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## Notes on Usage

### General Conventions

- From 2015 to 2021 the printed installments of the Kokugakuin *Kojiki* project appeared in the dedicated publication *Kojiki gaku* (volumes 1–7). The succeeding installments will be published in *Kokugakuin Daigaku Kenkyū Kaihatsu Suishin Kikō kiyō* 國學院大學研究開発推進機構紀要 (abbreviated in citations as KKSCK).
- The English translations included in this project generally follow the stylistic conventions and citation format detailed in the *Monumenta Nipponica* style sheet ([http://dept.sophia.ac.jp/monumenta/pdf/MN-Style-Sheet\\_201809.pdf](http://dept.sophia.ac.jp/monumenta/pdf/MN-Style-Sheet_201809.pdf)).
- In the interest of readability, phonetic transcriptions of names, terms, and phrases from the *Kojiki* and other Nara-period texts are rendered in a modified Hepburn system of romanization and according to the modern dictionary pronunciation. No attempt is made to indicate archaic Japanese phonetic distinctions such as the *kō* 甲/*otsu* 乙 vowels. Likewise, archaic usages that later evolved into extended vowel sounds, such as in the honorific prefix “Oho,” are indicated by a macron, “Ō.”
- Phonetic transliterations from archaic texts follow the rendering given in the *yomikudashi* 読下し version of the edition cited. The translation generally omits the phonetic glosses given in the original text.
- The *pinyin* system is used to transliterate Chinese terms.
- In principle characters are given for Japanese and Chinese names and terms at the first instance where they occur in each issue of *Kojiki gaku*/KKSCK. They are only repeated in that issue when they are the

subject of discussion or if necessary for clarity.

- Citations to the *Kojiki* and other archaic texts indicate the page numbers of both the original text (generally speaking, the *kanbun* 漢文 text) as reprinted in the modern edition cited and the *yomikudashi* version adopted by that edition.
- Cross-references to other passages in the *Kojiki* cite *Kojiki gaku*/KKSKK when possible. In cases of passages from sections not yet covered by that version, citations are to the SNKBZ version edited by Yamaguchi Yoshinori and Kōnosshi Takamitsu.
- Information in the notes added by the translator is indicated by the acronym TN.
- Bibliographic details of the different commentaries and other works cited are given in the list of references included in each issue. Endnotes use a shortened citation format. Only the surname is used for citations to modern (Meiji and later) authors; citations to premodern works give the author's full name.

## Studies on the *Kojiki*

Translated by Quirós Ignacio,  
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### Chapter 10: The Land of Yomi (II)

Horror-stricken by the sight (1), Izanaki no mikoto fled and sought to escape [from the Land of Yomi]. “How dare you bring shame on me! (2)” his sister-spouse Izanami no mikoto said, and she dispatched the hags of Yomi (3) to pursue him. Thereupon, Izanaki no mikoto undid the black vine binding his hair and tossed it aside. [From it] grapes instantly fruited. While [the hags] were gathering the grapes up and eating them, he escaped. The [hags] again pursued him. Next he broke off the teeth of the hallowed long comb he wore in the bun of hair by his left ear and tossed them aside. [From them] bamboo shoots instantly sprouted. While [the hags] were pulling the shoots up and eating them, he escaped. Thereafter, [Izanami] ordered one thousand and five hundred Yomi forces to join the eight thunder deities in pursuing [Izanaki]. Izanaki drew the ten-hands-long sword he bore at his waist and, swinging it behind him, escaped [once more], but the [Yomi thunder deities and forces] continued to pursue him.

When Izanaki reached the foot (4) of the Yomotsu border slope (5), he took three peaches from the tree that grew there and counterattacked [with them]. [The Yomi thunder deities and forces] all turned back and fled (6). Thereupon, Izanaki said to the peaches: “Just as you have aided me, you should come to the aid of all the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm (7) of Ashihara no nakatsukuni 葦

原中国 (8), whenever they fall into peril and lament in despair.” He then gave those peaches the name Ōkamuzumi no mikoto 意富加牟豆美命.

### Text Notes

#### 1. “Horror-stricken by the sight” (*mikashikomite* 見畏而)

The character 畏 (“to fear,” “fearsome”) occurs a total of seventeen times in the *Kojiki*; seven of these are in the digraph 見畏 (“to see and fear”). Other graphs such as 惶, 懼, and 恐 are also used to express a sensation of fear, but in all instances where the indication of such a sensation follows the graph 見 (“to see,” “sight”), the graph adopted is 畏. This pattern points to a conscious choice. Many instances of the compound 見畏 appear in stories of intermarriage between different species. In these the digraph serves to convey the observer’s reaction to catching sight of the partner’s true nature, an event that is followed by the observer’s fleeing the scene. Mibu Sachiko 壬生幸子 holds that the expression 見畏 typically is used in the context of an actor of superior status becoming aware of the unexpected true nature of a subordinate figure as the result of a circumstance brought about by the subordinate. This leads to the superior figure fearfully trying to escape from the subordinate or trying to keep the subordinate at a distance.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### 2. “Shame” (*haji* 辱)

In stories of intermarriage between different species the term “shame” (*haji*) almost invariably accompanies the breaking of the looking taboo. This is true of the stories of this sort found generally in ancient Japanese literature as well as those specific to the *Kojiki*. “Shame” in these contexts has been interpreted both as related to social norms and as carrying religious overtones. The section on the district of Kashima 香島 in the

*Hitachi no kuni fudoki* 常陸国風土記 includes a story of the “young people pine grove” (*unai matsubara* 童子女松原) in which a young man and woman enjoying a tryst feel “shame” when they realize they might be observed and transform themselves into trees.<sup>(2)</sup> The identification of the two as a “man-deity” and a “woman-deity” suggests that “shame” was seen as something linked to religious norms and taboos.

### 3. “The hags of Yomi” (*yomotsu shikome* 予母都志許売)

For the term “the hags of Yomi” the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* gives the characters 泉津醜女, and the seventh variant indicates that the digraph 醜女 should be read *shikome*.<sup>(3)</sup> Two different interpretations exist regarding the meaning of the morpheme *shiko*: that it simply means “ugly” or “hateful,” or that it serves to designate someone who is powerful and stalwart.

The *Man'yōshū* contains multiple occurrences of the term *shiko*, including the following: *shiko no masurao* 鬼之益卜雄 (“this stalwart man”) in poem 117 (book 2); *shiko no mitate* 之許乃美多弓 (“your stalwart guardian”) in poem 4373 (book 20); *shiko no shiko gusa* 鬼乃志許草 (“these hateful weeds”) in poems 727 (book 4) and 3062 (book 12); *shiko hototogisu* 志許霍公鳥/四去霍公鳥 (“this hateful cuckoo”) in poems 1507 (book 8) and 1951 (book 10); *oya no shiko ya ni* 小屋之四忌屋尔 (“this miserable hut”) and *shiko no shiko te o* 鬼之四忌手乎 (“these miserable, miserable hands”) in poem 3270 (book 13); *shikotsu okina no* 之許都於吉奈乃 (“that hateful old man”) in poem 4011 (book 17).<sup>(4)</sup> The first two examples are sometimes adduced as the basis for taking *shiko* to mean “stalwart,” yet a contextual analysis of the pertinent poems does not fully support such an interpretation. Similarly some may see the morphological correspondence between *yomotsu shikome* and the term *Ashihara no shikoo* 葦原色許男

used subsequently in the *Kojiki* for Ōanamuji as evidence for understanding *shiko* to mean “stalwart.”<sup>(5)</sup> However, there is room to interpret *Ashihara no shikoo* alternatively as “the hateful man of Ashihara [no nakatsukuni].” At the same time, the later episode of the sisters Konohana no sakuyabime 木花之佐久夜毘売 and Iwanagahime 石長比売 in the Ninigi narrative suggests that 醜 does not indicate merely “ugly” in the ordinary sense of “unattractive.” The narrative contrasts the former sister as “beautiful” (美) and the latter as “ugly” (醜), but in both cases the intent seems to be to ascribe a power or force outside the norm.<sup>(6)</sup>

#### 4. “The foot [of the slope]” (*sakamoto* 坂本)

As discussed more fully in the following note, the presence here of the term *sakamoto* 坂本 has been the source of a certain degree of confusion regarding the location of the Land of Yomi.<sup>(7)</sup> The expression does not occur in the *Nihon shoki*. Descriptions of the corresponding scene in that text include the following: “[Izanaki] had already reached the Yomotsu border slope” (*sude ni yomotsu hirasaka ni itarimasu* 已到泉津平坂) and “[Izanaki] closed off the border path” (*sono sakaji ni saite* 塞其坂路) in the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter; “a big peach tree stood near the path” (*michi no he ni ōki naru momo no ki ari* 道辺有大桃樹) in the seventh variant; “When fighting against his sister-spouse at the Yomotsu border slope” (*sono imo to yomotsu hirasaka ni aitatakau ni itarite* 及其与妹相闘於泉平坂) in the tenth variant.<sup>(8)</sup> None of these passages refer to the “foot of the slope,” nor does the context imply literally sloping terrain. It may be that Ashihara no nakatsukuni and the Land of Yomi came to be understood as situated in a vertical relationship only after the graphs 黄泉 (“yellow springs,” connoting “underworld”) had been adopted to transcribe *yomo*. Later expressions such as “envoy of the

nether region" (*shitahe no tsukai* 之多敵 [下辺] 使) in poem 905 of the *Man'yōshū* (book 5), or *shitatsu kuni* 下津国 in the *norito* liturgy for the rites to pray for protection from fire (Chinkasai 鎮火祭) suggest that, as time elapsed, the image of the vertical relationship evolved to a conception of the Land of Yomi as the lower realm.<sup>(9)</sup>

### 5. "The Yomotsu border slope" (*yomotsu hirasaka* 黄泉比良坂)

A reading gloss from the seventh variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* indicates that "the graphs 泉津平坂 should be read *yomotsu hirasaka*."<sup>(10)</sup> The term *yomitsu hirasaka* 与美津枚坂 appears in the abovementioned Chinkasai *norito*.<sup>(11)</sup> The "Yomotsu border slope" can be described as the boundary between the Land of Yomi and Ashihara no nakatsukuni 葦原中国 ("the central land of reed plains"). It is generally held that the original meaning of the morpheme *hira* is a cliff-like terrain or sloping land and that *saka* indicates "boundary." To what extent the *Kojiki* as a whole retains these primary meanings is unclear. Overall, the meaning of *saka* 坂 in the *Kojiki* does not appear to differ very much from the modern usage of this term to mean "slope." Yet, the *saka* that figure in the myths, as in the subsequently mentioned *unasaka* 海坂 ("sea border"), do seem to carry a strong connotation of "boundary."<sup>(12)</sup> The following chapter states: "It is said that what is called the Yomotsu border slope is the present Ifuya border in the land of Izumo."<sup>(13)</sup>

### 6. "[The Yomi thunder deities and forces] all turned back and fled" (*kotogotoku hikikaeriki* 悉叛返也)

There has been an ongoing debate about the interpretation of this passage. The extant manuscripts of the *Kojiki* adopt different characters



for the second graph (here 坂), and the choice bears directly on the issue of the location of the Land of Yomi. The earliest extant manuscript, the Shinpukuji-bon 真福寺本 (1371–1372), gives the sequence of characters as 攻返也 (“attacked and turned back”), while the Dōka-bon 道果本 (1381), Dōshō-bon 道祥本 (1424), and Shun’yu-bon 春瑜本 (1426) manuscripts give it as 逃返也 (“turned back and fled”). These instances carry no implications as to the location of Yomi, from which the thunder deities and forces came and to which they turn back. The Urabe 卜部 house lineage of manuscripts, beginning with the copy transcribed by Urabe Kanenaga 卜部兼永 (1467–1536), however, give the sequence as 坂返也 (“turned back [at] the border”). Considered in conjunction with the term *sakamoto* (“foot of the slope”; see note 4), this might be seen to imply that the Yomi thunder deities and forces, which had been chasing Izanaki down a slope, returned up it. In other words, the Urabe manuscripts’ rendering might be understood to suggest that Yomi lies at the top of the slope. Further, if the thunder deities and forces retreated from the foot of the Yomotsu border slope after having descended it, one might also conclude that the slope is part of the territory of the Land of Yomi, which would also account for the name “Yomotsu border slope.”

Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民 argues that the sequences 攻返也 and 逃返也 adopted respectively by the Shinpukuji-bon and the other Ise-lineage manuscripts are both problematic. He holds that the action of “attack and turn back” is improbable and that the graph 逃 (“fled”) likely was adopted under the influence of the version of this episode found in *Sendaikujī hongī* 先代旧事本紀. On the grounds that the 攻 of the Shinpukuji-bon is graphically close to 坂 (“slope,” “boundary”), in his commentary Nishimiya follows the Urabe-lineage manuscripts and opts for 坂返也.<sup>(14)</sup>

From a graphic perspective, 坂 is plausible. It should be noted, however,

that choosing it does not necessarily resolve the issue of the location of the Land of Yomi. For one thing, the gloss marks of the Urabe manuscripts indicate that 坂返也 is to be read as “return at the border” (*saka yori kaeru*). Adopting the term “border” here might indicate the point at which the action of “returning” begins, but it would not specify the direction of that action. As Yoshino Masaharu 吉野政治 observes, the statement that Izanaki reached the “foot of the slope” could mean equally that he reached the point where an ascent begins as that it was the point where a descent terminates.<sup>(15)</sup> If the main implication of the term *yomotsu hirasaka* is that it signifies a “border,” that one side of the border lies uphill from the other becomes a secondary matter. To sum up these issues, opting for the graphs 坂返也 would not lend support to the interpretation of Yomi as a place located at the top of a slope (in other words, the interpretation of *yomi* as a morpheme deriving from *yama* = mountain). *Yomotsu hirasaka* may be considered the “exit” from the Land of Yomi, but it does not seem particularly meaningful to judge simply on the basis of this passage whether the Land of Yomi lies above or below the boundary (is not such a schematization overly simplified?).

In this commentary we thus have not adopted any of the graphs found in the manuscript versions of the text. As Nishimiya points out, the graph 攻 found in the earliest extant manuscript, the Shinpukuji-bon, is problematic, and it is difficult to accept it as is. On the other hand, the form of the graph 逃 found in the other Ise-lineage texts diverges too far from that of the Shinpukuji-bon’s 攻 to choose it as an alternative. As for the digraph 坂返, the method of transcription seen in *Kojiki* suggests that the reverse sequence of 返坂 would be more likely. We thus have not opted for this possibility either. Rather, following Nakamura Hirotoši’s 中村啓信 thesis, we have provisionally chosen 扳 (*hiku*, “to pull”), which in

its handwritten graphic form can resemble 攻.<sup>(16)</sup> Evidence of the presence of the graph 扳 in early texts can be found in the dictionary of Chinese characters *Shinsen jikyō* 新撰字鏡 (ca. 900 CE).<sup>(17)</sup>

**7. “All the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm” *utsushiki aohitokusa* 宇都志伎青人草**<sup>(18)</sup>

This phrase combines the adjective *utsushi* (“visible,” “actual”) and the noun *aohitokusa* (“the verdant blades of grass, the mortals”). Some interpret it as likening humans living in the present world to lush grass, others as characterizing human existence as weak and evanescent.

**Further comment:** What, in fact, are the connotations of the term *utsushi*? Apart from this passage in the Land of Yomi myth, the *Kojiki* includes the following other instances:

(1) “The Azumi no muraji 阿曇連 are the descendants of Utsushi hikanasaku no mikoto 宇都志日金析命, the child of this Watatsumi no kami 綿津見神.” (section on Izanaki’s ablutions)<sup>(19)</sup>

(2) “His alternative name is Utsushi kunitama no kami 宇都志国玉神.” (section on the descendants of Susanoo)<sup>(20)</sup>

(3) “Become Utsushi kuninushi no kami 宇都志国主神.” (section on Ōnamuji’s visit to the netherworld)<sup>(21)</sup>

(4) “Distressed, [Haruyama no kasumi otoko 春山之霞壮夫] told his mother [about his elder brother’s failure to do as he had promised]. His mother said, ‘In this, our realm, actions should adhere to the customs of the deities. Is it because he follows the customs of the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm (*utsushiki aohitokusa* 宇都志岐青人草), that he does not give over [what he promised]?’” (chronicle of Emperor Ōjin)<sup>(22)</sup>

(5) “The emperor spoke with fearful reverence: ‘With awe I address the great deity! I did not realize that you might appear manifest in this visible realm (*utsushi omi* 宇都志意美!)’ He had the myriad officials set down their swords and bows and arrows and take off their robes and reverently presented these [to the deity].” (chronicle of Emperor Yūryaku) <sup>(23)</sup>

In the first example, the Azumi no muraji lineage is described as worshipping as its ancestral deity (*oyagami* 祖神) the threefold Watatsumi deity that emerged from Izanaki’s purification of himself after escaping from Yomi. This is the only occurrence in the *Kojiki* of the term “ancestral deity.” The Azumi no muraji is identified as the descendant (*sue* 子孫) of Utsushi hikanasaku, the child of the Watatsumi deity. It seems likely that the attachment of the element *utsushi* to the name of the entity that connects “ancestral deity” and “descendant” is intended to show this entity’s function as a link between deities and human beings. This passage is also the first of the *Kojiki*’s “ancestral origin” accounts. The combination of these aspects makes it relevant to grasping the *Kojiki*’s view of the continuum between “deity” and “human.”

Items 2 and 3 are alternative names of Ōkuninushi. As regards item 3, many editions modify the *nushi* 主 of Utsushi kuninushi no kami, changing it to *tama* 玉 (as in item 2). However, based on a critical examination of the different manuscripts and contextual reading, we have retained the Shinpukuji-bon manuscript’s transcription. <sup>(24)</sup>

In the fourth example the elder brother Akiyama no shitahi otoko 秋山之下氷壯夫 and the younger brother Haruyama no kasumi otoko make a wager as to whether the younger brother can win a maiden that both desire. The younger brother succeeds in making the maiden his spouse,

but the elder brother refuses to give him the items promised in the wager, leading their mother to make the statement quoted above. Although the elder brother should have adhered to the customs of “our realm” (*waga miyo* 我御世), he likely did not give over the promised items because he followed instead the customs of “the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm.” The two sets of “customs” (*narai* 習) indicate that the realm of the deities and that of “the verdant blades of grass, the mortals,” exist parallel to each other and both have the potential to exert influence on the elder brother.

In the case of item 5, which is part of the story of an encounter between Emperor Yūryaku and Hitokotonushi no kami 一言主神, whom the emperor does not initially recognize as a deity, various interpretations have been advanced as to the meaning of the phonetic transcription *utsushi omi*. An earlier interpretation took *omi* to correspond to the graphs 大身 (“great personage”) and interpreted the phrase as “the great personage [Hitokotonushi] who has taken visible form.” This hypothesis that *omi* means “great personage” has been rejected, however, on grounds that the conventions of ancient phonetic transcription distinguish between the pronunciation of *mi* rendered as 美 (as in this passage) and *mi* rendered as 身. Current interpretations include the thesis that the phrase means “the great spirit (大霊) that has taken visible form,”<sup>(25)</sup> or “the attendants (臣) [of Hitokotonushi] taking visible form.”<sup>(26)</sup> No one interpretation has been accepted as definitive, but this instance can be said to differ from the others. Whereas they refer to the “visible realm” from the perspective of the deities, in this one Emperor Yūryaku speaks of the “visible realm” from the perspective of one who dwells in it. Further, although when spoken about from the side of the deities, the “visible realm” is something that pertains to human beings, when it is

spoken about from the human side, as in the case of item 5, it can pertain not only to human beings, but also to deities who have made themselves visible.

The following example from *Nihon shoki* confirms this point:

At this time [Prince Iwarebiko 磐余彦, the subsequent Emperor Jinmu.] proclaimed to [his attendant] Michi no omi 道臣, saying, “I myself shall call forth Takamimusuhi no mikoto to be worshipped in visible form (*utsushi iwai* 顯齋).” <sup>(27)</sup>

The text adds a gloss specifying that the graphs 顯齋 are to be read *utsushi iwai*. The compilers of the SNKBZ edition append the following explanation of this term:

*Utsushi iwai* means to worship reverently in such a manner that the deity, which in actuality cannot be seen, becomes manifest. Here it means concretely that by making himself the repository (*tsukibito* 憑人) for the divine spirit, Jinmu will in his person become Takamimusuhi and thereby make manifest the deity to be worshipped. <sup>(28)</sup>

Here *utsushi* is identified as referring to a circumstance in which something from the realm of the deities that intrinsically is invisible manifests itself in the human realm and takes a visible form. From these examples we can understand that within the human realm, *utsushi* can refer to the manifestation of an entity from the realm of deities, whereas from the perspective of the latter realm, it pertains to human beings. Within the world of the myths, the human realm (the realm of the mortal verdant blades of grass) and the realm of the deities exist parallel to each

other, and the story of Izanaki's flight from Yomi probably expresses the idea that Izanaki and Izanami oversee human birth and death. In declaring to the peaches that they should "come to the aid of all the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm of Ashihara no nakatsukuni, whenever they fall into peril and lament in despair," Izanaki simultaneously situates the Land of Yomi as the destination of the "verdant blades of grass" when they die.

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## 8. Ashihara no nakatsukuni 葦原中国

In *Kojiki* myths, this name, of which this is the first occurrence, designates the earthly realm. It also implies that it is perceived as such as seen from another realm. The fact that it first occurs in association with the expression "all the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm" (*utsushiki aohitokusa* 宇都志伎青人草) suggests a deep connection between the two notions. This connection can be seen as well in the fact that the alternative names for Ōnamuji (Ōkuninushi 大国主神) include both Ashihara no shikoo (see text note 3 above) and Utsushi kunitama 宇都志国玉 (or Utsushi kuninushi 宇都志国主; see the preceding "further comment").<sup>(29)</sup>

## Endnotes

- (1) Mibu, "Amaterasu ōmikami no 'mikashikomi.'"
- (2) Uegaki, *Fudoki*, SNKBZ 5, pp. 398–401.
- (3) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 44–45, 52–53.
- (4) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, p. 94; SNKBZ 9, p. 403; SNKBZ 6, p. 357; SNKBZ 8, p. 343; SNKBZ 7, p. 324; SNKBZ 8, p. 63; SNKBZ 8, p. 412; SNKBZ 9, p. 214.
- (5) *Kojiki gaku* 5 (2019), pp. 13, 19; 6 (2020), p. 9 (Japanese original).

- ( 6 ) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 120–21.
- ( 7 ) The order of text notes 4 and 5 has been reversed in the translation to fit the English syntax. Regarding the issue of the location of Yomi and the Yomotsu border slope, see also *Kojiki gaku* 7 (2021), p. 285 (English translation).
- ( 8 ) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 46–47, 54–55, 56–57.
- ( 9 ) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 94; Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, NKBT 1, pp. 430–31.
- (10) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 52–53.
- (11) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, NKBT 1, pp. 430–31.
- (12) *Unasaka* appears in the myth of “the luck of the sea and the luck of the land” (*umisachi yamasachi* 海幸山幸), which narrates the story of the brothers Hoderi 火照 and Hoori 火遠理, children of Ninigi. Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi define *unasaka* as the “border between the sea world and the land of Ashihara no nakatsukuni.” See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, p. 136n5.
- (13) *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), p. 24 (Japanese original); KKSCK 14 (2022), p. 207 (English translation).
- (14) Nishimiya, *Kojiki shūteiban*, p. 36.
- (15) Yoshino, “Yomotsu hirasaka no sakamoto,” pp. 43–44.
- (16) Nakamura, *Shinpan Kojiki*, p. 33; Takeda and Nakamura, *Shintei Kojiki*, p. 29n23.
- (17) In vol. 10 of the Tenji-bon 天治本 manuscript.
- (18) The order of this and the following note have been reversed to fit the English syntax.
- (19) *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 38, 40, 43–44 (Japanese original); KKSCK 14 (2022), pp. 170, 160–61 (English translation).
- (20) *Kojiki gaku* 5 (2019), pp. 12–13, 19 (Japanese original).
- (21) *Kojiki gaku* 6 (2020), pp. 16–17, 20 (Japanese original).
- (22) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 280–81.
- (23) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 348–49. Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi interpret this passage to mean: “Since your servant dwells in this visible realm, I did not realize it was you!”
- (24) See *Kojiki gaku* 6 (2020), pp. 16–17, 20. Regarding this issue and the



question why the alternative names of Ōkuninushi incorporate the element *utsushi*, see Taniguchi, “Ōkuninushi no kami no ‘mata na’ kisai no igi.”

- (25) Nishimiya, *Kojiki shūteiban*, p. 200n1.
- (26) Mōri, “‘Utsushiomi’ to ‘utsusemi, utsusomi’ kō.”
- (27) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 214–15.
- (28) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 215.
- (29) *Kojiki gaku* 5 (2019), pp. 12–13, 19–20; 6 (2020), pp. 16–17, 20 (Japanese original).

### Chapter 11: The Land of Yomi (III)

Finally, his sister-spouse Izanami no mikoto herself joined the pursuit, whereupon [Izanaki no mikoto] hauled a boulder [so huge] as to require a thousand people to haul it on to the Yomotsu border slope and blocked it. Confronting each other on either side of the boulder, [Izanami and Izanaki] declared their eternal estrangement (1). “Oh, my beloved brother-spouse!” said Izanami. “If you do this, every day I will strangle to death one thousand of the mortal blades of grass of your land.” “Oh, my beloved sister-spouse!” Izanaki proclaimed. “If you do that, every day I will build one thousand five hundred parturition huts.” This is why every day one thousand people inevitably die and every day one thousand five hundred people inevitably are born.

Because of these events, Izanami is called Yomotsu ōkami 黄泉津大神. It is also said that she is called Chishiki no ōkami 道敷大神 because she pursued Izanaki. The boulder that blocked the Yomotsu border is called Chigaeshi no ōkami 道返之大神 and also Sayarimasu yomotsu to no ōkami 塞坐黄泉戸大神.<sup>(1)</sup> Also, it is said that what is called the Yomotsu border slope is the present Ifuya border in the land of Izumo (2).

## Text Notes

1. “They declared their eternal estrangement” (*kotodo o watasu* 度事戸)

The meaning of the term *kotodo* 事戸 remains uncertain. Many commentators understand it as a formula for breaking conjugal ties proclaimed to the opposite party. Such interpretations take the graph 戸 (literally “door,” “household”) to represent the term “conjuration” (*jugon* 呪言). Some commentators, however, take it as referring not to an utterance, but a place.

**Further comment:** Hypotheses about the meaning of the term *kotodo o watasu* 度事戸 advanced by commentators include the following:

(1) For spouses to become estranged and go (*wataru* 度) to live in separate households (*kototo* 別戸; Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵, as cited by Motoori Norinaga in *Kojiki den* 古事記伝).<sup>(2)</sup>

(2) A phrase meaning a sign (*shirushi* 証) of the breaking of conjugal ties, or, alternatively, deriving from the practice of the man’s handing back to the woman’s family the cithern (*norikoto* 詔琴) that served as a pledge of conjugal ties; *kotodo* might also be a contracted form of *kototokegoto* 事解言 (declaration of the dissolution of a matter; Motoori Norinaga).<sup>(3)</sup>

(3) To declare the breaking of conjugal ties, with *kotodo* meaning “different place” (異処; Tsugita Uruu 次田潤) or “separate place” (別所; Nakajima Etsuji 中島悦治).<sup>(4)</sup>

(4) Declaration of estrangement, with *kotodo* meaning “separation” (*koto* 別) + “conjuration” (*to/do*; Ogihara Asao 荻原浅男).<sup>(5)</sup>

(5) Pronouncement of a vow, with *kotodo* meaning “to speak” (言) + the particle *do* = “to proclaim”; Kurano Kenji 倉野憲司).<sup>(6)</sup>

(6) A malediction declared to the dead to prevent them from returning (“separation” + “conjuration”; Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱).<sup>(7)</sup>

(7) A phrase combining the declaration of the breaking of conjugal ties with the separation of the living from the dead (Nishimiya Kazutami).<sup>(8)</sup>

(8) A malediction pronounced by one party on another, with the intent to break conjugal ties (Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光 and Yamaguchi Yoshinori 山口佳紀).<sup>(9)</sup>

As the above examples show, commentators have taken *koto* to represent variously graphs meaning “lute” (琴), “separate” (別), “different” (異), “to speak” (言), and “matter” (事). However, as Kurano Kenji points out, no examples can be found in the *Kojiki* of the graph 事 being used phonetically to represent the meaning “separate” or “different.” Similarly, as Kōnoshi and Yamaguchi argue, if the compilers had intended to convey the meaning of “to speak,” they likely would have used the graph 言. Considered in this light, the intended meaning is thus probably that of the graph used, 事 (“matter”). *Do* (戸) has been interpreted variously as intended to represent graphs meaning “door”/“household” (戸), “place” (所), “words” (言, i.e., “conjuration,” 呪言), or a particle. Since the parameters of the *Kojiki*’s usage of the graph 戸 do not seem that sharply defined, it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion. Most commentators agree that *watasu* here means “to declare” (*iiwatasu* 言い渡す). Kōnoshi and Yamaguchi hold that the context in which the phrase occurs, where Izanaki and Izanami are described as “confronting each other,” militates against Saigō’s interpretation of it as a malediction directed at the dead by the living, but can that be said so definitively?

The sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* has the phrase “[Izanaki] proclaimed his intent to divorce his wife” (*kotodo o watashi tamau* 建絶妻之誓), and the seventh variant of the same section gives the phonetic gloss *kotodo* 許等度 for the graphs 絶妻之誓.<sup>(10)</sup> These renderings would appear to have influenced

interpretations of the *Kojiki*'s 事戸, but the meaning embedded in the graphs adopted by the *Nihon shoki* gives its account of this episode a specificity not seen in the *Kojiki*. Assuming that the “wife” (妻) alluded to indicates Izanami, the action described in the *Nihon shoki* account is also much more unidirectional.

Regarding usage of the graph 事 (“matter”) in combination with a following element, apart from the deity names Ōkoto oshio no kami 大事忍男神 and Kotoshironushi no kami 事代主神, the *Kojiki* includes four instances of the term *kotoyosashi* 事依 (“entrust,” “charge with”) and, in the chronicle of Emperor Suinin, the instances *makoto towazu* 真事登波受 (“unable to speak properly”) and *makoto towamu* 真事登波牟 (“will speak properly”).<sup>(11)</sup> In all these instances the following element is a verb; there are none where the following element is a noun, as appears to be the case here with 戸. The term *kotoyosashi* is also written with the graph 言 (“word,” “speech”) as 言依 (five instances, as well as one written as 言因). The instances *makoto* 真事 (“true matters,” “properly”) from the chronicle of Emperor Suinin may likewise be said to carry a connotation of speech (*kotoba* 言葉).

As for the alternative possibility that *koto* here should be understood as 言, combinations of this graph with a following element in the *Kojiki* again tend to have a verbal construction as the second element. Examples are *kotodatsureba* 言立者 (“if [they] say something particular”; chronicle of Emperor Nintoku), *kotomuke* 言向 (“direct words to the other party” or “make the other party direct words to you”; nine instances); *kotomuke* 言趣 (same meaning as with the digraph 言向; two instances); *kotoage* 言挙 (“proclaim loudly”; chronicle of Emperor Keikō); and *kotosaka* 言離 (“to assert firmly”; chronicle of Emperor Yūryaku). If the search is expanded beyond the *Kojiki*, examples can be found in other texts of terms

combining 言 with a noun, such as *kotowaza* 諺 (“proverb”) or *kotodama* (“[word] spirit”). However, it is open to question whether the *koto* of *kotowaza* can be equated solely with the graph 言. In the case of *kotodama* as well, one can find examples of the graphic combination 事霊 (*Man’yōshū* poems 2506, 3254) as well as 言霊 (*Man’yōshū* poem 894).

The *Kojiki*, it is held, in principle does not use the graph 言 as an alternative representation (*shakuji* 借字) of the graph 事, and the text compilers consciously distinguished between the two graphs when using both with the reading *koto* in the same phrase. As mentioned above in regard to the phrase *makoto* 真事 (“true matters,” “[speak] properly”), however, in some instances the graph 事 may carry connotations of speech. Such instances may be said to involve a movement from words to act. Whereas the graph 言 would appear to be used only in regard to words, 事 is used to express instances of such movement. It seems possible that this also applies in the case of *kotodo*.

Turning to the graph 戸, diverse examples of usage can be found. Leaving aside its many appearances in the names of deities and people and its use to mean “door,” the following three warrant particular note:

(1) “Amenokoyane no mikoto prayerfully beseeched [Amaterasu to make] a solemn **pronouncement** . . .” (*Amenokoyane no mikoto futo noritogoto hokimōshite* 天兒屋命布刀詔戸言禱白而; Heavenly Rock Cave episode)<sup>(12)</sup>

The reading of this passage poses a number of significant problems, which here I can only touch on briefly. The term *norito* subsequently came to mean a liturgy offered to the deities, but it is questionable whether that meaning applies here. Given the usage in *Kojiki* of the graph 詔 (*mikotonori*, “imperial/divine pronouncement”),<sup>(13)</sup> is not the implication

here that Amenokoyane's action is intended to bring about Amaterasu's "pronouncement," that it is a prayerful beseeching for her *noritogoto*? The meaning of the *to* of *norito* is uncertain. Interpretations of it as referring to a conjuration or a location both exist. Some, pointing to the examples of the terms *tonau* ("to intone") and *togoi* ("conjuration against another"), take *to* as meaning "words," but terms such as *hoto* (genitals), *kumido* (a place to seclude oneself), <sup>(14)</sup> and *minato* (harbor), suggest it could also be interpreted as "place." In the case of this particular passage opinions divide as to whether the graph 言 should be considered as attached to the preceding 詔戸 or not. It might be argued that its presence immediately following 戸 militates against interpreting the latter graph as having to do with words. On the other hand, if it is seen as implying "place," *norito* here would mean "place to hear the deity's words," which would not fit readily in the context.

(2) "Thereupon the myriad deities conferred together and levied a penalty of one thousand expiatory items (*chikura no okito* 千位置戸) on Susanoo; cut his beard, fingernails, and toenails; had [his wrongdoings] dispelled; and expelled him with a divine expulsion." (Heavenly Rock Cave episode) <sup>(15)</sup>

*Chikura no okito* ("one thousand expiatory items") refers to the penalty levied as part of the process of dispelling wrongdoings. *Okito* may have originally indicated the place where the items were placed and evolved to mean the items as such. In this context it clearly means the objects to be offered up.

(3) The third example occurs in the story from the chronicle of Emperor Ōjin of the elder brother who fails to pay his younger brother a

wager after the latter wins a maiden both had pursued (see above, pp. 211–13). Angry at her elder son, their mother took a “bamboo stalk of one node from an island in the Izushi 伊豆志 River, made a coarse eight-meshed basket, [in which she placed] stones from the river mixed with salt and wrapped in leaves from the bamboo.” She then placed the basket on the hearth and had the younger brother “pronounce a conjuration” (*togowashimete*) in which he declared that the elder brother should flourish and wither in turn like these objects. When the elder brother, having fallen ill and withered, pled with his mother, she had the “conjuration items” (*togoito* 詛戸) handed over to him.<sup>(16)</sup> Here, as with the preceding *chikura no okito*, *to* is used in reference to items of a special magical nature.

Examination of the examples of the graph *to* 戸 in the *Kojiki* show that it sometimes indicates a place that acts as a boundary and other times objects of a magical nature. The morphology of the first example above of *norito* 詔戸, consisting of a verb + *to*, would appear to be similar to that of *okito* 置戸 in the second example and *togoito* 詛戸 in the third, where *to* carries the sense of a magical object. Although the *to* in *norito* does not have to do with a concrete object, it might pertain to the content of the words to be pronounced. On the other hand, from the perspective of graphic representation, what separates Amaterasu, the source of the anticipated “pronouncement” (*nori* 詔), from the other deities, is the “rock cave” (*iwaya no to* 石屋戸). It is thus also possible that *norito* 詔戸 here contains a graphic reference to the boundary marked by the cave.

The account of Ōkuninushi’s visit to the netherworld contains yet another pertinent instance of the graph 戸 :

[Ōkuninushi] took hold of [Susanoo’s] hair and tied [strands of] it to

each of the rafters of the chamber. He blocked the door to the chamber (*muro no to* 室戸) with a boulder [so large as to require] five hundred people to haul it. Carrying his wife Suseribime 須勢理毗売 on his back, he seized the great deity's sword of life and bow and arrows of life and his heavenly resounding cithern (*ame no norigoto* 天詔琴), and fled. The heavenly resounding cithern happened to brush against a tree, and the earth quaked and rang.<sup>(17)</sup>

The *to* of the "door to the chamber" here has the meaning of "portal," but the setting, with Ōkuninushi blocking it with a "boulder requiring five hundred people to haul it" and then fleeing has several features in common with the *kotodo* passage. Although Susanoo is ultimately able to get past this boulder, the blocking of the door with a boulder serves to separate two different realms, and in this sense *to* in this passage resembles the *to* in both *kotodo* and *iwayato*.

The following account in the tenth variant of the fifth section of the *Nihon shoki* may bear on the expression *kotodo*:

Pursuing Izanami, Izanaki reached the place where she was. Addressing her, he said, "I have come because I grieved for you." "My kin (*ugara* 族)," Izanami responded, "do not look upon me." Izanaki did not do as she said and observed her. Ashamed and resentful, Izanami thereupon said, "You have seen my true state. I will thus look at your true state." Izanaki then felt shamed and sought to go back. However, instead of going back directly without saying anything, he declared a vow: "Our kinship is severed!" He also declared, "I will not be defeated by my kin!" The deity that [emerged from] his spit was named Hayatama no o 速玉之男. The deity that next [emerged when the



pollution of Yomi] was swept away was named Yomotsu kotosaka no o 泉津事解之男. There were two deities in total. When he then battled with his sister-spouse at the Yomotsu border slope, Izanaki declared, “How weak of me to have first grieved and longed for my kin!” The road guardian of Yomi then said, “[Izanami] has a statement: ‘I have already borne the lands with you. Why should I further seek to live? I will stay in this land and will not return with you.’” Thereupon Kukurihime no kami 菊理媛神 made a statement. Hearing it, Izanaki praised it and departed.<sup>(18)</sup>

In this variant, on the occasion of Izanaki’s and Izanami’s estrangement Izanaki declares “Our kinship is severed!” and “I will not be defeated by my kin!” and the deity who sweeps away the evils of the Land of Yomi is named Yomotsu kotosaka no o. The editors of the SNKBZ version of *Nihon shoki* explain *kotosaka* 事解 as meaning “to leave behind (*saru* 避る) or to separate oneself (*sakaru* 離る) from a matter or words. The name means ‘male deity who oversees separation from the affairs of the Land of Yomi, breaking the relationship.’”<sup>(19)</sup> It is a deity name that carries a meaning close to that of *kotodo o watasu*. It would seem that Norinaga’s hypothesis that *kotodo* might be a contracted form of *kototokegoto* 事解言 bears reconsideration.<sup>(20)</sup>

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## 2. “The Ifuya border in the land of Izumo” (Izumo no kuni no Ifuyasaka 出雲国之伊賦夜坂)

In Iya 揖屋, in the town of Higashi-Izumo 東出雲町, city of Matsue 松江, Shimane 島根 Prefecture, is a shrine of the same name. A site long said to be the remains of the Yomotsu border slope can be found in the same

area. Regarding the Iya Shrine, the section in the *Izumo no kuni fudoki* 出雲国風土記 on the district of Ou 意宇 lists an Ifuya no Yashiro 伊布夜社,<sup>(21)</sup> and the *Engi shiki jinmyōchō* 延喜式神名帳 lists an Iya Jinja 掛屋神社.<sup>(22)</sup> The chronicle of Empress Saimei 齊明 in the *Nihon shoki*, fifth year (659 CE), states that the Izumo governor (*kuni no miyatsuko* 国造) was commanded to repair a shrine (some commentators take this to refer to the Kumano Taisha 熊野大社, located in Matsue 松江, others the Izumo Taisha 出雲大社). The narration continues with the statement that “a fox bit the end of a creeper which a laborer of the district of Ou 於友 held in his hand, and went off with it. Moreover, a dog brought in his mouth a dead man’s hand and forearm and laid it in the Ifuya 言屋 Shrine. (These were signs that the Empress was about to die.)”<sup>(23)</sup> It is hard to tell whether the compilers intended to connect the strange actions of the fox and the dog to the preceding statement about repair of a shrine, but the mention of Ifuya Shrine in the account of these inauspicious events suggests that people associated it with the realm of death.

We don’t know what present location might correspond to the Ifuya border, nor what intention the compiler might have had in giving a specific place name. The implications of this toponym should be considered in conjunction with references to Mt. Hiba 比婆山, which the *Kojiki* has previously identified as the place where Izanami no kami was buried.<sup>(24)</sup>

## Endnotes

- ( 1 ) These deity names all have a descriptive character that reflects the role played in this episode. Izanami’s alternative names mean “great deity of Yomi” and “great deity of the road.” The boulder’s names mean “great deity who turns people back” and “great deity who blocks the Yomi portal.” (TN)

- ( 2 ) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 255.
- ( 3 ) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 255, 458–59.
- ( 4 ) Tsugita, *Kojiki shinkō*, pp. 64–65; Nakajima, *Kojiki hyōshaku*, p. 64.
- ( 5 ) Ogihara, *Kojiki, jōdai kayō*, p. 66n8.
- ( 6 ) Kurano, *Kojiki zenchūshaku*, vol. 2, pp. 263–65.
- ( 7 ) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 193.
- ( 8 ) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 39n13.
- ( 9 ) Kōnoshi and Yamaguchi, *Kojiki chūkai*, vol. 2, pp. 228–32.
- (10) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 46–47, 52–53.
- (11) For *kotoyosashi*, see *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), p. 11 (Japanese original); for *makoto*, see Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 204–207.
- (12) *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 16, 18, 23–24 (Japanese original).
- (13) The graph 詔 (*mikotonori*) is typically reserved for pronouncements or commands emanating from an emperor, or in the myths, deities of comparable status. (TN)
- (14) For these last two terms, see *Kojiki gaku* 6 (2020), p. 295 (English translation); *Kojiki gaku* 7 (2021), p. 325 (English translation).
- (15) *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 30–32 (Japanese original).
- (16) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 280–81.
- (17) *Kojiki gaku* 6 (2020), pp. 7, 10, 15–16 (Japanese original).
- (18) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 54–57.
- (19) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 56, headnote 12.
- (20) Norinaga rejected the reading of *saka* for 解, arguing that *toke* was also plausible. Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 255 (TN). For further discussion of the issues taken up in this comment, see Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 98–111.
- (21) Uegaki, *Fudoki*, SNKBZ 5, pp. 150–51.
- (22) Volumes 9 and 10 of the tenth-century *Engi shiki* (Procedures of the Engi Era) consist of a comprehensive list of shrines throughout the country (TN).
- (23) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 4, pp. 228–29. Based on the English translation from W. G. Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. 2, p. 263.
- (24) Situated on the border between the land of Izumo and the land of Hōki. See *Kojiki gaku* 7 (2021), pp. 312, 325 (English translation).

## Chapter 12: Ablutions (I)

Thereupon, Izanaki no ōkami 伊耶那伎大神 (1) said: “What a hateful, hateful, filthy land (2) I have been to! Let me perform ablutions [to remove the pollution] (3) from my person.” Arriving at [the plain] of Awagihara 阿波岐原 by the Tachibana 橘 river-mouth in Himuka 日向 in Tsukushi 竺紫 (4), he performed ablutions and [rites of] dispelling (3).

From the staff he cast aside, a deity named Tsukitatsu funado no kami 衝立船戸神 (5) came into existence. Next, from the sash he cast aside, a deity named Michi no nagachiha no kami 道之長乳齒神 (6) came into existence. Next, from the sack (7) he cast aside, a deity named Tokihakashi no kami 時量師神 (8) came into existence. Next, from the robe he cast aside, a deity named Wazurai no ushi no kami 和豆良比能宇斯能神 (9) came into existence. Next, from the trousers he cast aside, a deity named Chimata no kami 道俣神 (10) came into existence. Next, from the cap he cast aside, a deity named Akigui no ushi no kami 飽咋之宇斯能神 (11) came into existence. Next, from the bracelet he wore on his left arm and cast aside (12), a deity named Okizakaru no kami 奥疎神 came into existence; next, Okitsu nagisabiko no kami 奥津那芸佐毗古神; next, Okitsu kaibera no kami 奥津甲斐弁羅神 (13). Next, from the bracelet he wore on his right arm and cast aside, a deity named Hezakaru no kami 辺疎神 came into existence; next, Hetsu nagisabiko no kami 辺津那芸佐毗古神; next, Hetsu kaibera no kami 辺津甲斐弁羅神 (14).

The twelve deities named above, from Funado no kami to Hetsu kaibera no kami, were all born (15) when [Izanaki no ōkami] removed objects he had worn on his person.

## Text Notes

## 1. Izanaki no ōkami 伊耶那岐大神

The title attached to Izanaki's name is not uniform in the ablutions episode (chapters 12 and 13) and the following episode of the division of realms among the three noble offspring (chapter 14). In the ablutions episode it varies in the order: "ōkami" 大神, "mikoto" 命, "ōmikami" 大御神, and then again "ōkami" 大神. Although one cannot with certainty ascribe a particular intent to this variation, it may reflect the following considerations. In the immediately preceding passage, the title "ōkami" is ascribed not only to Izanami (identified additionally as "Yomi no ōkami" and "Chishiki no ōkami"), but also to the boulder that blocked the Yomotsu border, which is named as Chigaeshi no ōkami 道返之大神 and Sayarimasu yomotsu to no ōkami 塞坐黄泉戸大神. Referring to Izanaki here also as "ōkami" may be intended to align with that usage.

At the beginning of the episode of the division of realms among the three noble offspring, Izanaki is first referred to once again as "mikoto." Then, after he has allocated the realms, he is named as "ōmikami." Presumably this is to align his title with that of Amaterasu, who was born from him and who is identified as such. At the end of this episode Izanaki is again named as "ōkami," perhaps because it is in the context of describing his enshrinement (*chinza* 鎮座) in Taga 多賀 in Ōmi 淡海.<sup>(1)</sup> It would appear that the *Kojiki* typically ascribes the title "ōkami" to deities identified as being enshrined somewhere. This may be the reason why the deities appearing in the second volume of the *Kojiki* are all referred to as "ōkami."

2. “A hateful, hateful, filthy land” (*ina shikome shikomeki kitanaki kuni* 伊那志許米、志許米岐穢国)

The morphology of *ina shikome* can be deconstructed as the particle *ina* (an interjection meant to express negative emotions) + the word *shiko* (“hateful/stalwart”) + the suffix *me*. The last two elements form the stem of the adjective *shikomeshi*, the attributive (*rentaikei* 連体形) form of which is *shikomeki*. All instances of the word *shiko* in the *Kojiki* are transcribed phonetically, with each graph representing a single sound, as in the terms *yomotsu shikome* 予母都志許壳 (*yomotsu hags*) and *Ashihara no shikoo* 葦原色許男 (“the hateful/stalwart man of Ashihara,” the name Susanoo assigns Ōanamuji).<sup>(2)</sup> Along with these phonetic transcriptions of *shiko*, the graph 醜, meaning “ugly,” can also be found in the *Kojiki*. The later episode of the sisters Konohana no sakuyabime and Iwanagahime in the Ninigi narrative, for instance, relates that “[Ninigi], horror-stricken by the extreme ugliness (*ito minikuki* 甚凶醜) of the elder sister, sent her back.”<sup>(3)</sup> The graph likewise appears twice in the chronicle of Emperor Suinin 垂仁, in the episode of the four daughters of the prince of Taniha 丹波: “As [the two younger sisters] were extremely ugly (*ito minikuki* 甚凶醜), [the emperor] sent them back to their father”; “[I will be put to shame if those nearby learn] that I have been rejected and sent back because my appearance is ugly (*katachi minikuki* 姿醜).”<sup>(4)</sup> In these instances, the graph 醜 is read *minikushi*, not *shiko*.

The *Nihon shoki* uses the graph 醜 to transcribe the epithet *Ashihara no shikoo* 葦原醜男, which might be taken to suggest some association between the word *shiko* and the graph 醜. In other instances, however, the *Nihon shoki*, too, appears to avoid use of the graph 醜 to transcribe the term *shiko*. In the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter, for example, it renders the expression “most miserable

and filthy” as *ina shikome kitanaki* 不須也凶目汚穢, and a gloss in the seventh variant confirms the phonetic reading.<sup>(5)</sup> An almost identical expression appears in the first variant of the ninth section, in which the deity Ama no oshihomimi no mikoto 天忍穗耳尊, standing on the Heavenly Floating Bridge, observes the land below and declares: “This land has not yet been pacified. It is a most unpleasant, miserable land (*ina kabushi shikomeki no kuni* 不須也頗傾凶目杵之国).”<sup>(6)</sup> The use of a phonetic transcription in the last two examples instead of the graph 醜 raises doubts as to whether the word *shiko* should be equated with this graph.

As noted in the text notes to chapter 10 (see above, pp. 217–18), the word *shiko* occurs in numerous *Man'yōshū* poems as well: *shiko no masurao* 鬼之益卜雄 (“this stalwart man”) in poem 117 (book 2); *shiko no shiko gusa* 鬼乃志許草/鬼之志許草 (“these hateful weeds”) in poems 727 (book 4) and 3062 (book 12); *shiko hototogisu* 志許霍公鳥/四去霍公鳥 (“this hateful cuckoo”) in poems 1507 (book 8) and 1951 (book 10); *oya no shiko ya ni* 小屋之四忌屋尔 (“this miserable hut”) and *shiko no shiko te o* 鬼之四忌手乎 (“these miserable, miserable hands”) in poem 3270 (book 13); *shikotsu okina no* 之許都於吉奈乃 (“that hateful old man”) in poem 4011 (book 17); *shiko no mitate* 之許乃美多弓 (“your stalwart guardian”) in poem 4373 (book 20).<sup>(7)</sup> None of these poems use the graph 醜 to render *shiko*, although it is possible to see the graph 鬼 (*ki*, ghost) found in several as a simplified form of 醜.

### 3. “Performed ablutions [to remove pollution]” (*misogi* 禊); “performed ablutions and [rites of] dispelling” (*misogi harae* 禊祓)

The term *misogi* has been interpreted as “dousing (*sosogu* 滌) the body” or “dousing with water,” with the phoneme *mi* equated respectively with “body” (身) and “water” (水). In both instances *misogi* has been held to

mean purification by washing pollutions from the body with water. Other theories have also been advanced, such as that the term derives from *misoki* 身削き (scraping the body) or *misosoki* 水注き (pouring water), but the grounds for these are not well established. Yoshii Iwao 吉井巖 holds that the act of *misogi* served not only to remove pollutions, but also sought to use the spiritual power of water to infuse a new vitality.<sup>(8)</sup> *Harae* 祓, by contrast, originally referred to the dispelling of wrongdoings through the presentation of expiatory items. Although in principle the two terms *misogi* and *harae* thus referred to different acts, in practice the distinction between the two was often ignored.

Does the fact that the *Kojiki* uses both the graph 禊 and the digraph 禊祓 in this passage reflect a conflation of *misogi* 禊 and *harae* 祓, or does it carry some other significance? The other instances where these graphs figure in the *Kojiki* are as follows:

(1) “[The myriad deities] cut [Susanoo’s] beard, fingernails, and toenails; had [his wrongdoings] dispelled (*haraeshimete* 令祓而); and expelled him [from Takamanohara] with a divine expulsion.” (Heavenly Rock Cave episode)<sup>(9)</sup>

(2) “[Having realized that Emperor Chūai 仲哀 was dead, people were] startled and frightened. They had [the emperor’s corpse] placed in a mortuary hall. Further, great offerings (*ōnusa* 大奴佐) were collected throughout the land. A search was conducted for all kinds of wrongdoings (*tsumi* 罪), such as flaying [animals] alive or backwards, destroying the ridges between paddy fields and filling in the ditches, defecating [in sacred places], incest, and bestiality with horses, cows, chickens, or dogs. And a great dispelling of the wrongs of the land (*kuni no ōharae o shite* 為国之大祓而) was held.” (Chronicle of Emperor



Chūai)<sup>(10)</sup>

(3) “Takenouchi no sukune no mikoto 建内宿禰命, leading the prince [the future Emperor Ōjin], decided to perform ablutions (*misogi semu to shite* 為將禊而).” (Chronicle of Emperor Chūai)<sup>(11)</sup>

(4) “[After having killed Sobakari 曾婆訶理, Mizuhawake no mikoto 水齒別命] said: “Today we will make a stop here and perform ablutions (*misogi o shite* 為禊禊而). Tomorrow we will continue on to worship at the shrine.” (Chronicle of Emperor Richū 履中)<sup>(12)</sup>

Examples 1 and 2 use the single graph 禊, while example 3 uses 禊. Example 4, like the present passage, has the digraph 禊禊. In example 1, which describes the expulsion of Susanoo from Takamanohara, 禊 is a means for expiating his wrongdoings. Example 2 likewise conjoins 禊 with the dispelling of wrongdoings. In example 3, the Empress Jingū 神功 had sought to protect her son by having it put about that he was dead and transporting him on a funerary ship. It is hypothesized that 禊 here was intended to cleanse the prince of the pollution resulting from the association with death. The combination of the two graphs 禊禊 in example 4 has been interpreted diversely. Some, reading the combination simply as *misogi*, hold that Mizuhawake no mikoto (the brother of Emperor Richū and himself the future Emperor Hanzei 反正) performed ablutions to purify himself of the pollution resulting from his having killed a Hayato 隼人 guard named Sobakari. Sobakari had previously served Richū’s rival, another brother, Suminoe no nakatsu miko 墨江中王, and Mizuhawake had convinced him to murder this brother. Nishimiya Kazutami, on the other hand, holds that the graph 禊 is used here in addition to 禊 to clarify that Mizuhawake no mikoto’s ablutions were intended not only to remove the pollution that had accrued to his own

person, but also to dispel the wrongdoing committed by the slain Sobakari, who had murdered his master, Suminoe no nakatsu. Nishimiya thus reads the digraph as *harae misoki shite* (“dispelled [wrongdoings] and performed ablutions”). In short, some take the position that the digraph represents a conflation of the two characters and read it as either *misogi* or *harae*; others assume that each graph bears a distinctive meaning and seek to disambiguate them by assigning each a specific reading.

As for the account of Izanaki's actions after his escape from Yomi, the text first uses the graph 禊 by itself and describes its purpose as removing the pollution of the “hateful” and “filthy” land of Yomi. In the second instance, where the text uses both graphs in combination, is it not pointing to the two different actions that follow? In those, Izanaki first repeatedly “casts aside” (*nageutsu* 投棄) objects that he wore or carried; next (in the subsequent chapter), he repeatedly washes away the pollution.

It might also be noted that the *Kojiki* tends to use the terms *harae* and *misogi* in situations involving the advent of a new representative of the imperial line. This is true not only of this passage, which describes the birth of the three noble offspring, but also of the four examples cited above: Amaterasu's emergence from the Rock Cave (example 1), Ōjin's birth (example 2), Ōjin's advent as the incipient emperor (example 3), and Hanzei's emergence as the future emperor (example 4).

The *Nihon shoki* includes two versions of this episode. The sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter states: “[Izanaki said,] ‘I have been to a most hateful and filthy land! Let me wash the pollution from my person (*mi no kegare o susugi saramu* 当滌去吾身之濁穢).’ Thereupon, he set out, and when he reached [the plain] of Awagihara by the Tachibana river-mouth in Himuka in Tsukushi, he performed

ablutions and dispelled [the pollution] (*misogi harae tamau* 祓除焉).”<sup>(13)</sup> The tenth variant states: “[Izanaki], seeking to wash away and dispel those pollutions (*susugi harawamu to omoishi* 欲濯除), went and looked at the straits of Awanoto 粟門 and Hayasuinato 速吸名門. However, the sea currents of these two straits were extremely rapid. He thus returned to the Tachibana river-mouth and dispelled and washed away [the pollutions] (*harai susugi tamau* 払濯也).”<sup>(14)</sup> Neither variant uses the graph 禊. On the other hand, the gloss marks of early manuscript copies of the *Nihon shoki* such as that made by Yoshida Kanekata 吉田兼方 in 1286 indicate that the graphs 祓除 of the sixth variant are to be read as *misogi harae*. This rendering, which assigns the reading *misogi* to the graph 祓, is retained in modern editions such as that cited here. Its provisional acceptance points to a conflation of the terms *misogi* and *harae*.

The *Nihon shoki* contains two examples of the graph 禊. The first occurs in the chronicle of Emperor Richū (fifth year, tenth month), where the emperor levies “the expiation of evil, the expiation of good” (*ashiharae yoshiharae* 悪解除・善解除) on a wrongdoer and sends him “to the cape of Nagasu 長渚 to perform dispelling [rites] and ablutions (*harae misokashime tamau* 令祓禊).”<sup>(15)</sup> The second occurs in the chronicle of Emperor Tenmu, in the statement that in the spring of the seventh year of his reign, “in preparation for worshipping the celestial and terrestrial deities, great rites of dispelling and ablutions were conducted throughout the entire realm (*ame no shita kotogotoku ni ôharae su* 天下悉祓禊之).”<sup>(16)</sup> In most instances the *Nihon shoki* uses the graphs 解除 (“remove and dispel”) to render the term *harae*.

For reference, *Man'yōshū* poems that incorporate the graphs 祓 or 禊 include the following:

(1) “If only I could have journeyed to the distant Heavenly River Plain and performed ablutions (*misogite mashi o* 禊身而麻之乎!)” (MYS 420: an elegy on the death of Prince Iwata 石田 by Princess Niu 丹生)<sup>(17)</sup>

(2) “Trailed by rumors of my relationship with you, I will go to my native place to perform ablutions (*misogi shi ni yuku* 禊身為尔去) in the River Asuka 明日香!” (MYS 626)<sup>(18)</sup>

(3) “I will go to the Mitsu 三津 shore, beyond Tatsuta 竜田, to perform ablutions (*misogi shi ni yuku* 禊身四二由久).” (MYS 626, variant)<sup>(19)</sup>

(4) “[If I had known beforehand] I would have gone to that Saho 佐保 River where plovers cry, taken the roots of the sedge that grows on the rocks, and used it as the fern for dispelling (*haraete mashi o* 解除而益乎). I would have performed ablutions (*misogite mashi o* 禊而益乎) with the rushing water. . .” (MYS 948)<sup>(20)</sup>

(5) “The ablutions (*misogi shite* 身禊為) I performed by the beautiful clear river to pray for long life are all for you, my love.” (MYS 2403)<sup>(21)</sup>

**Further comment (I): Readings and interpretations of the graphs 禊 and 禊祓.** Kamo no Mabuchi argued that the *Kojiki* clearly distinguished between the acts of 禊 and 禊祓 that figure in this passage. In his *Kojiki tōsho* 古事記頭書 he added the following headnote to the phrase 御身之禊 (read in the present version as *mimi no misogi*, “ablutions [to remove the pollution] from my person”): “*Misogi* means to purify by washing away with water; *harae* means to purify by dispelling. The two are similar but separate. Here the action is ‘dispelling’; *misogi* comes next.”<sup>(22)</sup> Regarding the subsequent term 禊祓 (read in the present version as *misogi harae*, “performed ablutions and [rites of] dispelling”), he added the following headnote to his own transcription of the 1644 printed edition of the *Kojiki*: “That the text here has 禊祓 is because it first speaks of both actions;

next it speaks of *harae* and then next of *misogi*. Those who do not understand that the text first sets out these two characters as two [different actions] and read them simply as *harae* are mistaken.”<sup>(23)</sup> Mabuchi does not add a reading to the graphs 禊祓 in his transcription of the 1644 printed edition, but in his *Kanagaki Kojiki* 仮名書古事記, he gives the reading *harai misogi*.<sup>(24)</sup> The 1644 printed edition itself gives two different readings: *harai tamau* to the right side of the graphs and *harai misogi tamau* to the left.<sup>(25)</sup>

In his commentary in *Norito kō* 祝詞考 (Thoughts on the Norito Liturgies) on the Great Purification (Ōharae) liturgy, Mabuchi remarks as follows:

In the *Kojiki*, *harae* 祓 refers to Izanaki's action at the Tachibana river-mouth in the land of Tsukushi of removing and casting aside the things he wore on his person so as to purify himself of the pollution adhering to him from his visit to Yomi. It means to dispel and drive away pollution. Next he submerged himself in the ocean current and rinsed (*sosogi tamau* 滌給ふ) his person. This is called *misogi* 身滌 and means to wash and rinse away the pollution that has accrued to one's person. These two actions are the origin of [the practice of] *harae misogi*.<sup>(26)</sup>

Mabuchi's argument requires some reading between the lines, but he seems to have understood the initial description of Izanaki's intent to 御身之禊 as referring to an act of *harai* and the subsequent description of his action of 禊祓 at the Tachibana river-mouth as referring to an act of *misogi*. It is thus somewhat strange that he assigns the reading *misogi* to 御身之禊 rather than *harai*. (By contrast the 1644 printed edition assigns

the first instance the reading *harai sen to* [“intend to engage in *harai*”] and Watarai Nobuyoshi 度会延佳 gives it the reading *harae* in his *Gōtō Kojiki* 鰐頭古事記.<sup>(27)</sup> Judging, however, from Mabuchi’s reading of 禊祓 as *harai misogi*, he took Izanaki to have first engaged in *harae* by removing his clothes and casting them aside and to have then performed *misogi* by rinsing his body with water. He thus followed this sequence in adopting the reading *harai misogi* for 禊祓. For reference, Nobuyoshi read the same digraph as *misogi*.

Norinaga reads the 禊 of 御身之禊 as *harai*. As the reason for this he comments:

Since the preceding graphs 御身之 [are read *ōmima no*], the reading *misogi* would duplicate the same sound. Although there would be no problem with this, as can be seen from examples such as *mite no tamaki* 御手之手纏 (the bracelet on his arm), here the reading is probably *harai*. As this *harai* subsequently becomes *misogi*, the terms refer to the same thing.<sup>(28)</sup>

This reading of *harai* follows the practice common from the time of the 1644 printed edition of *Kojiki*, but it seems likely that Norinaga is also following Mabuchi’s interpretation that Izanaki first engaged in *harai* and then performed *misogi*.

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**Further comment (II): 禊 and 祓.** In the *Kojiki*, Izanaki’s performance of *misogi* and *harae* after his visit to Yomi results in the birth of deities, including Yaso magatsuhi no kami 八十禍津日神, Ōmagatsuhi no kami 大禍津日神, Kamu naobi no kami 神直毗神, Ōnaobi no kami 大直毗神, the

threefold Watatsumi sea deity, and the threefold Suminoe deity. The culmination is the birth of the three noble offspring (Amaterasu, Tsukuyomi, and Susanoo). The *misogi* and *harae* following Izanaki's return from Yomi (in other words, contact with the dead), thus occupies an extremely important place within the overall development of the *Kojiki* narrative.

The corpses of the dead putrefy. As Pascal Boyer has pointed out, this phenomenon evokes in humans a natural fear of contamination and a sense of revulsion, and religious practices to avoid the "pollution" of death are found widely throughout the world.<sup>(29)</sup> In the case of the Japanese archipelago, the section on the people of Wa in the *History of Wei* (third century CE) notes, "after the burial all the household members go into the water and wash and pour water over themselves. It is like the [Chinese funerary practice] of wearing white mourning garments and bathing (*lianmu* 練沐)." This can be interpreted as evidence of a perception of contact with the dead as "polluting" and a practice of washing that pollution away with water. The *Kojiki*'s description of Izanaki declaring "Let me perform ablutions [to remove the pollution] from my person" and his subsequent *misogi* at Awagihara may be said to be of a piece with the *History of Wei* account. A custom existing since at least the third century of purification through ablutions to remove pollution arising from contact with the dead has been woven into a crucial point in the *Kojiki* narrative.

By contrast, *harae* in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* consistently refers to the offering of objects in compensation for wrongdoing (*tsumi*). In the Heavenly Rock Cave episode in the *Kojiki*, "one thousand expiatory items" (*chikura no okito*) are levied on Susanoo for having committed wrongdoings such as "destroying the ridges between the paddy fields and filling in the ditches."<sup>(30)</sup> In the corresponding passage in the third variant

of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, this is described as “levied [on Susanoo] one thousand expiatory items to dispel (*harae* 解除) [his wrongdoing].” The text further suggests a connection with the Great Purification/Great Dispelling (*ōharae* 大祓) rite, stating that “[the deities] had Ame no koyane 天兒屋 preside over and recite the solemn liturgy of dispelling (*harae no futonorito* 解除之太諄辭).”<sup>(31)</sup> The *Kojiki* passage on the death of Emperor Chūai lists a series of wrongdoings that are largely the same as the “wrongdoings of the land” (*kunitsutsumi* 国津罪) found in the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 Great Purification liturgy (see pp. 191–92 above). Referring to the expiatory items as “great offerings collected throughout the land,” the passage states that “a great dispelling of the wrongs of the land” (*kuni no ōharae* 国之大祓) was conducted.

The earliest reference to the Great Dispelling / Great Purification rite as such appears in the following passage from the *Nihon shoki* for the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Tenmu (676), eighth month, sixteenth day:

The emperor proclaimed: “A great rite of dispelling wrongs (*ōharae* 大解除) is to be held in all corners of the land. The governors (*kuni no miyatsuko* 国造) of each province should ready the items to be used. The expiatory items are to be one horse and one length of hempen cloth. In addition, each district official should supply one long sword, one deerskin, one large hoe, one short sword, one sickle, one set of arrows, and one sheaf of rice. Each household should supply one bunch of hemp.”<sup>(32)</sup>

The items named coincide with those stipulated in the *Jingi ryō* 神祇令



section of the Yōrō 養老 code (718) as the offerings to be made for the Great Dispelling/Great Purification rites, and the proclamation of 676 can be seen as an important step in the formulation of the *ritsuryō*-period version of those rites. It has also been argued that the core of the content of the later Great Purification liturgy may have been established in this same period. <sup>(33)</sup>

As with *misogi*, *harae* was also deeply related to water. *Kōtai jingū gishiki chō* 皇太神宮儀式帳 (804) states that at the Ise Shrines the Great Purification prior to the twice-yearly Tsukinami 月次 rites was conducted at the Watarai 度会 River. <sup>(34)</sup> The Great Purification liturgy notes at the end that the diviners of the four provinces were ordered to take the hemp wands used in the purification “to the great rivers and dispel” the wrongdoings. <sup>(35)</sup> Herein presumably lies the reason why *misogi* and *harae* came to be seen as conjoined.

Compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and the systematization on the state level of the *harae* rites epitomized by the Great Purification alike took place during Tenmu’s reign at the end of the seventh century. Is it not likely that efforts to systematize the rite and situate it within the framework of state ceremonial were also accompanied by attempts to coordinate it and the myths recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*?

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### Further comment (III): The historical development of *harae*.

In addition to the passages cited in the preceding note and comments, the *Nihon shoki* includes several other instances where the term *harae* (解, 祓除, 解除) is used in the sense of items offered in expiation for wrongdoing. <sup>(36)</sup> It is only in later sources, however, that we can see clear indications of the evolution of the “great rite of dispelling wrongs” (*ōharae*)

first proclaimed under Tenmu into the Great Purification performed regularly twice a year on the last day of the sixth and twelfth months.

Aoki Kigen 青木紀元, who has written about the historical evolution of *harae*, has hypothesized as follows about its relationship to *misogi*:<sup>(37)</sup> Originally *misogi* and *harae* were of a fundamentally different character, with *misogi* referring to a process of purification by washing pollution away by water and *harae* to the levying of expiatory items on a wrongdoer. At the time of Tenmu, the “great rite of dispelling wrongs” was created as a means of reestablishing social order and bringing about the renewal of the state through a grand sweeping away of all the wrongs committed throughout the land. Subsequently this rite took shape as the Great Purification performed annually on the last day of the sixth and twelfth months. In this process, *harae* increasingly took on a moral and religious character as a rite to remove spiritual impurities and physical misfortunes. It thus came to be seen as something similar to *misogi*, and eventually the two became fused. In addition, the promulgation of the penal codes meant that the rectification of wrongdoings fell under the purview of its provisions, and the earlier function of *harae* in this context lost its significance except in matters concerning the deities.

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#### 4. “[The plain] of Awagihara by the river-mouth of Tachibana in Himuka in Tsukushi” (Tsukushi no Himuka no Tachibana no odo no Awagihara 竺紫日向之橘小門之阿波岐原).

The corresponding passage in the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* places the element “river-mouth” before the name Tachibana: Tsukushi no Himuka no odo no Tachibana no Awagihara 筑紫日向小戸橘之憶原.<sup>(38)</sup> The tenth variant

gives the sequence simply as Tachibana no odo 橘之小戸 without any indication of the larger geographic locale.<sup>(39)</sup> In the giving birth to the land episode, the island of Tsukushi (Tsukushi no shima 筑紫嶋) was the fourth offspring produced by Izanaki and Izanami, and one of the “lands” it comprised was the land of Tsukushi (Tsukushi no kuni 筑紫国).<sup>(40)</sup> It might be thought that the name Tsukushi appears here alone in combination with Himuka, without any descriptive complement such as “island” or “land,” so as not to specify a particular locale. Similarly, when the Heavenly Grandson Ninigi descends from Takamanohara, it is to a place described as Tsukushi no Himuka no Takachiho no Kujifurutake 筑紫日向高千穂之久士布流多氣 (“the peak of Kujifurutake at Takachiho in Himuka in Tsukushi”), and in this instance as well, neither “island” nor “land” is attached to the name Tsukushi.<sup>(41)</sup>

However, if the compilers wished to avoid specifying a particular locale, they could have omitted “Tsukushi,” and simply referred to Himuka. Presumably their intent was rather to use Tsukushi in the general sense of Kyushu and thereby to connect the ablutions episode to that region in the same way as the narration connects the myth of the Land of Yomi to the land of Izumo. Considering that the *Kojiki* explicitly identifies the Yomotsu border slope—the site where Izanaki emerges from the Land of Yomi—with the land of Izumo, the compilers likely chose “Himuka in Tsukushi” as the place appropriate for Izanaki to perform ablutions after leaving the realm of pollution associated with Izumo. The same narrative pattern of “from Izumo to Himuka” can be seen subsequently in the transition from the account of the pacification of Ashihara no nakatsukuni (which takes place in Izumo) to that of the descent of the Heavenly Grandson. Himuka assumes significance because it serves both as the locale for the birth of Amaterasu and the other heavenly deities and as

the place to which the Heavenly Grandson descended.

The name Tachibana 橘 (also the name of a kind of orange, *Citrus tachibana*) is presumably linked to the “ever-shining” fruit that the emissary Tajimamori 多遲摩毛理 brings back from the eternal world (Tokoyo 常世) in the chronicle of Emperor Suinin.<sup>(42)</sup> *Odo*—literally “small gate”—probably indicates the mouth of a river where the latter meets the sea. In the fourth variant of the tenth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, an old man named Shiotsutsu no oji 塩筒老翁 leads Ninigi’s son Honoori no mikoto 火折尊 to a place described as “the Tachibana river-mouth” (*Tachibana no odo* 橘之小戸) from where Honoori sets off for the palace of the sea deity.<sup>(43)</sup>

In short, this place was apparently understood as a threshold to the other world, and it is presumably for this reason that it was also seen as a place appropriate for removing pollutions. The implications of the name Awagihara are unclear.

**Further comment: Odo no Awagihara.** Kada no Azumamaro 荷田春満 held that the site of this episode was the province of Chikuzen 筑前 (modern-day Fukuoka Prefecture) and that there was a Mt. Tachibana in that province: “These places called Odo and Mt. Tachibana in Tsukushi still remain now in the province of Chikuzen. There is also still a place called Awagi in Shima district.”<sup>(44)</sup> It may be pertinent that one of his disciples, Aoyama Toshifumi 青山敏文, was the priest of Taga 多賀 Shrine in Naokata 直方 in Chikuzen. Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) had already made the same point in his gazetteer of Chikuzen, *Chikuzen no kuni zoku fudoki* 筑前国続風土記, and had hypothesized that Odo was situated in Kasuya 糟屋 district.<sup>(45)</sup> It is not clear, however, whether Azumamaro had seen this work.

In *Kojiki den* Motoori Norinaga posited that the graphs 日向 could be

read as either *himuka* or *himukai*. The first would refer to the province name Himuka (Hyūga) whereas the second would mean a place facing the sun. He adopts provisionally the former reading, but notes that there is no place called Tachibana no odo in the province of Himuka. He also introduces Ekiken's hypothesis in passing.<sup>(46)</sup>

Matsumoto Hisashi, Early Modern Kokugaku and Shinto Studies

## 5. Tsukitatsu funato no kami 衡立船戸神

The graphs 衡立 (“to strike and erect”) may be linked to the staff that Izanaki casts aside. If so, *tsukitatsu* may mean to stand a staff in the ground. One hypothesis is that *funato* has the same meaning as *kunato* and refers to a bend in the road. Some hold that this deity and the following six are road deities, while others see them as connected to Izanaki's escape from the Land of Yomi. Conversely, other commentators, Norinaga among them, interpret *kunato* to mean “do not pass here” (来勿処).<sup>(47)</sup> The sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* refers to a deity named Funato no kami 岐神 (the characters mean “crossroads deity”; the seventh variant gives the gloss *funato*). The ninth variant links a deity of this name to the border deity (*sae no kami* 祖神): “This deity is called Funato no kami 岐神. His original name is Kunato no sae no kami 来名戸之祖神.”<sup>(48)</sup>

## 6. Michi no nagachiha no kami 道之長乳齒神

*Michi no nagachi* means “long road”; the use of it here may reflect an association between a road extending in the distance and a long sash. It is held to allude also to the length of the road that Izanaki took to escape from the Land of Yomi. The meaning of *ha* 齒 is unclear. Saigō Nobutsuna and Nishimiya Kazutami hypothesize that the term is *nagachiiwa* and that

it may mean a boulder (*iwa* 磐).<sup>(49)</sup> The compilers of the *Nihon shisō taikēi* edition and Nakamura Hirotohi interpret *ha* to be “end” or “edge” (*hashi* 端).<sup>(50)</sup> In the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, this deity appears under the name Nagachiha no kami, transliterated as 長道磐神.<sup>(51)</sup>

## 7. “Sack” (*mifukuro* 御囊)

The Urabe Kanenaga-bon 卜部兼永本 manuscript (1522), Watarai Nobuyoshi’s *Gōtō Kojiki*, and Motoori Norinaga’s *Kojikiden* give the graph *mo* 裳 (skirt) instead of *fukuro* 囊 (sack).<sup>(52)</sup> Some commentators follow them, but others object that *mo* would not be appropriate as Izanaki’s attire as it is a garment generally worn by women. Here we preserve the graph 囊 (sack) that appears in the Shinpukuji-bon manuscript. Presumably it was an object that people carried with them when they traveled.

## 8. Tokihakashi no kami 時量師神

The characters used here are those given in the Shinpukuji-bon manuscript. The Dōka-bon 道果本 (1381), Dōshō-bon 道祥本 (1424), and Shun’yu-bon 春瑜本 (1426) manuscripts add next to this deity name the annotation “the [*Sendai*] *kuji hongī* [先代] 旧事本紀 [gives this name as] 時置師.” The Dōka-bon even uses the latter characters in the text proper. Like the Shinpukuji-bon manuscript, the Urabe-line 卜部 manuscripts from the Kanenaga-bon on give the characters 時量師神. The 1644 printed edition, Watarai Nobuyoshi’s *Gōtō Kojiki*, and Nagase Masaki’s 長瀬真幸 *Kokun Kojiki* 古訓古事記 (1803), by contrast, change them to 時置師神, as does Norinaga, who reads the graphs as Tokiokashi no kami. In line with using the graph for skirt instead of sack, as explained in the preceding

note, Norinaga interprets *tokiokashi* as derived from *tokioku* 解き置く (“to undo and spread out”), with *toki* 時 (time) being used as an alternative for the homophone *toki* 解き (“to undo”).<sup>(53)</sup> Numerous commentators have subsequently rendered this name as 時置師神. Interpreting 時 as a phonetic alternative for 解き is plausible, as the graph’s literal meaning of “time” is hard to make sense of in this context. Although we have retained here the graph *hakaru* 量 (“weigh,” “calculate”) used by both the Shinpukuji-bon and the Kanenaga-bon, the issue remains of how to interpret it. One hypothetical possibility would be to see it as a homophone for *hakashi* 放 (“to release”), with the combination *tokihakashi* meaning “undo.” An obstacle to this approach, however, is the lack of attested examples of *hakashi* meaning “to release.” Some suggest that *hakasu* may correspond to the causative form of the verb *haku* 佩く (“to wear,” “to put on”), but that, too, does not match the context.

### 9. Wazurai no ushi no kami 和豆良比能宇斯能神

The name identifies this deity as the master (*ushi*) of calamities, hardships, and disarray. Presumably Izanaki dispelled these things together with removing his robe and casting it aside. In the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, this deity appears under the name Wazurai no kami, transliterated as 煩神.<sup>(54)</sup>

### 10. Chimata no kami 道俣神

A deity worshipped at bifurcations where a road splits in two. The name is held to allude to the fact that the trousers (*hakama*) that Izanaki cast aside—and from which this deity came into existence—are also split in two.

## 11. Akigui no ushi no kami 飽咋之宇斯能神

The name identifies this deity as the master (*ushi*) of eating to the point of satiation (*kuiakiru* 食い飽きる). The name may derive from the image of a wide open mouth associated with a cap (the item of clothing from which this deity came into existence). Saigō Nobutsuna holds that this name may express the idea of a deity who gulps down wrongdoings and pollutions. Nishimiya Kazutami suggests that it implies that the hags of Yomi ate so many bamboo shoots and wild grapes that they were satiated.<sup>(55)</sup> In the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, this deity appears under the name Akigui no kami, transliterated as 開嚙神.<sup>(56)</sup>

## 12. “[Izanaki no ōkami] cast aside” (*nageutsuru* 投棄流)

The ablutions passage contains multiple repetitions of Izanaki’s casting aside an object. Except for the instance where he casts aside the bracelet he wore on his left arm, all are expressed by the digraph 投棄 (“throw away,” “cast aside”). This instance alone includes the additional element 流 (投棄流). If the latter formulation appeared at the beginning of the series, it might be held, as has been argued, that the graph 流 was added as a phonetic marker for the conjugated verb ending *-ru* of the verb *nageutsuru*. Since the single instance of this anomalous trigraph appears halfway through the series, however, questions remain.

To be sure, inconsistencies in the transliteration of verb endings occur elsewhere in the *Kojiki*. For instance the syntagm *araburu kami* (“the deities that act wildly”) is sometimes rendered as 荒神, other times as 荒夫琉神. It may be plausible to see the trigraph 投棄流 as a comparable example of inconsistency in transliteration. This inconsistency may not, however, have existed from the time of compilation. Rather, a reading



gloss added at some stage of repeated transcription may subsequently have been erroneously incorporated into the text. It thus might have been appropriate to have deleted it in preparing this edition, but as all the extant major manuscripts incorporate it, we have retained it as well.

### 13. Okizakaru no kami 奥疎神, Okitsu nagisabiko no kami 奥津那芸佐毗古神, and Okitsu kaibera no kami 奥津甲斐弁羅神

The graph 奥 *oku* (“back,” “interior”) can be interpreted here to mean *oki* 沖, “offing.” The deity name Okizakaru no kami 奥疎神 thus means “to move far away from the coast.” *Nagisa* 那芸佐, in the second deity name, can be interpreted as meaning “as far as waves reach,” in other words, the boundary between land and sea. The element *kai* 甲斐 from the third theonym has been variously interpreted as equivalent to *kai* 峽 (“gorge,” “ravine”), [*k*]*kai* 間 (“distance,” “interval”), or *kai* 貝 (“shellfish”). The element *i* in these latter terms, however, is a *kō*-type vowel sound, whereas *i* [*hi*] rendered as 斐 is an *otsu*-type vowel sound. Such equations are thus not compatible with the conventions of ancient phonetic transcription. Nishimiya Kazutami argues that *kai* here may be the nominalized form of the upper bigrade (*kami nidan* 上二段) verb *kau* 交ふ (“to cross,” “to intersect”) and that it thus may refer to the intersection of two elements.<sup>(57)</sup> If this is the case, the same graphs 甲斐 in the land of Kai 甲斐国 would presumably have the same meaning. If we adopt the thesis of Ide Itaru 井手至 that *bera* 弁羅 derives from *heri* 縁 (“edge”),<sup>(58)</sup> Kaibera no kami would refer to a deity of the borders.

### 14. Hezakaru no kami 辺疎神, Hetsu nagisabiko no kami 辺津那芸佐毗古神, and Hetsu kaibera no kami 辺津甲斐弁羅神

*He* 辺 means “coastline,” which basically subsumes *nagisa* and *kaibera*

as well. Hezakarū no kami means a deity who moves far away from the boundary between land and sea.

### 15. “Deities . . . all were born” (*umeru kami* 所生神)

The deities who appeared as the result of Izanaki’s performance of ablutions originated either from the objects this deity wore, or from his washing of his body. The preceding text describes them as deities who “came into existence” (*naru* 成). The relationship between a deity who caused the emergence of another deity and the deity that emerged is not that of parent and child. Yet the summations of both the first half and the second half of the ablutions passage refer to the deities figuring in it as all having been “born” (*umeru* 生). The same mode of description can also be found in the later contest of oaths (*ukei*) between Amaterasu and Susanoo.<sup>(59)</sup>

By categorizing as “parent-child” a relationship that was not originally such, this narrative mode underwrites the existence of a blood lineage. This is of particular moment in the later “three noble offspring” passage, which establishes Amaterasu, Tsukuyomi, and Susanoo as Izanaki’s children after they are initially described as having come into existence when he washed his eyes and nose.<sup>(60)</sup> The *ukei* episode similarly makes explicit that the deity Ame no oshihomimi no mikoto 天忍穗耳命 (the father of Ninigi no mikoto) and the other four male children produced through the contest are Amaterasu’s progeny.<sup>(61)</sup>

### Endnotes

- (1) See *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 7–9, 17 (Japanese original).
- (2) On the ambiguity in the meaning of *shiko* and these two examples, see chapter 10, text note 3 (pp. 217–18 above). See also *Kojiki gaku* 5 (2019), pp. 13, 19; 6 (2020), p. 9 (Japanese original).

- ( 3 ) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 120–21.
- ( 4 ) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 210–11.
- ( 5 ) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 44–45, 52–53.
- ( 6 ) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 126–28.
- ( 7 ) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, p. 94; SNKBZ 6, p. 357; SNKBZ 8, p. 343; SNKBZ 7, p. 324; SNKBZ 8, p. 63; SNKBZ 8, p. 412; SNKBZ 9, p. 214; SNKBZ 9, p. 403.
- ( 8 ) Yoshii, *Tennō no keifu to shinwa*, vol. 3, pp. 216–17.
- ( 9 ) *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 30–32 (Japanese original).
- (10) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 244–45.
- (11) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 252–53.
- (12) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, p. 314.
- (13) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 48–49.
- (14) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 56–57.
- (15) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 3, pp. 92–93.
- (16) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 4, pp. 380–81.
- (17) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, p. 236.
- (18) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, p. 326.
- (19) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, p. 326.
- (20) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 124.
- (21) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 8, p. 179.
- (22) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kojiki tōsho*, p. 12.
- (23) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kojiki jōkan*, p. 26.
- (24) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kanagaki Kojiki*, p. 79. Today the reading *harae* is commonly used for the term rendered here as “dispelling.” Mabuchi, however, distinguished between the readings *harai* and *harae* depending on the context. Some others did likewise. The “inconsistency” in romanization here reflects their usage. (TN)
- (25) *Kojiki* (Kan'ei *hanpon*), fol. 14a.
- (26) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Norito kō*, p. 257.
- (27) *Kojiki* (Kan'ei *hanpon*), fol. 14a; Watarai Nobuyoshi, *Gōtō Kojiki*, fol. 11a.
- (28) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 261, 263.
- (29) See Boyer, *Religion Explained*, pp. 243–46.
- (30) See *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 7–8, 30–31 (Japanese original).

- (31) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 84–85.
- (32) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 4, pp. 370–72.
- (33) Aoki, *Norito kodenshō no kenkyū*, pp. 20–23.
- (34) Gomazuru and Nishijima, *Kōtai jingū gishiki chō*, p. 166.
- (35) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, NKBT 1, pp. 426–27.
- (36) This translation is an abridged version of the original comment. For the full comment, see *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 70–72.
- (37) See Aoki, *Nihon shinwa no kisoteki kenkyū*, pp. 269–90.
- (38) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 48–49.
- (39) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 56–57.
- (40) See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 38–39 (Japanese original); *Kojiki gaku* 6 (2020), p. 283 (English translation).
- (41) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 116–17.
- (42) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 210–11.
- (43) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 180–81.
- (44) Kada no Azumamaro, *Nihon shoki jindaikan sakki* p. 31.
- (45) Kaibara Ekiken, *Chikuzen no kuni zoku fudoki*, p. 459.
- (46) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 262–63.
- (47) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 264–65.
- (48) The SNKBZ editors note that *sae no kami* were supposed to guard the road and block (*sae* 塞) the intrusion of evil deities. Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 46–47, 52–53, 54–55, 55n13.
- (49) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 205; Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 351.
- (50) Aoki et al., *Kojiki*, NST 1, pp. 37–38; Nakamura, *Shinpan Kojiki*, p. 35n4.
- (51) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 46–47.
- (52) Watarai Nobuyoshi, *Gōtō Kojiki*, fol. 11b; Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 264–65.
- (53) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 266–67.
- (54) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 46–48.
- (55) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, pp. 206–207; Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 352.
- (56) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 48.
- (57) These two elements in this case would be the land and the sea. Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 352.
- (58) Ide, *Yūbunroku*, p. 273.

- (59) See *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 27–28 (Japanese original). In that passage, too, the deities that come into being from objects belonging to Amaterasu and Susanoo are initially described as “having come into existence” (*nareru*) and subsequently referred to as “having been born” (*umeru*). (TN)
- (60) *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 39–40 (Japanese original); KKSCK 14 (2022), p. 170 (English translation).
- (61) See *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 27–28 (Japanese original).

### Chapter 13: Ablutions (II)

Thereupon, [Izanaki no mikoto] said: “The upper current is strong. The lower current is weak.” He first immersed himself in the middle current, and when he rinsed himself, a deity named Yasomagatsuhi no kami 八十禍津日神 came into existence. Next Ōmagatsuhi no kami 大禍津日神 (1) came into existence. These two deities came into existence from the pollution that [adhered to Izanaki] when he visited that most polluted land. Next, so as to rectify the calamities [they brought], a deity named Kamunaobi no kami 神直毗神 came into existence. Next Ōnaobi no kami 大直毗神 (2) came into existence. Next, Izunome 伊豆能売 (3). *Note: three deities altogether.*

Next, when Izanaki rinsed himself in the depths, a deity named Sokotsu watatsumi no kami 底津綿津見神 came into existence (4). Next Sokotsutsunoo no mikoto 底筒之男命 came into existence (5). Next, when he rinsed himself in the mid-water, a deity named Nakatsu watatsumi no kami 中津綿津見神 came into existence. Next Nakatsutsunoo no mikoto 中筒之男命 came into existence. Next, when he rinsed himself in the surface

water, a deity named Uetsu watatsumi no kami 上津綿津見神 came into existence. Next Uwatsutsunoo no mikoto 上筒之男命 came into existence. The Azumi no muraji 阿曇連 lineage (6) honors the threefold Watatsumi sea deity as its ancestral deity. The Azumi are the descendants of Utsushi hikanasaku no mikoto 宇都志日金析命 (7), the child of this Watatsumi deity. The three deities Sokotsutsunoo no mikoto, Nakatsutsunoo no mikoto, and Uwatsutsunoo no mikoto are the great threefold deity of Suminoe 墨江.

Then, when [Izanaki] washed his left eye, a deity named Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大御神 came into existence. Next, when he washed his right eye, a deity named Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月読命 came into existence. Next, when he washed his nose, a deity named Susanoo no mikoto 須佐之男命 (8) came into existence.

*Note: The ten deities (9) from Yasomagatsuhi no kami to Haya susanoo no mikoto were all born when [Izanaki] rinsed himself.*

### Text Notes

#### 1. Yasomagatsuhi no kami 八十禍津日神 and Ōmagatsuhi no kami 大禍津日神

*Maga* means “bent,” as in the compound *magatama* 勾玉 (curved bead), and, as such, is the counterpart of the term *nao* 直 (“straight”). In this particular instance, *maga* carries the sense of “calamity.” In the subsequent account of the pacification of the land, the heavenly deity Takagi no kami 高木神 declares “*Magare* 摩賀礼!” (“[May this arrow] bring [him] calamity!”) as he hurls back an arrow misused by Amewakahiko 天若日子. The arrow hits and kills Amewakahiko. <sup>(1)</sup> The stem *maga* in that instance seems to correspond to the sense of *maga* in the two theonyms in this passage. In the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities

chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, Yasomagatsuhi no kami is transliterated as 八十枉津日神.<sup>(2)</sup>

The chronicle of Emperor Ingyō 允恭 in the *Kojiki* states that “[the emperor] had a cauldron placed on the Kotoyasomagatsuhi spur of Amakashi hill (Amakashi no kotoyasomagatsuhi no saki 味白禰言八十禍津日前) [and conducted an ordeal by boiling water (*kugatachi*)] so as to determine the [correct] names and titles of the chiefs of the myriad lineages throughout the realm that serve the court.”<sup>(3)</sup> Amakashi no kotoyasomagatsuhi no saki is presented here as a geographical location, with the name presumably deriving from its being the site where a *kugatachi*-type ritual was performed to correct the myriad errors (*kotoyasomaga*) in the names and hereditary titles claimed by the lineages attached to the court. (*Kugatachi* entailed plunging one’s hand into a cauldron of boiling water to test the truth of a claim.) *Hi* here appears to express a spiritual force, as with *hi* in *musuhi*.<sup>(4)</sup>

The statement that Yasomagatsuhi and Ōmagatsuhi “came into existence from the pollution (*kegare* 汗垢) that [adhered to Izanaki] when [he] visited that most polluted (*kegare shigeki* 穢繁) land” may perhaps be understood to mean that these deities had already formed in Izanaki’s body during his visit to the land of Yomi and were released into the outside world when he doused himself with water at the Tachibana river-mouth.

## 2. Kamunaobi no kami 神直毗神 and Ōnaobi no kami 大直毗神

These *nao* (“straight,” “rectifying”) deities are the counterpart to the *maga* deities described in the previous note. They also appear in *norito* such as the Ōtonohogai 大殿祭 liturgy for praying for the safety of the palace: “May any oversight in [these] words of celebration and pacification

be seen and rectified (*minaoshi*), heard and rectified (*kikinaoshi*) by Kamunaobi no mikoto and Ōnaobi no mikoto.”<sup>(5)</sup> A similar phrasing occurs in the Mikadohogai 御門祭 liturgy for exorcising the four gates of the palace: “May any fault in [my] words be seen and rectified, heard and rectified by Kamunaobi and Ōnaobi.”<sup>(6)</sup> This suggests that these deities were believed to rectify something imperfect or erroneous and restore it to its proper state. In the Heavenly Rock Cave (*ame no iwaya* 天の石屋) episode Amaterasu is described as not blaming her brother Susano for his violent behavior, but instead seeking to rectify the situation (*naoshi*) with a solemn declaration (*mikotonori* 詔).<sup>(7)</sup> This rectification, intended to make it possible to proceed with the rituals being conducted, would seem to be of the same nature as those figuring in the *norito* liturgies. It would thus appear that the Naobi deities were understood to be endowed with the power to restore things to their proper state when something anomalous occurred during a ritual, enabling its successful conclusion.

In the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, Kamunaobi no kami is transliterated as 神直日神 and Ōnaobi no kami as 大直日神.<sup>(8)</sup>

### 3. Izunome 伊豆能売

The entity of this name (which suggests a female figure) appears together with Kamunaobi no kami and Ōnaobi no kami as those charged with rectifying the *maga* calamities, but without any title such as *kami* or *mikoto*. Some hypothesize that this entity is not a deity but someone who performs rites of worship to a deity. This supposition rests on the premise that Izunome can be equated with the title Itsuhime 巖媛 (literally “reverence[-offering] maiden”) in a passage from the chronicle of Emperor Jinmu in the *Nihon Shoki*. In this passage Prince Iwarebiko (the



subsequent Emperor Jinmu), having pacified Yamato, proclaims to his loyal associate Michi no omi: “I myself shall call forth Takamimusuhi no mikoto to be worshipped in visible form. I appoint you the celebrant of this ritual and give you the title Itsuhime.”<sup>(9)</sup>

An alternative hypothesis is that Izunome may be linked to Ōmiyanome no mikoto 大宮売命, a deity described in the Ōtonohogai *norito* as “using words to rectify and calm” (*kotonaoshi yawashi* 言直し和し) along with Kamunaobi no mikoto and Ōnaobi no mikoto.<sup>(10)</sup> This deity figures in the *Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺 as Ōmiyanome no kami 大宮売神. The text describes her as serving Amaterasu and as worshipped at the court as a deity who uses words to rectify and soften relations between the emperor and his ministers.<sup>(11)</sup> Kurano Kenji equates *Kogo shūi*’s Ōmiyanome no kami with *Kojiki*’s Izunome.<sup>(12)</sup> Although the grounds for this equation are not definitive, the fact that a female deity figures together with Kamunaobi and Ōnaobi in the Ōtonohogai *norito* may be linked to the similar presence of Izunome in the *Kojiki*.

#### 4. Sokotsu watatsumi no kami 底津綿津見神, Nakatsu watatsumi no kami 中津綿津見神, and Uetsu watatsumi no kami 上津綿津見神

These three sea (*watatsumi*) deities formed when Izanaki rinsed himself in the depths, the mid-water, and the surface water respectively. The term *watatsumi* appeared earlier within the theonym Ōwatatsumi no kami 大綿津見神 (“great sea deity”), listed as one of the deities produced by Izanaki and Izanami.<sup>(13)</sup> The threefold Watatsumi deity mentioned here is identified as the ancestral deity of the Azumi no muraji. The demarcation of this deity into a triad associated with the depths, mid-water, and surface parallels the preceding reference to three currents (upper, middle, and lower) and the following account of the production of the three noble

offspring, Amaterasu, Tsukuyomi, and Susanoo. It may indicate a deliberate intent to arrange the elements appearing in the second half of the ablutions episode in groups of three. If so, the addition of Izunome to the two Naobi deities may have been intended, as Saigō Nobutsuna proposes, to align them with this triadic pattern. That only the two Magatsuhi deities do not fit this pattern is perhaps because of their generation from the pollution of the Land of Yomi.

### 5. Sokotsutsunoo no mikoto 底筒之男命, Nakatsutsunoo no mikoto 中筒之男命, and Uwatsutsunoo no mikoto 上筒之男命

In the same manner as the preceding Watatsumi deity, three Tsutsunoo deities are also formed when Izanaki rinses himself in the depths, the mid-water, and the surface water, each appearing after its Watatsumi counterpart. Subsequently they are identified as the great threefold deity of Suminoe 墨江, enshrined at Sumiyoshi 住吉 shrines, including the three major Sumiyoshi shrines at Naniwa 難波 (Osaka), Hakata 博多 (Fukuoka), and Anato 穴門 (Shimonoseki).

The meaning of *tsutsu* here remains uncertain (the character 筒 itself usually carries the meaning of “tube” or “pipe”). Some take it as equivalent to “soil” (*tsuchi* 土), others equate it with the element *tsutsu* in the term for the evening star (*yūsuzu/yūzutsu* 夕星, namely, Venus) and see it as alluding to the star that helps to determine the course of navigation. Others equate it with the possessive particle *tsu* づ plus *tsu* 津 meaning port and take it as a reference to the deity of the harbor where ships dock. Others interpret it as the possessive particle *tsu* plus *chi* 霊, meaning “the spirit of. . .” Nishimiya Kazutami argues that it refers to the guardian deity of a ship. He bases this theory on the fact that *tsutsu* 筒 is also the term for a wooden block that supports the main mast in

traditional Japanese ships; objects embodying the deity (*funadama* 船玉) are placed in holes at the bottom of the block.<sup>(14)</sup> Although Nishimiya finds this to be the most plausible interpretation, we feel it better to leave the matter open.

**Further comment: The great threefold Suminoe deity.** From Tsukitatsu funato no kami (the first deity produced after Inazaki's escape from Yomi) to the three noble offspring, the three Tsutsunoo deities are the only ones among the deities mentioned in the ablutions passage apart from the three noble offspring to play an active part in the subsequent narrative. As the great threefold deity of Suminoe (Suminoe no mimae no ōkami 墨江之三前大神), they figure in Empress Jingū's expedition to Silla. But although the *Kojiki* describes the Suminoe deity's role in the expedition in some detail, it unusually does not touch at all upon the lineage affiliated with it.

The great deity of Suminoe was enshrined at the Sumiyoshi Taisha at Naniwa, where the Tsumori 津守 priestly lineage long was responsible for its rites. The *Sumiyoshi taisha jindaiki* 住吉大社神代記 describes the shrine's origins and the Tsumori lineage's relation to it as follows: "The three martial deities Uwatsutsunoo 表筒男, Nakatsutsunoo, and Sokotsutsunoo issued instructions, saying, 'Our calm spirit (*nigimitama* 和魂) should be installed at the flourishing great port of Nunakura 淳中倉 in the land of Nagaokao 長岡峽 so as to protect the boats that go to and fro.' Tamomi no sukune 手搓足尼 [the ancestor of the Tsumori no muraji 津守連 lineage] was thus charged with its worship."<sup>(15)</sup>

Prior to this account's composition, the chronicle of Jingū's regency in the *Nihon shoki* had already recounted that Homutachi 踐立, the ancestor of the Anato no atai 穴門直 lineage and Tamomi no sukune 田裳見宿禰, the ancestor of the Tsumori no muraji lineage, had called on Jingū to

“settle upon the lands where the deity [of Suminoe] wishes to dwell and its worship there.” As a result Homutachi was charged with performing rites to the deity’s impetuous spirit (*aramitama* 荒魂), and a shrine was erected at the village of Yamada 山田 in Anato.<sup>(16)</sup> The same *Nihon shoki* passage implicitly establishes a link between the Tsumori lineage and the great deity of Suminoe. However, like the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon shoki* does not directly elaborate on the link between the Tsumori and the deity. Its only allusion to the connection is the passage in the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter—the sole reference in the *Nihon shoki* to the birth of the Suminoe deity—that states “This Sokotsutsunoo no mikoto, Nakatsutsunoo no mikoto, and Uwatsutsunoo no mikoto are the great [threefold] deity of Sumiyoshi.”<sup>(17)</sup> The *Nihon shoki* account of Empress Jingū’s expedition to Silla identifies four deities involved with it (the impetuous spirit of Amaterasu, Wakahirume 稚日女, Kotoshironushi 事代主, and the calm spirit of the three Tsutsunoo deities) and records that they are enshrined respectively in the lands of Hirota 広田, Ikuta no nagao 活田長峽, Nagata 長田, and the great port of Nunakura in the land of Nagao 長峽. It also identifies those who were charged with conducting rites to the first three of these deities. In contrast to the parallel passage in *Sumiyoshi taisha jindaiki*, however, it does not mention who should conduct the rites to the calm spirit of the Tsutsunoo deities.<sup>(18)</sup>

In this way the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* both avoid spelling out the relationship between the great threefold Suminoe deity (the three Tsutsunoo deities) and the Tsumori lineage. Nevertheless, the Tsumori were unquestionably a notable lineage that is mentioned repeatedly in the *Nihon shoki*, *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀, and *Man’yōshū*. For instance, Tsumori no muraji Komanako 己麻奴跪 figures in reports of diplomatic relations in the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Kinmei 欽明 (544);

Tsumori no muraji Ōama 大海 figures in such reports in the first year of the reign of Empress Kōgyoku 皇極 (642); Tsumori no muraji Kisa 吉祥 figures in such reports in the fifth year of the reign of Empress Saimei 齊明 (659). A passage from the thirteenth year of Tenmu's reign (684) notes that in the wake of the reshaping of the system of *kabane* 姓 titles the Tsumori no muraji was one of the lineages along with the Azumi no muraji to be granted the new *kabane* title of *sukune*.<sup>(19)</sup> The *Kojiki*, however, which includes numerous passages concerning ancient lineages, makes no mention of the Tsumori.

Various reasons might be adduced to explain this situation. One is that the *Kojiki* does not refer to Hoakari no mikoto 火明命, whom the *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏錄 (815) gives as the ancestor of the Tsumori lineage in its list of the “deity lineages” of Settsu Province. (The *Engi shiki* 延喜式 list of deities and shrines [927] records the deities of the two Ōama 大海 shrines in Sumiyoshi District, Settsu Province, as the lineage deity of the Tsumori.) That alone, however, would not seem to be the entire reason.

Saigō Nobutsuna has suggested that “it is likely that only the name ‘great threefold Suminoe deity’ is mentioned and not who is charged with its worship because people already clearly knew who (i.e., the Tsumori) was responsible.”<sup>(20)</sup> Nishimiya Kazutami holds that it was because the court appointed the shrine priest.<sup>(21)</sup> On the other hand, Ochiai Hidekuni 落合偉洲 has argued that it likely was because the connection between the Tsumori lineage and the Suminoe deity was not so close as that between the Azumi no muraji lineage and the threefold Watatsumi deity and because the Tsumori were not the only lineage serving as priests at Sumiyoshi Taisha.<sup>(22)</sup>

All these hypotheses have points to recommend them, but here I would like to consider a little further the possible background as to why the

*Kojiki* does not refer to the relationship between the Tsumori and the Suminoe deity even though, as Saigō observes, at the time the *Kojiki* was compiled the Tsumori were well known as a lineage charged with the deity's worship. One clue might be found in the account of Oto tachibana hime 弟橘比売, the consort of Yamatotakeru 倭建. Almost all the *Kojiki*'s many passages concerning ancient lineages record genealogies and marriage relations. Most have to do with events involving the lineage's founder or the origins of an imperial consort, and such information is given for virtually all imperial consorts. Oto tachibana hime stands as an exception where this information is lacking. The *Nihon shoki* identifies her as coming from the Hozumi 穂積 lineage,<sup>(23)</sup> but the *Kojiki* does not refer to her origins. Tanaka Motoki 田中智樹 has argued that this is because the *Kojiki* sought to avoid presenting her self-immolation by casting herself into the sea, which calmed the waves and enabled Yamatotakeru to carry out his mission,<sup>(24)</sup> as the merit of a particular lineage.<sup>(25)</sup> Might not similar considerations be at work in the treatment of the Suminoe deity?

The great threefold Suminoe deity is born, along with the threefold Watatsumi deity, immediately before the three noble offspring. In the chronicle of Emperor Chūai the *Kojiki* describes the Suminoe deity as carrying out "the will (*mikokoro* 御心) of Amaterasu." It goes on to note that during the expedition to Silla, when the king of Silla submitted to Jingū's forces, "she posted her staff at the gate of the ruler of Silla, made the tumultuous spirit of the great Suminoe deity the tutelary deity, worshipped and enshrined it, and returned back across the sea."<sup>(26)</sup> It is plausible to assume that the *Kojiki* did not record a connection between the Suminoe deity and an individual lineage because the deity displayed such extraordinary powers to ensure the expedition's success.

In the *Kojiki*, the Suminoe deity is “born” through Izanaki’s rinsing himself. After the birth of the three noble offspring, Izanaki declares, “I have borne child after child, and at the end of giving birth, I have obtained three noble offspring.”<sup>(27)</sup> Seen from this perspective, the Suminoe deity is a child of Izanaki in the same manner as the three noble offspring. In the chronicle of Emperor Chūai the *Kojiki* further emphasizes this deity’s connection with Amaterasu. One might surmise that the compilers chose not to record anything about the lineage charged with worship of the Suminoe deity so as to focus attention on the part played in the Silla expedition by this deity who was a sibling of the three noble offspring. At the time of the *Kojiki*’s compilation, the role of the Tsumori lineage as performers of rites to the Suminoe deity was known just as was that of the Azumi no muraji lineage as performers of rites to the threefold Watatsumi deity and the Munakata 胸形 lineage as performers of rites to the threefold Munakata deity.<sup>(28)</sup> For the compilers, however, enhancing the import of the events surrounding the Silla expedition was more crucial than recording the existence of the Tsumori.

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## 6. “The Azumi no muraji lineage” (Azumi no muraji 阿曇連)

Azumi is a lineage name and *muraji* a hereditary title (*kabane*) associated with service to the court. An item in the *Nihon shoki* from the tenth month, thirteenth year of the chronicle of Emperor Tenmu (684) describes the consolidation and reorganization of the earlier multitude of *kabane* into a new hierarchy of eight titles as follows:

The *kabane* titles of the various lineages have been reorganized. Eight [new] forms of *kabane* have been created, and order has been brought to

the myriad *kabane* [that existed previously] in the realm. The first rank is *mahito* 真人. The second is *asomi* 朝臣. The third is *sukune* 宿祢. The fourth is *imiki* 忌寸. The fifth is *michinoshi* 道師. The sixth is *omi* 臣. The seventh is *muraji* 連. The eighth is *inaki* 稻置.<sup>(29)</sup>

Another item from the twelfth month of the same year states that fifty lineages had been granted the new title of *sukune*, including the Azumi.<sup>(30)</sup> The description in this passage of the *Kojiki* of the Azumi as holding the title of *muraji* rather than *sukune* indicates that it follows the *kabane* titles used prior to the adoption of the new system in 684.

## 7. Utsushi hikanasaku no mikoto 宇都志日金析命

This deity is identified both as the child of the threefold Watatsumi sea deity and as the ancestral deity of the Azumi no muraji lineage. After explaining that the Azumi no muraji lineage “honors the threefold Watatsumi deity as its ancestral deity (*oyagami* 祖神),” the *Kojiki* further states that the Azumi no muraji are “the descendants” (*sue* 子孫) of Utsushi hikanasaku no mikoto. Among the *Kojiki*’s distinctive features is that it puts greater emphasis than does the *Nihon shoki* on identifying the deities that figure in it as the ancestor of one lineage or another. This is the first of these “ancestral identifications.” The graph 祖 (“ancestor”) occurs widely within the *Kojiki*. Notably, however, this is the only instance of the specific term *oyagami* and of the further description of the lineage in question as the “descendant” of the deity. This is perhaps related to the fact that it is the first of the *Kojiki*’s “ancestral origin” accounts.

The meaning of *kanasaku* 金折 is not clear. *Utsushi* 宇都志, as was explained in a previous note, refers to “the verdant blades of grass, the



mortals who dwell in the visible realm.”<sup>(31)</sup> The inclusion of such a reference in this theonym may have been intended to indicate an entity who dwells between the realm of deities and the human realm, or between the visible and invisible realms.

#### 8. Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大御神, Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月読命, Takehaya susanoo no mikoto 建速須佐之男命

No account of Izanami in the Land of Yomi or Izanaki's visit there can be found in the main text of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*. Instead, Izanaki and Izanami jointly give birth to the sun deity, the moon deity, the leech child (*hiruko* 蛭児), and Susanoo no mikoto 素戔鳴尊 at the end of the birth of deities episode.<sup>(32)</sup> The first and second variants likewise do not mention the Land of Yomi. The first variant states that the deity Ōhirume no mikoto 大日靈尊 (an alternative name for Amaterasu) appeared when Izanaki held a bronze mirror in his left hand, Tsukuyumi no mikoto 月弓尊 appeared when he held a bronze mirror in his right hand, and Susanoo no mikoto appeared when he turned his head to look behind him.<sup>(33)</sup>

The *Kojiki* describes a sequence whereby the emergence of the deities of calamities (Yasomagatsuhi no kami and Ōmagatsuhi no kami) is followed by the emergence of the Naobi deities to rectify those calamities (see text notes 1 and 2). The birth of Amaterasu follows thereafter. The same pattern can be seen in the account of the birth of Emperor Ōjin as described in the chronicle of Emperor Chūai.<sup>(34)</sup> Many scholars point to a parallel between the *Kojiki* account of the birth of the three noble offspring and the Chinese myth of Pangu 盤古, in which the sun appears from the deity's left eye and the moon from his right eye.

In the *Nihon shoki*, the names of the three noble offspring vary. The

main version identifies the sun deity as Ōhirume no muchi 大日靈貴 and notes that there are also the variant names Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大神 and Amaterasu ōhirume no mikoto 天照大日靈尊. It identifies the moon deity as having the names Tsukuyumi no mikoto 月弓尊 and Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月夜見尊/月読尊) and Susanoo no mikoto 素戔鳴尊 as having the alternate names Kamususanoo no mikoto 神素戔鳴尊 and Hayasusanoo no mikoto 速素戔鳴尊.<sup>(35)</sup> The first variant gives the names as Ōhirume no mikoto 大日靈尊, Tsukuyumi no mikoto, and Susanoo no mikoto.<sup>(36)</sup> The second variant refers simply to “the sun and the moon” (*hitsuki* 日月) and Susanoo no mikoto.<sup>(37)</sup> We will discuss the three noble offspring further in the next chapter (the allocation of realms to the three noble offspring).

## 9. “Ten deities” (*tohashira* 十柱)

The second part of the ablutions episode describes fourteen deities as coming into existence. Some commentaries on the *Kojiki*, such as *Gōtō Kojiki* edited by Watarai Nobuyoshi, have thus considered the word “ten deities” (*tohashira* 十柱) to be an error and have emended it to “fourteen deities” (*tō amari yohashira* 十四柱).<sup>(38)</sup> In his miscellany *Tamakatsuma* 玉勝間, however, Norinaga argued that the threefold Watatsumi and Tsutsunoo deities should be counted as one deity each, making a total of ten deities.<sup>(39)</sup> Subsequent commentaries have tended to adopt this argument and retain the original digraph 十柱 found in the oldest manuscripts. This commentary does the same.

## Endnotes

- (1) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 102–103. Takaki no kami is identified as an alternative name of Takamimusuhi no kami 高御産巢

日神.

- ( 2 ) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 48–49. The character 枉 carries connotations of “twisted,” “wrongdoing,” “encounter calamity.”
- ( 3 ) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 318–19.
- ( 4 ) On the meaning of *musuhi*, see *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 12–13 (Japanese original); 3 (2017), pp. 300–301 (English translation).
- ( 5 ) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, NKBT 1, pp. 418–19.
- ( 6 ) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, NKBT 1, pp. 420–21.
- ( 7 ) See *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 7–8, 12 (Japanese original).
- ( 8 ) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 48–49. For further discussion of these deities, see Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 132–35.
- ( 9 ) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 214–15. Regarding this passage, see *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 59–60 (Japanese original); KKS KK 14 (2022), p. 210 (English translation).
- (10) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, NKBT 1, pp. 418–21.
- (11) Nishimiya, *Kogo shūi*, p. 22.
- (12) Kurano, *Kojiki zenchūshaku*, vol. 2, pp. 304–305.
- (13) See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 46, 48, 52 (Japanese original); 6 (2020), pp. 264, 270 (English translation).
- (14) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 354.
- (15) Tanaka, *Sumiyoshi taisha jindaiki no kenkyū*, vol. 7, p. 344. The port of Nunakura is generally held to be the Sumiyoshi district of modern Osaka. Opinions vary as to the date of composition of *Sumiyoshi taisha jindaiki*, with some dating it to the eighth century and others to sometime after the late ninth century.
- (16) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 436–37.
- (17) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 48–49.
- (18) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 418–19, 438–39.
- (19) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 3, pp. 379, 382–83; SNKBZ 4, pp. 58–59, 222–23, 440–43.
- (20) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 221.
- (21) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 355.
- (22) Ochiai, “Sumiyoshi taisha to Tsumori-shi.”

- (23) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 376.
- (24) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 226–27.
- (25) Tanaka, “Yamatotakeru no mikoto keifu kō.”
- (26) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 244–48.
- (27) *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 7–8 (Japanese original).
- (28) The Munakata deities were enshrined near Fukuoka and on the Oki 沖 islands lying offshore. See *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 24–28, 34 (Japanese original).
- (29) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 3, pp. 436–39. Kojima et al. note that in actuality only the top four titles of the new system of *kabane* were awarded (TN).
- (30) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 3, pp. 440–42.
- (31) See *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), p. 23, 58–60 (Japanese original); KKSJK 14 (2022), pp. 209–13 (English translation).
- (32) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 34–37.
- (33) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–39.
- (34) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1, pp. 244–49.
- (35) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 35–37.
- (36) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (37) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (38) Watarai Nobuyoshi, *Gōtō Kojiki*, fol. 13a.
- (39) Motoori Norinaga, *Tamakatsuma*, in MNZ 1, p. 345. Norinaga states here that this is a correction to *Kojiki den*, where he followed Nobuyoshi’s emendation of “fourteen”; see Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 282.

### Further comment (chapter 9)

#### Readings and interpretations of the phrase 黃泉戸喫 (yomotsu *hikui*/ *yomotsu hekui*) <sup>(1)</sup>

Commentators before Motoori Norinaga generally read the graph 戸 in this phrase as *hi*. They did the same for the gloss 譽母都俳遇比 found in

the seventh variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, taking 俳 to indicate the pronunciation *hi* and reading the gloss as a whole as *yomotsu hikui*. The 1644 printed edition of the *Kojiki* assigned the reading *hi* to the graph 戸 as did Watarai Nobuyoshi 度会延佳 (1615–1690) in his *Gōtō Kojiki* 鰐頭古事記 of 1687.<sup>(2)</sup> In the readings and notes that Kada no Azumamaro 荷田春満 (1669–1736) appended to the 1644 printed edition of the *Kojiki*, he retained its gloss *hi* for the graph 戸 and read the phrase as *yomotsu hikui* ヨモツヒクヒ.<sup>(3)</sup> Azumamaro expanded upon the implications of this reading in his commentary on the corresponding phrase 食泉之竈 found in the sixth and seventh variants of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*. There he wrote:

The phrase *yomotsu hikui* means that [Izanami] had eaten the *hi* ヒ of Yomi. [As for forms of *hi*,] the sun (*hi* 日) in the heavens is pure and bright. As it bears on human beings, [*hi*] has two dimensions. As the shining brightness of the spirit (*hi* 霊), it is a force that leads to goodness. The fire (*hi* 火) of thoughts of passion and greed is the fire of the land. The *hi* of which Izanami speaks means the fire within the earth. There is indeed good reason that in this country people observe taboos regarding fire.<sup>(4)</sup>

In other words, Azumamaro argues that *hi* (戸) in this passage means the fire of Yomi and the fire of evil passions and greed.

Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769) also read 戸 as *hi*. Showing that he interpreted it to mean “fire,” he added a note to his *Kojiki tōsho* 古事記頭書 declaring, “In Shikoku [people say] that if one eats [food cooked with] polluted fire, wolves are sure to appear at the front gate.”<sup>(5)</sup> *Kanagaki*

*Kojiki* 仮名書古事記, his *kana* transcription of the text, likewise gives the reading *hi*.<sup>(6)</sup> In the headnotes to his own transcription of the 1644 printed edition of *Kojiki* he further argued against the view of Azumamaro's nephew Kada no Arimaro 荷田在満 (1706–1751), who had asserted that records such as the *ritsuryō* 律令 codes showed no evidence of the observation of fire taboos in antiquity. To the contrary, Mabuchi wrote: “Mabuchi states: There are many works indicating the need to observe taboos concerning fire.”<sup>(7)</sup>

Norinaga broke with the tradition of reading 戸 as *hi*. In *Kojiki den* he read 戸 as *he*, interpreted it as “hearth,” and argued against the reading of it and 俳 in the *Nihon shoki* as *hi*. At the same time, he took the entire phrase *yomotsu hegui* to encompass “fire” and continued to hold firmly to the idea of a fire taboo.<sup>(8)</sup>

In this way, Azumamaro, Mabuchi, and Norinaga shared a common view of this passage as recording the origin of the custom of observing fire taboos.

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## Endnotes

- (1) This further comment follows text note 5, *Kojiki gaku* 7 (2021), p. 276 (English translation).
- (2) Watarai Nobuyoshi, *Gōtō Kojiki*, fol. 9a.
- (3) Kada no Azumamaro, *Kakiirebon “Kojiki,”* p. 25.
- (4) Kada no Azumamaro, *Nihon shoki jindaikan sakki*, p. 27.
- (5) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kojiki tōsho*, p. 11.
- (6) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kanagaki Kojiki*, p. 77.
- (7) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kojiki jōkan*, p. 22.
- (8) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 240–41.

### Frequently Used Bibliographic Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used for frequently cited compendia and sources

- KKSKK *Kokugakuin Daigaku Kenkyū Kaihatsu Suishin Kikō kiyō* 國學院大學研究開発推進機構紀要. Ed. Kokugakuin Daigaku Kenkyū Kaihatsu Suishin Kikō. 2009–.
- MNZ *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 本居宣長全集. Ed. Ōno Susumu 大野晋 and Ōkubo Tadashi 大久保正. 23 vols. Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1968–1993.
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1957–1967.
- NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. 51 vols. Shōgakukan 小学館, 1970–1976.
- NST *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–1982.
- SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakukan, 1994–2001.

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