolves on the natural assumption that tombs were constructed in a group’s home territory. I view the base of the government during the Furuichi-Mozu stage as residing in Kawachi, not Yamato, and, diverging from the views of the textual historians, believe this is represented not by the proposed locations of the palaces, but by the location of the tombs. This is easily understood by considering the location of Keitai’s tomb, Imashirozuka, in the Mishima region of Settsu. An understanding of these two tomb groups during the Middle Kofun is complicated by my argument that the contemporary administration was supported by two nuclei of authority and the fact that neither line is confined neatly to one or the other group. Either way, it would appear that this division of burial grounds had political underpinnings of some sort.

on the throne, a study of the tombs suggests that we can rather understand the political situation as one in which two kingly lines maintained respective traditional blueprints and built their kingly tombs accordingly.

However, if there were only one rightful throne to succeed to, it would seem that, even if there were differing lineages vying for that kingship, the style of tomb, and consequently that of smaller-scale tombs across the country, would have been consolidated into one.

5. Contemporaneous Kings during the Middle Kofun

I would like to consider the two lines of tombs in the 5th century as representing two concurrent kings of differing function. This section will cover the evidence that has brought me to this conclusion.

(1) Continuity within Each Line

To begin, we confirmed that there existed two lines of tombs in the Middle Kofun, with the main line deriving from Hashihaka and the subsidiary line deriving from Sakurai-chausuyama. These two trajectories continue unbroken from the Early Kofun period.

Allowing that the two mortuary lines belonged to differing authorities (a sacred and secular king), this political structure can be interpreted to have existed in the 5th century as well.

(2) Concurrent Main and Subsidiary Lines

Second, some tombs can be difficult to assign chronologically. For example, Nakatsuyama (main line; 290m) and Kamiishizu-misanzai (subsidiary; 360m) both contain III-2 stage *haniwa* and are believed to hold the remains of contemporary individuals.

According to the accepted chronology of Middle-Kofun *haniwa* (established by the Haniwa Kenkūkai), the 5th century is divided into five stages: III-2, IV-1, IV-2, IV-3, and V-1. According to Ueda Mutsumi's more detailed chronology, the period is broken into 7 stages (Ueda 2003), with each stage lasting roughly 15 to 20 years.

Construction on Kofun-period tombs is generally considered to have begun during the interred individual's lifetime. A newly enthroned Wa king would begin construction of his or her monumental tomb shortly after installment, with the project being finished after death, during the one-to-two-year mourning period (*mogari*).^{xi} As the positioning of *haniwa* on the external surface of the tomb was one of the last steps in the process, their dating can be roughly equated with the date of interment. Contemporaneous *haniwa* can thus be understood as evidence for roughly equivalent dates of death.

Assuming that the interred individuals of Nakatsuyama and Kamiishizu-misanzai were consecutive kings, it would seem that the new king would embark on the construction of a new tomb shortly after his predecessor passed away. Accepting an estimate of around ten years for the completion of similar 5th-century monumental tombs, the new king would have passed away within a relatively short time. In the event that the new and former kings died within a short of time of each other, it would be theoretically plausible for the two tombs to fall within the same *haniwa* chronological stage – however, with ten years of difference between the two, it would seem that some typological differences would be apparent.

That no temporal gap can be ascertained in the final interments at Nakatsuyama and Kamiishizu-misanzai (both tombs requiring lengthy construction periods) strongly suggests that both were prepared concurrently and both individuals died successively.

Similarly, Haze-nisanzai (main line; approximately 300m) and Ichinoyama (subsidiary line; 230m) both contain IV-3 stage *haniwa* and cannot be temporally differentiated. Under the Ueda chronology, however, Haze-nisanzai belongs to stage 6 and Ichinoyama to stage 7 (Ueda 2003); there remain differing opinions, however, on which was built first.

(3) Overlap between the Richū and Ingyō Lines

The Five Kings of Wa are generally assigned as follows: San (Richū), Chin (Hanzei), Sai (Ingyō), Kō (Ankō), and Bu (Yūryaku). While the identities of Chin, Sai, and Bu have remained virtually unchallenged, debate continues as to the identity of the remaining two. The author, however, agrees²² with Kuranishi Yūko's assignment of Kō to Yūryaku (Kuranishi 2003).²³

Since Kanda Hideo (Kanda 1959), some researchers have suggested the possibility of contention between the Richū line and the Ingyō line; other researchers, following Tōma Seita (Toma 1968), have proposed a lineage break between the first two of the Five Kings of Wa (San and Chin) and the latter three (Sai, Kō, Bu). By equating Chin with Hanzei and Sai with Ingyō, it is possible to unite both of these theories. According to the *Kojiki*, the date of Hanzei's death according to the sexagenary cycle can be calculated to 437.^{xii} Ingyō's enthronement can thus be viewed as a break from the Richū line, which would have ended with Hanzei, signaling a regime change.

Kuranishi Yūko has added a new pillar in support of this line of thought. In the *Kojiki*, while assuming the throne is referred to as "ruling all under heaven,"^{xiii} only in the cases of Uji-no-waki-iratsuko (the son of Ōjin), Ingyō, Kinashikaru (the son of Ingyō), and Seinei (the son of Yūryaku, who was the son of Ingyō) is the phrase "hitsugi" (lit., "inheritor of the imperial ancestral spirit")^{xiv} used. It is worth noting that Ōjin designated a division of labor amongst his children, ordering Ōsasagi (Nintoku) to take the reins of national administration and Uji-no-waki-iratsuko to become the "hitsugi." Kuranishi equates Sodei (祖彌), from the official correspondence sent by Wa King Bu contained in the *Book of Song*, with "Mye (彌)," the Wa leader mentioned in the *Book of Liang*,^{xv} identifying him as Uji-no-waki-iratsuko.²⁴ She further suggests he was the father of Ingyō (Sai), thus antedating the Ingyō line one generation and clarifying it as a disparate line from that of Richū. As we have seen, the Ingyō line is referred to specifically as the "hitsugi" within the *Kojiki*.

22. While the *Nihon shoki* dates have been heavily doctored, they increase considerably in credibility from Ingyō's reign. The total reign years from Yūryaku on correspond with the final year of the *Nihon shoki* (Jitō 11). The reign years recorded therein for Yūryaku total 23, from 457 to 479. That Yūryaku 5 corresponds to 461 is apparent from the reference to the birth of King Muryeong of Baekje. Reign dates from Yūryaku onward are therefore to be taken as more or less fact, and his main period of activity is placed during the 3rd quarter of the 5th century.

The year Kō dispatched an emissary to China (462) and the *shingai* year (471) inscribed on the Inariyama sword fall within this period. The equation of Bu with Yūryaku, however, has become widely accepted. I would here like to briefly introduce my view on Kuranishi's equation of Yūryaku with Kō. The Inariyama sword is an iron double-edged sword, which was uncovered from the Inariyama tomb (Sakitama Tomb Group) in Gyōda city, Saitama prefecture. It bears a 115-character inscription in gold inlay that contains a reference to a *shingai* (*kanotoyi*) year of the Chinese sexagenary cycle. By the nature of the cyclical calendar, there are two possible candidates (471 and 531), but most scholars agree that the *shingai* year of the inscription refers to 471.

According to the official correspondence to China drawn up by Bu in 478, this period corresponds to the end of mourning for his *fukei* (father [and] brother). They are thus believed to have died sometime close to 478. *Fukei* is often interpreted in this case to mean "father and brother," with the both of them passing away within a relatively short period, and often assigned to Ingyō and Ankō. As Ingyō's death was most likely 454 and Ankō's reign was a short three years, it is unnatural to view the period of mourning as ending over twenty years after their death. Yamao Yukihisa equated the Wa king who sent the 460 emissary with Sai (Ingyō) and placed his reign until 461 and the reign of Kō (Ankō) from 461-465 (1993: 155). There is nevertheless over ten years between their deaths and the end of the mourning period. Yamao interpreted the reference to a Wa emissary in the *Book of Song* entry for 477 (the first year of *shōmei*, in the section on Emperor Shun) with the undated reference to Bu acceding the throne, following the death of his older brother Kō, in the "Account of the Wa" of the same text (ibid., p. 296). Yamao thus envisioned two embassies sent by Bu, in 477 and 478. He places Bu's official investiture, however, around 465, after Ankō's death, explaining the gap by employing Bu's own explanation to China that his previous attempts at dispatching an emissary had been thwarted by Koguryo. There is no reason to consider this an explanation for the lack of ambassadors following Bu's accession or to take the reference to Koguryo at face value. It seems more appropriate to interpret the *Book of Song* reference to Bu succeeding his older brother Kō in 477 as an actual reference to political change (Toma 1968: 29). We can thus place the transition from Kō to Bu at 476/477. This would also correspond with the investiture of Shiraka as crown prince in Yūryaku 22 (478).

Several problems remain, however, including how to interpret the slight inconsistency between the (1) above-mentioned date for the Kō-Bu transition and the *Nihon shoki* date of 479 for the last year of Yūryaku, and (2) the *Kojiki* date of 489 for the death of Yūryaku. There are several strong pieces of evidence against the common equation of Bu with Yūryaku. (1) The reign dates of Yūryaku contained in the *Nihon shoki*, (2) the reference to Bu acceding the throne in 477, and (3) the reference to the end of the mourning period in Bu's letter to China dated to 478 rather suggests that Bu was the king that followed Yūryaku. Kuranishi equates Kō with Yūryaku and Bu with Seinei. For further discussion and her interpretation of the discrepancy between the designation in the *Nihon shoki* of these two as father and son and the reference in the *Book of Song* to their status as brothers, see Kuranishi (2003: 144-147).

23. See Kuranishi (2003, 2004) for further information. While I am not familiar with her reception amongst textual historians, I have found her research to be stimulating and persuasive. I have thus cited her research when directly applicable to my arguments.

24. According to the *Book of Song*, Chin is listed as the younger brother of San, and Kō and Bu are listed as the sons of Sai. In the *Book of Liang*, however, San's younger brother is called "Mye (彌)," and Mye's son is Sai. In Bu's official correspondence to China, recorded in the *Book of Song*, there is mention of an ancestor named "Sodei (祖彌)." Kuranishi believes that the "Mye" in the *Book of Liang* was the younger brother (in addition to Chin) of San, and correlates to the "Sodei" of Bu's letter. Others, however, interpret "Sodei" to refer to "ancestors," in the general sense, and not to the name of a specific Wa king.

Kuranishi reaches the conclusion that the Ingyō line handled ritual, carrying on the ancestral spirit (*hitsugi*), while the Richū line had political authority. These two lines have traditionally been interpreted as in conflict, with hegemony shifting from the latter to the former. The nature of their relationship, however, can be better understood by viewing them as separate lines bearing different roles within the administration.

(4) Hanzei and Ingyō as Contemporaries

Kuranishi goes on to suggest that the reign dates of Hanzei and Ingyō overlap. I will cover this argument in brief.

The *mogari* for Hanzei is documented in the 5th year of Ingyō. As Hanzei is recorded to have died six years prior, however, we notice that the mourning ceremony was not conducted for a considerable stretch of time. There is thus a high likelihood that Hanzei actually died in the 5th year of Ingyō and their reigns overlapped.

She traces the transition from Uji-no-waki-iratsuko to Ingyō as follows: (a) Ōjin's regnal years span from 390 to 394 (41 annual entries in the *Nihon shoki*: 5 years + a 2-year interregnum + a 34-year extension); (b) the extended 34 years of Ōjin's reign are taken as proof of Uji-no-waki-iratsuko's existence, giving him the "regnal" years of 395-432; (c) according to the *Kojiki*, Ingyō died in 454 (*Nihon shoki*: 453); and (d) judging from the passage in the *Kojiki*, the investiture of Kinashikaru as crown prince^{sv} in Ingyō 23 occurred after Ingyō's death. Aligning Ingyō's final regnal year (22nd year) with the calendrical date of 454, the first year of Ingyō's reign becomes 433.

The date of 432 for the death of Uji-no-waki-iratsuko, calculated from the dates for Ōjin, dovetails smoothly with the 433 date for the enthronement of Ingyō determined through assumptions (c) and (d) above. While there may be some disagreement over Uji-no-waki-iratsuko, it is nevertheless all but certain that Ingyō's regnal period lasted from 433-454.

Concerning the transition from "Nintoku (Richū)" to Hanzei, (f) assuming that the first year of Ingyō's reign was 433, the fifth year of Ingyō (the recorded year of Hanzei's *mogari*) becomes 437, which matches with the year of death for Hanzei recorded in the *Kojiki*. (g) As five years are devoted to Hanzei in the *Nihon shoki* and the first year of Ingyō (assumed to be 433) follows a one-year interregnum, the first year of Hanzei can be assigned to 427. Lastly, (e) judging by the reference in the *Kojiki* to the *teibō* year of the sexagenary cycle, Nintoku's year of death can be assigned to 427.

To summarize, the reign dates of 427-437 for Hanzei, derived from (f) + (g) above, match seamlessly with the 427 date of death calculated for "Nintoku (Richū)" in (e) above. I will not address "Nintoku (Richū)" at any greater depth, as one's assessment of their rule(s) comes to play significantly on determining a breakdown of the 397-427 reign dates.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is safe to place the transition from a Richū-line king to Hanzei in 427 and carry Hanzei's rule through 437.

We have thus been able to reconstruct the regnal dates of 433-454 for Ingyō and 427-437 for Hanzei, lending further support to Kuranishi's claim of contemporaneous kings, Ingyō taking the throne in 433, during Hanzei's reign.

While Kuranishi proposed the existence of separate sacred and secular powers and asserted overlapping reigns for Ingyō and Hanzei, she nevertheless assumed a single kingship. In other words, she proposes that Hanzei abdicated and became "crown prince" following Ingyō's enthronement. Kuranishi's evidence, however, clearly points to concurrent reins, and the two lines of keyhole tombs support this. With both lines inherited separately, there is no need to consider an abdication by Hanzei. The span from 433-437 can thus be considered overlap between Hanzei

25. According to Kuranishi, this regnal period belonged to Nintoku, with the reconstructed reign of Richū (421-426), the "Prince Imperial," falling completely within this span. I am uncertain as to whether both Nintoku and Richū would temporally fit before Hanzei on the line of post-Ōjin administrative kings; from the reconstructed reign dates, it seems likely that there was only one reign. I have therefore expressed this uncertainty as "Nintoku (Richū)." *Supplementary Note*: As the administrative kings buried in subsidiary-line tombs all share the element "wake" in their names (Homuda-wake [Ōjin], Mizuha-wake [Hanzei], and Ichinobe-oshiha-wake), I interpret the administrative king following Homuda-wake to be Izaho-wake (Richū). On the other hand, while I once designated Nakatsuyama, the main-line tomb contemporaneous to Izaho-wake's proposed subsidiary-line tomb of Kamiishizu-misanzai, as the tomb of Uji-no-waki-iratsuko (*hitsugi* and son of Ōjin), I now find Ōsasagi (Nintoku) to be a more appropriate candidate. In other words, the division ordered by Ōjin was not between Administrative King Ōsasagi (Nintoku) and Sacral King Uji-no-waki-iratsuko, but rather between Administrative King Izaho-wake (Richū) and Sacral King Ōsasagi (Nintoku).

and Ingyō.

(5) From Subsidiary-Line Predominance to Main-Line Supremacy

The leadership change between the Richū and Ingyō lines, attested to in textual sources and dated to the second quarter of the 5th century, should also be evident from an analysis of contemporary tombs.

It seems highly likely that the change in leadership can be materially witnessed in the transition between (1) Kamiishizu-misanzai and Konda-gobyōyama, subsidiary-line tombs of giant proportions, and (2) Daisen and Haze-nisanzai, main-line tombs that achieved truly monumental size.

This approach assigns Hanzei (Chin) to the Konda-gobyōyama tomb and Ingyō (Sai) to Daisen, as has already been suggested by Toma Seita (1968), Ishibe Masashi (1981), and Amano Sueki (1996).

Defining the Middle Kofun period as the span of the 5th century and adopting the traditional assignment of TK73 *sue* stoneware to the early-2nd quarter of the 5th century, Konda-gobyōyama (Haniwa IV-1≠TK73) becomes the tomb of Hanzei (died 437) and Daisen (Haniwa IV-2≠TK216 [ON46]) becomes the tomb of Ingyō (died 454).

In recent years, however, some have called for the antedating of the start of the Middle Kofun period, citing the results of two dendochronological studies. This would necessarily result in a revision of the above tomb designations. For example, some have maintained that Konda-gobyōyama is indeed the tomb of Ōjin (died 394).²⁶ As the author assigns Konda-gobyōyama to Hanzei (died 437), an approximately 40-year gap surfaces.

The antedating of the Middle Kofun is closely tied with similar efforts being advanced for the Early Kofun: many researchers have pushed the start of the Kofun period back to the mid-3rd century. Such changes in the temporal framework, however, require careful maneuvering to ensure consistency between each subperiod. In response to calls based on tree-ring dating to push back the start of domestic *sue*-ware production, others have employed the cross-dating of stoneware and horse trappings from the Korean Peninsula in defense of the traditional assignment of TK73 to the first half of the 5th century (Momosaki 2004, Shirai 2003). These arguments provide a persuasive and sound rebuttal to premature attempts to modify the chronology.

While I do not intend to venture too deeply into the debate over the chronology of the Middle Kofun period, there are several specific points worth mentioning. For example, judging from the ring stirrup (*wa-abumi*)^{xvi} excavated from the tomb of Feng Sufu (died 415) of the Northern Yan,^{xvii} the ring stirrup uncovered from Shichikan, a satellite tomb of Kamiishizu-misanzai, can be dated to around 420. As Kamiishizu-misanzai postdates the tomb of Feng Sufu, pushing its date of construction back to the late-4th century is wholly unrealistic. According to Momosaki Yūsuke, the Three-Yan (San'en) style^{xviii} bridle bit, with accompanying cheekplates decorated with openwork dragon designs,^{xix} uncovered from Shingai (roughly contemporary with Konda-gobyōyama) typologically follows a similar find dating to the later-half of the Northern Yan's rule, which ended in 436. He dates TK73 to the 430s, which roughly matches the dating scheme proposed by Shirai Katsuya. Using the horse trappings from contemporary tombs as a yardstick, Kamiishizu-misanzai and Konda-gobyōyama can be safely dated to the first half of the 5th century (Figure 1).

While it is necessary to further refine our dating of the Middle Kofun, evidence is sorely lacking. Nevertheless, the designation of Konda-gobyōyama as the tomb of Hanzei and Daisen as that of Ingyō appears sufficiently plausible.²⁷

26. While Shiraishi Taichirō and Kohama Sei implied in Chikatsu (2006b) that Konda-gobyōyama was Ōjin's tomb, there is reason to doubt this designation. To postwar historians, Ōjin represents a break from the kings that came before, as the founder of the Kawachi administration (or "Kawachi Dynasty"). Assigning Konda-gobyōyama as Ōjin's tomb requires acrobatics to explain why the three monumental tombs of Tsudōshiroyama, Kamiishizu-misanzai, and Nakatsuyama were built before Ōjin's rule.

27. This runs counter to the mention in the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Engishiki* that Hanzei's tomb was built in the Mozu Tomb Group and Ingyō's tomb was built in Furuichi. While the name and location of these kingly tombs are found in the *Teiki*, and thus considered more or less credible, the tomb designations I have presented fit the dates of death for Hanzei and Ingyō, in addition to echoing the ebb and flow of power discussed in detail in this paper. The *Teiki* (Chronicle of the Sovereigns) is a no-longer-extant genealogy of Yamato kings that supplied major source material for the *Nihon shoki*.

A recognition of Daisen (Mozu) as Ingyō's tomb corresponds with references in the *Nihon shoki* to his construction of Chinu Palace (Chinu-no-miya) in Izumi and numerous hunting trips to Hineno.

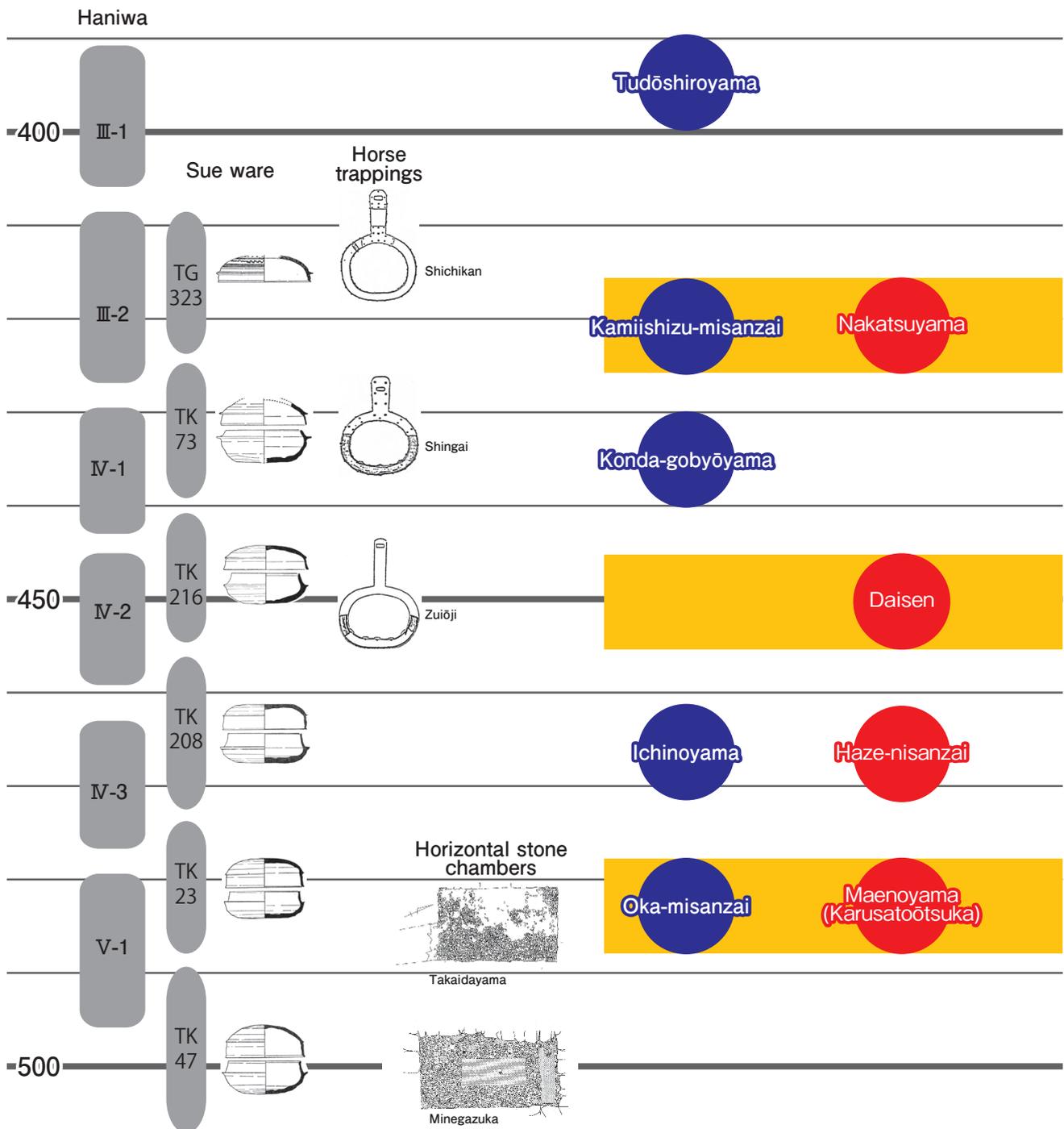


Figure 1: Chronological relationship between 5th-century haniwa, sue ware, and early horse trappings

(6) Daisen (Main Line) as the Tomb of Ingyō

While it may be difficult to arrive at more specific dates from the current evidence, there is one additional perspective worth addressing.

Using the more or less established date of death for Ingyō as a starting point, the reign periods of Hanzei and Ingyō can be more or less determined. This claim has been corroborated by the work of Kuranishi (introduced in Section 4 above). Furthermore, as explained in Section 5, the transition in predominance from the Richū-line to the Ingyō-line, beginning with the 433 accession of Ingyō (amidst overlap with Hanzei), is manifested in the mortuary evidence – the construction of the monumental, main-line Daisen dwarfed the preceding subsidiary-line tombs, which were nevertheless already of gigantic proportions.

It bears repeating that the Ingyō line succeeded to the role of ancestor-worshipping ritualists. The designation of Daisen as Ingyō's tomb matches with both a textual understanding of the Ingyō line as conductors of ritual and an archaeological recognition of main-line tombs as the burial places of sacred kings harkening back to Hashihaka.

(7) Implications

Both lines of monumental keyhole tombs belonged to paramount Wa kings and remained separate even into the 5th century. It was then that they both reached the apogee of their size. Structurally similar regional tombs were modeled after one line or the other and built across the country. Strict and long-held adherence to separate blueprints suggests a meaningful difference between the two lines. During the tenure of the Ōyamato Tomb Group, the main line and subsidiary line are believed to have represented the sacral and administrative kings, respectively. We have been able to trace this politico-ritual division of authority even into the 5th century.

I proposed that during the Saki period, the traditional superiority of the main line (sacred king) over the subsidiary line (administrative king) was reinstated. In the succeeding 5th century, however, the administrative king reinstated his dominance, witnessed in the monumental proportions achieved by the subsidiary-line tombs (Kamiishizu-misanzai and Konda-gobyōyama). Ingyō nevertheless managed to reverse this and Yūryaku succeeded in assassinating Ichinobe-oshiha-wake (the son of Richū). Judging by the reference in the *Harima Gazetteer* (*Harima no kuni fudoki*)^{xx} to an “Emperor Ichinobe” and the reference to him “ruling all under heaven” in a poem in the Kenzō chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, it seems highly likely that he was the administrative king that inherited the throne after Hanzei's death. While Ingyō was able to restore the line of ritualists to predominance, he was nevertheless followed by Ichinobe-oshiha-wake, Richū's son, as administrative king. His assassination by Ingyō's son, Yūryaku, however, strongly suggests that the Ingyō line of sacral kings seized power from the administrative rulers by force.²⁸

While still functionally specialized, the sacral line of kings began to shoulder political responsibilities, entering into a competitive relationship with the administrative line in the 5th century. Both the Richū line (Chin = Hanzei) and Ingyō line (Sai=Ingyō) sent ambassadors to Song China and were deemed “kings of Wa.” In this respect, one could go as far as claiming different seats of kingship. Nevertheless, these two lines originally derived from a separately inherited division of authority between sacred and secular powers. Even if their secular functions came to be indistinguishable, it seems likely that state ritual was still orchestrated by the Ingyō line.

While historians have commented on contention between the Richū and Ingyō lines during the Middle Kofun period – when keyhole tombs reached their peak sizes – discussion has been carried out under the assumption of a single royal throne. Furthermore, the truly enormous size of the keyhole tombs has been interpreted as the manifestation of centralized power. The political structure of the 5th century, however, revolved around two nuclei of authority, lending instability to the administration.²⁹

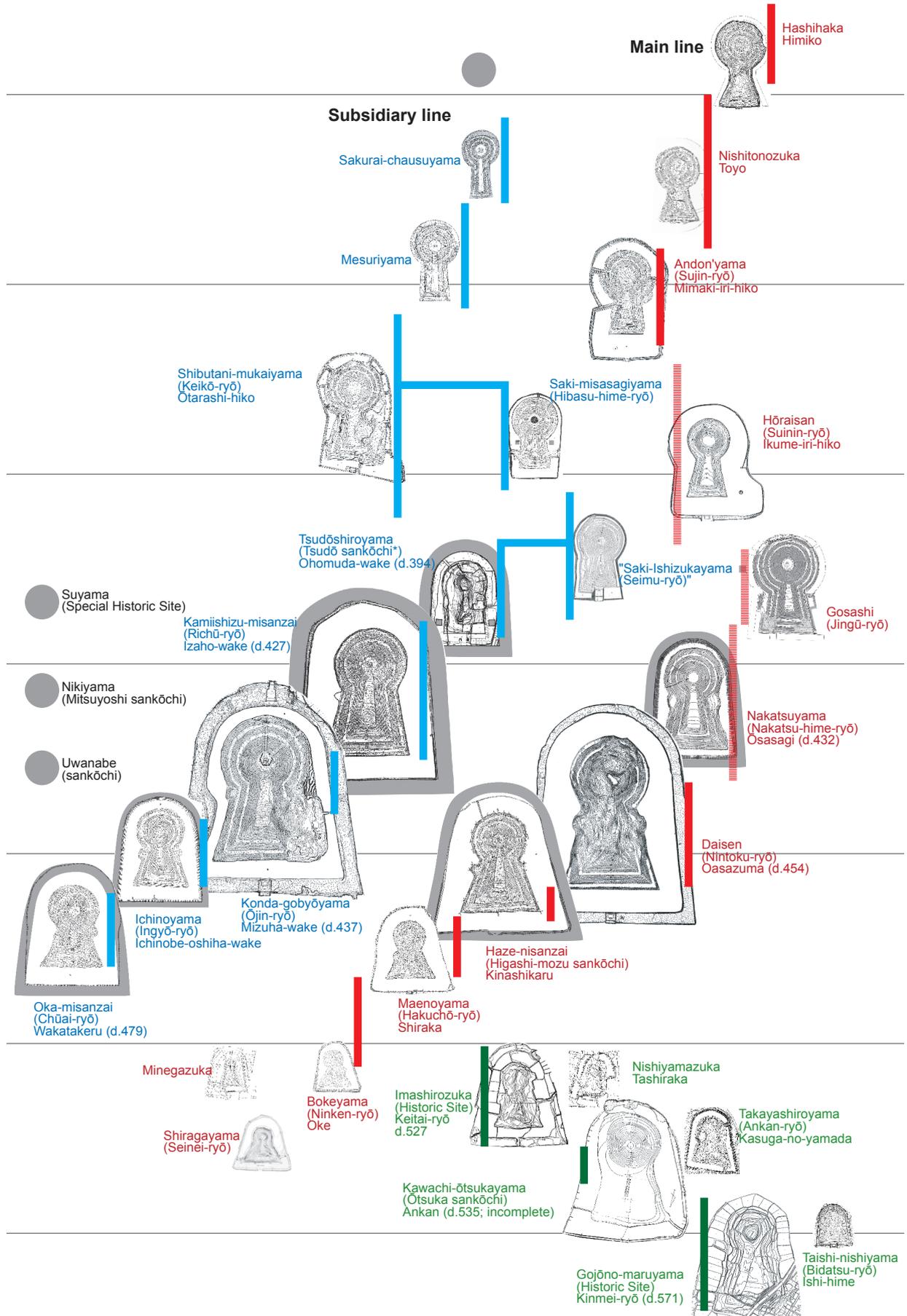
6. Conclusion

It is my contention that Japanese kingship was divided between sacred and secular authority. This differs from the concept of dual kingship put forth by textual historians, in which male and female paramounts shared power, but the prime mover was essentially the male king with administrative authority. While this approach attempts to divide power between two rulers, it nevertheless supposes a monolithic, single throne.

My interpretation of the existence of two contemporaneous kings differs from approaches presented in the past

28. I consider the tomb of Ichinobe-oshiha-wake to be Ichinoyama, the subsidiary-line tomb following Konda-gobyōyama.

29. While we might do well to evaluate the rapidly growing scale of paramount tombs (Nakatsuyama [main line, 290m], Kamiishizu-misanzai [subsidiary line, 360m], Konda-gobyōyama [subsidiary line, 420m], and Daisen [main line, 540m]), within the context of competition with other regions, such as Kibi (whose power is represented by the considerable size achieved by Tsukuriyama), perhaps we should more actively consider the effects of competition *within* the administration. Furthermore, in addition to the two tomb lines discussed at length, it may be possible to decipher a third group in the long, narrow frontal projections of the tombs of the Umami Tomb Group (specifically Suyama) and the Saki Tomb Group (specifically Uwanabe). The discovery that Sairyō (Tannowa region) was modeled after Uwanabe suggested the need to consider an additional nucleus of authority (Kishimoto 2000).



Note: arranged by construction period

Figure 2: Evolution in tomb lineages

by allowing both kings their full and requisite authority. The Kofun period was thus characterized by the existence of two kings (Figure 2).³⁰

While much remains that requires further elucidation, I would like to close by briefly addressing three topics for further consideration.

First is how to interpret the migration of the paramount tomb groups. Judging from the numerous changes in scale, considered here as a type of competitive emulation, it would appear that the two kings were in a competitive relationship during both the Ōyamato and Furuichi-Mozu stages. The existence of smaller-scale tombs modeled after either line hints at the kings' respective ties forged with regional leaders. The existence of two kings bred not only competition *within* the administration, but also contributed to the integration of regional leaders into the power structure. Tsude Hiroshi interpreted the migration of tomb groups from Ōyamato to Saki, and then to Furuichi-Mozu, as evidence of archipelago-wide political change affecting both the center and the periphery (Tsude 1988). The existence of two kings corresponds with the suggestion that a political changing of the guards contributed to the migration of kingly tombs.

Second is clarifying the unification of these two kingly lines. Judging from the shapes of these keyhole tombs, the subsidiary line seems to have disappeared in the late-5th century. A unification of the lines most likely took place by the first half of the 6th century, when the main-line Imashirozuka tomb was constructed. Keitai, who was brought in from the distant Hokuriku region of northwestern Japan, is widely considered to have wielded effective political authority. It thus appears that main-line tombs became the sole manifestation of kingly authority during his reign.

A unification of these two kingly lines, however, would necessarily be accompanied by major structural changes. The second half of the 5th century is believed to have been a watershed in Japan's political evolution, and changes in Mt. Miwa ritual and the creation of the Ise Shrine may have accompanied this process. According to the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, after the death of Yūryaku, considered here to have been the Ingyō-line king who seized administrative authority, the country fell into turmoil until the installation of Keitai. An archaeological investigation into the late-Middle to early-Late Kofun-period keyhole tombs of the Furuichi Tomb Group is necessary to understand what happened to the two lines following the construction of Oka-misanzai.

Third is how the existence of two kings affected the numerous local rulers. What differences existed between local rulers who built tombs modeled after one line or the other? We must address this complicated issue by assiduously advancing our understanding of the numerous derivative tombs found across the country.

Notes on Specialized Terminology

- i. The “*hime-hiko* system” (*hime-hiko sei*) refers to the gender division between siblings of political and religious functions.
- ii. While the exact measure of a “pace” (*bu*) has varied throughout the years, it is said to have been approximately 1.45m during the Wei period.
- iii. *Sōjifun* refers to keyhole tombs carefully constructed based on the blueprints of kingly tombs, albeit on a lesser scale. *Ruijifun*, on the other hand, refers specifically to keyhole tombs modeled after existing derivative tombs (*sōjifun*).
- iv. Triangular-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors (*sankakubuchi shinjūkyō*) are large-diameter bronze mirrors that were cast in China during the mid- to late-3rd century as gifts to Wa.
- v. The *Gishi Wajinden* (“Account of the Wa”) refers to the approximately 2,000-character section devoted to Wa within the “Records of the Eastern Barbarians” (*Dong-I Chuan*), the thirtieth and final book composing the *Chronicles of the Wei Dynasty* (*Weizhi*), which is the first of the three volumes composing the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi*), the official Chinese history compiled by Chen Shou in the 3rd century.
- vi. A shield-shaped moat (*tategata shūgō*) is a variety of moat surrounding a keyhole tomb resembling a Japanese shield (rectangular with the top rounded into an arc) when viewed from above. It is essentially a rectangular moat crowned with a half-circle following the curve of the rear mound (*kōenbu*).
- vii. *Tsukuridashi* are square projections built at the narrow juncture of the round mound (*kōenbu*) and square front (*zenpōbu*).

30. While Kuranishi's work presents a valuable and fascinating glimpse into the structure of *Nihon shoki* entries, the aggregate 120 years of extensions allotted to Ōjin, Nintoku, and Ingyō seem above all an attempt by the later court redactors to compress the existence of two kings into one.

- viii. The *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihon shoki* (720) are Japan's earliest extant domestic histories, the former covering until Suiko's reign (around 600) and the latter extending to the late-7th-century reign of Jitō.
- ix. Japan's penal (*ritsu*) and administrative (*ryō*) codes came into form in the 8th century. The *Engishiki* (Procedures of the Engi Era) was compiled by the state in the early-10th century as a collection of procedures (*shiki*) attending the administration of law.
- x. *Sue* ware (*sueki*) is variety of stoneware fired at high temperatures in a tunnel kiln (*anagama*).
- xi. *Mogari* refers to the temporary securement of the body for ritual before final burial.
- xii. The calendar of ancient Japan utilized the Chinese sexagenary, or sixty-year, cycle (*kanshi*). *Hōnen kanshi* refers to the year of the cycle in which a ruler passed away.
- xiii. Japanese: *Ame no shita shiroshimesu*
- xiv. Literally, inheriting the imperial ancestral spirit of Ninigi-no-mikoto.
- xv. Investiture of the crown prince (*rittaishi*) was the task of declaring one's successor. Begun in the late-7th century, it is no doubt a later addition by the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* redactors. During the Kofun period, successors were decided upon by council after the ruler's death.
- xvi. The earliest stirrups in Japan were ring shaped and open-toe (*wa-abumi*), as opposed to the closed-toe pouch stirrups (*tsubo-abumi*) that subsequently appeared
- xvii. Feng Sufu was the younger brother of a king of the Northern Yan (407-436), who were located in the Liaoxi (Japanese: Ryōsei) region of northeast China (western Liaoning). His tomb is located in the city of Beipiao, Liaoning province, China, and was excavated in 1965.
- xviii. "Three Yan" refers to the Former Yan (337-370), established by the Xianbei, the Later Yan (384-407), and the Northern Yan (407-436), which was founded by the Han Chinese who had been under the Xianbei.
- xix. The bit (*kutsuwa*) is the device placed in the mouth of the horse to steer and control it. On either side of the mouth is affixed a cheekplate (*kagami'ita*) with openwork dragon designs.
- xx. The *Harima Gazetteer* (*Harima no kuni fudoki*) was one of the many provincial records submitted to the emperor in the 8th century that described local customs, history, and geography.

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