

國學院大學學術情報リポジトリ

英訳『古事記』 Studies on the Kojiki

メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2024-11-29 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 古事記学研究会 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.57529/0002001200

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). Since 2022 they have been 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 KSKK).
- The English translations included in the 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).
- 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* / KSKK. 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 the *Kojiki gaku* / KKSCKK version of the text when possible. In cases of passages from sections not yet covered by *Kojiki gaku* / KKSCKK, 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. Footnotes 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 Ignacio Quirós,
in cooperation with Kate Wildman Nakai

Chapter 14: The Division of Realms among the Three Noble Offspring

Thereupon, Izanaki no mikoto was greatly delighted and proclaimed: “I have borne child after child, and at the end of giving birth (1), I have obtained three noble offspring.” He then shook his jeweled necklace so that the jewels made a jangling sound. Bestowing it on Amaterasu ōmikami (2), he proclaimed: “You shall rule over Takamanohara.” He thus entrusted her with this charge (3). The necklace’s name is Mikuratana no kami 御倉板拳之神 (4). Next he proclaimed to Tsukuyomi no mikoto (5): “You shall rule over the night realm (6).” He thus entrusted this deity with this charge. Next he proclaimed to Takehaya susanoo no mikoto (7): “You shall rule over the seas (6).” He thus entrusted him with this charge.

The [two other] deities undertook to rule [their realms] as they were commanded, but Susanoo did not rule (8) the land with which he had been entrusted. He cried and raged heedlessly until [he reached adulthood and] his beard grew so long as to cover his chest (9). His crying caused the verdant mountains to wither and the rivers and seas to dry up. The voices of malignant deities resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and all manner of calamities arose from the myriad things (10). “Why do you cry and rage instead of ruling the land I entrusted to you?” Izanaki no ōmikami then said to Susanoo. “I cry because I wish to go to the land of my late mother, Nenokatasu kuni 根之堅州国 (11),” Susanoo replied. Greatly angered, Izanaki no ōmikami thereupon proclaimed: “If that is so, you may not live in this land!” And forthwith

he expelled Susanoo with a divine expulsion (12).

Izanaki no ōkami dwells in Taga 多賀 in Ōmi 淡海 (13).

Text Notes

1. “At the end of giving birth” (*umi no hate* 生終)

As noted previously, Izanaki and Izanami fulfilled the command (*mikotomochi*) of the heavenly deities to “consolidate, solidify, and complete the land” through the act of giving birth.⁽¹⁾ Initially, Izanaki and Izanami gave birth jointly to the lands and deities, but once the latter became the Great Deity of the Land of Yomi, the reproductive role shifted to Izanaki alone. The two deities’ declaration of “their eternal estrangement” at the end of the Land of Yomi episode would seem to point to that development.⁽²⁾ Izanaki’s proclamation here that the act of “giving birth” has reached its “end” likewise may be taken to indicate that the original command from the heavenly deities to “consolidate, solidify, and complete the land” has been fulfilled.⁽³⁾

2. Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大御神

This deity is first mentioned in the preceding ablutions passage, as are Tsukuyomi no mikoto and Susanoo no mikoto, discussed below. The main text of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* presents Izanaki and Izanami as bearing this deity jointly. It identifies her as the “sun deity (*hi no kami* 日神), named Ōhirume no muchi 大日靈貴 (one variant gives the name Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大神; another variant has Amaterasu ōhirume no mikoto 天照大日靈尊).” The main text goes on to state that Izanami and Izanaki declared: “We have many children, but none so miraculous and remarkable as this one. She should not be kept for long in this land. We should send her forthwith to the heavens to take charge of the affairs of the heavenly realm.” And they promptly sent her up to the heavens.⁽⁴⁾

According to the first variant of this section of the *Nihon shoki*, Izanaki wished to bear a “noble child to rule all under heaven (*ame no shita shirasu uzu no miko* 御寓之珍子).” Ōhirume no mikoto appeared when he held a bronze mirror in his left hand.⁽⁵⁾

3. “Entrust with a charge” (*koto yosashi* 事依)

The *Kojiki* contains ten instances of the term “entrust with a charge” / “charge with a mission” (*koto yosashi*); in five of these it is paired with the term “give a command” (*mikoto mochi* 命以). The two appearing in combination is considered the standard usage.⁽⁶⁾ The *Kojiki* usually transcribes *koto yosashi* as 言依, with the graph for “speak” or “speech” used to represent the first element, *koto*. In one other case, 言因, a different character is used for the second element, *yosashi*, but the speech graph is used for the first.⁽⁷⁾ In contrast to these instances that convey the verbal act of entrustment, the term here is rendered by the digraph 事依, with the first character, “matter,” emphasizing that something is being entrusted. The term “give a command” (*mikoto mochi*) also does not occur here in combination with *koto yosashi*. These features found in this episode of the division of realms between the three noble offspring suggest a conscious intent to indicate that something about it is different from the other instances where the term *koto yosashi* occurs.

Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木啓之 argues that the combination *mikoto mochi* and *koto yosashi*, which is particular to the *Kojiki*, serves to describe instances when the commanding deities of Takamanohara issue orders from their realm directed toward Ashihara no nakatsukuni 葦原中国 (“the central land of reed plains”). In this case, however, Izanaki issues orders from the terrestrial realm to the three noble offspring. According to Suzuki, the different transcription of *koto yosashi* reflects this contextual difference.⁽⁸⁾ This hypothesis bears on the issue of whether the *Kojiki* compilers consciously distinguished between the graphs 言

and 事 in rendering the Japanese word *koto*.⁽⁹⁾ Regardless, the transcription 言依 may be said to emphasize the act of verbal transmission, whereas 事依 places more emphasis on the content of what is commanded, namely, governing the realm allocated to the recipient of the command.

4. Mikuratana no kami 御倉板拳之神

Some commentators, such as Shikida Toshiharu 敷田年治, hold that the name Mikuratana evolved from *mikubitama* 御頸珠 (“august necklace jewels”),⁽¹⁰⁾ but most follow Motoori Norinaga’s 本居宣長 view that “the name came about because Amaterasu reverently stored the necklace, a great treasure bestowed by her parental deity, in her storehouse (*mikura* 御倉), enshrining it on a shelf (*tana* 棚) and paying worship to it there.”⁽¹¹⁾ The compilers of the *Nihon shisō taikēi* edition of the *Kojiki* take the storehouse to be one for storing rice (*inakura* 稲倉).⁽¹²⁾ They see the jewels of the necklace as representing the spirit of the rice grains, and as an example of the graph 倉 being associated with a rice spirit, they point to the deity name Ukanomitama no mikoto 倉稻魂命 appearing in the sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*.⁽¹³⁾

5. Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月読命

Tsukuyomi no mikoto is a moon deity. The main text of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* states that the deity born after the sun deity was “the moon deity” (*tsuki no kami* 月神) and notes that “variants give the name as Tsukuyumi no mikoto 月弓尊, Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月夜見尊, and Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月読尊.” The text goes on to say that because this deity’s light was next to that of the sun, Izanaki and Izanami commanded him to reign in tandem with the sun.⁽¹⁴⁾ The first variant of the fifth section states that the deity Tsukuyumi no mikoto 月弓尊 appeared when Izanaki held a bronze mirror in his right hand.⁽¹⁵⁾ The standard interpretation is that the deity name comes

from *tsukiyomi* (“to track the months/moons”), but scholars such as Hashimoto Toshimitsu 橋本利光 argue that the alternative transcriptions Tsukuyumi 月弓 and Tsukuyomi 月夜見 designate deities of different character.⁽¹⁶⁾

Motoori Norinaga sees a connection between the *yomi* of Tsukuyomi no mikoto and that of the Land of Yomi.⁽¹⁷⁾ In his *Sandaikō* 三大考, Hattori Nakatsune 服部中庸 (1757–1824) subsequently expanded this association into an equation of the Land of Yomi with the moon. According to the conventions of ancient phonetic transcription, the element *o* in both *yomi* 読み and Yomi 黄泉 is a *kō*-type vowel sound. However, the *i* in *yomi* 読み is an *otsu*-type vowel sound, whereas if Yomi 黄泉 is an alternate form of *yomo*, the *i* in it would be a *kō*-type. This circumstance makes the link between the terms questionable.

6. “The night realm” (*yoru no osukuni* 夜之食国); “the seas” (*unahara* 海原)

None of the versions of the myths in the *Nihon shoki* incorporate the term *yoru no osukuni* 夜之食国 (“the night realm”). That Tsukuyomi, as the deity of the moon, should be related to “the night” is natural, but the combination of “night” with the term *osukuni* 食国 (“realm”) adds complications. As *osukuni* is generally held to refer to the emperor’s dominion, it is difficult to see its use here in connection with Tsukuyomi as pointing simply to a division between the daytime world and that of the night. The phrase *osukuni no matsurigoto* 食国之政 (“governance of the realm”) appears in the second book of the *Kojiki*, in the episode where Emperor Ōjin 応神 divides duties among his three sons (see the further comment below). Considered in light of that usage, the term *osukuni* may be held to pertain to actual authority over and administration of a domain. Although Tsukuyomi does not play any concrete role within the myth narrative, the assignment to him here of authority over the night realm would seem to bear some intentional connection to the issue that will arise subsequently

of sovereignty over Ashihara no nakatsukuni, the land that will be ruled by Amaterasu's descendants.

The sixth variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* describes “the manifold currents of the blue seas (*aounahara* 滄海原)” as the realm to be ruled by Tsukuyomi.⁽¹⁸⁾ The eleventh variant has Izanaki commanding Susanoo no mikoto to rule over the seas.⁽¹⁹⁾ Compared to these passages in the *Nihon shoki*, the *Kojiki* treats the seas (*unahara* 海原) as an alien land ruled by the sea deity, as exemplified in subsequent passages such as when Toyotamabime 豊玉毗賣 declares that the child of a heavenly deity should not be born in the sea, or when Inahi no mikoto 稻水命, one of the sons of Ukayafukiaezu no mikoto 鵜葺草葺不合命 (the father of Emperor Jinmu 神武), goes into the sea, identified as “the land of his late mother” (that is, the land where Tamayoribime 玉依毗賣, the daughter of the sea deity, dwells).⁽²⁰⁾ It is somewhat ironic that “the seas,” which Susanoo refuses to rule in favor of going to “the land of [his] late mother,” are subsequently identified as “the land of the late mother” of Ukayafukiaezu's sons. Nevertheless, the identification serves to establish that the seas are a domain ruled by the sea deity (Watatsumi no kami) just as Takamanohara is the realm ruled by the heavenly deities.

The *Kojiki* myths go on to depict the evolution of sovereignty over the earthly realm of Ashihara no nakatsukuni as progressing from consolidation of the land by Ōanamuji 大己貴 (Ōkuninushi 大国主) to his yielding of the land, to the descent of the heavenly grandson Ninigi. The omission of Ashihara no nakatsukuni from Izanaki's proclamation dividing the three realms presumably anticipates this subsequent development. A similar situation obtains in the *Nihon shoki* main text's account of the birth of the three noble offspring. It begins with Izanaki and Izanami declaring their wish to bear a ruler of the “earthly realm” (*ame no shita* 天下), but describes them as failing to produce a figure suitable to this task.⁽²¹⁾

Further comment (I): The realm (the night realm). Commentators have

advanced various interpretations of the meaning of the element *osu* figuring in the term *osukuni* (“realm”). The compilers of *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten* take *osu* to be the continuative form of the upper bigrade verb *u* 居 (“to be [in some place]” plus the honorific element *su*. They thus hold it to be an honorific term meaning “to occupy” or “to make one’s own” and see the further meanings of “to drink,” “to eat,” and “to rule” as deriving from that sense.⁽²²⁾ The compilers of the *Nihon shisō taikēi* edition of *Kojiki* see it as an honorific form of “to eat” or “to drink,”⁽²³⁾ while the editors of the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikēi* edition of *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 interpret it as an honorific term meaning “to rule” that derived from practices such as the ceremonial consumption of the first fruits.⁽²⁴⁾ From these meanings the term is held to have further come to carry the sense of “the area or land ruled by the emperor,” or “the land that presents foodstuffs to the emperor.”

Regarding these points, Motoori Norinaga hypothesized that *osukuni* means to rule the earthly realm. *Osu*, he holds, originally meant “to eat,” which in the same fashion as “to see,” “to hear,” and “to know” is an action whereby something is absorbed into the body. From this connection, the terms “knowing” (*shirasu* 知らす), “eating” (*osu* 食す), and “hearing and seeing” (*kikoshimesu* 聞こし看す) all took on the sense of the ruler’s governing of the land.⁽²⁵⁾ Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 agreed that *osu* is an honorific form of “to eat,” but argued that it was not an ancient term. He connects it with the presentation of food offerings to the heavenly deities and emperor, holding that “*osukuni* refers to the land that produces the items consumed” by these entities.⁽²⁶⁾

The expression *osukuni* appears twice in the *Kojiki*, ten times in the *Man’yōshū*, thirty-five times in *senmyō* 宣命 (imperial proclamations) in the *Shoku Nihongi*, four times in *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記, once in the Ōtonohokai 大殿祭 liturgy in the *Engi shiki* 延喜式, and twice in fragments from the *Daidō hongō* 大同本紀 preserved in the early Kamakura *Jingū zōreishū* 神宮雜例集. No examples occur in the *Nihon shoki*.

The two instances in the *Kojiki* occur in the present passage concerning the division of realms between the three noble offspring and in a passage from the section on Emperor Ōjin where he divides responsibilities among his sons, the three princes.⁽²⁷⁾ In the first instance Izanaki allocates the rule of Takamanohara to Amaterasu (who came into existence when he washed his left eye), rule of “the *osukuni* of the night” to Tsukuyomi (who came into existence when he washed his right eye), and rule of the seas to Susanoo (who came into existence when he washed his nose). In the latter instance, Emperor Ōjin allocates governance (*matsurigoto* 政) of the mountains and seas to Prince Ōyamamori 大山守, governance of *osukuni* to Prince Ōsazaki 大雀 (the later Emperor Nintoku 仁徳), and “the heavenly sun succession” (*amatsuhitsugi* 天津日繼) to Prince Ujinowaki iratsuko 宇遲能利紀郎子. In both episodes only one of the three recipients is awarded governance of *osukuni*, and in both cases he is not the grantor’s direct successor. Judging from these common features, it can be assumed that one of these episodes was modeled on the other, and that most likely the later episode served as the model for the earlier one.⁽²⁸⁾ A wooden tablet (*mokkan* 木簡) excavated in 1967 from a site corresponding to the northern outer moat of the Fujiwara Palace 藤原宮 erected by Empress Jitō 持統 carries the inscription *osukuni* 食国, indicating that the term was actually used between the end of the seventh century and the early eighth century.⁽²⁹⁾

The research of Okada Seishi 岡田精司 has been central to theses about the evolution of ideas and practices concerning *osukuni*. He holds that the origin of the notion can be traced to the spring agricultural ritual of “land viewing” (*kunimi* 国見). With the transfer of authority for conduct of such rituals from local chiefs to the heads of small states, the rites evolved into the idea of “occupying the land” (*kunishime* 国占め) and into rituals in which the leaders of regions that lost to Yamato in the process of unification pledged their submission through the presentation of food offerings. In the latter part of the fifth century, at the time

of Emperor Yūryaku 雄略, these offerings became linked to the autumn harvest ritual of the tasting of the first fruits (Niiname no matsuri 新嘗祭), and this ritual came to be restructured as the “*osukuni* rite.” The evolution culminated in the latter half of the seventh century with the establishment of the “grand tasting of the first fruits” (Daijōsai 大嘗祭) as the enthronement rite.⁽³⁰⁾ Subsequent researchers either built on this thesis, first published in 1962, or situated their own views in contrast to it.

In recent years, however, Murakami Mayuko 村上麻佑子 has challenged the assumption that the notion of *osukuni* is rooted in rituals of food offerings. Rather, she argues, the term *osukuni* has the same meaning as Sinitic terms of a similar nature such as *shokuyū* 食邑 (“sustenance villages”) or *shokudo* 食土 (“sustenance land”) and *shokuden* 食田 (“sustenance fields”), which indicate stipendiary lands allocated by the state. Murakami holds that the term *osukuni* points to land whose governance the ruler has entrusted to subordinates. It thus implies a circumscribed sphere of governance.⁽³¹⁾

Previously researchers have drawn attention to the fact that the episode of the division of realms among the three noble offspring refers only to “the night realm” and not “the day realm.” Focus on this issue reflects the premise that *osukuni* represents an area of governance equal to the “earthly realm” (or, “all under heaven,” *ame no shita*). Some researchers have argued that the person of the emperor combined the two elements of effective governing authority over “day affairs” and ritual authority over “the rites of night” and that in the myths this dual character was expressed symbolically by the allocation of the night realm to Tsukuyomi.⁽³²⁾ Others have posited that as “the day realm” was the “earthly realm,” the lack of explicit reference to it in the myths rested on the supposition that the emperor would subsequently assume rule over it as the descendant of the sun.⁽³³⁾ Yet others have proposed that the “night realm” indicated the earth (the land that was the object of governance) at night and that Tsukuyomi was granted

effective responsibility for overseeing the affairs of earth during the night.⁽³⁴⁾

Murakami, however, cites Norinaga's observation, following the views of Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵, that *kuni* ("land") carries the sense of *kagiri* 界限 ("limit," "circumscribe"). Norinaga held accordingly that Amaterasu was granted authority over the entirety of Takamanohara, not just the "day," and that the granting to Tsukuyomi of authority over the "night realm" also served to delimit his jurisdiction.⁽³⁵⁾ Namely, "the night realm" simply indicated the circumscribed sphere of the night compared to Takamanohara as a whole. In this regard, Murakami argues, the term *osukuni* in this context fits the parameters of the similar Sinitic terms described above.⁽³⁶⁾ Her view merits attention.

Kohama Ayumu 小濱歩, Shinto Classics, Ancient Japanese Thought;
Satō Nagato 佐藤長門, Ancient Japanese History

Further comment (II): "The land" (*kuni*). In the myths of the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Fudoki*, the term *kuni* has three dimensions apart from its meaning as the administrative unit "province" (国).⁽³⁷⁾ The first is as a particular region demarcated from others. In his *Kuni tsuchi kō* 久邇門致考 (Thoughts on Land and Earth), Kamo no Mabuchi writes, "*Kuni* means something with limits (*kagiri* 限)."⁽³⁸⁾ In *Kojiki den* Motoori Norinaga states his agreement with Mabuchi: "The term *kuni* carries the meaning of something delimited."⁽³⁹⁾ Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱 likewise writes, "*Kuni* expresses the idea of a certain demarcated area where people reside. The assumption that it is set off by boundaries would appear to be fundamental to its meaning."⁽⁴⁰⁾

A second often-noted dimension of the term *kuni* is that it refers not simply to the land as a geographic unit but to a region where people conduct their lives.⁽⁴¹⁾ Mitani Eiichi 三谷栄一 holds that it incorporates the sense of a fertile, cultivated area.⁽⁴²⁾ Noting references to *kuni* in so-called "land-viewing" (*kunimi*) poems, Okada Seishi argues that *kuni* in the sense found in such poems and as the object

of agricultural rituals indicates an extremely circumscribed area comparable to a local community.⁽⁴³⁾ Kamada Motokazu 鎌田元一 has also emphasized the term's association with communal life.⁽⁴⁴⁾ We should keep in mind, however, that, as the ceremonial act of "land viewing" suggests, *kuni* carries the sense of a totality. It rests on the assumption that the community of people so indicated occupies an area clearly demarcated from that of other such communities. It is different in this regard from the term *sato* ("village," or "native community"). The act of "land viewing" in particular implies the presence of a chief who governs that land. In the world of the myths, that is the deity (or comparable noble figure) who finds, occupies, and governs the land.

Related to this last point, a third dimension of the term *kuni* is its association with rulership. In the *Fudoki*, the term is often used in conjunction with a region identified as having been discovered or developed by the deity or noble figure who governs it. In some instances the boundaries of the *kuni* are described as having been determined through a contest between competing deities, with the deity who claims to have first occupied the land fending off an "outsider."

Apart from these three dimensions of the term *kuni*, it appears in the legends of the Age of Deities section of the *Kojiki* in yet another context, as part of the distinction drawn between Ashihara no nakatsukuni as the present world and the Land of Yomi and Takamanohara as other worlds. Describing the time "when Heaven and Earth first became active," the opening section of the *Kojiki* contrasts "the land . . . still in an immature state" with Takamanohara, the realm of the heavenly deities. This description is a prelude to the account of Izanaki and Izanami giving birth to "the land of the eight great islands" (Ōyashima kuni 大八島国), which in turn is the foundation for the formation of Ashihara no nakatsukuni. The name Ashihara no nakatsukuni first appears in the context of Izanaki's flight from the Land of Yomi. Immediately thereafter the Yomotsu border slope is closed off, making clear that Ashihara no nakatsukuni is the world

inhabited by “the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm,” and that it is set apart from the Land of Yomi, the world of the dead.

Reference to the different other worlds as “lands” also attests to the perception of them as distinct realms. On the occasion of the allocation of realms to the three noble offspring, Susanoo’s father, Izanaki, charges him with rule of the seas, but Susanoo “did not rule the land with which he had been entrusted.” The phrasing shows that the seas were held to be a “land.” When Susanoo subsequently goes up to Takamanohara, Amaterasu declares, “He surely thinks only to seize my land!”⁽⁴⁵⁾ This declaration shows that Takamanohara was also thought to be a “land.” The reference to Takamanohara, the night realm (*yoru no osukuni*), and the seas as “lands” suggests a usage different from that meaning a unit of communal life centered on agriculture. Nevertheless it also emphasizes the idea of a specific region governed by a ruler (deity). At the same time it evokes a more complex universe than that depicted up to this point as comprising “Heaven and Earth” or Takamanohara and an “immature land.” The separation of Ashihara no nakatsukuni and the Land of Yomi together with Izanaki’s allocation of separate governing authorities transforms that earlier simpler universe into one composed of multiple “lands,” each with its own function. Within the world of the *Kojiki* myths the notion of “land” simultaneously took on a more abstract character as a realm held by a particular ruler and subject to the order centered on that ruler. This evolution in the character of the “land” was conjoined as well with the development of the notion of “all under heaven” as the realm under the rule of the emperor.

Kohama Ayumu, Shinto Classics and Ancient Japanese Thought

7. Takehaya susanoo no mikoto 建速須佐之男命

The main text and the second variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* state that Izanaki and Izanami gave birth to Susanoo

no mikoto 素戔鳴尊 (identified in a subvariant as also carrying the names Kamu susanoo no mikoto 神素戔鳴尊 and Haya susanoo no mikoto 速素戔鳴尊) after bearing the sun deity, the moon deity, and the leech child (*hiruko* 蛭児). These versions state as well that Izanaki and Izanami expel Susanoo to Nenokuni 根国 (“the root land”) because of his outrageous (*azukinashi* 無道) behavior. The first variant states that Susanoo appeared when Izanaki turned his head to look behind him.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Take in this deity’s name in the *Kojiki* is held to mean “stalwart” and *haya* to mean “impetuous.” The *Kojiki* initially refers to him in this passage as Takehaya susanoo no mikoto, but then simply as Haya susanoo no mikoto. Based on his examination of word accents in ancient dictionaries, Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民 argues that *susa* derives from the same root as *susabu* (“to grow wild,” “to intensify”) and *susumu* (“to progress”) and that the name thus means “a male deity who pushes forward impetuously.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ This definition may indeed fit Susanoo’s nature in the *Kojiki*, which depicts him as in constant movement from his birth until his departure for Nenokatasu kuni, never remaining in one place. Whether such an interpretation is applicable to Susanoo as described in the *Nihon shoki* and *Fudoki*, however, requires further consideration.

8. Differentiation between 知 and 治

In the initial part of this passage, where Izanaki commands each of his offspring to rule different realms, the verb “to rule” is written consistently with the graph *shirasu* 知. The subsequent part, however, which describes Susanoo’s crying and heedless raging, distinguishes between the graph *shirasu* 知, used in the phrase “The [two other] deities undertook to rule (*shirashimesu* 知看) [their realms] as they were commanded,” and *osamu* 治, used in the immediately following phrase “but Susanoo did not rule (*osamezu* 不治) the land with which he had been entrusted.” In the second and third books of the *Kojiki*, the emperor’s rule of the

realm is always described by the trigraph 治天下 (*ame no shita o osamu*), never as 知天下 (*ame no shita o shirasu*). Nishimiya Kazutami interprets the differentiation between 知 and 治 in the passage at hand as expressing the idea that although Susanoo held authority (*shirasu* 知) over the seas, he did not undertake to govern (*osamu* 治) them.⁽⁴⁸⁾

9. “He cried and raged heedlessly until [he reached adulthood and] his beard grew so long as to cover his chest” (*yatsukahige kokoro saki ni itaru made ni naki isachiki* 八拳頰至于心前啼伊佐知伎也)

Susanoo wept constantly until he reached adulthood. The chronicle of Emperor Suinin 垂仁 uses a similar phrase to describe the peculiarities of the emperor’s son Prince Homuchiwake 本牟智和氣: “This prince was unable to speak properly until his beard grew so long as to cover his chest (*yatsukahige kokorosaki ni itaru made ni makoto towazu* 八拳鬚至于心前真事登波受).”⁽⁴⁹⁾ The section on the village of Misawa 三沢 in the district of Nita 仁多在 the *Izumo no kuni fudoki* 出雲国風土記 uses an analogous expression to describe Ajisuki takahiko 阿遲須伎高日子, the child of Ōnamochi 大穴持 (Ōanamuji): “[This deity] cried night and day and was unable to speak properly until his beard grew eight hands long (*mihige yatsuka ni ouru made* 御須髮八握于生).”⁽⁵⁰⁾ In that they cried constantly and were unable to speak properly until they grew up, Homuchiwake and Ajisuki takahiko may be said to fit the typology of “mute princes,” but Susanoo is different in that he could speak. The Susanoo and Homuchiwake stories have in common the absence of the mother. Whether this is true of the Ajisuki takahiko story as well depends on the interpretation of the word “parent” (*mioya* 御祖) appearing in the sentence following that quoted above. (Most likely it refers to his mother.)⁽⁵¹⁾ A further similarity between Susanoo and Homuchiwake is that in both instances it is the father that acts to resolve the problem at hand: Susanoo’s crying and Homuchiwake’s inability to speak properly.

Another connection between these stories is that Homuchiwake's inability to speak is owing to a curse by the great deity of Izumo (Izumo no ōkami 出雲大神),⁽⁵²⁾ a deity equatable with Ōnamochi no kami, the father of Ajisuki takahiko. Various interpretations have been advanced regarding Homuchiwake's and Ajisuki takahiko's inability to speak. Some take it to indicate a defective spirit; others see them as observing a period of seclusion in preparation for serving as the medium for oracular pronouncements by the deity. The *Kojiki* portrays Susanoo's crying and heedless raging, on the other hand, as evidence of his capacity to bring chaos and disorder to the world.

Based on the similarities between the three stories, Satō Masahide 佐藤正英 has argued that Susanoo behaves as he does because he has been possessed by a vengeful deity (*tatarigami* 祟り神).⁽⁵³⁾ Matsumoto Naoki 松本直樹 similarly suggests that Susanoo's behavior is the manifestation of some kind of divine will and that he is not crying of his own volition.⁽⁵⁴⁾ As the interpretation of Susanoo's behavior in this passage bears on that of the significance of his place within the *Kojiki* myths as a whole, we will defer further exploration of this issue to a later point.

Regarding the graph 頰 used in reference to Susanoo's facial hair, the ancient Chinese dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (100 CE) states that "one meaning of the graph 頰 is 'sidelock' (鬢)." Perhaps we can see the graph as being used here to mean "beard." However, since the same dictionary specifies that the graph 鬢 means "sidelock" (頰髮), probably alternative graphs would better express the image of "a beard so long as to cover the chest." The graphic transcriptions adopted by other *Kojiki* manuscripts include 須 (adopted by the Urabe Kanenagabon 卜部兼永本 manuscript of 1522), an abbreviated form of 鬢 ("beard"). Although this is probably more appropriate, we have retained the Shinpukuji-bon 真福寺本 manuscript's transcription as 頰.

Further comment: The meaning and implications of *isachiru* ("to

howl,” “to rage heedlessly”). In the present *Kojiki* episode, Izanaki assigns different realms to the three noble offspring born at the end of his ablutions and commands them to rule their designated realms.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Upholding this charge, Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi undertake the rule of Takamanohara and the night realm respectively. Susanoo, however, ignores the charge and continues to cry until his beard grows so long as to cover his chest. The several variants of this episode in the *Nihon shoki* render the equivalent passage concerning Susanoo as follows:

1. Next [Izanaki and Izanami] bore Susanoo no mikoto. . . . This deity was bold and brash and did not flinch at cruelty (*yōkan ni shite nin ni yasumi suru koto ari* 勇悍以安忍). He made it a habit to wail (*naku* 哭泣) constantly. (Main text, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁽⁵⁶⁾
2. Susanoo was by nature inclined toward cruelty and destruction (*saga sokonai yaburu koto o konomu* 性好残害). [Izanaki] thus sent him down and had him rule Nenokuni. (First variant, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁽⁵⁷⁾
3. Next [Izanaki and Izanami] bore Susanoo. This deity was by nature malignant (*saga ashiku* 性惡) and inclined toward constantly crying and raging (*nakifutsukumu* 哭恚). (Second variant, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁽⁵⁸⁾
4. By this time Susanoo had already reached adulthood, and his beard had grown so long as to cover his chest. Nevertheless he did not rule the earthly realm (*ame no shita*) and constantly cried and raged (*nakifutsukumi tamau* 啼泣恚恨). (Sixth variant, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁽⁵⁹⁾

The transcriptions in the above passages follow those given in the Shōgakukan *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* edition of *Nihon shoki*. The three passages

that refer to Susanoo crying (1, 3, and 4) notably do not incorporate the term *isachiru* (rage), which the *Kojiki* renders phonetically. This difference, however, is the result of a choice made by the compilers of the SNKBZ edition of *Nihon shoki*. The versions included in *Kōhon Nihon shoki* 校本日本書紀, a variorum edition that is based on the 1669 woodblock printed edition and collates readings found in early manuscripts, show that many of those manuscripts do incorporate the term *isachiru* or its corollary, *isatsu*. The *Kōhon Nihon shoki* edition reads the graphs 哭泣 in (1) as *nakiisatsu[zu]ru*, and the graphs 啼泣 in (4) as *nakiisachi*.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The Iwanami *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* edition of *Nihon shoki*, which puts emphasis on the early manuscript readings, likewise adopts these readings in both instances.⁽⁶¹⁾ The late Edo commentary *Shoki shikkai* 書紀集解, on the other hand, incorporates a citation to the *Shuowen*, noting that it defines 哭 as meaning “to wail loudly” and 泣 as meaning “to cry with a smaller sound while shedding tears.”⁽⁶²⁾

Considering these examples, there would seem to be some basis for assigning a separate reading to each graph in the manner of the early manuscripts rather than allocating one reading to two graphs that are presumed to represent a single word, as does SNKBZ (the issue, in other words, of how to read 哭泣 and 啼泣). Yet, questions may be raised as to the appropriateness of following the early manuscripts in their reading of 泣 as *isachiru*. As Yamaguchi Yoshinori 山口佳紀 points out, although the early *Nihon shoki* manuscripts interpret *isachiru* to mean “to cry,” the *Kojiki* phrasing consistently distinguishes between the act of “crying” (*naku*) and *isachiru*.⁽⁶³⁾

Commentaries on the *Kojiki* have advanced three interpretations of the meaning of *isachiru*:

1. To stamp one's feet and cry (Motoori Norinaga, Nakajima Etsuji 中島悦次, Tsugita Uruu 次田潤)

2. To wail, crying torrentially (Shikida Toshiharu, the 1945 *Kokumin koten zensho* 国民古典全書 version, and many others)
3. To refuse to heed others and fuss willfully, with *isa* conveying the sense of “refuse,” 否 (Nishimiya Kazutami, in his *Shincho Nihon koten shūsei* commentary)

Although the second interpretation is more widely accepted, considered in the light of Susanoo’s behavior, the third seems the most appropriate. This interpretation bears also on the issue of how to read the double graphs of the *Nihon shoki* passages. The notion of *isachiru* in the third sense cannot be derived from any of the graphs “to cry” (哭, 啼, 泣) used in those passages. It may be more relevant to take note, as does *Shoki shikkai*, of examples from Chinese texts of the double graphs 哭泣 and 啼泣 used to mean “cry” or “wail” and on that basis to read them simply as *naku*, as do the compilers of the SNKBZ edition.⁽⁶⁴⁾ *Isachiru* may be seen more properly as a distinctive expression particular to the *Kojiki* with its phonetic modes of transcription.

Reconsidered from this perspective, what is the significance of Susanoo’s refusal to heed Izanaki’s command as portrayed by the *Kojiki*? As seen in the passages from the *Nihon shoki* quoted above, the first three describe him as being cruel or malignant by nature. The fourth (fifth section, sixth variant), like the *Kojiki*, does not mention such attributes. Instead, again similarly to the *Kojiki*, it focuses on his age and appearance. These differences match up with Kitagawa Kazuhide’s 北川和秀 demarcation of two lineages of *Nihon shoki* passages, which he labels respectively as “Amaterasu-lineage” passages and “sun-deity (*hi no kami*)-lineage” passages, and with the correspondence he notes between the “Amaterasu-lineage” passages and the *Kojiki* narrative.⁽⁶⁵⁾ We may also observe that Susanoo’s expression of longing for his mother, Izanami, figures in the “Amaterasu-lineage” *Nihon shoki* fifth section, sixth variant but not the “sun-

deity-lineage” versions.

Susanoo’s fundamental characteristic as depicted in the *Kojiki* and the “Amaterasu-lineage” *Nihon shoki* fifth section, sixth variant may thus be said to be his “extreme childishness” rather than an intrinsically evil nature.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Another distinctive feature of the Susanoo myth in the *Kojiki* is that it provides an overview of his entire life. Beginning with his expulsion by his father, his life is marked by wandering, from Takamanohara to Izumo and then to Nenokatasu kuni. Chased away into an unfamiliar frontier land, he gains a wife through battling a fearsome serpent, and then entrusts his daughter and weapons to the figure who will undertake a new consolidation of the land. The overflowing vitality and adventurous that carries him on this path is the other side of his inability to do obediently what he is told.

Inoue Hayato 井上隼人, Early Japanese Literature

10. “The voices of malignant deities resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and all manner of calamities arose from the myriad things” (*ashiki kami no koe, sabae no gotoku mina michi, yorozu no mono no wazawai kotogotoku okoriki* 悪神之音如狭蠅皆満万物妖悉発)

The sentence describes the state of disorder brought on the world by Susanoo’s failure to rule the seas and his constant crying. The world falls into a similarly chaotic state when Amaterasu subsequently hides in the Heavenly Rock Cave.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Yajima Izumi 矢嶋泉 argues that in both cases the disorder is brought about by a deity abandoning governance of the realm over which he or she is supposed to rule.⁽⁶⁸⁾

This passage speaks of “calamities of the myriad things” (*yorozu no mono no wazawai* 万物妖) whereas the Heavenly Rock Cave episode refers simply to “all manner of calamities” (*yorozu no wazawai* 万妖). Abe Shinji 阿部眞司 holds that

the difference reflects the different character of the heavenly and earthly realms.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Taniguchi Masahiro 谷口雅博 sees the *mono* (“things”) mentioned here as the initial stirrings of inchoate entities that will subsequently take more specific form as the deity Ōmononushi no kami 大物主神.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Further comment: Calamities of things (*mono no wazawai* 物妖). Susanoo does not undertake the rule of the seas that Izanaki entrusted to him and continues to cry. His crying is such that the verdant mountains wither and the rivers and seas dry up. Further, “the voices of malignant deities (*ashiki kami* 悪神) resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and all manner of calamities arose from the myriad things (*yorozu no mono no wazawai* 万物妖).” (Statement 1) As has often been pointed out, a similar expression occurs in a later section. When Amaterasu, startled by Susanoo’s “playing the victor,” hides in the Heavenly Rock Cave, darkness envelops both Takamanohara and Ashihara no nakatsukuni, and “the voices of the myriad deities (*yorozu no kami* 万神) resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and all manner of calamities (*yorozu no wazawai* 万妖) arose.” (Statement 2)⁽⁷¹⁾ The two statements closely resemble each other, and the situations described were clearly conceived of as analogous. Presumably similar circumstances were held to underly both.

When we compare the two statements, however, the first speaks of “malignant deities” and “calamities arising from the myriad things,” whereas the second speaks of “the myriad deities” and “all manner of calamities.” They differ as to whether or not they speak of “malignant” deities and calamities that arise from “things.” Focusing on this point, Mibu Sachiko 壬生幸子 and Abe Shinji both hold that the “malignant deities” and “things” are entities particular to Ashihara no nakatsukuni and that they do not reappear in the Heavenly Rock Cave episode because its setting is Takamanohara.⁽⁷²⁾ It is plausible to see “malignant deities” and “things” in statement 1 as expressions used to emphasize the state of

disorder prevalent in Ashihara no nakatsukuni, but one might also understand “myriad deities” and “all manner of calamities” in statement 2 as summing up a state of affairs that affects Ashihara no nakatsukuni as well as Takamanohara.

Yajima Izumi argues that the circumstance responsible for “voices” resounding everywhere and “calamities” arising is that “what should be governed is not being governed.” He raises questions about the traditional view that Susanoo’s crying caused the situation described in statement 1. Rather, he argues, it was the result of “Susanoo not governing the seas that he was supposed to govern.”⁽⁷³⁾ The same argument may be applied to statement 2. The calamities it describes arose because Amaterasu secluded herself in the Rock Cave (in other words, abandoned governance of Takamanohara).

We should also keep in mind that Izanaki assigned Susanoo to rule not Ashihara no nakatsukuni but the seas, and it is rule of the latter that Susanoo fails to undertake. As Mibu and Abe point out, however, the malignant deities and calamities arising from the myriad things are connected with Ashihara no nakatsukuni. In other words, the absence of rule of the seas affects Ashihara no nakatsukuni just as the absence of rule of Takamanohara affects it (in the latter instance light disappears from the earth whereas in the former, water disappears). Considered from a slightly different angle, the fact that Susanoo’s crying results specifically in the withering of the verdant mountains and the drying up of rivers and seas suggests an overlap between “rule over the seas” and “rule over the mountains and uplands, rivers and seas,” regions that from the perspective of Ashihara no nakatsukuni were part of the otherworld or bordered on it. The violent raging of a deity in the otherworld would bring “calamities of things” to Ashihara no nakatsukuni.

Rather than seeing the destructive power of Susanoo’s violent crying as the direct cause of the “calamities of things,” the situation might better be understood as involving a chain of events. The violence of Susanoo’s crying is

itself an expression of the vehemence of his refusal to undertake the governance entrusted to him. The refusal to oversee the proper administration of the realm of water brings about the devastation of the mountains and rivers, which has a deleterious effect on Ashihara no nakatsukuni and triggers the “voices of malignant deities” and “calamities of the myriad things.” At this stage in the progression of the myths Ashihara no nakatsukuni is a kind of void, with as yet no proper governor of its own and thus no one able to manage and pacify “things.” Is not the situation that arises there the consequence of this combination of factors?

Based on her examination of the forty-five instances of the term “things” (*mono* 物) in the *Kojiki*, Mibu Sachiko argues that “*mono* carry a kind of potency. When stimulated by something, this potency is activated and can become a force that leads to the production of a deity on the one hand or brings calamity on the other.”⁽⁷⁴⁾ An example of the former is the phrase in the opening passage of the *Kojiki* that states: “A thing sprouted like a reed shoot, and from it there came into existence a deity . . .” The *Nihon shoki* similarly speaks of deities emerging from “a certain thing” (*hitotsu no mono* 一物).⁽⁷⁵⁾ If this potency moves in a negative direction, it can bring about disaster. In his analysis of the character of Ōmononushi no kami, Masuda Katsumi 益田勝美 describes *mono* as possessing the spiritual power to cause pestilence.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Mibu, who sees Ashihara no nakatsukuni as a place where “things” can rampage and cause “calamities” if aroused, interprets Ōmononushi no kami as the leader of such things.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Taniguchi Masahiro takes these interpretations a step further. In his view, the *Kojiki* presents the “calamities of things” aroused through Susanoo’s crying as continuing to rampage in Ashihara no nakatsukuni thereafter. Consequently, bringing order to the earthly realm required “a deity that could bring things under order” (Ōmononushi no kami).⁽⁷⁸⁾

In book 2 of the *Kojiki*, in the chronicle of Emperor Sujin 崇神, the emperor is able to bring an end to the pestilence plaguing the land by having Ōtataneko

意富多々泥古 conduct rites of pacification for Ōmononushi no kami as the leader of *mono*.⁽⁷⁹⁾ This episode indicates that the pacification of “things” was seen as fundamental to preserving order in the land and that the method of pacification was to conduct rites on behalf of those things or their leader. A similar notion can be detected in the episode of the creation of the land by Ōkuninushi in book 1. “The deity of the upper reaches of Mt. Mimoro” (*Mimoroyama no ue ni imasu kami* 坐御諸山上神), in other words, Ōmononushi, comes from across the sea and tells Ōkuninushi that to carry out successfully the task of land creation he should offer the deity proper worship. In response to Ōkuninushi’s query as to how to do this, the deity calls for Ōkuninushi to offer him worship “on the upper reaches of the verdant eastern range of mountains in Yamato.”⁽⁸⁰⁾

These episodes indicate that the figure responsible for the land was expected to conduct rites for “things” or the leader of “things.” The performance of such rites was the concrete means to establish and maintain order within the land, in other words, to carry out the function of ruling. In the present episode the abandonment of governance means the absence of a figure to take responsibility for the land and simultaneously the absence of the rites that such a figure should perform.

Kohama Ayumu, Shinto Classics, Ancient Japanese Thought

11. “The land of my late mother, Nenokatasu kuni” (*haha ga kuni nenokatasu kuni* 妣国根之堅州国)

According to the Chinese classic *The Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 礼記), the graph *hi* 妣 (read here as *haha*, “mother”) indicates a deceased mother.⁽⁸¹⁾ Since the *Kojiki* portrays Susanoo as a deity who emerged from Izanaki’s nose, one might assume that he has no mother as such. The common interpretation would nevertheless seem to be that by “mother” he means Izanami, his father’s spouse. We might note that ancient Japanese texts do not necessarily use the graph 妣 to mean literally “deceased” mother in the Chinese sense. The *Kojiki* includes one further

instance of the expression “the land of my late mother.” At the end of book 1, Mikenu no mikoto 御毛沼命, one of the four offspring of Ukayafukiaezu no mikoto, “jumped over the waves and went to Tokoyo no kuni 常世国 (the eternal land).” The next child, Inahi no mikoto 稻氷命, then “entered the seas, the land of his late mother (*haha ga kuni* 妣国).” This is in fact the final sentence of book 1.⁽⁸²⁾ Since Inahi no mikoto’s mother was Tamayoribime (the daughter of the sea deity), who had returned to the seas after her true shape as a sea creature had been revealed when she gave birth, “the seas” was indeed his mother’s land. In this case, the graph 妣 indicates “mother from another realm,” not “deceased” mother. In addition, neither of the two instances of 妣 found in the *Man’yōshū* mean specifically “deceased” mother:

1. I am my father’s beloved child. I am also my mother’s beloved child (*haha toji ni are wa manago zo* 妣刀自尔吾者愛兒叙)! (MYS 1022: one of the poems composed by Isonokami no Otomaro 石上乙麻呂 from his time in Tosa 土佐 Province)⁽⁸³⁾
2. You, who probably came here thinking that you would return to your native land and see your parents (*chichi haha mo* 父妣毛) and your wife . . . (MYS 1800: a poem composed upon seeing a dead person while crossing the Ashigara 足柄 pass)⁽⁸⁴⁾

Seen in this light, the word *haha* 妣 uttered by Susanoo should probably also be interpreted to mean “mother from another realm.”

If the “mother” to which Susanoo refers is taken to be Izanami, Nenokatasu kuni 根之堅州国 (the “bedrock root land”), identified as that mother’s land, might be assumed to be the same as the Land of Yomi. Opinions are divided as to whether these two realms set apart from the present realm should be seen as a single region or two different ones. The fact that the exit from both is the Yomotsu

border slope (Yomotsu hirasaka 黄泉比良坂) allows for the possibility that the two names refer to the same place, but the *Kojiki* narrative does not otherwise support such an interpretation. The *Kojiki* depicts the Land of Yomi as the realm to which the mortals who dwell in Ashihara no nakatsukuni go when they die and Nenokatasu kuni as the setting where Susanoo commands Ōkuninushi (Ōnamuji) to become the ruler of Ashihara no nakatsukuni and directs him to build a palace on earth. If we focus on these points, it would seem that the *Kojiki* presents Nenokatasu kuni as the foundation that supports Ashihara no nakatsukuni. We will discuss the issue further in the account of Ōnamuji's visit to Nenokatasu kuni.

12. “Expelled him with a divine expulsion” (*kamuyarai ni yaraitamaiki* 神夜良比尔夜良比賜也)

The verb *yarau* やらふ appears to be composed of *yaru* 遣る (“to dispatch”) plus *fu* (“to repeat” or “to continue”). When iterated as here in the expression *yarai ni yarau*, it takes on the meaning “to banish.” The *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* incorporate several notable differences in their accounts of the action taken regarding Susanoo. The second variant of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* includes the phrase “at last, [they] dispelled [Susanoo], using the principle of divine expulsion” (*tsui ni kamuyarai no kotowari o mochite harau* 遂以神逐之理逐之).⁽⁸⁵⁾ This wording might be taken to indicate an understanding of *kamuyarai* as a particular method of “dispelling.” In the main text of the fifth section, Izanaki and Izanami command Susanoo: “You must go far away, to Nenokuni 根国 (“the root land”)!”⁽⁸⁶⁾ The first variant, which describes Susanoo as “by nature inclined toward cruelty and destruction,” goes on to relate that Izanaki “thus sent him down to rule (*shirashimetamau* 治) Nenokuni.”⁽⁸⁷⁾ The second variant describes Izanaki and Izanami as telling Susanoo: “Therefore you should rule (*shirasu beshi* 可以馭) the extremely distant Nenokuni.”⁽⁸⁸⁾

In short, the first and second variants recount Susanoo's journey to Nenokuni as originating from a command by Izanaki or by Izanaki and Izanami acting together, and the two variants depict Nenokuni as the domain that Susanoo is to rule, as evidenced by the use of the graphs 治 and 驅. At the beginning of the main text of the following sixth section, Susanoo himself declares: "In accordance with [my parents'] command (*mikotonori* 勅), I will now set off for Nenokuni."⁽⁸⁹⁾ His words confirm that his journey to that realm is something formally commanded by Izanaki and Izanami. In the sixth variant of the fifth section, Izanaki states: "Go where your heart takes you!" (*kokoro no manima ni ine* 可以任情行).⁽⁹⁰⁾ Since Susanoo's "heart" tells him to "follow my mother to Nenokuni," the implication is that Izanaki grants approval for Susanoo's journey there. By contrast, the *Kojiki* contains no indication that Susanoo went to Nenokatasu kuni at Izanaki's command or direction.

The subsequent development of the *Kojiki* narrative points up this difference between the two texts. Having been expelled by his father, Susanoo goes up to Takamanohara to seek the support of his sister, Amaterasu. There he is again "expelled with a divine expulsion" (*kamuyarai yaraiki* 神夜良比夜良比岐).⁽⁹¹⁾ The *Kojiki* thus does not provide any explicit affirmation of the legitimacy of Susanoo's descent to the land of Izumo or his subsequent move to Nenokatasu kuni.

13. "[Izanaki no ōkami] dwells in Taga in Ōmi" (*Ōmi no Taga ni imasu* 坐淡海之多賀也)

The Dōka-bon 道果本, Dōshō-bon 道祥本, and Shun'yu-bon 春瑜本 manuscripts have Awaji 淡路 instead of Ōmi 淡海. The main text of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* likewise states that Izanaki "established a retirement hall in the land of Awaji 淡路, where he lived in seclusion."⁽⁹²⁾ The *Engi shiki jinmyōchō* 延喜式神名帳 lists an Awaji Izanaki 淡路

伊佐奈伎 Shrine in the section on Awaji Province.⁽⁹³⁾ These points, along with the fact that the myth of Izanaki and Izanami giving birth to the land is set on Awaji Island 淡路島 have led some commentators to argue that Awaji was the original locale named in this passage. However, the *Kojiki* generally uses the graphs 淡道 to transcribe the name Awaji, and both the Shinpukuji-bon and the Kanenaga-bon manuscripts adopt the digraph 淡海 here. We have thus chosen to follow their usage.⁽⁹⁴⁾

As for Taga, the *Engi shiki jinmyōchō* lists a Taga 多何 Shrine, enshrining two deities (*niza* 二座), in the section on Ōmi Province 近江国, district of Inukami 犬上. It is unclear why the *Kojiki* explicitly describes Izanaki as enshrined (“dwells”) in “Taga in Ōmi.”

Endnotes

- (1) See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 21–22, 24, 77–79; 2 (2016), pp. 13–14 (Japanese original); 5 (2019), pp. 273–76, 279; 7 (2021), pp. 279–80 (English translation).
- (2) See *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 23–25, 60–66 (Japanese original); KSKK 14 (2022), pp. 199–207 (English translation).
- (3) See Taniguchi, “Kojiki shinwa ni okeru kuni no seisei.”
- (4) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 35–37.
- (5) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–38.
- (6) See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 21–23 (Japanese original); 5 (2019), pp. 277–79 (English translation).
- (7) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 98–99.
- (8) Suzuki, *Kojiki no bunshō to sono kyōju*, pp. 13–33.
- (9) See the discussion in *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 61–62 (Japanese original); KSKK 14 (2022), pp. 203–204.
- (10) Shikida Toshiharu, *Kojiki hyōchū*, p. 351.
- (11) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 291.
- (12) Aoki Kazuo et al., *Kojiki*, p. 42.
- (13) See Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 42–43, 52.
- (14) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–37.

- (15) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (16) Hashimoto, “Nihon shoki no tsuki no kami.”
- (17) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 238. See *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), p. 11 (Japanese original); 7 (2021), p. 286 (English translation).
- (18) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 50–51.
- (19) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 58–59.
- (20) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 134–35, 138. For further discussion of the *Kojiki*’s treatment of the seas, see Inoue, “Kojiki ni okeru ‘unahara’ no igi.”
- (21) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 34–37.
- (22) *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten*, *Jōdaihen*, p. 834.
- (23) Aoki Kazuo et al., *Kojiki*, p. 328.
- (24) Aoki Kazuo et al., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, p. 4n6.
- (25) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 292.
- (26) Orikuchi, “Daijōsai no hongī,” p. 177.
- (27) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, p. 260.
- (28) See Okada, *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, pp. 42–44.
- (29) For the *mokkan*, see among other sources the Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūsho 奈良文化財研究所 *mokkan* database.
- (30) Okada, *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, pp. 13–57.
- (31) Murakami, “Kodai Nihon ni okeru ‘osukuni’ no shisō.”
- (32) Tokura, *Kojiki: Kodai ōken no katari no shikumi*, pp. 5–25.
- (33) Sakurai, “‘Osukuni’ no hyōgen to daijōsai.”
- (34) Yamazaki, “Tsukuyomi no mikoto to yoru no osukuni.”
- (35) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 292.
- (36) Murakami, “Kodai Nihon ni okeru ‘osukuni’ no shisō,” p. 104.
- (37) This further comment is an abridged and paraphrased version of the Japanese original. For the latter, see *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 38–43.
- (38) Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kuni tsuchi kō*, vol. 11, p. 295.
- (39) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 292.
- (40) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 81.
- (41) See, for instance, Matsumura, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, vol. 3, chapter 3.
- (42) Mitani, *Nihon bungaku no minzokugakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 194–98.
- (43) Okada, *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, pp. 202–203.
- (44) Kamada, *Ritsuryō kōminsei no kenkyū*, pp. 101–18.

- (45) See below, p. 284.
- (46) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–39.
- (47) Nishimiya, *Kojiki no kenkyū*, p. 352.
- (48) Nishimiya, *Kojiki no kenkyū*, p. 259.
- (49) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 204–205.
- (50) Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 250–51.
- (51) The SNKBZ edition of the *Izumo no kuni fudoki*, on the other hand, interprets *mioya* as referring to Ōnamochi. See Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 251–52. (TN)
- (52) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 206–207.
- (53) Satō, *Kojiki shinwa o yomu*, pp. 91, 99.
- (54) Matsumoto, *Kojiki shinwa ron*, pp. 257–61.
- (55) This further comment is an abridged version of the Japanese original. For the latter, see *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 43–47.
- (56) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–37.
- (57) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (58) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (59) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 50–51.
- (60) *Kōhon Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 286–87, 505–506.
- (61) Sakamoto et al., *Nihon shoki*, NKBT 67, pp. 88–89, 96–97.
- (62) Kawamura Hidene et al., *Shoki shikkai*, vol. 2, p. 47.
- (63) In Nakada et al., *Kogo daijiten*, sv. *isachiru*, p. 110.
- (64) See Kawamura Hidene et al., *Shoki shikkai*, vol. 2, pp. 47, 68.
- (65) Kitagawa, “Kojiki jōkan to Nihon shoki jindaikan to no kankei.” Kitagawa makes this demarcation on the basis of elements and wording shared among the variants and argues that the commonalities and differences between the text lineages reflect their origin in different source compilations. He adopts the labels “Amaterasu lineage” and “sun-deity lineage” because the patterns of commonality and divergence that support the postulation of two types of source texts are particularly clear in versions in sections five, six, and seven that use the name Amaterasu, on the one hand, and versions that do not use this name and refer instead to the “sun deity,” on the other. (TN)
- (66) Matsumoto, *Kojiki shinwa ron*, p. 259.
- (67) See *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 16–18 (Japanese original); KKSJK 15 (2023), p. 231 (English translation).

- (68) Yajima, “Ashiki kami no koe.”
- (69) Abe, *Ōmononushi no kami denshō ron*, p. 28.
- (70) Taniguchi, “‘Kojiki’ shinwa no naka no saigai.”
- (71) *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 16, 18 (Japanese original); KSKK 15 (2023), p. 231 (English translation).
- (72) Abe, *Ōmononushi no kami denshō ron*, p. 27; Mibu, “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu.”
- (73) Yajima, “Ashiki kami no koe,” p. 72.
- (74) Mibu, “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu,” p. 112.
- (75) See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 9, 13–14 (Japanese original); 3 (2018), pp. 297–98, 306 (English translation).
- (76) Masuda, *Higi no shima*, pp. 179–209.
- (77) Mibu, “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu,” p. 113.
- (78) Taniguchi, “‘Kojiki’ shinwa no naka no saigai.”
- (79) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 182–83.
- (80) KSKK 14 (2022), pp. 119–21.
- (81) Takeuchi, *Raiki*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75.
- (82) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, p. 138.
- (83) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 156.
- (84) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 443.
- (85) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 82–83.
- (86) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–37.
- (87) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (88) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.
- (89) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 60–61.
- (90) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 50–51.
- (91) See *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 30–31.
- (92) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 60–61.
- (93) 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).
- (94) For further discussion of this issue, see Aoki Kigen, *Nihon shinwa no kisoteki kenkyū*, pp. 209–10.

Chapter 15: Susanoo Goes Up to the Heavens

Thereupon, Hayasusanoo no mikoto said, "If that is so, I will [first] seek (1) Amaterasu's [approval] and [then] set out for [Nenokatsu kuni]."

When he ascended to the heavens, the mountains and rivers all thundered and the entire land trembled. Hearing this, Amaterasu was startled. "My brother's coming up here cannot be with a good intent," she declared. "He surely thinks only to seize my land." Thereupon she undid her hair and bound it into side buns. Taking long cords strung with myriad large curved jewels, she wound them around the buns on the left and right sides of her head and adorned her hair and her left and right wrists with them. She attached a quiver holding a thousand arrows at her back, and a quiver holding five hundred arrows at her side (2). [On her forearm] she fixed a mighty (3) bamboo arm guard. She brandished her bow, holding it at the ready. She stamped on the hard ground until both [legs] were buried up to the thigh (4), kicking up the earth as if it were light snow, shouting as a mighty man. Shouting and stamping valiantly, she awaited Susanoo.

"Why have you come up here?" she demanded.

"I have no bad intent (5)," Susanoo replied. "When the great deity [Izanaki] asked me why I cried and raged, I said: 'I cry because I wish to go to the land of my late mother, Nenokatsu kuni.' 'You may not live in this land!' he then declared, and forthwith he expelled me with a divine expulsion. I only came up here to seek [your approval] for my setting off. I have no other intent."

Amaterasu thereupon declared, "How can I know that your intent (5) is pure and bright?"

Susanoo replied, "Let us have a contest of oaths (6) and bear offspring."

Text Notes

1. “Seek” (*kou* 請)

The *Kojiki* contains fifteen instances of the graph 請. Depending on the instance it has been read both as *kou*, meaning to seek something from another party, and as *mōsu*, meaning to report something. Since the time of Norinaga, most commentaries have adopted the reading *mōsu* here, interpreting the passage as meaning that Susanoo is stating that he will take leave of his sister Amaterasu.⁽¹⁾ The context in this case, however, is that after being banished by his father, Izanaki, Susanoo ascends to the heavens to seek Amaterasu’s approval for his going to Nenokatsu kuni. Thus here it would seem more appropriate to adopt the reading *kou*.⁽²⁾

2. “At [her] back” / “at [her] side” (*sobira* / *hira* 曾毗良 · 比良)

Most commentators agree that the word *sobira* 曾毗良 consists of the elements *so* 背 (“back”) and *hira* (“cliff” / “flat surface”) and thus means “back.” However, interpretations of *hira* 比良 vary, ranging from “belly” to “chest,” “side,” or “flank.” Yamaguchi Yoshinori and Kōnosshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光 hypothesize that *hira* may indicate a section of armor made of plates of metal or leather, with the rear part called *sobira* and the front *hira*, and that Amaterasu is described as attaching quivers to both.⁽³⁾ It is difficult to assess the validity of this interpretation. On the other hand, archaeological sources suggest that it was uncommon for warriors to attach quivers to both back and side, raising questions as to the implications of Amaterasu being described as having done so. Amaterasu’s adorning of various parts of her body with multiple strings of jewels is likely related to the following contest of oaths episode, in which the jewels figure. But the exaggerated embellishment of her appearance with both multiple strings of jewels and two quivers may also have carried some ritual significance.

The main text of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon*

shoki states that Amaterasu “attached quivers holding a thousand arrows and five hundred arrows at her back (*sobira* 背).” The first variant states that “[she] attached a quiver at her back (*sobira* 背上).” Neither describes Amaterasu as attaching quivers to both *sobira* and *hira*.⁽⁴⁾ The compilers of the SNKBZ edition of *Nihon shoki* take the description of Amaterasu’s warrior garb as a hyperbolic expression intended to convey that she adorned herself with as many jewels as possible and carried as many arrows as possible so as to overwhelm her opponent.⁽⁵⁾

On the other hand, the *Kojiki* phrasing of this passage, along with that of the subsequent contest of oaths episode and that of the description of the deities’ actions when Amaterasu hides herself in the Heavenly Rock Cave, is highly rhythmic and dynamic, suggesting elements from a tradition of oral recitation. It thus may be more appropriate to see the phrasing in this passage as connected to a ritual background, rather than simply hyperbolic.

Further comment (I): Amaterasu’s martial garb as depicted in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Researchers have long pointed out the close similarity between certain passages in the first book of the *Kojiki* and the Age of the Deities chapters of the *Nihon shoki*.⁽⁶⁾ The resemblances between the description of Amaterasu’s martial attire in this passage and the main text of the equivalent sixth section of the *Nihon shoki* are particularly striking and may be said to point to a close connection between the two accounts. A comparison of the two shows the following:

Kojiki

Thereupon she undid her hair and bound it into side buns. Taking long cords strung with myriad large curved jewels, she wound them around the buns on the left and right sides of her head and adorned her hair and her left and right wrists with them. She attached a quiver holding a thousand arrows at her back, and a quiver holding five hundred arrows at her side.

[On her forearm] she fixed a mighty bamboo arm guard. She brandished her bow, holding it at the ready. She stamped on the hard ground until both [legs] were buried up to the thigh, kicking up the earth as if it were light snow, shouting as a mighty man. Shouting and stamping valiantly, she awaited Susanoo.

Nihon shoki main text

Thereupon she tied her hair in side buns and fastened her skirt (*mimo* 裳) together as a *hakama* 袴 (A). She then took long cords strung with myriad curved jewels and wound them around the buns and adorned her hair and left and right wrists with them. She attached quivers holding a thousand arrows and five hundred arrows at her back. On her forearm she fixed a mighty resounding arm guard. She brandished her bow, holding it at the ready, and gripped the pommel of her sword (B). She stamped on the hard ground until her legs were buried up to the thigh, kicking up the earth as if it were light snow. She shouted as a mighty man and berated [Susanoo] with a mighty wrath (C). Confronting Susanoo directly, she accosted him.⁽⁷⁾

In this passage we see that although virtually every descriptive element found in the *Kojiki* version occurs also in the *Nihon shoki* main text, several elements are unique to the latter. These are the elements demarcated above as A, B, and C. We cannot draw any immediate conclusions from this about the chronological sequence of the two versions. However, a notable aspect of the elements particular to the *Nihon shoki* is that each appears to be a rhetorical embellishment added to the preceding phrase to create a parallel construction. We cannot find other examples of the wording seen in A, which concerns the special circumstances of Amaterasu garbing herself as a male, but we do see phrasing similar to B and C in other *Nihon shoki* passages.

One is the passage from the chronicle of Emperor Jinmu where Jinmu's chief aide Michi no omi 道臣 confronts the traitorous E-Ukashi 兄猾 (the elder Ukashi). In words similar to C, Michi no omi is described as "berating [E-Ukashi] wrathfully" (*takebikoroite* 詰憤). Similar to B, he also "grasps his sword and draws his bow."⁽⁸⁾ A second example of parallel phrasing involving a sword and bow occurs in the chronicle of Empress Jingū 神功. Here Jingū's minister Takeuchi no sukune 武内宿禰 uses a trick to defeat the traitorous Prince Oshikuma 忍熊王 in which he calls for both sides to "cut their bowstrings and ungird their swords."⁽⁹⁾ Parallel phrasing involving a sword and bow is found as well in *Man'yōshū* poems 199 and 478.

The parallel phrasing involving a sword and bow seen in phrase B can thus be said to be a quite standard rhetorical device. In comparison to the variants of the *Nihon shoki* sixth section, swords are not an important part of the main text narrative as such. The variants put emphasis on swords as the source of deities produced by Amaterasu and Susanoo in the following contest of oaths and describe Amaterasu as girding herself with several swords from which offspring are produced. By contrast, the main text version of the contest of oaths makes no reference to the sword mentioned in B and does not trace the origin of any deity to a sword carried by Amaterasu. The reference to a sword in B is thus in effect a non sequitur, and its inclusion suggests that it was added for purely rhetorical reasons.

The *Kojiki* equivalents to the passages from the chronicles of Emperor Jinmu and Empress Jingū do not incorporate the parallel phrasing seen in the *Nihon shoki*. In the E-Ukashi passage, Michi no omi and Ōkume 大久米 "grip the hilts of their swords, brandish their spears, and set their arrows." In the Prince Oshikuma passage, a loyal commander tricks Oshikuma by "cutting his bowstring and pretending to surrender."⁽¹⁰⁾

If, as various earlier researchers have argued, we can posit that both the

Kojiki and *Nihon shoki* drew from an earlier source text, the *Kojiki* version of the passages considered here can presumably be said to reflect more faithfully the features of that original source.

Ono Asami 小野諒巳, Ancient Japanese Literature

Further comment (II): Amaterasu's martial garb. When Amaterasu confronts Susanoo in Takamanohara, she presents herself in male garb, attaches to herself quivers and an arm guard, and carries a bow. In the *Kojiki*, it should be noted, her martial equipment consists only of a bow and arrows and does not include a sword. A further point deserving attention is the styles of quiver mentioned. If we adopt the interpretation that *sobira* means “back” and *hira* “side,” “She attached a quiver holding a thousand arrows at her back (*sobira*) and a quiver holding five hundred arrows at her side (*hira*).” Viewed from an archaeological perspective, this description indicates that she simultaneously attached to herself two different styles of quiver, associated with different periods.

Archaeologists categorize the type of quiver worn on the back as *yuki* 鞆. Arrows were inserted in such quivers with the arrowhead up and the fletching (feathers) down. Examples from the early Kofun period dating from the first half of the fourth century have been found in the Yukinoyama 雪野山 tumulus in Shiga Prefecture. Clay haniwa reproductions of such quivers in combination with shields appeared from the latter half of the fourth century and were placed along the top of tumuli, a practice that continued into the fifth century. At the keyhole-shaped Ishiyama 石山 tumulus in Mie Prefecture, haniwa quivers were placed on the round section at the rear where the deceased was interred as if to demarcate it. Presumably the haniwa quivers were intended to serve as an outer line of defense protecting the corpse.

By contrast, archaeologists categorize the type of quiver worn at the side as *yanagui* 胡籛. In this type of quiver the arrows were inserted with the arrowhead

down and the fletching up. A new style transmitted from the Korean peninsula in the fifth century, it was associated with mounted-horseback archery. Large numbers of such quivers are found as burial items throughout the archipelago from the latter half of the fifth century and continuing into the sixth century. A *yanagui* quiver with decorative gilt bronze fittings has been excavated from the keyhole-shaped Imashirozuka 今城塚 tumulus in Osaka Prefecture dating from the first half of the sixth century, which some have identified as possibly the tomb of Emperor Keitai 継体. It is indeed likely that the military accouterments of a ruler such as he would have included a *yanagui* quiver.

Yuki quivers continued to appear in various contexts even after *yanagui* quivers became prevalent in the sixth century. Haniwa of human figures are shown wearing *yuki* quivers on their back, and wall paintings on tumuli in Kyushu depict *yuki* together with shields. They likely were seen as a symbol of protection and as a traditional martial implement with religious and ceremonial connotations. This background suggests that the compilers of the *Kojiki* chose to portray Amaterasu as arming herself with both *yuki*, representing a tradition dating back to the fourth century and carrying strong religious and ceremonial connotations, and the up-to-date *yanagui*, introduced from the fifth century. Does not such a portrayal in turn reflect the characteristics of the great kings of the fifth and sixth centuries, who combined similar elements of traditional and new?⁽¹¹⁾

Sasō Mamoru 笹生衛, Archaeology and Ancient Japanese History

3. “Mighty” (*itsu* 伊都)

Itsu carries the sense of “hallowed mighty force.” A note stipulating the reading accompanies all instances of this term in the *Kojiki*, an unusual circumstance suggesting the importance that the compilers placed on its being pronounced correctly.

4. “Both [legs up to the] thigh” (*mukamomo* 向股)

The term *mukamomo*, literally “facing thighs,” presumably means “both thighs,” although it possibly indicates the part of the thigh that faces the other limb, that is, the inner thigh. Almost no other instances of digraphs of the type “向+X” can be found in ancient texts. Another instance of the digraph 向股 occurs in the Toshigoi no matsuri 祈年祭 liturgy, but Aoki Kigen 青木紀元 argues that in this case the digraph might be read *mukahagi*, meaning “shin” (*mukōzune*).⁽¹²⁾ The digraph 向位 occurs in the *Izumo no kuni fudoki*, section on the district of Tatenui 楯縫, item on Mt. Kamunabi 神名槌山. On the grounds that the meaning in this last instance is unclear, most commentaries hold that it is a mistranscription.⁽¹³⁾ Likely, however, it means “hallowed sites (*kura* 座) that face each other” and refers to two facing sites associated with deities.

5. “Bad intent” / “[your intent is] pure and bright” (*kitanaki kokoro* / *kiyoku akaki* 耶心・清明)

From this point to Susanoo’s rampaging, which leads to the Heavenly Rock Cave episode, the nature of Susanoo’s intent (*kokoro* 心) is a key focus of attention. Amaterasu declares, “My brother’s coming up here cannot be with a good intent (*kanarazu yoki kokoro ni araji* 必不善心).” Susanoo responds, “I have no bad intent” (*kitanaki kokoro nashi* 無耶心) and “I have no other intent” (*keshiki kokoro nashi* 無異心). Amaterasu thereupon demands that he prove that his intent is “pure and bright” (*kiyoku akaki* 清明). It has been argued that “bad intent” (*kitanaki kokoro* 耶心) means the heart of a rebel, while a “pure and bright intent” (*kiyoku akaki kokoro* 清明心) means a loyal heart, but it is not easy to reach a decisive interpretation of Susanoo’s intentions. We will return to this issue below in considering Susanoo’s “playing the victor” (*kachisabi* 勝佐備) in the following chapter on the contest of oaths.

The present passage clearly portrays Amaterasu as hierarchically superior

to Susanoo. When quoting Amaterasu, it uses the honorific verbs *noru* 詔 (“proclaim,” “declare”) and *tou* 問 (“query,” “demand”). By contrast, for Susanoo it uses the neutral or humble *mōsu* 白 / 曰 (“state”). Further, in addressing his sister, Susanoo uses the humble first-person pronoun *yatsukare* 僕 (“your servant”) to refer to himself. The content of Amaterasu’s dialogue with Susanoo and the description of her warrior garb also present her as taking a dominant, assertive attitude toward her brother. However, this relationship changes after the contest of oaths. This ambivalence makes it difficult to characterize the overall nature of their relationship. On the other hand, in her soliloquy here, Amaterasu refers to Susanoo as “my dear brother” (*a ga nase no mikoto* 我那勢命), an affectionate term of address that will remain unchanged in the episodes subsequent to the contest of oaths. As we saw previously, Izanami uses the same term *a ga nase no mikoto* (“my brother spouse”) to address Izanaki.⁽¹⁴⁾ Might this precedent be pertinent to considering the relationship between Amaterasu and Susanoo?

6. “Contest of oaths” (*ukei* 宇氣比)

Ukei is a type of incantatory formula for confirming what is true or determining divine will. The formula typically sets the conditions beforehand: if A is true, the result will be A’, while if B is true, the result will be B’. The *Kojiki* includes several other instances of such confirmations through *ukei*. One occurs in the passage where Ninigi questions whether the children Konohana no sakuyabime 木花之佐久夜毗売 will bear are his.⁽¹⁵⁾ The chronicle of Emperor Suinin contains a series of such oaths to divine proper action.⁽¹⁶⁾ The chronicle of Emperor Chūai 仲哀 describes the rebellious princes Kagusaka no miko 香坂王 and Oshikuma no miko as conducting a “hunting *ukei*” (*ukeigari* 宇氣比獵).⁽¹⁷⁾ The main text version of Susanoo and Amaterasu’s contest of oaths in the *Nihon shoki* (sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter) includes a gloss indicating that the

characters 誓約之中 (“in the oath”) should be read *ukei no minaka* 宇氣譬能美難箇.⁽¹⁸⁾

The *Kojiki*’s account of what follows Susanoo’s assertion that he will demonstrate the purity of his intent through the production of offspring seems forced in several regards. Among other things, in the *Nihon shoki*, both the main text and the variants stipulate beforehand what will indicate victory in the contest of oaths: if Susanoo gives birth to male deities, his intent will be proven to be “pure” (*kiyoki* 清/赤); if he produces female deities, it will show that his intent is “bad” (*kitanaki* 濁/黒).⁽¹⁹⁾ The *Kojiki*, by contrast, does not include any such prior stipulation as to what will constitute proof of intent.

Further comment: The contest of oaths (*ukei*) myth in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The myth concerning the production of children through Amaterasu and Susanoo’s contest of oaths bears directly on the ancestry of the imperial lineage. Hayahi ame no oshiho mimi no mikoto 速日天之忍穗耳命, the first male deity to appear as a result of this exchange, is the father of Ninigi, who goes on to descend to earth as the heavenly grandson, and this event leads to the emperors’ rule over the earthly realm as his descendants. However, comparison of the versions of this myth in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* shows an ambiguity in their depiction of the connection between the offspring produced and the parental deity.

The problem resides in the treatment of Susanoo’s intent and the issue of parental affiliation. In the *Kojiki*, Amaterasu proclaims after the production of the children that the possessor of the “thing that was the source” (*monozane* 物実) is the parent, which makes the female deities that were produced the children of Susanoo and the male deities Amaterasu’s children (see the following chapter 16). In his subsequent “playing the victor,” Susanoo declares that because his children were females, he has won, showing that his intent in coming up to Takamanohara was pure and bright (see chapter 17). The objective basis for this declaration of victory, however, remains ambiguous. What can be said is that the respective

Figure 1

	<i>Kojiki</i>	<i>Nihon shoki</i> section 6 main text	NS section 6 variant 1	NS section 6 variant 2	NS section 6 variant 3	NS section 7 variant 3
Deities	Amaterasu Susanoo	Amaterasu Susanoo	sun deity Susanoo	Amaterasu Susanoo	sun deity Susanoo	sun deity Susanoo
Thing	Susanoo's sword and Amaterasu's jewel (exchange)	Susanoo's sword and Amaterasu's jewel (exchange)	sword and jewel	Susanoo's jewel and Amaterasu's sword (exchange)	sword and jewel	sword and jewel
Gender/ number of children *adduced as evidence of victory	3 females* 5 males	3 females 5 males	3 females 5 males*	3 females 5 males*	3 females 6 males*	6 males
Stipulation of what indicates victory	Susanoo's behavior (females = victory after the fact)	females = bad intent males = pure intent	males = brightness and purity	females = bad intent males = bright intent	males = pure intent	females = bad intent males = pure intent
Basis of parental affiliation	thing	thing			males made sun deity's children	males offered to sun deity

assertions play an important part in the unfolding of the contest of oaths episode. Amaterasu's proclamation serves to determine parental affiliation, while Susanoo's declaration that his purity of intent has been substantiated rests in turn on Amaterasu's assertion regarding the basis for assigning parental affiliation. Below we will explore further the implications of the *Kojiki* version of the contest of oaths episode through a comparison with the *Nihon shoki* versions of the same episode (see figure 1).

A major characteristic of the *Nihon shoki* versions of this episode in comparison with the *Kojiki* account is that the *Nihon shoki* versions specify beforehand what will indicate victory in the contest of oaths. This is the standard form of such a contest. The *Nihon shoki* versions are consistent in relating that the production

of male deities will signify intent that is “pure” (*kiyoki kokoro* 清心, *kokoro kiyoku* 心明浄, *kiyoki kokoro* 赤心), whereas the production of female deities will signify intent that is “bad” or “dirty” (*kitanaki kokoro* 濁心, *kitanaki kokoro* 黒心) or “not good” (*yokaranu koto* 不善). The *Kojiki* does not specify the criterion for victory beforehand, but it subsequently sets forth the reverse of the position taken by the *Nihon shoki*: the production of females shows purity of intent.

If we divide the *Nihon shoki* versions of this episode into so-called “Amaterasu-lineage” and “sun-deity-lineage” types, we notice another feature.⁽²⁰⁾ Like the *Kojiki*, the “Amaterasu-lineage” versions (sixth section, main text and second variant) incorporate an exchange of “the thing that was the source,” whereas the “sun-deity-lineage” versions (sixth section, first and third variant; seventh section, third variant) do not. In the versions without an exchange of “the thing that was the source,” Amaterasu is the possessor of the sword and Susanoo the possessor of the jewels. The *Nihon shoki* second variant of the sixth section combines these elements: it incorporates an exchange of “the thing that was the source,” but Susanoo is the possessor of the jewels and Amaterasu the possessor of the sword. Apart from this variant, in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* alike, male deities appear from the jewels and are produced by Susanoo, while female deities appear from the sword and are produced by Amaterasu.

As regards the issue of parental affiliation, the *Nihon shoki* main text coincides with the *Kojiki* in assigning affiliation to the possessor of “the thing that was the source,” but it does not make clear whether the factor determining Susanoo’s intent is the act of production or possession of “the thing that was the source.” The winner and loser of the contest of oaths thus remains ambiguous. The first variant has Susanoo producing male deities from his own jewels and thus showing that his intent was pure. Since it situates him as the parent of the male deities, this version also allows for the possibility of situating Susanoo as the ancestor of the imperial line. The third variant of the sixth section and third variant of the seventh

section belong to the same “sun-deity lineage” of texts as the first variant. But although they depict Susanoo as having demonstrated the purity of his intent, they also have him present to the sun deity the male offspring that he produced. They thus preserve the sun deity’s position as ancestor of the imperial line.

The main text presumably leaves the winner of the contest of oaths ambiguous because it takes establishing parental affiliation to be the most important point of this episode. The first variant, by contrast, would seem to place emphasis on clarifying who won the contest of oaths. Unlike the *Kojiki*, however, which directly connects the outcome of the contest of oaths and Susanoo’s playing the victor to his subsequent destructive behavior, none of the *Nihon shoki* versions draw an immediate link of this sort between the contest of oaths episode and the following account of Susanoo’s destructive behavior.

Some hold that because all the *Nihon shoki* versions incorporate the assertion that the production of males signifies purity of intent, this must be the principle underlying the original form of the contest of oaths myth. It is unclear, though, how well established the idea was of a contest of oaths being conducted through the production of children, and it seems unlikely that people assumed prior to the compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* that such a contest would take a fixed form. Do not the differences in the two texts’ treatment of this episode more plausibly reflect considerations particular to each? The *Kojiki* perhaps made the production of females the criterion for victory because its focus in this passage was to show that Susanoo did not intend to seize Amaterasu’s land. It suited this purpose to make the criterion the production of females, who would not succeed to the imperial line.⁽²¹⁾ By contrast, as Kwon Dong-Woo 權東祐 has argued, the *Nihon shoki*’s making the production of males the criterion for victory likely reflected its overall orientation to yin-yang ideas. Such ideas, which posited heaven to be pure and bright (or yang) and earth to be dirty (or turbid) and yin, run throughout the *Nihon shoki*, beginning with the opening passage: “What was

pure and bright stretched out thinly and became heaven, while what was heavy and turbid congealed and became earth.”⁽²²⁾ Going on to identify Izanaki as the yang deity and Izanami as the yin deity, the *Nihon shoki* maintains a consistent apposition between heaven=yang=pure=male and earth=yin=turgid=female. Does not this apposition rooted in yin-yang thought account for the fact that all the *Nihon shoki* versions make the production of males in the contest of oaths the criterion for victory?⁽²³⁾

Taniguchi Masahiro, Ancient Japanese Literature

Endnotes

- (1) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 306.
- (2) For further information on this issue, see Park, “Susanoo no mikoto no shōten o megutte.”
- (3) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, p. 57n4.
- (4) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 62–63, 66–67.
- (5) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 63n19.
- (6) See Umezawa, *Kiki hihan*; Kitagawa, “Kojiki jōkan to Nihon shoki jindaikan to no kankei.”
- (7) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 62–64.
- (8) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 206–207.
- (9) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 442–43.
- (10) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 152, 250–51.
- (11) See Senge, “Daisanshō III: Yanagui ni tsuite”; Takahashi, *Haniwa no seiki*; Tanaka and Sahara, *Nihon kōkogaku jiten*; Takatsuki Shiritsu Imashirozuka Kodai Rekishikan, ed., *Yomigaeru kodai no kirameki*.
- (12) Aoki Kigen, *Norito zenhyōshaku*, p. 142.
- (13) See Uegaki, *Fudoki*, p. 203n10.
- (14) See *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), p. 13 (Japanese); *Kojiki gaku* 7 (2021), p. 280 (English).
- (15) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 122–23.
- (16) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 206–207.
- (17) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 248–51.

- (18) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–65.
- (19) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–75, 86–90.
- (20) For this typology, see Kitagawa, “Kojiki jōkan to Nihon shoki jindaikan to no kankei,” and chapter 14, further comment to text note 9, p. 297 above.
- (21) Sugano, *Kojiki kōsō no kenkyū*, p. 62.
- (22) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 18–19.
- (23) See Kwon, *Susanoo no henbō*, pp. 81–84.

Chapter 16: The Contest of Oaths

Thereupon, standing on opposite sides of the Amenoyasunokawa 天安河 river, Amaterasu and Susanoo engaged in a contest of oaths (*ukei*). First, Amaterasu asked Susanoo for the ten-hands-long sword he bore at his waist, and [he] handed it over [to her] (1). Amaterasu broke the sword into three pieces and rinsed them in the Amenomanai well (2), making a jangling sound (3). She chewed the pieces up (4) and spat the bits out in a misty spray. From the spray a deity named Takiribime no mikoto 多紀理毗売命 came into existence (5). This deity’s other name is Okitsushimahime no mikoto 奥津嶋比売命 (6). Next appeared Ichikishimahime no mikoto 市寸嶋比売命 (7). This deity’s other name is Sayloribime no mikoto 狭依毗売命 (8). Next appeared Takitsuhime no mikoto 多岐都比売命 (9). *Note: three deities.*

Susanoo asked Amaterasu for the long cord strung with myriad large curved jewels that she had wound around the bun on the left side of her head, and [she] handed it over [to him]. Susanoo rinsed the jeweled cord in the Amenomanai well, making a jangling sound. He chewed it up and spat the bits out in a misty spray. From the spray a deity named Masakatsu akatsu kachihayahi ame no oshihomimi no mikoto 正勝吾勝々速日天忍穗耳命 came into existence (10). Then Susanoo asked Amaterasu for the jeweled [cord] that she had wound around the bun on

the right side of her head, and [she] handed it over [to him]. He chewed it up and spat the bits out in a misty spray from which a deity named Amenohohi no mikoto 天之菩卑能命 came into existence (11). Then he asked for the jeweled [cord] adorning her right wrist (12), and [she] handed it over [to him]. He chewed it up and spat the bits out in a misty spray from which a deity named Amatsuhikone no mikoto 天津日子根命 came into existence (13). Then he asked for the jeweled [cord] adorning her left wrist, and [she] handed it over [to him]. He chewed it up and spat the bits out in a misty spray from which came into existence a deity named Ikutsuhikone no mikoto 活津日子根命 (14). Then he asked for the jeweled [cord] adorning her right wrist, and [she] handed it over [to him]. He chewed it up and spat the bits out in a misty spray from which a deity named Kumanokusubi no mikoto 熊野久須毗命 came into existence (15). Five deities in total.

Thereupon, Amaterasu declared (16) to Susanoo: “The things that were the source (17) of the five male children born second were my possessions. Because these children came into existence from these things, they naturally are my progeny. The things that were the source of the three female children born first were your possessions. Because these children came into existence from these things, they naturally are your progeny.” She thus proclaimed, demarcating [the deities’ parentage] (18).

The first deity born [in the contest], Takiribime no mikoto, is enshrined at the Munakata Okitsumiya 胸形奥津宮 Shrine (19). The next, Ichikishimahime no mikoto, is enshrined at the Munakata Nakatsumiya 中津宮 Shrine. The next, Takitsuhime no mikoto, is enshrined at the Munakata Hetsumiya 辺津宮 Shrine. These three deities are the threefold deity honored by the Munakata no kimi lineage (20).

Among the deities born second was Amenohohi no mikoto. His child was Takehiratori no mikoto 建比良鳥命 (21). *Note: This deity is the ancestor of the Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko 出雲国造 lineage, Muzashi 无耶志 no kuni no*

miyatsuko lineage, Kamitsu unakami 上菟上 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage,*
Shimotsu unakami 下菟上 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage, Ijimu* 伊自牟 *no kuni*
no miyatsuko lineage, Tsushima no agata no atai 対馬県直 *lineage, and Tōtsuōmi*
 遠江 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage* (22). The deity born next [after Amenohohi
 no mikoto] was Amatsuhikone no mikoto. *Note: [This deity is] the ancestor of the*
Ōshikōchi 凡川内 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage, Nukatabe no yue no muraji* 額田
 部湯坐連 *lineage, Ki* 木 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage, Yamato no tanaka no atai*
 倭田中直 *lineage, Yamashiro* 山代 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage, Umaguta* 馬來田
no kuni no miyatsuko lineage, Michinoshiri kihe 道尻岐閤 *no kuni no miyatsuko*
lineage, Suwa 周芳 *no kuni no miyatsuko lineage, Yamato no amuchi no miyatsuko*
 倭滝知造 *lineage, Takechi no agata nushi* 高市県主 *lineage, Kamō no inaki* 蒲生稻
 寸 *lineage, and Sakikusabe no miyatsuko* 三枝部造 *lineage.*

Text Notes

1. “Amaterasu asked for . . . and [Susanoo] handed it over [to her]” (*Amaterasu ōmikami mazu Takehaya susanoo no mikoto no hakeru totsuka tsurugi o koiwatashite* 天照大御神先乞度建速湏佐之男命所佩十拳釵)

This expression presents challenges in interpretation. Syntactically it seems to indicate that one actor does both *kou* 乞 and *watasu* 度. This is the case with the corresponding phrasing in the main text of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, which is *koitoru* 乞取 and *motometoru* 索取, both meaning “to ask for and take”.⁽¹⁾ Some commentators, such as Motoori Norinaga, have thus interpreted the verb *koiwatasu* as being synonymous with *koitoru*,⁽²⁾ and some, such as Saigō Nobutsuna, have even changed the characters 乞度 to 乞取.⁽³⁾

However, inasmuch as the *Kojiki* consistently renders all instances of this phrasing in this passage as 乞度, it would seem more appropriate to interpret it in a manner that fits these specific characters. Nishimiya Kazutami holds that as

Amaterasu and Susanoo conduct the contest of oaths with the Amenoyasunokawa river between them, the graph 度 serves to express the passage across the river of the items belonging to the two deities.⁽⁴⁾ Construing the term in this way, however, would seem to result in the rather unnatural implication that a requesting occurred and led to a movement of the objects, without any specific indication of the actors behind these developments. To be sure, there is also a forced dimension to interpreting the phrase as involving a change in subject, with one party making the request (乞) and the other handing it over (度). However, the exchange of “the thing that is the source” is crucial to the specification of the parentage of the children produced. It thus seems warranted to see this combination of characters as a special term meant to indicate that the objects were not “taken” unilaterally, but mutually requested and handed over. Seen from this perspective Kurano Kenji’s 倉野憲司 reading of the phrase as implying a change of subject seems the most plausible: “Does not the term *koiwatasu* indicate that one party requests (*kou*) the item and the other party hands it over (*watasu*)?”⁽⁵⁾

The *Kojiki* contains other instances of the graph 乞 where the description of the relationship between the parties to an action contains syntactical ambiguity. Examples are: “Fitting an arrow [to the bowstring, the Yasogami 八十神 deities] asked [Ōyabiko 大屋毗古] to hand [Ōanamuji] over to them...” (*ya sashite kou* 矢刺乞);⁽⁶⁾ “when [Takemikazuchi no kami 建御雷神] sought to take the hand of [Takeminakata no kami 建御名方神], he asked [Takeminakata, who] allowed him to take it...” (*koiyosete toreba* 乞婦而取);⁽⁷⁾ and “when [Ninigi] sent to ask [Ōyamatsumi no kami 大山津見神] for [Konohana no sakuyabime]...” (*koi ni yarishi* 乞遣).⁽⁸⁾ Perhaps the semantic field of the verb *kou* incorporated the possibility of such shifts in subject.

2. The Amenomanai well (*amenomanai* 天之真名井)

A sacred well in Takamanohara. Kitano Satoshi 北野達 argues that the word *manai* derives from *ma-nu-na-i*, with *nu* carrying the meaning of “jewel.” In the *Nihon shoki*, he points out, the “Amaterasu-lineage” versions of the equivalent passage (sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter, main text and second variant) also both use the term Manai well (*manai* 真名井) and, like the *Kojiki*, describe deities as being produced from both jewels and swords after those items were rinsed in the well. By contrast, in the “sun-deity-lineage” first variant of the sixth section and third variant of the seventh section, only the jewels are rinsed in the well, identified as the Amanonunai well (*amanonunai* 天渟名井).⁽⁹⁾

3. “Made a jangling sound” (*nunatomo moyurani* 奴那登母々由良迹)

The section on the division of realms among the three noble offspring includes the phrase *tama no o moyurani* 玉緒母由良迹 (“[He then] shook his jeweled necklace so that the jewels made a jangling sound”), followed by the gloss “the last four graphs [are to be read] phonetically.” Judging from this, the phrase at hand appears to have the binary structure *nunatomo* + *moyurani*. Morphologically, *nunato* consists of *nu* (“jewel”) + the connective particle *na* + *to* (“sound”). *Moyurani* can be interpreted as the onomatopoeic expression of a jangling or tinkling sound. Some hold that although *nunatomo moyurani* may be an appropriate representation of the sound made by jewels, it does not readily fit the sound that would be made by rinsing the pieces of a sword. It is not clear whether its use here in reference to the sword pieces reflects the extension of a term used primarily of jewels or whether we should understand the jewels and the sword as making the same sound.

4. “She chewed the pieces up” (*sagami ni kamite* 佐賀美迹迦美而)

Sa is a prefix, attached to the expression *kami ni kamite* (“chew up”). The main

text of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* includes a gloss indicating that “the graphs 訥然咀嚼 should be read *sagami ni kamu*.”⁽¹⁰⁾

5. Takiribime no mikoto 多紀理毗売命

This and the two following female deities are enshrined at the Munakata 宗像 Shrine that lies north of Fukuoka and comprises two shrines situated on islands in the Genkai Straits 玄界灘 as well as a shrine located on the Kyushu mainland (see also text note 19 below). The main text and the first variant of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* give this name as Takorihime 田心姫, the second variant as Takorihime no mikoto 田心姫命, and the third variant as Takirihime no mikoto 田霧姫命.⁽¹¹⁾ *Takori* 田心 likely derives from *takiri* 田霧. This female deity emerged from the mist (*kiri* 霧), as described in the phrase “spat [the bits out] in a misty spray” (*ibuki no sagiri* 氣吹之狭霧). The genealogy of the descendants of Ōkuninushi listed subsequently in the *Kojiki* states that Takiribime bore together with Ōkuninushi the deity Ajisuki takahikone no kami 阿遲鉏高日子根神 and his sister Takahime no mikoto 高日売命 (who also has the alternate name of Shitaderuhime no mikoto 下光比売命).⁽¹²⁾

6. Okitsushimahime no mikoto 奥津嶋比売命

This name means a “female deity dwelling on an island off the coast.” The first variant of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* transliterates this name as 瀛津島姫. The third variant gives in addition the alternate name of Ichikishimahime no mikoto 市杵嶋姫命.⁽¹³⁾

7. Ichikishimahime no mikoto 市寸嶋比売命

Ichiki is said to derive from the verb *itsuku* 斎く (“to revere,” “to hallow”). The main text of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* transcribes this name as 市杵嶋姫, and the second variant as 市杵嶋姫命. As

mentioned in the previous text note, the third variant lists Ichikishimahime no mikoto as an alternate name of the deity Okitsushimahime.⁽¹⁴⁾

8. Sayoribime no mikoto 狭依毗売命

Sa is a prefix, and *yor*i perhaps indicates a deity taking possession of or manifesting itself through some object. This theonym does not appear in the *Nihon shoki*.

9. Takitsuhime no mikoto 多岐都比売命

Takitsu means water flowing fiercely. A few lines later, following Amaterasu's pronouncement of the deities' parentage, this name is transcribed as 田寸津比売命. The main text and the first variant of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* give the name as Takitsuhime 湍津姫, and the second and third variants as Takitsuhime no mikoto 湍津姫命.⁽¹⁵⁾

10. Masakatsu akatsu kachihayahi ame no oshihomimi no mikoto 正勝吾勝々速日天忍穗耳命

This theonym bears on the interpretation of the outcome of the contest of oaths. We will return to this point in regard to Susanoo's "playing the victor" in the next episode, following the contest of oaths. There Susanoo declares that he has won because he produced females. Here, however, the name of the first male deity produced incorporates three occurrences of the graph 勝 ("victory"). Both the main text and first variant of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* stipulate prior to the contest of oaths what will constitute victory, and both state that the victor will be the one who produces males. Viewed in this light, the three 勝 included in this theonym clearly pertain to the issue of victory in the contest. The *Kojiki* compilers evidently found it difficult to reject completely the narrative that the production of male deities signaled victory. At the same time,

they go on to present Susanoo as having won the contest of oaths. To justify this stance without making him the parent of the male deities, they depict Susanoo as declaring in the following Heavenly Rock Cave episode, where he “plays the victor,” that he has won because he produced female deities. See chapter 17, text note 1 below.

11. Amenohohi no mikoto 天之菩卑能命

Ho means “ear of rice,” and *hi* means “spirit”; thus: “spirit of the rice ears of the heavenly realm.” The *Nihon shoki* transcribes this theonym as Amenohohi no mikoto 天穗日命.⁽¹⁶⁾

The heavenly deities Amaterasu and Takamimusuhi subsequently dispatch Amenohohi to pacify Ashihara no nakatsukuni, but the text recounts that he courted favor with Ōkuninushi and did not report anything back for three years.⁽¹⁷⁾ The main text of the equivalent ninth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* gives a very similar account.⁽¹⁸⁾ On the other hand, the celebratory oration presented by the *kuni no miyatsuko* of Izumo (*Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko no kamuyogoto* 出雲国造神賀詞) describes this deity as surveying conditions in the earthly world and sending down his son Amehinotori 天夷鳥 to subjugate the earthly deities.⁽¹⁹⁾ This divergence presumably stems from the fact that this deity is identified as the ancestral deity of the Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko lineage (we will return to this issue in the episode relating the pacification of Ashihara no nakatsukuni).

12. “Her right wrist” (*migi no mite* 右御手)

The description of the list of items Susanoo obtains from Amaterasu presents some thorny issues.⁽²⁰⁾ The preceding passage describes Amaterasu as winding cords of jewels first around two side buns, then in her hair (*mikazura* 御縵), and then around her wrists. In this passage, however, virtually all the early

manuscripts omit any reference to Amaterasu's having adorned her hair and instead twice describe her as having wound jeweled cords around her right wrist, resulting in a rather awkward duplication. The 1644 printed edition amends the first instance of "her right wrist" to "bun on the right side of her head" (*migi mimizura* 右御美豆良). The Watarai Nobuyoshi 度会延佳 amended printed edition of 1687 (*Gōtō Kojiki* 鰐頭古事記) adopts "adorning her hair" (*mikazura* 御迦豆良). *Teisei kokun Kojiki* 訂正古訓古事記, edited by Motoori Norinaga and published in 1803, and *Kōtei Kojiki* 校訂古事記, edited by Tanaka Yoritsune 田中頼庸 and published in 1887, both likewise give *mikazura* 御鬘. The *Shintō taikēi* 神道大系 edition of *Kojiki* notes that the extant manuscripts uniformly render the term in question as "right wrist," but points out also the resulting awkwardness in meaning. It thus adopts the modification "adorning her hair," but also gives "right wrist" in brackets: 御縵 [右御手].⁽²¹⁾ We have opted to retain "her right wrist" as found in the extant manuscripts.

13. Amatsuhikone no mikoto 天津日子根命

This deity name forms a pair with the next, Ikutsuhikone no mikoto 活津日子根命. Since the name includes the masculine suffix *hiko*, it may be interpreted to mean "heavenly male deity," although Nishimiya Kazutami takes *hiko* to mean instead "sun deity."⁽²²⁾ The *Nihon shoki* transcribes this name as 天津彦根命.⁽²³⁾

14. Ikutsuhikone no mikoto 活津日子根命

The graph 活 means "full of vitality," as in the deity name Ikugui no kami 活杙神 appearing in the seven generations of the Age of Deities.⁽²⁴⁾ The *Nihon shoki* transcribes the name as 活津彦根命.⁽²⁵⁾

15. Kumano kusubi no mikoto 熊野久湏毗命

Taken as a place name, *kumano* may refer to Kumano in Izumo or Kumano

in Kii 紀伊. Conversely, if taken as a common noun, it may mean a hidden-away place, i.e., the place where a deity dwells. *Kusubi* has the same meaning as *kushibi* 奇靈 (“mysterious spirit”). The main text and second variant of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of *Nihon shoki* transcribe Kumano kusubi no mikoto as 熊野櫟樟日命. The first and third variants give a different name, Kumano oshihomi no mikoto 熊野忍蹈命.⁽²⁶⁾ The compilers of the SNKBZ edition of *Nihon shoki* postulate that *oshihomi* 忍蹈 may be equivalent to *oshihomi* 忍穗靈 (“rice ear spirit”).⁽²⁷⁾ If so, the name of this deity would overlap with that of the first male deity, Masakatsu akatsu kachihayahi ame no oshihomimi no mikoto.

16. “Declared” (*norashishiku* 告)

The *Kojiki* uses the graph 詔 (*shō*, an honorific typically reserved for emperors and deities) to introduce most of Amaterasu’s utterances. Here and in the following episode of Susanoo’s rampaging, however, it uses exceptionally the graph 告 (*koku*, a graph with a broader scope of usage). In each of these instances a verb incorporating the honorific 詔 marks the end of the utterance —“proclaimed, demarcating [the deities’ parentage]” (*noriwakiki* 詔別) and “proclaimed, rectifying” (*norinaosu* 詔直).⁽²⁸⁾ The *Kojiki* also uses 告 elsewhere to introduce statements from a person of higher rank to a subordinate. It thus might be argued that the use of 告 here does not raise any particular issue. Given, however, the weight that the *Kojiki* places on the graph 詔 and its tendency to rely on the term introducing an utterance to convey the level of respect owed the speaker, the compilers would seem to have had a particular intent in choosing the graph 告 here to introduce Amaterasu’s statement. This issue is likely related to how the *Kojiki* depicts Amaterasu in this episode and in the passage preceding her hiding in the Heavenly Rock Cave. In both it does not present her as playing the role of a commanding deity.⁽²⁹⁾

17. “The things that were the source” (*monozane* 物実)

The term rendered here as *monozane* indicates a thing that serves as the seed for something else. Things (*mono* 物) can constitute the source from which deities appear. In the first section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, for instance, the main text states: “In time a certain thing (*hitotsu no mono* 一物) emerged between Heaven and Earth.” The first variant states, “A certain thing existed in the midst of emptiness.” In both cases this “certain thing” then transformed into the deity Kuninotokotachi no mikoto 国常立尊. The second variant states, “In time a thing emerged from the land” and transformed into the deity Umashiashikabihikoji no mikoto 可美葦牙彦舅尊.⁽³⁰⁾

In the *Kojiki* passage at hand *monozane* are of yet weightier import: the parentage of the deities produced in the contest of oaths is determined by whose objects—Amaterasu’s or Susanoo’s—were their source. The reading *monozane* derives in part from the presence of the parallel digraph 物根 (“thing root”) in the main text of the sixth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki*.⁽³¹⁾ The Otsuhon 乙本 manuscript of *Nihon shoki shiki* 日本書紀私記 glosses this digraph as *monozane* 毛乃左禰,⁽³²⁾ but no further instances confirming this reading can be found in ancient Japanese literature.

The digraph 物実 appears in *Nihon shoki* in the chronicle of Emperor Sujin (tenth year), where a woman plotting rebellion uses earth from the sacred mountain Kaguyama 香山 as the representation (物実) of Yamato. A gloss attached to this passage indicates that 物実 is to be read *monoshiro* 望能志呂.⁽³³⁾ Opinions are divided as to whether the term 物実 found in this passage from the Sujin chronicle in the *Nihon shoki* should be considered equivalent to the 物実 found in the present *Kojiki* passage. There would seem to be a certain divergence in the two terms if the former is understood to carry the standard meaning of the term *monoshiro* (usually transcribed as 物代), that is, “a substitute for something.”

Further comment: Birth from objects. In the contest of oaths, Amaterasu and Susanoo exchange a sword and jewels and each produces children out of these objects. As instances of birth from inanimate objects, this episode can be said to be an example of the “unusual form of birth” motif seen frequently in mythology. This motif often occurs in accounts of the birth of a hero of remarkable powers. One well-known example of birth from an inanimate object is the story of Sun Wukong 孫悟空, the hero of the Ming novel *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West), who is born from an egg produced by a mysterious rock atop Mt. Huaguoshan 花果山.

The myth of Amaterasu and Susanoo producing children out of objects also relates how the virgin Amaterasu could produce five male deities and become the imperial ancestral deity. In this regard the story of Amaterasu resembles the Greek myth of Athena. At one point the deity Hephaestus attempted to rape Athena. She fended him off, but his semen fell on her foot. Outraged, Athena wiped her foot with some sheep’s wool and threw the wool on the ground. Thereupon Erichthonius was born from the earth. Raised by Athena, he later became the king of the Athenians. In this way a virgin female deity could become the progenitor of a line of kings.

Some have also noted similarities between the story of Amaterasu and Susanoo’s production of children and the legend of Satana from the Ossetian Nart sagas of the North Caucasus region. One day when Satana was washing clothes in the river, a shepherd on the opposite bank became aroused when he caught sight of her crotch and spilled his semen on a rock, impregnating it. The baby produced out of the rock, which Satana later took and raised, grew up to become the hero Soslan. Yoshida Atsuhiko 吉田敦彦 points out that both in this story and the Amaterasu myth “a male divine figure on the other side of a river produces a child from a rock (= jewel) through action other than ordinary sexual intercourse.”⁽³⁴⁾ Ōbayashi Taryō 大林太良, who has also examined the Satana legend, points out

another similarity between it and the Amaterasu myth. Not only do both involve an unusual form of the production of children by a man and woman on opposite sides of a river, in both cases the woman adopts the children produced by the man.⁽³⁵⁾ Yoshida and Ōbayashi alike see these similarities as evidence of the influence of Indo-European mythology on Japan, transmitted via Altaic nomadic culture.

Hirafuji Kikuko 平藤喜久子, Comparative Mythology

18. “She thus proclaimed, demarcating [the deities’ parentage]” (*noriwakiki* 詔別)

The *Kojiki* appears to use the distinctive term *noriwaku* 詔別 (“proclaimed, demarcating”) here to introduce Amaterasu’s utterance because of the proclamation’s importance in establishing the parentage of the deities born in the contest of oaths. Together with the term *norinaosu* 詔直 (“proclaimed, rectifying”) figuring in the following passage, the expression *noriwaku* is presumably intended to underwrite the sacrality of the utterances’ content.

The term *noriwaku* also occurs in the chronicle of Emperor Ōjin, when the emperor allocates responsibilities among his three sons:

The emperor proclaimed, demarcating [the three princes’ responsibilities]: “Ōyamamori no mikoto, you shall see to the governance of the mountains and seas. Ōsazaki no mikoto, you shall take charge of the governance of the realm (*osukuni*) and report [to me] concerning it. Ujinowaki iratsuko, you shall accede to the heavenly sun succession (*amatsuhitsugi*).”⁽³⁶⁾

The above passage is noteworthy for the parallelism between it and Izanaki’s division of realms among the three noble offspring, but the use of the term *noriwaku* 詔別 in both it and the contest of oaths passage also deserves attention.

As for the graph 別, Nishimiya Kazutami argues that when used in reference to making mental distinctions, it is read as the quadrigrade-conjugation (*yodan* 四段) verb *waku*.⁽³⁷⁾

19. Munakata Okitsumiya 胸形奥津宮 Shrine; Munakata Nakatsumiya 胸形中津宮 Shrine; Munakata Hetsumiya 胸形辺津宮 Shrine

These three shrines are situated at three locales within the present-day city of Munakata 宗像 (Fukuoka Prefecture): the small island of Okinoshima 沖之島 lying in the offing, the larger island of Ōshima 大島 lying closer to the mainland, and the former village of Tajima 田島, on the mainland near the coast. Together they make up the present Munakata Taisha 宗像大社 Shrine. Since antiquity this area has been a strategic point for maritime traffic with the Korean Peninsula, and the deities enshrined here have been worshipped as deities of navigation. Many ancient ritual sites have been found.

Further comment: The three Munakata female deities and ritual sites.

The *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* differ in the names they ascribe to the Munakata three female deities born from Susanoo's sword in the contest of oaths episode and in their accounts of the deities' relationship to the three sites of worship.⁽³⁸⁾ The *Nihon shoki* main text and variants also do not agree on these points. All are in accord, nevertheless, that three female deities were worshipped at the Okitsu, Nakatsu, and Hetsu shrines. We can conclude that this was a shared traditional understanding already at the time the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were compiled. Historical evidence of "Munakata Okitsu Shrine"—where, according to the *Kojiki*, Takiribime no mikoto was enshrined—can be found in ancient ritual sites located on the island of Munakata Okinoshima.

Okinoshima lies in the middle of the Genkai Straits, right on the shortest sea route between the Yamato region and the Korean peninsula. Ancient sites with evidence of ritual offerings can be dated back to the second half of the fourth century,

when contact between groups on the Japanese archipelago and Korean peninsula became frequent. The island's location along the sea route through the turbulent waters of the Genkai Straits and the fact that it was possible to obtain fresh water on it presumably spurred an association of these natural features with divine forces. The names Takiri, Takori, and Takitsu assigned the Munakata deities suggest the turbulent movement of water, befitting the Okinoshima environment.

Twenty-three ritual sites dating from the latter half of the fourth century to the beginning of the tenth century have been found among the rock outcroppings of Okinoshima. They fall into several distinct periods. The earliest sites are located on the highest spot among the massive rock outcroppings. The objects found there, presumably presented as offerings, include numerous large bronze mirrors, bracelets and curved jewels made of stone, and weapons such as iron swords. The items correspond in nature with funerary offerings found in early tumuli in the Yamato region, suggesting a close connection between the establishment of ritual sites on Okinoshima and the Yamato rulership.

From the beginning to the middle of the fifth century, the location of the sites shifts, and the nature of the offerings also changes. Bronze mirrors decrease in number, and instead there is an increase in iron weapons, agricultural tools, and other implements along with disks and miniatures made of talc. This development echoes changes seen in ritual sites from this period throughout the Japanese islands. At the same time similarities have been pointed out between a bronze mirror found in an Okinoshima site from the period and another found in a tumulus from the same period located in an area on the mainland believed to have been used by the Munakata lineage as a burial site. It also has been noted that talc from Kyushu was used to make the miniatures found in fifth-century Okinoshima ritual sites. These circumstances suggest that from this time people connected to local regional powers—concretely, the later Munakata lineage—began to be involved in rituals conducted on Okinoshima. It thus is highly likely that the tradition described by the

Kojiki of the Munakata no kimi lineage “honoring” the threefold Munakata deity dates from the fifth century.

The latter half of the sixth century saw new developments with the appearance of many highly decorative items, such as weapons and horse furnishings with gilt bronze fittings, *yanagui*-style quivers decorated with braided cords and brocade, and Yamato-style swords with decorative fittings.⁽³⁹⁾ The presence of such items suggests a strengthening of the character of Okinoshima as a locale for the performance of rites of importance to the state. This character appears to have intensified from the latter part of the seventh century into the eighth. In addition to decorative gilt-bronze objects such as miniature looms and harps similar to items presented as offerings at the Ise Shrines, Okinoshima sites dating from this time also contain new types of talc miniatures representing humans, horses, and boats as well as a variety of pottery objects. Similar items have been excavated from late-seventh- to eighth-century sites on the island of Ōshima, where the Nakatsu Shrine is located, and from the vicinity of Hetsu Shrine, on the mainland facing the islands. Judging from these circumstances, it seems likely that the consolidation of rites to the three Munakata deities in the area of the Nakatsu and Hetsu shrines occurred in the same period as the establishment of the late-seventh- to eighth-century ritual sites on Okinoshima. This was also the time when compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* was taking place.

The latter half of the seventh century likewise saw the development of “deity palaces” (*kami no miya* 神之宮) as ritual sites in Izumo and Kashima 鹿島 (in present-day Ibaraki Prefecture).⁽⁴⁰⁾ At the Kuriyadai 厨台 site near Kashima, believed to be the locale of a community of shrine support households (*kanbe* 神戸), the number of *tateana* 竪穴 style dwellings increased in the latter half of the seventh century. Many talc miniatures have also been found there. The district of Kashima 香島 (鹿島), like the district of Munakata, was designated a “deity district” (*shingun* 神郡), a district assigned to provide a particular shrine with

economic support. The same was true of the district of Ou 意宇 in Izumo. Izumo and Kashima were associated with deities that figure importantly in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, Izumo with Ōkuninushi and Kashima with Takemikazuchi 武甕槌. We may surmise that the development of sacred sites linked to such deities took place in the late seventh century in conjunction with the compilation of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and the creation of arrangements for the economic sustenance of these sites. These circumstances are also pertinent to the connections between the Munakata deities, the changes over time in the Okinoshima ritual sites, and the designation of Munakata as a deity district.⁽⁴¹⁾

Sasō Mamoru, Archaeology and Ancient Japanese History

20. Munakata no kimi 胸形君

The *Nihon shoki* transcribes this lineage name as 胸肩君, and the *Sendai kuji hongi* 先代旧事本紀 as 宗像君.⁽⁴²⁾ The Munakata no kimi were a powerful lineage based in the district of Munakata, in Chikuzen 筑前 Province. The chronicle of Emperor Tenmu 天武 in the *Nihon shoki* lists the lineage among those granted the *kabane* 姓 title of *asomi* 朝臣 in the first month of 684.⁽⁴³⁾ The *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録 (815), in its list of “imperial origin lineages of the right sector of the capital” (*ukyō kōbetsu* 右京皇別), identifies the Munakata Asomi 宗形朝臣 lineage as descended along with the Ōmiwa asomi 大神朝臣 lineage from Atakatasumi no mikoto 吾田片隅命. The list of “Kawachi imperial origin lineages” (*Kawachi kōbetsu* 河内皇別) identifies Ōkuninushi as the ultimate ancestor of the Munakata no kimi, stating that they descend from “Atakatasumi no mikoto, the sixth-generation descendant of Ōkuninushi.”⁽⁴⁴⁾

21. Takehiratori no mikoto 建比良鳥命

Take means “stalwart.” The meaning of *hira* is unclear, but since it is transcribed with the same characters as *hira* in the Yomotsu border slope

(Yomotsu hirasaka 黄泉比良坂), the two terms may be related. Nishimiya Kazutami takes them to be the same word and to mean “edge” (the edge of an object, or a boundary). He thus interprets this deity name to connote a bird that flies stalwartly across the boundary demarcating another realm.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The *Kojiki* identifies this deity as the ancestor of seven lineages, including the Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko lineage. The *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko no kamuyogoto* oration describes “Amenohohi no mikoto 天穗比命, the distant ancestor of the Izumo no omi 出雲臣,” as sending his son Amehinatori no mikoto 天夷鳥命 down to pacify the land below prior to the descent of the heavenly grandson.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The chronicle of Emperor Sujin (sixtieth year) in the *Nihon shoki* speaks of “Takehinateri no mikoto 武日照命 (one variant has Takehinateri 武夷鳥; another has Amehinatori 天夷鳥)” as having brought from the heavens “a divine treasure” that he “stored in the palace of the great deity of Izumo.”⁽⁴⁷⁾

22. “Note: This deity is the ancestor of the Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko lineage . . . and Tōtsuōmi no kuni no miyatsuko lineage” (ko wa Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko . . . Tōtsuōmi no kuni no miyatsuko ra ga oya zo 此出雲国造…遠江国造等之祖也)

The *Kojiki* contains seventeen descriptive passages in the form of a note that identify a deity or other figure as the ancestor of a lineage.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Inasmuch as these passages are continuous with the main narrative, Nakamura Hirotochi 中村啓信 argues that they are different in nature from other types of notes found in the *Kojiki*. He calls them “note-like main text” (*chūteki honmon* 注の本文).⁽⁴⁹⁾ In the passages in question the “note-like main text” that follows the name of a deity or a person lists one or several lineages as descending from the entity. As one of the purposes of the *Kojiki* appears to have been to specify the relationship between the various lineages and the imperial line from the latter’s perspective, these passages should be seen as carrying a significant import rather than as

simply providing supplementary information. The lineages mentioned throughout the *Kojiki* in connection with the ancestors from whom they are identified as descended overlap in part with the groups of lineages that the *Nihon shoki* records as being granted *kabane* 姓 titles during the reign of Emperor Temmu.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Some thus believe that the content of these *Kojiki* passages was consolidated at that time. In some instances, such as here, where multiple lineages are listed as descended from a single ancestor, the lists conclude with the word *ra* 等 (“etc.”). Nakamura holds that this was intended to leave room for the possibility of other lineages also being connected to the deity or person in question.⁽⁵¹⁾

Further comment: The significance of ancient lineage genealogies. The genealogies and legends of ancient lineages recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* took shape in stages over time. These stages included the compilation of the “imperial chronicles” (*teiki* 帝紀) and “ancient records” (*kyūji* 旧辭) mentioned in the *Kojiki* preface and the compilation of records that the *Nihon shoki* describes as taking place in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Empress Suiko 推古 (620).⁽⁵²⁾ The process reached its culmination in the reigns of Tenmu, who ascended the throne following his victory in the Jinshin 壬申 Rebellion of 672, and Tenmu’s consort Jitō. Researchers have thus advanced various theses regarding the fictive nature of such genealogies and the vicissitudes of different lineages. They also have seen the central rulers as using the compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as the occasion to grant legitimacy to particular genealogies formed through this process. Renewed recognition of the importance of lineage genealogies in ancient society came with the deciphering of the inscription on a sword excavated in 1968 from the Inariyama 稲荷山 tumulus in Saitama Prefecture. The inscription recorded the genealogy of Owake no omi 乎獲居臣, who served the Great King Wakatakeru 獲加多支鹵大王 (Emperor Yūryaku) as chief of the sword bearers (杖刀人首).

Through an analysis of the lineage genealogies found in sources such as

Shinsen shōjiroku and *Awaga no ōkami no mototsufumi* 粟鹿大神元記, a record linked to the Awaga Shrine in Tajima 田島 Province, Asago 朝来 District (present-day Hyōgo Prefecture), Mizoguchi Mutsuko 溝口睦子 has shown that these genealogies share several notable characteristics: (1) They incorporate an overlapping structure with different lineages sharing common genealogies prior to a point beginning sometime between the reigns of the tenth emperor, Sujin, and the fifteenth, Ōjin. (2) They claim as their original ancestor a deity or personage figuring in the foundational myths and legends. (3) They record the lineage name and *kabane* title together with the origin of the lineage's occupational or service role. (4) The genealogical sources likewise record the lineage's service (*hōshi* 奉仕) to the central ruler, the “great king” or “emperor.” The role ascribed to the ancestor within the myths and legends served to underwrite the descendants' status and role at the Yamato court, and reference to the ancestor in these materials functioned to regularize and legitimize the descendants' place as constituent elements of the court structure. In effect, the genealogies were alike compiled to establish the lineages' submission to the great king or emperor and their participation in the social structure centered on the court. Individual lineages linked themselves to a larger lineage structure by appending their own genealogies to overarching ones that traced back to an original ancestor figuring in the myths and legends. It was this process that resulted in multiple lineages claiming descent from the same common ancestor.⁽⁵³⁾

Lineage origin legends divide lineages into categories depending on whether they claim descent from one of the early emperors (*kōbetsu* 皇別) or from deities (*shinbetsu* 神別). Mizoguchi argues that this feature corresponds to the historical development of the *kabane* title system sometime after the latter half of the sixth or into the seventh century. The long note at hand recording multiple *kuni no miyatsuko* and *agata nushi* lineages that trace their origin to Takehiratori no mikoto and Amatsuhikone no mikoto can be taken to exemplify the phenomena

Mizoguchi has reconstructed. It is also important to keep in mind, however, that passages of this sort do not directly inform us when or in what fashion Yamato authority over the local regions mentioned took shape.

Yamazaki Masatoshi 山崎雅稔, *Ancient History of Japan and Korea*

Endnotes

- (1) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–65.
- (2) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 317.
- (3) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 193.
- (4) Nishimiya, *Kojiki shūteiban*, p. 42n1.
- (5) Kurano, *Kojiki zenchūshaku*, vol. 3, p. 27.
- (6) See *Kojiki gaku* 5 (2019), pp. 31–33.
- (7) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 108–109.
- (8) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 120–121.
- (9) Kitano, *Kojiki shinwa kenkyū*, pp. 370–98; see also Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–73, 88–89.
- (10) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–65.
- (11) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–65, 68–69, 72–73.
- (12) See *Kojiki gaku* 7 (2021), pp. 8–11.
- (13) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 68–69, 72–73.
- (14) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–65, 68–69, 72–73.
- (15) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 64–65, 68–69, 72–73.
- (16) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 67–69.
- (17) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 101–101.
- (18) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 110–111.
- (19) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, pp. 452–55.
- (20) In the original Japanese version, this text note is included in the list of variants in transcription found in the primary manuscript and printed editions of *Kojiki*. See *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), p. 26, item 13.
- (21) Onoda, *Kojiki*, pp. 120–21n15.
- (22) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 363.
- (23) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 66.
- (24) See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), p. 19 (Japanese original); 5 (2019), pp. 285–86 (English

translation).

- (25) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 66–67.
- (26) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 66–69, 71–75.
- (27) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 69n18.
- (28) See below, pp. 242–43, 248; *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 7–8, 12 (Japanese original).
- (29) Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 66–79.
- (30) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 18–21. Regarding *mono*, see also the further comment to text note 10 in chapter 14, pp. 292–95 above.
- (31) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 66–67.
- (32) *Nihon shoki shiki*, p. 71.
- (33) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 278–79.
- (34) Yoshida, *Nihon shinwa to in'ō shinwa*, p. 219.
- (35) Ōbayashi, *Nihon shinwa no kōzō*, p. 216.
- (36) Yamaguchi and Kōnosshi, *Kojiki*, p. 260.
- (37) Nishimiya, *Kojiki shūteiban*, p. 43n8.
- (38) This translation of the further comment omits some of the details of the Japanese original. For the latter, see *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 61–65.
- (39) For *yanagui*-style quivers, see above, pp. 278–79; for Yamato-style swords, see *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 51–53 (Japanese original); 7 (2021), pp. 304–305 (English translation).
- (40) See the reference to repair of the *kami no miya* in Izumo in the fifth year of the reign of Empress Saimei 齊明 (659); Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 4, p. 228. See also the reference in the *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* to the construction of a *kami no miya* in Kashima during the reign of Saimei's successor, Emperor Tenchi 天智; Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 390–92.
- (41) For additional background, see Daisanji Okinoshima Gakujutsu Chōsatai, ed., *Munakata Okinoshima*; Sasō, *Nihon kodai no saishi kōkogaku*; Sasō, *Kami to shisha no kōkogaku*.
- (42) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 66–67; Kamata, *Sendai kuji hongei*, p. 29.
- (43) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 4, pp. 440–41.
- (44) Tanaka, *Shinsen shōjiroku*, pp. 469, 624.
- (45) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, pp. 364–65.
- (46) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, pp. 452–55.

- (47) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 288–89.
- (48) The names of some of the geographical units identified as *kuni* in this passage overlap with the names of the administrative *kuni* = provinces established by the central state in the late seventh or early eighth century. Not all of them do, however, and the implications of the term in this context should be distinguished from that of the later administrative provinces. (TN)
- (49) Nakamura, *Kojiki no honsei*, p. 25.
- (50) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 4, pp. 440–41. See also text note 20, p. 254 above.
- (51) Nakamura, *Kojiki no honsei*, pp. 33–34.
- (52) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 3, p. 576.
- (53) See Mizoguchi, *Nihon kodai shizoku keifu no kenkyū*.

Chapter 17: The Heavenly Rock Cave (I)

Thereupon, Susanoo said to Amaterasu: “My intent is pure and bright (1). See, the offspring I bore are gentle girls (2)! This shows that for sure I won [the contest of oaths]!” Playing the victor (3), he destroyed the ridges between the paddy fields under Amaterasu’s charge and filled in the ditches (4). He also defecated in the hall where she was partaking of the great offering of the first fruits (5) and scattered his excrement about. Yet Amaterasu did not berate her brother and declared (6): “What looks like excrement must be something my brother vomited when he was drunk. And if my brother has destroyed the ridges between the paddy fields and filled in the ditches, surely it was because he regretted the waste of the land [occupied by those ridges and ditches].” Thus she proclaimed so as to rectify [what had happened] (6). Nevertheless [Susanoo’s] wrongdoings did not stop but grew more extreme (7). When Amaterasu was in the sacred weaving hall directing the weaving of garments for the deities (8), [Susanoo] made a hole in the weaving hall’s roof, flayed a mottled horse backwards (9), and

dropped it through the hole. The heavenly weaving maiden (10) was so startled at the sight that she struck her genitals with the shuttle and died (11). Seeing these things, Amaterasu was overcome with fright (12). She opened the door of the Heavenly Rock Cave and hid herself [within] (13). Takamanohara thereupon became completely dark, and Ashihara no nakatsukuni became totally dark as well (14). Perpetual night ensued (15).

Text Notes

1. “My intent is pure and bright” (*a ga kokoro kiyoku akashi* 我心清明)

This declaration by Susanoo serves as a response to the question Amaterasu put to him when he ascended to the heavens: “How can I know that your intent is pure and bright?” (see chapter 15). Susanoo’s assertion that his having given birth to “gentle girls” (*tawayame* 手弱女) shows that his intent is pure and bright may carry the implication that he thereby demonstrated that he did not seek to produce a male child who might succeed to the imperial line. It is open to question, however, whether the production of female offspring objectively served to verify the “purity and brightness” of Susanoo’s intent. See the discussion of the issues posed by the contest of oaths, chapter 15, text note 6.

2. “Gentle girls” (*tawayame* 手弱女)

Tawayame means “frail” or “graceful,” and the suffix *me* means “woman.” *Tawayame* shares a similar origin with words such as *tawamu* (“to bend [like bamboo before the wind]”) or *tawawa* (“bending [like a branch under the weight of fruit]”). In the chronicle of Emperor Keikō 景行, Yamatotakeru no mikoto 倭建命 recites a poem about his intended spouse Miyazuhime 美夜受比売 that includes the expression *tawayame gaina o* 多和夜賀比那袁 [撓や腕を] ([I thought to use] your graceful arms [as a pillow]).⁽¹⁾ The *Man’yōshū* contains ten occurrences of the term *tawayame*, but none are in the voice of a man singing in praise of a woman.

On the contrary, the term functions as a self-deprecating term used by a woman (“as a weak woman”). The trigraph 手弱女 used in five of the poems (379, 543, 935, 1982, 3223) to transcribe *tawayame* suggests the etymological interpretation of the word at that time.⁽²⁾ *Man'yōshū* poems 582, 619, and 2921, however, adopt the alternate transliteration 幼婦 (“young wife”).⁽³⁾ Some have thus suggested that this is the meaning implied in these instances.

3. “Playing the victor” (*kachisabi* 勝佐備)

Commentators have taken this expression as a key for determining whether Susanoo won the contest of oaths. The term *sabi*, however, presents complications for reaching a straightforward answer to this question. In several *Man'yōshū* poems *sabi* is used to describe assuming a guise that is not genuine. Examples are the phrases *umahitosabi* 宇真人佐備 [貴人さび] (“[You may say I am] playing the nobleman”) in poem 96, and *okinasabi* 於吉奈佐備 [翁さび] (“[let us] act like old men”) in poem 4133.⁽⁴⁾ Based on this usage, some commentators have argued that Susanoo's *kachisabi* should be understood in a similar light, that is, as describing somebody behaving as if he had won although actually he had not.

On the other hand, the same term *sabi* occurs in other *Man'yōshū* poems with the meaning of somebody acting in accord with his/her nature, as in *otomesabi* 遠等咩佐備 [娘子さび] (“[girls] acting like girls”) and *otokosabi* 遠刀古佐備 [壮士さび] (“[stalwart men] acting like stalwart men”), both in poem 804.⁽⁵⁾ Considered from this perspective, one could conclude that the word *kachisabi* indicates that Susanoo indeed won the contest of oaths. The same ambiguity resides in another usage of *sabi* in a phrase for acclaiming an emperor: *kamunagara kamusabi sesuto* 神長柄神佐備世須等 (“[our mighty sovereign], as a deity and acting as such”), seen, for instance, in poems 38 and 45.⁽⁶⁾ One's understanding of *sabi* here will differ depending on whether it is interpreted as referring to an entity who is not a deity acting as such, or an innately divine figure acting in accord with that nature.

In all these instances does not *sabi* describe something that can be visually ascertained, regardless of its authenticity? The term as such thus cannot serve to determine whether or not Susanoo won the contest of oaths.⁽⁷⁾ Uncertainty regarding this point traces back ultimately to the fact that the *Kojiki* does not stipulate beforehand what will constitute victory in the contest of oaths.⁽⁸⁾

4. “[Susanoo] destroyed the ridges between the paddy fields under Amaterasu’s charge and filled in the ditches” (*a o hanachite; mizo o ume* 阿離・溝埋)

The phonetic transcription *a* 阿 stands for *aze* 畔 (“ridge”), and “to destroy the ridges” means to “destroy the paddy fields.” The ditches filled in are those used to irrigate the paddy fields. Both acts represent the disruption of rice cultivation. Many of Susanoo’s violent wrongdoings described here overlap with those listed in the *Engi shiki* Ōharae 大祓 (Great Purification) liturgy. For instance, the first two “heavenly wrongdoings” (*amatsutsumi* 天津罪) listed in that liturgy are “destroying the ridges” and “filling in the ditches.”⁽⁹⁾ The liturgy’s “flaying backwards” (*sakahagi* 逆剥) and “scattering excrement” (*kusohe* 屎戸) also correspond to Susanoo’s wrongdoings as described in the *Kojiki* passage at hand. The remaining “heavenly wrongdoings” listed in the liturgy are acts of violence attributed to Susanoo in the *Nihon shoki*: “destroying the flumes [that draw water to rice fields]” (*hihanachi* 樋放 / *hihagachi* 糜渠槽), “sowing seeds in rice paddies [already planted by others]” (*shikimaki* 頻蒔), “sticking a stake [into a rice field cultivated by another so as to claim it as one’s own]” (*kushisashi* 串刺), and “flaying alive” (*ikehagi* 生剥).⁽¹⁰⁾ The *Kojiki* passage that describes the “great dispelling of the wrongdoings of the land” (*kuni no ōharae* 国之大祓) following the death of Emperor Chūai likewise lists “flaying alive,” “flaying backwards,” “destroying the ridges,” “filling in the ditches,” and “scattering excrement.”⁽¹¹⁾

The *Kojiki* does not elaborate further on the nature of the rice paddies under

Amaterasu's charge, but the versions of this episode in the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* provide additional details. The main text states that "Amaterasu held as her own the heavenly narrow fields (*amanosada* 天狭田) and long fields (*nagata* 長田)." The second variant states that "the sun deity held as her own the heavenly fenced fields (*amanokakita* 天垣田)." The third variant goes into further detail: "The sun deity possessed three rice paddies, which were named the heavenly peaceful fields (*amanoyasuda* 天安田), the heavenly level fields (*amanohirata* 天平田, and the heavenly nearby fields (*amanomuraawaseda* 天邑併田. All were good fields that did not suffer damage even in times of incessant rain or drought." The third variant continues that because Susanoo's rice paddies were of poor quality, he was jealous of those held by Amaterasu and thus sabotaged them.⁽¹²⁾ In the eleventh variant of the fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter, the *Nihon shoki* also incorporates the myth of the origin of grains in which Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月夜見尊 slays the deity of cereals Ukemochi no kami 保食神. Showing correspondences with the above passages from the seventh section, this passage states: "[Amaterasu] designated millet, barnyard millet, wheat, and beans as seeds for dry fields, and rice as seed for paddy fields. She also appointed village headmen accordingly. Thereupon, rice seeds were planted for the first time in the heavenly narrow fields and long fields."⁽¹³⁾

5. "The hall where she was partaking of the great offering of the first fruits" (*ōnie o kikoshimesu tono* 聞看大嘗之殿)

Commentators have hypothesized a connection between the "great offering of the first fruits" (*ōnie* 大嘗) mentioned here and the "great offering rite" (Daijōsai 大嘗祭) held on the occasion of the enthronement of a new emperor, but the implications of the connection are not necessarily clear. The main text and the second variant of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon*

shoki use the term “offering of the first fruits” (*niinae* 新嘗) rather than “great offering of the first fruits.”⁽¹⁴⁾ Consequently, Susanoo’s disruptive behavior might also be linked to the annual autumn harvest ritual of the offering of the first fruits (*Niinae no matsuri* / *Niinamesai* 新嘗祭) rather than the great offering rite celebrated once a reign. Susanoo’s destruction of the ridges between the paddy fields and filling in of the ditches constitute a disruption of agriculture as such. Considered from this perspective, his sabotage of the “great offering of the first fruits” may be seen as of a piece with this disruption of agriculture.

If Amaterasu is in the midst of partaking of the first fruits, it points to her status as the entity that rules Takamanohara. If this act is further linked to the Daijōsai enthronement rite, it might signify that this partaking of the first fruits marked the inauguration of her reign as the ruling deity of Takamanohara. Susanoo declared to Amaterasu that he had no intention of appropriating her land, and in announcing his victory in the contest of oaths, he asserted that it proved the purity of his intent. It might be said that his destruction of the ridges between the paddy fields, filling in of the ditches, and disruption of “the great offering of the first fruits” were tantamount to his seizing the land. Nevertheless, Susanoo can hardly be described as having deliberately plotted to appropriate the land. These diverse dimensions highlight the complexity and difficulty in interpreting the *Kojiki*.

6. “[Amaterasu] did not berate her brother and declared. . . . Thus she proclaimed so as to rectify [what had happened]” (*togamezute norashishiku . . . norite naosedomo* 登賀米受而告…詔雖直)

Why did Amaterasu not berate Susanoo and instead proclaim in such a way as to rectify what had happened? If the act of “rectifying through proclaiming” (*norite naosu*) is understood as a form of verbal magic intended to correct a bad situation, should it not be interpreted within the context of the “partaking of the

great offering of the first fruits”? That Amaterasu did not berate Susanoo and instead tried to rectify what had happened was presumably not an expression of shame over having lost the contest of oaths or sisterly magnanimity. The rectifying proclamation may rather best be understood as an effort to ensure the continuation of the essential rite of the “great offering of the first fruits.”⁽¹⁵⁾

7. “[Susanoo’s wrongdoings] grew more extreme” (*utata su* 転)

Commentators divide as to whether the graph 転 (“roll,” “overturn”) should be read here as *utate* or *utata* and have proposed a variety of expanded glosses, including *utate ari*, *utate shi*, *utate su*, *utata ari*, and *utata su*. Motoori Norinaga, who supports the *utate ari* reading, argues that “this [term] conveys that something already existing continues to develop into a more extreme form.” To support the reading of *utate*, he points to phonetic transcriptions in *Man’yōshū* poems, as in *utate kono koro koishi shigeshi mo* 得田直此来戀之繁母 (“these days my longing for you grows all the more intense”) in poem 2877, or *utate ke ni hana ni nasoete* 宇多弓家爾花爾奈蘇倍弓 (“Somehow you appear all the more to me as a flower”) in poem 4307.⁽¹⁶⁾ He holds that the graph 転 here “should be understood in the sense of something that rolls forward.”⁽¹⁷⁾

On the other hand, the compilers of the NST edition of the *Kojiki* argue against the *utate* reading and in favor of *utata* instead. As evidence against *utate*, they point to how this term is used in the chronicle of Emperor Ankō 安康, where it is transcribed phonetically and serves as an adverb meaning “somehow strangely” in the sentence “the prince speaks oddly” (*utate mono iu miko zo* 宇多弓物云王子).⁽¹⁸⁾ Focusing on the graph 転, they argue instead for the reading *utata*. They construe a reading mark (*kunten* 訓点) for the term 転化 found in a ninth-century copy of Dharmapāla’s *Dasheng guangbailun shilun* 大乘広百論釈論 held by Daitōkyū Bunko 大東急文庫 to indicate that in the present passage it should be read as *utata shi*, meaning “advance ever further.”⁽¹⁹⁾ We also have adopted

the reading *utata*. To be sure, no attested instance of the term *utata* can be found in ancient sources and the evidence from reading marks is limited. However, the meaning of *utate* as seen in the Emperor Ankō passage seems quite far from that of the term represented here by the graph 転.

8. “The sacred weaving hall . . . garments for the deities” (*imihataya* 忌服屋 . . . *kamumiso* 神御衣)

“The sacred weaving hall” (*imihataya* 忌服屋) is a structure where garments worn by the deities are woven, and *kamumiso* 神御衣 refers to the garments woven there. The appearance of both terms here has sometimes been seen as related to the Kanmisosai 神御衣祭 (“divine garments”) rites held annually at the Ise Shrines in the fifth and tenth months. The figure of a female deity who engages in weaving appears in multiple works of ancient Japanese literature. The sixth variant of the ninth section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* describes the sisters Iwanagahime 磐長姫 and Konohana no sakuyahime 木花開耶姫 in the Ninigi narrative as “maidens whose bracelets of jewels make a tinkling sound as they weave.”⁽²⁰⁾ Reference to a female weaving deity also occurs in *Hizen no kuni fudoki* 肥前国風土記, section on the village of Ki 基肆 in the district of Himekoso 姫社. According to the legend recorded there, a man named Azeko 珂是古 learns from a dream in which weaving implements figure that the deity he is to build a shrine for is a weaving maiden deity (*orihime no kami* 織女神).⁽²¹⁾ (See also text note 10 below.)

9. “Flayed a mottled horse backwards” (*ame no fuchiuma o sakahagi ni hagi* 逆剥天斑馬剝)

The Heian-period dictionary *Wamyō ruijushō* 倭名類聚抄 (938) cites the definition of the graph 駮 by the Chinese dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (ca. first–second century) as meaning a “horse of mixed colors” and notes that it

indicates what is commonly called in Japanese *fuchiuma*.⁽²²⁾ Many commentators, beginning with Motoori Norinaga, have cited this definition in their discussion of the digraph 斑馬 appearing in this passage.⁽²³⁾ Nishimiya Kazutami holds that a mottled horse was something “inappropriate as an offering to the deities.”⁽²⁴⁾ Numerous theses have been advanced as to the meaning of *sakahagi ni hagi* 逆剥…剥. Motoori Norinaga and many others hold that the phrase means to flay a horse starting from the tail.⁽²⁵⁾ Shikida Toshiharu takes it to mean flaying the horse while it is still alive.⁽²⁶⁾ Tsugita Uruu and others interpret the phrase to mean to flay a living horse disregarding (*sakaratte* 逆らって) its writhing.⁽²⁷⁾ Arguing that there is no definitive evidence in favor of either the “flaying from the tail” or “flaying alive” interpretations, Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫 and Ōta Yoshimaro 太田善磨 propose that *saka* serves an incantatory function to convey a sense of misfortune or calamity.⁽²⁸⁾ Nishimiya Kazutami takes the phrase to indicate simply an “aberrant flaying.”⁽²⁹⁾

10. “The heavenly weaving maiden” (*ame no hataorime* 天服織女)

The “weaving maiden” is a woman who weaves garments intended for the deities in the sacred building dedicated to that purpose. The fact that the narrative states flatly that she “died” (*shi* 死) may have some bearing on its failure to attach any honorific title such as *kami* or *mikoto* to her name. Similarly it does not attach any honorific to the name of Amewakahiko, a deity it subsequently also describes explicitly as dying.⁽³⁰⁾ The idea of a weaving maiden dwelling in the heavenly realm shares elements with the Tanabata 七夕 legend of the weaving maiden and herder separated by the Milky Way who meet once a year. This is true as well of the later Amewakahiko episode. On the occasion of Amewakahiko’s funeral, the deity Ajishiki takahikone 阿遲志貴高日子根神 comes to pay his respects, but, furious at being mistaken for the deceased, flies away. His sister Takahime no mikoto 高比売命 thereupon recites a poem that begins with an allusion to “the

young Tanabata maiden...” (*ame naru ya oto tanabata no* 天なるや弟棚機の／阿米那流夜淤登多那婆多能).⁽³¹⁾

Since the *Kojiki* depicts Amaterasu as also being present in the weaving hall, some commentators take the passage at hand to be a remnant of an earlier stage of the Amaterasu myth when she was not seen as herself the ruling deity of Takamanohara, but rather as a priestess-like figure serving a solar deity. The main text of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* does not mention a weaving maiden. Instead, it presents Amaterasu as herself the weaver who, “startled, wounded herself with the shuttle,” which caused her to hide in the rock cave.⁽³²⁾ The first variant states that the deity Wakahirume no mikoto 稚日女尊, startled, fell from the seat of the loom, wounded herself with the shuttle, and “departed [from this world]” (*kamusarimashiki* 神退).⁽³³⁾ Since the name Wakahirume (“young Hirume”) stands as a counterpart to Ōhirume (“great Hirume,” one of the alternate names of Amaterasu), the weaving maiden, whose role Wakahirume assumes here, may be seen as a hypostasis of Amaterasu. From these passages we may conclude that narratives (such as the *Nihon shoki* main text) that omit reference to a weaving maiden present Amaterasu herself as the injured entity. By contrast, narratives (including the *Kojiki*) that incorporate a hypostasis ascribe the injury to the latter and depict the injury as leading to her death. This is the basis for interpreting the Heavenly Rock Cave myth as an account of Amaterasu’s resurrection/regeneration (or advent).

11. “[She] struck her genitals with the shuttle and died” (*hi ni hoto o tsukite shiniki* 於梭衝陰上而死)

A shuttle (*hi* 梭) is a boat-shaped tool used in weaving to pass the weft thread back and forth. The narrative pattern of a female figure dying as a result of having struck her genitals with an object can also be seen in the legend of the origin of the Hashihaka 箸墓 (“chopstick tomb”) tumulus as described by the

Nihon shoki in the chronicle of Emperor Sujin (tenth year, ninth month). In this episode, Yamato totohimomosobime no mikoto 倭迹迹日百襲姫命, mortified by the unfortunate denouement of her relationship with the deity Ōmononushi, dies after striking her genitals with a chopstick (*hashi* 箸).⁽³⁴⁾ By contrast, the *Kojiki* account of another encounter between Ōmononushi and a woman depicts a different outcome to the act of striking the genitals with an object. In this latter narrative, found in the chronicle of Emperor Jinmu, Ōmononushi transforms himself into a red-painted arrow, floats down a stream, and strikes the genitals of the woman as she defecates in the stream. The encounter leads to nuptial union and the production of children.⁽³⁵⁾ Moriya Toshihiko 守屋俊彦, who sees the Heavenly Rock Cave episode as originating in a “divine union” (*seikon* 聖婚) myth, holds that the striking of the genitals with the shuttle that figures in it is one remnant of this original form.⁽³⁶⁾

12. “Seeing these things, Amaterasu was overcome with fright” (*Amaterasu ōmikami mikashikomi* 天照大御神見畏)

As noted in text note 1 in chapter 10, the digraph *mikashikomu* 見畏 (“to see and fear”) typically serves to convey the observer’s reaction to catching sight of a partner or subordinate’s true nature, something that is usually followed by the observer’s fleeing the scene.⁽³⁷⁾ Mibu Sachiko holds that the expression *mikashikomu* often occurs 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 situation brought about by the latter. This leads to the superior figure taking fright and trying to escape from the subordinate or trying to keep the subordinate at a distance.⁽³⁸⁾ Based on her analysis of compound words of the pattern “*mi* 見 (‘to see’) + verb,” Muroya Sachie 室屋幸恵 argues that the character combination 見畏 indicates that the fright (畏) results from seeing (見) something and that this reaction is instantaneous. She argues further that the term conveys the dramatic

change that the act of “seeing and being overcome with fright” brings about in a man-woman relationship that had been good up to that point.⁽³⁹⁾

13. “[She] opened the door of the Heavenly Rock Cave and hid herself [within]” (*ame no iwaya no to o hirakite sashikomorimashiki* 開天石屋戸而刺許母理坐也)

Motoori Norinaga amends the character 開 (“to open”) to 閉 (“to close”), to which he ascribes the reading *tatete*. He takes the graph *sasu* 刺 (“to insert,” “stick into”) to mean here “to fasten a door securely by inserting something into it.”⁽⁴⁰⁾ Saigō Nobutsuna adopts Norinaga’s emendation of 開 to 閉 (although he reads it as *tojite*), arguing that it would sound strange in Japanese to say “one opens a door and hides” (*to o hiraite komoru* 戸を開いて籠る).⁽⁴¹⁾ If, however, the phrase is taken to mean that to enter the rock cave Amaterasu first opened the door and then hid within, the wording does not seem problematic on grounds of logic. In that all the extant old manuscripts use the graph 開, we have retained it here.

Further comment: The implications of the Heavenly Rock Cave myth: The terms *iwaya* 石室, *iwayado* 石室戸, and *iwato* 石戸 in the *Man’yōshū*. The *Kojiki* states that Amaterasu “opened the door of the Heavenly Rock Cave” (開天石屋戸而) and hid herself [within].”⁽⁴²⁾ The original does not make explicit the relationship between the three graphs 石屋戸. In the following episode, however, where the deities of Takamanohara gather to lure Amaterasu out, Ame no tajikarao no kami 天手力男神 is described as hiding “beside the door” (*to no waki* 戸掖).⁽⁴³⁾ This indicates that the trigraph 石屋戸 consists of the units 石屋 (“rock structure”) and 戸 (“door”) and should be understood to mean “the door of the rock structure.” Support for this supposition comes from the later episode wherein Takemikazuchi 建御雷 is dispatched to survey the situation in Ashihara no nakatsukuni. There reference is made simply to the “heavenly rock structure (天石屋) lying upstream on the Amenoyasunokawa river.”⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is difficult,

however, to reach a definitive conclusion as to how to read the combination of graphs. Should it be *iwaya no to*, *iwayato*, or *iwayado*? As the term *iwaya* suggests a structure (“house”) made of rock, it is not impossible to assume a connection with the term *yado* 屋戸 (“house door”) found in the *Man’yōshū*. The *Izumo no kuni fudoki* description of Nazuki no iso 腦の磯 in the section on the village of Uka 宇賀, Izumo District, contains the term *iwayado* 窟戸 (“cave door”). The passage notes that people associate the cave with the “Yomotsu slope” and “Yomotsu hole,” but the same question as to the graphs’ reading arise here as well.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The main text and three variant versions of the Heavenly Rock Cave episode in the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* all describe Amaterasu, or alternatively the sun deity, as hiding herself in *ama no iwaya* 天石窟. They describe the door at its entrance as *iwato* 磐戸 (“boulder door”).⁽⁴⁶⁾ The *Nihon shoki* main text refers also to the cave as 天石窟戸, which the Otsuhon version of *Nihon shoki shiki* 日本書紀私記 glosses phonetically as *ama no iwayato* 安万乃伊波也止.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The terms *iwaya*, *iwayado*, and *iwato* also are found in the *Man’yōshū*. Three poems speak of *iwaya* 石室 as a local topographical feature (presumably a cave) held to have once been the dwelling of a legendary figure or deity but now uninhabited (MYS 307, 308, 355). A fourth poem (MYS 309) uses the graphs 石室戸 (presumably read *iwayado* or *iwayato*) in reference to the same topographical entity figuring in the first two poems. Here the third graph 戸 likely indicates the entrance to the cave.

Poems with the graphs 石戸 (“rock door,” read as *iwato*) evoke the image of boulders such as those used to close tumuli with side-entrance stone chambers (see MYS 416, 417). MYS 167 speaks of “opening the rock portal (*iwato* 石門) of Amanohara.” “Rock portal” here does not convey the image of a tumulus or a cave, but would still seem to carry connotations of a gateway between the world

of the living and dead. MYS 4465, which uses the phrase “opening the portal of heaven” (*ama no to hiraki*) to allude to Ninigi’s descent from heaven, similarly evokes the image of a portal midway between heaven and earth that opens and closes. This poem, however, does not incorporate any implication of death. The same is true of the Ōharae liturgy, which speaks of the heavenly deities “pushing open the rock portal of heaven (*ame no iwato* 天磐門).”⁽⁴⁸⁾ It should be noted, however, that there are differences between this imagery and the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* accounts of Ninigi’s descent. These latter primarily describe Ninigi as “leaving his heavenly rock seat (*ame no iwakura* 天石位, *ama no iwakura* 天磐座)” and pushing through layers of clouds, not a rock portal.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The image of the “portal of heaven” (*ama no to*) figuring in MYS 4465 appears quite frequently in later poetry without necessarily alluding explicitly to the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* myths. In the Heian period, however, the parallel term “rock door of heaven” (*ama no iwato*) came to function as a reference to the Rock Cave episode, and from the late Heian *insei* 院政 period, the term “rock door of heaven” and the Rock Cave episode also came to be associated with the origins of sacred music and dance (*kagura* 神楽). The terms *iwato* and “opening the rock door” thus took on celebratory and liturgical connotations. In the *Man’yōshū*, however, it appears that the term *iwato* still carried concrete associations with the boulders closing tumuli with side-entrance stone chambers. Together with terms such as “stone bed” (*iwatoko* 石床) or “stone pillow” (*ishi makura* 石枕) it conveys a strong connotation of death. Does not that imagery still float over the terms *iwayado* and *iwato* in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*?

Tosa Hidesato 土佐秀里, Ancient Japanese Literature

14. “Takamanohara thereupon became completely dark, and Ashihara no nakatsukuni became totally dark as well” (*shikashite, takamanohara mina kuraku, ashihara no nakatsukuni kotogoto kurashi* 余、高

天原皆暗、葦原中國悉闇)

Those who see this episode as a mythological representation of natural phenomena take it to describe the darkness that results from an event such as the obscuring of the sun by a violent rainstorm.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In recent years, however, several scholars have emphasized instead that it exemplifies the fundamental structural pattern of the *Kojiki* myths whereby what happens in Takamanohara affects Ashihara no nakatsukuni as a matter of course. Yamaguchi Yoshinori and Kōnoshi Takamitsu argue that the *Kojiki* “presents these two realms as lying unequivocally side-by-side” so as to show that “Amaterasu constitutes the motive force extending over both heaven and earth.”⁽⁵¹⁾ Nakamura Hirotoši sees this passage as foreshadowing Amaterasu’s reign over the earthly realm as the sun deity.⁽⁵²⁾

15. “Perpetual night ensued” (*tokoyo yūkiki* 常夜往)

Motoori Norinaga plausibly takes the term *tokoyo* 常夜, written with graphs meaning “perpetual/usual/eternal” and “night,” to mean “it is always night without any daytime.”⁽⁵³⁾ The term *tokoyo* 常世, written with graphs meaning “perpetual/usual/eternal” and “realm,” appears subsequently in phrases such as *tokoyo no naganakidori* 常世長鳴鳥 (“the long-singing birds of the eternal realm”), *tokoyo no Omoikane no kami* 常世思金神 (“the deity Omoikane of the eternal realm”), or *tokoyo no kuni* 常世国 (“the land of the eternal realm”). The two terms should be distinguished, however, as the conventions of ancient phonetic transcription indicate that the morpheme *yo* meaning “night” was a *kō*-type vowel, whereas that meaning “realm” was an *otsu*-type vowel. The two words thus differ both in meaning and etymology. As we will touch upon later, the connection between “the eternal realm” and Takamanohara remains unclear.

The term “perpetual night” also occurs in the *Nihon shoki* in the chronicle of Empress Jingū’s regency (first year, second month): “At the time [when Jingū was

preparing to confront the traitorous Prince Oshikuma], daytime became as dark as night. Many such days continued, and the people of the time said: ‘Perpetual night seems to have ensued’ (*tokoyo yuku nari* 常夜行之也). ‘What is the cause of this bad omen?’ the empress asked Toyomimi 豊耳, the ancestor of the Ki no atai 紀直 lineage. An old man who happened to be there said: ‘I have heard it said that such an omen is called “the *azunahi* 阿豆那比 wrongdoing.”’ ‘What does that mean?’ the empress asked. ‘Could it be that two shrine officiants (*hafuri* 祝者) were buried together in the same grave?’ the old man replied.”⁽⁵⁴⁾ The wording concerning “perpetual night” is virtually the same as that of the *Kojiki* Heavenly Rock Cave passage, but there is no apparent connection between the two episodes.

Endnotes

- (1) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 228–29. The *Kojiki* contains one more instance of *tawayame* in the episode of Ninigi’s descent from heavens, when Amaterasu says to Ame no uzume 天宇受売: *namuchi wa tawayame ni aredomo* 汝者雖有手弱女人 (“even if you are a gentle girl . . .”). There the transcription includes the additional graph 人. Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15. (TN)
- (2) *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, pp. 220, 299; 7, p. 118; 8, pp. 71, 388. Poem 1019 uses the shortened transcription 弱女, and poem 3753 the phonographic transcription 多和也女. SNKBZ 7, pp. 155; 9, p. 74. (TN)
- (3) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, pp. 313, 323; 8, p. 310.
- (4) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, p. 86; 9, p. 284.
- (5) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 31.
- (6) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, pp. 47 and 51.
- (7) For additional background, see Kōnoshi, *Kakinomoto no Hitomaro kenkyū*, pp. 167–87; Tada, *Kodai bungaku no shosō*, pp. 140–59; Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 112–21.
- (8) See chapter 15, text note 6; KSKK 15 (2023), pp. 271–76 (English translation); *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 23–24, 56–59 (Japanese original).
- (9) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, pp. 424–25.

- (10) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 74–75, 84.
- (11) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 244–45. See also KKSCK 14 (2022), pp. 184, 192.
- (12) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 74–75, 80–81, 82–84.
- (13) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 60–61.
- (14) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 74–75, 80–81.
- (15) For further discussion of this issue, see Taniguchi, “Kojiki ‘ame no iwayato shinwa’ ni okeru ‘norite naosu’ no igi.”
- (16) Kojima et al., *Man’yōshū*, SNKBZ 8, p. 300; 9, p. 320.
- (17) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 347.
- (18) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 334–35.
- (19) Aoki Kazuo et al., *Kojiki*, p. 503.
- (20) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 152–53.
- (21) Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 316–17.
- (22) Mabuchi, *Koshahon Wamyō ruijushō shūsei*, vol. 3, p. 398.
- (23) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 349.
- (24) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 50n1.
- (25) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 349.
- (26) Shikida Toshiharu, *Kojiki hyōchū*, pp. 364–65.
- (27) Tsugita, *Kojiki shinkō*, p. 105.
- (28) Kanda and Ōta, *Kojiki*, vol. 1, p. 211n42.
- (29) Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 50n1.
- (30) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 100–105.
- (31) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 105–106.
- (32) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 74–76.
- (33) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 78–79.
- (34) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 282–84.
- (35) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 156–57.
- (36) Moriya, “Tokoyo no naka no seikon,” pp. 36–37.
- (37) See *Kojiki gaku* 2 (2016), pp. 19–20 (Japanese original); KKSCK 14 (2022), p. 219 (English translation).
- (38) Mibu, “Amaterasu ōmikami no ‘mikashikomi.’”
- (39) Muroya, “‘Mikashikomi’ kō.”
- (40) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 350.

- (41) Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 317.
- (42) This translation of the further comment condenses and paraphrases the Japanese original. For the latter, see *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 45–49.
- (43) *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 16–18 (Japanese original); KSKK 15 (2023), p. 230 (English translation).
- (44) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 106–107.
- (45) Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 212–13.
- (46) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 76, 78–81, 84–85.
- (47) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, p. 76; *Nihon shoki shiki*, p. 75.
- (48) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, pp. 424–25.
- (49) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 116–17; Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 120, 132–33, 150–51.
- (50) The episode has also been seen as representing an eclipse or the winter solstice. (TN)
- (51) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, p. 63n13. See also the general note, pp. 66–67.
- (52) Nakamura, *Shinpan Kojiki*, p. 42n9.
- (53) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 351.
- (54) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 440–41. The meaning of *azanahi*, transcribed phonetically, is unclear. (TN)

Chapter 18: The Heavenly Rock Cave (II)

The voices of myriad deities resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and all manner of calamities arose. Thereupon, all the myriad deities (1) gathered on the banks of the Amenoyasunokawa river. They had the deity Omoikane no kami 思金神 (2), the child of Takamimusuhi no kami, ponder [what to do]. They gathered the long-singing birds of the eternal realm (3) and had them sing. They took hard rocks from the upper reaches of the Amenoyasunokawa and iron from the Amenokanayama 天金山 mountain and sought out the smith Amatsumara 天津麻羅 (4). They had the deity Ishikoridome no mikoto 伊斯許理度売命 (5) see to the fashioning of a mirror. They had Tamanooya no mikoto

玉祖命 (6) see to the fashioning of long cords strung with myriad large curved jewels. They summoned Amenokoya no mikoto 天児屋命 (7) and Futodama no mikoto 布刀玉命 (8) and had them extract the shoulder blade of a stag from the Amenokaguyama 天香山 mountain, take [bark from] a *hahaka* cherry tree (9) from Amenokaguyama, and perform a divination (10). [These two deities] uprooted a luxuriant *sakaki* tree from Amenokaguyama. To its upper branches they attached a long cord strung with myriad large curved jewels, to its middle branches they attached a large mirror, and on its lower branches they hung ribbons of white cloth and blue cloth. Futodama no mikoto offered these things as solemn oblations and Amenokoya no mikoto intoned a solemn liturgy (11). Amenotajikarao no kami 天手力男神 (12) stood hidden beside the door [of the Heavenly Rock Cave]. Amenouzume no mikoto 天宇受売命 (13) tied back her sleeves with sashes of clubmoss vine from Amenokaguyama, adorned her hair with *masaki* vines, bound together bunches of bamboo grass from Amenokaguyama to hold in her hands, set a tub upside down before the door of the Heavenly Rock Cave, and stamped on it resoundingly. She went into a divine trance (14), exposed her breasts, and pushed the cords of her overskirt down to her genitals. Takamanohara rang with the laughter of all the myriad deities.

Text Notes

1. “All the myriad deities” (*yaoyorozu no kami* 八百万神)

This collective term, which would appear to designate all the deities of Takamanohara, is the subject that directs the several actions taken after Amaterasu hides in the rock cave. The question thus arises as to whether it includes the deities explicitly named as carrying out those actions. At the simplest level, it presumably does, but use of this term also suggests that it is the collective body of deities that is directing those who act. Matsumoto Naoki argues that the narrative seems to intend to indicate that in the absence of Amaterasu,

no other individual deity can be designated as the commanding deity.⁽¹⁾ Notably the text specifies through a gloss that the term “gathered” in the phrase “the deities gathered” should be read as the intransitive verb *kamutsudoi tsudoite* 神集々而. It thereby makes clear that these graphs describe not a particular deity gathering the others, but the spontaneous gathering of all deities. By contrast, the description of a later convocation of the deities called to deliberate on how to carry out the pacification of Ashihara no nakatsukuni describes the two commanding deities Takamimusuhi and Amaterasu as issuing a command and “assembling” the myriad deities. In this latter instance the text uses the transitive form *yaoyorozu no kami o kamutsudoe tsudoete* 神集八百万神集而.⁽²⁾

2. Omoikane no kami 思金神

This deity’s name indicates an ability to ponder many different issues in conjunction with each other. In the later passage of the descent of the Heavenly Grandson, the same deity is referred to as “Omoikane no kami of the eternal realm” (*tokoyo no Omoikane no kami* 常世思金神).⁽³⁾ We will take up the implications of the prefix *tokoyo* 常世 in the following note.

The *Nihon shoki* captures this deity’s character with the transcription of the name Omoikane as 思兼 (思 = “to ponder,” 兼 = “to combine”). The main text of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter further describes this deity as able to “think matters through and view the situation farsightedly” (*fukaku hakari tōku omoi* 深謀遠慮). The first variant describes Omoikane as “endowed with the wisdom that comes from thinking matters through” (*omoi tabakari no satori ari* 有思慮之智).⁽⁴⁾ It is not clear whether the *Kojiki*’s compilers had any particular intent in choosing instead to render *kane* with the homonymic graph 金 (“metal,” “gold”).

Omoikane is one of the three additional deities (Omoikane, Tajikarao, and Amenoiwatowake no kami 天石門別神) who together with the “five heads of

service lineages” (*itsu tomonoo* 五伴緒: Amenokoya, Futodama, Amenouzume, Ishikoridome, and Tamanooya) accompany Ninigi in his descent to Ashihara no nakatsukuni. On that occasion Amaterasu sends down as well the mirror and jewels that figure in the present episode and commands that worship be paid the mirror as if it were her own spirit. She directs Omoikane to “take charge of this matter and conduct the affairs of ritual and government (*matsurigoto* 政).”⁽⁵⁾ Furuhashi Nobuyoshi 古橋信孝 argues that “within the framework of an assumed equivalence between ‘government,’ ‘ritual affairs,’ and ‘service to the ruler,’ [Omoikane] represents the deification of a figure responsible primarily for the conduct of government.”⁽⁶⁾

3. “The long-singing birds of the eternal realm” (*tokoyo no naganakidori* 常世長鳴鳥)

The “long-singing birds” are often held to be roosters, whose cries portend the sunrise. Elsewhere, however, the *Kojiki* uses the common term *kake* 鷄 rather than “long-singing bird” to speak of a rooster, as in the phrase “the yard bird—the rooster—crows” (*niwatsutori kake wa naku* 余波都登理、迦祁波那久) found in one of the love poems recited by Yachihoko no kami 八千矛神 (Ōkuninushi).⁽⁷⁾ Use of the figurative term in the present passage is perhaps related to its being associated with “the eternal realm” (*tokoyo*). As mentioned in the previous note, Omoikane is subsequently also described as “Omoikane no kami of the eternal realm,” and this suggests that the two entities linked to *tokoyo* were thought to share some common feature. What this is, however, remains unspecified.

Karasudani Tomoko 烏谷知子 argues that both Takamanohara and the eternal realm were originally thought of as distant lands lying far across the sea. Eventually, with the shift from a horizontally oriented worldview to one with a vertical orientation, Takamanohara came to be perceived as located in the heavens. In this process elements that had been associated with the eternal

realm, such as the “long-singing birds,” were carried over into the realm of Takamanohara.⁽⁸⁾ Nakamura Hirotoishi holds that the term *tokoyo* represents the fusion of Takamanohara with the notion of a land of immortals (*shinsen* 神仙). As such, it expresses the character of Takamanohara as viewed from Ashihara no nakatsukuni.⁽⁹⁾ Many puzzles remain, however, including why the term *tokoyo* is used as a descriptive prefix only for the “long-singing birds” and Omoikane, and why, as regards the latter, it is not used when this deity is first mentioned (the passage at hand), but only subsequently.

4. “[They] sought out the smith Amatsumara” (*kanuchi Amatsumara o motomete* 求鍛人天津麻羅而)

The word *kanuchi* 鍛人 (“smith”) combines the words *kana* (“metal”) and *uchi*, the nominal form of the verb *utsu* (“to hit”). The meaning of *mara* is uncertain. The text does not spell out the role played by the smith Amatsumara, but the narrative sequence implies that his participation was a necessary step in the process of fashioning a mirror (collecting hard rocks and iron → seeking out the smith Amatsumara → having the deity Ishikoridome no mikoto see to the fashioning of the mirror). Kurano Kenji hypothesizes that the original myth of the Heavenly Rock Cave must have incorporated the fashioning of the three imperial regalia—mirror, sword, and jewels—that Amaterasu eventually bestows on Ninigi. The role of the smith Amatsumara in the Rock Cave episode must thus have been to fashion the sword. Subsequently, however, the story of the discovery of the sword Kusanagi 草薙 from the tail of the serpent slain by Susanoo was adopted as the origin story for the sword. With this substitution, all that was retained in the Rock Cave episode regarding the sword’s origin was the name of the smith who was to make it.⁽¹⁰⁾ As a reconstruction of the process of the myth’s formation, his hypothesis is plausible.

5. Ishikoridome no mikoto 伊斯許理度売命

In the episode describing Ninigi's descent, the *Kojiki* identifies the deity Ishikoridome no mikoto as the ancestor of the Kagamitsukuri no muraji 作鏡連 lineage.⁽¹¹⁾ *Kori* derives from the verb *koru* ("to cut"); here it is held to refer to carving a mirror mold from stone. The corresponding passage in the first variant of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* transcribes the name as 石凝姥, with the graph 姥 *tome* indicating that the figure in question was an old woman. It describes her as being chosen to act as the smith (*kanuchi* 冶工) following Omoikane's call to "fashion a likeness of this deity [Amaterasu] and summon her presence." As the smith, Ishikoridome takes metal from Amenokaguyama mountain and fashions a sun halberd; she then flays a magnificent deer and makes a bellows out of the hide to use in fashioning the likeness.⁽¹²⁾ The second variant states that the figure charged with fashioning the mirror was Amanoarato 天糠戸, the ancestor of the *kagamitsukuribe* 鏡作部 ("mirror fashioners") worker group.⁽¹³⁾ The third variant identifies the fashioner of the large mirror hung before the cave as Ishikoritobe 石凝戸辺, the child of Amanonukato 天抜戸, "ancestor of the mirror fashioners" (*kagamitsukuri*).⁽¹⁴⁾

Further comment: The deities figuring in the Rock Cave episode and the lineages associated with them. Nine deities are identified as figuring in the Rock Cave myth: Susanoo, Amaterasu, Omoikane, Ishikoridome, Tamanooya, Amenokoya, Tajikarao, and Amenouzume.⁽¹⁵⁾ Of these, four—Ishikoridome, Tamanooya, Amenokoya, and Amenouzume—were held to be the ancestral deities of *tomo no miyatsuko* 伴造 lineages responsible for ritual activities associated with the Yamato rulers.⁽¹⁶⁾ After the establishment of the *ritsuryō* state, representatives of these lineages became officials within the Jingikan 神祇官 (Office of Deities) and continued their traditional functions in this guise.

Ishikoridome was the ancestral deity of the Kagamitsukuri 鏡作 lineage, which oversaw groups of "mirror fashioner" workers (*kagamitsukuribe* 鏡作部). In 683,

in the reorganization of *kabane* lineage titles under Emperor Tenmu, the title of the main line of the Kagamitsukuri lineage was changed from *miyatsuko* 造 to *muraji* 連. *Wamyō ruijushō* (early tenth century) records villages in Yamato and Izu Provinces with the name Kagamitsukuri 鏡作 and districts in the provinces of Settsu, Mino, Mimasaka, and Awa with the name Kagami (variously transcribed as 覚美, 香美, and 各務), names that suggest an association with the manufacture of mirrors. Lineage shrines known by the names Kagamitsukuri nimasu amateru mitama 鏡作坐天照御魂 Shrine, Kagamitsukuri ita 鏡作伊多 Shrine, and Kagamitsukuri make 鏡作麻気 Shrine are found in Shikinoshimo 城下 District in Yamato Province.

Tamanooya was the ancestral deity of the Tamatsukuri 玉作 lineage, which oversaw groups of “jewel fashioner” workers (*tamatsukuribe* 玉作部). Its original lineage title was *muraji*, and in 684 this was changed to *sukune* 宿禰. *Wamyō ruijushō* lists locations in Kawachi and Suō Provinces named Tamanooya, suggesting a connection with this lineage.

Amenokoya was the ancestral deity of the Nakatomi 中臣 lineage, which oversaw the conduct of ritual affairs associated with the Yamato rulers. The lineage’s name means “to take charge of matters between deities and the human realm,” and the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* include multiple references to the Nakatomi conducting divinations. Under the *ritsuryō* system, the Nakatomi served generation after generation in the most important Jingikan posts, including as its head (*haku* 伯) and vice head (*taifu* 大副). They served also as head of the office that oversaw the administration of the Ise Shrines. The lineage’s base has been variously identified as being in Kawachi, Yamato, Buzen, and Hitachi Provinces.

Futodama was the ancestral deity of the Inbe 忌部 lineage. The central branch of this lineage collected the items necessary for rituals from worker groups based in Izumo, Kii, Awa, and Sanuki. Under the *ritsuryō* system, members of the lineage served hereditarily as officials in the Jingikan. The *ritsuryō* codes specify

that at the spring Toshigoi no matsuri 祈年祭 ritual to pray for a good crop and the Tsukinami no matsuri 月次祭 rituals held in the sixth and twelfth months, a member of the Nakatomi lineage should intone the liturgy and members of the Inbe lineage manage the offerings (*heihaku* 幣帛). As this indicates, in principle the Nakatomi and Inbe were to share responsibility for ritual matters between them. Scattered references indicate that the Inbe were in fact dispatched on occasion as the envoy to present the accompanying celebratory offerings (*heihakushi* 幣帛使) to the Ise Shrines. There was, however, ongoing competition over this issue between the Inbe and the Nakatomi, who appear to have claimed an increasingly dominant role in the court's ritual affairs. In 806 the emperor ruled that the two lineages should share responsibility for liturgical matters as attested in the accounts of the age of deities. Nevertheless, *Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺, written in 807 by Inbe no Hironari 斎部広成, complains that the Nakatomi had steadily displaced the Inbe from their traditional role in the Ōtonohokai ritual to pray for the safety of the palace and the Mikado matsuri 御門祭 ritual to dispel malevolent spirits from its gates. The consensus among scholars today is that the Nakatomi indeed came to take over ritual roles originally performed by the Inbe together with female ritual attendants (*mikannagi* 御巫) under the jurisdiction of the Jingikan.

Amenouzume was the ancestral deity of the Sarume 猿女 lineage that supplied *sarume* ("dance maidens") to offer dances at the Tamashizume no matsuri 鎮魂祭 rites held annually in the eleventh month to soothe and restore the emperor's spirit. In the passage on Ninigi's descent, the *Kojiki* relates that the lineage assumed this name because Ninigi commanded Amenouzume to take on the name of Sarutabiko 猿田毘古, a male deity whose part in leading the way for Ninigi she had facilitated.⁽¹⁷⁾ The lineage was based in the Ise area and was closely connected to myths and rites concerning Ise. Some hypothesize that it was a maritime group that provided offerings of sea products from Shima Province.

Nishimura Kentarō 西村健太郎, Ancient Japanese History

6. Tamanooya no mikoto 玉祖命

In the episode describing Ninigi's descent, this deity is identified as the ancestor of the Tamanooya no muraji 玉祖連 lineage and as one of the “five heads of service lineages” who are dispatched to accompany Ninigi.⁽¹⁸⁾ The second variant of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* identifies this deity as “Toyotama 豊玉, the ancestor of the *tamatsukuribe* 玉作部 (‘jewel fashioners’) worker group.”⁽¹⁹⁾ In the first part of its list of “deity origin lineages of the right sector of the capital” (*ukyō shinbetsu* 右京神別), *Shinsen shōjiroku* states that the lineages descended from this deity were known as both Tamanooya no muraji 玉祖連 and Tamatsukuri no muraji 玉作連.⁽²⁰⁾

7. Amenokoya no mikoto 天兒屋命

In the episode describing Ninigi's descent, the *Kojiki* identifies the deity Amenokoya no mikoto as the ancestor of the Nakatomi lineage and as one of the “five heads of service lineages” who are dispatched to accompany Ninigi.⁽²¹⁾ The name is usually read Amenokoyane no mikoto, but recent commentators such as Kōnosshi Takamitsu, Yamaguchi Yoshinori, and Okimori Takuya 沖森卓也 hold that it should be read Amenokoya no mikoto on the ground that the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Kogo shūi* all transcribe it as 天兒屋命.⁽²²⁾ The Amenokoyane reading is based on the transcription of the name as 天兒屋根命 in *Tōshi kaden* 藤氏家伝 and the *Nakatomi no yogoto* 中臣寿詞 celebratory oration, and as 天之子八根命 in the liturgy offered on the occasion of the Kasuga 春日 Shrine festival, with the graph 根 representing the sound *ne* in both instances.⁽²³⁾ As Okimori points out, however, all other occurrences of the graph 屋 in the *Kojiki* would be read simply as *ya* alone. It thus seems more appropriate to do the same here and adopt the reading of Amenokoya.

8. Futodama no mikoto 布刀玉命

In the episode describing Ninigi's descent, the *Kojiki* identifies the deity Futodama as the ancestor of the Inbe lineage. *Futo* is an eulogistic particle, and *tama* perhaps refers to the jewels (*tama* 玉) to be worn when performing a ritual. As with the three preceding deities, Futodama is one of the “five heads of service lineages” who are dispatched to accompany Ninigi in his descent.⁽²⁴⁾ The corresponding passage in the main text of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* transcribes the name as 太玉命 (太玉 = “large jewel”) and relates that this deity intoned a solemn prayer (*inori* 祈禱) together with Amenokoya no mikoto.⁽²⁵⁾ The second variant describes this deity's role as fashioning the ribbons of cloth hung as offerings, while Amenokoya no mikoto alone assumes the role of intoning a solemn liturgy (*kamuhosaki hosakiki* 神祝祝之).⁽²⁶⁾ In the third variant, Futodama no mikoto both brings the *sakaki* tree to which offerings of a mirror, jewels, and ribbons of cloth have been attached and “intones solemnly a gracious litany” (*hiroku atsuki tataegoto o nomimōsashimu* 広厚称辞祈啓矣).⁽²⁷⁾

9. “A *hahaka* cherry tree” (*ame no hahaka* 天之波々迦)

Hahaka is also known as *kaniwazakura*, a variety of cherry tree whose bark was used in divination. The divination was conducted by reading the depth of the cracks produced by applying burning pieces of the bark to the shoulder bone of a deer.

10. “Had them . . . perform a solemn divination” (*uranai makanawashimete* 令占合麻迦那波而)

Regarding the term *uranai* (“divination”), see the commentary in chapter 4 (Union of Izanaki and Izanami), text notes 18 and 19.⁽²⁸⁾ The term *makanau*, used here in the causative form, means “to prepare” or “to provide.”

11. “[Amenokoya no mikoto] intoned a solemn liturgy” (*futonoritogoto hokimōshite* 布刀詔戸言、禱白而)

The sequence of characters 布刀詔戸言禱白而 might be read in two ways: *futonoritogoto hokimōshite* 布刀詔戸言、禱白而 or *futonorito kotohokimōshite* 布刀詔戸、言禱白而, depending on whether the pivotal graph 言 is interpreted as part of the initial noun phrase or as part of the following verbal phrase. In the subsequent Cession of the Land episode, the digraph *hokimōshite* 禱白 (“offer words of praise”) appears as a discrete unit,⁽²⁹⁾ and the Ōharae liturgy includes the phrase *amatsu norito no futonoritogoto* 天津祝詞₇太祝詞事 (“the heavenly intoning that is the great liturgy”).⁽³⁰⁾ On the basis of these examples, we have chosen the former option: *futonoritogoto*.

Several readings of the first character of the verbal construction 禱白 are possible: *negu*, *nomu*, or *hoku*. Motoori Norinaga reads the digraph as *negimōshite*. He argues that *hogu* (the voiced form of *hoku*) means “to offer up words of praise,” *nomu* means “to beseech,” and *negu* combines both meanings. He notes that the basic meaning of the graph 禱 is to offer up words of praise but also holds that since here the context is one of beseeching Amaterasu to emerge from hiding, the appropriate reading is *negu*.⁽³¹⁾ This interpretation of the implications of *negu* requires additional consideration. Here we have adopted the reading *hoku*, taking it in the sense described by the compilers of the *Nihon shisō taikēi* edition of the *Kojiki*: “to offer congratulatory words, in hope of a good result.”⁽³²⁾ Most commentaries today read the verbal phrase as *hokimōshite*. As indicated in text note 8, the corresponding passages of the *Nihon shoki* variously use the terms *inori* 祈禱 (main text), *hosaku* 祝 (second variant), and *nomu* 祈 (third variant) to describe the offering of a liturgy.⁽³³⁾ This divergence in terms reflects the larger contextual differences between these passages, and the readings of these terms are not of much use in trying to reconstruct the reading of the digraph 禱白 here.

12. Amenotajikarao no kami 天手力男神

This name epitomizes having the strength to take Amaterasu by the hand and pull her from the rock cave. Amenotajikarao no kami is subsequently dispatched to accompany Ninigi in his descent, along with the “five heads of service lineages,” Omoikane, and Amenoiwatowake no kami. The same passage identifies Amenotajikarao no kami as “dwelling in the district (*agata* 県) of Sana 佐那.”⁽³⁴⁾ The corresponding passage in the main text of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* makes no mention of this deity. The third variant transcribes the name as 天手力雄神 and describes the deity as performing a role similar to the one he plays in the *Kojiki*.⁽³⁵⁾ An allusion to this deity figures in *Man'yōshū* poem 419, one of three poems (417, 418, and 419) composed by Princess Tamochi 手持女王 on the occasion of the burial of her consort Prince Kawachi 河内王 at Kagamiyama 鏡山 in the province of Buzen in Kyushu: “I wish my hands were strong enough (*tajikara* 手力) to break the rock cave door, but being a weak (*tayowaki* 手弱) woman, I can do nothing.”⁽³⁶⁾

13. Amenouzume no mikoto 天宇受売命

In the episode describing Ninigi's descent, the *Kojiki* identifies the deity Amenouzume no mikoto as the ancestor of the Sarume 猿女 lineage.⁽³⁷⁾ The *Kogo shūi* asserts that the word *uzume* derives from *ozume* 強女 (“strong woman”), but *Itsu no chiwaki* 稜威道別, a commentary on the *Nihon shoki* compiled in 1844 by Tachibana Moribe 橘守部 (1781–1849), interprets it as a woman who has adorned her hair with decorations in the shape of flowers and leaves (*uzu* 髻華).⁽³⁸⁾ Prior to Ninigi's descent, Amaterasu and Takagi no kami 高木神 (an alternative name for Takamimusuhi) direct Amenouzume to confront the earthly deity Sarutabiko no kami 猿田毗古神, who is standing in the heavenly crossroads that lead in multiple directions (*ame no yachimata* 天之八街). They assign Amenouzume this task because she is a deity capable of “confronting” (*imukau* 伊牟迦布) and

“standing up to” (*omokatsu* 面勝) Sarutabiko.⁽³⁹⁾

The *Kojiki* also identifies Amenouzume as one of the “five heads of service lineages” who accompany Ninigi in his descent.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Some postulate that her actions in the Rock Cave episode likely reflect the Tamashizume no matsuri rite conducted at the court to soothe and restore the emperor’s spirit. Records of court protocols dating from the Heian period indicate that the sacred dance (*mai* 舞) that was part of the Tamashizume rite was performed by a female ritual attendant (*mikannagi* 御巫) from the Jingikan rather than specifically a representative of the Sarume. Holding that “the Tamashizume rite preserves the acts of Amenouzume no mikoto,” the *Kogo shūi* argues that “the post of female ritual attendant should again be entrusted to members of the [Sarume] lineage.”⁽⁴¹⁾

14. She went into a divine trance (*kamugakari shite* 為神懸而)

Opinion is divided as to whether the description of Amenouzume as going into a “divine trance” indicates that she was possessed by another deity or simply entered a state of self-oblivion. Opting for the first possibility raises the question of the nature of the deity that possessed her. Mizoguchi Mutsuko has posited the existence of a “deity without a name,” an unarticulated motive force, as the object of the *futomani* divination performed at the direction of the Heavenly Deities following the birth of the leech child and as the point of reference in the contest of oaths between Amaterasu and Susanoo.⁽⁴²⁾ Might one assume the existence of a similar unarticulated deity who takes possession of Amenouzume? Or might Amenouzume’s trance be an attempt to lure Amaterasu out of the Rock Cave by inviting Amaterasu to possess her? Both interpretations might be possible, but there is not incontrovertible evidence for either. The corresponding passage in the main text of the seventh section of the Age of Deities chapter of the *Nihon shoki* states that Amenouzume “adroitly put on a droll performance” (*takumi ni wazaoki o nasu* 巧作俳優) and “went into a divine trance” (*kamugakarisu* 顯神明之憑談).⁽⁴³⁾

Endnotes

- (1) Matsumoto, *Kojiki shinwa ron*, pp. 257–61.
- (2) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 98–99.
- (3) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15.
- (4) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 76–77; 78–79.
- (5) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–17.
- (6) Furuhashi, “Omoikane ni tsuite.”
- (7) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 86–87.
- (8) Karasudani, *Jōdai bungaku no denshō to seiritsu*, p. 91.
- (9) Nakamura, *Shinpan Kojiki*, p. 43n11.
- (10) Kurano, *Kojiki zenchūshaku*, vol. 3, pp. 83–84.
- (11) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 116–17.
- (12) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 78–81.
- (13) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 80–81.
- (14) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 84–85.
- (15) The translation is an abridgment of the original further comment. For the full version, see *Kojiki gaku* 4 (2018), pp. 49–54.
- (16) *Tomo no miyatsuko* served the Yamato rulers by overseeing groups of workers charged with supplying specified products and services. (TN)
- (17) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15, 118–19.
- (18) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 116–17.
- (19) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 82–83.
- (20) See the entry on the Imitamatsukuri 忌玉作 lineage. Tanaka, *Shinsen shōjiroku*, p. 464.
- (21) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15.
- (22) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 64–65, 114–15; Okimori et al., *Shinkō Kojiki*, p. 271.
- (23) *Tōshi kaden* is a record of the Fujiwara 藤原 lineage (which derived from the Nakatomi), compiled between 760 and 766. Kasuga Shrine was a Fujiwara lineage shrine and enshrined Amenokoya / Amenokoyane together with other deities. (TN)
- (24) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15.
- (25) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 76–77. This edition reads the graphs 天兒屋 as Amanokoyane (TN).

- (26) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 80–83.
- (27) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 84–85.
- (28) *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 36–37 (Japanese original); 6 (2020), pp. 289–91 (English translation).
- (29) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 110–11.
- (30) Kurano and Takeda, *Kojiki, Norito*, pp. 424–25.
- (31) Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 369.
- (32) Aoki Kazuo et al., *Kojiki*, pp. 52–53n5.
- (33) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 76–77, 80–83, 84–85.
- (34) Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–17. Sana is the ancient name of an area in present-day Mie Prefecture. See p. 117n10.
- (35) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 84–85.
- (36) Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 6, pp. 234–35.
- (37) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 116–17.
- (38) Nishimiya, *Kogo shūi*, p. 20; Tachibana Moribe, *Itsu no chiwaki*, pp. 186–87.
- (39) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15.
- (40) See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 114–15.
- (41) Nishimiya, *Kogo shūi*, p. 51.
- (42) Mizoguchi, “Nazukerarete inai ‘kami.’” See *Kojiki gaku* 1 (2015), pp. 26–27 (Japanese original); 6 (2020), pp. 289–92, 305–306 (English translation).
- (43) Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 76–77, 77n25.

Frequently Used Bibliographic Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used for frequently cited compendia and sources

- KMZ *Kamo no Mabuchi zenshū* 賀茂真淵全集. 27 vols. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1977–1992.
- KKSKK *Kokugakuin Daigaku Kenkyū Kaihatsu Suishin Kikō kiyō* 國學院大學研究開発推進機構紀要. 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.

References

- Abe Shinji 阿部眞司. *Ōmononushi no kami denshō ron* 大物主神伝承論. Kanrin Shobō 翰林書房, 1999.
- Aoki Kazuo 青木和夫 et al., eds. *Kojiki* 古事記. NST 1.
- Aoki Kazuo et al., eds. *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀. 5 vols. Vols. 12–16 of *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1989–1998.

Aoki Kigen 青木紀元. *Nihon shinwa no kisoteki kenkyū* 日本神話の基礎的研究. Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1970.

Aoki Kigen. *Norito zenhyōshaku* 祝詞全評釈. Yūbun Shoin 右文書院, 2000.

Daisanji Okinoshima Gakujutsu Chōsatai 第三次沖ノ島学術調査隊, ed. *Munakata Okinoshima* 宗像沖ノ島. Munakata Jinja Fukkō Kiseikai 宗像神社復興期成会, 1979.

Furuhashi Nobuyoshi 古橋信孝. “Omoikane ni tsuite: Kyokō ishiki no hassei no mondai” 思兼神について: 虚構意識の発生の問題. In vol. 2 of *Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho*, *Nihon shinwa* 日本文学研究資料叢書・日本神話, pp. 68–81. Yūseidō 有精堂, 1977.

Hashimoto Toshimitsu 橋本利光. “Nihon shoki no tsuki no kami: Tsukuyomi no mikoto no shinmei” 日本書紀の月神: ツクヨミノミコトの神名. *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌 110 (2009), pp. 14–27.

Inoue Hayato 井上隼人. “‘Kojiki’ ni okeru ‘unahara’ no igi: Tōchi ryōiki no kakuritsu katei” 『古事記』における「海原」の意義: 統治領域の確立過程. *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 161–85.

Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten: Jōdai hen 時代別国語大辞典: 上代編. Sanseidō 三省堂, 2002.

Kamada Motokazu 鎌田元一. *Ritsuryō kōminsei no kenkyū* 律令公民制の研究. Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, 2001.

Kamata Jun’ichi 鎌田純一, ed. *Sendai kuji hongī* 先代旧事本紀. In vol. 8 of *Shintō taikai: Kōten hen* 神道大系: 古典編. Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1980.

Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵. *Kunitsuchi kō* 久邇門致考. In vol. 11 of *Kamo no Mabuchi zenshū* 賀茂真淵全集, pp. 295–98. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1931.

Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫 and Ōta Yoshimaro 太田善磨, eds. *Kojiki* 古事記. 2 vols. *Nihon koten zensho* 日本古典全書. Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1962.

Karasudani Tomoko 烏谷知子. *Jōdai bungaku no denshō to hyōgen* 上代文学の伝

承と表現. Ōfū おうふう, 2016.

Kawamura Hidene 河村秀根, Kawamura Shigene 河村殷根, and Kawamura Masune 河村益根. *Shoki shikkai* 書紀集解. 4 vols. Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1969.

Kitagawa Kazuhide 北川和秀. “Kojiki jōkan to Nihon shoki jindaikan to no kankai” 古事記上巻と日本書紀神代巻との関係. *Bungaku* 文学 48:5 (1980), pp. 125–47.

Kitano Satoshi 北野達. *Kojiki shinwa kenkyū: Tennō-ke no yurai to shinwa* 古事記神話研究: 天皇家の由来と神話. Ōfū おうふう, 2015.

Kōhon Nihon shoki 校本日本書紀. Ed. Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūsho 國學院大學日本文化研究所. 4 vols. Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1973.

Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之 et al., eds. *Man'yōshū* 万葉集. 4 vols. SNKBZ 6–9.

Kojima Noriyuki et al., eds. *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. 3 vols. SNKBZ 2–4.

Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光. *Kakinomoto no Hitomaro kenkyū* 柿本人麻呂研究. Haniwa Shobō 塙書房, 1992.

Kurano Kenji 倉野憲司, ed. *Kojiki zenchūshaku* 古事記全註釈. 7 vols. Sanseidō 三省堂, 1973–1980.

Kurano Kenji and Takeda Yūkichi 武田祐吉, eds. *Kojiki, Norito* 古事記・祝詞. NKBT 1.

Kwon Dong-Woo / クォン・トンウ 權東祐. *Susano no henbō: Kodai kara chūsei e* スサノヲの変貌: 古代から中世へ. Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2009.

Mabuchi Kazuo 馬淵和夫, ed. *Koshahon Wamyō ruijushō shūsei* 古写本和名類聚抄集成. 3 vols. Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2008.

Masuda Katsumi 益田勝美. *Higi no shima* 秘儀の島. Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1976.

Matsumoto Naoki 松本直樹. *Kojiki shinwa ron* 古事記神話論. Shintensha 新典社, 2003.

Matsumura Takeo 松村武雄. *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū* 日本神話の研究. 4 vols.

Baifukan 培風館, 1955.

Mibu Sachiko 壬生幸子. “Amaterasu ōmikami no ‘mikashikomi’: Ama no iwayato komori o michibiku Kojiki no hyōgen to ronri” 天照大御神の「見畏」: 天石屋戸こもりをみちびく古事記の表現と論理. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記年報 33 (1991), pp. 75–94.

Mibu Sachiko. “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu” 大物主神についての一考察. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記年報 19 (1977), pp. 104–19.

Mitani Eiichi 三谷栄一. *Nihon bungaku no minzokugakuteki kenkyū* 日本文学の民俗学的研究. Yūseidō 有精堂, 1987.

Mizoguchi Mutsuko 溝口睦子. “Nazukerarete inai ‘kami’: Nihon kodai ni okeru kyūkyokusha no kannen ni tsuite” 名づけられていない「神」: 日本古代における究極者の觀念について. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記年報 39 (1997), pp. 21–42.

Mizoguchi Mutsuko. *Nihon kodai shizoku keifu no kenkyū* 日本古代氏族系譜の研究. Gakushūin Daigaku 学習院大学, 1982.

Moriya Toshihiko 守屋俊彦. “Tokoyo no naka no seikon: Ama no iwayato shinwa e no hitotsu no shōmei” 常夜の中の聖婚: 天の石屋戸神話への一つの照明. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記年報 37 (1995), pp. 30–46

Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長. *Kojiki den* 古事記伝. 4 vols. MNZ 9–12.

Murakami Mayuko 村上麻佑子. “Kodai Nihon ni okeru ‘osukuni’ no shisō.” 古代日本における「食国」の思想. *Nihon shisōshi gaku* 日本思想史学 44 (2012), pp. 101–19.

Muroya Sachie 室屋幸恵. “‘Mikashikomi’ kō: ‘Kojiki’ no yōji ishiki” 「見畏」考: 『古事記』の用字意識. *Jōdai bungaku kenkyū ronshū* 上代文学研究論集 1 (2017), pp. 46–72.

Nakada Norio 中田祝夫 et al., eds. *Kogo daijiten* 古語大辞典. Shōgakukan 小学館, 1983.

Nakamura Hirotooshi 中村啓信. *Kojiki no honsei* 古事記の本性. Ōfū おうふう, 2000.

Nakamura Hirotooshi, ed. *Shinpan Kojiki* 新版古事記. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan

- 角川学芸出版, 2009.
- Nihon shoki shiki* 日本書紀私記. In vol. 8 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補
国史大系. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1957.
- Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民, ed. *Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺. Iwanami Shoten 岩波書
店, 1985.
- Nishimiya Kazutami, ed. *Kojiki* 古事記. *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古
典集成. Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1979.
- Nishimiya Kazutami. *Kojiki no kenkyū* 古事記の研究. Ōfu おうふう, 1993.
- Nishimiya Kazutami, ed. *Kojiki shūteiban* 古事記修訂版. Ōfu おうふう, 2000.
- Ōbayashi Taryō 大林太良. *Nihon shinwa no kōzō* 日本神話の構造. Kōbundō 弘文
堂, 1975.
- Okada Seishi 岡田精司. *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa* 古代王権の祭祀と神話.
Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, 1970.
- Okimori Takuya 沖森卓也 et al., eds. *Shinkō Kojiki* 新校古事記. Ōfu おうふう,
2015.
- Onoda Mitsuo 小野田光雄, ed. *Kojiki* 古事記. In vol. 1 of *Shintō taikai: Kōten hen*
神道大系: 古典編. Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1977.
- Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫. “Daijōsai no hongī” 大嘗祭の本義. In vol. 3 of
Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū 折口信夫全集, pp. 174–240. Chūōkōronsha 中央公
論社, 1966.
- Park Mi-kyong 朴美京. “Susanoo no mikoto no shōten o megutte: ‘Kou’ o tegakari
ni” 須佐之男命の昇天をめぐって: 「請」を手掛かりに. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記
年報 43 (2001), pp. 39–60.
- Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱. *Kojiki chūshaku* 古事記注釈. 4 vols. Heibonsha 平凡
社, 1975–1989.
- Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎. *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. 2 vols. NKBT 67–68.
- Sakurai Mitsuru 桜井満. “‘Osukuni’ no hyōgen to daijōsai” 「食国」の表現と大嘗
祭. In vol. 3 of *Sakurai Mitsuru chosakushū* 桜井満著作集, pp. 186–200. Ōfu

おうふう, 2000.

Sasō Mamoru 笹生衛. *Kami to shisha no kōkogaku* 神と死者の考古学. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2016.

Sasō Mamoru. *Nihon kodai no saishi kōkogaku* 日本古代の祭祀考古学. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012.

Satō Masahide 佐藤正英. *Kojiki shinwa o yomu: “Kami no me,” “kami no ko” no monogatari* 古事記神話を読む: 〈神の女〉〈神の子〉の物語. Seidosha 青土社, 2011.

Senge Yoshihiko 千家和比古. “Daisanshō III: Yanagui ni tsuite” 第三章III胡籙について. In *Kazusa Sannōyama kofun chōsa hōkokusho* 上総山王山古墳調査報告書, ed. Kazusa Sannōyama Kofun Hakkutsu Chōsadan 上総山王山古墳発掘調査団, pp. 176–95. Ichihara-shi Kyōiku Linkai 市原市教育委員会, 1980.

Shikida Toshiharu 敷田年治. *Kojiki hyōchū* 古事記標註. In vol. 1 of *Shintō taikai: Kōten chūshaku hen* 神道大系: 古典註釈編, pp. 277–408. Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1977.

Sugano Masao 菅野雅雄. *Kojiki kōsō no kenkyū* 古事記構想の研究. Ōfūsha 桜楓社, 1993.

Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木啓之. *Kojiki no bunshō to sono kyōju* 古事記の文章とその享受. Shintensha 新典社, 2011.

Tachibana Moribe 橘守部. *Itsu no chiwaki* 稜威道別. Vol. 1 of *Tachibana Moribe zenshū* 橘守部全集. Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1922.

Tada Miyako 多田みや子. *Kodai bungaku no shosō* 古代文学の諸相. Kanrin Shobō 翰林書房, 2006.

Takahashi Katsuhisa 高橋克壽. *Haniwa no seiki* 埴輪の世紀. Kōdansha 講談社, 1996.

Takatsuki Shiritsu Imashirozuka Kodai Rekishikan 高槻市立今城塚古代歴史館, ed. *Yomigaeru kodai no kirameki: Fukusōhin ni miru Imashirozuka kofun no jidai* よみがえる古代の煌き: 副葬品にみる今城塚古墳の時代. Takatsuki

- Shiritsu Imashirozuka Kodai Rekishikan, 2012.
- Takeuchi Teruo 竹内照夫, ed. *Raiki* 礼記. 3 vols. Vols. 27–29 of *Shinshaku kanbun taikei*. Meiji Shoin, 1971–1979.
- Tanaka Migaku 田中琢 and Sahara Makoto 佐原真 et al., eds. *Nihon kōkōgaku jiten* 日本考古学事典. Sanseidō 三省堂, 2002.
- Tanaka Takashi 田中卓, ed. *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録. In vol. 6 of *Shintō taikei: Koten hen* 神道大系: 古典編. Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1981.
- Taniguchi Masahiro 谷口雅博. *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku* 古事記の表現と文脈. Ōfū おうふう, 2008.
- Taniguchi Masahiro. “Kojiki ‘ame no iwayato shinwa’ ni okeru ‘norite naosu’ no igi” 古事記「天の石屋戸神話」における「詔直」の意義. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記年報 37 (1995), pp. 47–67.
- Taniguchi Masahiro. “Kojiki shinwa ni okeru kuni no seisei: ‘Kuniumi,’ ‘kunizukuri’ no igi” 古事記神話における国の生成: 「国生」「国作」の意義. *Kojiki nenpō* 古事記年報 40 (1998), pp. 23–40.
- Taniguchi Masahiro. “‘Kojiki’ shinwa no naka no saigai: Wazawai o motarasu mono” 『古事記』神話の中の災害: 災いをもたらすモノ. *Yūkyū* 悠久 129 (2013), pp. 24–29.
- Tokura Yoshitaka 都倉義孝. *Kojiki: Kodai ōken no katari no shikumi* 古事記: 古代王権の語りの仕組み. Yūseidō 有精堂, 1995.
- Tsugita Uruu 次田潤. *Kojiki shinkō* 古事記新講. Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1956.
- Uegaki Setsuya 植垣節也, ed. *Fudoki* 風土記. SNKBZ 5.
- Umezawa Isezō 梅沢伊勢三. *Kiki hihan* 紀紀批判. Sōgensha 創元社, 1962.
- Yajima Izumi 矢嶋泉. “Ashiki kami no koe sabae no gotoku mina michi, yorozu no mono no wazawai kotogotoku okoriki: Kojiki shinwa no ronri” 悪神之音如狭蠅皆満 万物之妖悉発: 『古事記』神話の論理. *Seishin Joshi Daigaku ronsō* 聖心女子大学論叢 67 (1986), pp. 59–79.
- Yamaguchi Yoshinori 山口佳紀 and Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光, eds., *Kojiki*

古事記. SNKBZ 1.

Yamazaki Kaori 山崎かおり. “Tsukuyomi no mikoto to yoru no osukuni” 月読命と夜之食国. *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌 115 (2014), pp. 256–71.

Yoshida Atsuhiko 吉田敦彦. *Nihon shinwa to In'ō shinwa* 日本神話と印欧神話. Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1974.