

## The Myth of the Goddess of the Undersea World and the Tale of Empress Jingū's Subjugation of Silla

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IN PREWAR JAPAN, the mythical tale of Empress Jingū's 神功皇后 conquest of the Korean kingdoms comprised an important part of elementary school history education, and was utilized to justify Japan's colonization of Korea. After the war the same story came to be interpreted by some Japanese historians—most prominently EGAMI Namio—as proof of the exact opposite, namely, as evidence of a conquest of Japan by a people of nomadic origin who came from Korea. This theory, known as the horse-rider theory, has found more than a few enthusiastic supporters among Korean historians and the Japanese reading public, as well as some Western scholars. There are also several Japanese specialists in Japanese history and Japan-Korea relations who have been influenced by the theory, although most have not accepted the idea (Egami himself started as a specialist in the history of northeast Asia).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Egami's horse-rider theory was first published in 1948, but a similar idea was earlier advocated by Oka Masao, Kida Teikichi, and others (see under "horse-rider theory" in the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, ITASAKA et al. 1983). Egami has revised his theory many times in response to the criticisms of Japanese historians, but it has been accepted by only a few Japanese academic historians such as MIZUNO (1967) and INOUE (1978), who modified Egami's theory in their own way. The *Kokushi daijiten* [Encyclopedia of Japanese History] (SAKAMOTO et al. 1978) characterizes the horse-rider theory as pure speculation with little concrete supporting evidence (see under *kiba-minzoku setsu*).

A paper entitled "Gallop Along with the Horseriders: Looking for the Founders of

According to Egami and other proponents of this latter theory, Empress Jingū's son, later Emperor Ōjin 応神天皇 (the fifteenth emperor on record and probably reigning around AD 400), was one

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Japan" was published by Gari LEDYARD (1975) in support of Egami. Ledyard argues that the kingdom of Japan was established by the Fuyo people of northern Korea, who first conquered Paekche and then, he says, Japan. The rejection by most Japanese scholars of Egami's theory of a continental origin for Japan's ruling class is attributed by Ledyard to chauvinism, acquired, he says, during the wartime period of Japanese fascism. Despite his accusations, however, Ledyard seems to have read very few works on early Japan by Japanese scholars. One wonders, for example, if he is aware of the "Nikkan dōsōron" (theory of the common origin of the Japanese and Koreans) that was popular during the war period and was used to justify the Japanese colonization of Korea (see under "Nissen dōsōron" in the *Heibonsha daihyakka jiten*). To indicate but a few points that argue against the Egami-Ledyard position:

1) The advent of the keyhole-shape sepulchral mounds in the late third century as symbols of the Yamato king's authority and their continued construction throughout the Kofun (tomb) period are seen by scholars as firm evidence of an indigenous origin of the ruling class.

2) Archeological studies on Okī no Shima, an island in the strait between Kyūshū and Tsushima where rituals were held to pray for safe passage to Korea, show that these ceremonies were conducted from the late fourth century, and that most of the fourth-century implements found there are of Yamato origin with a strong resemblance to implements buried in the tombs of the early Kofun period. The Okī no Shima rituals continued uninterrupted until the early ninth century, when the termination of diplomatic relations between Japan and China put an end to them. The archeological evidence supports the reliability of the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese historical records that mention the Japanese invasions of Korea from the fourth century.

3) As evidence of Egami's hypothesized horserider invasion, Ledyard says that "horses appear suddenly and forcibly before our eyes" in fourth-century Japan (p. 244), and quotes the report in the Chinese historical text *Wei chih* that no horses existed in Japan during the third century (p. 245). As is pointed out in numerous Japanese studies, however, the archeological evidence shows this *Wei chih* entry to be entirely erroneous: horses did indeed exist in third century Japan and even much earlier. Ledyard's unawareness of this quite basic fact (the sort of thing that any Japanese lay history enthusiast would know) casts doubt on his qualifications to criticize Japanese scholarship. In addition, Ledyard says that the fourth century witnessed the sudden appearance of horse *haniwa* (terracotta figurines). However, he overlooks the important fact that most of these *haniwa*, as well as most horse bones, were found in the eastern regions of Japan, precisely the area farthest removed from Korea. The lack of any such horse-related archeological relics in any part of the westernmost island of Kyūshū makes Egami's contention that the nomadic invaders first established their kingdom on that island quite hard to accept.

4) Ledyard maintains that in 369 there was a Fuyo invasion of Mahan and that this led to the founding of Paekche. But the *Samguk sagi*, the oldest extant Korean book of history, says that Paekche was ruled by its thirteenth king, Kungch'ogo, between 346 and 375; the same date of death is recorded in the *Nihon shoki*. Paekche is also mentioned in the third-century *Wei chih*, a point discussed by SHIRATORI (1970, 3, pp. 488-92). In this respect it is of paramount importance

of the kings of these nomadic invaders (EGAMI 1958 and 1967). INOUE Mitsusada, a former professor at Tokyo University who was influenced by Egami's ideas, suggested that the nomadic invader was Emperor Ōjin himself (1963, pp. 203–204), while Egami, in a later modifi-

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that the *shichishi-tō* (a seven-pronged sword housed in the Isonokami Shrine of Yamato has an inscription suggesting an alliance between Japan and Paekche in 369. According to the *Samguk sagi*, this was the year that military confrontation between Paekche and Koguryo started, explaining the Paekche motivation for an alliance. Moreover, the presentation of the *shichishi-tō* by Paekche is mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* as occurring in 372. Ledyard makes no mention of this sword despite the fact that a large number of works on it have been published by Japanese and Korean scholars.

5) SHIRATORI mentions the *Wei chih* record that in 472 the Paekche envoy to Wei China presented a memorial in which the words "Our people and the Koguryo descended from the Fuyo" occur (1970, p. 487). Ledyard must explain why the memorial does not say that Wa (Japanese) also descended from the Fuyo if, indeed, Japan was conquered by them in the late fourth century. Paekche and Koguryo were part of the same culture and spoke the same language, but Japan is quite different. Even a small characteristic like the Shinto custom of clapping the hands in prayer before a shrine (mentioned in the *Wei chih*) is not found on the continent but has remained a Shinto practice to the present day.

6) Ledyard argues that the Wa people inhabited southern Korea, but fails to mention either INOUE Hideo, who first presented this view in 1969 (reprint 1978), or YAMAO Yukihisa, who presented a powerful critique of Inoue's views (1972).

7) LEDYARD cites the *Wei chih* as saying that the Wa are "adjacent to" or "living among" the Han people of southern Korea (p. 231). Japanese scholars have pointed out, however, that in ancient Chinese texts the expression "adjacent to" is used of two areas whenever there are no people living between (SHIRATORI 1970, 6: 138–42). Thus by this definition New Zealand would be adjacent to Australia. Similarly, his claim that the *Wei chih* says the Wa "live among" the Han people is not supported by the original text, where no such words can be found. Nor does Inoue, who would have been delighted to find such a statement in the *Wei chih*, ever mention it. The Chinese text says that Wa people make iron in southern Korea, which is widely understood to mean that the third-century Japanese had not yet found iron in their own country.

8) Ledyard cites the *Hou han shu* as saying that the Wa state of Na existed in the southern extremity of Wa, and argues that, since the state of Na is known to have existed in northern Kyūshū, the land of Wa must have been in the southern part of Korea. His quotation from the *Hou han shu* is correct, but he overlooks the widely accepted interpretation of this particular text. According to Shiratori Kurakichi, most of the information on Korea and Japan (Wa) found in the *Hou han shu* was copied from the *Wei chih*, which mentions two Japanese states of Wa, one in northern Kyūshū and the other in the farthest corner of Japan. As there is little doubt that the author of the *Wei chih* had the mistaken notion that Japan stretched from north to south along the southern coast of China, the author of the *Hou han shu* must have confused the two Na states. SHIRATORI points out other similar mistakes found in the same work (1970, 1: 16 and 126). For further criticism of Egami and Ledyard in English see notes 23, 24, and 39 below; AKIMA 1993 notes 23 and 29; and KAKUBAYASHI 1983.

cation of his theory responding to the mounting criticism by Japanese academics, said that the tenth emperor Sujin 崇神 led the nomadic invasion of Japan and established his kingdom in Kyūshū, and that later Emperor Ōjin, a direct descendant of Sujin, conquered Yamato to found the Japanese imperial house (EGAMI 1967, pp. 181–87).

The problem is that the *Kojiki* (compiled in 712) and the *Nihon shoki* (compiled in 720) only say that Emperor Ōjin was born in Kyūshū, having conquered Korea while in his mother's womb. The question must be posed as to the efficacy of the method Egami and his followers have used in translating a mythical tale into actual history. Despite the contradictory nature of the prewar and postwar interpretations of the Empress Jingū tale, underlying both is a common methodology. From a mythical tale the interpreters arbitrarily abstract a journey made by a heroine and/or a hero, and declare it to be historical fact. One side regards it as being from Japan to Korea and back, the other as from Korea to Japan; to these trips is added another trip from Kyūshū to Yamato. Despite the difference between the prewar and postwar interpretations, it would appear that both were no more than by-products of the political ideologies popular in the two different periods. No matter how much archaeological and other evidence is called upon to support either of these readings, can we not still ask, considering that most of the story is a myth, whether that critical part of the tale wherein a hero or heroine sails across the sea might not itself also be purely a myth?

Despite the scant support Egami has won from Japanese historians and archaeologists, his theory still remains the focus of much discussion both in Japan and abroad. Its influence will continue as long as the tale of Empress Jingū is not clearly reappraised from a point of view radically different from that of Egami and his followers. This makes it necessary for us to undertake a thorough study of the tale, taking into consideration both “the grammar of myth-making” and historical factors. Our study will delve into many important aspects of the native Japanese worldview and Japanese kingship, since only a thorough study of these two topics can provide the correct approach to the study of the tale of Empress Jingū. I will begin with an investigation of MISHINA Akihide's mythological study of this tale, an analysis that provides many interesting insights but that does not fully account for the tale's development. I then take up a number of central motifs—the *ne no kuni* 根の国 (the netherworld), the water-woman, the mysterious mythical creature *wani* 和禰, and the concept of *mitama no fuyu* (皇靈之威, (神靈) 恩頼)—in order to show how specific historical

experiences were used to organize the tale into a mythico-historical story with great significance for the people of ancient Japan. The main contention of the paper is that the tale of Empress Jingū developed from the myth of the goddess of the undersea world, and that the ancient Japanese worldview that identified the undersea netherworld with a distant foreign land played a decisive role in this development.

I hope in the course of this study to show that mythical concepts do not lie outside history, and that mythico-historical tales play a certain role in the given social context. Mythical concepts expand and change in conjunction with specific historical realities, just as a people's knowledge of historical fact evolves in such a way as to conform to mythical concepts. Like any myth, the tale of Empress Jingū is a product of this process of development. Any attempt to understand it must take this process into account and recognize both the mythical motifs and the historical context. Neither a simplistic reduction of the tale to myth nor a hasty historical interpretation can do full justice to the tale as a complete whole. This paper will thus also serve as a study of the way myth and history interact.

*Mishina Akihide's Theory of the Mythical Origin of the Tale of Empress Jingū*  
(*Okinagatarashi-hime* 息長帯比売)

Let us begin with a quotation of the first part of the myth of Empress Jingū<sup>2</sup> as it is told in the *Kojiki*.

(1)

In those days the Empress Okinagatarashi-hime no Mikoto often became divinely possessed. [It was] at this time when the emperor dwelt at the palace of Kashihi 香椎 in Tsukushi and was about to attack the land of the Kumaso. The Emperor [Chūai 仲哀] was playing the cither [*koto*], and the Ōomi Takeshiuchi no Sukune 大臣武内宿禰 abode in the ceremonial place in order to seek the divine will.

Then the empress became divinely possessed and spoke

<sup>2</sup> The Empress Jingū is popularly known by this sinicized posthumous name, given her in the eighth century. I shall thus use it in most cases, along with the sinicized name of her son—Ōjin—and other emperors as well. Nevertheless, the significance of the empress's purely Japanese name, Okinagatarashi-hime, is important in a study of the mythical and historical associations of her tale, so in certain contexts I will use this name as well.

these words of instruction: “There is a land to the west. Gold and silver, as well as all sorts of eye-dazzling precious treasures, abound in this country. I will now give this country [into your hands].”

Hereupon the emperor replied: “When one climbs to a high place and looks toward the west, no land is visible. There is only the ocean.” Saying [that this was] a deceiving deity, he pushed away the cither and sat silent without playing it.

Then the deity, greatly enraged, said: “You are not to rule this kingdom. Go straight in one direction!”<sup>3</sup> At this time, the Ōomi Takeshiuchi no Sukune said: “This is a dreadful thing. My lord, continue to play the cither!” Finally, then, he drew the cither to him and began to play reluctantly. After a while, the sound stopped. When they raised the lights, they saw that he was dead.

Then, astonished and frightened, they moved him to a mortuary palace [*hinkyū; mogari no miya* 殯宮]. Besides, great offerings were assembled from [throughout] the land; and a thorough search was made for such sins as skinning alive, skinning backwards, breaking down the ridges, covering up the ditches, defecation, incest, and sexual relations with horses, cows, chickens, and dogs; then a great exorcism [the purificatory rite *ōharae* 大祓] of the [entire] land was held.

Then again Takeshiuchi no Sukune abode in the ceremonial place in order to seek the divine will. The instructions given then were exactly as [those given] previously, [namely]: “This land is the land to be ruled by the child who is inside your womb.”

Then Takeshiuchi no Sukune said: “O awesome great deity, what is the child who is inside the womb of the deity?” The answer was: “[It is] a boy-child.” Then he inquired specifically: “I should like to know the name of the great deity who is now giving such instructions.” The answer was: “This is the will of Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神, also of the three great deities Sokozutsu no Ō 底筒男, Nakazutsu no Ō 中筒男, and Uwazutsu no Ō 上筒男 [the three deities of the Sumiyoshi (Suminoe) Shrine 住吉神社 located on Osaka Bay].” It was at this time that the names of these three deities were revealed.

“If at this time you truly wish to seek that land, then present offerings to all the heavenly deities and the earthly deities, as well as to all the deities of the mountains and of the

<sup>3</sup> A divine curse condemning him to death.

rivers and seas. Enshrine our spirit [i.e., that of the three deities] at the top of the ship, and put wood ashes into a gourd; make many chopsticks and flat plates and cast all of them out to float on the ocean, then cross over!”

Then, exactly in accordance with these instructions, they put their army in order and marshalled many ships. As they were crossing [the sea], all the fish of the sea, the small as well as the large, bore the ships across on their backs. Then a favorable wind began to blow strongly, and the ships moved along with the waves. These waves washed the ships ashore in the land of Shiragi [Silla] [and they came to rest] halfway across the country.

At this time the king of the country, struck with awe, said: “From now on I will obey the will of the emperor and will become your royal stable-groom. Every year I will arrange the many ships in line, without giving their bottoms time to dry, and without letting their oars and rudders dry; together with heaven and earth, unceasing will I serve.”

In accordance with this, the land of Shiragi was designated as the royal stable-groom, and the land of Kudara [Paekche] was designated as the overseas *miyake* [areas under direct imperial rule]. Then [Okinagatarashi-hime] stood her staff at the gate of the king of Shiragi and worshipped the rough spirit [*ara mitama* 荒魂] of the great deities of Suminoe, whom she made the tutelary deities of the land. Then she crossed back over [the sea].

Before the completion of this mission, [the child which she] was carrying was about to be born. In order to delay the birth, she took stones and attached them to her skirt around the waist. After she had crossed over to the land of Tsukushi, the child was born. The name of the place where the child was born is Umi [lit., “birth”]. Also, the stones which she attached to her skirt are in the village of Ito in the land of Tsukushi.

[Here we omit a section saying that in Tsukushi Okinagatarashi-hime fished *ayu* (a kind of trout) using cooked rice as bait and a thread unraveled from her skirt as a fishing line, which originated the practice of local maidens doing the same in spring.]

At this time, as Okinagatarashi-hime no Mikoto was returning to Yamato, she prepared a funeral ship, because there was doubt about the popular mind. First of all, she caused rumors



to be spread to the effect that the prince had already died.

As she thus proceeded up [to Yamato], Kagosaka no Miko [Prince Kagosaka] and Oshikuma no Miko [Prince Oshikuma], hearing of this, plotted to wait and take them; they went out on the Toga plain and were divining by hunting. Then Kagosaka no Miko climbed up a *kunugi* tree and looked out; whereupon a huge, enraged boar came and uprooted the *kunugi* tree and ate up Kagosaka no Miko. His younger brother Oshikuma no Miko, not afraid even after this, raised an army and waited for them.

Then he approached the funeral ship and was about to attack [this supposedly] empty ship. But troops descended from the funeral ship and engaged him in battle.

At this time Oshikuma no Miko's commanding general was Isahi no Sukune, the ancestor of the Kishibe of Naniwa. The crown prince's commanding general was Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma no Mikoto 難波根子建振熊命, the ancestor of the Omi of Wani 和禰臣.

When they had pushed them back as far as Yamashiro, they ordered their ranks, and both sides engaged in battle without further retreating. Then, using cunning, Takefurukuma no Mikoto caused it to be said that Okinagatarashi-hime no Mikoto was dead and that there was no use in fighting further.

[After this, Oshikuma no Miko is killed, tricked by Takefurukuma no Mikoto.]

(PHILIPPI 1968, pp. 257-67;

KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 228-35)<sup>4</sup>

It is undeniable that to some extent the story reflects earlier Japanese expeditions to Korea, but no historian would believe (1) to be literal historical fact (in this article, long quotes will be identified by number; hence the passage above is "[1]"). Its mythical character is too obvious. We must, therefore, study the story in relation to other, similar, myths.

This story was regarded by MISHINA Akihide (1973, chapter 2) as a development from the myth of the mother goddess of water, typified by Toyotama-hime in the tale of Ninigi no Mikoto's sons, told in both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* (summarized in [2] below). His thesis is significant, although it must also be said that he did not fully realize

<sup>4</sup> In PHILIPPI's translation of the *Kojiki* (1968), all names are spelled in such a way as to reproduce the ancient Japanese pronunciation, but in all quotations from his translation I have spelled the names as they are normally pronounced in modern Japanese.



the consequences of his insights, and that he rather hastily put together many mythical themes without sufficient consideration of their historical background.

I shall first give a summary of Mishina's interpretation of the tale of Empress Jingū, here and there drawing on other writers' works that are relevant to Mishina's ideas and inserting our own commentary.<sup>5</sup> The story, summarized below, is known as "The Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains," and provides an important foothold for Mishina's and our comparative study of mythical themes. The story concerns the deeds of the sons of Ninigi no Mikoto, who the ancient mythologies say was dispatched to earth by his grandmother, the Sun Goddess, to become ruler of the human world (i.e., Japan).<sup>6</sup>

(2)

Hoderi no Mikoto [hereafter, Hoderi] was known as Umisachi-biko 海幸彦, "Luck-of-the-Sea Lad," i.e., a marvelous fisherman. His younger brother Hoori no Mikoto [hereafter, Hoori] was known as Yamasachi-biko 山幸彦, "Luck-of-the-Mountain Lad," i.e., a marvelous hunter. Each had a magic tool of their trade.

One day Hoori proposed an exchange of their magic tools. Hoderi initially refused, but later relented upon his brother's repeated requests. Hoderi went hunting and Hoori fishing, each carrying his brother's tool. The result was miserable for both. To make matters worse, Hoori lost his brother's magic fishhook.

When they returned home, Hoori made five hundred fishhooks and gave them to his brother for compensation. But Hoderi refused to accept them and insisted his original fishhook be returned. Hoori made a thousand fishhooks and gave them to his brother, but Hoderi would not accept them.

As Hoori was weeping and lamenting over the matter by the seashore, Shiotsuchi no Kami 塩椎神 (God of the Salt [waters]) came and asked the reason for his grief. Hoori explained what had happened, whereupon the god offered

<sup>5</sup> The following quotations and explanations are for the most part identical with those in my recent publication "The Origins of the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Cult of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami" in the *Japan Review* (1993). These duplications are due to the fact that originally the paper published in the *Japan Review* constituted a sequel to the present paper, both being studies of female shamanism centering on the cult of the goddess of the undersea world. The readers interested in this common topic are strongly urged to read my article in that journal.

<sup>6</sup> For the myth of Ninigi no Mikoto see the *Kojiki* (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 124–31) or PHILIPPI's English translation (1968, chapters 38–40).

him help. He made a boat of closely woven bamboo stalks, and putting Hoori in it, instructed him: "When I push this boat free, a very good tideway will carry you to a palace made as if with the scales of fish. This is the palace of Watatsumi no Kami (the sea god). At the gate of this deity will be a luxuriant *katsura* tree next to the well at the side. If you climb to the top of this tree, the daughter of the sea god will see you and will counsel you."

Hoori did as he was instructed. He climbed up the *katsura* tree and waited. Then the serving maiden of Toyotama-bime, the daughter of the sea god, came out and, noticing a brightness in the well, looked up and discovered him.

This was duly reported to Toyotama-bime 豊玉毘売. Toyotama-bime, thinking this strange, came out to see for herself. They looked at each other lovingly and became man and wife. When her father saw Hoori, he said: "This is Sora tsu Hiko 虚空津日高 (Lad of the Sky), the son of Ama tsu Hiko 天津日高 (Lad of Heaven)."

Then he brought him inside, spread out eight layers of sealskin *tatami* (carpets), then eight layers of silk *tatami* above them, and had him sit on top of these. There was a feast in celebration of their marriage. He lived for three years in this land. Then Hoori remembered the things of before, and gave a long sigh. Toyotama-bime heard this sigh and reported it to her father. The sea god asked his son-in-law the reason for the long sigh; he also asked what had initially brought Hoori to his land.

Hoori told the sea god about the incident that had brought him there. Thereupon the sea god summoned together all the fish of the sea and asked them whether any fish had taken the fishhook. It was found in the throat of a sea-bream, and was removed. As the sea god gave it back to Hoori, he instructed him that he should utter a certain curse when returning it to Hoderi. The sea god also told Hoori that he should make a high rice paddy, if his elder brother made a low paddy, and that he should do the exact opposite if Hoderi made a high rice paddy. The sea god predicted that Hoderi would then be impoverished since the god controlled the water, and that Hoderi, angered, would attack him.

The sea god gave Hoori the tide-raising jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, and said that Hoori could inundate or save his brother as he wished with these two jewels until Hoderi rendered submission. Then Hoori was taken back to the human

world on the back of a giant *wani* [probably a kind of shark] that could swim quickly. Everything went as the sea god predicted, and Hoori did as he had been instructed. Toyotama-bime then came to Hoori and said that she was already pregnant and that she came to give the child a birth at the right place.

Toyotama-bime told Hoori that he should not see her when she gave birth to her child in the parturition house built on the seashore. Hoori, however, peeped into the hut and saw Toyotama-bime crawling and slithering around in the form of a *wani*. Toyotama-bime, learning that he had been watching, felt extremely ashamed, and so she went back into the sea, closing the *unasaka* 海坂 (the slope of the sea). The baby was left on the beach.

Nevertheless, she was unable to subdue her yearning for Hoori, and sent her younger sister Tamayori-bime 玉依比売 to nurse the child, entrusting her also with a song, which said:

<i>Akadama wa</i>	Beautiful are red jewels;
<i>O sae hikare do</i>	Even their cord seems to sparkle.
<i>Shiratama no</i>	But I prefer pearls
<i>Kimi ga yosoi shi</i>	For the awesome beauty
<i>Tōtoku arikeri</i>	Of your pearl-like form.

Then her husband replied with the song:

<i>Oki tsu tori</i>	As long as I have life,
<i>Kamo doku shima ni</i>	I shall never forget
<i>Wa ga ineshi</i>	My beloved, with whom I slept
<i>Imo wa wasure ji</i>	On an island where wild ducks,
<i>Yo no kotogoto ni</i>	Birds of the offspring, came to land.

The child born to them was Ugaya Fukiaezu no Mikoto, who later married his aunt Tamayori-bime and sired four sons, the youngest of whom became Japan's first emperor, Jinmu.

[The above summary is based on the *Kojiki* version, KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 132–47; PHILIPPI 1968, chaps. 42–46. For the *Nihon shoki* version see SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 163–81, or its English translation by ASTON (1956, I, 92–104).]

The first link between (1) and (2) is, as Mishina pointed out, provided

by the following *Nihon shoki* record, which describes an event that occurred during Empress Jingū's journey by sea to Kyūshū for the purpose of her Korean expedition:

(3)

Autumn, seventh month, fifth day. The Empress [Jingū] anchored in the harbor of Toyora 豊浦 [present Shimono-seki]. On this day the Empress found in the sea a Nyoï pearl.

(ASTON 1956, I, p. 219;

SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 325)

*Nyoï* 如意 literally means “at one’s own will,” “perfect freedom,” or “perfect control,” and the *nyoï-shu* or *nyoï no tama* 如意珠 (Sanskrit, *cintāmaṇi*)—translated as “Nyoï pearl” by Aston—normally refers to a large ball of jade or similar stone held in the hand of a Buddhist divinity. But in this context it is no doubt identical to the two *tama* 珠 (jewel) that Hoori no Mikoto obtains from the sea god. Incidentally, the word *tama* means any jewel, including pearls; it also means “spirit” (*tama* 靈).

The *Nihon shoki* text immediately preceding (3) says that when Empress Jingū sailed to Toyora, many sea-bream (*tai*) floated on the sea, and as the Empress sprinkled saké on the water the fish got drunk and were easily caught by fishermen. The *Nihon shoki* version of the Empress Jingū tale is far less mythical than the *Kojiki* version, since it quotes Korean and Chinese records; and yet during her expedition the empress is said to show mythical control over fish and the sea in the same way that she does in the *Kojiki* version. The *nyoï* jewels—perhaps two pearls—symbolize the same mythical power that Hoori no Mikoto acquires from the sea god. It is also important that the event in (3) occurred at Toyora, where an important branch shrine of the Sumiyoshi Shrine (Suminoe) dedicated to the three deities mentioned in (1) stands.

In art historian UEHARA Kazu’s latest study of the *nyoï-shu* held in the hands of some Buddhist statues, he traces its mythical significance back to earlier Shinto (1991). Furthermore, volume 39 of the *Taiheiki* (a tale of civil war written in the late fourteenth century) contains a story of how the god Atobe no Isora 阿度部磯良, who resides under the sea and has an ugly face covered with shellfish and seaweed, brings from the Ryūgū 竜宮 (Dragon Palace) the tide-ebbing pearl (jewel) and the tide-raising pearl (jewel) and offers them to Empress Jingū, and they enable her to subjugate the Korean enemy in much the same way as Hoori no Mikoto subjugates Hoderi no Mikoto.

On the grounds that the *Hachiman gudōkun* (compiled in 1572) and the *Kyūshūdō no ki* (compiled in 1587) attribute the same deed to the god Azumi no Isora 安曇磯良 instead of Atobe no Isora, scholars consider that the two are identical. Azumi no Isora is enshrined in the Shika no Umi Shrine 志賀海神社 on Shika Island off Hakata (Fukuoka) in Kyūshū, a place important for navigation between Japan and Korea. Azumi is also the name of an influential fishermen's clan (*uji* 氏)<sup>7</sup> that provided the chief priest of the Sumiyoshi Shrine, whose three deities are mentioned in (1) (GOTŌ and OKAMI 1963, pp. 456–58 and p. 529, note 44). Azumi no Isora is a sea god, and thus we can relate (1) and (2) through the mediation of (3) and the *Taiheiki* story. Behind all of these stories lies the same mythical concept of a god or goddess that has control over fish, navigation, and water (both fresh and salt).

As further evidence of a relationship between (1) and (2), Mishina points out, in both a child prince is born of a woman with mysterious powers over the sea. It is also important that the childbirth takes place on a beach—the Umi mentioned in (1) is located on the coast. Mishina presents an interesting idea concerning this point: the place-name Umi 宇美, which is interpreted as meaning “birth” 生み in (1), originally meant “the sea” 海, the characters being pronounced the same; that is, the birth took place in the sea. In tale (4) below, too, a child of mysterious power is given to a man by a woman from the undersea world (in this case the child is not born but simply given). Interestingly, according to MISHINA some legends claim Empress Jingū to be an elder sister of Tamayori-bime, who married Hoori no Mikoto, the hero in (2) (1973, p. 187).

This makes it possible, as Mishina argues, to relate (1) and (2) to a type of folktale YANAGITA Kunio studied in his essay “Kaijin shōdō” 海神少童 [The little boy sea god] (1962, pp. 37–74). In it Yanagita collected and studied tales of a boy of miraculous power who comes from the sea. A typical example of this Kaijin Shōdō type of folktale, in brief, goes like this:

## (4)

An old man ekes out a scanty living by selling dry twigs that he gathers in the mountains. One day no twigs are sold, and so he sinks them into a deep pool under the bridge over a river;

<sup>7</sup> The Japanese *uji* is different from the English “clan” in that the former can include groups that are not in reality related by blood, and that *uji* usually denotes influential clans or pseudo clans of the ruling class. In this paper, however, the word “clan” will be consistently used to mean the Japanese *uji*.

whereupon a beautiful woman appears from under the water with a little boy in her hands.

The woman says, “You are honest and hardworking, and so Ryūjin, the Dragon God, has decided to give you this boy as a reward. The boy is called Hanatare Kozō-sama (Master Nose-Running Urchin). He can realize whatever wish you make. But remember you must serve him shrimp salad three times every day.”

The old man offers the little boy shrimp salad every day as he has been told; and each time the old man expresses his wish, the boy blows his nose to bring out from it any amount of anything the old man wishes. Soon the old man becomes very wealthy and lives in a beautiful mansion.

But before long the old man feels it cumbersome to go to buy shrimps every day; and so he says to the boy that he has nothing more to desire, and wishes that the boy go back to the Ryūgū, the Dragon Palace.

The boy walks out of the house, and there is heard a noise of the boy breathing in air through his nostrils, whereupon the old man’s mansion and all the wealth he has acquired vanish.

(abridged from YANAGITA 1962, pp. 38–39)

In (4) the drama occurs at a river, but the palace, Ryūgū, is always located under the sea in Japanese folktales (the same name occurs in the *Taiheiki* tale of the sea god Atobe no Isora). As no distinction is made between fresh and sea water in (2) (note that the sea god gives the tide-raising jewel to Hoori and then provides him with the right amount of fresh water for his rice paddies, proving he has equal power over both), early Japanese regarded the river and the sea as one continuum. In fact, in other tales of the same type as (4) the dry twigs or flowers are often thrown into the sea, although in these tales the coming of a miracle child is replaced by that of a dog or a cat that brings good luck (YANAGITA 1962, p. 41; IWAKURA 1943, Tales IV–VI).

In folktales of this type, as well as in (2), a marriage takes place between the visitor from the human world and a woman from within the undersea palace. Tale V in IWAKURA Ichirō’s collection (1943) of the folktales of Kikaigashima Island is strikingly similar.

In this tale, a poor man goes to the netherworld as a reward for saving a baby turtle, and marries a daughter of the sea god, whom he takes back to the human world. She bears him three children, but when the husband peeps at her taking a bath—an act strictly prohi-



bited by her—and finds her splashing in the shape of a large fish, the wife goes back to the undersea world and reduces her husband to his earlier state of poverty. Later the three children also disappear after picking up a mysterious object, a gift from their mother, at the seashore.

The tale of Urashima Tarō (the Japanese Rip van Winkle, known as “Shimako” in old texts), a popular children’s story in Japan, also belongs to this type of story in which a man or demigod goes to the undersea world and marries a maiden there, although, unlike other tales we have seen so far, the birth of a child does not take place. The oldest extant version of this tale, in the *Fudoki* 風土記 [Regional records] compiled by an imperial edict of 713, is different from versions that have been popular since medieval times, and so the outline of the *Fudoki* version will be given below.

The story, though old, seems heavily influenced by Taoism both in content and style. In particular, it has the palace of the sea god appear in the far distance and on the surface of the sea rather than under it. In fact, the original text refers to the place as Hō-zan 蓬山 (Chinese: P’eng shan), the mythical island in the ocean where Taoist wizards were believed to dwell. Furthermore, the story mixes an image of heaven with that of an island.

But there is no doubt that the Urashima story is of the same type as (2) and (4). In ancient Japan the undersea world, or netherworld, and any place on the sea very distant from land were synonymous. Seeing ships sinking below the horizon as they sailed away, the ancient Japanese thought that a ship could reach the bottom of the sea and the earth by sailing far out from land (for a further discussion of this worldview, see AKIMA 1982, pp. 487–90). Furthermore, the story (5) contains the same theme of the sea and a maiden as other tales of this type do. It is also important to note that at the end of both (2) and (5) there occurs an exchange of similar love songs between the parted husband and wife.

(5)

In Tsutsukawa village of the Hioki area of Yosa District lived a handsome young man known as Shimako 嶋子, a distant ancestor of the Kusakabe no Obito clan. He was also known as Urashima no Ko of Mizunoe.

During the reign of Emperor Yūryaku 雄略 Shimako embarked in a small boat all by himself and sailed far out to sea. He fished for three days and three nights, but not a single



fish was caught. Instead, a five-colored turtle was hooked. He thought it was strange, but he put it in his boat and then fell asleep; whereupon the turtle turned into a maiden. So beautiful was she that no woman was her equal.

Shimako said to her, "This place is far from human habitation, and here is no one to be seen over the wide expanse of the sea. Who are you that have appeared here so suddenly?" The maiden answered with a smile, "A handsome gentleman is afloat on the sea all alone. I cannot resist my wish to talk intimately with him; and so I have come riding on wind and cloud."

Shimako asked again, "Where do wind and cloud come from?" The maiden answered, "From the abode of the wizard up in Heaven. Please do not hold me in suspicion, dear sir! Let's have an intimate talk, and do please reciprocate my affection." Thereupon Shimako understood that the maiden was the daughter of a deity, and was struck with a sense of awe and suspicion.

The maiden said, "My love for you will last as long as heaven and earth, and will end only with the sun and the moon. Please let me know your heart." Shimako answered, "How can I reject you? My love for you will never wane." Then the maiden said, "Now turn your boat around and go to the Land of Eternal Youth (*tokoyo no kuni* 常世国)."

When Shimako tried to obey her, the maiden made him fall asleep, and immediately they reached a large island in the middle of the sea. Its ground looked as though it were paved with jewels, and there was a palace shining brightly. He had neither seen nor heard of a place like this.

Shimako and the maiden reached the entrance to the palace. The maiden said, "Please wait here for a minute," and opening the gate, entered inside. Soon seven children came out and said to each other, "That's Kame-hime's 亀比売 (Turtle Maiden's) husband!" Next, out came eight children and said the same thing. Thus Shimako learned that the maiden's name was Kame-hime.

Before long the maiden came out; and so Shimako told her about the children. She said, "The seven children are the seven stars of Subaru (Pleiades), and the eight children are the eight stars of Amefuri. Don't think this strange." Then she led him inside.

The maiden's parents welcomed him, and a magnificent banquet was held. The pleasure of the banquet was thousands

of times greater than it would be in the human world. Thus Shimako, totally oblivious of his homeland, spent three years with Kame-hime in the Land of Eternal Youth.

But one day he suddenly began to long for home and his parents. Kame-hime asked him, “Recently you have been looking uneasy. Tell me what is in your mind.” Shimako answered that he was homesick and that he wanted to see his parents. Kame-hime was very unhappy that he wanted to go home, but upon repeated requests by him agreed to let him go for a short period.

When Kame-hime and her parents as well as relatives sadly saw Shimako off, Kame-hime took out her jeweled comb-box, gave it to him, and said, “If you don’t forget me, and wish to come back to me later, hold this box firmly, and never open it under any circumstances!” Presently Shimako boarded his boat. Kame-hime put him to sleep.

Instantly he was back in Tsutsukawa. As he looked at the village, he noticed that both people and things had completely changed. And so he asked villagers: “Where are the families of Urashima no Ko of Mizunoe?” The villagers answered: “Where did you come from? Why do you ask about people of long ago? Old folks have handed down a story that in ancient times there was a man known as Urashima no Ko of Mizunoe, who sailed out into the sea alone for fun and never came back. We hear that it was some three hundred years ago.”

Utterly dazed, Urashima roamed in and around the village, but could not see a single person he had known. Then he yearned for his godly wife. Having completely forgotten the promise he had made to his wife about the box, he opened it.

Immediately his good looks evaporated into thin air, floating up towards heaven with wind and cloud. Shimako realized that he had broken the promise, and that he would never see his wife again. With his head turned towards the sea, Shimako staggered, and was choked with tears.

He sang the following song as he wiped away his tears:

<i>Tokoyobe ni</i>	Towards the Land of Eternal Youth
<i>Kumo tachi-wataru</i>	Drift the rising clouds
<i>Mizunoe no</i>	To carry words of love
<i>Urashima no ko ga</i>	From Urashima no Ko,
<i>Koto mochi-wataru</i>	The man of Mizunoe.

The daughter of the sea god sang back from afar, making her sweet voice audible to Shimako:

<i>Yamatobe ni</i>	Parted are the clouds
<i>Kaze fukiage te</i>	Blown by the west wind
<i>Kumo banare</i>	Rushing up towards Yamato;
<i>Soki ori tomo</i>	Parted are we like those clouds,
<i>Wa o wasurasu na</i>	But oh, may you never forget me!

(abridged from AKIMOTO 1958, pp. 470-77)

We must first note that the basic pattern in the stories (2), (4), (5), and Tale V of Iwakura's collection (quoted above) is that a goddess of the undersea world meets a deity, a demigod, or man, marries him, and a miracle child is born to them. In (5) no child is born and in (4) there is no marriage, but the stories can be regarded as all essentially the same (this point will be discussed in more detail below). We can thus establish a similarity between these tales and (1), Empress Jingū being understood to be a character that has evolved out of the goddess of the undersea world who gives birth to a miracle child. Although the element in this type of story in which a man visits the goddess is apparently absent in the Empress Jingū tale, Mishina suggests that the man's role may have been filled by her husband, Emperor Chūai (or his prototype). According to MISHINA, the shortness of their marriage reflects the brevity of the married life of the sea goddess and the visiting male character (1973, pp. 72-73). This makes the *Kojiki* story of Emperor Chūai (the *Kojiki*, unlike the *Nihon shoki*, contains no record of him except his marriage with Empress Jingū and the incident described in [1]) a development of the concept of a male deity visiting the undersea goddess. In support of Mishina's view I would like to cite an interesting legend found in the *Jinten ainō-shō*, originally compiled in the fifteenth century. According to this legend, Emperor Ōjin had a "dragon tail" that made it necessary for him to have his coat specially designed to conceal it. This indicates that he was believed to have come from the *ryūgū* (undersea palace) (see under *birō no koto* 尾龍事 in the *Jinten ainō-shō* (HAMADA, SATAKE, and SASAKAWA 1968, pp. 230-31).

In an essay entitled "Watatsumi no kami no miya kō" [A study of the palace of the sea god], Yanagita argued that this type of folktale was based on a belief in the mythical power residing in the undersea, or nether, world—the place that Okinawans call *niruya*, *neiya*, etc., and which classical texts call *ne no kuni* 根の国 (the root country), *ne no katasu kuni* 根堅州国 (the country in the direction of the root?), *yomi no kuni* 夜見国 (the country of eternal night?), or *tokoyo no kuni* (the country of eternal life). This undersea, or nether, world was also believed to be the source of all vital force in the human world (the

word *ne* [root] has this meaning), and also to be the region where dead people's spirits go (YANAGITA 1969, pp. 35–72 and pp. 85–109; for further details see AKIMA 1982, pp. 487–90).

It would be possible, as Mishina argued, to expand the concept of this sea-goddess-marries-a-visitor type of tale to include tales of a maiden made pregnant by a deity who visits her through a river. In the latter type of tale the male deity comes from either a mountain or heaven. The important point of this type of tale does not seem to be contact with the mystical power of the sea, but rather with water in general. (The myth of fresh water is probably related to agriculture, while that of the goddess of the undersea world to fishing.)

A tale about the origin of the Kamo Shrine 加茂神社 in the present city of Kyoto provides an excellent example of this type of tale. Unlike the river in (4), the river in this tale is quite a distance from the sea. The following is an outline of the story as recorded in the *Yamashiro no kuni no fudoki* 山城国風土記 [The regional records of the province of Yamashiro] compiled in the eighth century:

## (6)

The great god of Kamo, Kamo no Taketsunumi no Mikoto, descended onto the top of Mt. Takachiho in Himuka, and later led Emperor Jinmu [the first emperor] in his expedition to the east. Then he reached Kamo in the province of Yamashiro [present Kyoto] by himself, and there married a deity of Tanba, Ikakoya-bime. A female deity, Tamayori-bime, was born.

When Tamayori-bime was playing on the river Semi, the upper reaches of the Kamo River, a red painted arrow came floating down. She picked it up, and stuck it at one end of her bed, whereupon she became pregnant because of the arrow. A boy was born.

When the boy came of age, his grandfather, Taketsunumi no Mikoto, gave a magnificent banquet and invited many deities. They enjoyed themselves for seven days and seven nights, when Taketsunumi no Mikoto said to the boy, "Offer this cup of saké to a deity whom you identify as your own father." The boy looked heavenward with the cup in his hand and prayed; then he flew up to heaven, breaking through the roof tiles. He was named Kamo no Waki-Ikazuchi no Mikoto (*ikazuchi* means "thunder"). The red painted arrow is Ho no Ikazuchi no Kami, now worshipped at the shrine of Otokuni District.

(abridged from AKIMOTO 1958, pp. 414–15)

A story similar to the above tale is found in the *Kojiki* record of the first emperor, Jinmu, where the story of the birth of Himetatara-Isukeyori-hime, the emperor's consort, is told. The river in the story is again distant from the sea, the event being located in Yamato near Mount Miwa. The following is an outline of the story:

(7)

The God Ōmono-nushi 大物主 of Mount Miwa 三輪山 was attracted by the beauty of Seyatatarahime, and so he turned himself into a red painted arrow and floated down a stream to strike her genitals as she was defecating in a toilet built on the stream. She was alarmed, but picked up the arrow, and placed it by her bed. Then the arrow turned into a handsome young man, who took her as his wife. Himetatara-Isukeyori-hime was born to them.

(abridged from KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 160-63; PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 53)

No matter what the nature of the husband, tales of this type always end in the birth or coming of a child of miraculous power, in the same way as the tales of the sea goddess.

It is important to note that in both (2) and (6) the name Tamayori-bime occurs, which literally means "spirit-inviting-maiden" (BLACKER 1975, p. 118). *Tama*, the first half of the name, means "spirit" or "jewel" as mentioned above, and *yor*i 依り (寄り) is an intransitive verb meaning "come to" or "approach," of which the transitive form *yose* 依せ (寄せ), "to cause (someone) to come," is used at the beginning of (1) in the description of Okinagatarashi-hime: "Okinagatarashi-hime no Mikoto sono kami kami o *yose*-ki," "In those days Okinagatarashi-hime no Mikoto [Empress Jingū] often became divinely possessed [caused deities to come]."

Since *kuchi-yose* 口寄せ is the term for a shamanistic practice in which a dead person's spirit speaks through the mouth (*kuchi*) of a shamaness (see under "kuchiyose" in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, KINDAICHI et al. 1973-1976), Tamayori-bime is thus a deified form of shamaness, as is Okinagatarashi-hime (note that *hime* and *bime* are the same word meaning "maiden" or "princess").<sup>8</sup> In (2) Tamayori-bime

<sup>8</sup> The term "shamanism" can be a problem, but virtually all scholars who have discussed the tale of Empress Jingū have interpreted her possession as shamanism. Our concept of shamanism is more in line with that of I. M. LEWIS (1971) than that of ELIADE (1964). Carmen BLACKER relates the empress tale with shamanistic practices found in Japanese folk religion (1975, pp. 110-11).

is the sister of Toyotama-bime, but there is little doubt that they form a double: “Toyotama” means “abundant spirit,” and, unlike (2), the *Nihon shoki* version of the same tale says that the two women came to Hoori no Mikoto together from the very beginning (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 167; ASTON 1956, I, p. 103). Another point to note is that this shamaness is also the rearing mother.

Although Mishina does not mention Orikuchi Shinobu’s concept of the water-woman 水の女, Mishina’s study seems to follow up on his line of thought. According to Orikuchi, the water-woman is wife to a god or a demigod, and great rearing mother to his child. She is believed to have come from the undersea world (i.e., the netherworld). ORIKUCHI describes the woman who bathes the emperor at the time of the *daijōsai* 大嘗祭 rite of enthronement as a person who represents this mythical concept of the giver of new life (1965, pp. 80–109). In my discussion below I shall use Orikuchi’s term, the water-woman, although Mishina does not.

Mishina explains the word *tarashi* 帯 in the name of Empress Jingū’s Japanese name, Okinaga-tarashi-hime, as meaning “rearing.” According to him, the word means 足らし, that is, “to fulfill,” “to satisfy,” or “to complete.” MISHINA also points out the occurrence of the word in the compound *hi-tarashi* 日足らし and its verb form *hi-tarasu* or *hi-tasu*. As *hi* means “sun,” “day(s),” and *tarasu* or *tasu* means “to complete,” *hi-tarasu* or *hitasu* means “to complete the days of pregnancy or growth” (1973, pp. 173–89).

An example of the use of the word *hitasu* in the form *hitashi* is found in the annals of Emperor Suinin in the *Kojiki*, in the scene in which Empress Saho-bime gives an instruction to her husband before she goes to die with her brother, who unsuccessfully plotted against the emperor (both Orikuchi and Mishina quote this passage):

(8)

Again the emperor [Suinin] said: “How shall he [the baby born to the emperor and Saho-bime] be reared [*hitashi* 日足し]?” She [the Empress Saho-bime] replied: “Employ a wet-nurse, and assign senior and junior bathing women; thus should he be reared [*hitashi*].”

(PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 72;

KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, p. 195)

Philippi gives the following annotation, following Orikuchi, to the words “senior and junior bathing women” (ORIKUCHI 1965, pp. 94–95):



Ō-yue 大湯坐, *waka-yue* 若湯坐; The bathing of infants of illustrious birth was basically a magic rite and was accompanied by much pomp and ritual; thus the “bathing women” were primarily special court functionaries charged with a vital ritual role rather than children’s nurses.

Orikuchi regards the “bathing women” in (8) as the water-women and as doubles of the empress, and Mishina considers that the life-giving function of the water-woman gave rise to the tale of Empress Jingū as a rearing mother.<sup>9</sup>

According to Mishina, the concept of *hitashi* (*tarashi*) also explains why Empress Jingū (Okinagatarashi-hime) carries a magic stone (or stones) to postpone childbirth. Such magic stones must have been used to ensure that a baby stayed in the mother’s womb long enough for growth. A story that the *Shaku nihongi* 釈日本紀 quotes from the no-longer extant *Tsukushi no kuni no fudoki* 筑紫国風土記 [The regional records of the province of Tsukushi] says that a pair of stones used by Okinagatarashi-hime in her Korean expedition is located in Kōfu in the Ito District. The story also says that a local custom in which a pregnant woman puts a stone (or stones) under her skirt when she unexpectedly feels her child moving arose from Okinagatarashi-hime’s act (AKIMOTO 1958, pp. 500–501).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> At this point a different interpretation of the word *tarashi* offered by TSUKAGUCHI (1980) needs to be touched upon. He says that the word was derived from *terashi*, “to shine” as the sun does. According to the Chinese dynastic record, *Sui shu*, a Japanese envoy said to the Chinese emperor that the Japanese emperor is called Tarishi Hiko (Tarashi Hiko?) 多利思比孤, “Hiko (Hiko)” meaning a man of *hi*, “sun, day, a miraculous power” (WADA and ISHIIHARA 1951, p. 69). But Japan has never had an emperor of this name. In fact, Japan at the time was under the rule of the Empress Suiko. The name was probably meant to be a generic term for the emperor, because many ancient Japanese emperors had the word “...tarashi Hiko” as part of their Japanese name (Ōtarashi Hiko [the twelfth emperor, Keiko] and Wakatarashi Hiko [the thirteenth emperor, Seimu], for instance).

The *Sui shu* also quotes a report to the Chinese emperor from the Japanese envoy: “The King of Wa (Japan) deems heaven to be his elder brother and the sun, his younger” (DE BARY 1958, p. 9). This obviously relates Tarashi Hiko (Hiko) to the sun. On the force of this evidence Tsukaguchi interprets *tarashi* as *terashi*.

Tsukaguchi is partially correct, but Mishina’s interpretation brings out the original meaning of the word. Tsukaguchi’s interpretation probably relates more to a later meaning that accrued to the word when the authority of the emperor came to be closely associated with the power of the sun. We conjecture that *hi-tarashi* or *tarashi-hi(ko)* originally meant “satisfying or completing *hi*,” *hi* meaning “a miraculous power.” This wider and more mythical meaning of the word *hi* seems earlier and more fundamental. The more limited meaning of the word “the days” (of pregnancy or rearing) must have been an extension of the original concept of the word; and the further limiting of the meaning of *hi* to the “sun-emperor” must have occurred even later.

<sup>10</sup> In 1920 YANAGITA published an extensive study of the relationship between childbirth and stone in early Japanese magic (1963, pp. 214–51), and so we shall not discuss the topic



Concerning the birth of the child in the tale of the water-woman, whether the woman is in the undersea world or not, Mishina notes the practice of sacred marriage; and in his study of the case of Empress Jingū (one of the water-women), he quotes two interesting records from the *Hachiman usa no miya gotakusen-shū* 八幡宇佐宮御托宣集, a collection of mythical tales about, and oracles of, the god Hachiman (Yahata) of the Usa Shrine (Usa Hachiman 宇佐八幡) compiled in 1313 (henceforth abbreviated as *Gotakusen-shū*). The records are important because Hachiman is identified as Emperor Ōjin, and the shrine is also dedicated to Empress Jingū (for information about the shrine see under “Usa Hachiman” in the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, ITASAKA et al. 1983, or the *Shintō daijiten*, MIYAJI and SAEKI 1978; see also NAKANO 1967 and HERBERT 1967, chap. 18).

One of the two records in the *Gotakusen-shū* says that on the night immediately preceding Empress Jingū’s departure for Korea she became the wife of the god of the Sumiyoshi Shrine (Suminoe) of Naniwa, the shrine whose deities play an important role in (1); and the second of the records, a quotation from the *Sumiyoshi engi* [The origins of the Sumiyoshi Shrine] that forms an alternate version of the marriage story, says that immediately after her return from the expedition she became the wife of the god Ugaya Fukiaezu no Mikoto, whose birth is described at the end of (2). These two records indicate a practice of sacred marriage, and brings (1) much closer to other tales of the water-woman, particularly (2) (MISHINA 1973, pp. 73–74).

Furthermore, Mishina explains the elements of death and funeral in (1) in relationship to the sacred marriage and the resultant birth of a child. The combination of death and funeral with childbirth may appear a little difficult to accept, but the tale of the origin of the Hirota Shrine 広田神社, which Mishina quotes, links the two.

This tale, recorded in the *Gotakusen-shū*, says that after Empress Jingū returned from the Korean expedition she gave birth to her son at the cape of Wada in Kada District of the province of Chikuzen, buried him in the sand there, and dug him out alive and in good health after seven days. According to the story, the baby was reared by the empress’s new husband, Ugaya Fukiaezu no Mikoto, and became the god of Hirota (Myōjin) Shrine. As Mishina argued, it is clear that the tale demonstrates the magical power of the water-woman to turn death (burial in sand) into life.

further here. Also see under *ishigami* and *ubugami* in the *Minzokugaku jiten* (YANAGITA 1951) and *Nihon minzoku jiten* (OTSUKA MINZOKUGAKKAI 1972).

According to MISHINA, the story of Hirota Shrine is one of the earlier sources of the tale of Empress Jingū, and the burial in sand of the newborn baby in this story gave rise to the story of the deceptive announcement of the prince's death and the funeral boat in (1). He also says that the ancient Japanese believed that birth was a return from the netherworld (*ne no kuni*) that existed beneath the earth (1973, pp. 110–11).<sup>11</sup>

It needs to be pointed out that both Hirota Shrine and Sumiyoshi Shrine lie on Osaka Bay on opposite sides of Yodo River, the former to the west and the latter to the east; and that Hirota Shrine houses in its annexes (*sessha*) the gods Sumiyoshi and Hachiman (identified as Emperor Ōjin; see under "Hirota Jinja" in the *Shintō daijiten*, MIYAJI and SAEKI 1978). A relationship between this tale and (1) is undeniable, although I do not think that the tale of Hirota Shrine is a source for the tale of Empress Jingū, but rather that both are based on the same mythical concept.

At this point let us study an argument made by Okada Seishi that strengthens Mishina's argument that the tale of Hirota Shrine is to be regarded as a prototype of (1). In (1) the characters 空船 are read *muna-bune* by scholars and are interpreted as "the empty ship," as the word was translated at the end of (1); but in (9) below and in many folktales the same characters represent the word *utsubo-bune*, or a hollowed boat on which a mythical figure sails. ORIKUCHI argued that objects like a gourd or a peach were also believed to be a kind of *utsubo-bune*, and that this is the reason why Momotarō (the Peach Boy), the hero in the folktale of that name, was born out of a giant peach. The boat on which Hoori no Mikoto sailed to the undersea world can also be identified as an *utsubo-bune* (1965, p. 122) (see also under *utsubo-bune* in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, KINDAICHI et al. 1973–1976; ISHIDA 1971, pp. 133–90; MATSUMOTO 1956, chap. 1, sec. 2). According to Okada, this fact indicates that (1) was originally a myth of a god coming from beyond the seas in an *utsubo-bune*.

As Okada argued, the story of attacking an "empty ship" (*muna-bune*) and of the troops descending from it would be odd (Philippi's translation of [1] inserts in square brackets the words "this supposedly" to make the story coherent). There is a great possibility that the character usage is a remnant of an earlier myth and that the characters were originally read *utsubo-bune*, not *muna-bune* (OKADA 1970, pp. 236–41).

<sup>11</sup> A more detailed study of this belief and its influence on medieval Japanese Buddhism will be found in UMEHARA 1989, pp. 4–56.

Okada's argument establishes the empty-boat motif in (1) and supports Mishina's attempt to relate the deceptive announcement of the death of the prince in it to sacred marriage and birth or rebirth.

To clarify the origin of the military element in the tale of Empress Jingū, Mishina relates her to the shamaness of the Hachiman (Yahata) Shrine of Usa. He argues that Ōtarashi-hime 大帯比売, enshrined in the Usa Hachiman Shrine in Kyūshū, is identical to Okinagatarashi-hime. This point is borne out by the fact that the *Harima no kuni no fudoki* 播磨国風土記 [The regional records of Harima Province] compiled in the eighth century, and the two official books of history, *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (869) and *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録 (901), use the name Ōtarashi-hime in describing the deeds of Okinagatarashi-hime (MISHINA 1973, p. 174).

The *Gotakusen-shū*, too, uses the name Ōtarashi-hime instead of Okinagatarashi-hime in almost every case when referring to Empress Jingū's Korean expedition (in the above quotations from the book the actual name used was Ōtarashi-hime, which is changed to Empress Jingū for convenience' sake). The name Okinaga is derived from her paternal clan, whose home is the province of Ōmi 近江; and in the name Okinagatarashi-hime this clan name replaces the first syllable Ō (great) of the name Ōtarashi-hime.

In a passage in his study of the water-woman Mishina points out that in traditions related to the Usa Hachiman Shrine such a woman was represented by the shrine shamaness, who was also involved in military expeditions (MISHINA 1973, pp. 77–83). The *Gotakusen-shū* and the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (compiled in the late twelfth century) contain accounts of the chief priestess of the Usa Hachiman Shrine leading a military expedition in the year 720 against the Hayato people of the southernmost area of Kyūshū, who often rose against the central government. The priestess is named Karashima no Masa (Suguri) Hazume 辛嶋勝波豆女, and is no doubt a descendant of Karashima no Masa (Suguri) Otome 辛嶋勝乙目, who the *Gotakusen-shū* says founded the Hachiman Shrine together with the priest Ōmiwa no Higi 大神比義 (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1965–1969, 8, p. 1516).

Mishina compares this with the early Okinawan practice of the chief priestess (*kikoe ōgimi* 聞得大君, usually sister of the king) leading military campaigns (see under "*kikoe ōgimi*" in the *Okinawa daihyakka jiten* [Encyclopedia of Okinawa]; OKINAWA TAIMUSU 1983). He also points out that the staff (*mitsue*) placed by Okinagatarashi-hime at the gate of the king of Shiragi's palace in the *Kojiki* account is identical

with the staff mentioned in the *Gotakusen-shū* description: “The priestess, Karashima no Masa Hazume, served as the staff for the great god [Hachiman].” In this quotation the word “staff” means “stick” and signifies a supporter or agent of the god, the staff symbolizing religious authority.

The above discussion shows how Mishina has successfully related the myth of Empress Jingū to that of the water-woman and other relevant tales. The network of such relations already seems confusingly wide. But this is not the end of his search for associations of mythical themes: he further relates the myth of Empress Jingū, or rather that of her son Emperor Ōjin, to the myth of the sun coming from beyond the seas. One of the tales Mishina considers important in this regard is the myth about the origin of the Ōsumi Hachiman Shrine 大隅八幡神社 in Kyūshū, a Shinto shrine affiliated with the Usa Hachiman Shrine. Its storyline runs as follows:

## (9)

The Chinese king, Chin (Chen), had a daughter named **Ōhirume** 大比留女 who became pregnant at the age of seven. The father was frightened and asked who the child’s father was, to which the girl answered that she had dreamed that rays of the morning sun covered her chest and that then she became pregnant. After a son was born, the father king put the mother and the son into an **empty (hollow) boat** 空船 and set it afloat on the ocean saying, “Be rulers over whatever place you may land.”

The boat reached the shore of Ōsumi in Japan. The son was named Hachiman, and the shore, the Cape of Hachiman. The mother flew to Mount Wakasugi in Chikuzen and became the Bodhisattva of the Shrine of the Sacred Mother of Kashihi (a shrine subsidiary to the Kashihi Shrine dedicated to Empress Jingū and her husband, Emperor Chūai), while the son stayed in Ōsumi and was worshipped in the Ōsumi Hachiman Shrine.

(*Koji ruiien*, JINGŪSHICHŌ 1965-69, 8, p. 1679)

In order to clarify the mythical import of (9), let us note the implications of the first boldface word, “Ōhirume” (I have already discussed the mythical import of “empty [hollow] boat” 空船). The “Ō” in Ōhirume means “great,” and “hirume” means “woman of the sun.” The Sun Goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami, is also called “Ōhirume” in the *Nihon shoki* (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 86), and “hirume” in the

*Man'yōshū*, poem 167.<sup>12</sup>

Mishina relates (9) to the quite similar story of T'arhae 脱解, recorded in the *Samguk sagi* 三国史記 and the *Samguk isu* 三国遺事 (Korean books of history, the former compiled in 1145 and the latter in the thirteenth century).<sup>13</sup> The name Hachiman 八幡, which occurs in (9) and which is also read "Yahata" (eight *hata*), is related to Korea, too, because *hata* or *pata* in both Korean and Japanese means "loom" and indicates the weaving technique introduced by Korean immigrants.<sup>14</sup> In fact, many scholars think that the Hachiman Shrine, particularly of Usa, was originally a Korean institution. Thus Mishina maintains that (9), being a tale of the god Hachiman, is related to Ōtarashi-hime of the Usa Hachiman Shrine, whom he regards as the prototype of Empress Jingū. It is also important to Mishina that both (9) and the tale of Empress Jingū are related to Korea ([9] mentions

<sup>12</sup> Numbers for poems in the *Man'yōshū* and the *Kokinshū* are those standardized in the *Kokka taikan* 国歌大観 (abbreviated as *KT*).

<sup>13</sup> The outline of the story recorded in *Samguk isu* is as follows:

A boat anchored at a port in the kingdom of Karagguk. The king of Karagguk, Surowang, welcomed it, making his subjects beat drums, but the boat suddenly sailed away. It arrived at Ajinp'o beach in Hasojich'on to the east of Kyerim. An old fisherwoman found a large chest on the boat. When she opened it, she found inside a fine-looking boy (T'arhae) and many servants as well as many wonderful treasures. They were welcomed with a banquet that continued for seven days.

On the seventh day the boy said:

"I was born in the Kingdom of the Dragon Castle. There are twenty-eight dragon kings in my country. All of them were born of human women, and are enthroned at the age of five or six. They teach people and maintain order. There are eight classes of clans among the people, but all reach high governmental positions. My father Hamdalp'a married a princess of Chongnyoguk, but no child was born for a long time. After they prayed to god for seven years, she laid a large egg. The king declared that it was an ill omen that a human being should lay an egg; he ordered a huge chest to be made, into which the egg and many servants as well as treasures were placed. The king prayed that the chest be carried to a land where a new kingdom might be established by those in the chest, whereupon a red dragon appeared to escort the boat to this place."

After saying this, the boy climbed up Mount T'ohamsan with his two servants, and made there a stone tomb, into which he hid himself for seven days. From the tomb he scanned the surrounding areas and found the right place to dwell. The place belonged to Hogong, but he skillfully took the place and dwelled there. (KIM 1976, pp. 81–85)

<sup>14</sup> This relationship between Emperor Ōjin and Hachiman does not mean that the emperor came from Korea, because the Hachiman Shrine is a new shrine whose relationship with the imperial family was established in the eighth century, and its god probably came to be identified with Emperor Ōjin still later (see under "Hachiman-gū" in the *Shintō daijiten*, MIYAJI and SAEKI 1987).

the Chinese king Chin, and many Korean immigrants to Japan claimed their descent from a Chinese royal family).

According to MISHINA, (9) is a very old type of story and indicates a belief in the god of the sun who comes from beyond the seas, impregnates a priestess, and begets a son who becomes a king. Mishina relates this to a painting of the sun in a boat that was found in an ancient Japanese sepulchral mound in Kyūshū known as the Mezurashiki-zuka 珍敷塚 (1973, p. 115; MATSUMOTO 1956, pp. 83-84). Mishina and many other Japanese specialists in comparative mythology have suggested an affinity between this type of myth and (2) on the basis that in Indonesia and the neighboring regions tales similar to (2) are closely linked with the sun (MATSUMOTO 1956, chap. 3; MATSUMURA 1955b, chap. 17). According to Mishina, Emperor Ōjin was a god or child of the sun who comes in a boat.

One cannot deny the relationship between (9) and (1). But the way Mishina relates mythical themes is suspect. Is it really correct to identify the Kaijin Shōdō type of tale, including “The Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains” (2) and “The Tale of Urashima Tarō” (5), with the tale of the coming of the god of the sun from beyond the seas? Obviously there is not even a hint of the sun in any of the tales of the Kaijin Shōdō type, such as (4), (2), (5), or the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* accounts of the empress and her son.

Even if one admits that the universal mythical motif of the sun in the boat existed in Japan, as Mishina and other scholars have argued, and that in Southeast Asia this sun motif had much to do with the concept of the netherworld that lies beyond the sea (MATSUMAE 1960, chap. 1, secs. 1 and 2), one would still have to acknowledge that (9) is only indirectly related to the story of Empress Jingū. As I shall discuss below, (9) is more closely related to the tale of Ame no Hiboko 天之日杵, Empress Jingū’s ancestor who comes from Korea, than it is to (1). The empress is indirectly related through this ancestor to (9).

Unlike Mishina, I shall, at least initially, keep the Kaijin Shōdō type of tales and the sun-in-the-boat type of tales separate. The former is found at the core of the myth of Japanese kingship, but the latter has associations only with tales peripheral to Japanese kingship. The story of Ōsumi Hachiman Shrine, (9), is related to the southernmost area of Kyūshū, all places mentioned being in Kyūshū,<sup>15</sup> and the Mezurashi sepulchral mound is located in northern Kyūshū.

<sup>15</sup> MATSUMAE says that one finds in southern Okinawan islands a myth of a deity called “Teruhei,” “Taruko,” “Taruhei,” or “Niruhei” who visits the islands from overseas, and that these gods represent the sun on the ground that the word *teru* (*taru*) in the name of the



The personification of the sun in ancient Japanese mythology is widely regarded as a rather late development caused by the growth and solarization of Japanese kingship. It seems to me that the motif of the sun in the boat was a later import from Korea and was instrumental in the solarization of Japanese kingship. As I shall discuss in the next section, in the growth of the tale of Empress Jingū an earlier shamanistic concept, that the source of life lay under the sea, played a more important role than any other mythical motif.

Despite his admirable scholarship, it would seem that Mishina has hastily related all themes at a rather shallow level, with the result that a complex of myths and history are reduced to a mere combination of mythical concepts. MISHINA criticized Tsuda Sōkichi's idea that the tale of Empress Jingū was a fairly late fabrication with a political intention, and insisted that the tale was "a myth of the people deep in the heart of the ancient Japanese" (1973, pp. 186–87). Mishina's overly romantic view resulted from his failure to understand the social values and relevance each mythical theme represented in ancient Japan.

In the following discussion I shall try to avoid both premature historical interpretations and hasty reductions to mythical motifs. The tale of Empress Jingū appears to be a puzzling combination of very old mythical concepts and relatively new historical experiences, particularly of Japan's contact with a continental state and culture. This present paper will aim at untangling this puzzle.

*This World versus Netherworld = Japan versus Foreign Land*

EMPRESS JINGŪ AS A SHAMANESS-MEDIATOR

I shall first sort out or expand the mythical concepts discussed in the section above in order to uncover the oldest strata of mythical content.

"The Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains" (2) must have arisen from an imaginary journey to the *ne no kuni* (netherworld) made either by the emperor or by a local chieftain. In the case of "The Tale of Urashima Tarō" (5), which is similar to (2), the journey was no doubt made by means of ritual dreaming, because in (5) Shimako (Urashima Tarō) travels between this world and the undersea palace when he is put to sleep by Kame-hime. In the case of (2),

deities is related to the Japanese *teru*, "to shine" (1960, p. 41). But obviously these names are corrupt forms of the Korean T'arhae. These stories seem to be found mostly in the southernmost part of Japan, areas that have a close relationship with Korea.



however, there is a possibility that a shamanistic trance is the means of the journey.

There is a shamanistic ritual in Alaska in which a shaman descends to the goddess Senda, who is believed to reside in the undersea world and to control the sea mammals. When hunting continues to be unsuccessful, a shaman goes to her and forces her to release some animals (RASMUSSEN 1929; BURKERT 1979, pp. 88–89). Both (2) and (5) must have arisen from a similar ritual conducted to secure abundant catches in fishing, because in both stories the heroes were unable to catch a single fish before descending to the *ne no kuni* (undersea world). This is probably a very old ritual based on the preagricultural worldview of Japan. Fishing, including shellfish gathering, was the most important source of food in the preagricultural Jōmon period (8000 BC–300 BC), and the goddess of the undersea world is the oldest known Japanese equivalent of the Earth Mother goddess. BURKERT (1979) traces the origins of many mythical themes back to rituals in the forest in the hunting period and even earlier. We can similarly trace the origin of our myth back to the fishing of the preagricultural period.

The tale of Hoori (2) suggests that this ancient ritual for the procurement of fish also involved the acquisition of magical power over water, which was necessary for farming. The fact that the ruler of Japan reigned over both those who fished and those who farmed (in many cases the same people) must have led to the combination of the two roles in one magician-king (chieftain). But the agricultural aspect of water must be a superimposition that occurred after rice cultivation became widespread. In (2) the theme of the rice paddy does not seem essential to the story.

This kind of ritual seems to have involved a sacred marriage in which a maiden (shamaness), who represented the magical power of the *ne no kuni* as well as of water, lay with a magician-king, and this must have given rise to the concept of the birth of a child of magical power who was to become successor to the magician-king.

In this regard it needs to be pointed out that in both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* versions of tale (2) the son born of this sacred marriage, Ugaya Fukiaezu no Mikoto, marries his aunt, Tamayori-bime, who can be seen as Toyotama-bime's surrogate. This symbolizes the repetition of the marriage between the magician-king and the water-woman (of the sea), and the continuity of magical control over fish and water through a line of successors.

We must now consider the other side of the sea-goddess-marries-a-

visitor type of myth. We saw that there is a paradox in the concept of the *ne no kuni*, since it was believed to be both the source of life and the region where the spirits of the dead go. The myth of the Hirota Shrine, in which Empress Jingū buries her newborn son in the sand and digs him up alive seven days later, reflects this paradox. Under the influence of this paradoxical symbolism, the notion that the woman (shamaness) of the *ne no kuni* marries an emperor (man) and comes to this world to give birth to a child must have readily merged with the notion of a woman (shamaness) taking the spirit of a dead emperor (man) to the undersea netherworld. It is highly probable that the two roles of the shamaness, one in death and the other in birth, were performed by one and the same person, and that these two contradictory functions are combined in the mythical figure of Empress Jingū.

To clarify this point, I would like to present a reconstruction of an ancient death ritual, abridged from earlier publications of mine (AKIMA 1982 and 1985). This demonstrates that a shamaness in trance carried the spirit of the dead person to the *ne no kuni* beyond the *unasaka* (the slope of the sea).

First the concept of the *unasaka* needs to be explained. For this, let us turn to a prayer named *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* 六月晦大祓 [The great purification on the last day of the sixth month], which we shall refer to by its commonly known name *Ōharae no norito* [The prayer for the great purification]. This is recorded in the *Engishiki* (compiled in 927), and has the following description of the way sins and filth are purged from this world to the *ne no kuni*:

(10)

The goddess Seoritsu-hime, who reigns over the mouths of the fast-flowing rivers, will carry all the sins into the wide plains of the sea. Then the goddess Hayaakitsu-hime, who reigns over the meeting place of the eight hundred rough currents of salt waters, will engulf them. After that the god Ibukido-nushi 気吹戸主, who reigns over the Gate of the Swift Wind (Ibukido), will blow them into the netherworld (*ne no kuni*).

(KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, p. 427)

What is described here as “the meeting place of the eight hundred rough currents of salt waters” is the *unasaka*, the slope of the sea. The ancient Japanese believed that the sea waters flowed down the slope

into the *ne no kuni* and that the slope divided the human world from the *ne no kuni*. In the context of this belief the Japanese word *saka* had a double meaning, one written with the character 坂, meaning “slope,” and the other with 境, meaning “border.” In the *Man'yōshū* poem entitled “A Poem on Urashima of Mizunoe, Accompanied by an Envoy” (1740–1741), which is a versification of tale (5), Urashima is described as sailing beyond the *unasaka* to meet the Sea God’s daughter. In the last part of (2) the angered Toyotama-bime closes the *unasaka* and goes back into the sea. In these examples the double meaning of the word *unasaka* is evident. As pointed out above, when the ancient Japanese noticed a ship sinking beyond the horizon, they may well have thought it could reach the *ne no kuni* by traveling far out to sea beyond the *unasaka*, the slope as well as the border.

MOTOORI Norinaga (1730–1801) argued in his classic commentary on this *norito* prayer (1971, p. 154) that the goddess Hayaakitsu-hime mentioned in (10) is referred to as *minato no kami* 水戸神 (the goddess of the Gate of the Waters) in the *Kojiki* (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 58–59; PHILIPPI 1968, p. 55), and that the word *minato*, which means “seaport” in modern Japanese, meant in ancient times any place where waters flowed down (note that most Japanese seaports lie at the mouth of a large river). It is certain that in ancient mythology *minato* was also used as another word for *unasaka*, since *minato* is described as “the meeting place of the eight hundred rough currents of salt waters” in (10), and since the ancient Japanese thought that the sea waters flowed down the *unasaka* slope, starting from the *minato*, into the *ne no kuni* as indicated in (10). What the goddess “engulfs” must be both the sins and sea waters.

On the basis of this understanding my earlier publication introduced a radical rereading of the following *Nihon shoki* poems:

## (11a)

<i>Yama koe te</i>	Though I pass over the mountains
<i>Umi wataru tomo</i>	And cross the seas,
<i>Omoshiroki</i>	Yet can I never forget
<i>Imaki no uchi wa</i>	The pleasant region of Imaki.
<i>Wasurayu mashiji</i>	

## (11b)

<i>Minato no</i>	With the harbor’s
<i>Ushio no kudari</i>	Ebbing tide
<i>Unakudari</i>	As the sea goes down

*Ushiro mo kure ni*      With the darkness behind me  
*Okī te ka yukamu*      Leaving him, I must go.

(11c)

*Utsukushiki*            The dear one,  
*A ga wakaki ko o*      My young child;  
*Okī te ka yukamu*      Leaving him, I must go.

(ASTON 1956, II, 255)<sup>16</sup>

The *Nihon shoki* records these as poems composed by Empress Saimei as she set sail for the hot spring of Ki (modern Kii) leaving her dead grandson, Takeru, behind (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, II, pp. 333–34). But we believe that they were originally shamanistic songs sung by a shamaness as she enacted the sailing of a dead person's spirit from this world to the next. Otherwise the expression in (11b), “as the sea goes down,” does not make sense.

This sequence of poems seems to describe a journey similar to the medieval religious practice known as *Fudaraku watari* 補陀絡渡り (crossing over to Fudaraku). This was a ritual in which a Buddhist priest would set sail from Kumano on Kii Peninsula locked up in a coffin-like boat in an attempt to reach a Buddhist paradise called Fudaraku (the Pure Land of Kannon; it is widely accepted among Japanese scholars that the ancient Japanese belief that the *ne no kuni* as paradise—in this case the name *tokoyo no kuni* is often used—provided a basis for the growth of the popular belief in the Pure Land of Buddha that lies to the west, the same direction as the *ne no kuni*). In fact, in a medieval painting describing this ritual the boat is adorned with Shintoist *torii* gates (IKEDA et al. 1982, p. 16). We note that both this ritual and the poems in (11) are associated with the southern tip of the Kii Peninsula, a fact that seems to relate the two in their religious concepts as well.<sup>17</sup>

A mention is made of the mountains in (11a) because the moun-

<sup>16</sup> In my earlier publication (AKIMA 1982), D. Philippi's translation was used as the basis of discussion for the reason that it faithfully reflects current interpretations by Japanese scholars. But Aston's translation is quoted here for the reason that it is more faithful to the words of the poems.

<sup>17</sup> In the *Nihon shoki* tale of Empress Saimei, the empress sails to the hot spring of Muro (present Shirahama). This route was designated by the government as an official route for travel to Kumano, and in medieval Japan it came to be known as the Ki-ji or Kii Route, one of the three major routes for pilgrimage to Kumano (TODA 1982, p. 61). This geographical relationship between the tale of the Empress Saimei and Fudaraku Watari is not mentioned in my earlier publication.

tains were also a region where the spirits of the dead roamed, particularly before journeying across the seas. The place name Imaki 今城 in (11a) must have originally meant “a new tomb” (*ima* 今 means “now” or “new,” and *ki* 城 “tomb”)<sup>18</sup> where the spirits of the dead were entertained with song and dance. *Omoshiroki*, translated as “pleasant,” was a word often used in praise of a ritual performance. In (11b) “the harbor’s” in the translation corresponds to *minato* in the original, which is a word discussed in connection with (10).

The above-mentioned work of mine attributes the death ritual in which the above songs were sung to a group of shamanesses called Asobi-be, *asobi* 遊 meaning an orgiastic ritual involving music-making and dancing, and *be* 部 a pseudo clan that was more like an occupational group. In the ancient period this group was in charge of a death ritual for appeasing the spirits of dead members of the imperial family, particularly emperors.

On the basis of my earlier study and of our understanding that the ancient Japanese identified sailing to an extremely distant place with a journey to the *ne no kuni*, we can say that Empress Jingū’s sea journey, aided by fish as well as by the gods of Sumiyoshi Shrine, was believed to be more or less the same as a shamaness’s journey to the *ne no kuni* as described in the poems in (11).

In my reconstruction of the ancient death ritual, the Asobi-be provided two persons, called *negi* 禰義 and *yoshi* 余比, for the ritual. *Negi* literally means “appeaser,” and the word still means “Shinto priest”; *yoshi* is an ancient Japanese equivalent for the modern *yose* (both *yose* and *yoshi* were possible as noun equivalents for *yosu* in very early Japanese), which means “a person who causes (a spirit) to come,” i.e., a shaman(ess). I have already discussed the meaning of this word above in connection with the name Tamayori-bime, and with the description in (1) that Okinagatarashi-hime no Mikoto (Empress Jingū) “became divinely possessed” (*kami o yose-ki*). In my understanding of the Asobi-be’s ritual, the songs of parting were sung by the *yoshi*, a shamaness, when she was possessed during the funeral by the spirit of the dead person (AKIMA 1982, pp. 498–501).

This *yoshi* can be identified with Okinagatarashi-hime and Ōtarashi-hime, the shamaness of the Usa Hachiman Shrine, since both were shamanesses and, more importantly for our study, both played their ritual roles carrying weapons. The weapons must have

<sup>18</sup> The word *iwaki* 岩城 in *Man’yōshū* 3806 means “rock (cave) tomb,” and *oku tsu ki* 奥津城 in *Man’yōshū* 432 and 1801 means “deep tomb.” For further details see AKIMA 1982, pp. 489–90.

been necessary for protection when they came into contact with beings from the netherworld, and when they went to war. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami dresses herself as a man and arms herself to meet her younger brother Susano no Mikoto 須佐之男, who is a god of the *ne no kuni*. This action is described as a preparation for war against the invader, Susano (see [17] below; KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 74–75; PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 14).<sup>19</sup> The priestess Karashima no Masa's carrying of weapons to lead a military expedition in 720 (see above) can be seen in a similar light. There was little distinction between ritual and actual war as far as the magical role of the shamaness was concerned.

In the Asobi-be's ritual, the *yoshi* enacts the sailing of the dead man (the emperor) to the *ne no kuni*. This, however, can also be understood to be *yoshi* sailing to the netherworld carrying weapons. According to ELIADE, in Japan and other nearby Asian countries there was a shamanistic practice in which a shaman(ess) took a dead person's spirit to the netherworld in his (her) boat, and then reported to the dead person's relatives on the safe passage of the dead person and on his (her) behavior on the way (1964, pp. 355–58). Similarly, the shamaness *yoshi* must have been thought to sail with the dead person to the netherworld. She thereby provided an important springboard for the Japanese imagination to create the myth of Empress Jingū, who went overseas carrying weapons, since, as mentioned already, the ancient Japanese made little distinction between the netherworld and a distant alien land beyond the seas (see also the next section below).

In (1) the voyage of Empress Jingū occurs immediately after Emperor Chūai's death and a subsequent *ōharae* purification whose mythical import is described in (10). It is highly probable that Empress Jingū carried to the *ne no kuni* both the spirit of the dead emperor and the defilement that was believed to emanate from untimely death.

In the *Kojiki*, the empress, upon her return from Korea, makes her men say to the enemy that the prince (Emperor Ōjin) has died, and later Empress Jingū's general, Takefurukuma, announces that Empress Jingū has also died. In the tale these statements are made in

<sup>19</sup> In the *Kojiki* version Empress Jingū's arming is not clear, but the *Nihon shoki* is quite explicit about it (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 334 note 11, p. 336, p. 338; ASTON 1956, I, p. 228 note 1, p. 229, p. 231). Even if we follow the *Kojiki* tale, there is no doubt that the empress led a military campaign. Concerning a *yoshi* arming herself, see AKIMA 1982.



order to deceive the enemy, but we may conjecture that their alleged deaths reflect the original tale of the two actually going to the *ne no kuni*.

Okinaga, the family name of Empress Jingū, is important in this connection: the name is always written 息長, or “long breath,” which indicates that the people of her clan were originally fishermen, divers, and navigators (WAKAMORI 1968, p. 164). Her name endowed upon her ample qualification to travel to the undersea world as well as to an alien land.

MYTHICAL TALES IN WHICH FOREIGN LANDS  
ARE IDENTIFIED WITH THE NETHERWORLD

I have suggested that the ancient Japanese worldview contained the formula: this world versus the netherworld = home country versus foreign land. In my opinion it was this formula that transformed the myth of the goddess of the undersea world into the tale of Empress Jingū sailing to a distant foreign land. In order to demonstrate this point I will now investigate other very early records in which this formula is manifest within the ancient Japanese worldview.

What is considered to be the first recorded example of the conceptual overlapping of alien lands and the netherworld is found in the following *Wei chih* 魏志 record, in which the Chinese writer records Japanese manners and customs:

(12)

When they [Japanese] go on voyages across the sea to visit China, they always select a man who does not comb his hair, does not rid himself of fleas, lets his clothing get as dirty as it will, does not eat meat, and does not lie with women. This man behaves like a mourner and is known as the “mourning keeper” (*jisai* 持衰).

(DE BARY 1958 p. 5; WADA & ISHIHARA 1977, p. 45)

The fact that the “mourning keeper” was necessary for a voyage to China seems to indicate that the earliest Japanese travelers to China looked upon themselves as spirits of the dead going to the *ne no kuni*. MISHINA thinks that the sea god Atobe (Azumi) no Isora—who, as mentioned earlier, was described as an ugly-looking deity with a face covered with shellfish and seaweed—is a mythical representation of this “mourning keeper” (1973, p. 160).

It is also significant that the *Wei chih* describes Queen Himiko



(Pimiko) 卑弥呼 of Yamatai 邪馬台, who sent the above-described envoy, as a shamaness who “occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people” (DE BARY 1958, p. 6). Here the original text uses the word *ki-dō* 鬼藟 (*kuei-tao* in Chinese), which can mean “the way (magic) of dead men’s spirits” instead of the “magic and sorcery” of the translation. According to SAIGŌ, divination in ancient Japan was conducted by communication in dreams with the spirits of the dead, who were believed to reside in the *ne no kuni* (1972). Himiko must have conducted similar divination through communication with the spirits of the dead ancestors. The sending of her envoys accompanied by a “mourning keeper” must have been regarded in much the same light as an act of divination.

She was thus a double mediator, firstly between the world of the living and that of the dead, and secondly between Japan and the distant continent. Himiko and Empress Jingū also played an identical role as shamanesses. In fact, the *Nihon shoki* account of Empress Jingū quotes the *Wei chih*, and identifies the two (SAKAMOTO et al., 1967, I, pp. 617–18, Supplementary Note 9–33).

The second example of the conceptual overlapping of foreign lands and the netherworld is found in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* tale of Tajima-mori 多遲摩毛理. The two books say that Tajima-mori traveled to the *tokoyo no kuni* (the Land of Eternal Youth) during the reign of the eleventh emperor Suinin 垂仁, and brought back orange trees (the books call oranges *tokijiku no kagu no konomi* or “timeless fruits of fragrance”; KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 202–203; PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 76; SAKAMOTO et al., I, 1967, pp. 279–81; ASTON 1956, I, p. 186). In this case the *tokoyo no kuni*, which is another name for the *ne no kuni*, apparently refers to southern China; the place is clearly visualized as a foreign country as well as the land of the dead. The fact that Tajima-mori dies while mourning for his master, Emperor Suinin, who had died before his return home, seems to indicate a connection between his journey and death, and makes his journey comparable to that of the voyagers accompanied by a mourning keeper in the *Wei chih*.

For our study of the myth of Empress Jingū, it is of particular significance that Tajima-mori came from Empress Jingū’s maternal clan, and that both Tajima-mori and Empress Jingū descended from a mythical figure called Ame no Hiboko, who is said to have come from Silla (we shall study his tale in the section *The Myth of Ame no Hiboko* below). Although Ame no Hiboko’s connection with the netherworld is unclear, it seems that he, Himiko, Tajima-mori, and Empress Jingū

were all regarded as appropriate mediators between Japan and the continent as well as between this world and the netherworld.

Interestingly, the two shrines dedicated to Empress Jingū at Kashihi and Usa are both referred to as *byō* 廟 (mausoleum). The word, which is very unusual at Shinto shrines, indicates a Korean or Chinese-style mausoleum for worship of the ancestors. The use of this word must imply both foreign blood in the family of Empress Jingū and her close relationship to the continent through her and her ancestor's expeditions.

A third example of the identification of the netherworld with foreign lands is found in the tale of Urashima Tarō (5). As we have already noted, there is in (5) a blurring of the distinction between the ancient Japanese concept of the undersea *ne no kuni* (in this case the word *tokoyo no kuni* is used) and the Taoist magic island Hō-zan (*p'eng shan*), which was believed to lie somewhere distant on the surface of the sea. This blurred distinction is probably not entirely the result of Chinese influence. Interestingly, the magic island in (5) is confused with heaven as well (as indicated by Shimako's meeting with two sets of stars), thus bringing into close proximity the concepts of the undersea world, the magic island, and the heavens. This implies the existence of a concept in ancient Japan of the sky as the primordial sea, particularly since, in classical Japanese, *ama* indicates both sea and sky (see under *ama* in the *Jōdaigo jiten*; MARUYAMA 1967). A similar concept exists in Sumerian and prehistoric European views of the world (KRAMER 1963, p. 113; GIMBUTAS 1974, p. 112) as well as in those of ancient China (TOMODA 1977, p. 72), but the linguistic identity of the Japanese words for sea and sky points to a native source for the concept. The identification of the undersea world with a distant island may also be native to Japan—Japanese and Chinese views of the world frequently seem to converge.

The fourth and perhaps clearest example of the correspondence of the *ne no kuni* and foreign lands is seen in the following tale recorded in the *Hizen no kuni no fudoki* [The regional records of the province of Hizen]. Here the netherworld is set in a mountain instead of the sea, but the mountain is also associated with water:

(13)

Mount Hirefuri 褶振峯 lies to the east of the District Office.  
The beacon there is called Mount Hirefuri Beacon.

When Ōtomo no Muraji Sadehiko 大伴挾手彦 set sail to

Mimana 任那 [the legendary Japanese dependency in southern Korea], [his lover] Otohi Himeko 弟日姫子 climbed the mountain and waved her scarf [in a magical rite] to call him back. Hence the name Hirefuri or Scarf-Waving.

Five days after Otohi Himeko was separated from Sadehiko, a man began to visit her every night. He slept with her, and early the following morning left her to go back [to his house]. His face and figure resembled Sadehiko's. Otohi Himeko thought it so strange that she could not leave the matter uninvestigated.

She secretly attached some hemp yarn to the edge of his coat and followed it. It reached the lake at the side of the peak [of Mt. Hirefuri]. A snake was found lying there. Its body was human, and lay at the bottom of the lake. Its head was that of a snake, and lay against the shore. Immediately he turned into a man, and said:

<i>Shinohara no</i>	You Oto-hime no Ko of Shinohara!
<i>Oto-hime no ko zo</i>	I'll let you go home
<i>Sahitoyo mo</i>	Only after you have lain
<i>Inete mu shida ya</i>	One night with me.
<i>Ie ni kudasamu</i>	

At that time a serving maiden of Otohi Himeko rushed back to tell her kinsmen [what had happened], whereupon they got help from many other people and climbed up the mountain. But when they [got there and] looked, neither the snake nor Otohi Himeko was there. As they looked into the bottom of the lake, there was only a corpse of a human being. They said to each other, "Those are Otohi Himeko's bones," built her a tomb in the south of the peak, and buried the corpse. The tomb still stands there.

(AKIMOTO 1958, pp. 396–97)<sup>20</sup>

This story is remarkable in that Sadehiko, who has gone to Mimana, appears to Otohi Himeko as living in a lake in the mountain, a region which was considered as mysterious as the sea. The fact that Otohi Himeko sinks into the lake after being visited by the mountain god indicates that she is one of the water-women.

The ancient Japanese viewed the netherworlds under the sea and the mysterious mountain regions as identical. We saw in the first section

<sup>20</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, translations of the texts for which only the original Japanese version is referred to are mine.

of this article that there are two types of water-women, one related to the sea and the other to heaven or to the mountains (or to river water and a mountain/heavenly god). This duality of the sea and the mountains arose from the fact that both places were regarded as sources of water, and that both sea water and river water sustained human life, the former providing fish and the latter nourishing rice and other farm crops. Tales (7) and (13)—both myths of the water-woman related to the mountain—need to be viewed in the light of this duality. Mountain water is inseparable from that of the sea.

The following study of the Kibune Shrine just north of Kyoto shows that a route of navigation was believed to connect the mysterious mountain regions directly to the *ne no kuni* lying under the sea, wiping out the distinction between the two types of the water-woman and confirming that the mysterious visitor in (13) was Sadehiko who had sailed to Mimana in Korea.

The Kibune Shrine is one of the great shrines registered in the *Shinmeichō* 神名帳 [Register of deities] in the *Engishiki*, compiled in 927.<sup>21</sup> Nowadays the name of the shrine is written 貴船 (precious boat), but earlier it was also written 木船 (wooden boat), 黄船 (yellow boat), or, phonetically, 貴布彌 (see under *kibune* and “Kibune Jinja” in the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai*, HAYASHIYA et al. 1979, pp. 102–103).

According to the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai*, the word *kibune* is composed of the three words *ki* 木 (tree), *bu* 生 (to grow), and *ne* 嶺 (mountain ridge). However, this etymological explanation does not clarify why the deity of the shrine was worshipped as a water god at the source of water-supply for Heian (present Kyoto). This aspect of the shrine is better explained by looking into the significance of the characters 黄船 (yellow boat).

The word “yellow” is linked to the Chinese word *huang ch’üan* 黄泉 or “yellow spring,” meaning the netherworld. In the *Man’yōshū* there is a set of three poems entitled “Songs on Fearsome Things” 怕物歌 (KT 3887–3889), the second of which reads:

<sup>21</sup> For an English translation of the *Engishiki* see BOCK 1970 and 1972.

Shrine tradition says that the Kibune Shrine is dedicated to the water god Kuraokami no Kami 閻淤加美神/閻竈 and/or the goddess Mizuhanome no Kami 彌都波能壳神/岡象女. Both names occur in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* as water gods (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 92 and p. 557, Supplementary Note 1–54; p. 89, note 23; ASTON 1956, I, p. 21, p. 23). The shrine was the place where, in ancient times, the emperor dedicated a black horse to pray for rainfall, and a white horse to pray for a stop to rainfall—a practice resembling the functions of the two jewels that Hoori no Mikoto obtained from the sea god in (2).

## (14)

<i>Okitsukuni</i>	The covered barge
<i>Ushihaku kimi ga</i>	Of the lord who dwells
<i>Someyakata</i>	In the spirit land beyond the seas,
<i>Kisome no yakata</i>	The strangely colored barge,
<i>Kami no to wataru</i>	The barge all stained with yellow
	Crosses the narrow strait
	Ruled by the sea god.

(Man'yōshū 3888)

Most scholars take this poem to mean that a yellow boat (barge) is seen to come from the *ne no kuni*, crossing the straits that divide this world from the next. It is considered a “fearsome thing” because it is believed to take the dead to the *ne no kuni* (for a detailed study of this poem in relationship to the other two in the set, see AKIMA 1982, pp. 495–98; 1985, pp. 202–203).

In the Oku no In 奥之院, the inner sanctuary of the Kibune Shrine that lies halfway up the mountain, is a boat built of rocks (this inner sanctuary is known as the original Kibune Shrine). According to shrine tradition, the rocks cover a real boat used by Tamayori-bime, the Spirit-Inviting Maiden (we have discussed the meaning of this name above). It has been covered with rocks, it is said, since sight of the boat could bring death to an ordinary person; thus the boat is viewed as one of the “Fearsome Things.”

Shrine tradition also says that Tamayori-bime sailed in the yellow boat up the Kibune River to found the shrine (HAYASHIYA et al. 1979, p. 103). It would, however, be better to interpret this story as indicating that Tamayori-bime sailed on the yellow boat from the netherworld somewhere deep in the mountain at the mystical source of the water—otherwise it would be impossible to explain why the sight of the boat was thought to be dangerous. Scholarly opinion in Japan is in agreement with this, holding that the ancient Japanese believed contact with the *ne no kuni* to be possible by sailing either through a mountain or through the sea using a yellow boat.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Concerning the origin of the Kibune Shrine, there is a medieval tale entitled *Kibune no honji* [The origin of Kibune] (YOKOYAMA and MATSUMOTO 1976, pp. 47–92). It is an interesting story, in which a young prince marries a daughter of a demon living in the mountain rock above which the Kibune Shrine stands. According to the story, the daughter sacrifices herself for her husband, but later is reborn to marry him again; and they become the founding deities of the shrine. The tale is almost identical to the tale of a deity visiting a maiden in the sea or on a river.

It is now certain that Sadehiko went to the continent known as the *ne no kuni*. We can thus safely conclude that in the development of the tale of Empress Jingū, too, the equation lying at the basis of the ancient Japanese worldview—this world versus the netherworld = home country versus foreign land—served as the basic generative formula.

*The Mysterious Creature Wani* 和禰

Let us now turn to the related theme of the *wani*, a mythical fish (or perhaps animal) that I believe played an important role in the growth of the Empress Jingū tale. We shall find *wani* providing a link between this world and the *ne no kuni*, as well as between Japan and the continent. Our study will further trace medieval tales relevant to the *wani*, and will gradually reveal an element of cultural mediation that is inseparably associated with the military aspects of Empress Jingū's journey to Korea.

Such mediation is suggested by the presence of Empress Jingū's general Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma no Mikoto, who is described as an ancestor of the Wani 和禰 clan and a relative of the empress. The clan name Wani brings to mind the mysterious creature of the same name found in (2) and other mythical tales of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, in which the fish *wani* plays a significant role. *Wani* means "crocodile" in modern Japanese, and, despite Japan's northern location, crocodile fossils have indeed been found in the archipelago. The animals have not been present in Japan in historical times, however, and, although most Japanese scholars regard *wani* as a type of shark, the etymology of the word remains unclear (see under *wani* in the *Kokugo daijiten*, KINDAICHI et al. 1973–1976).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> LEDYARD says, "Wani: a fabulous animal defined in the *Wamyōshō* as a kind of turtle" (1975, p. 249). Ledyard's interpretation of the *Wamyōshō* entry is highly questionable, however. PHILLIPI translates the term as "crocodile" and quotes the *Wamyōshō*, which defines the Chinese ideograph 鱷 for "crocodile" as follows: "It is like a tortoise, has four legs, its snout is three feet long and its teeth sharp; if a tiger or large deer fords the water, the crocodile will attack it. The Japanese name is wani" (1968, pp. 406–407). Ledyard refers to this translation by Phillippi, but in calling it a turtle he distorts both the *Wamyōshō* text and Phillippi's translation. Some Japanese scholars believe that the ancient Japanese were aware of the existence of crocodiles in Southeast Asia (see under *wani* in the *Jōdaigo jiten*, MARUYAMA 1967). This is highly probable, since crocodiles must certainly have been seen by the people of southern China, who in turn conveyed this knowledge to the Japanese. The ancient Japanese had, for example, a more or less accurate knowledge of the elephant. It should also be noted that the word *wani* is entirely different from *kame*, the Japanese word for tortoise or turtle. Moreover, the *Nihon shoki* says that the sword god Sahimochi is also called



Regardless of what the name itself means, a *wani* serves as a means of communication between this world and the *ne no kuni*, as seen in (2). The fact that Toyotama-bime, who can travel freely between the two worlds, is found by Hoori no Mikoto in the form of a *wani* when he peeps into her parturition hut also indicates that the *wani* is a link between the two worlds, and further that it is a manifestation of Toyotama's spirit. This suggests that Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma of the Wani clan, who serves as a leader in Empress Jingū's military campaign, must also be a link between the two worlds; he can be regarded as her means of travel between Japan (this world) and the foreign land (*ne no kuni*) in the same way that the *wani* was in tale (2). In this respect our study below of the famous descendants of the Wani clan is important. All were cultural and diplomatic mediators between Japan and the continent. Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma's *wani* connection, combined with the fact that he is a relative of the empress, serves as an additional piece of evidence of the empress's being, in origin, the goddess of the undersea world.

The *Nihon shoki* provides us with an interesting example of a *wani* linking Japan, or the human world, with both the continent and the undersea *ne no kuni*. The annals of Emperor Jinmu contain the following story. When the emperor's eastern expedition met with a violent storm off Kumano, his elder brother Inahi no Mikoto drew his sword and plunged into the sea, lamenting that it was harassing them even though their mother was a sea goddess. There he changed into the god Sahi-mochi (Sabi-mochi) (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 194; ASTON 1956, I, p. 114). In another part of the *Nihon shoki* it is written that another name for Sahi-mochi is *wani*. In the *Shinsen shōji-roku* it is recorded that Inahi no Mikoto is the founding father of the house of the king of Silla (see *Nihon koten bungaku taikei: Nihon shoki*, SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 185 note 18, and p. 575 Supplementary Note 2–34). Thus Inahi no Mikoto as a *wani* links Japan with both the undersea world and Korea.

In an earlier part of the *Kojiki* there is a story of another event involving the *wani*, which is well known in Japanese children's books as "The Tale of the White Rabbit of Inaba" (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 90–93; PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 21). In this story *wani* are tricked by a rabbit into taking part in a competition to see how numerous each is. In order to let themselves be counted, a large

*wani*. A crocodile, with its sharp teeth, can be regarded as a sword god, but not a tortoise. Concerning Ledyard's interpretation, see also note 24, below.

number of *wani* lie in a line between an off-lying island, where the rabbit is, and the mainland. Actually the rabbit only wants to get to the mainland. The rabbit runs over the *wani* counting them until it has almost reached land, then, a moment too soon, shouts, "I have tricked you!" He is caught by the last *wani* in the row and almost killed, but is saved by the great god of Izumo, Ōkuni-nushi 大国主. In this story too the *wani* provides a means of communication between an island and the mainland.<sup>24</sup>

The above event takes place in an account of the deeds of the gods of Izumo, an area that seems to have been associated with the *wani*: in the many *fudoki* regional records and their extant fragments, stories of the *wani* occur only in the *Izumo no kuni no fudoki* 出雲国風土記 [The regional records of the province of Izumo].<sup>25</sup> This is noteworthy because Izumo is where one reaches the ocean when traveling west from the capital region of Yamato along Japan's main island of Honshū, and symbolizes the negative and the netherworld in ancient Japanese cosmology. Ise, in contrast to Izumo, symbolizes the positive and heaven, as it is where one meets the sea when traveling east from Yamato, i.e., in the direction opposite from Izumo (SAIGŌ 1967, chap. 2). Hence the *wani* was associated with the netherworld in the *fudoki*.

For our study of the tale of Empress Jingū this has a further implication: Korea is often referred to in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* as "the country in the west" (*nishi no kuni*), which can also mean the netherworld, just as Izumo symbolizes the netherworld because of its westerly location.

In the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* mythologies, however, the *wani* seems to be of only marginal significance. It occurs only in connection with Izumo Province or with Hoori no Mikoto, who, as mentioned above, was an ancestor of the imperial family who lived in Kyūshū prior to the first emperor Jinmu's journey to Yamato. This

<sup>24</sup> LEDYARD compares this story with the Korean tale of Chumong escaping his pursuers by walking across a river on the back of fishes and turtles, and suggests that the tale forms an important piece of evidence that the Fuyo Koreans conquered Japan (1975, p. 249). However, Japanese mythical stories share motifs with the myths of many other lands—if such sharings were taken as evidence of conquest, Japan would have been conquered by many peoples, including the direct descendants of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks. Ledyard's assertion that the rabbit was being pursued in the same way as Chumong is also problematical, since the Japanese story makes no mention of a pursuer.

<sup>25</sup> One possible exception is a very short description of a sea god in the *Hizen no kuni no fudoki* 肥前国風土記 [The regional records of the province of Hizen] where the word "sea god" is followed by an annotation in small characters, "called *wani*" (AKIMOTO 1958, pp. 392-93). Hizen Province is in the northwestern part of Kyūshū, and so we might say that this region too had a connection with the westerly *ne no kuni*.

indicates that the stories of the *wani* are old ones related to religious beliefs that precede the solarization of Japanese kingship. In fact, the mysterious *wani* seems to be a deity that emerged even before the anthropomorphic deities, confirming our conjecture that the roots of the Empress Jingū tale stretch far back into the Jōmon era.

In the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* records of Emperor Ōjin there appears an entirely different *wani*. This time the name is that of an immigrant from Paekche who brought to Japan “the Confucian *Analects*, ten volumes, and *The Thousand Character Classic*, one volume, altogether eleven volumes” (*Kojiki*). In the *Nihon shoki* his name is written 王仁, pronounced “Wang Ren” in Chinese, “Wang” being the family name and “Ren” the given name. The reading “Wani” is based on the Korean pronunciation of the characters (王仁 is normally read “Ō Nin” in the Japanized pronunciation, not “Wa Ni”), but, strangely, the *Kojiki* writes the name as 和禰吉師 or “Wani-kishi,” “kishi” being the fourteenth Paekche court rank. The *Kojiki* characters 和禰 are identical with those used in (2) to write the name of the mysterious *wani* creature.

It is highly probable that the Paekche Wani was identified with the mysterious creature for the reason that he had come from beyond the seas, and acted as a mediator—in this case an intellectual one—between Japan and the continent. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the man is always referred to as Wani, his family and given names put together as if they comprise a single name, and even being written with the same characters as for the mysterious creature. It is important for us that this man, the founder of a clan of scribes and scholars known as Fubito, came to Japan during the reign of Emperor Ōjin, who was said to have conquered Silla while still in his mother’s womb, and that Ōjin’s mother Empress Jingū journeyed to Korea assisted by fish. Many other artisans and scholars, such as Achiki (Achikishi) the scholar and horse breeder, Maketsu the seamstress, and Yuzuki no kimi, who founded the influential Hata clan, came to Japan during the reign of this emperor. They are described as having been given to the emperor by the Korean kings (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 362–81; ASTON 1956, I, pp. 254–71). In this respect the tale of Empress Jingū can be regarded as a myth that explains the origins of the clans of immigrants whose skills represented highly developed technology from the continent. It is likely that the Wani clan was also a very early arrival from Korea.

The *Kojiki* states that Empress Jingū’s fifth-generation ancestor, Prince Hikoimasu, was born to the sixth emperor Kaika and his wife

Oketsu-hime no Mikoto, and that Oketsu-hime no Mikoto was a younger sister of Hikokuni Oketsu no Mikoto, who was an ancestor of the Wani clan (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 174-77; PHILIPPI 1968, pp. 195-97). The *Nihon shoki* also says that the clan descended from Ametarashi-hiko Kuniوشي-hito no Mikoto 天足彦国押人命 (in the *Kojiki* the Wani ancestor is called Ameoshitarashi-hiko no Mikoto 天押帶日子命), who was an elder son of the fifth emperor, Kōshō; SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 226-27; ASTON 1956, I, p. 145). All of these claims appear to be spurious, however. Virtually all historians agree that the emperors preceding the tenth emperor, Sujin, are mythical figures. The second through the ninth emperors belong to the *kesshi jidai* 闕史時代 (historyless period), with only sketchy genealogical entries in both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, and their actual existence is highly suspect (see SAIGŌ 1973, pp. 221-27);<sup>26</sup> many of them appear to have been invented in order to create relations between the imperial family and various of the clans.

Nevertheless, the ultimate significance of all these is that they clearly relate the Wani clan to Empress Jingū (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 174-77; PHILIPPI 1968, p. 195). The records may be a mere myth, but the existence of such a mythical belief and the antiquity of the Wani clan cannot be denied.

The Wani clan flourished from about the middle of the fourth century to the middle of the sixth century, and established marital relationships with the seven emperors starting from Ōjin (KISHI 1966, pp. 20-30). It is interesting to note that none of the princes born of a Wani woman was made emperor, but Wani-born princesses married emperors of the succeeding generation, which seems to indicate an immigrant background for the clan (KISHI 1966, pp. 15-89). It is more than remotely possible that this series of marriages between a

<sup>26</sup> The first emperor, Jinmu, and the tenth emperor, Sujin, are both called "Hatsukuni Shirasu Sumera Mikoto" 始馭天下之天皇 (the Emperor-Who-First-Ruled-under-Heaven) in the *Nihon shoki*. The idea that the eight emperors inserted between the two did not really exist is so well established in Japan that it is now difficult to trace its origin. In 1919 TSUDA Sōkichi attacked this theory without saying whose idea he was criticizing (1948, p. 303). SAIGŌ Nobutsuna's paper "Jinmu Tenno" (1967) discusses the reasons why the *kesshi jidai* came to be inserted in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. According to him, it was the double burial system that led to its insertion. In olden times, a dead person's individuality merged with that of the ancestors after about eight generations had passed, and this was marked by a second burial or transference of the person's bones from his personal tomb to the one shared by the ancestors. In ancient Japan, Saigō claims, there was a period in which Emperor Jinmu represented the remote ancestor and Emperor Sujin the powerful sovereign who had recently been buried. The result was that both emperors came to be regarded as the founders of the imperial house, and were called "Hatsukuni Shirasu Sumera Mikoto."

Wani princess and an emperor was a reproduction of the myth of the marriage between Toyotama-bime (revealed in her true nature to be a *wani*) and the imperial ancestor, Hoori no Mikoto.<sup>27</sup>

According to KISHI, the Wani clan resided in most parts of central and western Honshū, particularly from Lake Biwa in Ōmi to Tsuruga, the important seaport on the Japan Sea, but not in Kyūshū (1966, p. 60).<sup>28</sup> We can regard the Wani as people who played an important role in the Japan-Korea relationship via the Japan Sea route. In fact, the *Nihon shoki* version of the Empress Jingū tale has the empress set sail for the continent from Tsuruga. These facts indicate the antiquity of the tale of Empress Jingū itself.

Some scholars, however, see the tale as being of later origin. According to KURATSUKA Akiko (1986, pp. 85–90), the important place names such as Kashihi and Umi in the tale of Empress Jingū are set in Kasuya District 糟谷郡 of the province of Tsukushi (Kyūshū), the homeland of the Iwai 磐井 clan that rose against the imperial government in 527 to thwart the Japanese expedition to Korea. She claims that after the rebellion was quashed the imperial government established full direct control of northern Kyūshū, and that this fact is reflected in the place names of the tale. She also maintains that the Inland Sea–Korea route came under direct control of the imperial government at the same time, and that the Tsumori 津守 clan of the Sumiyoshi Shrine of Naniwa played an important role in this historical development, using a new navigation technique introduced from the continent. The existence of branch shrines of the Sumiyoshi Shrine along this sea route is, according to Kuratsuka, the result of these developments (the branches are found at Kamo in Harima 播磨国賀茂郡, Toyora in Nagato 長門国豊浦郡, Naka in Chikuzen 筑前国那珂郡, Ishida on Iki Island 壱岐島石田郡, and Agata on Tsushima Island 対馬国県郡). On the basis of this historical explanation she dates the tale to the sixth century.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This ancient Japanese practice finds an interesting parallel in a seventeenth-century Indonesian myth. According to the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the national chronicle of the Mataram Dynasty, the first king of Mataram, Senapati ng Alaga (ascended the throne in AD 1601) concluded a mystic marriage with Nyai lara Kidul, the Virgin of the Southern Sea. The goddess promised to assist him against his enemies with her spirit army whenever he called her. Ever since, the successive kings of Java have been mystically married to the Virgin Goddess (MEINSMA 1941, pp. 80–81).

<sup>28</sup> This fact contradicts the theory that Emperor Ōjin came from Kyūshū.

<sup>29</sup> Kuratsuka's argument includes the following three points:

- 1) the Kashihi Shrine was established in the sixth century;
- 2) the priestly family of the Sumiyoshi Shrine was originally the Azumi 吾曇



Obviously Kuratsuka's dating goes against our contention that the tale of Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma, the Wani general, belongs to a period earlier than the sixth century. The name Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma, however, indicates that he was the first Wani to sail the Inland Sea-Kyūshū route, since the name Naniwa-neko literally means "the root person of Naniwa." If we think of Takefurukuma's sailing as simply the beginning of full control over the route by the imperial family, our theory might then be compatible with Kuratsuka's. There are other reasons for dating the tale to a time earlier than the sixth century, a point I shall return to later.

Having thus established the very early history of the Wani clan and the mythical connotations attached to the Wani name, I shall now extend our study to the descendants of the Wani and to the people who played a role similar to theirs. We shall find that the conceptual identification of traveling from this world to the next and traveling from Japan to a foreign land was not confined to ancient mythology but continued well into medieval times.

One interesting representative of the Wani tradition was Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-852), who was actually a man of Wani blood.<sup>30</sup> The *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語 (YAMADA 1962, pp. 214-15) and the *Gōdanshō* (HANAWA 1960, p. 578), both compiled in the late twelfth century, say that Takamura traveled freely back and forth between this world and the netherworld, referred to in the books as *jigoku* 地獄 (hell) in accordance with the Buddhist concept. In Chinnō-ji 珍皇寺

clan, which both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* say descended from the three deities mentioned in (1), but this clan was later overwhelmed by the Tsumori clan, which introduced new techniques of divination and navigation into the imperial family and helped it to establish direct control of Kyūshū;

3) the Empress Jingū tale does not mention the Munakata Shrine 宗像神社 of Hakata, which was dedicated to the ancestor gods of the Munakata clan and which was the most important shrine in northern Kyūshū. This reflects the political situation after the Iwai rebellion, when the clans of northern Kyūshū had completely lost the remnants of their autonomy.

<sup>30</sup> The *Kojiki* gives the names of sixteen clans, including the Ono 小野, Kasuga 春日, Ōyake 大宅, Awata 粟田, Kakinomoto 柿本, and Ichihii 壹比韋, as descendants of Ameoshitarashi-hiko (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 168-69; PHILIPPI 1968, p. 189), whom the *Nihon shoki* calls the first ancestor of the Wani (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 226-27; ASTON 1956, I, p. 145). The name Kasuga no Wani no Omi is also mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* annals of Emperor Yūryaku (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 461), indicating that the Kasuga are indeed a branch of the Wani, Kasuga being the place-name in Nara where the branch clan of the Wani took residence (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 227 note 14). The Ono clan must have been an offshoot of the Wani clan, since Ono Village and Wani Village are located adjacent to each other on Lake Biwa, the former (the home of Ono no Takamura) having in it the Ono Shrine registered in the *Shinmeichō* [Register of deities] in the *Engishiki*. There is little doubt that all of the clans mentioned in the *Kojiki* are descended from the Wani.



in Kyoto one can find a statue of Takamura wearing the black clothes of an official serving the king of Hell, and in the Katsura Jizō 桂地藏 temple, also in Kyoto, stands a statue of Jizō Bosatsu said to have been carved by Takamura as an image of the savior he met in Hell (see under the name of the two temples in the *Kyōto daijiten*, SAWA et al. 1984).

There is another medieval legend in which Takamura closely resembles the scholar Wa Ni in his role as a mediator. According to a story in the *Gōdanshō*, Takamura spiritually communicated with the famed Chinese poet Po Chui-i (HANAWA 1960, pp. 548–49), indicating that he was a mediator between Japan and China as well as between the human world and the netherworld.

Why, in addition to his Wani blood, is such a double-mediator role assigned to him in the medieval legends? The following poem, for which Takamura is famous, may provide a clue.<sup>31</sup>

(15)

<i>Wata no hara</i>	Oh fishing vessels
<i>Yasoshima kake te</i>	please take this message back to
<i>Kogī-idenu</i>	to those I love over
<i>Hito ni wa tsuge yo</i>	the vast blue ocean's expanse
<i>Ama no tsuribune</i>	I've rowed toward endless isles.

(*Kokinshū* 407; RODD & HENKENIUS 1984, p. 164)

To explain the connection between this poem and the Takamura legends a small detour is necessary. This explanation will also show why the gods of the Sumiyoshi Shrine play an important role in the tale of Empress Jingū.

This poem was composed by Takamura as he was about to set sail from Naniwa to the Oki Islands in the Japan Sea, exiled for his crime of attempting to avoid going to China as a vice ambassador (SAEKI U. 1958, p. 185, note 407). In his study of the Yasoshima Matsuri 八十嶋祭, SAIGŌ correctly notes that the poet regards himself here as a sinner to be banished to the netherworld, and that the word “Yasoshima” in the poem (“endless isles” in the above translation) is intended to remind the reader of the Yasoshima Matsuri, a rite of purification for which the Sumiyoshi Shrine is famous (1985).

The Yasoshima Matsuri was an old imperial ritual that was once performed by newly enthroned emperors in the year following their

<sup>31</sup> The poem is included in the *Hyakunin issshu* 百人一首 [One hundred poems from one hundred poets] compiled by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241). Many Japanese know it by heart.

accession in the *daijōsai* festival. In the Yasoshima Matsuri, impurities that had accumulated on the emperor's body were purged into the sea, for which purpose the emperor's personal Shinto priest (*miyajū* 宮主), a female attendant (*suke* 典侍), and the priests of the Sumiyoshi Shrine boarded the shrine's boats and sailed around the islands (*yasoshima*) in Osaka Bay performing a purification ritual on each island (the emperor himself was never directly involved in the festival). Because of the prominent role of the Sumiyoshi Shrine in this important imperial ritual, some scholars have argued that the tale of Empress Jingū was originally a myth explaining the meaning of the Yasoshima Matsuri (a theory that is hard to accept in view of the fact that the festival obviously originated in the ninth century).<sup>32</sup>

The Yasoshima Matsuri reflects the notion that the gods of Sumiyoshi carry away all impurities and sins to the netherworld. There must have been a more general belief that a good ship protected by a god or the gods (not necessarily those of Sumiyoshi) was capable of sailing to the *ne no kuni* and taking with it all the defilements of this world. The purification, furthermore, was probably linked with the idea that following death the spirit sails to the *ne no kuni*. This is why the three Sumiyoshi gods play such a prominent role in the tale of Empress Jingū: they protect her ship, which is carrying the spirit of the dead Emperor Chūai to the *ne no kuni*. This interpretation fits nicely with our contention that Empress Jingū was a shamaness and the goddess of the undersea world who could freely sail to the netherworld, sometimes taking the spirit of a dead person.

Returning for a moment to Kuratsuka's dating of the Empress Jingū tale to the sixth century based on a historical analysis of the Sumiyoshi gods' role, we see that their function in the tale is in fact mythical, and that it is thus possible to locate the tale's origins in a period earlier than the sixth century, as we have done. In the case of

<sup>32</sup> This theory was presented by MATSUMURA Takeo (1955a, p. 318), OKADA Seiji (1970, pp. 61-93), and SARASHITA Keihachi (1969). Although each had a different perspective, all argued that the Yasoshima Matsuri enacted the myth of the creation of land by the ancestral deities Izanagi and Izanami, and that the rite magically attached the spirit of the land to the emperor to make him ruler over the land of Japan (for the myth see the *Kojiki*, KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 54-57, or PHILIPPI's English translation, 1968, chaps. 4-6.) This theory was strongly criticized by TAKIGAWA Masajirō (1988) and SAIGŌ Nobutsuna (1985). According to them, the Yasoshima Matsuri appeared as late as 850 under the influence of the Chinese *Yin-Yang* school of purification. I agree with Takigawa and Saigō. The date, participants, and presiding priests of the Yasoshima Matsuri have nothing to do with the *Daijōsai*. Sakashita has now withdrawn his idea in agreement with Saigō (personal communication with Sakashita in December 1990). Space does not permit a full discussion of the relevant problems.

an earlier myth the ship need not necessarily be that of the Sumiyoshi Shrine dominated by the Tsumori clan.

In this connection it is important to note that the priestly Tsumori family of the Sumiyoshi Shrine claims descent from Hoakari no Mikoto 火明命, whom the *Nihon shoki* says is a younger brother of Ho(no)susori no Mikoto 火闌降命 and Hikohohodemi no Mikoto 彦火火出見尊. In the *Nihon shoki* version of the “Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains,” Ho(no)susori is identical to Hoderi of (2) in the *Kojiki* version, and Hikohohodemi to Hoori. This suggests that the Tsumori genealogy is designed to establish a close relationship between them and Hoderi (Ho[no]susori), who, having originally possessed the Luck of the Sea, was probably believed to have been able to travel freely to the *ne no kuni*. Certainly the Tsumori clan could not claim direct descent from Hoori (Hikohohodemi), as this would have meant a claim to the throne; nor could they claim direct descent from Hoderi (Ho[no]susori), since this deity was identified as the ancestor of the Hayato people of southern Kyūshū.

We can now see why Ono no Takamura’s poem was an important reason for the medieval legends assigning the double mediator role to him, though we must reemphasize the importance of his Wani blood.<sup>33</sup>

For a further example of dual mediation let us turn to Sugawara no Michizane 菅原 菟真 (845–903). Michizane was a famous scholar-politician and poet who, although unrelated to the Wani clan, was so similar to Ono no Takamura, according to medieval sources, that he could have been his twin brother.

Michizane was punished when he was minister of the right for an alleged intervention in the imperial succession, and died in exile at

<sup>33</sup> The Ono clan, both before and after Takamura, produced many scholars and poets who were well versed in Chinese literature and art, and served as political and cultural mediators between China and Japan. These include Ono no Imoko 小野妹子 (the 607 Japanese ambassador to Suī China); Ono no Oyu 小野老 (a poet of the *Man’yōshū* who served as an official at the diplomatic outpost of Dazaifu in Kyūshū and whose works show the influence of Chinese poetry [NAKANISHI 1962, pp. 397–99]); Takamura’s father, Ono no Minemori 小野岑守 (a poet in Chinese whose works are recorded in the *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集, the *Keikokushū* 經國集, and the *Bunka shureishū* 文華秀麗集); Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (a poetess of the *Kokinshū* who some scholars believe to have been the daughter of Ono no Takamura—she is believed to have been able to read Chinese freely and was, according to YAMAGUCHI [1979], under strong Chinese influence); and Ono no Tōfū 小野菟風 (a calligrapher known for his creation of a Japanese-style calligraphy from the long-established Chinese tradition). It should also be pointed out that the poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (d. ca. 710, and worshipped as the god of poetry after the Heian period [794–1185]) of the Kakimoto clan was also a descendant of the Wani clan; he created a new type of Japanese poetry from the Chinese model (AKIMA 1970).

Dazaifu 太宰府 in Kyūshū. After his death, however, a series of court misfortunes was attributed to his vengeful spirit, in order to placate which he was deified as a *tenjin* 天神 (heavenly god) and honored as the god of learning. The famous Kitano Tenjin-sha 北野天神社 (Kitano Tenman-gū 北野天満宮) in Kyoto is dedicated to him, and there are many versions of the *Kitano (tenjin) engi* 北野縁起 [Tale of the origin of the Kitano Tenjin Shrine] from the late twelfth century and after (YOSHIDA 1977, pp. 58-67).

According to one version of *Kitano (tenjin) engi*, Fujiwara no Kimitada 藤原公忠, Director of the Secretariat of the Right, was dead for three days, but was miraculously brought back to life. Upon reawakening, he hurried to Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (r. 897-930) to report that he had seen Michizane in hell filing an action against the emperor for his alleged misconduct. This led the emperor to restore the dead Michizane to his former position, and to change the era name from Engi 延喜 to Enchō 延長 (HANAWA 1959, p. 142; GEN 1977, p. 73). Michizane's deification followed these events. Other versions of the *Engi* say that the spirit of Michizane went to Sung China and studied Zen Buddhism under the Chinese priest Bukkan (Fu Chien) 仏観 (GEN 1977, pp. 38-39).

The legends of Michizane are surprisingly similar to those of Takamura (the heroes are both double mediators), perhaps because both were exiled via Naniwa (Osaka Bay) on board a boat comparable to those used in the Yasoshima Matsuri. Interestingly, Michizane was the government minister who put an end to the custom of sending an official envoy to China, while Takamura avoided going there as a vice-envoy.

In this and previous sections we have gradually moved away from the theme of military invasion in the tale of Empress Jingū to that of cultural mediation. In this regard it should be remembered that the annals of Emperor Ōjin record the coming of weavers, horse breeders, etc., as well as of the scholar Wa Ni. This lends the tale of Empress Jingū a quality similar to the stories of such culture heroes as Himiko, Tajima-mori, Ono no Takamura, and Sugawara no Michizane.

*The Myth of Ame no Hibiko 天之日鉾 and  
an Increase of the Imperial tama (jewel/spirit)*

In the tale of "The Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains," the male deity Hoori acquires the goddess of the undersea world, as

well as her alternative guise in the form of a *wani*, and with it also acquires the magic *tama* (jewel[s], pearl[s], or spirit[s]) of the sea god. The acquisition of the two was indelibly linked together. We saw that in the *Nihon shoki* version of (1), Empress Jingū obtains the *nyoi-shu* or *tama* from under the sea (see [3]). We shall now analyze a tale that relates the empress to a *tama* acquired from the continent. In the previous section we saw that the tale of Empress Jingū was associated with elements of cultural mediation, though there is little doubt that military aggression was its main theme. This dual nature of the Empress Jingū tale will be further clarified through our study of the relationship the tale has with a central religious concept known as *mitama no fuyu* 皇靈之威, (神靈) 恩賴, a term that may be translated as “the shaking up or multiplication of the imperial spirit,” *mitama* meaning “the august spirit(s)” or “august jewel(s),” and *fuyu* “to shake up or multiply” (see under *fuyu* in the *Kōjien*, SHINMURA 1987). This concept provided the focal point for the religious and political unification of Japan. I would now like to demonstrate the relationship between the themes of military aggression, cultural mediation, and the centralization of the state. The topic for our study is the tale of Ame no Hiboko, an ancestor to Empress Jingū.

In the *Kojiki*, the tale of Ame no Hiboko is inserted into a seemingly odd position following a description of the major events of the reign of the fifteenth emperor, Ōjin, the son of Empress Jingū. It is apparently intended to establish his maternal family background, but even if we take this factor into consideration its place of insertion still seems odd, it being the story of people who antedate the above-mentioned Tajima-mori, who traveled to the *tokoyo no kuni* during the reign of the eleventh emperor, Suinin, the great-grandfather of Emperor Chūai (Empress Jingū’s husband). Perhaps to rectify this oddity, the *Nihon shoki* recounts a similar tale in the annals of Emperor Suinin, using a different name, Tajima Morosuku, for the hero, and casually mentioning Ame no Hiboko as the bearer of miraculous treasures to Japan.

We must, however, study the *Kojiki* tale of Ame no Hiboko in relationship to Empress Jingū’s expedition to Korea (the *Nihon shoki* version of which is obviously a creation of later historical reflection). There is probably a good reason for the *Kojiki* insertion of the tale into the annals of Emperor Ōjin. To begin, let me summarize the story of Ame no Hiboko:

(16)

In the land of Shiragi [Silla] in Korea was a lake named Agu-

numa. When a woman of lowly station took a nap there, the rays of the sun shone upon her genitals like a rainbow. A man also of lowly station saw this and thought it strange. The woman was found to be pregnant after this event, and in due course she gave birth to a red jewel. The man obtained the jewel and wore it constantly around his waist.

The man had rice paddies in the mountain valleys; and so one day he loaded his cow with food and drink for the workers in the paddies, and went into the mountains. On the way he met Ame no Hiboko, a son of the king of the land, who saw him and arrested him on the suspicion that he was going to kill the cow and eat it. Ame no Hiboko would not listen to his explanation, and was about to put him into prison, when he offered Ame no Hiboko the jewel he had been wearing. The king's son took it and released the man.

When Ame no Hiboko placed the jewel by his bed, it turned into a beautiful maiden, whom he married. The wife served her husband well, which made him so arrogant that he reviled her. The wife said that Ame no Hiboko did not deserve her for a wife, and that she would go to Japan, her ancestral land. She came to Naniwa and was enshrined at the Himegoso Shrine there as the Goddess Akaru-hime [lit. Princess Brightening].

The husband also came to Japan in pursuit of the wife, but the gods of the crossing to Naniwa would not allow him in. Thereupon, he went to Tajima on the Japan Sea, where he stayed, taking a local woman for wife. Tajima-mori was their fourth-generation descendant, and from his younger brother was descended Okinagatarashi-hime [Empress Jingū].

Ame no Hiboko brought across jewel treasures (*tama tsu takara* 玉津宝), two strings of beads (*tama futa-tsura* 珠二貫), the Wave-Raising Scarf (*nami furu hire* 振浪比礼), the Wave-Cutting Scarf (*nami kiru hire* 切浪比礼), the Wind-Raising Scarf (*kaze furu hire* 振風比礼), the Wind-Cutting Scarf (*kaze kiru hire* 切風比礼), the Mirror of the Offing (*oki tsu kagami* 奥津鏡), and the Mirror of the Shore (*he tsu kagami* 辺津鏡) with him. These treasures are known as the eight (*yamae*) great deities of the Izushi Shrine 出石神社.

(abridged from KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 254-58; PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 106)

In studying (16), we shall follow Mishina. He points out that the



*Shaku nihongi*, the earliest extant commentary on the *Nihon shoki*, says that the treasures Ame no Hiboko brought to Japan are stored in the Iso no Kami Shrine 石上神社 of Yamato. According to Mishina, those treasures were used in the *chinkonsai* 鎮魂祭, which was a ritual for revitalizing the life of the sun at the time of the winter solstice, and which was held on the day immediately preceding the *daijōsai* rite of accession.

At this point a brief explanation of the *chinkonsai* is necessary. Japanese specialists (see, for example, MATSUMURA 1955b) agree that the tale of Amaterasu's hiding in the heavenly rock-cave told in both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* is a mythical explanation of the *chinkonsai*. The tale in the *Kojiki* runs like this:

## (17)

After returning from the netherworld, the god Izanagi performed a purificatory ablution in the sea. When he washed his left eye, the sun goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami was born; and when he washed his right eye, the moon god Tsukiyomi no Mikoto 月読命 was born; and when he washed his nose, the god of the netherworld and typhoons Susanoo no Mikoto 須佐之男命 was born.

Izanagi sent the Sun Goddess to the Plains of High Heaven (*takama no hara* 高天原) to rule there, and ordered the Moon God to rule over the night world. Susanoo was told to rule over the ocean, but he did not obey and kept on crying and wailing, which caused plants to wither. When reprimanded by Izanagi, Susanoo said that he wanted to go to the *ne no kuni*, the land of his mother (Izanami is taken to be his mother). He also wanted to see his elder sister, the Sun Goddess, before going to the netherworld.

Expelled by his angry father, Susanoo went to High Heaven. Seeing this, the Sun Goddess feared that Susanoo was coming to take her country, and armed herself like a man, wearing a man's hairstyle.

Upon arriving, Susanoo pledged that he had no evil intentions and proposed that they both give birth to deities to judge which of the two was right. First, the Sun Goddess took Susanoo's sword, chewed it to pieces, and spat the pieces out. In the misty spray were born the three goddesses of navigation now enshrined in the Munakata Shrine of Kyūshū. Next, Susanoo took the Sun Goddess's string of *maga tama* 勾璉 beads, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out. In the misty

spray was born the god Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto 天之忍穗耳命. Repeating the same acts using other beads of the Sun Goddess, Susanoo gave birth to a total of five male deities. Then Susanoo declared that the birth of the pure maidens from his sword was a sign of the purity of his heart.

Delighted in his success in proving his innocence, Susanoo began to work a lot of mischief. He broke the ridges between the rice paddies and covered up the irrigation ditches in the Sun Goddess's rice fields. He defecated in the sacred hall built for the rice-tasting festival (*shinjōsai* 新嘗祭), and finally skinned a horse "with a backward skinning" and threw it into the sacred weaving hall, where the Sun Goddess was working. The Sun Goddess's weaving maiden died of fright, striking her genitals against the shuttle. The Sun Goddess was angered, and concealed herself in the heavenly rock-cave to throw the whole world into eternal darkness, which gave rise to all sorts of calamities.

The eight hundred myriad deities assembled in High Heaven to decide what should be done. They gathered roosters to call the Sun Goddess out of the cave, put an evergreen *sakaki* 賢木 tree in front of the rock cave, and hung from its branches *maga tama* beads, an eight-hand mirror (*yata kagami* 八咫鏡),<sup>34</sup> and white and blue cloth, all made by different deities. Then Ame no Koyane no Mikoto intoned a solemn liturgy, and the Goddess Ame no Uzume no Mikoto 天宇受売命 stamped resoundingly upon an overturned bucket that was placed in front of the rock-cave.

As Ame no Uzume danced in divine possession she exposed her breasts and pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals, at which all the deities laughed at once. Hearing this, the Sun Goddess wondered why the deities were laughing despite the eternal darkness and calamities that should be reigning in the world. In curiosity she opened a crack in the rock-cave door, whereupon the mirror was brought out in front of her.

The deities said to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu that they now had a god superior to her to brighten up the world. Thinking this strange, the Sun Goddess opened the door wider, upon which the god of physical strength pulled her out

<sup>34</sup> In Japanese *yata-kagami*, which literally means "eight-hand mirror." The word *ta* (hand) here is a measure of length. The name may be translated as "a large mirror."

of the cave to restore light in the world.

(abridged from KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 57–85; PHILIPPI 1969, chaps. 7–17)

In this, the *Kojiki* version of the tale, it is the Sun Goddess's weaving maiden who dies of fright, but in the *Nihon shoki* version (main text) it is the Sun Goddess herself who is "injured" by Susanoo's act. Furthermore, the First Variant of this tale in the *Nihon shoki* calls the weaving maiden "Waka-hirume" 稚日女 (Young Woman of the Sun), which closely resembles the Sun Goddess's other name of "Ō-hirume" 大日靈 (Great Woman of the Sun; SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 112–15; ASTON 1956, I, p. 41, p. 45). On the evidence of these facts MATSUMURA argued that the weaving maiden was a double of the Sun Goddess (1955b, pp. 43–44). According to him, the heavenly rock-cave in which the Sun Goddess conceals herself is actually her tomb (1955b, p. 65, pp. 90–91).

The *Hokuzanshō* (compiled in the early eleventh century) says that a woman called Sarume 猿女, who the *Kojiki* identifies as a descendant of the goddess Ame no Uzume, hit an overturned bucket with a halberd at the time of the *chinkonsai* (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1965–1969, 6, p. 503); the *Gōke shidai* (compiled in 1111) says that this act of Sarume reproduced the act of Ame no Uzume (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1965–1969, 6, p. 504). There is little doubt that the *chinkonsai* was a rite to revitalize the sun, which was believed to die at the time of the winter solstice, and that it reproduced the ritual described in (18).

Now, with the above conclusion in mind, we must study another myth, totally different from (18), about the origin of the *chinkonsai*. The *Sendai-kujihongi* 先代旧事本紀 (henceforth referred to as *Kujihongi*), a collection of mythology compiled about the year 900, contains the following passage concerning the origin of the *chinkonsai*:

(18)

The ancestor of the heavenly deities (i.e., Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto) gave [to his son Nigihayahi no Mikoto 饒速日尊] ten treasures of heavenly power (*ama tsu shirushi no mizu no takara tokusa* 天璽瑞宝十種). They are what is known as the Mirror of the Offing (*oki tsu kagami* 瀛津鏡), the Mirror of the Shore (*he tsu kagami* 辺津鏡), the Eight-Hands-Long Sword (*yatsuka no tsurugi* 八握劍), the Life-Giving Jewel (*iku tama* 生玉), the Death-Reversing Jewel (*yomigaeshi no tama* 死反玉), the Fulfilling Jewel (*taru tama* 足玉), the Road-Driving-Back

Jewel (*chigaeshi no tama* 菊反玉), the Snake Scarf (*hemi no hire* 蛇比礼), the Wasp Scarf (*hachi no hire* 蜂比礼), and various other scarves (*kusagusa no mono no hire* 品物比礼).

The ancestor god instructed his son saying, “If there is any [part of the body] that pains, shake these ten treasures, saying, ‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.’ Then shake them *yura yura* (swaying, swaying). If you do so, a dead person will be brought back to life.” This is the origin of the word *furu* (shake).

(IDA 1967, pp. 37–38)

The word *furu* in (18) is the citation form (infinitive) of *furi*, which forms the latter part of *tama-furi* (spirit-shaking). *Tama-furi* is the *kun* (Japanese) reading of the two characters for *chinkon* 鎮魂 (*sai* in the name *chinkonsai* is a suffix meaning “festival”). *Furu* is also another name for the Isonokami Shrine, where the treasures of Ame no Hiboko were probably housed (as I shall discuss below, there is no clear record of this fact).

The *Kujihongi* says, in its later chapters on the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto and on the first emperor Jinmu, that Umashimaji no Mikoto, son of Nigihayahi no Mikoto, performed the *chinkonsai* for the first time using the ten treasures that had come down from his grandfather as described in (18) (IDA 1967, p. 89, p. 141). Although the nature of the *Kujihongi* remains unclear, there is little doubt that the ten treasures mentioned in (18) were used for the *chinkonsai* at least at one stage of its history, since the *Ryō no shūge* 令集解—the only classic commentary (circa 865) on the *Taihō Codes* 大宝令 (702)—quotes the above passage during a discussion of the *chinkonsai* (BAN 1907, pp. 644–47). Furthermore, the medieval book *Nenchūgyōji hishō* 年中行事秘抄 (probably written in the early thirteenth century) contains a description of the *chinkonsai* that is very much like the *Kujihongi* entry, and gives eight songs sung in the ritual (BAN 1907, pp. 648–49).

Mishina argues that the ten treasures described in (18) are identical to the eight treasures brought to Japan by Ame no Hiboko and used in the *chinkonsai*. According to him, the Mirror of the Offing and the Mirror of the Shore occur in both lists of treasures, and the scarves in the two lists are quite similar. The difference in the number of the treasures, Mishina says, occurred because the *Kojiki* preferred the sacred number eight (*yamae* 八前) to the ten of the *Kujihongi*, and made a play on words punning *iyamae* 彌前 (reverent deities) and *yamae* (eight respected items) (MISHINA 1973, p. 133).

We must, however, say that (18) is a myth of Nigihayahi no Mikoto, an ancestor god of the Mononobe clan 物部氏 whose shrine was the Isonokami Shrine, and that neither the *Kujihongi* nor any other text mentions Ame no Hiboko in relation to the *chinkonsai*. The stories (16) and (18) are totally different from each other, and there is no genealogical relationship between Ame no Hiboko and the Mononobe clan. Nor are the names of the treasures mentioned in (16) and (18) the same, with the exception of those of the two mirrors. Even though the same treasure can have different names, it is hard to accept Mishina's argument.

The *Nihon shoki* says that the treasures of the Isonokami Shrine were in the charge of Prince Inishiki no Mikoto, a son of Emperor Suinin, but that later the prince entrusted the treasure-house to the care of an ancestor of the Mononobe clan. The *Nihon shoki* does not clearly say what constituted the treasures of the Isonokami Shrine at the time they were placed in the hands of the Mononobe clan, but the Mononobe association seems to indicate that the sacred treasures of the clan were housed in the same treasure-house. Our conjecture is that from the beginning the shrine and its treasure-house belonged to the Mononobes, and that the story of Prince Inishiki no Mikoto, is a later invention intended to establish a close relationship between the clan and the imperial house. In this respect it is important that the Mononobe clan was an upstart in the late fifth century, and that none of its ancestors is mentioned in the myth of the Ages of the Gods (ENDŌ 1974, p. 713; UEDA 1968, pp. 83–88).

The *Nihon shoki* says that the same prince presented to the shrine one thousand swords specially made at his order, and that a mysterious jewel found in the belly of an animal in Tanba was also presented to the shrine (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 276–78; ASTON 1956, I, pp. 183–84). From these tales it would seem various treasures were continuously being added to what the Mononobe clan had in the Isonokami Shrine, and those various objects were believed to be charged with mystical power (called by the ancient Japanese *mono* 物 or 鬼). In ancient Japanese, *mono* meant “demon(s)” or “spirit(s)” as well as “thing(s),” the last being the only meaning retained by the word in modern Japanese. (In [7] above and [19], [20] below the name of the deity Ōmono-nushi 大物主 means “the Master of the Great *Mono*.”) *Tama* (jewels) must have been the most important *mono*. The Mononobe clan were the people who were in charge of such objects, hence their name: “the *be* 部 (pseudo clan) of *mono*.” The origin of their name also indicates that from the very beginning the clan was in

charge of various *mono*, and that the treasures associated with Nigihayahi had from the very beginning constituted the core of the shrine treasure.

In the passage immediately following the above accounts of the treasures, the *Nihon shoki* says that the emperor regnant, Suinin, desired to see Ame no Hiboko's treasures, then kept in the province of Tajima, home of Ame no Hiboko's descendants; whereupon, the book says, Ame no Hiboko's grandson, Kiyo-hiko, presented the treasures to the emperor. However, there is no account in the *Nihon shoki* as to where these presented treasures were stored. As mentioned above, the *Shaku nihongi* says that they were held as treasures in the Isonokami Shrine. This seems natural judging from the context of the *Nihon shoki* story, which relates that other treasures were housed in the same shrine.

It would be safe to conclude that the Isonokami Shrine was the treasure-house of these and other objects used for magic by the imperial family, and that the ten treasures mentioned in the *Kujihongi* symbolically represented numerous other treasures that had been kept there. Furthermore, these shrine treasures must have comprised the three items of jewel (*tama*), mirror, and sword, in the same way as the imperial regalia.

In view of the fact that the myth of the *chinkonsai* (17) makes no mention of the ten treasures of the Isonokami Shrine, the account given in (18) must be a later addition. But it is important for our study that the treasures of the Isonokami Shrine contributed to the revitalization of the spirit of the sun-emperor in the *chinkonsai*, and that these treasures included several items brought to Japan by Ame no Hiboko. This indicates the way that the magical power of Japanese kingship grew along with its political authority: *tama* (spirits=jewels) were dedicated to the emperor and gathered in the Isonokami Shrine to be used to increase the emperor's spiritual power.

This growing process was the *mitama no fuyu*, to use the ancient Japanese term on which ORIKUCHI first shed light in 1927. The term means "the shaking up" (*fuyu* 振ゆ) or "the increase, multiplication" (*fuyu* 殖ゆ) of "the spirit(s)" (*tama*) or "the jewel(s)" (*tama*) (1965, pp. 437-38, 485-56). In an attempt to explain the etymology of the word *fuyu*, Orikuchi paid attention to the fact that the word meant "winter" 冬 as well as "multiplication." He argued that *mitama no fuyu* meant that some rituals performed in winter were intended to magically shake up and multiply the spirits of a person, particularly the emperor, and that the word *fuyu* (winter) was an abbreviation of *mitama no*



*fuyu*. He also emphasized the importance of the fact that the emperor is frequently described as allowing his subjects “to partake of his *mitama no fuyu*” (perhaps here indicating his abundant spiritual power), and argued that *fuyu* also meant “to divide and distribute” (1965, pp. 437–38, 485–86).<sup>35</sup>

We shall emphasize a different aspect of the concept of *mitama no fuyu*: subjects dedicated their spirits as well as jewels and other treasures to the emperor in order to increase his political and occult powers. Many of the recorded examples of the term seem to emphasize the subjects’ partaking of the imperial spirits (see under *mitama no fuyu* in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, KINDAICHI et al. 1973–1976), but originally the subjects’ dedication of their spirits to the emperor must have been the more important aspect of the concept. In the word *mitama*, the word *tama* is preceded by the honorific prefix, *mi-*, and indicates the spirit of the emperor. It is the spirit of the emperor, not of the subject, that increases.

A typical example of this meaning of *mitama no fuyu* is seen in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* tale of the great earthly god Ōkuni-nushi ceding his sovereignty over the Middle Land of the Reed Plains (Japan) to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami prior to the descent of her grandson, Ninigi no Mikoto, to earth (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 119–25; PHILIPPI 1968, chaps. 35–37). The *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko no kamu-yogoto* 出雲国造神寿詞 (The divine blessing [recited] by the local chieftain of the province of Izumo) recounts the same myth:

(19)

Thereupon Ōnamochi no Mikoto [God Ōkuni-nushi] declared that the land of Great Yamato was for August Grandchild [Ninigi no Mikoto] to reside in peace. Then he attached his gentle spirit (*nigi-mitama* 和魂) to an eight-hand mirror (*yata kagami*), respectfully named it Kushi Mikatama no Mikoto 櫛甕玉命, the god Ōmono-nushi of Yamato, and placed this deity in the sacred woods of Kamunabi 神奈備 at Ōmiwa 大御和

<sup>35</sup> Two different interpretations have existed since early times concerning the meaning of the word *fuyu*. One interpretation is “to increase” (殖ゆ) and the other is “to shake up” (振ゆ). There is only one possible example of the word *fuyu* 振ゆ meaning “to shake up” in a Japanese text—song no. 47 in the *Kojiki*, whose meaning is not clear—while the word *furu* as the transitive form of *fuyu* is still in common use. The verb form *fuyu* 振ゆ seems possible in light of the fact that both *miru* 見る, meaning “to look at,” and *miyu* 見ゆ, meaning “visible,” exist in Japanese. My opinion is that the two *fuyu* were etymologically related, with both indicating increased energy.

(大三輪). He also placed the spirit of his son, Ajisuki Takahikone 阿遲須伎高孫根 in the sacred woods at Kamo 鴨 in Katsuragi 葛木, the spirit of [his son] Kotoshiro-nushi no Mikoto 事代主命 at Unate 宇奈提 (雲梯), and the spirit of [his son] Kayanarumi no Mikoto 賀夜奈流美命 in the sacred woods of Kamunabi 神奈備 in Asuka 飛鳥. Thus Ōnamochi no Mikoto provided August Grandchild with guardian gods to stay close to him [in Yamato], and peacefully settled in the Shrine of Yaoni Kizuki [the Grand Shrine of Izumo].

(KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 454-55)

This indicates that the spirits of the land of Izumo were given over to the imperial ancestor to stay with him in central Yamato (Ōmiwa, Katsuragi, Unate, etc. are all located in that area). This multiplied the imperial spirits (*mitama no fuyu*). Indeed, the above *kamu-yogoto* (divine blessing) was recited in front of the emperor during the succession ceremony of the chieftain of the province of Izumo, and on this occasion the new chieftain actually presented a large number of *tama* (jewels) to the emperor together with other treasures, including a mirror and a sword (TSUGITA 1941, p. 456).

The dedication to Emperor Suinin of Ame no Hiboko's treasures by his grandson Kiyohiko closely resembles the above presentation by the Izumo chieftain. Just as the dedication of *tama* and other treasures to the emperor in the ritual in which (19) was recited symbolized the subjugation of the local chieftain of Izumo to the emperor, the *Nihon shoki* story of the dedication of Ame no Hiboko's treasures by Kiyohiko symbolized the subjugation of the local chieftain of Tajima. There is little doubt that (16) is a story about the founding of the Miyake no Muraji 三宅連 clan of local chieftains who descended from Ame no Hiboko, since the tale of Tajima-mori's journey to the Land of Eternal Youth begins with the words, "Also the emperor dispatched Tajima-mori, the ancestor of the Muraji of the Miyake (Miyake no Muraji)" [note that, according to (16), Tajima-mori is a descendant of Ame no Hiboko] (PHILIPPI 1968, p. 226; KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 202-203). The name "Tajima-mori" means the guardian or ruler of Tajima, where Ame no Hiboko went, and where the Izushi Shrine mentioned in (16) lies. The dedication of jewels (*tama*) always symbolized the dedication of the spirit (*tama*) and of political authority to the emperor in order to facilitate the multiplication of the imperial *tama* (*mitama no fuyu*).

It is significant that (16) and (19) are accompanied by a story of

failure or defeat on the part of the local chieftain. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* stories of the ceding of the Middle Land of the Reed Plains to the Sun Goddess, the heavenly messenger Takemikazuchi no Kami defeats in a contest of physical strength Takeminakata no Kami, who is a son of Ōkuni-nushi no Kami and who resists the heavenly deity (KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 120–21; PHILIPPI 1968, chap. 68). Takeminakata's defeat leads to Ōkuni-nushi's dedication of his land to the Sun Goddess.

Similarly, in the tale of Ame no Hiboko the prince fails in his relationship with his wife, Akaru-hime, born of—and thus the spirit of—the mysterious jewel begot by the rays of the sun. The wife goes to Japan and is enshrined in the Himegoso Shrine in Naniwa. Her arrival signifies the Japanese emperor's successful assimilation of the spirit (*tama*) of the goddess into the nation's heartland (another example of *mitama no fuyu*). Later Ame no Hiboko goes to Japan, but, failing to approach Naniwa, settles in Tajima on the Japan Sea. Two generations later Ame no Hiboko's treasures, including *tama*, are dedicated to the emperor.

In the case of the tale of Ame no Hiboko, the implication of *mitama no fuyu* is deeper. The acquisition of Ame no Hiboko's spirit or treasure by the emperor signified the acquisition of the spirit of his homeland, Silla. However, the historical significance of this *mitama no fuyu* can be interpreted in two ways: it means either an introduction of the cultural power of Silla (Ame no Hiboko's treasure) to revitalize the imperial *tama* in the *chinkonsai* (as mentioned above, Nigihayahi's ten treasures used in the *chinkonsai* symbolically represent the treasures of Ame no Hiboko as well as all the other treasures in the Isonokami Shrine), or a military conquest of Silla. These two meanings are inseparably embedded in one and the same story.

Although not as clearly as in (16) and (19), the same idea of *mitama no fuyu* can be seen behind many tales of the successful use of magic by a member of the imperial family in contrast to unsuccessful use of the same magic by a local chieftain.

In "The Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains" (2) we do not find a presentation of jewels. But the submerging of Hoderi no Mikoto (the elder brother who has the Luck of the Sea) symbolizes his failure to mediate between the human world and the undersea *ne no kuni*. This resembles Ame no Hiboko's failure in mediating with Akaru-hime, who is a sun-spirit. The surrender of religious authority by Hoderi no Mikoto to his younger brother Hoori no Mikoto (who represents the imperial family) in (2) is very similar to the surrender

of *tama* by Kiyō-hiko, grandson of Ame no Hiboko, in (16) and by the god Ōkuni-nushi in (19). Since Hoderi is the ancestor of the Hayato people who lived at the southern end of Kyūshū, the story symbolically records the subjugation of the Hayato by the emperor.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the sea god's jewels are in the hands of Hoori instead of Hoderi, who formerly had the "Luck of the Sea," may be interpreted as a dedication of Hoderi's treasure to Hoori.

The "Tale of Urashima Tarō" (5) contains a message similar to that of (2). If we compare (5) with (2), we find that Shimako (Urashima) in (5) fails in his attempt to mediate between the undersea world and the human world, and this leads to his death (the absence of the birth of a miracle child in [5] must be relevant to this failure), while in (2) Hoori succeeds in winning support from the undersea deities. Even the error he commits in breaking a taboo, which is punished by his wife's departure, is compensated for by the arrival of Tamayori-bime, his wife's sister.<sup>37</sup> This difference between Shimako and Hoori indicates that the local chieftain Shimako fails as a mediator between

<sup>36</sup> In the *Nihon shoki* version of (2), Hoderi no Mikoto says to Hoori no Mikoto, "Henceforward I will be thy subject to perform mimic dances for thee" (ASTON 1956, I, p. 94; SAKAMOTO et al., I, 1967, pp. 166-67); note the statement, "On this account the various Hayato descended from Ho no Suseri no Mikoto [Hoderi no Mikoto] to the present time do not leave the vicinity of the enclosure of the Imperial Palace, and render service instead of barking dogs" (ASTON 1956, I, p. 100 note 1; SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 175). As a matter of fact, in the *Daijōsai* rite of accession Hayato men presented Hayato dances, and imitated dog's barking at the palace gate (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1965-1969, 5, p. 1199, p. 1201, p. 1222, p. 1223, p. 1244).

<sup>37</sup> In a lecture commemorating the founding of the International Research Centre for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, Lévi-Strauss discussed this mythical tale (1988). According to him, the tale of the two deities' separation explains the origin of the incommunicability between land and sea, and a semantic juxtaposition of land and sea is found at the basis of this myth. To support his argument he quotes the words, "This is the reason why there is no communication between land and sea," which are found in the Fourth Variant of "The Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains" in the *Nihon shoki* (ASTON 1956, I, p. 107; SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 184, 185). It may be possible to interpret the tale in this way, but it is more likely that, when the local chieftain ceded his religious authority to the emperor, the old belief in the magical power of communicating with the goddess of the undersea world ended. This is reflected in this story by the separation of the two deities. But the emperor cannot fail in magic, and must regain at least a part of it when he inherits the local chieftain's power. This is reflected by the coming of Tamayori-bime. The breaking of the taboo should probably be committed by Hoderi rather than Hoori, but the story line does not allow this to happen. The partial regaining of magical power also indicates a change in the nature of the magic after it has been absorbed by the throne. The words Lévi-Strauss quotes resemble the moral teaching that a storyteller appends to a folktale for the purpose of explaining its meaning after the original mythical meaning has been lost. Such words have nothing to do with the original significance of the story. In fact, the words Lévi-Strauss quotes are found in only one version of the tale out of a total of five.

this world and the *ne no kuni*, and that his religious authority (*tama*) is now taken over by the emperor, symbolized by his ancestor Hoori. According to (5), Shimako is an ancestor of the Kusakabe no Obito clan of Tango Province, which obviously produced local chieftains (“Obito” is a title commonly given by the emperor to minor local chieftains after the latter’s subordination to him; see under *obito* in the *Kokushi daijiten*, SAKAMOTO et al. 1978). This can be regarded as another example of the *mitama no fuyu*.

The same thing can be said of the tale of Otohi Himeko (13) if it is compared with the myth of Emperor Sujin and the god Ōmono-nushi (20). Japanese specialists regard (6), (7), (13), and (20) [note that Ōmono-nushi is seen as a manifestation of Ōnamochi or Ōkuni-nushi] as belonging to the nexus of tales called “the Mount Miwa cycle of tales” 三輪山伝説. At this point a little detour becomes necessary to explain the nature of this nexus.

In the *Kojiki* myth of Emperor Sujin and the god Ōmono-nushi, the deity, who is the god of Mount Miwa (a sacred mountain in Yamato), marries a maiden named Ikutamayori-bime 活玉依媛—again the name is “Tamayori,” the prefix “Iku-” meaning “giving life to.” A similar tale occurs in the *Nihon shoki*, but the maiden’s name there is Yamato-totobi Momoso-bime (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, pp. 238–43, pp. 246–48; ASTON 1956, I, pp. 152–55, pp. 158–59). The story line of the *Kojiki* version runs as follows:

## (20)

During the reign of the tenth emperor, Sujin, many epidemics occurred. In his ritual dreaming the god Ōmono-nushi appeared and said that if a man named Ōtataneko was made priest to worship before the god, the epidemic would end. The man was sought out and appointed priest for the god.

Ōtataneko was born to the god Ōmono-nushi and Ikutamayori-bime. Earlier a mysterious man began to visit Ikutamayori-bime at midnight. They were wed and she became pregnant after a short time. But the identity of the man who always left her early in the morning was not known. Her parents wondered what had happened to their daughter. Hearing her story, the parents instructed their daughter to sew hemp yarn to the man’s garment. The next morning Ikutamayori-bime found that the yarn passed through the keyhole in her door, and led up to the god Ōmono-nushi’s shrine on the top of Mount Miwa. As only three rolls (*miwa*) of the hemp yarn had

been left on the reel, the mountain came to be known as Miwa.

(abbreviated from KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 180-83; PHILIPPI 1968, chaps. 65 and 66)

In this *Kojiki* version the link between it and (13) is not evident, except for the common motifs of a mysterious deity visiting a maiden and the sewing of yarn to the garment of the visitor in order to discover his identity. But in the *Nihon shoki* version of (20) the god Ōmono-nushi is identified as a serpent, which is, in Japanese as well as in world folk religion, a god of water. In (7) above we find Ōmono-nushi floating down a stream in the form of a red-painted arrow—which resembles a serpent—to impregnate the maiden. Here we can establish a motif common to this cycle of tales: a serpent god who represents the mythical power of water marries a maiden.

The difference between (13) and (20) is also clear: (13) tells of a failure in mediation, while (20) of a success. We must recall that in (13) Otohi Himeko is bewitched by a serpent god and is found dead in a mountain lake. Obviously this difference signifies the greater religious power of the emperor, who succeeds in controlling the mystical power of the mountain god. It also needs to be pointed out that the failure tales, (5) and (13), are both found in the *fudoki* [regional records], and the success stories, (2) and (20), in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, annals of the descendants of Ninigi no Mikoto. It is quite safe to assume that those tales of failure and success imply imperial *mitama no fuyu*.

We have seen that the tale of Ame no Hiboko (16) is a tale of *mitama no fuyu*, and that this mythical concept gives expression to the religious subordination of local chieftains to the emperor. In this respect (2), (5), (13), and (19) belong in the same category as (16), although (16) is different from the others in that it involves international relations. Thus the concepts of the integration of Korea by force, of the integration of its cultural spirit, and of the unification of Japan are all expressed by *mitama no fuyu*.

Let us now examine the tale of Emperor Ōjin for elements of the *mitama no fuyu* motif. In the *mitama no fuyu* tales we studied above, spirits from various parts of Japan or from overseas were absorbed into the imperial *tama*; this may be interpreted to mean part of the imperial *tama* became identical with those spirits. When we look at the tale of Emperor Ōjin coming back to Yamato in a funeral boat, and compare it with the tale of Ame no Hiboko and its parallel, the



tale of the Osumi Hachiman Shrine (9), we realize that the emperor's story can be interpreted as an extended form of a *mitama no fuyu* tale. In this story Emperor Ōjin goes to Korea in his mother's womb, and acquires, or rather turns himself almost entirely into, a *tama* similar to Ame no Hiboko's, an act that is identified as a military conquest. Emperor Ōjin does not passively wait for the coming of *tama*; in an act of aggression he crosses the Tsushima Straits, and in so doing becomes identical with the Korean *tama*, although he would still have had to retain the imperial *tama* of his blood.

This variant version of *mitama no fuyu* expresses the belief that spirits from overseas were particularly powerful, and that Emperor Ōjin, the founder of a new genealogy of emperors, must have had just such a powerful *tama*. It also demonstrates that Japan recognized its dependence on imported culture for its prosperity.

Thus I consider that the tale of Emperor Ōjin is a development from the concept of *mitama no fuyu*, particularly of the type represented by the tale of Ame no Hiboko. Without the foundation of this concept, the tale of Emperor Ōjin would have lost much of its impact on the ancient Japanese. This is the reason why the tale of Ame no Hiboko is told in the annals of Empress Jingū and her son. This is also why I object to the simple historical interpretation of Emperor Ōjin's tale as advocated by Egami and his supporters.

### *Mythical Concepts and the History of the State*

Our concern in this section is the relationship between myth and history, particularly the history of the state. To what extent is the tale of Empress Jingū and her son history and to what extent myth? Why did it take the form it possesses today? To answer these questions I shall start with a study of the Korean invasion.

HIGO Kazuo gives a chronological table of the Japanese invasions of Korea between 232 and 459. His study interrelates the records in the *Nihon shoki*, the *Samguk sagi*, the *Wei chih*, and the inscription on King Kwanggaeto's 広開土王 stele,<sup>38</sup> and discovers mentions made in them of Japanese military expeditions in 232, 233, 262, 287, 289, 292, 294, 346, 364, 391, 393, 405, 407, 431, 440, 444, and 459 (1957, pp.

<sup>38</sup> King Kwanggaeto's stele, which stands on the border between China and Korea, mentions the Japanese invasions of Korea about this time. See under "Kwanggaeto's stele" in the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (ITASAKA et al. 1983; also HATADA 1969, p. 16). The reading of the inscription has been controversial, but we shall regard HIRANO Kunio's reading as correct (1985, chap. 3, sec. 2). See also the *Kenkyū-shi kōkaido-ō-hi* (SAEKI A. 1974).

51–53). Although there is room for debate concerning the accuracy of those dates, the accumulated memories of invasions believed to have taken place on the dates as preserved in the table appear to have provided the basis for the tale of Empress Jingū.<sup>39</sup>

The *Nihon shoki* annals of Empress Jingū mention a treasure called the *shichishi-tō* 七支刀 (seven-pronged sword) dedicated to her by a Paekche king (the *Kojiki* simply mentions “a sword and a large mirror”; SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 358 note 4). The sword, which was obviously another item for *mitama no fuyu*, is still held by the Isonokami Shrine, and was referred to in the previous section. The sword is inscribed with the date 369 and words expressing the Paekche king’s good will towards the Japanese emperor. Many historians think that this attests to an alliance between the Korean state and Japan.<sup>40</sup>

The date on the sword is during the heyday of the Wani clan, which, as mentioned above, flourished from about the middle of the fourth century to the middle of the sixth century, producing the general Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma and establishing marital relationships between their women and seven emperors starting from Ōjin

<sup>39</sup> Higo’s claim that the *Nihon shoki* attempts to identify Empress Jingū as the Himiko described in the *Wei chih* (mentioned above) have some validity. Higo bases his claim on similarities between a Japanese killing of a Silla minister recorded in the *Nihon shoki* annals of Empress Jingū and a third-century Japanese killing of a Silla minister recorded in the *Samguk sagi*. According to HIGO, the names of the two ministers are identical (1957, pp. 50–57). This seems to indicate a memory of a very remote past underlying the empress’s tale.

Ledyard says that in the case of the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England in the fifth and sixth centuries, there is virtually no historical records of the invasion, and yet it actually took place. He insists, on this ground, that the Japanese invasion by the Fuyo people took place too, although there is no such historical record. Such a statement is misleading. As LEDYARD recognizes, in the case of the Anglo-Saxon invasion a few words that mention the invasion have survived, and he quotes from George Trevelyan: “the bones of these nameless [Anglo-Saxon] chiefs are dug up today in ‘early Anglo-Saxon graveyards’...” (pp. 228–29). In the case of the Fuyo invasion, which Ledyard hypothesizes, there is not even a hint of such an invasion in any records, despite the fact that there are a considerable amount of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean records of the period that have come down to this day (many but not all are in books compiled several centuries later than the alleged date of the Fuyo invasions). Nor is there a single piece of bone dug out from any graveyard that can be identified as that of a continental invader. On the contrary, not only Japanese but also Korean records mention repeated Japanese invasions of Korea.

<sup>40</sup> The reading of the text, including the date given in the Chinese system of the hexagenary cycle, has been a problem, but a greater majority of specialists agree that the inscription attests to the Japan-Paekche alliance struck around 369 (UEDA 1977, chap. 3, sec. 3). I believe that the so-called Japanese invasions of Korea in ancient times were initially the result of Korean attempts to utilize Japanese military power to their own advantage in their interstate wars. These, however, must have led to greater Japanese initiatives in the later Japanese expeditions to Korea.

(KISHI 1966, pp. 20–30).

These facts indicate that the core of the tale of Empress Jingū was formed at the time of the *Wa no go-ō* 倭の五王, or “the five emperors of Japan.” The letters sent by these emperors to the Chinese emperors in the fifth century demanding that the Chinese recognize Japanese suzerainty over the Korean kingdoms are found in the Chinese dynastic record *Sung shu* 宋書. Although there is a problem about the relationship between the sinicized names of the Japanese emperors given in the *Sung shu* and their Japanese names recorded in Japanese texts, most historians regard Emperor Ōjin as either the first of the five emperors or their immediate precursor (see under “Five kings of *wa*” in the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* [ITASAKA et al. 1983; also KASAI 1974]).

These emperors established a new type of kingship in the late fourth through fifth centuries in the wider international arena, on the basis of direct military involvement in continental power struggles. The earlier of these emperors built their capitals around Osaka Bay, and later ones built theirs in Yamato. They are all buried in mausoleums of unprecedented size.

Of the letters written by the *Wa no go-ō*, the following is the most important for our study. According to the *Sung shu*, the letter was sent in 478 to the Chinese emperor Shun Ti 順帝 from the Japanese emperor Mu, the last of the *Wa no go-ō*, whom almost all Japanese historians regard as the twenty-first emperor, Yūryaku 雄略.

(21)

Since the early days my forefathers have crossed rivers and mountains [in wars of conquest] wearing armor, and had no time for peaceful settlement. In the east fifty-five nations of the Hairy Tribes [Ainu] were conquered; in the west sixty-six nations of various barbarians were subjugated; and over the seas to the north, ninety-five nations [of Korea] were crushed.<sup>41</sup>

(WADA and ISHIHARA 1977, p. 64)

While the letter obviously exaggerates the success of the emperor’s wars of conquest, it provides sufficient evidence of militarism in fifth-

<sup>41</sup> The word “Korea” does not occur in the original text, and so the interpretation has been controversial. But as UEDA Masaaki pointed out, in the *Nihon shoki* the expression “over the sea to the north” is used with regard to the location of Oki no Shima 沖之島 island that lies on the way to Korea from northern Kyūshū, and this confirms the correctness of the interpretation “Korea” (1977, pp. 167–69).

century Japan. We may conjecture that the earlier loose federation of semi-independent states in Japan ended when the *Wa no go-ō* directly involved themselves in power struggles in Korea, the external war stimulating internal militarism. The founder of this lineage of Japanese emperors was probably Emperor Ōjin, although the tale of Empress Jingū obviously makes her the mythical founder.

It seems that the tale of Empress Jingū and (21) give expression to the same historical reality. But why are the two records so different from each other?

Japan was a backward country where cultural and political renovation came almost exclusively from overseas. This produced a huge gap in worldview between the most advanced and the most backward spheres of Japanese life. At the forefront of its contact with the highly advanced continental states, Japan produced a fairly objective historical account of itself, as shown in (21). But it was no doubt written by a Korean or Chinese scribe, whose perspective of historical events was shared by only a small fraction of the Japanese.

In the minds of most people, the same state of the nation as described in (21) was understood in accordance with the mythical formulae traditionally used to give accounts of the facts of their lives. This was particularly so when the description involved a crisis such as embarking on a military expedition to an alien land.

In this respect it was important for the tale of Empress Jingū to serve as a psychological support for those involved in the Korean expeditions, since the tale identifies the Korean invasion with a renewal of life. For both military leaders and peasant soldiers in early Japan, sailing to an unknown land for war was as dreadful as dying—and of course it did actually lead to a large number of deaths. But Empress Jingū's tale guaranteed a mythical renewal of life through this experience, considered analogous to death. This consciousness of danger explains why the deep-rooted and widely held myth of the mother goddess of the sea was called upon to serve as the core of the tale.

What is important for us is that the actual Korean expeditions of the fourth and fifth centuries came to be interpreted in terms of traditional mythical formulae. No historical event is recorded as such in a mythical tale; events are understood and evaluated in terms of mythical formulae that were believed to be basically timeless and repetitive. Many other elements of the tale of Empress Jingū need to be viewed with this fact in mind.

We have already had occasion to point out that the name Okinaga-

tarashi-hime was created by combining the names Ōtarashi-hime and Okinaga (see p. 119 above). Scholars have pointed out two factors that prompted this combination, one mythical and the other historical. I would like to take a look at this point.

It is known that in the record of the ninth emperor, Kaika, there occurs the name Okinaga no Mizuyori-hime 息長水依比売, who married the emperor and bore three princes. Emperor Kaika belongs to the above-mentioned *kesshi jidai*, or “historyless period,” and historians doubt his actual existence. His marriage with Okinaga no Mizuyori-hime is also understood to be a pure myth. As a matter of fact, the name “Mizu-yori-hime” means either “the maiden who comes through water” or “the maiden to whom a deity or someone comes through water.” No matter which interpretation is correct, clearly she is a mythical water-woman whose religious function is identical with that of Ōtarashi-hime (see p. 115 above for the meaning of this name) and other water-women who served as the prototype of Okinagatarashi-hime (Empress Jingū). Both Mishina and Tsukaguchi think that the similarity of the religious function of Ōtarashi-hime and Okinaga no Mizuyori-hime resulted in their merging into one figure, which created the hybrid name Okinaga-tarashi-hime (MISHINA 1973, pp. 198–208; TSUKAGUCHI 1980, chap. 1). There is no reason to doubt this theory.

Another important fact relevant to the origin of the name Okinagatarashi-hime is the similarity between it and the Japanese posthumous name “Okinagatarashihi Hironuka” 息長足日広額 for Emperor Jomei 舒明 (thirty-fourth emperor; r. 629–641). Furthermore, Emperor Jomei was probably reared by Okinaga no Yamada no Kimi, who read the eulogy for the imperial line to conclude the mourning ceremonies for the emperor (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, II, pp. 244–45; ASTON 1956, II, p. 177), and the emperor’s father, Hikohito no Oine, was born to Emperor Bidatsu and Hiro-hime, a daughter of Okinaga no Made no Ō. This indicates that the emperors about this time were related to the Okinaga clan.

On these and other grounds (mentioned below), Naoki Kōjirō argues that the name Okinagatarashi-hime was created out of Emperor Jomei’s Japanese name and that the Empress Jingū tale was a seventh-century creation. I find this argument hard to accept. In ancient Japan a prince was reared by a vassal of the emperor, whose family developed a close personal relationship with the prince by providing him with a wet nurse, and from whose family name the prince’s personal name was derived. The name “Prince Ōama” (later Emperor

Tenmu) was obviously derived from the family name Ōama no Arakama, who read a eulogy regarding the prince's rearing (Aston's translation of this part of the text as "regarding the Imperial Princes" is wrong; SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, II, p. 481; ASTON 1956, II, p. 380). It is highly probable that Emperor Jomei's Japanese name was given by the Okinaga clan that reared him, and that his name was related to the legendary heroine's name to enhance the authority of both the prince and the clan. Only this would explain why Emperor Jomei's Japanese name so obviously resembles Empress Jingū's. Our investigations of the Wani and Okinaga clans indicate the antiquity of the Okinagatarashi-hime story. It is likely that a revival of Okinaga influence in the seventh century gave new life to the earlier tale of Okinagatarashi-hime and lent an impetus to preserve her tale as recorded in official histories of the imperial house.

NAOKI argues that the enthronement of Empress Suiko (thirty-third sovereign) prior to Emperor Jomei, of Empress Kōgyoku (Emperor Jomei's wife) to succeed her husband, and of more empresses during the Nara period (710-794) provided the stimulus for the creation of the myth of the powerful female ruler Okinagatarashi-hime (1964, II, chap. 2). But this factor is only part of the historical environment that revitalized the myth of the earlier period.

The basic difference between Naoki's view and the one presented here lies in whether we regard the tale of Empress Jingū as a creation over a very long span of time incorporating layers of mythical concepts, or whether we regard it as a one-time reflection of particular historical experiences of more recent times, as Naoki does.

We must say that the factors promoting the creation of the name Okinagatarashi-hime were in the main mythical, except for the role of the Okinaga clan, which was important for the establishment of Emperor Ōjin's new type of kingship.

We shall now study the tale of the birth of Emperor Ōjin. Is Egami correct in regarding him as a prince of a nomadic race who came from Korea?

In marked contrast to Egami, Naoki argues that the tale of Empress Jingū and her son was created after the seventh century by combining several historical facts of the time. The most important of these, he claims, is the failed expedition to Korea in 661-663 of Emperor Tenji 天智 (then still known as Crown Prince Naka no Ōe 中大兄皇子). This historical event took place immediately after Paekche, Japan's ally, was defeated in an attack by the joint forces of Silla and T'ang China in 660. The Paekche leaders, desiring to revive their state with



Japanese support, crowned Prince Phung-chyang, then in Japan as a hostage, as their new king. Prince Naka no Ōe organized a Japanese expedition and went to Hakata in Kyūshū with his wives and his mother, Empress Saimei 齊明, who, although empress, occupied a position completely subordinate to her son.

The empress, then sixty-eight years old, died in Hakata, but the prince pushed on with the expedition, which ended in a complete defeat for the Japanese side. This expedition took about three years, partly because the recruitment of soldiers on the way from Naniwa (present Osaka) to Hakata in Kyūshū took a long time. During the expedition Princess Ōku 大伯 and Prince Kusakabe 草壁 (Hinameshi 日並) were born to Prince Ōama 大海人 (later Emperor Tenmu 天武), who was the younger brother of Emperor Tenji.<sup>42</sup>

Naoki further maintains that the death of Emperor Chūai and the birth of Emperor Ōjin in Kyūshū are mythical fabrications that reflect the historical facts of the death of Empress Saimei in Kyūshū and the birth of the later crown prince Kusakabe on the way there. His idea has a number of major flaws.

In the tale of Empress Jingū it is the male emperor who dies, but in the 661–663 expedition not a male but a female monarch, Saimei, dies. Empress Jingū's expedition was a success, but Tenji's ended in failure. In the tale of Empress Jingū a war is waged against the rebels in Yamato when she returns home, but nothing like that happens to Emperor Tenji on his return from the expedition in 663. The Jinshin War 壬申—a war of succession fought in 672 after Emperor Tenji's death between Prince Ōama, Tenji's younger brother, and Prince Ōtomo, Tenji's son—might be taken as the historical event behind the tale, but this view stretches the imagination too far.

Naoki points out that the *Kojiki* tale of Empress Jingū does not mention the Korean state of Kokuli (Koguryo), with which King Kwanggaeto's stele says Japan fought around the year 400, and argues that this indicates the more recent creation of the Empress Jingū tale. But the *Kojiki* tale also fails to mention China, despite it being Japan's most feared enemy in the 661–663 expedition. It also describes Paekche as one of Japan's enemies, whereas in the 661–663 expedition

<sup>42</sup> The places of the births of the prince and the princess can be surmised from the dates of their births, which can in turn be estimated from the entries on their lives in works like the *Nihon shoki* and the *Man'yōshū*, and from their personal names. Scholars agree that the princess's name, Ōku, was derived from Ōku 大伯 District of Bizen 備前 Province (southeastern part of present Okayama Prefecture), and the prince's name, Kusakabe, from an area of the same name, Kusakabe 草壁 in Bitchū 備中 Province (western part of present Okayama Prefecture), where they are conjectured to have been born (TERANISHI 1980).

Paekche was Japan's ally. It is interesting to note that Mishina finds a few points of correspondence between the rationalized and modernized *Nihon shoki* version of the tale of Empress Jingū and the historical facts of sixth-century Korea (this corroborates Kuratsuka's thesis), not of the seventh-century Japanese expedition as Naoki maintains (see SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 356, notes 8, 11, and 12; p. 620, Supplementary Note 9-41).

It is dangerous to directly relate a mythical tale to historical fact: a myth tends to crystallize historical experience into what is believed to be a timeless formula comprising a sequence of events that was believed to repeat itself eternally. It is also undeniable that certain place-names and personal names in a mythical tale are easily replaced by new ones to make the story more real to the audience of later days, while still retaining the "formula."

Instead of relating a single historical experience in 661-663 to the tale of Empress Jingū, we must consider the possibility that in earlier military expeditions to Korea something similar to the 661-663 experience had often occurred. Since such military expeditions took an extremely long time in ancient times, princes and princesses must have been born to members of the imperial family during their stay in Kyūshū, and other members must have died there from illness and other causes.

In ancient Japan women of high rank accompanied military expeditions, serving as priestesses to seek prophecies and divine protection. In the tale of Prince Yamato Takeru 日本武尊, a son of the twelfth emperor, Keikō, the prince has his wife Ototachibana-hime 弟橘比売 accompany him in his eastern military expedition, and in the story she sacrifices herself by jumping into the sea in an attempt to appease the Sea God when a violent storm threatens her husband's life.

The following poem, composed by Nukada no Ōkimi 額田王 (or Empress Saimei, according to some scholars) during Emperor Tenji's expedition, is understood by most Japanese scholars to be related to her (or Empress Saimei's) role as a shamaness:

(22)

<i>Nigitazu ni</i>	While at Nigitazu we await the moon
<i>Funanori semu to</i>	To put our ships to sea,
<i>Tsuki mate ba</i>	With the moon the tide has risen;
<i>Shio mo kaninu</i>	Now let us embark!
<i>Ima wa kogi ide na</i>	

(*Man'yōshū* 8; GAKUJUTSU SHINKŌKAI 1965, p. 10)

The poem served as the military command for departure. Nukada no Ōkimi was a wife to Emperor Tenji, and it is most likely that her family long practiced a shamanistic religion (TANI 1966, pp. 13–21). Women of such a position must have given birth to princes during earlier military expeditions, and served as the prototype of Empress Jingū, who according to myth gave birth to Emperor Ōjin while out commanding a military campaign.

It is highly likely that Emperor Ōjin was actually born during a Korean expedition, and that his maternal clan, the Okinagas (represented in the tale by Empress Jingū [Okinagatarashi-hime]) and his relatives the Wanis (represented by Naniwa-neko Takefurukuma) worked to establish a new lineage of the imperial family. Historical records indicate that this new lineage moved their capital from Yamato to Naniwa for the obvious reason that Naniwa's location provided easier contact with the continent than Yamato's. Emperor Ōjin's mausoleum lies in Kawachi, which is a province on Osaka Bay and is adjacent to Naniwa, and his son, Emperor Nintoku, had his palace in Naniwa.

Naoki says that Emperor Ōjin was a leader of an influential clan in Kawachi that founded a new dynasty in Naniwa, while Egami and Mizuno maintain that the emperor came from Korea to Kawachi via Kyūshū. But the *Kojiki* says that Emperor Ōjin established his capital in the present city of Kashihara in Yamato, and the *Nihon shoki* records that the emperor died in this same place. These facts indicate a continuity of his blood with earlier imperial family members of Yamato.

NAOKI says that the location of Emperor Ōjin's mausoleum in Kawachi indicates his origin in that area because, according to him, tombs and mausoleums were constructed in the person's home district (1990, pp. 24–25). But Emperor Tenji's mausoleum is located just outside the present city of Kyoto on the border between Yamashiro and Ōmi provinces, far from his real home, Asuka. This is obviously because he moved the capital from Asuka 飛鳥 to Ōtsu 大津 in Ōmi Province when he was forty-two years old, after a long residence in Asuka where he had been a dictatorial leader in his capacity of crown prince.

The mausoleum of Kōtoku, the thirty-sixth emperor, is also located in Kawachi near Naniwa, to which he moved the capital from Yamato in 645, in reaction, historians believe, to the T'ang attack on Koguryo a few months prior to the Taika Reform (NISHIJIMA 1962). In this case the tension in Korea, which led to the collapse of Koguryo and then

of Paekche, made it necessary not only to have a more centralized governmental system, as accomplished under the Taika Reform, but also to move the capital from Yamato to Naniwa on Osaka Bay for ease of contact with the continent. It is certainly not the case that Emperor Kōtoku came from that area and established a new dynasty there. He was a younger brother of Empress Kōgyoku and was born and bred in Yamato.

There is little doubt that when an emperor moved his capital out of Yamato in ancient Japan, his mausoleum was constructed near his new place of residence. It is highly probable that Emperor Ōjin temporarily had his palace in Naniwa, where his son and successor, Emperor Nintoku, established his capital. It seems that the ancient custom was such that at times of international tension, such as around 645, the palace or government's military headquarters would be moved to Naniwa, which was a virtual second capital in ancient times.

According to an annotation in the original *Nihon shoki* text, one record gives Ōkuma in Naniwa as the place where Emperor Ōjin passed away (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I, p. 380; ASTON 1956, I, p. 271). This annotation, written in characters smaller than the main text, may be the entry of a later scholar. But it indicates a close relationship between the emperor's activity and Naniwa, and this must have led to the construction of his mausoleum in adjacent Kawachi. No one would deny that ancient records regard the period of Emperor Ōjin and his mother as being one of serious international tension. Emperor Ōjin's reign also saw the arrival of many immigrants, obviously to or passing through Naniwa, from the continent. Naoki as well as Egami fail to understand the reason for Emperor Ōjin's relationship with the Osaka Bay area.

The mausoleum of Empress Jingū is located in the region of Yamato where the Wani clan flourished, i.e., the northwestern edge of the Nara Basin (TSUKAGUCHI 1980, chap. 6). Both the Wani and the Okinaga clans had their important centers of activity in the province of Ōmi, which is on the way to the Japan Sea from Yamato (MISHINA 1973, pp. 198-99; TSUKAGUCHI 1980, pp. 208-209; KISHI 1966, pp. 51-58), and YAMAOKA Yukihisa thinks that they had a common ancestry (1972, pp. 175-87). At least in very early times the two clans had a closer relationship with the Japan Sea coast than with either Kyūshū or Naniwa. It is impossible to say that Emperor Ōjin came from Korea via Kyūshū (Egami and Mizuno think that the nomadic race first established their state in Kyūshū and generations later moved to

Yamato), or that his “dynasty” originated in Kawachi and was unrelated to the earlier line of emperors.

It appears that the tale of Emperor Ōjin reflects the actual birth of a prince during an early Korean expedition as well as the relationship between the imperial family, the Okinagas, and the Wanis before the sixth century. The fundamental nature of the tale is such that it consists of history submerged in myths, which are organized around the core concept that a powerful *tama* born of a sea goddess comes from the *ne no kuni* or a foreign land assisted on its journey by the mythical creature *wani*.

To be more exact, there seems to be a mixture of the *kaijin shodō* (little-boy-sea-god) type and the Ame no Hiboko type in the creation of the tale of Emperor Ōjin’s coming. I have already argued that the myth of a goddess of the undersea world giving birth to a miracle child had its roots back in the Jōmon period. The Ame no Hiboko type of myth is comparatively much newer and was either imported to Japan or was created together with the arrival of Ame no Hiboko’s treasures (*tama*). It would also be accurate to say that in the creation of the tale of Emperor Ōjin the Ame no Hiboko type of myth played only a secondary role, since otherwise the sun motif in this type of tale would have been retained in the Emperor Ōjin tale.

In the previous section we made a study of the treasures of the Isonokami Shrine and the Mononobe clan. This clan became a powerful influence in the second half of the fifth century and, during the sixth century, produced many top government ministers (see under “Mononobe” in the *Kokushi daijiten*, SAKAMOTO et al. 1978). They were a clan of military men as well as treasure-keepers (*mono* included weapons), and their rise in power was due to their successful military role in the Korean expeditions, particularly Mononobe no Ashikabi’s successful repression of the Iwai rebellion of 527 (UEDA 1968, pp. 84–89). The fact that the Mononobe clan does not play any role in the military expedition of Empress Jingū and her son is another reason for giving the story an origin in the late fourth or early fifth century.

In the previous section I also pointed out that the *chinkonsai* in which the *tama* jewels of the Isonokami Shrine were used was a later development. As we saw, the *Nihon shoki* says that Ame no Hiboko brought his treasures to Japan during the reign of Emperor Suinin and that his grandson, Kiyohiko, donated the treasures of his grandfather to the same emperor. It is conjectured that Emperor Suinin ruled Japan in the fourth century (see under “Suinin Tennō” in the *Kodaishii jiten*, [ENDŌ et al. 1974]). Judging from the existence of a

sword made in 369 in the Isonokami Shrine, Ame no Hiboko's treasures as well as his legend must have come from the continent not much earlier than this period. If I am correct in assuming an influence of the Ame no Hiboko myth on the myth of the coming of Emperor Ōjin, then our conjecture that the tale of Empress Jingū and her son originated in the fourth-fifth centuries roughly fits into this time sequence.

Let us now look into the war Empress Jingū and her son waged upon their return to Yamato. We must first consider the fact that in ancient Japan there was no system of appointing a particular crown prince as a legitimate successor to the throne, and that a prince had to wage war against contending candidates to win the royal seat. When we study the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, we find many records of recurrent wars of succession.

If we take the first twenty-two emperors starting with the first emperor Jinmu, we find that eight emperors gained power by killing their rivals. Of these twenty-two emperors, seven belong to the aforementioned *kesshi jidai*, or historyless period, and are widely regarded as mythical figures without real historical existence. The existence of another emperor, the thirteenth emperor, Seimu—whose records are of the same type as those for the *kesshi jidai* emperors, containing only sketchy genealogical information—also becomes suspect. The *Kodaishi jiten* (ENDŌ et al. 1974) says under the entry “Seimu Tennō”: “The possibility of this emperor's being a real historical figure is much more slender than the case of Emperor Keikō (twelfth emperor).”

Thus eight out of the fourteen emperors whose existence seems indisputable succeeded to the throne upon killing one or more of their rivals. I have excluded emperors after the twenty-second emperor, Seinei, because Seinei was the last of his particular line of the imperial family, all the rest of the line having been eliminated in the excessive killings conducted by his father, Emperor Yūryaku (twenty-first emperor; second half of the fifth century). The violent way of deciding the accession to the imperial throne must have been discontinued when the twenty-third emperor, Kensō (Kenzō), of a removed imperial line was sought out from the province of Harima without bloodshed being involved.

It would be quite natural to suppose that disputes over succession led to bloodshed when there was no system of appointing a single heir-apparent during the ruler's lifetime, and when many princes were born of different mothers at a time when the prince belonged to the mother's clan. Also involved in the struggle for the throne



were the deceased emperor's brothers, who made powerful candidates. In fact, as Inoue Mitsusada argued, brother-to-brother succession for the throne was almost the norm in high antiquity (INOUE 1965, p. 180, p. 191). Fueled by this complicated situation, power struggles between clans and families could have quite easily triggered a succession war.

Lucy MAIR describes similar conflicts that regularly took place among the Shilluk of Africa, where several contenders for the sacred kingship were backed by different tribal factions at the time of succession (1970, p. 70). According to the Japanese anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao, many such succession wars in Africa are ritualized (YAMAGUCHI and INOSE 1987, p. 259). We may suspect a degree of ritualization in Japan as well, because very often such succession wars were fought while the corpse of the deceased emperor was still laid in the temporary interment shrine (*hinkyū* or *mogari no miya*), that is, during the period of transition of the sacral kingship.

Although I believe that the tale of Empress Jingū incorporates the actual historical experience of a prince born in Kyūshū and his fight to gain the throne, the tale is not a historical record but a mythical legend that gives order to the various aspects of life by entrenching a basic formulation through repetitive use. The succession war Empress Jingū and her son fight represents a typical example of such entrenchment of formulae through repetitive use.

Finally, I would like to examine the last part of the tale of Emperor Ōjin. In the *Kojiki* the tale of Emperor Ōjin, which is a continuation of the Empress Jingū tale, describes the following events as occurring after the succession war in Japan:

- a Immediately after the prince's arrival in Yamato, Takeshiuchi no Sukune takes him through Ōmi and Wakasa to perform purificatory ablutions (*misogi* 禊).<sup>43</sup>
- b While at Tsuruga in Wakasa, the god of the Kehi Shrine 氣比神社 appears in a dream (the text is not clear as to whose dream, but perhaps that of Takeshiuchi no Sukune), and expresses his wish to exchange his name with that of the prince. The god says that he will make an offering on the beach in

<sup>43</sup> Takeshiuchi no Sukune, who often plays a ritual role in the tale, is regarded as a mythical figure symbolizing government ministers. According to the *Nihon shoki*, he lived for three hundred years and served five generations of emperors. The *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* genealogies make him a relative of the Empress Jingū.

acknowledgement of the name-exchange. The next morning the prince and his entourage find a large number of dolphins lying on the beach, and confirm the exchange. This is the origin of the name of the shrine Ke 食 (later Kehi), or “food” (dolphins in this context).

- c When the prince returns to Yamato, his mother holds a banquet in which she offers saké she has brewed herself, and sings a saké-brewing song. Takeshiuchi no Sukune sings a reply song on behalf of the prince.
- d The emperor marries a maiden of the Wani clan. (This is told after an inclusion of a genealogical list including Emperor Ōjin’s marriages and the subsequent birth of children, as well as his appointment of his own successor.)

(abridged from the *Kojiki*, KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, pp. 234–45; PHILIPPI 1968, chaps. 97–101)

As KURATSUKA argued, the above sequence can be understood as a reproduction of a series of rituals (1986, pp. 81–84). The ablutions in (a) form the purification ritual following the prince’s resurrection, or in our opinion after his return from the *ne no kuni*. In the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, the god Izanagi performs a purification after returning from the *ne no kuni*, where he goes in order to bring his wife Izanami back to this world but fails. This also symbolizes the prince’s (Emperor Ōjin’s) ritual death and resurrection (the prince sails to Yamato on board a funeral ship).

The events in (b) indicate that the prince’s ritual death and resurrection signify his attainment of age. When seen from this point of view, the succession war is the test of his ability in a *rite de passage*, and the changing of his name indicates his acquisition of a new adult name after his coming of age. SAKASHITA also argues that a play on words created this tale: the name of the shrine of Wakasa, Kehi, signifies *kahe* or “(ex)change” in Japanese (1985, pp. 26–38).

The banquet (c) is the celebration of the prince’s coming of age; and (d) describes his subsequent marriage.

We can conclude that the tales of Empress Jingū, and of the birth of Emperor Ōjin, followed by (a)–(d), form one sequence based on the mythical concept of death and resurrection involving the goddess of the undersea world. All the historical facts of the late fourth through fifth centuries and possibly of the sixth century as well are interpreted and organized according to this mythical formula, and only those very limited aspects of actual history that can be organized

in this way are recorded as history. We can say that in the tale of the empress and her son historical facts are recorded as if they were reflected on an extremely warped mirror. It is impossible to translate any aspect of such a tale straight into history.

### *Conclusion*

We started this article with a criticism of the so-called horse-rider theory, which interprets the tale of Empress Jingū as a story of the coming of a horse-riding nomadic race from Korea. I believe I have sufficiently demonstrated that there is a fundamental defect in the methodology employed by the advocates of this theory. One should not abstract historical facts from any part of a mythical tale without knowing the relationships that that part has with other elements in the tale and with the values and customs of the society that produced it. Otherwise the abstraction is likely to end strongly influenced by one's own political stance.

We have also seen the weaknesses of a simple reduction of a tale or part of a tale to mythical concepts, as is often the case with Mishina's analysis. Although Mishina's studies provide important hints for our study of mythical concepts in the tale of Empress Jingū, we must emphasize that mythical concepts do not lie outside history, and that such concepts have various historical origins and roles to play in society and in the mythico-historical tales that are created to carry those roles out in a given social context.

In our study the ancient belief in the *ne no kuni* is of fundamental importance. In prehistoric Japan a king magically guaranteed acquisition of the wealth of the sea through sacred marriage with a shamaness who represented the goddess of the undersea world and the daughter of the sea god. The shamaness was believed able to journey freely between the undersea world (*ne no kuni*) and the human world. The ancient Japanese identified the *ne no kuni* with any distant foreign land, because a ship was believed to descend a slope (the *unasaka*) as it sailed away from the land, and because both were regarded as mythical regions.

Thus the Japanese king (emperor) became a mediator between these two regions and the world inhabited by the Japanese. In this role he was aided by the mythical creature *wani*, the Wani clan, and other people. The *wani* was believed to be identical with, or a messenger of, the goddess of the undersea world who married the king, and

in reality it was the Wani clan or their relatives (who were identified with the *wani* creature) that provided the king's wife.

The *ne no kuni* was believed to be the land of the dead as well as the source of all wealth and new life. As a result, the continental states—which were identified with the *ne no kuni*—came to be seen as possessing these contradictory attributes. Going to the continent was fraught with danger, but it guaranteed the acquisition of new culture.

In historical times, and particularly after the fourth century when Japan became militarily involved in the power struggles in Korea, the cult of the undersea goddess gradually developed into the cult of Empress Jingū, who was believed to have conquered Silla with the aid of fish and to have given birth to a miracle child, Emperor Ōjin. Ōjin was the forefather of the new genealogy of emperors, who sent numerous envoys to China in the fifth century and who are buried in gigantic tumuli around Osaka Bay.

Entangled with the this-world/other-world duality and the overlapping of the *ne no kuni* and foreign lands was the cult of the *tama* (jewel or spirit). A *tama* could be acquired either from the undersea world or the continent. Acquisition of the *tama* of the sea god through marriage to his daughter guaranteed control over the sea and its wealth, and conferred the ability to navigate. Acquisition of a *tama* from the continent, as shown in the tale of Ame no Hiboko, symbolized the conquest of a continental state. Within Japan, too, an emperor's procurement of a *tama* originally owned by a local chieftain symbolized his attainment of power over that chieftain. This acquisition of *tama* is known as *mitama no fuyu* (increase of the imperial *tama*).

The overlapping of the concepts of the undersea *ne no kuni* and distant foreign lands led to an overlapping of myth and history, so that we cannot fully understand the import of the tale of Empress Jingū without paying due consideration to both the grammar of myth-making vis-à-vis the *ne no kuni* and its deities and the historical facts concerning the Korean expedition and the imperial succession.

Take the concept of the *wani* for instance, which was originally (probably during the Jōmon period, as we postulated earlier) a mythical mediator between this world and the *ne no kuni*. This word later came to signify the Wani clan, which played an important role in Japan-continent relations during the late fourth to early fifth centuries. Still later it was applied to the scholar Wa Ni who came from the continent probably in the fifth century. The roles played by the various "*wanis*" in these stories, as well as the *wani* concept itself,

changed along with the historical development of the concept of the otherworld.

The succession war fought by Naniwaneko Takefurukuma (an ancestor of the Wani clan) on behalf of Empress Jingū and her son, must also be seen as a fusion of mythical and historical elements. By investigating similar succession wars recorded in the ancient texts and occurring in other cultures, one is inevitably led to our conclusion: princes quite frequently had to fight with their closest kin after the death of a reigning monarch. It was not a war waged by an invading nomadic race, but was a ritualized war of succession that also served as a *rite de passage* for the prince in the tale. In fact the tale of Emperor Ōjin is basically structured in the form of a male initiation ritual myth: death and resurrection, purification, and marriage, in that order. This, however, does not deny the fact that Emperor Ōjin was born in Kyūshū and fought a succession war to become the founder of a new type of kingship. If anything as dramatic as an invasion by a horse-riding group of people had actually taken place, it is doubtful that we would see the type of continuity between myth and history that occurs in this tale.

Obviously a mythical concept expands and changes to adapt to specific historical realities, and at the same time the historical facts are shaped in such a way that a known reality is created to conform to the mythical concept. The tale of Empress Jingū, or any similar text, is a product of this dialectic historical process of development; to understand it we must carefully reconstruct the historical process and locate the text within its historical context, all the time paying careful attention to the mythical concepts that influenced and structured it. I believe that my attempt to do this has shown how mythical concepts such as the *ne no kuni*, the water-woman, the *wani*, and *mitama no fuyu* are used to organize specific historical experiences into the mythico-historical stories about Empress Jingū.

The identity of the *ne no kuni* and distant foreign lands has a further historical implication: that death and resurrection as a religious concept overlapped with the death of the old culture and the rebirth of the new via an introduction from foreign lands. Death and birth in this sense must have often been concurrent with the actual death of one emperor and the birth or enthronement of another. The new emperor, upon enthronement, gave a new lease on life both to himself and to the newly imported culture, with both being regarded as synonymous with resurrection from the land of the dead. Obviously Japan's geographical position in the *ultima Thule* of the civilized world

decided this function of Japanese kingship, because virtually all renovation in Japanese life came from the continent, and the imperial family maintained its ruling position by monopolizing the import of culture.<sup>44</sup>

This role of ancient Japanese kingship has resulted in both the steady importation of continental culture and the invasion of the continental states, both being stimulated by the desire to acquire advanced culture. In this situation the tale of Empress Jingū served not only as a myth explaining the origin of the Korean states' "service" to the Japanese emperor, but also as a form of encouragement to those participating in the invasion, guaranteeing them new life as they left for war in the frightening lands overseas (= the land of the dead). This aspect of the tale was utilized in school education by the militarists during World War II.

The mediating role of Japanese kingship in the cultural renovation of Japan is what has enabled the institution to continue over such a long period of time. I have pointed out that medieval legends continued to produce double mediators such as Ono no Takamura and Sugawara no Michizane from among high-ranking officials of the imperial government. Even today we find the statues of Ono no Takamura and of the Buddhist divinity Jizō (said by legend to have been carved by him) being worshipped in Japanese temples. So too do shrines dedicated to Sugawara no Michizane continue to attract large numbers of worshippers. We can say that the dual-mediation role of Japanese kingship and its officials is so deeply entrenched in the Japanese worldview that it will continue to live on in new guises. Indeed, one may even look at the recent marriage of Crown Prince Hiro no Miya and foreign-educated, multilingual Ōwada Masako from this point of view. Princess Masako, as she is now called, is a worthy successor of the ancient princesses of the Wani clan (though, of course, the invasion of foreign lands should never again be part of Japanese kingship!).

<sup>44</sup> ISHIMODA Shō has argued that the Japanese ruling class came from the group that monopolized the system of communication (1971, chap. 1, sec.1). It is well known that in the third through the sixth centuries Japan depended entirely on imports from Korea for its iron (TANAKA 1991, p. 134), and so the organizer of this importation must have acquired great political influence. ISHIMODA pointed out the importance of the fact that in the fifth century iron agricultural tools in Japan were owned exclusively by local chieftains, who had close ties with the Yamato government (1971, p. 294). He also argued that the ruling class's monopoly over all aspects of culture such as writing, which served as a tool for bureaucracy, gave it as much political advantage as its monopoly on iron (1971, p. 16).



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