

# KOJIKI

Translated  
with an Introduction and Notes  
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## Preface<sup>1</sup>

1 I, YASUMARÖ,<sup>2</sup> do say:

2 ~~When the primeval matter had congealed but breath and form~~  
had not yet appeared, there were no names and no action.<sup>3</sup> Who  
can know its form?

3 However, when heaven and earth were first divided, the three  
deities became the first of all creation.<sup>4</sup> The Male and Female<sup>5</sup> here  
began, and the two spirits<sup>6</sup> were the ancestors of all creation.

4 Whereupon after the going in and coming out from the seen  
and unseen worlds,<sup>7</sup> the sun and moon were revealed in the wash-  
ing of the eyes.<sup>8</sup>

5 After the floating and sinking in the sea-waters, the deities were  
revealed in the washing of the body.<sup>9</sup>

6 Thus, though the primeval beginnings be distant and dim, yet by

<sup>1</sup> The so-called Preface is actually a document presenting the *Kojiki* to the Empress Gemmei. It is entirely Chinese in style and diction, containing many phrases modeled after Chinese writings.

<sup>2</sup> Opo nō Yasumarō; cf. verse 70 of the Preface. The word translated 'I' is 臣, meaning 'subject' or 'vassal.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Primeval matter' might also be translated 'chaos.' This matter congeals or hardens. Breath and form are two of the three attributes of life, the third being substance. In the primeval state these attributes had not yet emerged. The idea of such a primeval nameless state of inactivity seems to be borrowed from Taoist thought. The whole paragraph is thoroughly Chinese in conception.

<sup>4</sup> Verses 3-18 contain references to many of the accounts in the *Kojiki* text. The 'three deities' are those mentioned in 1:1 of the text.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, the Yin and Yang.

<sup>6</sup> The two deities Izanagi and Izanami (2:2).

<sup>7</sup> I.e., Izanagi's visit to Yōmi in Chapter 9.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 11:22-23.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 11:13-18.

the ancient teachings do we know the time when the lands were conceived and the islands born; though the origins be vague and indistinct, yet by relying upon the sages of antiquity do we perceive the age when the deities were born and men were made to stand.<sup>10</sup>

8 Truly, after the hanging up of the mirror<sup>11</sup> and the spitting out of the jewels,<sup>12</sup> the hundred kings followed in succession; after the chewing of the sword and the slaughtering of the serpent,<sup>13</sup> the myriad deities flourished.

10 Conferring by the Yasu river, they pacified the kingdom;<sup>14</sup> disposing by the beach ~~they~~ purified the land.<sup>15</sup>

11 At this, PO-NÖ-NINIGI-~~NO~~-MUKÖTÖ first descended to TAKA-TI-PO peak,<sup>16</sup> and the emperor KAMU-YAMATÖ passed through [the island of] AKI-DU-SIMA.<sup>17</sup>

12 The ghostly bear came forth from the river,<sup>18</sup> and the heavenly sword was obtained from TAKA-KURA.<sup>19</sup>

13 Men with tails blocked the road,<sup>20</sup> and a large crowd led the way to YESINO.<sup>21</sup>

14 Dancing in rows, they swept aside the bandits; hearing the song, they vanquished the foe.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Kurano Kenji equates the 'deities' with the 'myriad deities' and the 'men' with the 'hundred kings' of verse 9. The parallelism of verses 6 and 7 is a common feature of the style of Chinese writing used as a model by Yasumaro. See Kurano in *Kojiki taisei*, ed. Hisamatsu Seiichi et al. (Heibonsha, 1956-58), VI, 6.

<sup>11</sup> A reference to the ceremonies before the Heavenly Rock-cave (cf. 17:11).

<sup>12</sup> A reference to the contest between Susa-no-wo and Ama-terasu-owo-mi-kami (see Chapter 15). The 'chewing of the sword' also refers to that contest (see 15:2ff).

<sup>13</sup> Susa-no-wo's slaying of the eight-tailed dragon (see Chapter 19).

<sup>14</sup> The divine convocation of 32:5ff.

<sup>15</sup> The confrontation of 35:8ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 39:13.

<sup>17</sup> The expedition of Emperor Jimmu, recounted in Chapters 47-52.

<sup>18</sup> The bear is, of course, the bear mentioned in 49:1. In no document, however, is this bear said to come from a river. Most manuscripts have 'put forth his claws,' which is believed to be an error for 'came forth from the river.' See *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 7.

<sup>19</sup> A shortened form for Taka-kurazi, the person who brought the sword to Emperor Jimmu (cf. 49:3).

<sup>20</sup> An allusion to 50:8ff. Perhaps the road was 'blocked' in the sense of being thronged with greeters.

<sup>21</sup> An allusion to 50:2-3.

<sup>22</sup> The sentences in verses 14-16 contain no grammatical subjects; personal pronouns

15 Then, warned by a dream, he revered the gods,<sup>23</sup> and therefore was lauded as the wise emperor.<sup>24</sup>

16 He looked at the smoke and treated the people with benevolence, and to this day is reputed a saintly ruler.<sup>25</sup>

17 The borders were determined and the lands were developed during the reign at TIKA-TU-APUMI,<sup>26</sup> and the titles were corrected and the clan-names selected during the rule at TÖPO-TU-ASUKA.<sup>27</sup>

19 Although each reign differed in the degree of swiftness or slowness, and each was not the same in refinement and simplicity; yet there was not one [ruler] who did not by mediating upon antiquity straighten manners which had collapsed, and who did not by comparing the present with antiquity strengthen morals and teachings verging on extinction.<sup>28</sup>

21 Coming now to the reign of the emperor who ruled OPO-YA-SIMA in the great palace of KIYOMIARA in ASUKA.<sup>29</sup>

22 Already as latent dragon he embodied the royal qualities, and the repeated thunder-peals responded to the times.<sup>30</sup>

23 Hearing the song in a dream, he thought to inherit the Throne;

have been supplied by the translator. Each paragraph refers to a different person or persons. Verse 14 refers to the warriors who killed the Tuti-gumo, the 'men with tails,' in Chapter 52.

<sup>23</sup> Emperor Sujin in 65:2ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. 68:7.

<sup>25</sup> This paragraph refers to Emperor Nintoku (cf. 110:2-7).

<sup>26</sup> The reign of Emperor Seimu (cf. 90:4).

<sup>27</sup> The reign of Emperor Ingyö (cf. 121:11).

<sup>28</sup> Although Motoori attached little importance to this section, the nationalistic Yamada Yoshio regarded verses 15-20 as a summary of the highest principles of Japanese politics. Reverence to the gods, benevolent rule, the designation of local borders, and the correction of names and titles are, he says, the four basic principles of good rule as laid forth by Yasumaro. *Kojiki jöben kögi* (Shiogama [Miyagi Prefecture]: Shibahiko Shrine & Shiogama Shrine, 1935), pp. 67-68.

<sup>29</sup> Emperor Tammu (reigned 673-686). Verses 21-38 are an elaborate encomium of this emperor, dwelling especially upon the circumstances which led to his ascent to the throne after the Jinshin rebellion of 672, in which he was the victor against the pretender Prince Opo-tömö (the so-called Emperor Kōbun).

<sup>30</sup> 'Latent dragon' is a Chinese expression for 'crown prince,' or the destined emperor who has not yet come to the throne. The 'repeated thunder-peals' are signals calling him to the throne.

arriving at the water by night, he knew that he was to receive the Dignity.<sup>31</sup>

24 But the time of Heaven had not yet come, and cicada-like he shed his wrappings in the southern mountains.<sup>32</sup>

25 As popular support grew for his cause, he walked tiger-like in the eastern lands.<sup>33</sup>

26 The imperial chariot proceeded with quick willingness, crossing over the mountains and rivers.

27 The six regiments shook like thunder, and the three armies moved like lightning.

28 The spears and javelins revealed their might, and the fierce warriors rose up like smoke.

29 The crimson banners gleamed upon the weapons, and the treacherous band collapsed like tiles.

30 Before a fortnight<sup>34</sup> had elapsed, the foul vapors had been purified.

31 Thus they released the cattle and rested the steeds, and returned peacefully<sup>35</sup> to the capital.

32 Furling the banners and putting away the halberds, they remained singing and dancing in the city.

33 As the star rested in the region of the Cock,<sup>36</sup> in the second month, in the great palace of Kiyomihara he ascended [the throne] and assumed the Heavenly Dignity.

34 In the Way he excelled the Yellow Emperor; in Virtue he surpassed the king of Chou.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The passage does not identify the song; perhaps it was the popular *waka-uta* to which prophetic meanings were attached (cf. Aston, II, 299). The 'water at night' refers to the Yōkō-gapa river at Nabari, where a divination indicated that Temmu would become Emperor. *Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>32</sup> The future Emperor Temmu, shortly before the death of the preceding Emperor Tenchi, renounced the world (i.e., shed cicada-like his worldly adornments) and retired to Mount Yōsino (or Yesino), for purely tactical reasons. See Aston, II, 297.

<sup>33</sup> Emperor Temmu went to the eastern part of the kingdom and rebelled against Prince Opo-tōmō in 672.

<sup>34</sup> Actually, a period of 12 days. The word is used loosely.

<sup>35</sup> Or 'in triumph.'

<sup>36</sup> I.e., in the year of the Cock, 673.

<sup>37</sup> The Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti) was a legendary Chinese ruler. The king of Chou is evidently Emperor Wen (Wen Wang), a ruler of the Chou dynasty.

35 Grasping the regalia, he ruled the six directions; gaining the Heavenly Lineage, he embraced the eight corners.

36 Adhering to the Two Essences,<sup>38</sup> he put the five elements in right order.<sup>39</sup>

37 He set forth profound principles to implant good practices, and he proposed noble manners to issue throughout the land.<sup>40</sup>

38 Not only this, his wisdom was vast as the sea, searching out antiquity; his mind was bright as a mirror, clearly beholding former ages.

39 Whereupon, the Emperor said:  
"I hear that the *Teiki*<sup>41</sup> and *Hōritsu*<sup>42</sup> handed down by the various houses have come to differ from the truth and that many falsehoods have been added to them.

40 "If these errors are not remedied at this time, their meaning will be lost before many years have passed.

41 "This is the framework of the state, the great foundation of the imperial influence.

42 "Therefore, recording the *Teiki* and examining the *Kōshiki*,<sup>43</sup> discarding the mistaken and establishing the true, I desire to hand them on to later generations."

43 At that time there was a court attendant<sup>44</sup> whose surname was Piyeda and his given name ARE. He was twenty-eight years old.

45 He possessed such great native intelligence that he could repeat

<sup>38</sup> The Yin and Yang.

<sup>39</sup> The five elements are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Kurano regards this as a reference to Emperor Temmu's repeated homage to the wind god of Taira and the god of Hirose. *Kojiki taishō*, VI, 24.

<sup>40</sup> Kurano regards these as definite accomplishments of Emperor Temmu's reign. *Ibid.*, 24-25.

<sup>41</sup> Imperial Chronicles. A document or documents recording genealogical and other basic data concerning the Imperial House. It is regarded as identical with the *Sonki* of verse 54 and the *Sumera-mikōō nō pi-tugi* of verse 46. See Introduction.

<sup>42</sup> Fundamental Dicta. These were evidently documents recording ancient myths, legends, and songs and are believed to be the same as the *Kiji* of verses 42, 54, and 55 and as the *Saki-nō-yō nō puru-gōō* of verse 46. See Introduction.

<sup>43</sup> Ancient Dicta. Used interchangeably with *Hanji*.

<sup>44</sup> *Tamari*. A male attendant of low rank who served the person of the emperor or a prince of the blood. See GLOSSARY.

orally whatever met his eye, and whatever struck his ears was indelibly impressed in his heart.

- 46 Then an imperial command was given to ARE to learn<sup>46</sup> the *Sumeru-mikoto no pi-waki*<sup>46</sup> and the *Saki-no-yō no puni-gō*.<sup>47</sup>
- 47 However, the times went on and the reign changed before this project<sup>48</sup> was accomplished.

- 48 Prostrate, I consider how Her Imperial Majesty,<sup>49</sup> gaining the One,<sup>50</sup> illumines the Universe; being in communion with the Three,<sup>51</sup> nurtures the populace.

- 49 Ruling in the Purple Pavilion, her virtue extends to the limit of the horses' hoof-prints; dwelling in the Concealed Palace, her influence illumines the furthest extent of the prows of the boats.<sup>52</sup>
- 50 The sun rises with doubled radiance; the clouds are scattered and there are no mists.

- 51 Auspicious signs — connected stalks and double rice-ears — are ceaselessly recorded by the scribes; tribute from across countless border beacon-fires and through numberless translations does not leave the treasury empty for a single month.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The Chinese expression used here means both to familiarize oneself with the contents of a written document and to memorize it so that one can recite it without the text. ARE was commissioned to familiarize himself with the difficult old texts, to repeat them over and over again by rote, and thus to learn or memorize them. *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 32.

<sup>46</sup> 'The Imperial Sun-Lincage.' This was probably the same document as the *Teiki* or *Senki*.

<sup>47</sup> This may also be read *Soudai-kiyō* and may be translated 'Ancient Dicta of Former Ages.' It was probably the same document as the *Kyōji* or *Hōyō*.

<sup>48</sup> The project of editing the old traditions as outlined in verse 42.

<sup>49</sup> Empress Gemmei (reigned 707-715). After a short interregnum (verses 48-53), Yasumaro records the empress' command in regard to the compilation of the *Kojiki* (verses 54-55).

<sup>50</sup> I.e., the throne.

<sup>51</sup> I.e., heaven, earth, and man.

<sup>52</sup> The expressions "to the limit of the horses' hoof-prints" and "the furthest extent of the prows of the boats" are reminiscent of Japanese phrases found in the *horio* for the Grain-petitioning Festival in the *Enryō-shiki*.

<sup>53</sup> The phraseology is intentionally continental. The sense of "across countless border beacon-fires and through numberless translations" is that the tribute comes from such distant states—as well as from the nearer countries—that it must cross many borders and be explained in many languages before it reaches the imperial treasury. Cf. *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 36-37.

- 53 It must be said that her fame is greater than that of Emperor Yū,<sup>54</sup> and her virtue surpasses that of Emperor T'ang.<sup>55</sup>

- 54 Hereupon, appalled at the mistakes in the *Kyōji*, she determined to correct the corruptions in the *Senki*.

- 55 On the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wado,<sup>56</sup> an imperial command was given to me, YASUMARŌ, to record and present the *Kyōji* learned by imperial command by PIVEDA NŌ ARE.

- 56 Reverently, in accordance with the imperial will, I chose and took them up in great detail.

- 57 However, during the times of antiquity, both words and meanings were unsophisticated, and it was difficult to reduce the sentences and phrases to writing.<sup>57</sup>

- 58 If expressed completely in ideographic writing, the words will not correspond exactly with the meaning, and if written entirely phonetically, the account will be much longer.<sup>58</sup>

- 60 For this reason, at times ideographic and phonetic writing have been used in combination in the same phrase, and at times the whole matter has been recorded ideographically.

- 61 Thus, when the purport is difficult to gather, a note has been added to make it clear; but when the meaning is easy to understand, no note is given.

- 62 Again, in the case of surnames such as Kusaka, which is written 日下, and given names such as Tarasi, which is written 都賀, the traditional way of writing has been followed without change.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The legendary emperor who founded the Hsia dynasty, 2205 B.C.

<sup>55</sup> The founder of the Yin or Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C.

<sup>56</sup> 711 A.D.

<sup>57</sup> I.e., Chinese writing. In verses 57-62 Yasumaro dilates upon the principles he adopted in editing the texts making up the *Kojiki*.

<sup>58</sup> If translated entirely into literary Chinese, there will be discrepancies between the ideographic text and the original traditions; if written entirely phonetically, a much greater number of ideographs will be required to express the same meaning. Yasumaro gives a good statement of the dilemma of the scribe in the Japan of that period.

<sup>59</sup> Yasumaro follows the traditional transcriptions of various proper names, even when there seems to be no logical reason for perpetuating them.

## ✓ CHAPTER 1

### THE FIVE SEPARATE HEAVENLY DEITIES COME INTO EXISTENCE.

- 1 At the time of the beginning of heaven and earth,<sup>1</sup> there came into existence in TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA a deity named AMĒ-NÖ-MI-NAKA-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, KAMĪ-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ. These three deities all came into existence as single deities,<sup>2</sup> and their forms were not visible.<sup>3</sup>
- 2 Next, when the land was young, resembling floating oil and drift-like a jellyfish, there sprouted forth something like reed-shoots.<sup>4</sup> From<sup>5</sup> these came into existence the deity UMASI-ASI-KABĪ-PIKO-DI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, AMĒ-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ.<sup>6</sup> These two deities also came into existence as single deities,<sup>6</sup> and their forms were not visible.<sup>8</sup>
- 3 The five deities in the above section are the Separate Heavenly Deities.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 1 for a discussion of the cosmogony of this chapter. For discussions of proper names see GLOSSARY.

<sup>2</sup> *Pitōri-gamī*; unlike the pairs of male and female deities who came into existence later, these deities came into being one by one and had no counterparts. However, it later becomes apparent that both Kamī-musubi-no-kamī and Taka-mi-musubi-nō-kamī had children (cf. 30:4; 38:5).

<sup>3</sup> Or 'they hid their bodies.'

<sup>4</sup> *Asi-kabī*; the word forms part of the name of the next deity.

<sup>5</sup> Or 'by, by means of.'

<sup>6</sup> The first two sentences of this verse are written phonetically, for the most part, and must have originated in oral tradition. Kanda Hideo surmises that the section from 1:2 through 2:2 was originally a poem depicting the birth of all things from reed-shoots springing up in the muddy water of some primeval period. *Kojiki no kōzō* (Meiji Shoin, 1959), pp. 246-47.

<sup>7</sup> *Kōtō-ama-tu-kamī*. For some reason which is unclear to us today, these five deities were distinguished from the other heavenly deities and were set apart in a special category.

## CHAPTER 2

THE SEVEN GENERATIONS OF THE AGE OF THE  
GODS COME INTO EXISTENCE.

- 1 Next there came into existence the deity KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, TÖYÖ-KUMO-NO-NÖ-KAMĪ. These two deities also came into existence as single deities,<sup>1</sup> and their forms were not visible.<sup>2</sup>
- 2 Next there came into existence the deity named U-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse<sup>3</sup> SU-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, TUNO-GUPI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse Iku-GUPI-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, OPO-TO-NÖ-DI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse OPO-TO-NÖ-BE-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, OMÖ-DARU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse AYA-KASIKO-NE-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, IZANAGI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 3 The deities in the above section, from KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ through IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ, are called collectively the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods.<sup>4</sup>
- 4 The first two single deities<sup>5</sup> are each called one generation.<sup>6</sup> The next pairs of ten deities are arranged in couples, each couple being called one generation.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pitōri-gami*.<sup>2</sup> Or 'they hid their bodies.'<sup>3</sup> *Imo*. Literally, 'younger sister.'<sup>4</sup> *Kami-yō nana-yō*.<sup>5</sup> *Yō*. The two single deities in verse 1 are each counted as one *yō*; the ten deities which follow are in couples, each couple being reckoned as one *yō*. Thus there are altogether seven *yō*. Verse 4 is a redactoral gloss, written in small characters in the original, no doubt by Yasumaro. For the cosmogony of this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

## CHAPTER 3

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI ARE COMMANDED TO  
SOLIDIFY THE LAND. THEY CREATE  
ONÖGÖRÖ ISLAND.

- 1 At this time the heavenly deities,<sup>1</sup> all with one command,<sup>2</sup> said to the two deities IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:  
"Complete and solidify this drifting land!"<sup>3</sup>
- 2 Giving them the Heavenly Jeweled Spear,<sup>4</sup> they entrusted the mission to them.
- 3 Thereupon, the two deities stood on the Heavenly Floating Bridge<sup>5</sup> and, lowering the jeweled spear, stirred with it. They stirred the brine with a churning-churning sound;<sup>6</sup> and when they lifted up [the spear] again, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This was the island ONÖGÖRÖ.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the Separate Heavenly Deities of Chapter 1.<sup>2</sup> Some manuscripts have 'giving a command.' A heavenly mandate is not an essential element in the story of Izanagi and Izanami (its omission in most of the versions in the *Nihon shōki* reveals that it was something of an afterthought). Matsumura Takao contends that it was included in the *Kojiki* version to conform with a traditional idea that any deities descending from the heavens to perform any activities should be acting under a mandate from the heavenly deities. *Nihon shūwa no kenkyū*, II, 71-83.<sup>3</sup> The land mentioned above (1:2) as 'drifting like a jellyfish.' A similar command is given later to Opo-kuni-nusi (cf. 30:3).<sup>4</sup> *Ame no nu-bokō*. The words *ame no* ('heavenly') are a stylized epithet praising an object by connecting it with the heavenly abode of the gods. *Nu* is an element which seems to mean 'jewel'; thus, *nu-bokō* would mean a spear made of, or decorated with, precious stones.<sup>5</sup> *Ame no uki-pasi*; cf. 32:3; 39:13. A bridge over which divine beings traveled between heaven and earth. Commentators have interpreted it as a boat or raft, a high ladder, a bridge of rainbows, or the Milky Way.<sup>6</sup> *Kōwurō kōwurō ni*. This onomatopoeia, which appears again in the song in 133:57-58, has also the sense of 'curdling' or 'congealing.' This section of the narrative is perhaps reminiscent of the ancient Inland Sea custom of manufacturing salt by boiling down sea water.<sup>7</sup> Onōgōrō island, which may literally mean 'self-curdling' island (see GLOSSARY).

## CHAPTER 4

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI MARRY AND BEAR  
THEIR FIRST OFFSPRING.

- 1 Descending from the heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar<sup>1</sup> and a spacious palace.<sup>2</sup>
- 2 At this time [Izanagi-nō-mikötō] asked his spouse Izanami-nō-mikötō, saying:
- 3 "How is your body formed?"
- 3 She replied, saying:
- 3 "My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed insufficiently."
- 4 Then Izanagi-nō-mikötō said:
- 4 "My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed to excess. Therefore, I would like to take that place in my body which is formed to excess and insert it into that place in your body which is formed insufficiently, and [thus] give birth to the land. How would this be?"
- 5 [Izanami-nō-mikötō] replied, saying:
- 5 "That will be good."
- 6 Then Izanagi-nō-mikötō said:
- 6 "Then let us, you and me, walk in a circle around this heavenly pillar and meet and have conjugal intercourse."
- 7 After thus agreeing, [Izanagi-nō-mikötō] then said:

was evidently thought to be near what is now Ōsaka Bay (see 111.22). The dripping brine congealed or crystallized to form this island, which became the base of operations of Izanagi and Izanami when they descended from the heavens to begin their procreative work.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the significance of this pillar (*amē no mi-pasira*), see ADDITIONAL NOTE 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ya-pirō-dōnō*. The wedding palace of Izanagi and Izanami. According to Kurano, *pirō* is a unit of length equivalent to the distance from fingertip to fingertip when a person has both arms extended.

"You walk around from the right, and I will walk around from the left and meet you."

- 8 After having agreed to this, they circled around; then IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:

"*Ana-mi-yasi*,<sup>3</sup> how good a lad!"

- 9 Afterwards, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"*Ana-mi-yasi*, how good a maiden!"

- 10 After each had finished speaking, [Izanagi-nō-mikötō] said to his spouse:

"It is not proper<sup>4</sup> that the woman speak first."

- 11 Nevertheless, they commenced procreation and gave birth to a leech-child.<sup>5</sup> They placed this child into a boat made of reeds and floated it away.

- 12 Next, they gave birth to the island of APA. This also is not reckoned as one of their children.

<sup>3</sup> An exclamation of wonder and delight.

<sup>4</sup> Or 'it bodes no good.'

<sup>5</sup> *Piru-go*; for a discussion of the leech-child, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 4. The leech-child and the island of APA were considered failures and were not counted among Izanami and Izanagi's rightful progeny (cf. 7:25).



## CHAPTER 5

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI, LEARNING THE REASON  
FOR THEIR FAILURE, REPEAT THE  
MARRIAGE RITUAL.

- 1 Then the two deities consulted together and said:  
"The child which we have just borne is not good. It is best to report [this matter] before the heavenly deities."
- 2 Then they ascended together and sought the will of the heavenly deities. The heavenly deities thereupon performed a grand divination<sup>1</sup> and said:
- 3 "Because the woman spoke first, [the child] was not good.<sup>2</sup> Descend once more and say it again."
- 4 Then they descended again and walked once more in a circle around the heavenly pillar as [they had done] before.
- 5 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:  
"Ana-ni-yasi, how good a maiden!"
- 6 Afterwards, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:  
"Ana-ni-yasi, how good a lad!"

<sup>1</sup> *Pito-mani*; mentioned also in 73:10. According to the description in 17:10, *pito-mani* was an ancient method of divination, in which the shoulder blade of a deer was heated (using bark from the *papaka* tree) and the cracks observed. This system was evidently practiced in Japan from antiquity and was later replaced by the tortoise-shell system of divination imported from China. Archeological evidence reveals that scapulomancy was performed at least as early as the Yayoi period: remains of such bones have been discovered in late Yayoi period strata in Miura, Kanagawa-ken, as well as in the Yayoi-period Chigusa remains on Sado island, Niigata-ken. The *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (*Wei Chih*), written about 297 A.D., attests to the prevalence of scapular divination among the early Japanese (Tsunoda Ryusaku et al., comp. *Sources of Japanese Tradition* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1958], p. 7). For information about the archeological finds see Saitō Tadashi, *Nihon zenshi* I: *Genshi* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1958), pp. 241-43.

<sup>2</sup> This statement was anticipated by Izanagi in 4:10. The condemnation of the woman for speaking before the man was probably influenced by Chinese ideas; it is doubtful that the ancient Japanese had any such clear-cut ideas of male supremacy. Tsuda, *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 353.

## CHAPTER 6

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO  
NUMEROUS ISLANDS.

- 1 After they had finished saying this, they were united and bore as a child [the island] APADI-NÖ-PO-NÖ-SA-WAKĒ-NÖ-SIMA.<sup>1</sup>
- 2 Next they bore the double island<sup>2</sup> of IYÖ. This island has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:
- 3 Thus, the land of IYÖ is named EPIME; the land of SANUKI is named IPI-YÖRI-PIKO; the land of APA is named OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME; and the land of TOSA is named TAKE-YÖRI-WAKĒ.
- 4 Next they bore the triple island of OKI, also named AMĒ-NÖ-OSI-KÖRÖ-WAKĒ.
- 5 Next they bore the island of TUKUSI. This island also has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:
- 6 Thus, the land of TUKUSI is named SIRA-PI-WAKĒ; [the land of] TÖYÖ-KUNI is named TÖYÖ-PI-WAKĒ; [the land of] PI is named

<sup>1</sup> All of the islands which Izanagi and Izanami bore have alternative personal names, and some of them clearly have gender. The island of Apadi plays a central rôle in all of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* accounts of island-bearing; in one version in the *Nihon shoki*, Izanagi is said to dwell enshrined upon this island (see note on 13:9).

As Tsuda says, the accounts of island-bearing are not a cosmogony, but are merely accounts of the origin of Japan in a political sense. It is strange that there is no account of the creation of man or animals in these origin myths. To Tsuda, Izanagi and Izanami are national deities in a narrow sense, who give birth first to the islands of Japan, then to the deities who dwell in them, and finally to Ama-terasu-omo-mi-kami, the emperor-symbol; at no time do they leave Japan. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 343, 350, 358.

Kanda (pp. 251-54) argues that the Izanagi-Izanami myth was originally a myth-complex from the Inland Sea area and could be dated from the end of the Jōmon Period, or approximately the third century B.C.

At any rate, it is clear that the *Kojiki* account reflects the geographical knowledge of a fairly late period, when sea communications along the Inland Sea to Kyūshū were well developed and when the nation was unified under the Yamato court.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'double-named island.' Both Iyō (Shikoku) and Tūkusi (Kyūshū) have four divisions.

*Kojiki*

TAKE-PI-MUKAPI-TÖYÖ-KUZI-PI-NE-WAKĒ;<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>and the land of KUMASÖ is named TAKE-PI-WAKĒ.<sup>5</sup>

7 Next they bore the island of IKI, also named AMĒ-PITÖTU-BASIRA.

8 Next they bore [the island of] TU-SIMA, also named AMĒ-NÖ-SADE-YÖRI-PIME.

9 Next they bore <sup>6</sup>the island of SADO.

10 Next they bore<sup>7</sup> [the island] OPO-YAMATÖ-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-SIMA, also named AMA-TU-MI-SORA-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-NE-WAKĒ.

11 Thus, because the eight islands<sup>8</sup> were born first, they are called OPO-YASIMA-GUNI.<sup>9</sup>

12 After this, when they returned,<sup>10</sup> they bore [the island] KIBĪ-NÖ-KOZIMA, also named TAKE-PI-KATA-WAKĒ.

13 Next they bore [the island of] ADUKĪ-SIMA, also named OPO-NO-DE-PIME.

14 Next they bore [the island of] OPO-SIMA, also named OPO-TAMARU-WAKĒ.

15 Next they bore [the island of] PIME-ZIMA,<sup>11</sup> also named AMĒ-PITÖTU-NE.

16 Next they bore [the island of] TĪKA-NÖ-SIMA, also named AMĒ-NÖ-OSI-WO.

17 Next they bore [the island of] PUTA-GO-NÖ-SIMA, also named AMĒ-PUTA-YA.

18 From KIBĪ-NÖ-KOZIMA through AMĒ-PUTA-YA are altogether six islands.

<sup>3</sup> There are textual difficulties in regard to this name; see GLOSSARY.

<sup>4-6</sup> Tanaka proposes to emend the text to read: "Next they bore the island of Sado, also named Take-pi-wakĒ." *Kojiki taishō*, VII, 15, head-note 14.

<sup>6-7</sup> Tanaka suppresses the words: "... the island of Sado. Next they bore ..." *Ibid.*, VII, 16, head-note 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ya-sima*. 'Eight,' *ya*, was a sacred number to the Japanese, and may often be translated as 'myriad.'

<sup>9</sup> 'Great Eight-Island Land; Great Land of Yasima.' A poetical name for Japan.

<sup>10</sup> Evidently to Onögorö.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 116:1.

## CHAPTER 9

### IZANAGI VISITS IZANAMI IN THE LAND OF YÖMĪ. BREAKING THE TABOO, HE LOOKS UPON HER CORPSE.

- 1 At this time, [Izanagi-nō-mikōtō], wishing to meet again his spouse IZANAMI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, went after her to the land of YÖMĪ.<sup>1</sup>
- 2 When she came forth out of the door<sup>2</sup> of the hall to greet him, IZANAGI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ said:
- “O, my beloved spouse, the lands which you and I were making have not yet been completed; you must come back!”<sup>3</sup>
- 3 Then IZANAMI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ replied, saying:
- “How I regret that you did not come sooner. I have eaten at the hearth of YÖMĪ.<sup>4</sup> But, O my beloved husband, how awesome

<sup>1</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 6 for a discussion of the evidence in this chapter regarding the ancient Japanese ideas of death and the afterlife.

It has frequently been suggested that the accounts of the visit to Yōmī were influenced by the ancient practice of burial in subterranean stone chambers with stone passageways. (For a description of these tombs, similar to the tumuli of ancient Europe, see Kidder's *Japan before Buddhism*, pp. 145-92.) That some such recollection was at work can be argued from the fact that Izanami's corpse was found in an inner chamber (a 'hall,' cf. 9:4-5), and that the entrance to Yōmī was a 'pass' closed by a large boulder (10:11). The archeologist Gotō Shuichi argues that the *Kojiki* account of the visit to Yōmī clearly reflected the burial customs of the late Tomb Period—i.e., the sixth, seventh, and first half of the eighth centuries. *Nihon kodaishi no kōkogakuteki kentō* (Yamaoka Shoten, 1947), pp. 11-21. (See also Tsugita, pp. 57, 65-66, for an eloquent statement of the tumulus theory; and Matsumura, II, 393-407, for a dispassionate evaluation of this theory.)

Matsumura (*Ibid.*) concludes that it is patent that a separate land of the dead was intended here; arguing that the ancient Japanese fundamentally regarded the abode of the dead as being not a subterranean land but a place deep inside caves or far in the mountains, he believes that the suggestions derived from tomb construction were merely secondary elaborations.

<sup>2</sup> One ideograph (門) in this passage is corrupt and cannot be given a suitable translation.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting that the appeal to return rests on the necessity of resuming the work of land-creating.

<sup>4</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 7 for a discussion of this passage.

it is that you have entered here! Therefore I will go and discuss for a while with the gods of Yōmi<sup>5</sup> my desire to return. Pray do not look upon me!<sup>126</sup>

4 Thus saying, she went back into the hall, but her absence was so long that [Izanagi-nō-mikōtō] could no longer wait.

5 Thereupon he broke off one of the large end-teeth of the comb he was wearing in his left hair-bunch,<sup>7</sup> lit [it as] one fire,<sup>8</sup> and entered in to see.

6 At this time, maggots were squirming and roaring<sup>9</sup> [in the corpse of Izanami-nō-mikōtō].

<sup>5</sup> The *Kojiki* is apparently inconsistent about the nature of the rulers of Yōmi. Here it seems to say that there are some unnamed 'gods [or god] of Yōmi'—the word may be singular or plural—to whom Izanami is subordinate, while in 10:16 Izanami herself is called the 'great deity of Yōmi' (Yōmō-tu-ōpo-kami). Tsuda writes that this reflects a state of mental confusion about the nature of Yōmi on the part of the ancient Japanese. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 400–403.

In the *Nihon shoki* and *norito*, Izanami is depicted as the ruler of the underworld while Izanagi figures as the ruler of the world of men; this idea is also present in the *Kojiki* in 10:13–14.

<sup>6</sup> A similar taboo is found in 4:5–6. Some scholars have regarded both of these myths as variants of a single 'forbidden chamber' story, and some have connected the taboo related here with taboos against witnessing parturition (Izanami's downfall being connected with her giving birth to the fire-god—see also the variant mythological narrative in the *norito* for the fire-pacifying festival). Some scholars have thought this a reflection of an actual taboo against looking at a corpse. Matsumura (II, 439–48), on the other hand, supposes that there may have been a practice of going at stated intervals to look at a corpse in order to see whether it had come back to life, and that this myth is a reflection of such a custom.

<sup>7</sup> *Mi-midura*. The *midura* [from *mini-dura*, 'ear bunch?'] was a man's hair style: the hair was parted in the middle, then tied in bunches on both sides of the head; combs were inserted at the top of each bunch, and the bunches were secured with strings called *kadara*, often made of vines. The word *midura* was later corrupted to *bizura* or *binzura*, which was in later periods a boy's hair style.

<sup>8</sup> Motoori says that, because the ancient custom must have been to kindle two or more fires, here special attention is drawn to the fact that only one fire is kindled. *Kojiki-den*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, Vols. I–IV, hereafter cited as *Kojiki-den*, I, 282.

The *Nihon shoki* has the following interesting gloss on this passage: "This is the origin of the taboo among the people of the present day against [lighting] a single light at night and against casting down a comb at night." (Asahi ed., 1:74; Aston, I, 24)

Motoori (*loc. cit.*) mentions a taboo, in the region of Iwami (modern Shimane-ken), against presenting only one light to a god and against throwing down a comb. According to B. H. Chamberlain, the superstition still existed in Tokyo (*Kojiki*, Supp. to TASJ, X [1882] [rep. ed.: Tokyo, 1906], 42).

<sup>9</sup> Some manuscripts have 'oozing.'

In her head was Great-Thunder;<sup>10</sup>  
In her breast was Fire-Thunder;<sup>11</sup>  
In her belly was Black-Thunder;<sup>12</sup>  
In her genitals was Crack-Thunder;<sup>13</sup>  
In her left hand was Young-Thunder;<sup>14</sup>  
In her right hand was Earth-Thunder;<sup>15</sup>  
In her left foot was Sounding-Thunder;<sup>16</sup>  
In her right foot was Reclining-Thunder;<sup>17</sup>  
Altogether there were eight thunder-deities.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Opo-ikaduti.  
<sup>11</sup> Po-nō-ikaduti.  
<sup>12</sup> Kuro-ikaduti.  
<sup>13</sup> Saku-ikaduti [saku meaning 'to be cracked,' 'to have a crevice'].

<sup>14</sup> Waka-ikaduti.

<sup>15</sup> Turi-ikaduti.

<sup>16</sup> Nari-ikaduti.

<sup>17</sup> Pusi-ikaduti.

<sup>18</sup> *Ikaduti-gami*; cf. 10:6. *Ikaduti* is written with the ideograph meaning 'thunder' and is so translated. Some scholars, however, have questioned whether *ikaduti* originally meant 'thunder.' In folk belief thunder is and was closely connected with snakes, which dwell in damp, dark places like those used for burying the dead. Tsuda argues, for instance, that snakes were regarded as the spirits of the dead or as evil spirits residing inside corpses, and interprets *ikaduti* as 'fearsome spirit' (*ika-mi-ti*) and as having been originally applied to snakes. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 247, 397. For a criticism of this view, see Matsumura, II, 411–14.

According to Shiratori Kurakichi, the maggots, which the ancient Japanese equated with the spirits of the dead, were here transformed into snakes. *Jindaishi no shinkenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1955), pp. 210, 218–20.

## CHAPTER 11

IZANAGI PURIFIES HIMSELF, GIVING BIRTH TO  
MANY DEITIES INCLUDING AMA-TERASU-  
OPO-MI-KAMI AND SUSANÖ-WO.

1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-OPÖ-KAMĪ said:  
"I have been to a most unpleasant land, a horrible, unclean land.  
Therefore I shall purify myself."<sup>1</sup>

2 Arriving at [the plain] APAKI-PARA by the river-mouth of TATU-  
BANA in FIMUKA in TUKUSI, he purified and exorcised himself.<sup>2</sup>

3 When he flung down his stick, there came into existence a deity  
named TUKI-TATU-PUNA-TO-NÖ-KAMĪ.

4 Next, when he flung down his sash, there came into existence a  
deity named MITI-NÖ-NAGA-TI-PA-NÖ-KAMĪ.

5 Next, when he flung down his bag,<sup>3</sup> there came into existence  
a deity named TÖKI-PAKASI-NÖ-KAMĪ.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'therefore I shall work my body's purification.' The word used implies purification by ablution. Motoori, rejecting a spiritualizing interpretation, insists that pollution of the body, not of the soul, was meant:

"Exorcism and purification are for the purpose of cleansing the pollutions of the body. To say that they are for exorcising and cleansing the spirit is a concept completely alien to Japanese antiquity." *Kojiki-dan*, I, 317.

It is questionable whether the ancient Japanese distinguished between physical and mental pollution. Matsunura, II, 504-506.

<sup>2</sup> The practice of purification by ablution had a very early origin in Japan. The account of Japan in the *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (*Wei Chih*) says this of Japanese funeral customs:

"When there is a death, they mourn for ten days, during which period they do not eat meat. The chief mourners wail and weep, and the others sing, dance, and drink liquor. After the burial the whole family goes into the water to bathe, like the Chinese sackcloth-ablutions." Wada Sei and Ishihara Michihito, eds., *Gishi wajinden* (Iwanami Shoten, 1931), p. 45; see also Tsumoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, pp. 6-7.

Even today, purification by washing is a common element in Japanese folk religion. The propensity for bathing of the ancient Japanese probably reflected, not an inordinate wish for bodily cleanliness, but a desire to rid themselves by magical practices of evils and ritual impurity originating in contact with death.

<sup>3</sup> Some manuscripts have 'skirt.'

6 Next, when he flung down his cloak, there came into existence  
a deity named WADURAPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMĪ.

7 Next, when he flung down his trousers, there came into exist-  
ence a deity named TI-MATA-NÖ-KAMĪ.

8 Next, when he flung down his headgear, there came into exist-  
ence a deity named AKI-GUP-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMĪ.

9 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his left arm, there  
came into existence a deity named OKI-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next,

OKI-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, OKI-TU-KAPĪ-BERA-NÖ-KAMĪ.

10 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his right arm, there  
came into existence a deity named PE-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next,  
PE-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, PE-TU-KAPĪ-BERA-NÖ-KAMĪ.

11 The twelve deities in the above section, from PUNA-DO-NÖ-  
KAMĪ through PE-TU-KAPĪ-BERA-NÖ-KAMĪ, all were born from his  
taking off the articles worn on his body.

12 Then he said:

"The current of the upper stream is <sup>4</sup>a current<sup>5</sup> too swift; the  
current of the lower stream is <sup>4</sup>a current<sup>5</sup> too weak."

13 Then, when he went down and dived into the middle stream  
and bathed, there came into existence a deity named YASO-MAGA-  
TU-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, OPÖ-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ.

14 These two deities came into existence from the pollution which  
he took on when he went to that unclean land.

15 Next, in order to rectify<sup>6</sup> these evils,<sup>7</sup> there came into existence  
the deity KAMU-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, OPÖ-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMĪ;  
next, IDU-NÖ-ME-NÖ-KAMĪ. (Altogether three deities)

16 Next, when he bathed at the bottom<sup>8</sup> of the water, there came  
into existence the deity named SÖKÖ-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ;  
next, SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖRÖ.

17 When he bathed in the middle<sup>9</sup> [of the water], there came into

<sup>1-5</sup> Omitted in certain manuscripts.

<sup>6</sup> *Nepasu*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ataga*.

<sup>8</sup> *Sökä*.

<sup>9</sup> *Näka*.

existence the deity named NAKA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMİ; next, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

18 When he bathed on the surface<sup>10</sup> of the water, there came into existence the deity named UPA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; next, UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.<sup>11</sup>

19 These three WATA-TU-MI deities are the deities worshipped by the MURAZI of the AduMI as their ancestral deities.<sup>12</sup> The MURAZI of the AduMI are the descendants of UTUSI-PI-GANA-SAKU-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, the child of these WATA-TU-MI deities.

21 The three deities SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, and UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ are the three great deities of SUMI-NÖ-YE.

22 Then when he washed his left eye, there came into existence a deity named AMA-TERASU-OPÖ-MI-KAMİ.

23 Next, when he washed his right eye, there came into existence a deity named TUKU-YÖMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.<sup>13</sup>

24 Next, when he washed his nose, there came into existence a deity named TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.<sup>14</sup>

25 The fourteen<sup>15</sup> deities in the above section, from YA-SO-MAGATU-PI-NÖ-KAMİ through PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, are deities born<sup>16</sup> from bathing his body.

<sup>10</sup> *Upe*.

<sup>11</sup> Compare the account in verses 16-18 with the performance of *Saruta-biko-nö-kamī* in 40:4. Matsumura (II, 511-12) is of the opinion that both these accounts reflect an ancient practice of the Ama people involving ablution in three steps.

<sup>12</sup> *Oya-gami*. This verse is the first of the *Kojiki*'s many ancestral glosses, in which the ancestors claimed by various powerful families are fitted into the official national mythology. The formulation of a "correct" genealogy relating all the aristocratic families to the Yamato ruling family was one of the primary objects of ancient Japanese historical compilation.

<sup>13</sup> Tsuda connects these accounts with the Chinese legend of P'an Ku, who in dying gave birth to the universe, and with another legend linking the sun with the left eye and the moon with the right eye. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 380-81.

<sup>14</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 8 for a discussion of the nature and manner of birth of SUSA-NÖ-WO.

<sup>15</sup> All manuscripts read 'ten'; emended.

<sup>16</sup> One manuscript has 'who came into existence.'

## CHAPTER 12

### IZANAGI ENTRUSTS THEIR MISSIONS TO THE THREE NOBLE CHILDREN.

At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, rejoicing greatly, said:

"I have borne child after child, and finally in the last bearing I have obtained three noble children."

Then he removed his necklace, shaking the beads on the string so that they jingled,<sup>1</sup> and, giving it to AMA-TERASU-OPÖ-MI-KAMİ, he entrusted her with her mission, saying:

"You shall rule<sup>2</sup> TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA."

The name of this necklace is MI-KURA-TANA-NÖ-KAMİ.

Next he said to TUKU-YÖMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, entrusting him with his mission:

"You shall rule the realms of the night."

Next he said to TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, entrusting him with his mission:

"You shall rule the ocean."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1:3.3, 5. Hirata says that Izanagi ceded all of his spiritual power to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamī, and as a symbol of this, and in order to pray for her longevity, gave her the necklace. He connects the shaking of the beads with the ancient ceremonies of *shinken*, or spirit-pacification, which included waving or agitating fetishes. It must be remembered that the word for 'bead,' 'jewel' and the word for 'soul,' 'spirit' were both pronounced *ama*. *Hirata Aisutime zenshū* (Ichidō Shoten, 1911), I, 365.

At any rate, the necklace was, like the Three Divine Treasures of 39:2, a symbol of delegated power.

<sup>2</sup> In ancient Japanese, the word for 'to rule' was *shiru*, *shirasu* [later *shirimesu*], meaning 'to know.' The ideograph here is the one meaning 'to know.'

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps because SUSA-NÖ-WO, as a windstorm-deity, was connected mentally with the ocean. In some of the *Nihon shōki* versions, his assignment is to rule Ne-nö-kuni, the underworld realm to which he is later banished in the *Kojiki*.

## CHAPTER 13

SUSA-NŌ-WO DISOBEYS HIS DIVINE TRUST  
AND IS EXPELLED BY IZANAGI.

- 1 While [the other deities] ruled [their realms] in obedience to the  
 commands entrusted to them, PAVA-SUSA-NŌ-WO-MIKŌRŌ did  
 2 not rule the land entrusted to him ~~him~~ [instead], he wept and howled  
 [even] until his beard eight hands long extended down over his  
 chest.<sup>1</sup>  
 3 His weeping was such that it caused the verdant mountains to  
 4 wither and all the rivers and seas to dry up. At this, the cries of  
 malevolent deities were everywhere abundant like summer flies;  
 and all sorts of calamities arose in all things.<sup>2</sup>  
 5 Then IZANAGI-NŌ-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ said to PAVA-SUSA-NŌ-WO-MIKŌRŌ:  
 "Why is it you do not rule the land entrusted to you, but [instead]  
 weep and howl?"  
 6 Then [PAVA-SUSA-NŌ-WO-MIKŌRŌ] replied:

<sup>1</sup> SUSA-NŌ-WO's conduct has been interpreted in various ways. Similar conduct is recorded in the *Kojiki* (73:2), and twice in the *Izumo fudoki*, which reads:

"Adi-suki-taka-piko-nō-mikōrō, the son of the great deity who created the lands under the heavens [Ōpo-namōtē-nō-mikōrō], cried exceedingly day and night. A high building was made for him . . . and they constructed a ladder on which they went up and down as they raised him." *Fudoki*, ed. Takeda Yūichi (Iwanami Shoten, 1939), p. 144.

"Adi-suki-taka-piko-nō-mikōrō, the son of the great god Ōpo-namōtē-nō-mikōrō, cried day and night until his beard grew eight hands long, and his words were not comprehensible." *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Matsumura (II, 611-16) supposes that there was an ancient magico-religious rite to summon down the deities by crying and howling. This rite, which had by then been forgotten, was reflected in these accounts.

In verse 3, the actions seem to be those of a ravaging nature-deity such as SUSA-NŌ-WO was often supposed to be. For further notes on the aggressive behavior of SUSA-NŌ-WO see Chapter 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 17:3.

- 7 "I wish to go to the land of my mother, NE-NŌ-KATA-SU-KUNI.  
 That is why I weep."<sup>3</sup>  
 8 Then IZANAGI-NŌ-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ, greatly enraged, said:  
 9 "In that case, you may not live in this land!"  
 Thus [saying], he expelled him with a divine expulsion.<sup>4</sup>  
 This IZANAGI-NŌ-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ is enshrined in TAGA of APUMI.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 9 for a discussion of this verse.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 17:28.

<sup>5</sup> This verse is a gloss, inserted here at the end of Izanagi's career. Instead of the words 'Taga in Apumi,' the Ise manuscript has 'Taga in Apadi.'

Apadi also figures in the *Nihon shoki* account, which says:

"After this, Izanagi-nō-mikōrō, his divine mission being completed, passed on in the spirit. Then he provided himself with a hidden shrine on the island of Apadi, and abode there eternally in peaceful seclusion. Also, it is said: Izanagi-nō-mikōrō, his merit reaching its supreme limits and his virtue also being at its greatest, at this point ascended to Heaven and reported the accomplishment of his mission. Thus he remained abiding in the Younger Palace of the Sun." *Asahi* ed., I, 89; see also Aston, I, 33-34.

In any case, the verse is a gloss of late origin, and there is no need to attach great importance to it. Tada argues that Taga in Apumi is a place which has no connection with the god Izanagi, and that the passage is a fabrication of a period when various shrines sought to enhance their importance by creating mythical sanctions. *Nihon Koten no kenkyū*, I, 351.



## CHAPTER 14

SUSA-NÖ-WO ASCENDS TO TAKE HIS LEAVE OF  
AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI.

1 At this time, PAVA-susa-nö-wo-xö-mikörö said:

"In that case, before I go I will take my leave of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI."

2 When he ascended to the heavens, the mountains and rivers all roared,<sup>1</sup> and the lands all shook.

3 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI heard this and was startled, saying:

"It is certainly not with any good intentions that my brother is coming up. He must wish to usurp my lands."

4 Then, undoing her hair, she wrapped it in hair-bunches.<sup>2</sup> In the hair-bunches on the left and right [sides of her head], on the vine securing her hair, as well as on her left and right arms, she wrapped long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.

5 On her back she bore a thousand-arrow quiver;<sup>3</sup> on the side of her chest<sup>4</sup> she attached a five-hundred-arrow quiver.

6 Also she put on an awesome high arm-guard;<sup>5</sup> and, shaking the

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'moved.'

<sup>2</sup> *Midura*; cf. 9:5. That is, she assumed the masculine hair-dress. The preparations of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami in verse 4-6 are described in singularly masculine terms. This has led some scholars, notably Tsuda, to question whether Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami was not, after all, a male deity. Tsuda regards Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami as a masculine emperor-figure and finds the reaction to SUSA-nö-wo's ascent (for instance, verse 3) essentially political. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 615-26.

Other scholars see in her actions a reflection of the shamanistic performance of a priestess of the sun. The female priestess would be possessed by the spirit of the deity and would naturally behave in the manner of the deity. The sun-deity was, according to these scholars, originally a male deity served by female shamans; but, as so often happens, the deity came to be confused with his servants and was eventually regarded as a female deity. See Saigō Nobutsuma, *Kojiki* (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1947), pp. 31-32.

At any rate, the description in verses 4-6 obviously derives from oral tradition and is an excellent example of archaic heroic diction.

<sup>3-4</sup> Omitted by Motoori.

upper tip of her bow, stamping her legs up to her very thighs into the hard earth, and kicking [the earth] about as if it were light snow, she shouted with an awesome fury, she shouted stamping her feet.

7 Thus waiting for him, she asked him:

"Why have you come?"

8 Then PAVA-susa-nö-wo-xö-mikörö replied:

"I have no evil intentions. It is merely that the Great Deity<sup>6</sup> divinely inquired about my weeping and howling. I said that I was weeping because I wished to go to the land of my mother. Then the Great Deity said: 'You may not live in this land,' and expelled me with a divine expulsion. Whereupon I came up intending to take leave upon my departure. I have no other<sup>7</sup> intentions."

9 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI said:

"If that is so, how am I to know that your intentions are pure and bright?"

10 Then PAVA-susa-nö-wo-xö-mikörö replied:

"Let us swear oaths<sup>8</sup> and bear children."

<sup>5</sup> *Iru nō take-tomō*. *Tōmō* were small lump-shaped leather arm-guards strapped onto the left arm when shooting a bow and arrow. They protected the arm when the bowstring snapped back, and were much prized for their resounding snap. See Takeda Yūichi, *Manyōshū zenshūshaku* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1956-57), III, 289-90.

<sup>6</sup> Izanagi; cf. 13:5ff.

<sup>7</sup> Or 'strange.'

<sup>8</sup> *Ukeji*. That is, "let us judge who is in the right by producing offspring. The issue will be decided by the nature of the resulting children."

*Ukeji*, translated by the word 'oath,' is, in principle, a ceremony for learning the divine will and is thus like divination (*uranagi*). Divination, however, is a technique for discovering some unknown, whereas *ukeji* is a rite in which one 'swears' in the divine presence that one is just and asks for a divine judgment to that effect. It is performed before a deity or a large group of people, and one is judged correct if the expected sign results. Tsugita, p. 94.

This explanation may be somewhat over-simplified—since it would seemingly not apply to the *ukeji* of Opo-yama-tu-mi-nō-kami in 41:10. Other examples of *ukeji* and similar practices in the *Kojiki* are 41:15-17, 73:14-18, and 96:3-5. I would also regard 33:16 and 41:15 as *ukeji*.

Tsuda defines *ukeji* as "pronouncing in some set formula magic words having blessing or cursing power" (*Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 437). However, the ideographs used to write *ukeji* are in almost every case those meaning 'to swear an oath.'

It is a necessary part of the procedure to specify in advance what sign will decide the outcome of the contest. The omission of this detail in this passage is one of the flaws in the *Kojiki* account; we do not learn until afterwards (in 16:1) that the production of female offspring was the prerequisite for victory.



## CHAPTER 15

AMA-TERASU-OPU-MI-KAMI AND SUSA-NÖ-WO  
BEAR OFFSPRING TO TEST THE SINCERITY OF THE  
LATTER'S MOTIVES, HE IS VICTORIOUS.

- 1 Whereupon they each stood on opposite sides of [the river]  
AMĒ-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA and swore their oaths.<sup>1</sup>
- 2 At this time, AMA-TERASU-OPU-MI-KAMI first asked for the sword  
ten hands long which TAKE-PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ wore  
at his side. Breaking the sword in three pieces, she rinsed them,  
the jewels making a jingling sound,<sup>2</sup> in [the heavenly well] AMĒ-  
NÖ-MANA-WI, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 4 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named  
TAKIRI-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, also named OKI-TU-SIMA-PIME-NÖ-  
MIKÖTÖ; next, IKITI-SIMA-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, also named SA-YÖRI-  
BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; and next, TAKITU-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ. (Three  
deities)<sup>3</sup>

- 5 PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, asking for the long string of

<sup>1</sup> *Ukēnu*. During the Edo period Confucianist scholars apparently attacked Shintoism on the basis of this episode, saying that Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami and Susa-nö-wo committed incest by bearing children. The Shintoists of the period replied, according to Andō Masaatsu, that the text clearly stated that the two deities stood on opposite sides of the river and were therefore above reproach. See Katō, pp. 116-20.

<sup>2-3</sup> These words do not seem appropriate in this context and may be an anticipation of the same words in verse 5; cf. also 12:2. On the other hand, Masumura (III, 28-29) says that three steps were necessary in the magic process of bearing children: (1) shaking the articles making a jingling sound, (2) rinsing them in the well Amē-nō-mana-wi, and (3) blowing a misty spray.

Shaking the articles with a jingling sound was, he says, to induce the latent spiritual forces in them to awake and go into action. Rinsing them in a sacred well was to impart to them the generative powers latent in the waters, and blowing a misty spray reflected a belief in the life-giving powers of breath.

<sup>4</sup> These three deities (the three goddesses of Munakata—cf. verses 17-20) were born from the possessions of Susa-nö-wo and were considered to be his children (cf. verse 15). Because he bore these three female children, he was judged victorious in the contest (cf. 16:1). Takiri-bime-nö-mikötö later married Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-kami (cf. 29:1).

myriad MAGA-TAMA beads wrapped on the left hair-bunch of AMA-TERASU-OPU-MI-KAMI, rinsed them, the jewels making a jingling sound, in [the heavenly well] AMĒ-NÖ-MANA-WI, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

- 6 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named  
MASA-KATU-A-KATU-KATI-PAYA-PI-AMĒ-NÖ-OSI-PO-MIMI-NÖ-  
MIKÖTÖ.<sup>5</sup>
- 7 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her right hair-bunch,  
chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 8 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named  
AMĒ-NÖ-PO-PI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.<sup>6</sup>
- 9 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on the vine securing her  
hair, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 10 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named  
AMA-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.
- 11 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her left arm, chewed  
them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 12 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named  
IKU-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.
- 13 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her right arm, chewed  
them to pieces, and spat them out.

<sup>5</sup> The five male deities born in verses 6-14 were born from the possessions of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami and were considered to be her offspring (cf. verse 15). The deity in verse 6 is the 'their apparent' of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami and the ancestor of the imperial line (cf. 32:1, 38:1). Tsuda argues convincingly that in the original form of this myth the male children were borne by Susa-nö-wo, and that the birth of male children must have been the original criterion for victory; thus the name of the child in verse 6, the first part of which probably means 'Verily Winning I Have won Victorious Vigorous-Force' (cf. GLOSSARY), must have had some relation to Susa-nö-wo's victory and his subsequent turbulent ragings. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 441. This deity's close affinity with Susa-nö-wo is clear when we recall that the other male deities—Amē-nō-po-pi-nö-mikötö, Kunano-kusubi-nö-mikötö, etc.—were Iduino deities, like Susa-nö-wo himself.

Perhaps the substitution of female children for male children as the sign of victory came as the result of a desire to make the deity in verse 6, already known to be the "their apparent" of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, her offspring. If he were the offspring of the Iduino god Susa-nö-wo, serious theological difficulties would arise; the *Kojiki* has therefore resorted to alterations of this section which inevitably make the narrative confused.

<sup>6</sup> The ancestor of the rulers of Iduino (cf. verse 21). His later failure is recounted in 32:9-10.

14 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named KUMANO-KUSUBI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.

15 At this time AMA-TERASU-ORO-MI-KAMI said to PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

"The latter-born five male children came into existence from my possessions and are therefore naturally my children. The first-born three female children came into existence from your possessions, and are therefore your children."

16 Thus saying, she distinguished<sup>7</sup> [the offspring].

17 The first-born deity, TAKIRI-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, is enshrined in the OKI-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

18 Next, IITKI-SIMA-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is enshrined in the NAKA-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

19 Next, TAKITU-BIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is enshrined in the PE-TU-MIYA of MUNAKATA.

20 These three deities are the three great deities worshipped by the KIMI of MUNAKATA.

21 Among the latter-born five deities, the child of AMË-NÖ-PO-PE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, TAKE-PIRA-TÖRI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IDUMO, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of MUZASU, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KAMI-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SIMO-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IZINU, of the AGATA-NÖ-ATAPE of TU-SIMA, and of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of TÖRO-TU-APUMI.

22 Next, AMA-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of OPUSI-KAPUTI, of the MURAZI of the NUKATA-BE-NÖ-YUWE, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UBARAKI, of the ATAPE of TANAKA in YAMATO, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of YAMASIRÖ, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UMAKUBA, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KIPÉ in MITI-NÖ-SIRI, of the KUN-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SUPAU, of the MIYATUKO of AMUTI in YAMATO, of the ACATA-NUSI of TAKËRI, of the INAKI of KAMAPU, and of the MIYATUKO of the SAKKUSA-BE.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Or 'divided.'

<sup>8</sup> Verses 21-22 include some of the many genealogical glosses which occur in the *Kojiki*. The intention is clear: by relating the ancestors of all of these powerful families directly to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, the *Kojiki* hoped to secure their loyalty to the Yamato ruling family, which claimed descent from the elder brother of Amë-nö-po-pe-nö-mikötö and Ama-tu-pikone-nö-mikötö.

## CHAPTER 16

### SUSA-NÖ-WO RAGES WITH VICTORY.

1 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to AMA-TERASU-ORO-MI-KAMI:

"It was because my intentions were pure and bright that in the children I begot I obtained graceful maidens. By this it is obvious that I have won."<sup>1</sup>

2 Thus saying, he raged with victory,<sup>2</sup> breaking down the ridges between the rice paddies of AMA-TERASU-ORO-MI-KAMI and covering up the ditches.

3 Also he defecated and stewed the faeces about in the hall where the first fruits were tasted.<sup>3</sup>

4 Even though he did this, AMA-TERASU-ORO-MI-KAMI did not reprove him, but said:

5 "That which appears to be faeces must be what my brother has vomited and strewn about while drunk. Also his breaking down the ridges of the paddies and covering up their ditches—my brother must have done this because he thought it was wasteful to use the land thus."

<sup>1</sup> In the *Kojiki* SUSA-nö-wo's victory is due to his production of female children, whereas in the *Nihon shoki* it is because his offspring are males.

Takeda suggests that this show of respect for women might indicate that the *Kojiki* was transmitted by women and may be adduced as an argument that *Piyeda nö Are* was a woman. *Kojiki* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1956), pp. 25-26.

Although it is not impossible to regard the *Kojiki* account as a reminiscence of an earlier matrilinear social system, it is generally agreed that, of the two, the *Nihon shoki* accounts are the older.

Tsuda argues persuasively that SUSA-nö-wo's children were originally male, and that the statement that female children were a proof of innocence of heart is a later alteration. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 441-42. Cf. note on 15:16.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of SUSA-nö-wo's destructive behavior in this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 10.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'where she tasted the first fruits.' The Hall of the First Fruits was the palace where the harvest festival was celebrated; cf. also 13:31.

6 Even though she thus spoke with good intention,<sup>4</sup> his misdeeds did not cease, but became even more flagrant.

7 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI was inside the sacred weaving hall<sup>5</sup> seeing to the weaving of the divine garments,<sup>6</sup> he opened a hole in the roof of the sacred weaving hall and dropped down into it the heavenly dappled pony<sup>7</sup> which he had skinned with a backwards skinning.<sup>8</sup>

8 The heavenly weaving maiden,<sup>9</sup> seeing this, was alarmed and struck her genitals against the shuttle and died.

<sup>4</sup> *Nōri-nagosi*: to speak good words correctively in an optimistic attempt to improve the situation. Perhaps this is evidence of an ancient belief that one could turn evil into good by speaking well of it. Japanese scholars love to dwell on the *kyō-dana*, or 'word-spirit,' the magic power dwelling in words or in certain verbal formulae, which were believed to have the power to bring about the announced results.

<sup>5</sup> *Imi-pata-ya*. Matsumura (II, 560-63) suggests that this section is reminiscent of the sun-priestesses whose duty it must have been to weave ceremonial garments to be used in the worship of the sun-deity. This sacred duty is projected into the mythical role of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, who is confused with these priestesses in the *Kojiki*. The deity, in other words, has assumed the characteristics of the priestesses, and become a glorified sun priestess.

Tsuda, on the other hand, sees a political significance in Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami's rôle: the goddess is an emperor-symbol against whom Susa-nō-wo rebels in a manner symbolizing the unsuccessful revolts of the enemies of the Yamato Court. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 432.

<sup>6</sup> *Kami-ni-so*, garments to be presented to a deity, or 'sacred garments.'

<sup>7</sup> *Ame nō piti-koma*; or 'heavenly piebald colt.' Aston says: "Indian myth has a piebald or spotted deer or cow among celestial objects. The idea is probably suggested by the appearance of the stars." *Nihongi*, I, 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Saka-yagi*. "Backwards skinning," evidently flaying a live animal from the tail up, is mentioned together with "skinning alive" in the *norito* as one of the heavenly sins (*ama-ti-tsumi*). Perhaps skinning a live animal was some sort of black magic practice.

<sup>9</sup> The heavenly weaving maiden is evidently a subordinate priestess belonging to the entourage of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami. The *Nihon shoki* has accounts in which it is Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami herself who is alarmed and injured. Matsumura (III, 43-45) is of the opinion that the latter is the original version, and that the *Kojiki*'s account is a later revision making a subordinate suffer the direct effects of the indignity.

## CHAPTER 17

### AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI CONCEALS HERSELF.

#### THE OTHER DETTES LURE HER OUT.

#### SUSA-NŌ-WO IS EXPELLED.

1 At this time, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMI, seeing this, was afraid, and opening the heavenly rock-cave door,<sup>1</sup> went in and shut herself inside.

2 Then TAKAMA-NŌ-PARA was completely dark, and the Central Land of the Reed Plains<sup>2</sup> was entirely dark.

3 Because of this, constant night reigned,<sup>3</sup> and the cries of the myriad deities were everywhere abundant, like summer flies; and all manner of calamities arose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ame nō ipa-ya-to*. Motoori says that *ipa-ya* (lit., 'rock-house') does not necessarily mean 'cave,' since *ipa* is often used attributively to impart the sense of 'firm,' 'solid,' to the noun following; thus, the writer could be referring to an ordinary building. *Kojiki-den*, II, 407-408. There is also a theory that the concealment of the sun-goddess was a symbolic death; the *ipa-ya* is the stone tomb into which she enters, and the ensuing rites are performed to summon her back to life. In various poems in the *Manyōshū* the words 'to shut oneself inside the rock-door' mean 'to die and be concealed within the rocky tomb.'

<sup>2</sup> *Asi-para-nō-naka-ti-kuni*; cf. note on 10:9.

<sup>3</sup> Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, who had figured largely as the ruler of Takama-nō-para, now appears to assume more clearly the attributes of the sun-deity. When she conceals herself, constant darkness and night reign everywhere. A similar myth exists among the Ainu: the sun-goddess was taken captive, and all the deities and human beings died from excessive sleep. Kindachi Ryōsuke, *Ainu seihen* (Sekai Bunko Kankōkai, 1923), p. 113. The concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami has been explained as representing an eclipse, the death of the sun-goddess, her anger, etc. The ensuing rites are regarded as magico-religious rites to bring the sun back to life, to bring it out of eclipse, or to propitiate the anger of the sun-goddess. Matsumura (III, 46ff) states that the myth had its origin in a magico-religious rite performed every winter, when the sun's rays are weakest, in order to renew the sun's power; the rite had elements of *chinakon* (or *ama-furi*—spirit pacification) and of ritual laughter.

Matsumura (III, 67) also insists, incidentally, that the rages of Susa-nō-wo, the concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, and the expulsion of Susa-nō-wo were originally independent myths, welded together later into a connected story.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 13:4.

- 4 Then the eight-hundred myriad deities<sup>5</sup> assembled in a divine assembly in the river-bed of the Amē-nō-Yasu-nō-KAPA.<sup>6</sup>
- 5 They caused the child of TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NŌ-KAMĪ, OMŌPI-KANE-NŌ-KAMĪ, to ponder.<sup>7</sup>
- 6 They gathered together the long-crying birds of Tōkō-yō and caused them to cry.<sup>8</sup>
- 7 They took the heavenly hard rock<sup>9</sup> from the upper stream of the river Amē-nō-Yasu-nō-KAPA; they took iron from [the mountain] Amē-nō-KANA-YAMA. They sought the smith AMA-TU-MARA and commissioned ISI-KŌRI-DOME-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ to make a mirror.
- 9 They commissioned TAMA-NŌ-YA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ to make long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.
- 10 They summoned Amē-nō-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ and PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ to remove the whole shoulder-bone of a male deer of the mountain Amē-nō-KAGU-YAMA, and take heavenly

<sup>5</sup> *Ya-po-yōrōdi nō kami*, the ideograph, translated into Modern Japanese, mean 'eight million gods.' The word *ya*, written 'eight,' is a sacred number often meaning 'many,' and *yōrōdi*, written 'ten-thousand,' is an indefinite term best translated by the word 'myriad.'

<sup>6</sup> Another divine assembly is described in identical terms in 32:5. The ethnologist Torii Ryūzō compares these meetings of the gods with the Mongolian meeting of clans called *Kurilai*. *Jinriyaku-jō yori minami waga jōdai no bunka* (Sōbunroku, 1925), pp. 57-65. Tsuda says that the assembly of the gods reflects an ancient custom of holding *Kurilai*-like meetings of powerful clans to confer and cooperate in deciding important questions on behalf of the ruling family. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 433. Most authorities agree that this convocation reflects not a primitive democratic town-meeting but a confabulation among the powerful ruling families connected with the Yamato court.

<sup>7</sup> *Omōpi*; or 'to think,' 'to devise,' 'to lay a wise plan.' This deity, evidently a god of wisdom or counsel (see GLOSSARY), is always called upon to devise a plan whenever there is a convocation of the gods; cf. Chapters 32, 33.

<sup>8</sup> The 'long-crying birds' (*naga-nidei-dōri*) are cocks. *Tōkō-yō* (see GLOSSARY) is clearly the land of Tōkō-yō, the mythical 'eternal world.' The word was formerly mistakenly translated as 'eternal night,' on the understanding that 'eternal night' (*tōkō-yō*) was phonemically equivalent to *Tōkō-yō*. Actually, the final elements of the two words are phonemically distinct. Evidently, cocks were made to crow in order to summon the sun at dawn; the crowing of cocks is a feature of funerals among various peoples because of its association with dawn, early morning, resurrection of the dead, and banishment of evil spirits. There is a myth among the Miao tribes of southern China in which the sun concealed itself but came out again on hearing the cock's crowing. Matsumura, III, 71-73.

<sup>9</sup> Evidently, the hard rock was used as a rock anvil on which to temper the iron.

PAPAKA wood from the mountain Amē-nō-KAGU-YAMA, and [with these] perform a divination.<sup>10</sup>

- 11 They uprooted by the very roots the flourishing MA-SAKAKI<sup>11</sup> trees of the mountain Amē-nō-KAGU-YAMA; to the upper branches they affixed long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads; in the middle branches they hung a large-dimensioned mirror;<sup>12</sup> in the lower branches they suspended white NIKITE cloth and blue NIKITE cloth.<sup>13</sup>
- 12 These various objects were held in his hands by PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ as solemn offerings,<sup>14</sup> and Amē-nō-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ intoned a solemn liturgy.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Uragami*; cf. the notes on 5:2 in regard to divination by firing the shoulder-bones of deer, called *puto-mami*.

The deities playing important rôles in this chapter—Amē-nō-uzume-nō-mikōtō, Amē-nō-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, ISI-KŌRI-DOME-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, TAMA-NŌ-YA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, OMŌPI-KANE-NŌ-KAMĪ, and TA-DIKARA-WO-NŌ-KAMĪ—appear again in the myth of the descent from the heavens (Chapter 39). There was evidently a close connection between the two myths: Matsumura (III, 31) even calls the retirement of the sun-goddess a "prelude" to the descent from the heavens.

The rites in this chapter seem to be based on accounts emanating from the Nakatōmi (descendants of Amē-nō-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ), the Imube (descendants of PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ), and the Sarume (descendants of Amē-nō-uzume-nō-mikōtō) clans, all priestly families connected with the Yamato court. In this composite version, the Sarume influence seems to be the strongest, since the actions of Amē-nō-uzume-nō-mikōtō form the central part of the ceremonies. In some versions in the *Nihon shōki* the coming forth of the sun-goddess is the direct result of the practices of the ancestors of the Imube or of the Nakatōmi; such accounts do not mention the dance of Amē-nō-uzume-nō-mikōtō, which is central in the *Kojiki*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ipo-ta-ma-sakaki*; cf. *puto-ma-tubaki* in 112:21.

<sup>12</sup> *Ya-ada kagami*; the use of this mirror, which is evidently the one made in verse 8 by ISI-KŌRI-DOME-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, is described in verse 20. The myriad *naga-tama* beads and "the mirror which had been used to lure" are later (39:2) given, together with the sword KUSA-NAGI (first mentioned in 19:22), as the three items of the sacred regalia to PIKO-PO-NŌ-MINIGI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ on his descent from the heavens.

<sup>13</sup> Hanging mirrors and cloth offerings on branches of uprooted trees was a common practice in ancient Japanese worship; undoubtedly, the tree thus decked became the temporary abode of the spirit of the deity.

<sup>14</sup> *Puto-mite-gura*. These were probably not offerings in the strict sense, but implements held in the hands of the shaman in order to induce possession by the spirit of the deity. <sup>15</sup> *Puto-nōito-gōtō*; any solemn words having magic power. The preliminary ceremonies in verses 7-12 were probably ritual preparations common to all religious ceremonies; the central part of the rite recorded in the *Kojiki* is the performance recorded in verses 14-16. According to Matsumura (III, 66), the fundamental magic power which was able to soften the heart of the deity and summon her forth was in Amē-nō-uzume's comic dance.

13 AMĒ-NŌ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NŌ-KAMĪ stood concealed beside the  
 14 door,<sup>16</sup> while AMĒ-NŌ-UZUME-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ bound up her sleeves  
 with a cord of heavenly PI-KAGĒ vine, tied around her head a  
 head-band of the heavenly MA-SAKI vine, bound together bundles  
 of sasa leaves to hold in her hands, and overturning a bucket  
 before the heavenly rock-cave door, stamped resoundingly upon  
 it.<sup>17</sup> Then she became divinely possessed,<sup>18</sup> exposed her breasts, and  
 pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals.<sup>19</sup>

16 Then TAKAMA-NŌ-PARA shook as the eight-hundred myriad de-  
 ities laughed at once.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In order to pull the sun-goddess out, as he does in verse 22.

<sup>17</sup> Note the various preparations of AmĒ-nŌ-uzume-nŌ-mikŌtŌ for shamanistic pos-  
 session. A parallel to the stamping of the overturned bucket is found in the ceremonies  
 of the *chinkon-sai* (spirit-pacification ceremony) of the imperial court, in which a wooden  
 bucket (or some sort of tub or wooden container) is pounded with the staff of a long  
 spear while the emperor's garments are shaken or waved in a magic rite to increase his  
 longevity. Matsumura, III, 75-76.

Some scholars have held that all the rites in this chapter were the same as those of the  
*chinkon-sai* ceremony, in which indeed the women of the Sarume clan played an im-  
 portant rôle. The *chinkon* (or *tama-fun*) rite was a ceremony attempting to prevent the  
 spirit from leaving the body, or to summon it back into a dead body—or, according to  
 one interpretation, to attach additional spiritual forces to a person's soul, and thus to  
 increase his vitality and longevity. Matsumura (III, 76-91) claims that *chinkon* rites must  
 have been performed for the sun when it lost its force during the winter.

<sup>18</sup> *Kami-gakari*, god-possession. The widespread popularity of shamanistic spirit-  
 possession among the ancient Japanese is amply attested to in documentary sources; it  
 was widely practiced until the Meiji period and is still practiced in the Ryūkyū islands  
 and among the Ainu, Koreans, and other continental peoples. Torii asserts that shaman-  
 ism was the native religion of the Japanese, that the sun-goddess and the deities sur-  
 rounding her in Takama-nŌ-para were shamans, and that the whole setting for the  
 concealment myth is shamanistic. *Jinnigakujō*, pp. 30-33.

<sup>19</sup> Motoori attributes Uzume's exhibitionism to derangement, i.e., to a state of pos-  
 session. The same actions are performed in her encounter with Saruta-biko, as recorded  
 in the *Nihon shoki* (see note on 38:11).

Exposure of the genitals is believed among many peoples to have magic power to  
 drive away evil spirits. Chiri Mashio records such a custom, called *hoparata*, among the  
 Ainu. *Bunrit Ainu-go jiten* (Nihon Jōminbunka Kenkyūjō, 1954), III, 66-67.

Matsumura (III, 91-107) gives a number of accounts from various peoples which reveal  
 that this type of exhibitionism was used in religious rites, not only to drive away unde-  
 sirable influences, but also to amuse, entertain, and impart vitality to the deities. He likens  
 AmĒ-nŌ-uzume's dance to the one performed by Iambe before Demeter in the Homeric  
 hymns and to that performed by Baubo before Demeter in the Protreptics of Clement  
 of Alexandria.

<sup>20</sup> Matsumura (III, 91-98) says that ritual laughter was used magically to propitiate the  
 anger of the gods or to increase their vitality. The *Kojiki* narrative, of course, records the  
 laughter merely as a device to arouse the curiosity of the sun-goddess.

17 Then AMA-TERASU-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ, thinking this strange, opened  
 a crack in the heavenly rock-cave door, and said from within:

18 "Because I have shut myself in, I thought that TAKAMA-NŌ-  
 PARA would be dark, and that the Central Land of the Reed Plains  
 would be completely dark. But why is it that AmĒ-NŌ-UZUME  
 sings and dances,<sup>21</sup> and all the eight-hundred myriad deities laugh?"

19 Then AMĒ-NŌ-UZUME said:

"We rejoice and dance because there is here a deity superior  
 to you."

20 While she was saying this, AMĒ-NŌ-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ and  
PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ brought out the mirror and showed it to  
 AMA-TERASU-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ.

21 Then AMA-TERASU-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ, thinking this more and more  
 strange,<sup>22</sup> gradually came out of the door and approached [the  
 mirror.]

22 Then the hidden AMĒ-NŌ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NŌ-KAMĪ took her  
 23 hand and pulled her out. Immediately PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ ex-  
 tended a SIRI-KUMĒ rope behind her, and said:

"You may go back no further than this!"<sup>23</sup>

24 When AMA-TERASU-ŌPO-MI-KAMĪ came forth, TAKAMA-NŌ-PARA  
 and the Central Land of the Reed Plains of themselves<sup>24</sup> became  
 light.

25 At this time the eight-hundred myriad deities deliberated to-  
 gether, imposed upon PAVA-SUSA-NŌ-WO-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ a fine of a  
 thousand tables of resitutive gifts, and also, cutting off his beard

<sup>21</sup> *Asobi*. The word is written with the ideograph meaning 'pleasure' or 'music.' In  
 Archaic Japanese it was read *asobi* ('singing and dancing') or *uta-maji* ('song and dance').

<sup>22</sup> Either she saw her reflection in the mirror and thought that the reflected image was  
 another deity; or seeing the mirror, a symbol of the sun-deity, she thought that there  
 was another sun-deity besides herself.

<sup>23</sup> Evidently the two elements—extending the rope behind her back and reciting a  
 magic formula—made it impossible for the sun-goddess to re-enter the cave.

<sup>24</sup> I.e., by themselves, naturally, as a matter of course. The magic rites had been suc-  
 cessful in restoring light to the universe.

and the nails of his hands and feet,<sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup>had him exorcised<sup>27</sup> and expelled him with a divine expulsion.<sup>28</sup>

## CHAPTER 18

OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME PRODUCES FOOD AND IS  
KILLED BY SUSA-NÖ-WO.

<sup>25</sup> The deities had SUSA-NÖ-WO's beard, fingernails, and toenails cut off to punish him or, rather, in order to exorcise him and thus remove the sins and pollution adhering to him.

<sup>26-27</sup> Some manuscripts substitute an ideograph meaning 'pull out' or 'remove' for the one translated 'exorcism'; thus the passage may read: "cutting off his beard and causing the nails of his hands and feet to be extracted, expelled him. . . ."

<sup>28</sup> Here SUSA-NÖ-WO is again expelled (cf. 13:8) from the society of the heavenly deities and, branded as a transgressor, is sent wandering throughout the world.

SUSA-NÖ-WO was regarded as a wandering outcast for some time after his expulsion. The *Nihon shoki*, which records versions in which he went to Korea after having been driven out of heaven, gives this interesting variant:

"After being exorcised, the various deities expelled him with these words:

"Because your conduct has been exceedingly outrageous, you may not remain in the heavens, nor may you dwell in the Central Land of the Reed Plains. Be gone with you quickly to the lowest NE-NÖ-KUNI!"

"Since there was a rainstorm then, SUSA-NÖ-WO bound up grass and made a braided hat and straw coat and went around asking for shelter of the various deities, who answered that they would not provide shelter for one who was exiled for his evil doings.

"In spite of the fierce wind and rain, he was unable to find anywhere to shelter himself and rest, and he descended in great pain.

"From this time on, there has been a taboo against entering the house of another wearing a braided hat and straw coat, and against entering another's house carrying grass bound in sheaves. If anyone breaks this taboo, he is fined and subjected to exorcism." Asahi ed., I, 108 (condensed).

- 1 Again, [SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ] asked food of OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMĪ.<sup>1</sup>
- 2 Then OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME took various viands out of her nose, her mouth, and her rectum, prepared them in various ways, and presented them to him.
- 3 Thereupon PAVA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, who had been watching her actions, thought that she was polluting the food before offering it to him and killed OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 4 In the corpse of the slain deity there grew [various] things: in her head there grew silk worms; in her two eyes there grew rice seeds; in her two ears there grew millet; in her nose there grew red beans; in her genitals there grew wheat; and in her rectum there grew soy beans.
- 5 Then KAMĪ-MUSUBI-MI-OYA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ had these taken and used as seeds.

<sup>1</sup> A food-goddess. See ADDITIONAL NOTE 11 for a discussion of this chapter.



CHAPTER 19<sup>1</sup>SUSA-NÖ-WO SLAYS THE EIGHT-TAILED  
DRAGON.

- 1 [Susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö] was expelled and descended to the  
upper reaches of the Pi river in the land of Idumo, to a place called  
2 TÖR-KAMU. At that time a chopstick came floating down the river,  
3 Thinking therefore that there were people upstream, Susa-nö-  
wo-nö-mikötö set out in search of them.  
4 [He found] an old man and an old woman, with a maiden be-  
tween them, crying.  
5 He asked them:  
"Who are you?"  
6 The old man replied:  
"I am a child of the earthly deity.<sup>2</sup> OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMU.<sup>3</sup>  
My name is ASI-NA-DUTI; my wife's name is TE-NA-DUTI. Our  
daughter's name is KUSI-NADA-PINE."  
7 He asked further:  
"Why are you crying?"  
8 He replied:  
"We originally had eight daughters.<sup>4</sup> But the eight-tailed dragon

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the interpretation of this chapter see ADDITIONAL NOTE 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Kuni-ti-kami*. The 'earthly deities' parallel the 'heavenly deities' (*ama-ti-kami*), the gods of Takama-nö-para. It is possible that the 'heavenly deities' were those worshipped chiefly by the Yamato nobility, and the 'earthly deities' those worshipped by the other inhabitants of Japan. In many places in the *Kojiki*, the word *kuni-ti-kami* appears to mean 'god of the land', that is, a regional deity or a deity dwelling in and ruling a certain geographical region.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence may also read: "I am an earthly deity, a child of OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMU."

<sup>4</sup> Matsumura (III, 197-98), who believes that Kusi-nada-pine was originally considered a priestess, quotes several sources to the effect that it was an ancient custom for eight priestesses (*ya-utome*) to serve in religious ceremonies. He thinks that the original idea of the eight daughters of Asi-na-duti and Te-na-duti was that of "a troupe of eight priestesses who welcomed and worshipped the deity."

of Kosi<sup>5</sup> has come every year and eaten them. We are crying because it is now time for him to come [again]."

9 He asked:

"What is his appearance?"

10 He replied:

"His eyes are like red ground cherries;<sup>6</sup> his one body has eight heads and eight tails. On his body grow moss and cypress<sup>7</sup> and cryptomeria<sup>8</sup> trees. His length is such that he spans eight valleys and eight mountain peaks. If you look at his belly, you see that blood is oozing out all over it."

11 Then PAVA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to the old man:

"Will you give me your daughter?"

12 He answered:

"Awed as I am, I do not know your name."

13 Then he replied:

"I am the brother of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMU and have just descended from the heavens."

14 Then ASI-NA-DUTI and TE-NA-DUTI said:

"If that is so, we will with fearful reverence present her to you."

15 Then PAVA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ transformed the maiden into a hair-comb, which he inserted into his hair-bunch.<sup>9</sup>

16 He said to ASI-NA-DUTI and TE-NA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMU:

"Distill thick wine of eight-fold brewings;<sup>10</sup> build a fence, and

<sup>5</sup> *Kosi nö ya-nata nö wotöi*. The number *ya* may, as usual, mean 'eight' or 'many'; *nata*, here translated as 'tail', is written with an ideograph meaning 'fork.' Kosi may be either the village of Kosi in Idumo or a vague geographical term for northwestern Honshü (see GLOSSARY).

<sup>6</sup> *Ake-kaguri* or *popoduki*; Modern Japanese *hozuki*, 'ground cherry,' 'winter cherry,' 'strawberry tomato.'

<sup>7</sup> *Yi*.

<sup>8</sup> *Sugi*.

<sup>9</sup> The transformation of the maiden into some other object is a standard feature of this type of tale in world folk literature. Matsumura, III, 226-35. In similar cases in Ainu epic poetry, the maiden is often transformed into a bead or a sword-stud and borne on the hero's person while he fights the enemy. This is done not only to hide the maiden but also to give the hero, by her presence, some additional, mystic power. Cf. Kindaichi, *Ainu seten*, p. 55, and *Ainu jōshū Yūkura shū*, I: "Pon Chin" (Sanseido, 1959), 184, 295-97.

<sup>10</sup> *Ya-sipo-wori nö sake*; cf. 70:6. The offering of specially brewed wine was an important part of religious worship in Japan; some such custom is expressed here, with wine being offered to a *wotöi*, or snake-deity.

make eight doors in the fence. At each door, tie together eight platforms, and on each of these platforms place a wine barrel. Fill each barrel with the thick wine of eight-fold brewings, and wait."

17 They made the preparations as he had instructed, and as they waited, the eight-tailed dragon came indeed, as [the old man] had said.

18 Putting one head into each of the barrels, he drank the wine; then, becoming drunk, he lay down and slept.

19 Then PAVA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ unsheathed the sword ten hands long which he was wearing at his side, and hacked the dragon to pieces, so that the FI river ran with blood.

20 When he cut [the dragon's] middle tail, the blade of his sword broke. Thinking this strange, he thrust deeper with the stub of his sword, until a great sharp sword appeared.<sup>11</sup>

21 He took this sword out and, thinking it an extraordinary thing, reported [the matter] and presented [the sword] to AMA-TERASU-  
OPO-MI-KAMI.<sup>12</sup>

22 This is the sword *Kusa-nagi*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Tsunagari nō tati*, the exact meaning is not clear. A Japanese folk belief equates the tail of a dragon to a sword. Matsumura, III, 240-41.

Idumo is said to have been the chief source of iron in Japanese antiquity, and is known to have produced good swords. Steel production is thought to have been most highly developed in the upper reaches of the FI river. *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>12</sup> It seems strange that, after having been expelled with such finality from Takama-nō-para, SUSA-NÖ-WO should now suddenly decide to present the sword to AMA-TERASU-  
OPO-MI-KAMI. Apparently this account is from a different source than the accounts in Chapters 14-16. Verses 21-22 may be later additions.

<sup>13</sup> This is the celebrated sword *Kusa-nagi*, 'grass-mower,' 'grass-pacifier,' which was later (39:2) given by Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami, as one of the three regalia, to PIKO-PO-  
NÖ-NINGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ upon his descent from Takama-nō-para. At another point (82:6) *Kusa-nagi* is given by Yamato-pime-nō-mikötö, the high priestess of Ise, to her nephew Yamato-takenu-nō-mikötö, who leaves it with Miyazu-pime, the ancestress of the governors of the land of Wopari (85:33).

## CHAPTER 20

### SUSA-NÖ-WO DWELLS IN THE PALACE OF SUGA AND MARRIES KUSI-NADA-PIME.

1 Hereupon PAVA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ sought for a place in  
the land of IDUMO to build his palace.<sup>1</sup>

2 Arriving at SUGA, he said:

"Coming here, my heart is refreshed."<sup>2</sup>

3 In that place he built his palace and dwelt there.<sup>3</sup> Therefore  
that place is still called SUGA.<sup>4</sup>

5 When this great deity first built the palace of SUGA, clouds rose  
from that place. He made a song, which said:

6 The many-fenced palace of IDUMO

7 Of the many clouds rising—

8 To dwell there with my spouse

9 Do I build a many-fenced palace:

10 Ah, that many-fenced palace!<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Miya*, his wedding palace.

<sup>2</sup> *Suga-sugai*: 'refreshed,' 'pure.' Motoori comments that, with the killing of the dragon and the discovery of the sword, the past pollutions adhering to SUSA-NÖ-WO were absolved, and he could now exclaim that his heart was 'refreshed' or 'pure.' *Kojiki-den*, II, 478-79.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 23:1, which states that SUSA-NÖ-WO dwells in NE-NÖ-KATA-SU-KUNI. On this point, Motoori comments that SUSA-NÖ-WO's spirit dwelt in the shrine of Kumano—which he identifies with SUGA—while his mortal body was in NE-NÖ-KUNI. *Ibid.*, 480.

<sup>4</sup> One of the *Kojiki*'s many folk etymologies explaining the origins of place names. Because SUSA-NÖ-WO said, "My heart is *suga-sugai*" there, the place was called SUGA.

<sup>5</sup> This song, the first song in both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, has traditionally been regarded as the oldest Japanese poem. Although this is quite out of the question, the song is admittedly old and may originally have been a ritual blessing for a new house. Takeda considers it to be a song handed down by persons connected with the worship of the shrine of SUGA. *Kiki koyōshū zenkō*, p. 28.

The words *ya-kumo tani*, 'many clouds rise,' are a conventional epithet for the place-name Idumo. The word *ya-pe-gaki*, literally 'many-layered fence,' 'many-layered partitions,' is understood to mean 'a building of many partitions,' 'a building surrounded by many fences,' therefore, 'a magnificent palace.'

For another translation, see Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 58.



- 11 Then he summoned *Asi-na-but-nō-kamī* and said:  
 “Be the headman<sup>6</sup> of my palace!”
- 12 He also bestowed upon him the name *Inada-nō-miya-nusi-Suga-nō-vatu-mimi-nō-kamī*.
- 13 Then taking *Kusi-nada-pime* he commenced procreation,<sup>7</sup> and there was born a deity named *Ya-sima-zinumi-nō-kamī*.
- 14 Again, he took as wife *Kamu-opo-ti-pime*, the daughter of *Opo-yama-tu-mi-nō-kamī*, and there was born a child named *Opo-tōsi-nō-kamī*;<sup>8</sup> next, *Uka-nō-mi-tama-nō-kamī*. (Two deities)
- 15 The eldest son *Ya-sima-zinumi-nō-kamī* took as wife *Kō-nō-pana-tiru-pime*, the daughter of *Opo-yama-tu-mi-nō-kamī*, and there was born [the child] *Pupa-nō-mōdi-kunusunu-nō-kamī*.
- 16 This deity<sup>9</sup> took as wife *Pi-kapa-pime*, the daughter of *Okami-nō-kamī*,<sup>10</sup> and there was born [the child] *Puka-but-nō-midu-yare-pana-nō-kamī*.
- 17 This deity took as wife *Amē-nō-rudope-tine-nō-kamī* and there was born [the child] *Omidu-nu-nō-kamī*.
- 18 This deity took as wife *Pute-mimi-nō-kamī*, the daughter of *Punoduno-nō-kamī*, and there was born [the child] *Amē-nō-puyu-kinu-nō-kamī*.
- 19 This deity took as wife *Sasi-kuni-waka-pime*, the daughter of *Sasi-kuni-opo-nō-kamī*, and there was born [the child] *Opo-kuni-nusi-nō-kamī*,<sup>11</sup> also named *Opo-namudi-nō-kamī*, also named *As-para-sikō-wo-nō-kamī*, also named *Ya-ti-pokō-nō-kamī*, and also named *Utusi-kuni-tama-nō-kamī*. Altogether he has five names.

<sup>6</sup> *Obito*.<sup>7</sup> Cf. 4:11.<sup>8</sup> The descendants of this deity are listed in Chapter 31.<sup>9</sup> *Pupa-nō-mōdi-kunusunu-nō-kamī*. Some commentators think that the words ‘this deity’ in verses 16–19 refer to *Susa-nō-wo*.<sup>10</sup> Cf. 8:4.<sup>11</sup> If the words ‘this deity’ refer to different deities, *Opo-kuni-nusi-nō-kamī* is the sixth-generation descendant of *Susa-nō-wo*. In the main text of the *Nihon shoki*, he is the son of *Susa-nō-wo*, but the *Nihon shoki* includes also the account recorded here. Cf. also 24:14, 29:1 in which *Opo-kuni-nusi-nō-kamī* is made to marry two of *Susa-nō-wo*’s daughters.

## CHAPTER 21

OPO-KUNI-NUSI CURES THE RABBIT AND WINS  
YA-GAMI-PIME.

- 1 This *Opo-kuni-nusi-nō-kamī* had eighty<sup>1</sup> brothers; but these eighty deities attended their lands to *Opo-kuni-nusi-nō-kamī*. The reason for their doing so was [as follows]:<sup>2</sup>
- 2 All of the eighty deities wished to marry *Ya-gami-pime* of *Inaba*. When they went together to *Inaba*, they had *Opo-namudi-nō-kamī* carry their bags and took him along as an attendant.<sup>3</sup>
- 3 When they arrived at the Cape of *Kēra*, there was a naked<sup>4</sup> rabbit lying [by the way]. The eighty deities said to the rabbit: “What you should do is this: bathe in this salt water, then lie down on the ridge of a high mountain peak where the wind will blow on you.”
- 4 The rabbit, doing as the eighty deities had told him, lay down. As the salt dried, the skin of his whole body cracked when the wind blew on it.
- 5 As he lay there crying in pain, *Opo-namudi-nō-kamī*, who came along last, saw the rabbit and said:  
 “Why are you lying here crying?”
- 6 The rabbit answered:<sup>5</sup>  
 “I was on the island of *Okī* and, though I wanted to cross over to this land, there was no way to cross over.  
 “Then I deceived a crocodile<sup>6</sup> of the sea, saying:

<sup>1</sup> Or ‘many.’<sup>2</sup> The narrative explaining this “reason” continues until 24:13. There is no account in the culminating chapter of the deities’ ceding lands to *Opo-kuni-nusi*.<sup>3</sup> I.e., they treated him as a lowly servant; cf. verse 14 below.<sup>4</sup> I.e., a rabbit with no fur.<sup>5</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 13 for a discussion of the provenance of the tale of the rabbit and the crocodiles.<sup>6</sup> *Wani*, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 13.

“Let us, you and me, see who has the most relatives. You bring as many relatives as you have and have them lie in a straight line from this island as far as the Cape of KĒRA; then I will run over them and count them as I run across. Then we will know whether they are more numerous than my relatives.”

- 9 “When they, deceived by what I had said, lay there in a line, I ran over them and counted them as I ran across. As I was about to get on land I said:

“‘You’ have been deceived by me!’

- 10 “Just as I finished saying this, the crocodile lying at the end of the line seized me and skinned off all my clothes. As I was crying and lamenting because of this, the eighty deities who went ahead commanded me, instructing me to bathe in salt water and to lie down where the wind would blow on me. When I did as they told me, my whole body became blistered.”

- 11 Then OPO-NAMUDI-NŌ-KAMĪ instructed the rabbit:

“Go quickly to this river-mouth and wash your body with its water. Then take the pollen of the *kama* grass of the river-mouth, sprinkle it around, and roll on it. If you do this, your skin will certainly heal as before.”

- 12 When he did as he was told, his body became as it was before:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Singular in the original.

<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, this tale is introduced in order to illustrate the healing powers of OPO-NAMUDI (OPO-KUNI-NUSI), about whom the *Nihon shoki* says:

“OPO-ANA-NUTI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ and SUKUNA-BIKO-NA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ united their powers and made their hearts one, and constructed the universe; they also determined the method of curing illnesses for the race of mortal men and for animals; they also determined magical methods for doing away with calamities from birds, beasts, and creeping things.” Asahi ed., 1:122; Aston, I, 59.

Motoori, himself a doctor, disparaged Chinese medicine and recommended the invocation of OPO-KUNI-NUSI to heal illness, *Kojiki-den*, II, 507.

From his appearance in this section as a sort of medicine man or magic healer, modern commentators often see OPO-NAMUDI as an archetype of the ancient shamanistic practitioners. Matsumoto concludes: “. . . the myths of OPO-KUNI-NUSI appear to have originated among a corporation of magicians in Idu mo, who, being the religious rulers, had political power.” *Nihon shintō no kenkyū*, pp. 148–50.

Matsumura (III, 282–84) agrees with this; he regards OPO-KUNI-NUSI as a personification of the activities carried on by such a group of magician-rulers.

- 13 This is called the white rabbit of INABA;<sup>9</sup> nowadays it is called the rabbit-deity.<sup>10</sup>

- 14 This rabbit said to ORO-NAMUDI-NŌ-KAMĪ:

“These eighty deities will certainly never gain YA-GAMI-PRIME. Although you carry their bags, you shall gain her.”

- 15 At this time YA-GAMI-PRIME replied to the eighty deities:

“I will not accept your offers. I will wed OPO-NAMUDI-NŌ-KAMĪ.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Inaba no ōsō-usagi*; or ‘the furless rabbit of Inaba.’

<sup>10</sup> *Usagi-gami*. An interesting occurrence of primitive animal-worship. This verse is a gloss, interrupting the progress of the narrative.

<sup>11</sup> Motoori attributes YA-GAMI-PRIME’s sudden willingness to marry OPO-NAMUDI to the spiritual workings of the rabbit. *Kojiki-den*, II, 509.

The marriage was unsuccessful because of YA-GAMI-PRIME’s fear of the chief wife, SUSURI-PRIME (cf. 24:17). Some commentators see OPO-KUNI-NUSI’s marriage to YA-GAMI-PRIME (the princess of a place called YA-GAMI in Inaba) as a mythological reflection of a historical process by which Idu mo consolidated its control over Inaba by means of ‘diplomatic marriages’ with the women of local chieftains. Matsumura, III, 270. See also note to 25:1.

- 9 This deity took as wife Iku-TAMA-SAKI-TAMA-PIME-NÖ-KAMĪ, the daughter of Pirragi-NÖ-SÖNÖ-PANA-MADUMI-NÖ-KAMĪ, and there was born [the child] Mirö-NAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 10 This deity took as wife Awo-NUMA-NU-OSI-PIME, the daughter of Siki-YAMA-NU-SI-NÖ-KAMĪ, and there was born [the child] Nunö-OSI-TÖMI-TÖR-NARU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 11 This deity took as wife Waka-PIRU-ME-NÖ-KAMĪ and there was born [the child] Amë-NÖ-PI-BARA-OPo-SINA-DOMI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 12 This deity took as wife Töpo-TU-MATT-NE-NÖ-KAMĪ, the daughter of Amë-NÖ-SA-GIR-NÖ-KAMĪ,<sup>6</sup> and there was born [the child] Töpo-TU-YAMA-ZAKI-TARASI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 13 In the above section, [the deities] from Ya-SIMA-ZINUMI-NÖ-KAMĪ through Töpo-TU-YAMA-ZAKI-TARASI-NÖ-KAMĪ are called the deities of seventeen generations.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 7:13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 20:13.

<sup>8</sup> There are actually only fifteen. The excessively large number of generations of Susa-nö-wo's descendants (Chapters 20-29) in comparison with the five generations of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami's descendants, their supposed contemporaries (from Masakatu-a-katu-kau-paya-pi-Amë-nö-osi-po-mimi-nö-miköto through Ama-tu-piko-Pikona-gisa-take-U-gaya-puki-apezu-nö-miköto), shows that each group of deities originated from an entirely different myth system.

## CHAPTER 30

THE DEITY SUKUNA-BIKO-NA APPEARS AND  
ASSISTS IN CREATING THE LAND. AFTER HIS  
DEPARTURE, THE DEITY OF MOUNT MI-MÖRÖ  
APPEARS.

- 1 When Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-kamĪ<sup>1</sup> was at the Cape of Muro in Iwumo, a deity came riding on the crest of the waves in a heavenly kagami boat,<sup>2</sup> wearing as clothing the skin of a wagtail<sup>3</sup> which had been completely flayed.
- 2 Although he<sup>4</sup> asked him his name, he would not reply. And although he<sup>4</sup> asked his attendant deities, they all said that they did not know.
- 3 At this point the toad<sup>5</sup> said:

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter the names Opo-kuni-nusi-nö-kamĪ, Asi-para-sikö-wo-nö-miköto, and Opo-namudi are used interchangeably to refer to the same deity.

<sup>2</sup> *Amë-nö-kagami-bune*. A tiny boat made of the pod of the *kagami* plant (see GLOSSARY).

<sup>3</sup> *Sazaki*. There is much controversy over this word, which is written with the ideograph for 'goose.' Since a goose is a large bird and its skin would be too roomy for a tiny person, scholars suggest such alternative readings as 'moth,' 'silk-worm moth,' and 'wagtail.' The *Nihon shoki* uses 'wagtail' in one of its versions, and this seems the most probable interpretation.

Aston suggests that this narrative is a reflection of historical intercourse between the people of Iwumo and the peoples of northern Asia, who are known to have used the skins of birds for clothing. *Shinto, the Way of the Gods* (London: Longmans, Green, 1903), p. 108. A similar theory was proposed by Matsuoka Shizuo (Matsumura, III, 370). However, the point of this narrative is not Sukuna-biko-na's place of origin or his clothing, but his diminutive size; one can see in this narrative elements of folk tales about elves or midgers. *Ibid.*, 369-71.

<sup>4</sup> Opo-kuni-nusi.

<sup>5</sup> *Tani-giku*. The ancient Japanese must have thought that the toad was a mysterious being which traveled everywhere and was therefore well informed. The *norito* have the following passage:

... in each of the myriad islands  
In which you hold sway,  
As far as the toad [*tani-giku*] can crawl,  
And as far as the briny bubbles can reach.

Such expressions, found also in the *Manyōshū*, mean 'to the utmost limits of the land.'

"This is something which KUYE-BIKO<sup>6</sup> will certainly know."

4 Then when he<sup>7</sup> summoned KUYE-BIKO and asked him, he replied:

"This is the child of KAMĪ-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ, SUKUNA-BIKO-NA-NÖ-KAMĪ."

5 Then when he<sup>7</sup> reported [the matter] to KAMĪ-MUSUBI-MI-OYA-NÖ-MIKÖRÖ, he replied:

"This is truly my child. He is the one of my children who slipped<sup>8</sup> through my fingers. Therefore, ASI-PARA-SIKÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖRÖ, become brothers with him, and together create and solidify the land."<sup>9</sup>

6 Then after that, the two deities OPO-NAMUDI and SUKUNA-BIKO-NA jointly created and solidified the land.<sup>10</sup>

7 Later, however, SUKUNA-BIKO-NA-NÖ-KAMĪ passed over to TÖKÖ-YÖ.<sup>11</sup>

8 The KUYE-BIKO who revealed [the identity of] SUKUNA-BIKO-NA-NÖ-KAMĪ is now called the scarecrow<sup>12</sup> of the mountain paddies.

<sup>6</sup> KUYE-biko is revealed in verse 8 to be a scarecrow.

<sup>7</sup> Opo-kuni-nusi.

<sup>8</sup> Or 'slipped.'

<sup>9</sup> In one version of the story in the *Nihon shoki*, the parent is Taka-mi-musubi-nö-mikötö, who identifies Sukuna-biko with these words: "I have fathered altogether 1,500 children. Among them there was one who was extremely naughty, would not obey my instructions, and slipped through my fingers and fell—this must be he. Rear him lovingly!" Asahi ed., I, 124.

<sup>10</sup> See also the *Nihon shoki* passage quoted in the note to 21:12. According to Idunio mythology, these two deities, not Izanagi and Izanami, created and solidified the land.

Some scholars have suggested that Opo-namudi and Sukuna-biko-na, whose names are somewhat similar (Opo-na and Suku-na), are really one deity or two aspects of the same deity. Matsumura, III, 379-93.

However, irrespective of what they were considered to be in primitive belief or in later times, the two were regarded as separate entities in the *Kojiki* and other documents.

*Ibid.*, 358-59.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 46:2. The *Nihon shoki* has this variant: "Another version says that when he went to the island of Awa and climbed up a millet stalk, he was flipped off and crossed over to the land of Tökö-yö." Asahi ed., I, 123; see also Aston, I, 60.

<sup>12</sup> Some commentators have suggested that KUYE-biko was a god of the rice paddies or a wisdom deity, who later became confused with a scarecrow. See Matsumura, III, 401-404. Matsumura himself suggests that KUYE-biko was originally a magic protector of private property and also a *yori-shiro* of the rice-paddy god, or the thing to which the spirit of the rice-paddy god was expected to attach itself. *Ibid.*, 410-18. Watanabe (pp. 269-71) says that the scarecrow was a magic figure adopted to protect the crops; gradually its powers were enhanced to the point where it was regarded as omniscient.

This deity, although his feet do not walk, is a deity who knows all things under the heavens.

9 At this time OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ lamented and said:

"How can I create this land by myself? What deity can I join with that we might be able to create this land together?"

10 At this time there was a deity who came, lighting up the sea.<sup>13</sup>

This deity said:

11 "If you worship well before me,<sup>14</sup> I will create together with you. But if you do not, it will be difficult for the land to be formed."

12 Then OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ said:

"In that case, in what manner should I worship you?"

13 He replied, saying:

"Worship me on the eastern mountain of the verdant fence of YAMATÖ."<sup>15</sup>

14 This is the deity who dwells on Mount MI-MÖRÖ.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 74:8.

<sup>14</sup> I.e., fulfill all the requirements of my cult.

<sup>15</sup> I.e., the easternmost of the verdant mountains surrounding Yamatö like a fence.  
<sup>16</sup> Mount Miwa in Yamatö (see GLOSSARY). This may have been a center of worship for clans who moved from Idunio to Yamatö. In a variant version in the *Nihon shoki*, the deity who appears later and demands to be worshipped on Mount MI-MÖRÖ is the 'fortune-spirit and wonder-spirit' (*saki-mi-tama kusi-mi-tama*) of Opo-namudi himself. (Asahi ed., I, 123-24.) In the "Divine Congratulatory Words of the Kuni-nö-miyatoko of Idunio" in the *notio* of the *Engi-shiki*, the deity of Opo-miwa was the 'peaceful spirit' (*yūki-tama*) of Opo-namudi, and was named Yamatö-nö-opo-miö-nö-nusi-Kusi-mi-ka-tama-nö-mikötö. At any rate, the deity of Mount Miwa was an alter ego of Opo-namudi, or a deity closely connected with him.

## CHAPTER 35

TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMĪ IS DISPATCHED TO  
CONSTRAIN OPO-KUNI-NUSI TO SURRENDER  
THE LAND. ONE OF OPO-KUNI-NUSI'S SONS  
AGREES TO SURRENDER IT.

- 1 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ said:  
"Which deity should we dispatch next?"
- 2 Hereupon OMÖPI-KANE-NÖ-KAMĪ and all the other deities said:
- 3 "The deity named ITU-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI-NÖ-KAMĪ,<sup>1</sup> who dwells  
in the Heavenly Rock-cave<sup>2</sup> in the upper reaches of the river AMĒ-  
NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA, should be dispatched. And if not this deity,  
then his son, TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ, should be dis-  
patched. Since AMĒ-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI-NÖ-KAMĪ<sup>3</sup> has dammed up the  
waters of the river AMĒ-NÖ-YASU-NÖ-KAPA and closed up the way  
[thither], other deities are unable to go [there]. Therefore, AMĒ-  
NÖ-KAKU-NÖ-KAMĪ<sup>4</sup> should be especially dispatched to inquire."
- 4 Then, when AMĒ-NÖ-KAKU-NÖ-KAMĪ had been dispatched to in-  
quire of AMĒ-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI-NÖ-KAMĪ, he replied, saying:
- 5 "With awe do I comply. However, my son TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-  
NÖ-KAMĪ should be dispatched on this journey."<sup>5</sup>
- 6 He immediately presented him.
- 7 Then AMĒ-NÖ-TÖRI-PUNE-NÖ-KAMĪ<sup>6</sup> was caused to accompany  
TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMĪ, and they were dispatched.
- 8 Thereupon, these two deities descended to the beach of INASA

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 8:15.

<sup>2</sup> *Amē nō ipa-ya*; cf. 17:1.

<sup>3</sup> Another name for *Itu-nō-wo-pa-bari-no-kamī*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a deer-deity (see GLOSSARY).

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'road.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 7:15. Evidently *Amē-nō-tōri-pune-nō-kamī*, the 'heavenly bird-boat deity,' represented the vehicle in which *Take-mika-duti-nō-kamī* rode on his descent from the heavens, rather than an independent deity sent to accompany him. Matsumura, III, 457-58.

in the land of IDUMO, unsheathed a sword ten hands long and stood it upside down upon the crest of the waves; then, sitting cross-legged atop the point of the sword,<sup>7</sup> they inquired of the deity OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ, saying:

9 "We have been dispatched by the command of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ and IAKA-KI-NÖ-KAMĪ to inquire: 'the Central Land of the Reed Plains,<sup>8</sup> over which you hold sway,<sup>9</sup> is a land entrusted to the rule of my<sup>10</sup> offspring; what is your intention with regard to this?'"

10 Then he replied:

"I cannot say. My son YA-PE-KÖTÖ-SIRÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ will say.<sup>11</sup> However, he has gone out to amuse himself [hunting for] birds and fishing at the Cape of MIPO, and has not yet returned."

11 Hereupon AMĒ-NÖ-TÖRI-PUNE-NÖ-KAMĪ was dispatched to summon YA-PE-KÖTÖ-SIRÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ, who, when inquiry was made of him, spoke to his father the great deity, saying:

12 "With fearful reverence let us present this land to the offspring of the heavenly deities."

13 Then he stamped his feet and overturned the boat; and by

<sup>7</sup> Several explanations can be given for this curious posture: it may have revealed their supernatural powers; Take-mika-duti-nö-kamī was a lightning deity, and folk belief related lightning and swords; there are many instances in ancient folk religion of a deity descending to an upturned sword. *Ibid.*, 459-64.

<sup>8</sup> *Asi-pata-nö-maka-ti-kuni*.

<sup>9</sup> Here it is plainly stated that the islands of Japan were ruled by Opo-kuni-nusi from IDUMO before the advent of the offspring of the heavenly deities. Many scholars have seen in this passage an indication of IDUMO's widespread political hegemony before the islands were unified under the Yamato court. However, it is improbable that the Japanese islands could be ruled very successfully from such an isolated region as IDUMO. Shiratori, p. 393.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., 'Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamī's'; or 'our.'

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 41:6. Commentators have given various explanations for the fact that Opo-kuni-nusi, although he was the ruler of the land, insisted on first consulting his son, Motoori, for instance, says that Opo-kuni-nusi was old by this time and had delegated most of his powers to his son; therefore he could not, on his own authority, answer Take-mika-duti-nö-kamī. According to Matsumura (III, 466-71), Kötö-sirö-nusi, who may be a deity of words or of verbal expression of the divine will, was a priestly figure able to make oracular pronouncements; thus Opo-kuni-nusi was naturally eager to consult him.

clapping his hands with a heavenly reverse clapping,<sup>12</sup> he transformed it into a green twig fence,<sup>13</sup> and concealed himself.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ama no soka-te*; clapping the hands with the palms turned outward, or clapping them with the hands held horizontally instead of vertically. *Kojiki-den*, II, 729. Obviously, such clapping had a magical effect.

<sup>13</sup> *Aiwo-pusi-gaki*. Fences made of bamboo branches or twigs were regarded in ancient times as sacred enclosures in which deities would dwell, and the earliest shrines were built for that purpose. Thus, the enclosure here was both the place where Kötö-sirö-nusi concealed himself and the site of his appearance. Matsumura, III, 494-99.

<sup>14</sup> In Motoori's view, Kötö-sirö-nusi disappeared into the land of Yömi (*Kojiki-den*, II, 750). That he did not do so is evident in 37:4, where the text speaks of him as serving and protecting the heavenly deities. Rather, he seems to have transformed himself with a clap of his hands from a visible deity into an invisible one and, as such, remained enshrined within a sacred grove.

## CHAPTER 36

OPO-KUNI-NUSI'S SECOND SON IS DEFEATED  
IN A CONTEST OF STRENGTH AND PROMISES  
OBEDIENCE.

1 Then they inquired of the deity OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ:  
“Just now your son KÖTÖ-SIRÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ has spoken thus:<sup>1</sup>  
Do you have any other sons who ought to speak?”<sup>2</sup>

2 Then he said again:  
“I have one other son, TAKE-MI-NA-KATA-NÖ-KAMĪ. Besides him,  
I have none.”<sup>3</sup>

3 As he was saying this, this same TAKE-MI-NA-KATA-NÖ-KAMĪ  
came bearing a tremendous boulder<sup>4</sup> on his finger-tips,<sup>5</sup> and said:  
4 “Who is it who has come to our land and is talking so furtively?  
Come, let us test our strength; I will first take your arm.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., has said such-and-such a thing.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., who ought to express an opinion.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., who ought to be consulted. No such son is mentioned in Chapter 29, which lists in some detail the offspring of Opo-kuni-nusi. The episode concerning Take-mi-na-kata-nö-kami is not included in the *Nihon shoki*. Many commentators think that the incidents recorded in Chapter 36 are late additions to the land-ceding myth, inserted into the *Kojiki* at this point to explain the origin of the shrine of Supa (see GLOSSARY under Take-mi-na-kata-nö-kami and Supa).

Tsuda suspects that the figure of the fierce, bellicose Take-mi-na-kata was invented to give contrast to the submissive brother Kötö-sirö-nusi and to add interest to the story. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 507.

Matsumura (III, 439–40) regards the contest between Take-mi-na-kata and Take-mi-na-duti as a reflection of a struggle between the Iamno original inhabitants, who claimed descent from Take-mi-na-kata, and the Yamato immigrants of the Opo clan, who worshipped Take-mi-na-duti, for control of the Supa region. Later the two groups were amalgamated.

<sup>4</sup> *Ti-tibi nō ipa*; lit., ‘thousand-pulling boulder’; cf. 10:11, 24:8.

<sup>5</sup> A display of strength to intimidate the heavenly messengers. This action reveals his rebellious intentions. *Kojiki-den*, II, 734.

<sup>6</sup> Such a contest of strength must have been a kind of litigation in which disputes were settled by divine will—as in the *ukiyi*. *Sumaji*—the modern *sumō*—was in ancient Japan a ritual performed to discover the divine will, as were similar contests in primitive societies everywhere. Matsumura, III, 440, 472–85.

5 When he allowed him to take his arm,<sup>7</sup> he changed it into a  
6 column of ice,<sup>8</sup> then again changed it into a sword blade. At this,  
he<sup>9</sup> was afraid and drew back.

7 Then [Take-mi-na-duti-nö-kami], in his turn, demanded [the  
right] to take hold of the arm of TAKE-MI-NA-KATA-NÖ-KAMĪ.

8 When he took it, it was like taking hold of a young reed; he  
grasped it and crushed it, throwing it aside. Immediately he<sup>10</sup> ran  
away.

9 They pursued him, and caught up with him by the lake of SUPA  
in the land of SUWANO;<sup>11</sup> as they were about to kill him, TAKE-MI-  
NA-KATA-NÖ-KAMĪ said:

10 “Pray do not kill me. I will go to no other place. Also I will not  
disobey the commands of my father OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ, and  
will not disobey the words of YA-PE-KÖTÖ-SIRÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ. I  
will yield<sup>12</sup> this Central Land of the Reed Plains in accordance with  
the commands of the offspring of the heavenly deities.”

<sup>7</sup> Take-mi-na-kata grasped the arm of Take-mi-na-duti, who changed his arm magically into an icicle and a sword-blade.

<sup>8</sup> *Tai-pi*, meaning ‘a standing [not hanging] icicle.’

<sup>9</sup> Take-mi-na-kata.

<sup>10</sup> Take-mi-na-kata.

<sup>11</sup> Take-mi-na-kata-nö-kami is the deity worshipped in the Upper Shrine of Suwa (ancient Supa) in modern Nagano prefecture. The primary source of this chapter appears to be an account of the origins of the shrine.

<sup>12</sup> Or ‘present.’



## CHAPTER 37

OPO-KUNI-NUSI SURRENDERS HIS LAND. HE IS  
WORSHIPPED AT HIS SHRINE IN IDUMO.  
TAKE-MIKA-DUTI REPORTS THE SUCCESS OF  
HIS MISSION OF PACIFICATION.

1 Then they once again returned and inquired of OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ:

"Your sons KÖTÖ-SIRÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ and TAKE-MI-NA-KATA-NÖ-KAMĪ have both said that they will not disobey the commands of the offspring of the heavenly deities. What is your intention with regard to this?"<sup>1</sup>

2 Then he replied, saying:

"In accordance with what my sons have said, I also will not disobey. I will yield this Central Land of the Reed Plains in accordance with your commands.

3 "Only, if you will worship me, making my dwelling-place like the plentiful heavenly dwelling<sup>2</sup> where rules the heavenly sun-lineage<sup>3</sup> of the offspring of the heavenly deities,<sup>4</sup> firmly rooting the posts of the palace in the bedrock below, and raising high the crossbeams unto TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA itself,<sup>5</sup> then I will conceal myself and wait [upon you] in the less-than-one-hundred<sup>6</sup> eighty road-bendings.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 35:9.

<sup>2</sup> *Tōdaru amē nō mi-su*; the meaning is disputed. *Tōdaru*, also appearing in verse 11, may also mean 'sun-lit.' *Mi-su* may also mean 'lattice,' the lattice-work smoke-vent under the gables of a roof.

<sup>3</sup> *Amata-tu-pi-tugi*; the imperial line.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 73:9. Opo-kuni-nusi demands a shrine equal in splendor to the palace of the emperors.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 24:14, 39:18.

<sup>6</sup> *Momo-tarazu*, a literary epithet for *yaso*, 'eighty.'

<sup>7</sup> *Yaso-kumade*; i.e., a far removed place. Motoori holds that Opo-kuni-nusi concealed himself in the land of Yōmō. *Kojiki-den*, II, 750. Other pre-modern commentators say

4 "Besides this, if of my children the one-hundred-and-eighty deities, YA-PE-KÖTÖ-SIRÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ<sup>8</sup> becomes the rear and the vanguard of the deities and serves them respectfully, there will be no rebellious deities."<sup>9</sup>

5 Thus saying, he built a heavenly temple<sup>10</sup> at the beach of TAGISI in the land of IDUMO.

6 The grandson of the deity of the sea-straits,<sup>11</sup> KUSI-YA-TAMA-NÖ-KAMĪ, became the food-server,<sup>12</sup> and when he presented the heavenly viands, he pronounced the words of blessing.

7 KUSI-YA-TAMA-NÖ-KAMĪ turned into a cormorant and, diving to the bottom of the sea, brought up clay from the bottom in his mouth; [with this he] made a number of heavenly flat vessels.<sup>13</sup>

8 Cutting the stems of the seaweed, he made a fire-drilling mortar; with stems of the gulfweed<sup>14</sup> he made a fire-drilling pestle,<sup>15</sup> and [with these he] drilled a fire, saying:

9 This fire which I drill—

10 May it burn upwards

11 Until in the plentiful heavenly new dwelling<sup>16</sup>

12 Of KAMĪ-MUSUBI-MI-OYA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ

that the shrine of Idumo was meant here. Matsumura, III, 492-93. Probably Opo-kuni-nusi merely retires to the unseen world of the spirit.

<sup>8</sup> The diction is confused in this passage.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the implications of Opo-kuni-nusi's surrender, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 17.

<sup>10</sup> *Amē nō mi-araka*; this entire section appears to be an account of the origins of the Great Shrine of Idumo.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 7:2.

<sup>12</sup> *Kasipa-de* (see GLOSSARY).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 65:10.

<sup>14</sup> This sea-plant (usually read *kōmō*) has been identified as the modern *hondawana* (gulfweed, sea-lentil, sea-grape, sargassum, *Sargassum baciferum*) or the modern *kobu/kombu* (sea tangle, kelp, *Laminaria*). Like the preceding "seaweed" it is unclear whether this term refers to a general type of sea-plant or to a particular species.

<sup>15</sup> The "mortar" was probably a wooden board in which holes had been drilled; the "pestle" would then have been the fire drill, a piece of wood inserted into one of the holes and revolved quickly between the palms to produce fire. Such a method is still followed for the ritual fires at the Great Shrine of Idumo. See Watanabe, pp. 342-46. Seaweed and gulfweed were hardly the real materials from which fire-drilling implements could be made.

<sup>16</sup> *Tōdaru amē nō mi-su*; or 'heavenly new lattice'; cf. verse 3 above.



13 In TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA

14 The soot hangs down eight hands long;

15 And until, under the ground,

16 The bottom bedrock is burned solid.

17 The fishermen fishing spread out the TAKU ropes,

18 The thousand-fathom ropes;

19 And, with a rustling, rustling sound,

20 Draw hither and raise up the wide-mouthed,  
broad-finned perch.

21 [Thus I] will present the heavenly sea-food viands

22 Until the [very trays of] split bamboo

23 Bend down under the weight!<sup>17</sup>

24 TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-KAMĪ ascended [to Takama-nö-para] once  
more and reported on his mission, how he had subdued and pac-  
ified the Central Land of the Reed Plains.<sup>18</sup>

## CHAPTER 38

PIKO-PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ IS COMMANDED  
TO DESCEND FROM THE HEAVENS AND RULE  
THE LAND. SARUTA-RIKO MEETS HIM  
TO SERVE AS HIS GUIDE.

1 Then AMA-TERASU-ORO-MI-KAMĪ and TAKA-KI-NÖ-KAMĪ com-  
manded the heir apparent MASA-KATU-A-KATU-KATI-PAYA-PI-AMĒ-  
NÖ-OSI-PO-MIMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ,<sup>1</sup> saying:

2 “Now it is reported that the pacification of the Central Land of  
the Reed Plains has been finished. Therefore, descend and rule it,  
as you have been entrusted with it.”<sup>2</sup>

3 Then the heir apparent MASA-KATU-A-KATU-KATI-PAYA-PI-AMĒ-  
NÖ-OSI-PO-MIMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied, saying:

4 “As I was preparing to descend, a child was born; his name is  
AMĒ-NIGISI-KUNI-NIGISI-AMA-TU-PIKO-PIKO-PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-  
MIKÖTÖ. This child should descend.”<sup>3</sup>

5 This child was born of his union with the daughter of TAKA-  
KI-NÖ-KAMĪ,<sup>4</sup> YÖRÖDU-PATA-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-SI-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ,  
who bore AMĒ-NÖ-PO-AKARI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; next, PIKO-PO-NÖ-  
NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ. (Two deities)

6 Whereupon, in accordance with his words, they imposed the  
command upon PIKO-PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:

7 “TÖYÖ-ASI-PARA-NÖ-MIDU-PO-NÖ-KUNI<sup>5</sup> has been entrusted to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 15:6, 32:1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 32:11, 7.

<sup>3</sup> A similar instance of a son acting as his father's substitute in an important mission is recorded in 35:5.

<sup>4</sup> Another indication of the extreme importance of this deity in the Kojiki mythology. The deity who descended from the heavens and became the founder of the imperial house was the grandson of both Ama-terasu-oro-mi-kami and Taka-ki-nö-kami. Cf. note on 33:13.

<sup>5</sup> “The Land of the Pleritful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Rice-eats”; cf. 32:1. Mishima Akihide, quoting Korean parallels, suggests that Piko-po-nö-ninigi-nö-mikötö's

<sup>17</sup> This may be a fragment of a *norito* prayer used at the Great Shrine of Iduino.

<sup>18</sup> This is the conclusion of the Iduino sequence (Chapters 19-37) in the Kojiki mythology. From Chapter 38 on, the deities of the Takama-nö-para pantheon again assume the principal roles.

you as the land you are to rule. In accordance with the command, descend from the heavens!"

- 8 Then, as PIKO-PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ was about to descend from the heavens, there appeared in the myriad heavenly crossroads<sup>6</sup> a deity whose radiance shone above through TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA and below through the Central Land of the Reed Plains.<sup>7</sup>

- 9 Then AMA-TERASU-OPPO-MI-KAMİ and TAKA-Kİ-NÖ-KAMİ commanded AMĒ-NÖ-UZUMI-NÖ-KAMİ, saying:

- 10 "Although you are a graceful maiden,<sup>8</sup> you are [the type of] deity who can face and overwhelm [others].<sup>9</sup> Therefore go alone and inquire: 'Who is here on the path of my offspring descending from the heavens?'"

- 11 When she inquired, the reply was:

"I am an earthly deity<sup>10</sup> named SARUTA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMİ. I have come out because I have heard that the offspring of the heavenly deities is to descend from the heavens, and I have come forth to wait that I might serve as his guide."<sup>11</sup>

assumption of rule over the Land of the Reed Plains was related to the appearance of a grain-spirit to fructify the grain; his name may be translated as 'Lad of the rice-cans which are peaceful [or ruddy] Deity.' A primary rôle of the emperors, the descendants of this deity, was to officiate in the harvest festival and other agricultural rituals. *Kojiki taishō*, V, 96.

<sup>6</sup> *Amē nō ya-tsumi*; literally, 'heavenly eight crossroads.' Because of this reference, some commentators have connected this deity with the roadside phallic deity of later times, the *Sai-no-kami*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Nihon shōki* passage gives a more vivid description of Saruta-biko:

"As they were about to descend, the forerunner returned and said:

"There is a deity in the myriad heavenly crossroads, whose nose is seven hands long and who is over seven feet tall. . . . Also the corners of his mouth [or: his mouth and his posterior] are brightly lit up, and his eyes resemble huge mirrors, shining brilliantly like red ground-cherries." *Asahi* ed., I, 142. See also Aston, I, 77.

<sup>8</sup> *Ta-waga-me*; cf. 16:1.

<sup>9</sup> Or 'who can overwhelm the opposing deities.' Matsumura (III, 567-70) cites a number of examples of female shamans being sent ahead to meet the enemy and to gain the advantage by their superior magic powers.

<sup>10</sup> *Kimi-tu-kami*; cf. note on 19:6.

<sup>11</sup> Although the *Kojiki* version of this episode is without drama, in the *Nihon shōki* Saruta-biko appears clearly as a hostile figure who intended to oppose the descent of the heavenly deities. See Aston, I, 77-78.

Matsumura (III, 559-84) shows that Saruta-biko was a priestly figure of the earthly deities performing a magic rite to keep the heavenly deities out; Amē-nō-uzume-nō-mikōtō was a priestly figure (a female shaman) of the heavenly deities who performed a counter-rite, a spell against his evil influence.

## CHAPTER 39

PIKO-PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ DESCENDS

FROM THE HEAVENS BEARING THE THREE ITEMS

OF THE SACRED REGALIA AND ACCOMPANIED BY

VARIOUS DEITIES. HE ESTABLISHES HIS PALACE

AT TAKA-TI-PO.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Then assigning [their respective] rôles to AMĒ-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, PUŌ-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, AMĒ-NÖ-UZUMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, ISI-KÖRI-DOME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, and TAMA-NÖ-YA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, altogether five clan heads, they<sup>2</sup> had them descend from the heavens.<sup>3</sup>

- 2 Hereupon, she<sup>4</sup> imparted [unto him<sup>5</sup>] the myriad MAGA-TAMA beads and the mirror which had been used to lure<sup>6</sup> as well as the sword *Kusa-nagi*;<sup>7</sup> and also [sent along] ITÖKÖ-YÖ-NÖ-OMÖPI-KANE-

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is the central point of the first book of the *Kojiki*, the climax to which the preceding narratives have been leading, and the antecedent for the narratives to come.

Matsumura (III, 510-17), quoting many Korean sources, concludes that the myth of the heavenly descent is a very old myth of North Asiatic (Tungusic?) origin. The common elements of all these myths—Korean as well as Japanese—are the deities' or rulers' descent from heaven to a mountain-top, a divine mandate, and certain sacred regalia.

<sup>2</sup> Ama-terasu and Taka-kū-nō-kami.

<sup>3</sup> The five clan heads (*the ūmō-nō-wo*) were the ancestors of the families who were involved in the religious observances of the imperial family. They first appeared in Chapter 17, where they played the chief rôles in the rites to lure the sun-goddess out of her place of concealment (cf. note on 17:10). Mishima quotes similar Korean descent myths to prove that the clan heads were originally those who performed the rites necessary to induce Piko-po-nō-ninigi-nō-mikōtō—the grain-deity—to descend and who greeted him on his descent, rather than descending with him. In Korea the Heavenly Being always descends alone, and is met by priestly figures. *Kojiki taishō*, V, 92-93.

<sup>4</sup> Ama-terasu-oppo-mi-kami.

<sup>5</sup> Piko-po-nō-ninigi-nō-mikōtō.

<sup>6</sup> To lure Ama-terasu-oppo-mi-kami out of the rock-cave; cf. 17:11. The passage seems to include the beads as well.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 19:20-22, 82:6, 85:33. The beads, the mirror, and the sword are the famous "Three Sacred Articles" regarded as the Japanese regalia. They were either symbols of divinely-given authority or magic fetiches. Similar symbols were stolen by Opo-kunima from Susa-nō-wo in 24:9.

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NÖ-KAMĪ, TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ, and AMĒ-NÖ-IPA-TO-WAKĒ-NÖ-KAMĪ;<sup>8</sup> and said:

3 "This mirror—have [it with you] as my spirit,<sup>9</sup> and worship it just as you would worship in my very presence. Next, let OMÖRI-KANĒ-NÖ-KAMĪ take the responsibility for the affairs of the presence<sup>10</sup> and carry on the government."<sup>11</sup>

4 These two deities<sup>12</sup> are worshipped at the shrine of Isuzu of the bell-bracelets.<sup>13</sup>

5 Next [was] TÖYU-UKĒ-NÖ-KAMĪ; this is the deity who dwells in WATARABI, the Outer Shrine.<sup>14</sup>

6 Next [was] AMĒ-NÖ-IPA-TO-WAKĒ-NÖ-KAMĪ, also named KUSI-IPA-MADO-NÖ-KAMĪ, also named TÖYÖ-IPA-MADO-NÖ-KAMĪ. This deity is the deity of the Gate.<sup>15</sup>

7 Next, TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ dwells in SANANAGATA.

8 AMĒ-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the MURAZI of the NAKATÖM.

9 PU-TO-TAMĀ-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the OMÖ of the IANU.

10 AMĒ-NÖ-ÜZUMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KMI of the SARUME.

11 ISI-KÖRI-DOME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the MURAZI of the KAGAMI-TURÖM.

<sup>8</sup> The first two of these deities figure in Chapter 17; AmĒ-nö-ipa-to-wakĒ-nö-kamĪ (meaning 'Heavenly-Rock-Door-Youth Deity,' a name in harmony with the events in Chapter 17—see GLOSSARY) appears only in this chapter. Motoori says: "These three deities did not descend from the heavens in their material visible bodies (their spirit-bodies remained in Takama-nö-para to serve Ama-terasu-ōpo-mi-kami). Their spirit-substitutes [mi-tama-sirō, an article to which the spirit of a deity is expected to become attached] were sent down. For this reason they are not enumerated in the same place as the five clan heads [39:1] but are named after the three treasures." *Kojiki-den*, II, 799.

<sup>9</sup> *Mi-tama*. Motoori comments that the sun-goddess attached her very spirit to the mirror, which was thus endowed with all of her spiritual attributes; at the same time, her material body which remained in Takama-nö-para was not in the least deprived of its spiritual force. *Ibid.*, 800.

<sup>10</sup> Or 'my presence'; 'their presence.'

<sup>11</sup> The ideograph for 'politics,' 'government' is read *mutari-gōto*, which means both 'religious worship' and 'government.' Probably this deity took charge of the ritual aspects of government.

<sup>12</sup> It is not clear which two deities are meant: the mirror and Omöri-kane-nö-kamĪ?

<sup>13</sup> *Saki-kusiro*, an epithet for Isuzu. The Grand Shrine of Ise is located at Isuzu.

<sup>14</sup> *Tō-tu-miya*; the Outer Shrine (*Gaki*) of Ise.

<sup>15</sup> *Mi-kado*.

12 TAMA-NÖ-YA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the MURAZI of the TAMA-NÖ-YA.

13 Then AMA-TU-PIKO-PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ was commanded to leave the Heavenly Rock-Seat. Pushing through the myriad layers of the heavens' trailing clouds, pushing his way with an awesome pushing, he stood on a flat floating island<sup>16</sup> by the Heavenly Floating Bridge,<sup>17</sup> and descended from the heavens to the peak KUZU-PURU-TAKĒ of Mount TAKA-TI-PO of PIMUKA in TUKUSI.<sup>18</sup>

14 Then the two deities AmĒ-nö-osi-pi-nö-mikötö and Ama-tu-kumĒ-nö-mikötö took on their backs heavenly stone-quivers, wore at their sides mallet-headed swords,<sup>19</sup> took up heavenly bows of PAZI wood,<sup>20</sup> held heavenly deer[slaying] arrows,<sup>21</sup> and standing in front of him served him.

15 AMĒ-NÖ-OSI-PI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ—this is the ancestor of the MURAZI of the ORO-TÖMÖ.

16 AMA-TU-KUMĒ-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ—this is the ancestor of the ARAPE of the KUMĒ.

17 At this time he<sup>22</sup> said:

18 <sup>23</sup>"This place is opposite the land of KARA; [it is a place to which one] comes directly through the Cape of KASASA,<sup>24</sup> a land where the morning sun shines directly, a land where the rays of the evening sun are brilliant.<sup>25</sup> This is a most excellent place."

Thus saying, he<sup>26</sup> rooted his palace-posts firmly in the bedrock below, raised high the crossbeams unto TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA itself, and dwelt [there].<sup>27</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Uki-zimari sori tasasie*; the meaning of this phonetically written phrase is unclear.

<sup>17</sup> *AmĒ nō uki-pasi*; cf. 3:3, 32:3.

<sup>18</sup> See ADDITIONAL NOTE 18.

<sup>19</sup> *Knob-tui nō tati*; *kahn-tui nō tati*; ancient swords with knob-headed handles. Archaeologists have found swords of this description in late tomb period sites.

<sup>20</sup> *AmĒ nō pazi-yumi*.

<sup>21</sup> *AmĒ nō makaku-yō*.

<sup>22</sup> Piko-po-nö-mingi-nö-mikötö; or, possibly, 'they,' i.e., the two deities mentioned in verse 14.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. 133:19-22. Bright, sunny places were regarded as desirable sites for palaces or shrines.

<sup>24</sup> Piko-po-nö-mingi-nö-mikötö; or, perhaps, 'they,' as in verse 17.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. 24:14, 37:3.