

Kojiki
Donald Phillip: (transl.)

Preface¹

- 1 I, YASUMARÖ,² do say:
- 2 When the primeval matter had congealed but breath and form had not yet appeared, there were no names and no action.³ Who can know its form?
- 3 However, when heaven and earth were first divided, the three deities became the first of all creation.⁴ The Male and Female⁵ here began, and the two spirits⁶ were the ancestors of all creation.
- 4 Whereupon after the going in and coming out from the seen and unseen worlds,⁷ the sun and moon were revealed in the washing of the eyes.⁸
- 5 After the floating and sinking in the sea-waters, the deities were revealed in the washing of the body.⁹
- 6 Thus, though the primeval beginnings be distant and dim, yet by

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

² Opo no Yasumarö; cf. verse 70 of the Preface. The word translated 'I' is 臣, meaning 'subject' or 'vassal.'

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

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

⁵ Literally, the Yin and Yang.

⁶ The two deities Izanagi and Izanami (2:2).

⁷ I.e., Izanagi's visit to Yömi in Chapter 9.

⁸ Cf. 11:22-23.

⁹ Cf. 11:13-18.

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

8 Truly, after the hanging up of the mirror¹¹ and the spitting out
9 of the jewels,¹² the hundred kings followed in succession; after the
chewing of the sword and the slaughtering of the serpent,¹³ the
myriad deities flourished.

10 Conferring by the YASU river, they pacified the kingdom;¹⁴ dis-
puting by the beach, they purified the land.¹⁵

11 At this, PO-NÖ-NINIGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ first descended to TAKA-TI-
PO peak,¹⁶ and the emperor KAMU-YAMATÖ passed through [the
island of] AKI-DU-SIMA.¹⁷

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

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

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

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

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

¹² A reference to the contest between Susa-nö-wo and Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kami (see Chapter 15). The 'chewing of the sword' also refers to that contest (see 15:2ff).

¹³ Susa-nö-wo's slaying of the eight-tailed dragon (see Chapter 19).

¹⁴ The divine convocation of 32:5ff.

¹⁵ The confrontation of 35:8ff.

¹⁶ Cf. 39:13.

¹⁷ The expedition of Emperor Jimmu, recounted in Chapters 47-52.

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

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

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

²¹ An allusion to 50:2-3.

²² The sentences in verses 14-16 contain no grammatical subjects; personal pronouns

15 Then, warned by a dream, he revered the gods,²³ and there-
fore was lauded as the wise emperor.²⁴

16 He looked at the smoke and treated the people with benevol-
ence, and to this day is reputed a saintly ruler.²⁵

17 The borders were determined and the lands were developed
18 during the reign at TIKA-TU-APUMI,²⁶ and the titles were cor-
rected and the clan-names selected during the rule at TÖPO-TU-
ASUKA.²⁷

19 Although each reign differed in the degree of swiftness or slow-
20 ness, and each was not the same in refinement and simplicity; yet
there was not one [ruler] who did not by meditating upon antiq-
uity straighten manners which had collapsed, and who did not by
comparing the present with antiquity strengthen morals and teach-
ings verging on extinction.²⁸

21 Coming now to the reign of the emperor who ruled OPO-YA-
SIMA in the great palace of KIYOMIPARA in ASUKA:²⁹

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

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

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

²³ Emperor Sujin in 65:2ff.

²⁴ Cf. 68:7.

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

²⁶ The reign of Emperor Seimu (cf. 90:4).

²⁷ The reign of Emperor Ingyö (cf. 121:11).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30 Before a fortnight³⁴ had elapsed, the foul vapors had been purified.

31 Thus they released the cattle and rested the steeds, and returned peacefully³⁵ to the capital.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴ Actually, a period of 12 days. The word is used loosely.

³⁵ Or 'in triumph.'

³⁶ I.e., in the year of the Cock, 673.

³⁷ The Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti) was a legendary Chinese ruler. The king of Chou is evidently Emperor Wên (Wên Wang), a ruler of the Chou dynasty.

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

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

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

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

39 Whereupon, the Emperor said:

"I hear that the *Teiki*⁴¹ and *Honji*⁴² handed down by the various houses have come to differ from the truth and that many falsehoods have been added to them.

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

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

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

43 At that time there was a court attendant⁴⁴ whose surname was PIYEDA and his given name ARE. He was twenty-eight years old.

45 He possessed such great native intelligence that he could repeat

³⁸ The Yin and Yang.

³⁹ The five elements are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Kurano regards this as a reference to Emperor Temmu's repeated homage to the wind god of Tatuta and the god of Pirose. *Kojiki taisei*, VI, 24.

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

⁴¹ 'Imperial Chronicles.' A document or documents recording genealogical and other basic data concerning the Imperial House. It is regarded as identical with the *Senki* of verse 54 and the *Sumera-mikōtō nō pi-tugi* of verse 46. See Introduction.

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

⁴³ 'Ancient Dicta.' Used interchangeably with *Honji*.

⁴⁴ *Toneri*. A male attendant of low rank who served the person of the emperor or a prince of the blood. See GLOSSARY.

- orally whatever met his eye, and whatever struck his ears was indelibly impressed in his heart.
- 46 Then an imperial command was given to ARE to learn⁴⁵ the *Sumera-mikōtō nō pi-tugi*⁴⁶ and the *Saki-nō-γō nō puru-gōtō*.⁴⁷
- 47 However, the times went on and the reign changed before this project⁴⁸ was accomplished.
- 48 Prostrate, I consider how Her Imperial Majesty,⁴⁹ gaining the One,⁵⁰ illumines the Universe; being in communion with the Three,⁵¹ nurtures the populace.
- 49 Ruling in the Purple Pavilion, her virtue extends to the limit of the horses' hoof-prints; dwelling in the Concealed Palace, her influence illumines the furthest extent of the prows of the boats.⁵²
- 50 The sun rises with doubled radiance; the clouds are scattered and there are no mists.
- 51 Auspicious signs — connected stalks and double rice-ears — are
- 52 ceaselessly recorded by the scribes; tribute from across countless border beacon-fires and through numberless translations does not leave the treasury empty for a single month.⁵³

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

⁴⁶ "The Imperial Sun-Lineage." This was probably the same document as the *Teiki* or *Senki*.

⁴⁷ This may also be read *Sendai-kuji* and may be translated "Ancient Dicta of Former Ages." It was probably the same document as the *Kuji* or *Honji*.

⁴⁸ The project of editing the old traditions as outlined in verse 42.

⁴⁹ Empress Gemmei (reigned 707-715). After a short encomium (verses 48-53), Yasumarō records the empress' command in regard to the compilation of the *Kojiki* (verses 54-55).

⁵⁰ I.e., the throne.

⁵¹ I.e., heaven, earth, and man.

⁵² The expressions "to the limit of the horses' hoof-prints" and "the furthest extent of the prows of the boats" are reminiscent of Japanese phrases found in the *norito* for the Grain-petitioning Festival in the *Engi-shiki*.

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

- 53 It must be said that her fame is greater than that of Emperor Yü,⁵⁴ and her virtue surpasses that of Emperor T'ang.⁵⁵
- 54 Hereupon, appalled at the mistakes in the *Kuji*, she determined to correct the corruptions in the *Senki*.
- 55 On the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Wadō,⁵⁶ an imperial command was given to me, YASUMARŌ, to record and present the *Kuji* learned by imperial command by PIYEDA NŌ ARE.
- 56 Reverently, in accordance with the imperial will, I chose and took them up in great detail.
- 57 However, during the times of antiquity, both words and meanings were unsophisticated, and it was difficult to reduce the sentences and phrases to writing.⁵⁷
- 58 If expressed completely in ideographic writing, the words will
- 59 not correspond exactly with the meaning, and if written entirely phonetically, the account will be much longer.⁵⁸
- 60 For this reason, at times ideographic and phonetic writing have been used in combination in the same phrase, and at times the whole matter has been recorded ideographically.
- 61 Thus, when the purport is difficult to gather, a note has been added to make it clear; but when the meaning is easy to understand, no note is given.
- 62 Again, in the case of surnames such as Kusaka, which is written 日下, and given names such as Tarasi, which is written 帶, the traditional way of writing has been followed without change.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ The legendary emperor who founded the Hsia dynasty, 2205 B.C.

⁵⁵ The founder of the Yin or Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C.

⁵⁶ 711 A.D.

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

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

⁵⁹ Yasumarō follows the traditional transcriptions of various proper names, even when there seems to be no logical reason for perpetuating them.

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- 63 In general, the account begins with the beginning of heaven and earth and ends with the reign of WOPARIDA.⁶⁰
- 64 Thus everything from AMĒ-NŌ-MI-NAKA-NUSI-NŌ-KAMĪ through PIKO-NAGISA-TAKE-U-GAYA-PUKI-APĒZU-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ is included in the first volume.⁶¹
- 65 Everything from Emperor KAMU-YAMATŌ-IPARE-BIKO through the reign of POMUDA is included in the second volume.⁶²
- 66 Everything from Emperor OPO-SAZAKI through the reign at the Great Palace of WOPARIDA is included in the third volume.⁶³
- 67 These three volumes are recorded together and are reverently presented.
- 68 Thus do I, YASUMARŌ, full of awe, full of fear, reverently bow my head again and again.
- 69 The twenty-eighth day of the first month of the fifth year of Wadō.⁶⁴
- 70 The ASŌMI OPO NŌ YASUMARŌ, upper fifth rank and fifth order of merit.

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⁶⁰ Empress Suiko.

⁶¹ Cf. 1:1; 46:1

⁶² Cf. 47:1; 99:1

⁶³ Cf. 109:1; 149:1

⁶⁴ 712 A.D.

CHAPTER 1

THE FIVE SEPARATE HEAVENLY DEITIES COME
INTO EXISTENCE.

- 1 At the time of the beginning of heaven and earth,¹ there came into existence in TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA a deity named AMĒ-NÖ-MI-NAKA-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, KAMĪ-MUSUBI-NÖ-KAMĪ. These three deities all came into existence as single deities,² and their forms were not visible.³
- 2 Next, when the land was young, resembling floating oil and drift-like a jellyfish, there sprouted forth something like reed-shoots.⁴ From⁵ these came into existence the deity UMASI-ASI-KABI-PIKO-DI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, AMĒ-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ.⁶ These two deities also came into existence as single deities,⁸ and their forms were not visible.⁸
- 3 The five deities in the above section are the Separate Heavenly Deities.⁷

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

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

³ Or 'they hid their bodies.'

⁴ *Asi-kabi*; the word forms part of the name of the next deity.

⁵ Or 'by, by means of.'

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

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

CHAPTER 2

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

- 1 Next there came into existence the deity KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, TÖYÖ-KUMO-NO-NÖ-KAMĪ. These two deities also came into existence as single deities,¹ and their forms were not visible.²
- 2 Next there came into existence the deity named U-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse³ SU-PIDI-NI-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, TUNO-GUPI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse IKU-GUPI-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, OPO-TO-NÖ-DI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse OPO-TO-NÖ-BE-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, OMÖ-DARU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse AYA-KASIKO-NE-NÖ-KAMĪ. Next, IZANAGI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 3 The deities in the above section, from KUNI-NÖ-TÖKÖ-TATI-NÖ-KAMĪ through IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ, are called collectively the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods.⁴
- 4 The first two single deities¹ are each called one generation.⁵ The next pairs of ten deities are arranged in couples, each couple being called one generation.⁶

¹ *Pitōri-gami.*

² Or 'they hid their bodies.'

³ *Ino.* Literally, 'younger sister.'

⁴ *Kami-yō nana-yō.*

⁵ *Yō.* The two single deities in verse 1 are each counted as one *yō*; the ten deities which follow are in couples, each couple being reckoned as one *yō*. Thus there are altogether seven *yō*. Verse 4 is a redactoral gloss, written in small characters in the original, no doubt by Yasumarō. For the cosmogony of this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

CHAPTER 3

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

- 1 At this time the heavenly deities,¹ all with one command,² said to the two deities IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ:
"Complete and solidify this drifting land!"³
- 2 Giving them the Heavenly Jeweled Spear,⁴ they entrusted the mission to them.
- 3 Thereupon, the two deities stood on the Heavenly Floating Bridge⁵ and, lowering the jeweled spear, stirred with it. They stirred the brine with a churning-churning sound;⁶ and when they lifted up [the spear] again, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This was the island ONÖGÖRÖ.⁷

¹ Evidently the Separate Heavenly Deities of Chapter 1.

² Some manuscripts have 'giving a command.' A heavenly mandate is not an essential element in the story of Izanagi and Izanami (its omission in most of the versions in the *Nihon shoki* reveals that it was something of an afterthought). Matsumura Takeo contends that it was included in the *Kojiki* version to conform with a traditional idea that any deities descending from the heavens to perform any activities should be acting under a mandate from the heavenly deities. *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, II, 71-83.

³ The land mentioned above (1:2) as 'drifting like a jellyfish.' A similar command is given later to Opo-kuni-nusi (cf. 30:5).

⁴ *Amē nō nu-bokō.* The words *amē nō* ('heavenly') are a stylized epithet praising an object by connecting it with the heavenly abode of the gods. *Nu* is an element which seems to mean 'jewel'; thus, *nu-bokō* would mean a spear made of, or decorated with, precious stones.

⁵ *Amē nō uki-pasi*; cf. 32:3; 39:13. A bridge over which divine beings traveled between heaven and earth. Commentators have interpreted it as a boat or raft, a high ladder, a bridge of rainbows, or the Milky Way.

⁶ *Kōworō kōworō ni.* This onomatopoeia, which appears again in the song in 133:57-58, has also the sense of 'curdling' or 'congealing.' This section of the narrative is perhaps reminiscent of the ancient Inland Sea custom of manufacturing salt by boiling down sea water.

⁷ Onōgōrō island, which may literally mean 'self-curdling' island (see GLOSSARY),

CHAPTER 4

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI MARRY AND BEAR
THEIR FIRST OFFSPRING.

- 1 Descending from the heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar¹ and a spacious palace.²
- 2 At this time [Izanagi-nō-mikōtō] asked his spouse IZANAMI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ, saying:
"How is your body formed?"
- 3 She replied, saying:
"My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed insufficiently."
- 4 Then IZANAGI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ said:
"My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed to excess. Therefore, I would like to take that place in my body which is formed to excess and insert it into that place in your body which is formed insufficiently, and [thus] give birth to the land. How would this be?"
- 5 IZANAMI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ replied, saying:
"That will be good."
- 6 Then IZANAGI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ said:
"Then let us, you and me, walk in a circle around this heavenly pillar and meet and have conjugal intercourse."
- 7 After thus agreeing, [Izanagi-nō-mikōtō] then said:

was evidently thought to be near what is now Ōsaka Bay (see III:22). The dripping brine congealed or crystallized to form this island, which became the base of operations of Izanagi and Izanami when they descended from the heavens to begin their procreative work.

¹ For a discussion of the significance of this pillar (*amē nō mi-pasira*), see ADDITIONAL NOTE 3.

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

- "You walk around from the right, and I will walk around from the left and meet you."
- 8 After having agreed to this, they circled around; then IZANAMI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ said first:
"*Ana-ni-yasi*,³ how good a lad!"
- 9 Afterwards, IZANAGI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ said:
"*Ana-ni-yasi*, how good a maiden!"
- 10 After each had finished speaking, [Izanagi-nō-mikōtō] said to his spouse:
"It is not proper⁴ that the woman speak first."
- 11 Nevertheless, they commenced procreation and gave birth to a leech-child.⁵ They placed this child into a boat made of reeds and floated it away.
- 12 Next, they gave birth to the island of APA. This also is not reckoned as one of their children.

³ An exclamation of wonder and delight.

⁴ Or 'it bodes no good.'

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

CHAPTER 5

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

- 1 Then the two deities consulted together and said:
"The child which we have just borne is not good. It is best to report [this matter] before the heavenly deities."
- 2 Then they ascended together and sought the will of the heavenly deities. The heavenly deities thereupon performed a grand divination¹ and said:
- 3 "Because the woman spoke first, [the child] was not good.² Descend once more and say it again."
- 4 Then they descended again and walked once more in a circle around the heavenly pillar as [they had done] before.
- 5 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said first:
"Ana-ni-yasi, how good a maiden!"
- 6 Afterwards, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"Ana-ni-yasi, how good a lad!"

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

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

CHAPTER 6

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO
NUMEROUS ISLANDS.

- 1 After they had finished saying this, they were united and bore as a child [the island] APADI-NÖ-PO-NÖ-SA-WAKĒ-NÖ-SIMA.¹
- 2 Next they bore the double island² of IYÖ. This island has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:
- 3 Thus, the land of IYÖ is named EPIME; the land of SANUKI is named IPI-YÖRI-PIKO; the land of APA is named OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME; and the land of TOSA is named TAKE-YÖRI-WAKĒ.
- 4 Next they bore the triple island of OKI, also named AMĒ-NÖ-OSI-KÖRÖ-WAKĒ.
- 5 Next they bore the island of TUKUSI. This island also has one body and four countenances, each with a separate name:
- 6 Thus, the land of TUKUSI is named SIRA-PI-WAKĒ; [the land of] TÖYÖ-KUNI is named TÖYÖ-PI-WAKĒ; [the land of] PI is named

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 Next they bore ⁶the island of SADO.

10 Next they bore⁷ [the island] OPO-YAMATÖ-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-SIMA, also named AMA-TU-MI-SORA-TÖYÖ-AKI-TU-NE-WAKĒ.

11 Thus, because the eight islands⁸ were born first, they are called OPO-YASIMA-GUNI.⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ There are textual difficulties in regard to this name; see GLOSSARY.

^{4,5} Tanaka proposes to emend the text to read: "Next they bore the island of Sado, also named Take-pi-wakĒ." *Kojiki taisei*, VII, 15, head-note 14.

^{6,7} Tanaka suppresses the words: "... the island of Sado. Next they bore ..." *Ibid.*, VII, 16, head-note 2.

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

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

¹⁰ Evidently to Onögörö.

¹¹ Cf. 116:1.

CHAPTER 7

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI GIVE BIRTH TO
NUMEROUS DEITIES. IZANAMI DIES AFTER
BEARING THE FIRE-DEITY.

1 After they had finished bearing the land, they went on to bear deities.¹

2 The name of the deity they bore was OPO-KÖTÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next they bore IPA-TUTI-BIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ;² next they bore IPASU-PIME-NÖ-KAMĪ; next they bore OPO-TO-PI-WAKĒ-NÖ-KAMĪ; next they bore AMĒ-NÖ-PUKI-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next they bore OPO-YABIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next they bore KAZA-MÖTU-WAKĒ-NÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next they bore the sea-deity, whose name is OPO-WATATU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ;³ next they bore the deity of the sea-straits,⁴ whose name is PAYA-AKI-TU-PIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, his spouse PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMĪ.

3 From OPO-KÖTÖ-OSI-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ through PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME-NÖ-KAMĪ are altogether ten deities.

4 These two deities PAYA-AKI-TU-PIKO and PAYA-AKI-TU-PIME rule, respectively, the rivers and the seas.

5 They⁵ bore the deity AWA-NAGI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, AWA-NAMI-

¹ At this point Izanami gives birth to the deities who are to inhabit the islands. The deities represent various natural phenomena and physical features of the land.

Tsuda, reasoning from the fact that many of the deities in this section do not seem to have any gender and that their functions and rôles are not mentioned, concludes that they were gods having names but no distinctive characteristics; even their names were given to them in the absence of any real basis in folk belief. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 365.

Matsumura (II, 345-50) draws attention to the similarities between the deities mentioned here and those which are listed in Chapter 2. Both accounts supply lists of names of deities without giving any information about their characters or functions.

² Tsugita (pp. 41-42) suggests that the six deities from Ipa-tuti-biko-nö-kamĪ through Kaza-mötu-wakĒ-nö-osi-wo-nö-kamĪ were deities of buildings.

³ Other sea deities, whose names contain the element *wata-tu-mi* ('sea spirit'), are born of Izanagi's purification (cf. Chapter 11).

⁴ *Minato*; also 'river-mouth,' [later] 'harbor.' Cf. 37:6.

⁵ I.e., Paya-aki-tu-piko and Paya-aki-tu-pime.

- nō-kamī; next, TURA-NAGI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, TURA-NAMI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, AMĒ-NŌ-MI-KUMARI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, KUNI-NŌ-MI-KUMARI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, AMĒ-NŌ-KUPIZA-MŌTI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, KUNI-NŌ-KUPIZA-MŌTI-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 6 From AWA-NAGI-NŌ-KAMĪ through KUNI-NŌ-KUPIZA-MŌTI-NŌ-KAMĪ are altogether eight deities.
- 7 Next they⁶ bore the wind-deity, whose name is SINA-TU-PIKO-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 8 Next they bore the tree-deity, whose name is KUKU-NŌ-TI-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 9 Next they bore the mountain-deity, whose name is OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 10 Next they bore the deity of the plains, whose name is KAYA-NO-PIME-NŌ-KAMĪ, also named NO-DUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 11 From SINA-TU-PIKO-NŌ-KAMĪ through NO-DUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ are altogether four deities.
- 12 These two deities OPO-YAMA-TU-MI-NŌ-KAMĪ and NO-DUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ rule, respectively, the mountains and plains.
- 13 They⁷ bore the deity AMĒ-NŌ-SA-DUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, KUNI-NŌ-SA-DUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, AMĒ-NŌ-SA-GĪRI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, KUNI-NŌ-SA-GĪRI-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, AMĒ-NŌ-KURA-DO-NŌ-KAMĪ; ⁸next, KUNI-NŌ-KURA-DO-NŌ-KAMĪ; ⁹next, OPO-TO-MATO-PIKO-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, OPO-TO-MATO-PIME-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 14 From AMĒ-NŌ-SA-DUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ through OPO-TO-MATO-PIME-NŌ-KAMĪ are altogether eight deities.
- 15 Next they¹⁰ bore the deity TŌRI-NŌ-IPA-KUSU-PUNE-NŌ-KAMĪ, also named AMĒ-NŌ-TŌRI-PUNE-NŌ-KAMĪ.¹¹
- 16 Next they bore OPO-GĒ-TU-PIME-NŌ-KAMĪ.
- 17 Next they bore PĪ-NŌ-YAGI-PAYA-WO-NŌ-KAMĪ, also named PĪ-NŌ-KAGA-BIKO-NŌ-KAMĪ, and also named PĪ-NŌ-KAGU-TUTI-NŌ-KAMĪ.

⁶ I.e., Izanagi and Izanami. The deities born in verses 7-10 are the children of Izanagi and Izanami.

⁷ I.e., Opo-yama-tu-mi-nō-kamī and Kaya-no-pime-nō-kamī.

⁸⁻⁹ Lacking in the Shimpuku-ji manuscript.

¹⁰ I.e., Izanagi and Izanami.

¹¹ The element *-nō-kamī*, missing in the text, has been supplied here on the authority of 35:7, 11.

18 Because [Izanami-nō-mikōtō] bore this child, her genitals were burned, and she lay down sick.¹²

19 In her vomit there came into existence¹³ the deity KANA-YAMA-BIKO-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, KANA-YAMA-BIME-NŌ-KAMĪ.

20 Next, in her faeces there came into existence the deity PANI-YASU-BIKO-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, PANI-YASU-BIME-NŌ-KAMĪ.¹⁴

21 Next, in her urine there came into existence the deity MITU-PA-NŌ-ME-NŌ-KAMĪ; next, WAKU-MUSUBI-NŌ-KAMĪ. The child of this deity is TŌYŌ-UKĒ-BIME-NŌ-KAMĪ.

22 Thus at last, IZANAMI-NŌ-KAMĪ, because she had borne the fire-deity, divinely passed away.¹⁵

23 From AMĒ-NŌ-TŌRI-PUNE through TŌYŌ-UKĒ-BIME-NŌ-KAMĪ are altogether eight deities.

24 All of the islands borne by the two deities IZANAGI and IZANAMI were fourteen; the deities [borne by them were] thirty-five.

25 These were born before IZANAMI-NŌ-KAMĪ divinely passed away. However, the island ONŌGŌRŌ was not born.¹⁶ Also the leech-child and the island of APA are not reckoned as their children.¹⁷

¹² See ADDITIONAL NOTE 5.

¹³ Most manuscripts have 'were born'; the verse has been emended to agree with verses 20ff.

¹⁴ The deities who came into existence in Izanami's faeces were deities of clay or earth, and Mitu-pa-nō-me-nō-kamī, who came into existence in her urine, was a deity connected with water or water-greens. Matsumura (II, 370-72) says that he knows of no other people who have deities born from excreta, and alludes to their importance as fertilizer in Yayoi period agriculture.

¹⁵ From Izanami's death, Motoori concludes that even the gods are subject to death and must then descend to the detestable land of Yōmī. In his *Tama-kushige*, he goes on to write:

"Everything is an exotic, alien falsehood and deception which esteems the ideas of not rejoicing at what should rejoice us, not sorrowing at what should sorrow us, not being surprised at what should surprise us, and in general not feeling emotion when we should. This is against human nature and a most bothersome matter. Death, in particular, is one thing about which we cannot help but feel sorrow. Even the great god Izanagi, who formed the land and all things in it and who initiated the Way of this world—did he not, at the death of the goddess, weep and sorrow with all his heart like a little child, and out of his yearning follow after her to the land of Yōmī? This is the true, the real human nature, and the people of the world must of necessity be this way." *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1926-28], VI, 11.

¹⁶ Cf. 3:3.

¹⁷ Cf. 4:11.

- 26 At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"Alas, I have given my beloved spouse in exchange for a mere child!"
- 27 Then he crawled around her head and around her feet, weeping.
- 28 At this time in his tears there came into existence the deity who dwells at the foot of the trees in the foothills of Mount KAGU, named NAKI-SAPA-ME-NÖ-KAMĪ.¹⁸
- 29 Then he buried the departed IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ on Mount PIBA, the border between the land of IDUMO and the land of PAPAHI.¹⁹

¹⁸ 'Weeping-Marsh-Woman Deity' (see GLOSSARY). This account undoubtedly reflects the practice of using female lamenters or professional mourners (*naki-me*, 'weeping woman,' cf. 33:7, 34:3) at funerals.

¹⁹ One important variant in the *Nihon shoki* relates that Izanami was buried in the village of Arima in Kumano in the land of KI (Minami-muro-gun, Wakayama-ken). "The local people pay worship to the spirit of this deity with flowers during flower-time and also with singing and dancing, using drums, flutes, and banners." [*Kōtei*] *Nihon shoki*, ed. Takeda Yūkichi (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1953-57), hereafter cited *Asahi* ed., I, 72. Both are probably late glosses and do not form an essential part of the original Izanagi-Izanami myth.

CHAPTER 8

IZANAGI KILLS THE FIRE-DEITY. VARIOUS
DEITIES COME INTO EXISTENCE.

- 1 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ unsheathed the sword ten hands long which he was wearing at his side and cut off the head of his child KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMĪ.¹
- 2 Hereupon the blood adhering to the tip of the sword gushed forth onto the massed rocks; the deity who came into existence therefrom was IPA-SAKU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, NE-SAKU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, IPA-TUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ. (Three deities)
- 3 Next, the blood adhering to the sword-guard of the sword also gushed forth onto the massed rocks; the deity who came into existence therefrom was MIKA-PAYA-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, PI-PAYA-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, TAKE-MIKA-DUTI-NÖ-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ, also named TAKE-PUTU-NÖ-KAMĪ, and also named TÖYÖ-PUTU-NÖ-KAMĪ. (Three deities)
- 4 Next, the blood collected at the hilt of the sword dripped through his fingers; the deity who came into existence therefrom was KURA-OKAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, KURA-MITU-PA-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 5 The deities in the above section, altogether eight in number from IPA-SAKU-NÖ-KAMĪ through KURA-MITU-PA-NÖ-KAMĪ, are deities born by the sword.²

¹ The god whose birth, in 7:17, was the cause of Izanami's sickness and death.

² Or 'from, by means of' the sword. Tsugita (p. 54) regards this section as a reference to the tempering of a sword.

"The three gods Ipa-saku, Ne-saku, and Ipa-tutu-nö-wo represent rock; the two gods Mika-paya-pi and Pi-paya-pi represent fire; and the two gods Kura-okami and Kura-mitu-pa represent water. Thus, the necessary steps in making a sword—firing it, shaping it on a rock, and soaking it in water—are the meaning behind this myth. The blood flowing over the surrounding rocks is reminiscent of the sparks which fly out when a sword is being tempered. Also, at the appearance of the dragon-god [Kura-okami-nö-kamī] one imagines the smith seeking out sacred waters in the mountain valleys and soaking the blade in them."

Nakajima Etsuji says with regard to this section:

- 6 The deity who came into existence in the head of the slain KAGU-TUTI-NÖ-KAMĪ was named MA-SAKA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.³
- 7 Next, the deity who came into existence in his chest was named ODÖ-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 8 Next, the deity who came into existence in his belly was named OKU-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 9 Next, the deity who came into existence in his genitals was named KURA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 10 Next, the deity who came into existence in his left hand was named SIGI-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 11 Next, the deity who came into existence in his right hand was named PA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 12 Next, the deity who came into existence in his left foot was named PARA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 13 Next, the deity who came into existence in his right foot was named TO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 14 From MA-SAKA-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ through TO-YAMA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ are altogether eight deities.
- 15 The name of the sword with which [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] killed [the fire-deity] was AMĒ-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI;⁴ another name is ITU-NÖ-WO-PA-BARI.

³ "When the heavenly god Izanagi kills with a sword the fire-god (probably a volcanic fire-god), gods connected with rocks, gods connected with fire, thunder-gods, and water-gods are born from his blood. Is this not because volcanic explosions were regarded as the fearsome manifestation of a god tempering a sword?" *Kojiki hyōshaku* (Sankaidō, 1930), p. 55.

Matsumura (II, 380-81) writes that the violent explosion of Izanagi's emotions, accompanied by sword flashes, blood spurting forth, and the slashing into pieces of the body of the fire-god, points to volcanic eruption, which includes not only the destruction of the mountain and the bursting forth of molten rocks but also, frequently, thunder and lightning, rainstorms, and floods.

⁴ The type of metamorphosis seen in verses 6-13 has already been seen in the account of the dying Izanami (7:19-21) and appears again in 9:7-14 and in 18:4.

⁵ Cf. 35:3f.

CHAPTER 9

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

- 1 At this time, [Izanagi-nö-mikötö], wishing to meet again his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, went after her to the land of YÖMĪ.¹
- 2 When she came forth out of the door² of the hall to greet him, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"O, my beloved spouse, the lands which you and I were making have not yet been completed; you must come back!"³
- 3 Then IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied, saying:
"How I regret that you did not come sooner. I have eaten at the hearth of YÖMĪ.⁴ But, O my beloved husband, how awesome

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ See ADDITIONAL NOTE 7 for a discussion of this passage.

it is that you have entered here! Therefore I will go and discuss for a while with the gods of YÖM⁵ my desire to return. Pray do not look upon me!"⁶

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

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

6 At this time, maggots were squirming and roaring⁹ [in the corpse of Izanami-nō-mikōtō].

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

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

⁶ A similar taboo is found in 45:6. Some scholars have regarded both of these myths as variants of a single 'forbidden chamber' story, and some have connected the taboo related here with taboos against witnessing parturition (Izanami's downfall being connected with her giving birth to the fire-god—see also the variant mythological narrative in the *norito* for the fire-pacifying festival). Some scholars have thought this a reflection of an actual taboo against looking at a corpse. Matsumura (II, 439-48), on the other hand, supposes that there may have been a practice of going at stated intervals to look at a corpse in order to see whether it had come back to life, and that this myth is a reflection of such a custom.

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

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

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

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

⁹ Some manuscripts have 'oozing.'

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

¹⁰ Opo-ikaduti.

¹¹ Po-nō-ikaduti.

¹² Kuro-ikaduti.

¹³ Saku-ikaduti [*saku* meaning 'to be cracked,' 'to have a crevice'].

¹⁴ Waka-ikaduti.

¹⁵ Tuti-ikaduti.

¹⁶ Nari-ikaduti.

¹⁷ Pusi-ikaduti.

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

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

CHAPTER 10

IZANAGI FLEES AND ELUDES HIS PURSUERS.
IZANAGI AND IZANAMI BREAK THEIR TROTH.

- 1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, seeing this, was afraid, and he turned and fled.¹
- 2 At this time his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"He has shamed me!"
- 3 Thereupon she dispatched the hags of YÖMĪ² to pursue him.
- 4 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ undid the black vine securing his hair³ and flung it down; immediately it bore grapes. While [the hags] were picking and eating [the grapes], he fled.⁴
- 5 When again they pursued him, he next pulled out the comb he was wearing in his right hair-bunch and flung it down; immediately bamboo shoots sprouted forth. While [the hags] were pulling up and eating [the bamboo shoots], he fled.
- 6 Later, [Izanami-nö-mikötö dispatched] the eight thunder-deities⁵ and a horde of warriors of YÖMĪ⁶ to pursue him.
- 7 Then [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] unsheathed the sword ten hands long

¹ Cf. 45:7.² *Yömō-tu-sikō-me*. The word is written phonetically. *Sikō-me* is literally 'ugly woman' or 'ugly women.' The word *sikō* appears again as an adjective *sikōmēki* (translated as 'unpleasant, horrible') in 11:1, and also as an element in the name *Asi-para-sikō-wo-nō-kami* (Ugly-Male-of-the-Reed-Plains Deity), another name for *Opo-kuni-nusi-nō-kami* (20:19, 23:5, etc.).³ *Kadura*; cf. 9:5 and footnote. Much later the word came to mean 'head-band' and 'wig' (Modern Japanese *katsura*).⁴ Similar stories, involving throwing at one's pursuers various objects which change into other things and stop their pursuit, are found in folk tales throughout the world and in later Japanese folk tales. Such tales are called 'magic flight' or 'transformation flight' tales. Matsumura, II, 450.⁵ Matsumura (II, 452-58) connects this myth with folk practices designed to prevent the spirits of the dead from coming back to disturb the living.⁶ The *ikaduti-gami* mentioned in 9:15.⁷ Literally, 'the thousand five-hundred Yömī army.'

which he was wearing at his side and fled while waving it behind him.

- 8 The pursuit continued, and when [Izanagi-nö-mikötö] had arrived at the foot of [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA,⁷ he took three peaches⁸ which were there and, waiting for [his pursuers], attacked [them with the peaches]. They all turned and fled.
- 9 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to the peaches:
"Just as you⁹ have saved me, when, in the Central Land of the Reed Plains,¹⁰ any of the race of mortal men¹¹ fall into painful straits and suffer in anguish, then do you save them also."
- 10 He bestowed [upon the peaches] the name OPO-KAMU-DU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.
- 11 Finally, his spouse IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ herself came in pursuit of him. Then he pulled a tremendous boulder¹² and closed [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA with it.
- 12 They stood facing each other, one on each side of the boulder, and broke their troth.¹³

⁷ Cf. verse 18 below; also 24:12.⁸ Using peaches to dispel demons or evil spirits was a common practice in China from antiquity; this myth is regarded by commentators as the product of an age when Chinese influence was strong.⁹ A singular pronoun is used.¹⁰ *Asi-para-nō-naka-tu-kuni*; a mythical expression referring to the islands of Japan. 'Central' may be used to locate the land between the heavenly land of Takama-nō-para and the subterranean land of Yömī.¹¹ *Utusiki awo-pitō-gusa*; literally, 'mortal-green-human grass' (cf. 107:16). The human race, thriving in profusion like the countless blades of grass.¹² *Ti-biki nō ipa*; literally, 'thousand-pulling boulder' (i.e., one requiring a thousand persons to pull it); cf. 24:8, 36:3. One interpretation is that this boulder is the rock used to seal the entrance to an underground burial mound. Matsumura (II, 466-73) doubts whether the long flight described in the chapter could have been thought to have taken place in the relatively short entrance corridor of a tomb.Some scholars, including Matsumura, see in this boulder a type of the *Sai-no-kami*, a rock-deity worshipped at the outskirts of a village in order to keep evil spirits away. It seems more probable that the rock was used to block *physically* the passage of Izanami, rather than magically, as the *Sai-no-kami* is used; the latter is a small road-side idol and does not coincide with the description here.¹³ The Japanese words present some difficulties: they are read either (a) *kōtō-do* [wo] *watasu*, or (b) *kōtō-do wataru*. Their literal translations would be (a) 'to hand over a thing-door,' or (b) 'to cross a thing-door.' Both of these are, of course, quite meaningless, and some other interpretation independent of the literal meanings of the ideographs must be attempted.

- 13 At this time IZANAMI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
 "O my beloved husband, if you do thus, I will each day strangle to death one thousand of the populace¹⁴ of your country."
- 14 To this IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
 "O my beloved spouse, if you do thus, I will each day build one thousand five hundred parturition huts."¹⁵
- 15 This is the reason why one thousand people inevitably die and one thousand five hundred people are inevitably born every day.¹⁶
- 16 IZANAMI-NÖ-KAMĪ¹⁷ is also called YÖMÖ-TU-OPO-KAMĪ.¹⁸ Also, because she joined in the pursuit,¹⁵ she is called TI-SIKI-NÖ-OPO-KAMĪ.

The *Nihon shoki* has for this passage ideographs meaning 'made an oath of divorce.' The pronunciation *kötö-do* is indicated in a gloss.

The word *kötö* may be a word meaning 'separate' or 'different.' It may also mean 'thing,' 'word,' or the musical instrument *kötö*.

The word *do*, written with the ideograph for 'door,' is unclear, but may mean 'place'; more probably it is a term for any sort of solemn rite or magic ceremony. In this case it is the same as the *to* in the word *norito*. See Kaneko Takeo, *Engi-shiki norito kō* (Mushashino Shoin, 1951), pp. 439-45.

Although *kötö-do* may have come to mean 'an oath of divorce,' it may earlier have meant some sort of magico-religious ceremony of rejection. Cf. Kaneko, *ibid.*; Matsumura, II, 473-81.

¹⁴ Literally, 'human grass.'

¹⁵ *Ubu-ya* (childbearing-houses). A parturition hut is mentioned also in 45:3 and referred to in 41:16. In ancient Japan childbirth, as well as menstruation, was regarded as pollution, and the pregnant or menstruant woman was required to live in a building apart from the main dwelling and to eat food prepared separately. In many localities, until the Meiji period, pregnant and menstruant women were segregated in separate buildings as a matter of course, and some of these houses may still be seen today. For photographs see Minzokugaku Kenkyūjo, comp., *Nihon minzoku zuroku* (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1955), pp. 32, 114-15.

¹⁶ The account in verses 13-15 is a mythical explanation for the statistical fact of population increase. Watanabe Yoshimichi sees in this passage the writer's awareness of the rapid population increase accompanying the development of agricultural production after the third and fourth centuries. *Kojiki kōwa* (Hakuyōsha, 1936), p. 52.

Matsumura (II, 485-90) says that this account reflects also the ancient custom of deciding disputes by verbal battles. However, in such cases the engagements usually took place by means of songs or long harangues, not by brief statements as here.

¹⁷ Most manuscripts have *Izanami-nō-kamī-nō-mikötö*.

¹⁸ 'Great Deity of Yōmī.' The metamorphosis of the goddess Izanami from a land-creating goddess to a goddess of death and the underworld is paralleled in other mythologies, where the Earth-mother (Freya, Persephone, Nerthus, Frigg) becomes a goddess presiding over the abode of the dead. See also Matsumura, II, 161-66, 388-93.

¹⁹ *Opi-sikisi*.

- 17 The boulder which closed [the pass] YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA is called TI-GAPESI-NÖ-OPO-KAMĪ; it is also called SAYARI-MASU-YÖMĪ-DO-NÖ-OPO-KAMĪ.
- 18 The so-called YÖMÖ-TU-PIRA-SAKA is now called the pass²⁰ IPUYA-ZAKA in the land of IDUMO.²¹

²⁰ Or 'is now said to be the pass.'

²¹ Why is the entrance to the land of Yōmī located in the land of Idumo? Tsugita (p. 66) writes that Ipuya-zaka was the main route between Idumo and Yamatō, and the mythical account of its being closed was a reflection of a historical rupture between the two regions.

This viewpoint is unconvincing, and it is now obvious that the passage was a late gloss which did not exist in the original version of the myth.

CHAPTER II

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

- 1 Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-KAMĪ said:
"I have been to a most unpleasant land, a horrible, unclean land.
Therefore I shall purify myself."¹
- 2 Arriving at [the plain] APAKI-PARA by the river-mouth of TATI-
BANA in PIMUKA in TUKUSI, he purified and exorcised himself.²
- 3 When he flung down his stick, there came into existence a deity
named TUKI-TATU-PUNA-TO-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 4 Next, when he flung down his sash, there came into existence a
deity named MITI-NÖ-NAGA-TI-PA-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 5 Next, when he flung down his bag,³ there came into existence
a deity named TÖKI-PAKASI-NÖ-KAMĪ.

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

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

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

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

"When there is a death, they mourn for ten days, during which period they do not eat meat. The chief mourners wail and weep, and the others sing, dance, and drink liquor. After the burial, the whole family goes into the water to bathe, like the Chinese sackcloth-ablutions." Wada Sei and Ishihara Michihiro, eds., *Gishi wajinden* (Iwanami Shoten, 1951), p. 45; see also Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, pp. 6-7.

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

³ Some manuscripts have 'skirt.'

- 6 Next, when he flung down his cloak, there came into existence
a deity named WADURAPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 7 Next, when he flung down his trousers, there came into exist-
ence a deity named TI-MATA-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 8 Next, when he flung down his headgear, there came into exist-
ence a deity named AKI-GUPI-NÖ-USI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 9 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his left arm, there
came into existence a deity named OKI-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next,
OKI-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, OKI-TU-KAPĪ-BERA-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 10 Next, when he flung down the arm-bands of his right arm, there
came into existence a deity named PE-ZAKARU-NÖ-KAMĪ; next,
PE-TU-NAGISA-BIKO-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, PE-TU-KAPĪ-BERA-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 11 The twelve deities in the above section, from PUNA-DO-NÖ-
KAMĪ through PE-TU-KAPĪ-BERA-NÖ-KAMĪ, all were born from his
taking off the articles worn on his body.
- 12 Then he said:
"The current of the upper stream is ⁴a current⁵ too swift; the
current of the lower stream is ⁴a current⁵ too weak."
- 13 Then, when he went down and dived into the middle stream
and bathed, there came into existence a deity named YASO-MAGA-
TU-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, OPO-MAGA-TU-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ.
- 14 These two deities came into existence from the pollution which
he took on when he went to that unclean land.
- 15 Next, in order to rectify⁶ these evils,⁷ there came into existence
the deity KAMU-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMĪ; next, OPO-NAPOBI-NÖ-KAMĪ;
next, IDU-NÖ-ME-NÖ-KAMĪ. (Altogether three deities)
- 16 Next, when he bathed at the bottom⁸ of the water, there came
into existence the deity named SÖKÖ-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-KAMĪ;
next, SÖKÖ-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.
- 17 When he bathed in the middle⁹ [of the water], there came into

⁴⁻⁵ Omitted in certain manuscripts.

⁶ *Naposu*.

⁷ *Maga*.

⁸ *Sökö*.

⁹ *Naka*.

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

18 When he bathed on the surface¹⁰ of the water, there came into existence the deity named UPA-TU-WATA-TU-MI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ; next, UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ.¹¹

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

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

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

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

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

25 The fourteen¹⁵ deities in the above section, from YA-SO-MAGATU-PI-NÖ-KAMĪ through PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, are deities born¹⁶ from bathing his body.

¹⁰ *Upē*.

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

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

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

¹⁴ See ADDITIONAL NOTE 8 for a discussion of the nature and manner of birth of Susa-nö-wo.

¹⁵ All manuscripts read 'ten'; emended.

¹⁶ One manuscript has 'who came into existence.'

CHAPTER 12

IZANAGI ENTRUSTS THEIR MISSIONS TO
THE THREE NOBLE CHILDREN.

1 At this time IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, rejoicing greatly, said:
"I have borne child after child, and finally in the last bearing I have obtained three noble children."

2 Then he removed his necklace, shaking the beads on the string so that they jingled,¹ and, giving it to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, he entrusted her with her mission, saying:

"You shall rule² TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA."

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

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

"You shall rule the realms of the night."

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

"You shall rule the ocean."³

¹ Cf. 15:3, 5. Hirata says that Izanagi ceded all of his spiritual power to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamĪ, and as a symbol of this, and in order to pray for her longevity, gave her the necklace. He connects the shaking of the beads with the ancient ceremonies of *chinkon*, or spirit-pacification, which included waving or agitating fetishes. It must be remembered that the word for 'bead,' 'jewel' and the word for 'soul,' 'spirit' were both pronounced *tama*. *Hirata Atsutane zenshū* (Itchidō Shoten, 1911), I, 365.

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

² In ancient Japanese, the word for 'to rule' was *siru*, *sirasu* [later *sirosimesu*], meaning 'to know.' The ideograph here is the one meaning 'to know.'

³ Perhaps because Susa-nö-wo, as a windstorm-deity, was connected mentally with the ocean. In some of the *Nihon shoki* versions, his assignment is to rule Ne-nö-kuni, the underworld realm to which he is later banished in the *Kojiki*.

CHAPTER 13

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

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

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

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

“Adi-suki-taka-piko-nö-mikötö, the son of the great god Opo-namöti-nö-mikötö, cried day and night until his beard grew eight hands long, and his words were not comprehensible.” *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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

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

² Cf. 17:3.

“I wish to go to the land of my mother, NE-NÖ-KATA-SU-KUNI.
That is why I weep.”³

- 7 Then IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, greatly enraged, said:
“In that case, you may not live in this land!”
8 Thus [saying], he expelled him with a divine expulsion.⁴
9 This IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMĪ is enshrined in TAGA of APUMI.⁵

³ See ADDITIONAL NOTE 9 for a discussion of this verse.

⁴ Cf. 17:25.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 14

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

- 1 At this time, PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:
"In that case, before I go I will take my leave of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ."
- 2 When he ascended to the heavens, the mountains and rivers all roared,¹ and the lands all shook.
- 3 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ heard this and was startled, saying:
"It is certainly not with any good intentions that my brother is coming up. He must wish to usurp my lands."
- 4 Then, undoing her hair, she wrapped it in hair-bunches.² In the hair-bunches on the left and right [sides of her head], on the vine securing her hair, as well as on her left and right arms, she wrapped long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.
- 5 On her back she bore a thousand-arrow quiver; ³on the side of her chest⁴ she attached a five-hundred-arrow quiver.
- 6 Also she put on an awesome high arm-guard;⁵ and, shaking the

¹ Literally, 'moved.'

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

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

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

³⁻⁴ Omitted by Motoori.

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

- 7 Thus waiting for him, she asked him:
"Why have you come?"
- 8 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied:
"I have no evil intentions. It is merely that the Great Deity⁶ divinely inquired about my weeping and howling. I said that I was weeping because I wished to go to the land of my mother. Then the Great Deity said: 'You may not live in this land,' and expelled me with a divine expulsion. Whereupon I came up intending to take leave upon my departure. I have no other⁷ intentions."
- 9 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ said:
"If that is so, how am I to know that your intentions are pure and bright?"
- 10 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied:
"Let us swear oaths⁸ and bear children."

⁶ *Ito nō taka-tōmō*. *Tōmō* were small lump-shaped leather arm-guards strapped onto the left arm when shooting a bow and arrow. They protected the arm when the bowstring snapped back, and were much prized for their resounding snap. See Takeda Yūkichi, *Manyōshū zenchūshaku* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1956-57), III, 289-90.

⁷ *Izanagi*; cf. 13:5ff.

⁸ Or 'strange.'

⁹ *Ukēpi*. That is, "let us judge who is in the right by producing offspring. The issue will be decided by the nature of the resulting children."

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 15

AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ AND SUSANŌ-WO
BEAR OFFSPRING TO TEST THE SINCERITY OF THE
LATTER'S MOTIVES. HE IS VICTORIOUS.

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

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

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

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

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

- myriad MAGA-TAMA beads wrapped on the left hair-bunch of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, rinsed them, the jewels making a jingling sound, in [the heavenly well] AMĒ-NŌ-MANA-WI, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 6 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named MASA-KATU-A-KATU-KATI-PAYA-PI-AMĒ-NŌ-OSI-PO-MIMI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ.⁵
- 7 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her right hair-bunch, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 8 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named AMĒ-NŌ-PO-PI-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ.⁶
- 9 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on the vine securing her hair, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 10 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named AMA-TU-PIKONE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ.
- 11 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her left arm, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.
- 12 In the misty spray there came into existence a deity named IKU-TU-PIKONE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ.
- 13 Again, he asked for the beads wrapped on her right arm, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out.

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

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

⁶ The ancestor of the rulers of Idumo (cf. verse 21). His later failure is recounted in 32:9-10.

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

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

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

16 Thus saying, she distinguished⁷ [the offspring].

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

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

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

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

21 Among the latter-born five deities, the child of AMĒ-NÖ-POPI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, TAKE-PIRA-TÖRI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IDUMO, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of MUZASI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KAMI-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SIMO-TU-UNAKAMI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of IZIMU, of the AGATA-NÖ-ATAPE of TU-SIMA, and of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of TÖPO-TU-APUMI.

22 Next, AMA-TU-PIKONE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ is the ancestor of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of OPUSI-KAPUTI, of the MURAZI of the NUKATA-BE-NÖ-YUWE, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UBARAEI, of the ATAPE of TANAKA in YAMATÖ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of YAMASIRÖ, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of UMAKUDA, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of KIPĒ in MITI-NÖ-SIRI, of the KUNI-NÖ-MIYATUKO of SUPAU, of the MIYATUKO of AMUTI in YAMATÖ, of the AGATA-NUSI of TAKĒTI, of the INAKI of KAMAFU, and of the MIYATUKO of the SAKIKUSA-BE.⁸

⁷ Or 'divided.'

⁸ Verses 21-22 include some of the many genealogical glosses which occur in the *Kojiki*. The intention is clear: by relating the ancestors of all of these powerful families directly to Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamĪ, the *Kojiki* hoped to secure their loyalty to the Yamatō ruling family, which claimed descent from the elder brother of Amē-nō-popi-nō-mikötō and Ama-tu-pikone-nō-mikötō.

CHAPTER 16

SUSA-NÖ-WO RAGES WITH VICTORY.

1 Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said to AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ:

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

2 Thus saying, he raged with victory,² breaking down the ridges between the rice paddies of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ and covering up the ditches.

3 Also he defecated and strewed the faeces about in the hall where the first fruits were tasted.³

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

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

¹ In the *Kojiki* Susa-nō-wo's victory is due to his production of female children, whereas in the *Nihon shoki* it is because his offspring are males.

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

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

Tsuda argues persuasively that Susa-nō-wo's children were originally male, and that the statement that female children were a proof of innocence of heart is a later alteration. *Nihon koten no kenkyū*, I, 441-42. Cf. note on 15:6.

² For a discussion of Susa-nō-wo's destructive behavior in this chapter, see ADDITIONAL NOTE 10.

³ Or 'where she tasted the first fruits.' The Hall of the First Fruits was the palace where the harvest festival was celebrated; cf. also 133:31.

- 6 Even though she thus spoke with good intention,⁴ his misdeeds did not cease, but became even more flagrant.
- 7 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ was inside the sacred weaving hall⁵ seeing to the weaving of the divine garments,⁶ he opened a hole in the roof of the sacred weaving hall and dropped down into it the heavenly dappled pony⁷ which he had skinned with a backwards skinning.⁸
- 8 The heavenly weaving maiden,⁹ seeing this, was alarmed and struck her genitals against the shuttle and died.

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

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

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

⁶ *Kamu-mi-so*; garments to be presented to a deity, or 'sacred garments.'

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

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

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

CHAPTER 17

AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ CONCEALS HERSELF.

THE OTHER DEITIES LURE HER OUT.

SUSA-NÖ-WO IS EXPELLED.

- 1 At this time, AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, seeing this, was afraid, and opening the heavenly rock-cave door,¹ went in and shut herself inside.
- 2 Then TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA was completely dark, and the Central Land of the Reed Plains² was entirely dark.
- 3 Because of this, constant night reigned,³ and the cries of the myriad deities were everywhere abundant, like summer flies; and all manner of calamities arose.⁴

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

² *Asi-para-nō-naka-tu-kuni*; cf. note on 10:9.

³ Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamī, who had figured largely as the ruler of Takama-nō-para, now appears to assume more clearly the attributes of the sun-deity. When she conceals herself, constant darkness and night reign everywhere. A similar myth exists among the Ainu: the sun-goddess was taken captive, and all the deities and human beings died from excessive sleep. Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu seiten* (Sekai Bunko Kankōkai, 1923), p. 113.

The concealment of Ama-terasu-opo-mi-kamī has been explained as representing an eclipse, the death of the sun-goddess, her anger, etc. The ensuing rites are regarded as magico-religious rites to bring the sun back to life, to bring it out of eclipse, or to propitiate the anger of the sun-goddess. Matsumura (III, 46ff.) states that the myth had its origin in a magico-religious rite performed every winter, when the sun's rays are weakest, in order to renew the sun's power; the rite had elements of *chinkon* (or *tama-furi*—spirit pacification) and of ritual laughter.

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

⁴ Cf. 13:4.

- 4 Then the eight-hundred myriad deities⁵ assembled in a divine assembly in the river-bed of the AMĒ-NŌ-YASU-NŌ-KAPA.⁶
- 5 They caused the child of TAKA-MI-MUSUBI-NŌ-KAMĪ, OMŌPI-KANE-NŌ-KAMĪ, to ponder.⁷
- 6 They gathered together the long-crying birds of TŌKŌ-YŌ and caused them to cry.⁸
- 7 They took the heavenly hard rock⁹ from the upper stream of the river AMĒ-NŌ-YASU-NŌ-KAPA; they took iron from [the mountain] AMĒ-NŌ-KANA-YAMA. They sought the smith AMA-TU-MARA and commissioned ISI-KŌRI-DOME-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ to make a mirror.
- 9 They commissioned TAMA-NŌ-YA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ to make long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads.
- 10 They summoned AMĒ-NŌ-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ and PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ to remove the whole shoulder-bone of a male deer of the mountain AMĒ-NŌ-KAGU-YAMA, and take heavenly

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

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

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

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

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

- PAPAKA wood from the mountain AMĒ-NŌ-KAGU-YAMA, and [with these] perform a divination.¹⁰
- 11 They uprooted by the very roots the flourishing MA-SAKAKĪ¹¹ trees of the mountain AMĒ-NŌ-KAGU-YAMA; to the upper branches they affixed long strings of myriad MAGA-TAMA beads; in the middle branches they hung a large-dimensional mirror;¹² in the lower branches they suspended white NIKITE cloth and blue NIKITE cloth.¹³
- 12 These various objects were held in his hands by PUTO-TAMA-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ as solemn offerings,¹⁴ and AMĒ-NŌ-KO-YANE-NŌ-MIKŌTŌ intoned a solemn liturgy.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Uranapi*; cf. the notes on 5:2 in regard to divination by firing the shoulder-bones of deer, called *puto-mani*.

The deities playing important rôles in this chapter—Amē-nō-uzume-nō-mikōtō, Amē-nō-ko-yane-nō-mikōtō, Puto-tama-nō-mikōtō, Isi-kōri-dome-nō-mikōtō, Tama-nō-ya-nō-mikōtō, Omōpi-kane-nō-kamī, and Ta-dikara-wo-nō-kamī—appear again in the myth of the descent from the heavens (Chapter 39). There was evidently a close connection between the two myths; Matsumura (III, 31) even calls the retirement of the sun-goddess a "prelude" to the descent from the heavens.

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

¹¹ *Ipo-tu-ma-sakaki*; cf. *yutu-ma-tubaki* in 112:21.

¹² *Ya-ata kagami*; the use of this mirror, which is evidently the one made in verse 8 by Isi-kōri-dome-nō-mikōtō, is described in verse 20. The myriad *maga-tama* beads and "the mirror which had been used to lure" are later (39:2) given, together with the sword *Kusa-nagi* (first mentioned in 19:22), as the three items of the sacred regalia to Piko-po-nō-ninigi-nō-mikōtō on his descent from the heavens.

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

¹⁴ *Puto-mi-te-gura*. These were probably not offerings in the strict sense, but implements held in the hands of the shaman in order to induce possession by the spirit of the deity.

¹⁵ *Puto-nōrito-gōtō*; any solemn words having magic power. The preliminary ceremonies in verses 7-12 were probably ritual preparations common to all religious ceremonies; the central part of the rite recorded in the *Kojiki* is the performance recorded in verses 14-16. According to Matsumura (III, 66), the fundamental magic power which was able to soften the heart of the deity and summon her forth was in Amē-nō-uzume's comic dance.

- 13 AMĒ-NÖ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ stood concealed beside the
 14 door,¹⁶ while AMĒ-NÖ-UZUME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ bound up her sleeves
 with a cord of heavenly PI-KAGĒ vine, tied around her head a
 head-band of the heavenly MA-SAKI vine, bound together bundles
 of SASA leaves to hold in her hands, and overturning a bucket
 before the heavenly rock-cave door, stamped resoundingly upon
 it.¹⁷ Then she became divinely possessed,¹⁸ exposed her breasts, and
 pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals.¹⁹
- 16 Then TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA shook as the eight-hundred myriad de-
 ities laughed at once.²⁰

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

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

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

¹⁸ *Kamu-gakari*; god-possession. The widespread popularity of shamanistic spirit-
 possession among the ancient Japanese is amply attested to in documentary sources; it
 was widely practiced until the Meiji period and is still practiced in the Ryūkyū islands
 and among the Ainu, Koreans, and other continental peoples. Torii asserts that shaman-
 ism was the native religion of the Japanese, that the sun-goddess and the deities sur-
 rounding her in Takama-nō-para were shamans, and that the whole setting for the
 concealment myth is shamanistic. *Jinruigaku-jō*, pp. 50-53.

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

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

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

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

- 17 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, thinking this strange, opened
 a crack in the heavenly rock-cave door, and said from within:
 18 "Because I have shut myself in, I thought that TAKAMA-NÖ-
 PARA would be dark, and that the Central Land of the Reed Plains
 would be completely dark. But why is it that AMĒ-NÖ-UZUME
 sings and dances,²¹ and all the eight-hundred myriad deities laugh?"
 19 Then AMĒ-NÖ-UZUME said:
 "We rejoice and dance because there is here a deity superior
 to you."
 20 While she was saying this, AMĒ-NÖ-KO-YANE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and
 PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ brought out the mirror and showed it to
 AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ.
 21 Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ, thinking this more and more
 strange,²² gradually came out of the door and approached [the
 mirror.]
 22 Then the hidden AMĒ-NÖ-TA-DIKARA-WO-NÖ-KAMĪ took her
 23 hand and pulled her out. Immediately PUTO-TAMA-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ ex-
 tended a SIRI-KUMĒ rope behind her, and said:
 "You may go back no further than this!"²³
 24 When AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMĪ came forth, TAKAMA-NÖ-PARA
 and the Central Land of the Reed Plains of themselves²⁴ became
 light.
 25 At this time the eight-hundred myriad deities deliberated to-
 gether, imposed upon PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ a fine of a
 thousand tables of restitutive gifts, and also, cutting off his beard
 and the nails of his hands and feet,²⁵ ²⁶had him exorcised²⁷ and
 expelled him with a divine expulsion.²⁸

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

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

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

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