

Chapter 14

Division of Realms among the Three Noble Children

Thereupon, Izanaki no mikoto was greatly delighted. “I have borne child after child,” he proclaimed, “and at the end of giving birth (1), I have obtained three noble children!”

He then shook his jeweled necklace so that the jewels made a jangling sound. Bestowing it on Amaterasu ōmikami (2), he proclaimed, “You shall rule Takamanohara.” He thus entrusted her with this charge (3). The necklace’s name is Mikuratana no kami 御倉板拳之神 (4).

Next he proclaimed to Tsukuyomi no mikoto (5), “You shall rule the night realm (6).” He thus entrusted this deity with this charge.

Next he proclaimed to Takehaya susanoo no mikoto (7), “You shall rule the broad seas (6’).” He thus entrusted him with this charge.

The [two other] deities undertook to rule [their realms] as they were commanded, but Haya susanoo no mikoto did not govern (8) the land with which he had been entrusted. He cried and raged heedlessly even after [he grew up and] his beard grew so long as to cover his chest (9). His crying caused the verdant mountains to wither and the rivers and seas to dry up. The voices of malignant deities resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and calamities from the myriad things (10) all arose at once.

“Why do you cry and rage instead of governing the land I entrusted to you?” Izanaki no ōmikami then proclaimed to Haya susanoo no mikoto.

“I cry because I wish to go to the land of my mother, Nenokatasukuni 根之堅州国 (11),” [Susanoo] replied.

Izanaki no ōmikami was greatly angered. “If that is so, you may not live in this land!” he proclaimed. And forthwith he expelled [Susanoo] with a divine expulsion (12).

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

Text Notes

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

As noted previously, Izanaki and Izanami fulfilled the command (*mikoto mochi*) of the heavenly deities to “put in order, solidify, and complete the land” through the act of giving birth.¹ Initially, Izanaki and Izanami gave birth jointly to lands and deities, but once Izanami became the great deity of the Land of Yomi, the reproductive role shifted to Izanaki alone. The two deities’ declaration of “their eternal estrangement” at the end of

¹ See chapter 3, text note 4; chapter 9, text note 4.

the Land of Yomi episode would seem to point to that development.² Izanaki's proclamation here that the act of "giving birth" has reached its "end" likewise may be taken to indicate that the original command from the heavenly deities to "put in order, solidify, and complete the land" has been fulfilled.³

2. Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大御神

This deity is first mentioned in the preceding ablutions passage, as are Tsukuyomi no mikoto and Susanoo no mikoto, discussed below. The main text of the fifth section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter presents Izanaki and Izanami as bearing this deity jointly. It identifies her as the "sun deity (*hi no kami* 日神), named Ōhirume no muchi 大日靈貴 (one variant gives the name Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大神; another variant has Amaterasu ōhirume no mikoto 天照大日靈尊)." The main text goes on to describe Izanaki and Izanami as declaring, "We have many children, but none so miraculous and remarkable as this one. She should not be kept for long in this land. We should send her forthwith to the heavens to take charge of the affairs of the heavenly realm." And they promptly send her up to the heavens.⁴ The first variant of this section of the *Nihon shoki* states that Izanaki wished to bear a "noble child to rule all under heaven (*ame no shita shirasu uzu no miko* 御宇之珍子)." Ōhirume no mikoto appeared when he held a bronze mirror in his left hand.⁵

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

The *Kojiki* contains ten instances of the term "entrust with a charge" / "charge with a mission" (*koto yosashi*); in five of these it is paired with the term "set forth a command" (*mikoto mochi* 命以). The combined form is considered standard. As mentioned previously, the *Kojiki* usually transcribes *koto yosashi* as 言依, using the graph for "speak" or "speech" to represent the first element, *koto*.⁶ In one instance, the text adopts the transcription 言因, using the graph 因 for the second element, *yosashi*, and the speech graph for the first.⁷ In contrast to these instances that convey the verbal nature of the act of entrustment, here the term is rendered as 事依, with the first graph, "matter," emphasizing the object of entrustment. This latter graph combination occurs only in the present episode of the division of realms between the three noble children. This point, along with the absence of the usual paired phrase "set forth a command" (*mikoto mochi*), suggests a conscious intent to indicate that

² See chapter 11.

³ See Taniguchi Masahiro, "Kojiki shinwa ni okeru kuni no seisei."

⁴ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 35–37.

⁵ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–38.

⁶ See chapter 3, text note 2.

⁷ See chapter 36.

something about this instance is different from other occurrences of the term *koto yosashi*.

Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木啓之 argues that the combination *mikoto mochi* and *koto yosashi* particular to the *Kojiki* is used on occasions when the commanding deities of Takamanohara issue orders directed toward Ashihara no nakatsukuni. In this instance, however, Izanaki issues orders from the earthly realm to the three noble children, and, in Suzuki's view, it is this contextual difference that accounts for the different transcription of *koto yosashi*.⁸ This hypothesis poses the question whether the *Kojiki* compilers consciously distinguished between the graphs 言 and 事 in rendering the word *koto*. Regardless, compared to the emphasis on the act of verbal transmission in the transcription 言依, the alternative 事依 places more emphasis on the content of the command, namely, governing the realm allocated to its recipient.

4. Mikuratana no kami 御倉板拳之神

Shikida Toshiharu holds that the name Mikuratana evolved from *mikubitama* 御頸珠 (“august jeweled necklace”),⁹ but most commentators follow Motoori Norinaga's view that “the name came about because Amaterasu reverently stored the necklace, a great treasure bestowed by her parental deity, in her storehouse (*mikura* 御倉), enshrining it on a shelf (*tana* 棚) and paying worship to it there.”¹⁰ The compilers of the *Nihon shisō taikēi* edition of *Kojiki* take the storehouse to be one for storing rice (*inakura* 稲倉) and see the jewels of the necklace as representing the spirit of rice grains. They find evidence of the association of the graph 倉 (“storehouse”) with a rice spirit in the deity name Ukanomitama no mikoto 倉稻魂命 (“storehouse rice spirit”) appearing in the sixth variant of the fifth section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter.¹¹

5. Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月読命

Tsukuyomi no mikoto is a moon deity. The main text of the fifth section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter states that the deity born after the sun deity was “the moon deity” (*tsuki no kami* 月神) and notes that “variants give the name as Tsukuyumi no mikoto 月弓尊, Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月夜見尊, and Tsukuyomi no mikoto 月読尊.” The text goes on to say that because this deity's light was next to that of the sun, Izanaki and Izanami commanded it to reign in tandem with the sun. The first variant of the fifth section states that the deity Tsukuyumi no mikoto appeared when Izanaki held a bronze mirror in his right hand.¹² The standard interpretation is that the deity name comes from *tsukiyomi* (“to track the months/moons”), but Hashimoto Toshimitsu 橋本

⁸ Suzuki, *Kojiki no bunshō to sono kyōju*, pp. 13–33.

⁹ Shikida Toshiharu, *Kojiki hyōchū*, p. 351.

¹⁰ Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 291.

¹¹ Aoki Kazuo et al., *Kojiki*, p. 42; see Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 42–43, 52.

¹² Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–39.

利光 argues that the alternative transcriptions Tsukuyumi 月弓 and Tsukuyomi 月夜見 designate deities of a different character.¹³

Motoori Norinaga sees a connection between the *yomi* of Tsukuyomi no mikoto and that of the Land of Yomi.¹⁴ In his *Sandaikō* 三大考, Hattori Nakatsune subsequently expanded this association into an equation of the Land of Yomi with the moon.¹⁵ According to the conventions of ancient phonetic transcription, the element *o* in both *yomi* 読 and Yomi 黄泉 is a *kō*-type vowel sound. The *i* in *yomi* 読, however, is an *otsu*-type vowel sound, and if Yomi 黄泉 is an alternate form of *yomo*, the *i* in it would be a *kō*-type. This circumstance makes the link between the terms questionable.

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

The term *yoru no osukuni* 夜之食国 (“the night realm”) does not occur in any of the *Nihon shoki* versions of the myths. That Tsukuyomi, a moon deity, should be related to “the night” is natural, but the combination of “night” with the term *osukuni* 食国 (“realm”) adds complications. *Osukuni* is generally held to refer to the emperor’s dominion. Its use here in connection with Tsukuyomi thus seems unlikely to point simply to a division between the daytime world and that of the night. The phrase *osukuni no matsurigoto* 食国之政 (“governance of the realm”) figures in the later episode where Emperor Ōjin divides duties among his three sons (see the further comment below). That circumstance suggests that *osukuni* pertains to actual authority over and administration of a domain. Although Tsukuyomi does not play any concrete role within the myth narrative, the assignment to him here of a governing authority over “the night realm” is likely linked to the issue of assigning sovereignty over Ashihara no nakatsukuni.

The sixth variant of the fifth section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter describes “the manifold currents of the broad blue seas (*aounahara* 滄海原)” as the realm to be ruled by Tsukuyomi. The eleventh variant has Izanaki commanding Susanoo no mikoto to rule over the seas.¹⁶ The *Kojiki*, on the other hand, goes on to treat the broad seas (*unahara* 海原) as a land apart, ruled by the sea deity. Toyotamabime, daughter of the sea deity, declares that the child she is about to bear, as the child of a heavenly deity, should not be born in the sea. That child, Ukayafukiaezu no mikoto, takes Toyotamabime’s sister Tamayoribime 玉依毗売 as his spouse. One of their children subsequently becomes Emperor Jinmu, but another, Inahi no mikoto 稻氷

¹³ Hashimoto, “Nihon shoki no tsuki no kami.”

¹⁴ Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 238.

¹⁵ Hattori Nakatsune, *Sandaikō*, pp. 261–64.

¹⁶ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 50–51, 58–59.

命, enters the sea, identified by the text as “the land of his mother.”¹⁷ It is somewhat ironic that the “broad seas,” which Susanoo refuses to rule in favor of going to “the land of [his] mother,” are subsequently identified as “the land of the mother” of Ukayafukiaezu’s sons. Nevertheless, the identification serves to establish that the seas are a domain ruled by the sea deity (Watatsumi no kami), just as Takamanohara is the realm ruled by the heavenly deities.

In subsequent episodes the *Kojiki* presents the evolution of sovereignty over the earthly realm of Ashihara no nakatsukuni as progressing from Ōkuninushi’s consolidation of the land to his yielding of it and the descent of the Heavenly Grandson Ninigi. The omission of Ashihara no nakatsukuni from Izanaki’s proclamation dividing the three realms presumably anticipates this later development. A similar situation obtains in the *Nihon shoki* main text’s account of the birth of the three noble children. It begins with Izanaki and Izanami declaring their wish to bear a ruler of the “earthly realm” (*ame no shita* 天下), but describes them as failing to produce a figure suitable to this task.¹⁸

Further comment (1): The realm (the night realm). Commentators have advanced various interpretations of the element *osu* in the term *osukuni* (“realm”). The compilers of *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten* take *osu* to be the continuative form of the upper bigrade verb *u* 居 (“to be [in some place]”) plus the honorific element *su*. They thus hold it to be an honorific term meaning “to occupy” or “to make one’s own” and see the further meanings of “to drink,” “to eat,” and “to rule” as deriving from that sense.¹⁹ The compilers of the *Nihon shisō taikei* edition of *Kojiki* see it as an honorific form of “to eat” or “to drink,”²⁰ while the editors of the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* edition of *Shoku Nihongi* interpret it as an honorific term meaning “to rule” that derived from practices such as the ceremonial consumption of the first fruits.²¹ By extension the term *osukuni* further came to carry the sense of “the area or land ruled by the emperor,” or “the land that presents foodstuffs to the emperor.”

Motoori Norinaga hypothesizes that *osukuni* refers to rule of the realm. *Osu*, he holds, originally meant “to eat,” which in the same fashion as “to see,” “to hear,” and “to know,” is an action whereby something is absorbed into the body. From this connection, the terms “knowing” (*shirasu* 知らす), “eating” (*osu* 食す), and “hearing and seeing” (*kikoshimesu* 聞こし看す) all took on the sense of the ruler’s governing of the land.²² Orikuchi Shinobu holds that although *osu* came to be used as an honorific for “to eat,” that was not its ancient meaning. Hypothesizing that “*osukuni* means the land that

¹⁷ Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 134–35, 138. For further discussion of the *Kojiki*’s treatment of the seas, see Inoue, “*Kojiki ni okeru ‘unahara’ no igi.*”

¹⁸ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 34–37.

¹⁹ *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten*, *Jōdaihen*, p. 834.

²⁰ Aoki Kazuo et al., *Kojiki*, p. 328.

²¹ Aoki Kazuo et al., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, p. 4n6.

²² Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 292.

produces the items to be consumed” by the heavenly deities, he links it to the presentation of food offerings to the heavenly deities and emperor.²³

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

The two *Kojiki* instances occur in the present passage concerning the division of realms between the three noble children and in a passage from the chronicle of Emperor Ōjin where he divides responsibilities among his sons, the three princes. In the present instance Izanaki allocates the rule of Takamanohara to Amaterasu (who came into existence when he washed his left eye), rule of “the *osukuni* of the night” to Tsukuyomi (who came into existence when he washed his right eye), and rule of the seas to Susanoo (who came into existence when he washed his nose). In the instance from the chronicle of Emperor Ōjin, Ōjin allocates governance (*matsurigoto* 政) of the mountains and seas to Prince Ōyamamori 大山守, governance of *osukuni* to Prince Ōsazaki 大雀 (the later Emperor Nintoku), and “the heavenly sun succession” (*amatsuhitsugi* 天津日繼) to Prince Ujinowaki iratsuko 宇遲能利郎子.²⁴ In both cases only one of the three recipients is awarded governance of *osukuni*, and in both he is not the grantor’s direct successor. Judging from these common features, it can be assumed that one of these episodes was modeled on the other; most likely the later episode served as the model for the earlier one.²⁵ The inscription *osukuni* 食国 appears on a wooden tablet (*mokkan* 木簡) excavated in 1967 from a site corresponding to the northern outer moat of the Fujiwara Palace 藤原宮 erected by Empress Jitō, indicating that the term was in actual use between the end of the seventh century and the early eighth century.²⁶

The research of Okada Seishi 岡田精司 has been central to theses about the evolution of ideas and practices concerning *osukuni*. He holds that the notion can be traced to the spring agricultural ritual of “land viewing” (*kunimi* 国見). With the transfer of authority for conduct of such rituals from local chiefs to the heads of small states, the rites evolved into the idea of “occupying the land” (*kunishime* 国占め) and rituals in which the leaders of regions that lost to Yamato in the process of unification pledged their submission through the presentation of food offerings. At the time of Emperor Yūryaku in the latter part of the fifth century, these offerings became linked to the autumn harvest ritual of the tasting of the first fruits (Shinjōsai 新嘗祭), and this ritual came to be restructured as the “*osukuni* rite.” The evolution culminated in the latter half of the

²³ Orikuchi, “Daijōsai no hongī,” p. 177.

²⁴ Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, p. 260.

²⁵ See Okada, *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, pp. 42–44.

²⁶ See the *mokkan* database maintained by the Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūsho 奈良文化財研究所: <https://mokkanko.nabunken.go.jp/ja/MK005085000073>.

seventh century with the establishment of the “grand tasting of the first fruits” (Daijōsai 大嘗祭) as the enthronement rite.²⁷ Subsequent researchers either adopted this thesis, first published in 1962, or took it as a starting point for further discussion.

In recent years, however, Murakami Mayuko 村上麻佑子 has challenged the assumption that the notion of *osukuni* is rooted in rituals of food offerings. Rather, she argues, the term *osukuni* has the same meaning as Sinitic terms of a similar nature such as *shokuyū* 食邑 (“sustenance villages”) or *shokudo* 食土 (“sustenance land”) and *shokuden* 食田 (“sustenance fields”), which indicate stipendiary lands allocated by the state. Murakami holds that the term *osukuni* points to land whose governance the ruler has entrusted to subordinates. It thus implies a circumscribed sphere of governance.²⁸

Previously researchers have drawn attention to the fact that the episode of the division of realms among the three noble offspring refers only to “the night realm” and not “the day realm.” Focus on this issue reflects the premise that *osukuni* represents an area of governance equal to the “earthly realm” (or, “all under heaven,” *ame no shita* 天下). Some have argued that the person of the emperor combined the two elements of effective governing authority over “day affairs” and ritual authority over “the rites of night” and that the allocation of the night realm to Tsukuyomi in the myths expresses symbolically this dual character.²⁹ Others have posited that as “the day realm” was the “earthly realm,” the lack of explicit reference to it in the myths rested on the supposition that the emperor would subsequently assume rule over it as the “sun prince.”³⁰ Yet others have proposed that the “night realm” indicates the earth (the land that was the object of governance) at night and that Tsukuyomi was granted effective responsibility for overseeing the affairs of earth during the night.³¹

Murakami, however, cites Norinaga’s observation, following the views of Kamo no Mabuchi, that *kuni* (“land”) carries the sense of *kagiri* 界限 (“limit,” “circumscription”). Norinaga held accordingly that Amaterasu was granted authority over the entirety of Takamanohara, not just the “day,” and that the granting to Tsukuyomi of authority over the “night realm” also served to delimit his jurisdiction.³² Namely, “the night realm” simply indicated the circumscribed sphere of the night compared to Takamanohara as a whole. This understanding of *osukuni*, Murakami argues, fits the parameters of the similar Sinitic terms described above.³³ Her view merits attention.

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Satō Nagato 佐藤長門, *Ancient Japanese History*

²⁷ Okada, *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, pp. 13–57.

²⁸ Murakami, “Kodai Nihon ni okeru ‘osukuni’ no shisō.”

²⁹ Tokura, *Kojiki: Kodai ōken no katari no shikumi*, pp. 5–25.

³⁰ Sakurai, “‘Osukuni’ no hyōgen to daijōsai.”

³¹ Yamazaki, “Tsukuyomi no mikoto to yoru no osukuni.”

³² Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 292.

³³ Murakami, “Kodai Nihon ni okeru ‘osukuni’ no shisō,” p. 104.

Further comment (2): “Land” (*kuni*). In the myths of the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Fudoki*, the term *kuni* has three dimensions apart from its meaning as the administrative unit “province” (国).³⁴ The first is as a particular region demarcated from others. In his *Kuni tsuchi kō* 久邇門致考 (Thoughts on Land and Earth), Kamo no Mabuchi writes, “*Kuni* means something with limits (*kagiri* 限).”³⁵ In *Kojiki den*, Motoori Norinaga states his agreement with Mabuchi: “The term *kuni* carries the meaning of something delimited.”³⁶ Saigō Nobutsuna likewise writes, “*Kuni* expresses the idea of a certain demarcated area where people reside. The assumption that it is set off by boundaries appears to be fundamental to its meaning.”³⁷

A second often-noted dimension of the term *kuni* is that it refers not simply to the land as a geographic unit but to a region where people conduct their lives.³⁸ Mitani Eiichi holds that it incorporates the sense of a fertile, cultivated area.³⁹ Noting references to *kuni* in so-called “land-viewing” (*kunimi*) poems, Okada Seishi argues that *kuni* as it figures in such poems or as the object of agricultural rituals was a circumscribed area comparable to a local community.⁴⁰ Kamada Motokazu 鎌田元一 similarly emphasizes the term’s association with communal life.⁴¹ As the ceremonial act of “land viewing” suggests, however, *kuni* also carries the sense of a totality. It incorporates the assumption that the community of people it encompasses occupies an area clearly demarcated from other such communities. A *kuni* differs in this regard from a *sato* (“village,” “native community”). The act of “land viewing,” in particular, implies the presence of a chief who governs that land. In the world of the myths, that chief is the deity (or comparable noble figure) who finds, occupies, and governs the land.

Related to this last point, a third dimension of the term *kuni* is its association with rulership. In the *Fudoki*, the term is often used in reference to a region said to have been discovered or developed by its governing deity or ruler. Some episodes relate that the *kuni*’s boundaries were determined through a contest between competing deities, with the deity who claims to have first occupied the land fending off an “outsider.”

Apart from these three dimensions, the term *kuni* appears in the Age of Deities section of the *Kojiki* in yet another context, as part of the distinction drawn between Ashihara no nakatsukuni as the present world and the Land of Yomi and Takamanohara as other worlds. Describing the time “when Heaven and Earth first became active,” the opening section of the *Kojiki* contrasts the land that was “still young” with Takamanohara, the

³⁴ This further comment is an abridged and paraphrased version of the Japanese original. For the full comment, see the online *Kojiki* Viewer Japanese version of this chapter or *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 38–43.

³⁵ Kamo no Mabuchi, *Kuni tsuchi kō*, p. 295.

³⁶ Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, p. 292.

³⁷ Saigō, *Kojiki chūshaku*, vol. 1, p. 81.

³⁸ See, for instance, Matsumura, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, vol. 3, chapter 3.

³⁹ Mitani, *Nihon bungaku no minzokugakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 194–98.

⁴⁰ Okada, *Kodai ōken no saishi to shinwa*, pp. 202–203.

⁴¹ Kamada, *Ritsuryō kōminsei no kenkyū*, pp. 101–18.

realm of the heavenly deities. This description is a prelude to the account of Izanaki and Izanami giving birth to the “Great Land of Eight Islands” (Ōyashimakuni), which in turn is the foundation for the formation of Ashihara no nakatsukuni. The name Ashihara no nakatsukuni first appears in the context of Izanaki’s flight from the Land of Yomi. Immediately thereafter the Yomi border slope (Yomotsuhirasaka) is closed off, making clear that Ashihara no nakatsukuni is the world inhabited by “the verdant blades of grass, the mortals who dwell in the visible realm,” and that it is set apart from the Land of Yomi, the world of the dead.

Reference to the different other worlds as “lands” attests to the perception of them as distinct realms. In allocating realms to the three noble children, Izanaki charges Susanoo with rule of the seas, but Susanoo “did not govern the land with which he had been entrusted.” The phrasing shows that the seas were held to be a “land.” When Susanoo subsequently goes up to Takamanohara, Amaterasu declares, “He surely thinks only to seize my land!”⁴² This declaration shows that Takamanohara was also thought to be a “land.” The reference to Takamanohara, the night realm (*yoru no osukuni*), and the seas as “lands” suggests a usage different from a unit of communal life centered on agriculture. It emphasizes the idea of a specific region governed by a ruler (deity) but also evokes a more complex universe than that depicted up to this point, which comprised simply “Heaven and Earth” or Takamanohara and the “land.” The separation of Ashihara no nakatsukuni and the Land of Yomi together with Izanaki’s allocation of separate governing authorities transforms that earlier simpler universe into one composed of multiple “lands,” each with its own function. The evolution in the character of the “land” into a realm held by a particular ruler and subject to the order centered on that ruler would be further interwoven with the development of the notion of “all under heaven” as the realm under imperial rule.

Kohama Ayumu, *Shinto Classics and Ancient Japanese Thought*

7. Takehaya susanoo no mikoto 建速須佐之男命

The main text and the second variant of the fifth section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter state that Izanaki and Izanami gave birth to Susanoo no mikoto 素戔鳴尊 after bearing the sun deity, the moon deity, and the leech child. A subvariant identifies him as having also the names Kamu susanoo no mikoto 神素戔鳴尊 and Haya susanoo no mikoto 速素戔鳴尊. These versions go on to relate that Izanaki and Izanami expelled Susanoo to Nenokuni 根国 (“the root land”) because of his “outrageous” (*azukinashi* 無道) behavior. The first variant states that Susanoo appeared when Izanaki turned his head to look behind him.⁴³

⁴² See chapter 15.

⁴³ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–39.

The *Kojiki* initially refers to this deity as Takehaya susanoo no mikoto, but then simply as Haya susanoo no mikoto. *Take* is held to mean “stalwart” and *haya* “impetuous.” Nishimiya Kazutami holds that word accents in ancient dictionaries indicate that *susa* derives from the same root as *susabu* (“to grow wild,” “to intensify”) and *susumu* (“to progress”) and that the name thus means “a male deity who pushes forward impetuously.”⁴⁴ This definition may indeed fit Susanoo’s nature in the *Kojiki*, which depicts him as in constant movement from his birth until his departure for Nenokatasukuni, never remaining in one place. Whether such an interpretation is applicable to Susanoo as described in the *Nihon shoki* and *Fudoki*, however, requires further consideration.

8. Differentiation between the graphs 知 (“to rule”) and 治 (“to govern”)

In the initial part of this passage, where Izanaki commands each of his offspring to rule a different realm, the text consistently uses the graph *shirasu* 知 to express the verb “to rule.” The subsequent part, however, which describes Susanoo’s crying and heedless raging, distinguishes between the graphs *shirasu* 知 and *osamu* 治. It uses the former in the phrase “The [two other] deities undertook to rule (*shirashimesu* 知看) [their realms] as they were commanded,” but it shifts to *osamu* 治 in the phrase that immediately follows: “but Susanoo did not govern (*osamezu* 不治) the land with which he had been entrusted.” The second and third books of the *Kojiki* consistently describe the emperor’s governance of the realm as 治天下 (*ame no shita o osamu*), not 知天下 (*ame no shita o shirasu*). Nishimiya Kazutami sees the differentiation between 知 and 治 in the passage at hand as expressing the idea that Susanoo did not undertake to govern (*osamu* 治) the seas despite having dominion (*shirasu* 知) over them.⁴⁵

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

Susanoo cried constantly even after becoming an adult. The chronicle of Emperor Suinin uses a similar phrase to describe the peculiarities of the emperor’s son Prince Homuchiwake: “This prince was unable to speak properly even after his beard grew so long as to cover his chest” (*yatsukahige kokorosaki ni itaru made ni makoto towazu* 八拳鬚至于心前真事登波受).⁴⁶ The *Izumo no kuni fudoki* section on Misawa 三沢 subdistrict, Nita 仁多 district, uses an analogous expression to describe Ajisuki takahiko 阿遲須伎高日子, the child of Ōnamochi 大穴持 (Ōnamuji): “[This deity] cried night and day and was unable to speak properly even after his beard grew

⁴⁴ Nishimiya, *Kojiki no kenkyū*, p. 352.

⁴⁵ Nishimiya, *Kojiki no kenkyū*, p. 259.

⁴⁶ See Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 204–205.

eight hands long (*mihige yatsuka ni ouru made* 御須髪八握于生).⁴⁷ The accounts of these figures incorporate both similarities and differences. Homuchiwake and Ajisuki takahiko, who cry constantly and are unable to speak properly, are said to fit the typology of “mute princes,” but Susanoo can speak. The mother is absent in both the Susanoo and Homuchiwake stories, but whether this is also true of the Ajisuki takahiko story depends on interpretation of the word “parent” (*mioya* 御祖) in the sentence following that quoted above (it likely refers to his mother.)⁴⁸ In both the Susanoo and Homuchiwake stories it is the father who acts to resolve the problem at hand: Susanoo’s crying and Homuchiwake’s inability to speak properly.

Homuchiwake’s inability to speak is owing to a curse by the great deity of Izumo (Izumo no ōkami 出雲大神).⁴⁹ This deity is Ajisuki takahiko’s father, Ōnamochi no kami, making another connection between these two stories. Some take Homuchiwake’s and Ajisuki takahiko’s inability to speak as the sign of a defective spirit; others see them as observing a period of seclusion in preparation for serving as the medium for the deity’s oracular pronouncements. The *Kojiki*, by contrast, portrays Susanoo’s crying and heedless raging as showing how he brings chaos and disorder to the world.

Based on the three stories’ similarities, Satō Masahide 佐藤正英 argues that Susanoo behaves as he does because he has been possessed by a vengeful deity (*tatarigami* 祟り神).⁵⁰ Matsumoto Naoki 松本直樹 similarly suggests that Susanoo’s behavior is the manifestation of some kind of divine will and that he is not crying of his own volition.⁵¹ As the interpretation of Susanoo’s behavior in this passage bears on the overall significance of his place within the myths, we will defer a definitive conclusion to a later point.

The graph 頰 used by the Shinpukuji-bon manuscript to represent *hige* (“beard”) poses questions. The Chinese dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* (100 CE) states that “one meaning of the graph 頰 is ‘sidelock’ (鬢),” and the *Kojiki* text might be seen as here extending the sense of “sidelock” to mean “beard.” The graphic transcriptions found in other *Kojiki* manuscripts include 須, an abbreviated form of 鬚 (“chin beard”), which the Urabe Kanenaga-bon manuscript of 1522 adopts. This is probably a more appropriate choice to express the image of “a beard so long as to cover the chest.” We have nevertheless retained the Shinpukuji-bon manuscript’s transcription as 頰.

Further comment: The meaning and implications of *isachiru* (“to howl,” “to rage heedlessly”). In the present *Kojiki* episode, Izanaki assigns different realms to the three noble children born at the end of his ablutions and commands them to rule their designated

⁴⁷ Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 250–51.

⁴⁸ The SNKBZ edition of the *Izumo no kuni fudoki* takes *mioya* to refer to Ōnamochi. See Uegaki, *Fudoki*, pp. 251–52. (TN)

⁴⁹ Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 206–207.

⁵⁰ Satō Masahide, *Kojiki shinwa o yomu*, pp. 91, 99.

⁵¹ Matsumoto Naoki, *Kojiki shinwa ron*, pp. 257–61.

realms.⁵² Upholding this charge, Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi undertake the rule of Takamanohara and the night realm respectively. Susanoo, however, ignores the charge and continues to cry until his beard grows so long as to cover his chest. The several variants of this episode in the *Nihon shoki* render the equivalent passage concerning Susanoo as follows:

1. Next [Izanaki and Izanami] bore Susanoo no mikoto. . . . This deity was bold and brash and readily indulged in cruelty (*yōkan ni shite nin ni yasumi suru koto ari* 勇悍以安忍). He made it a habit to wail (*naku* 哭泣) constantly. (Main text, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁵³
2. Susanoo by nature liked to engage in cruelty and destruction (*saga sokonai yaburu koto o konomu* 性好残害). [Izanaki] thus sent him down to rule Nenokuni. (First variant, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁵⁴
3. Next [Izanaki and Izanami] bore Susanoo. This deity was by nature malignant (*saga ashiku* 性悪) and given to constantly crying and raging (*nakifutsukumu* 哭恚). (Second variant, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁵⁵
4. By this time Susanoo had already reached adulthood, and his beard had grown so long as to cover his chest. Nevertheless he did not rule the earthly realm (*ame no shita*) and constantly cried and raged (*nakifutsukumi tamau* 啼泣恚恨). (Sixth variant, fifth section of the Age of Deities chapter)⁵⁶

The transcriptions in the above passages follow the readings given in the Shōgakukan *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* edition of *Nihon shoki*. The three passages that refer to Susanoo crying (1, 3, and 4) notably do not incorporate the term *isachiru* (“rage”), which the *Kojiki* renders phonetically. This difference, however, is the result of a choice made by the compilers of the SNKBZ edition of *Nihon shoki*. The versions included in *Kōhon Nihon shoki* 校本日本書紀, a variorum edition that is based on the 1669 woodblock printed edition and collates readings found in early manuscripts, show that many of those manuscripts do incorporate the term *isachiru* or its corollary, *isatsu*. The *Kōhon Nihon shoki* edition reads the graphs 哭泣 in item 1 as *nakiisatsu[zu]ru*, and the graphs 啼泣 in item 4 as *nakiisachi*.⁵⁷ The Iwanami *Nihon koten bungaku taikēi* edition of *Nihon shoki*, which puts emphasis on the early manuscript readings, likewise adopts these readings in both instances.⁵⁸ The late Edo commentary *Shoki shikkai* 書紀集解,

⁵² This further comment is an abridged version of the Japanese original. For the latter, see the online *Kojiki Viewer* Japanese version of this chapter or *Kojiki gaku* 3 (2017), pp. 43–47.

⁵³ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–37.

⁵⁴ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.

⁵⁵ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.

⁵⁶ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 50–51.

⁵⁷ *Kōhon Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 286–87, 505–506.

⁵⁸ Sakamoto et al., *Nihon shoki*, NKBT 67, pp. 88–89, 96–97.

on the other hand, incorporates a citation to the *Shuowen*, noting that it defines 哭 as meaning “to wail loudly” and 泣 as meaning “to cry with a smaller sound while shedding tears.”⁵⁹

Considering these examples, there would seem to be some basis for assigning a separate reading to each graph in the manner of the early manuscripts rather than allocating one reading to two graphs that are presumed to represent a single word, as does SNKBZ (the issue, in other words, of how to read 哭泣 and 啼泣). Yet, questions may be raised as to the appropriateness of following the early manuscripts in their reading of 泣 as *isachiru*. As Yamaguchi Yoshinori points out, although the early *Nihon shoki* manuscripts interpret *isachiru* to mean “to cry,” the *Kojiki* phrasing consistently distinguishes between the act of “crying” (*naku*) and *isachiru*.⁶⁰

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

1. To stamp one’s feet and cry like a child in a tantrum. (Motoori Norinaga, Nakajima Etsuji, Tsugita Uruu)⁶¹
2. To wail, crying torrentially. (Shikida Toshiharu, the 1945 *Kokumin koten zensho* 国
民古典全書 version, and many others)⁶²
3. To refuse to heed others and fuss willfully, with *isa* conveying the sense of “refuse,”
否. (Nishimiya Kazutami)⁶³

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

Reconsidered from this perspective, what is the significance of Susanoo’s refusal to heed Izanaki’s command as portrayed by the *Kojiki*? As seen in the passages from the *Nihon shoki* quoted above, the first three (fifth section, main text and first and second variants) describe him as being cruel or malignant by nature. The fourth (fifth section, sixth variant), like the *Kojiki*, does not mention such attributes. Instead, again similarly

⁵⁹ Kawamura Hidene et al., *Shoki shikkai*, vol. 2, p. 47.

⁶⁰ In Nakada et al., *Kogo daijiten*, sv. *isachiru*, p. 110.

⁶¹ Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den*, MNZ 9, pp. 298–99; Nakajima, *Kojiki hyōshaku*, p. 76; Tsugita, *Kojiki shinkō*, p. 81.

⁶² Shikida, *Kojiki hyōchū*, p. 352; Nihon Bungaku Hōkoku Kai, ed., *Kojiki, norito, senmyō*, p. 62.

⁶³ Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 44.

⁶⁴ See Kawamura Hidene et al., *Shoki shikkai*, vol. 2, pp. 47, 68.

to the *Kojiki*, it focuses on his age and appearance. These differences match up with Kitagawa Kazuhide's 北川和秀 demarcation of two lineages of *Nihon shoki* passages, which he labels respectively as "Amaterasu-lineage" passages and "sun-deity (*hi no kami*) lineage" passages, and with the correspondence he notes between the "Amaterasu-lineage" passages and the *Kojiki* narrative.⁶⁵ We may also observe that Susanoo's expression of longing for his mother, Izanami, figures in the "Amaterasu-lineage" *Nihon shoki* fifth section, sixth variant, but not the "sun-deity-lineage" versions.

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

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

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

The present passage speaks of "calamities of the myriad things" (*yorozu no mono no wazawai* 万物妖), whereas the Heavenly Rock Cave episode refers simply to "a myriad calamities" (*yorozu no wazawai* 万妖). Abe Shinji 阿部眞司 holds that the difference

⁶⁵ Kitagawa, "Kojiki jōkan to Nihon shoki jindaikan to no kankei." Kitagawa bases this demarcation on elements and wording shared among the variants and argues that the commonalities and differences between the text lineages reflect their origin in different source compilations. He adopts the labels "Amaterasu lineage" and "sun-deity lineage" because the patterns of commonality and divergence that support the postulation of two types of source texts are particularly clear in versions in sections five, six, and seven that use the name Amaterasu, on the one hand, and versions that do not use this name and refer instead to the "sun deity," on the other. (TN)

⁶⁶ Matsumoto Naoki, *Kojiki shinwa ron*, p. 259.

⁶⁷ See chapter 18.

⁶⁸ Yajima, "Ashiki kami no koe."

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

Further comment: Calamities of things (*mono no wazawai* 物妖). As mentioned in the text note, wording similar to the present passage appears also in the Heavenly Rock Cave episode. Let us examine the two passages and their contexts a little more closely. In the present passage (hereafter, “statement 1”), Susanoo does not undertake the rule of the seas that Izanaki entrusted to him and continues to cry. His crying is such that the verdant mountains wither and the rivers and seas dry up. Further, “the voices of malignant deities (*ashiki kami* 悪神) resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and calamities from the myriad things (*yorozu no mono no wazawai* 万物妖) all arose at once.”

In the second passage (“statement 2”), Amaterasu, startled by Susanoo’s “playing the victor,” hides in the Heavenly Rock Cave, darkness envelops both Takamanohara and Ashihara no nakatsukuni, and “the voices of the myriad deities (*yorozu no kami* 万神) resounded everywhere, like the drone of flies in the fifth month, and a myriad calamities (*yorozu no wazawai* 万妖) all arose at once.”⁷¹ The two statements closely resemble each other, and the situations described were clearly conceived of as analogous. Similar circumstances presumably were held to underly both.

When we compare the two statements, however, the first speaks of “malignant deities” and “calamities arising from the myriad things,” whereas the second speaks of “the myriad deities” and “a myriad calamities.” The key difference is the first statement’s description of the deities as “malignant” and the calamities as arising from “things.” Focusing on this point, Mibu Sachiko and Abe Shinji both hold that the “malignant deities” and “things” are entities particular to Ashihara no nakatsukuni; they do not reappear in the Heavenly Rock Cave episode because its setting is Takamanohara.⁷² The expressions “malignant deities” and “things” in statement 1 do indeed serve to emphasize the state of disorder prevalent in Ashihara no nakatsukuni. At the same time, as statement 2 indicates, when Amaterasu enters the cave, darkness envelops Ashihara no nakatsukuni as well as Takamanohara. The two realms are interconnected, and it is plausible to assume that the “myriad deities” and the “myriad calamities” affecting Takamanohara simultaneously took the form of “malignant deities” and “calamities arising from the myriad things” in Ashihara no nakatsukuni.

Yajima Izumi argues that the circumstance responsible for “voices” resounding everywhere and “calamities” arising is that “what should be governed is not being governed.” He raises questions about the traditional view that Susanoo’s crying caused

⁶⁹ Abe, *Ōmononushi no kami denshō ron*, p. 28.

⁷⁰ Taniguchi Masahiro, “‘Kojiki’ shinwa no naka no saigai.”

⁷¹ See chapters 17 and 18.

⁷² Abe, *Ōmononushi no kami denshō ron*, p. 27; Mibu, “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu.”

the situation described in statement 1. Rather, he argues, it was the result of “Susanoo not governing the seas that he was supposed to govern.”⁷³ The same argument may be applied to statement 2. The calamities it describes arose because Amaterasu secluded herself in the Rock Cave (in other words, abandoned governance of Takamanohara).

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

Rather than seeing the destructive power of Susanoo’s violent crying as the direct cause of the “calamities of things,” the situation might better be understood as involving a chain of events. The violence of Susanoo’s crying is itself an expression of the vehemence of his refusal to undertake the governance entrusted to him. The refusal to oversee the proper administration of the realm of water brings about the devastation of the mountains and rivers, which has a deleterious effect on Ashihara no nakatsukuni and triggers the “voices of malignant deities” and “calamities of the myriad things.” At this stage in the progression of the myths Ashihara no nakatsukuni is a kind of void, with as yet no proper governor of its own and thus no one able to manage and pacify “things.” Is not the situation that arises there the consequence of this combination of factors?

Based on her examination of the forty-five instances of the term “things” (*mono* 物) in the *Kojiki*, Mibu Sachiko argues that “*mono* carry a kind of potency. When stimulated by something, this potency is activated and can become a force that leads to the production of a deity on the one hand or brings calamity on the other.”⁷⁴ The opening passage of the *Kojiki* relates: “A deity came into existence from a thing that sprouted forth like a reed shoot.”⁷⁵ The *Nihon shoki* similarly speaks of deities emerging from “a certain thing” (*hitotsu no mono* 一物).⁷⁶ If this potency moves in a negative direction, it can bring about disaster. In his analysis of the character of Ōmononushi no kami, Masuda Katsumi 益田勝美 describes *mono* as endowed with an innate capacity to cause

⁷³ Yajima, “Ashiki kami no koe,” p. 72.

⁷⁴ Mibu, “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu,” p. 112.

⁷⁵ See chapter 1.

⁷⁶ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 18–19.

pestilence.⁷⁷ Mibu, who sees Ashihara no nakatsukuni as a place where “things” can rampage and cause “calamities” if aroused, interprets Ōmononushi no kami as the leader of such things.⁷⁸ Taniguchi Masahiro takes these interpretations a step further. In his view, the *Kojiki* presents the “calamities of things” aroused through Susanoo’s crying as continuing to rampage in Ashihara no nakatsukuni thereafter. Consequently, bringing order to the earthly realm required “a deity that could bring things under order,” that is, Ōmononushi no kami.⁷⁹

In the *Kojiki* chronicle of Emperor Sujin, in book 2, the emperor is able to bring an end to the pestilence plaguing the land by having Ōtataneko 意富多々泥古 conduct rites of pacification for Ōmononushi no kami as the leader of *mono*.⁸⁰ This episode indicates that the pacification of “things” was seen as fundamental to preserving order in the land and that the method of pacification was to conduct rites on behalf of those things or their leader. A similar notion can be detected in the account of Ōkuninushi’s consolidation of the land in book 1. “The deity dwelling in the upper reaches of Mimoroyama mountain” (*Mimoroyama no ue ni imasu kami* 坐御諸山上神), in other words, Ōmononushi, comes from across the sea and tells Ōkuninushi that to carry out successfully the task of land consolidation he should offer the deity proper worship. In response to Ōkuninushi’s query as to how to do this, the deity calls for Ōkuninushi to offer him worship “on the upper reaches of the verdant eastern range of mountains in Yamato.”⁸¹

These episodes indicate that the figure responsible for overseeing the land was expected to conduct rites for “things” or the leader of “things.” Such rites were the concrete means to establish and maintain order, in other words, to carry out the function of ruling. In the present episode the abandonment of governance means the absence of both a figure to take responsibility for the land and the rites to be performed by such a figure.

Kohama Ayumu, *Shinto Classics, Ancient Japanese Thought*

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

The Chinese classic *The Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 礼記) indicates that the graph *hi* 妣 (read here as *haha*, “mother”) means a deceased mother.⁸² Since the *Kojiki* portrays Susanoo as a deity who emerged from Izanaki’s nose, one might assume that he has no mother as such. The common interpretation would nevertheless seem to be that by “mother” he

⁷⁷ Masuda, *Higi no shima*, pp. 179–209.

⁷⁸ Mibu, “Ōmononushi no kami ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu,” p. 113.

⁷⁹ Taniguchi Masahiro, “‘Kojiki’ shinwa no naka no saigai.”

⁸⁰ Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, pp. 182–83.

⁸¹ See chapter 34.

⁸² Takeuchi, *Raiki*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75.

means Izanami, his father's spouse. Ancient Japanese texts do not necessarily use the graph 妣 to mean literally "deceased mother" in the Chinese sense. The *Kojiki* includes one further instance of the expression "the land of [one's] mother (*haha* 妣)." Book 1 concludes by relating that Mikenu no mikoto 御毛沼命, one of the four offspring of Ukayafukiaezu no mikoto, "jumped over the waves and went to the eternal land (*tokoyo no kuni* 常世国)." The next child, Inahi no mikoto, then "entered the seas, the land of his mother (*haha ga kuni* 妣国)." This is in fact the final sentence of book 1.⁸³ Since Inahi no mikoto's mother, Tamayoribime, was the daughter of the sea deity, "the seas" was indeed his mother's land. In this case, the graph 妣 indicates "mother from another realm," not "deceased mother."

The *Man'yōshū* includes two instances of the graph 妣. Neither refers specifically to a "deceased mother." The first is from poem 1022, one of the poems composed by Isonokami no Otomaro 石上乙麻呂 from his time in Tosa 土佐 Province: "I am my father's beloved child, I am also my mother's beloved child (*haha toji ni are wa manago zo* 妣刀自尔吾者愛児叙)!"⁸⁴ The second is in poem 1800, "a poem composed upon seeing a dead person while crossing the Ashigara 足柄 pass":

You, who probably came here thinking that you would return to your native land and see your parents (*chichi haha mo* 父妣毛) and your wife . . .⁸⁵

Seen in this light, the word *haha* 妣 uttered by Susanoo should probably also be interpreted as meaning "mother from another realm."

If the "mother" to whom Susanoo refers is taken to be Izanami, Nenokatasukuni 根之堅州国 (the "bedrock root land"), identified as that mother's land, might be assumed to be the same as the Land of Yomi. Opinions divide as to whether these two lands set apart from the present land should be seen as a single realm or two different ones. The fact that the exit from both is the Yomi border slope allows for the possibility that the two names refer to the same place, but the *Kojiki* narrative does not otherwise support such an interpretation. The *Kojiki* depicts the Land of Yomi as the realm to which the mortals who dwell in Ashihara no nakatsukuni go when they die and Nenokatasukuni as the setting where Susanoo commands Ōkuninushi (Ōnamuji) to become the ruler of Ashihara no nakatsukuni and directs him to build a hall within the earthly realm. If we focus on these points, it would seem that the *Kojiki* presents Nenokatasukuni as the foundation supporting Ashihara no nakatsukuni. We will revisit this issue in the episode recounting Ōnamuji's visit to Nenokatasukuni.⁸⁶

⁸³ Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi, *Kojiki*, p. 138.

⁸⁴ Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 156.

⁸⁵ Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, SNKBZ 7, p. 443.

⁸⁶ See chapters 26, 27, and 28.

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

The verb *yarau* やらふ combines *yaru* 遣る (“to dispatch”) and *fu*, conveying “repeatedly” or “continuously.” The reiteration here in the expression *yarai ni yarau* gives it the meaning “to banish.” The *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* accounts of the action taken towards Susanoo display several differences. The second variant of the seventh section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter relates, “At last, [they] expelled [Susanoo], using the principle of divine expulsion” (*tsui ni kamuyarai no kotowari o mochite harau* 遂以神逐之理逐之), suggesting an understanding of *kamuyarai* as a particular method of “dispelling.”⁸⁷ The main text of the fifth section has Izanaki and Izanami commanding Susanoo, “You must go far away, to Nenokuni!”⁸⁸ The first variant of the fifth section, which states that “Susanoo by nature liked to engage in cruelty and destruction,” goes on to relate that Izanaki “thus sent him down to rule (*shirashimetamau* 治) Nenokuni.”⁸⁹ The second variant describes Izanaki and Izanami as telling Susanoo, “Therefore you should rule (*shirasu beshi* 可以馭) the extremely remote Nenokuni.”⁹⁰

In short, the first and second variants of the fifth section recount Susanoo’s journey to Nenokuni as originating from a command by Izanaki or by Izanaki and Izanami acting together, and the two variants depict Nenokuni as the domain that Susanoo is to rule, as shown by their use of the graphs 治 and 馭. At the beginning of the main text of the following sixth section, Susanoo himself declares, “In accordance with [my parents’] command (*mikotonori* 勅), I will now set off for Nenokuni.”⁹¹ His words confirm that his journey to that realm is something formally commanded by Izanaki and Izanami. In the sixth variant of the fifth section, Izanaki commands, “Go where your heart takes you!” (*kokoro no manimani ine* 可以任情行).⁹² Since Susanoo’s “heart” tells him to “follow my mother to Nenokuni,” the implication is that Izanaki grants approval for Susanoo’s journey there. By contrast, the *Kojiki* contains no indication that Susanoo went to Nenokatasukuni at Izanaki’s command or direction.

The subsequent development of the *Kojiki* narrative points up this difference between the two texts. Having been expelled by his father, Susanoo goes up to Takamanohara to seek the support of his sister, Amaterasu. There he is again “expelled with a divine expulsion” (*kamuyarai yaraiki* 神夜良比夜良比岐).⁹³ The

⁸⁷ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 82–83.

⁸⁸ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 36–37.

⁸⁹ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.

⁹⁰ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 38–39.

⁹¹ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 60–61.

⁹² Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 50–51.

⁹³ See chapter 20.

Kojiki thus does not offer any sanction for either Susanoo's descent to the land of Izumo or his subsequent move to Nenokatasukuni.

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

The Dōka-bon, Dōshō-bon, and Shun'yu-bon manuscripts have Awaji 淡路 instead of Ōmi 淡海. The main text of the sixth section of the *Nihon shoki* Age of Deities chapter likewise states that Izanaki “established a hall of retreat in the land of Awaji 淡路, where he long secluded himself quietly.”⁹⁴ The *Engi shiki* list of shrines includes an Awaji Izanaki Jinja 淡路伊佐奈伎神社 in the section on Awaji Province.⁹⁵ These points, along with the fact that the myth of Izanaki and Izanami giving birth to the land is set on Awajishima island have led some commentators to argue that Awaji was the original locale named in this passage. However, the *Kojiki* generally uses the graphs 淡道 to transcribe the name Awaji, and both the Shinpukuji-bon and the Kanenaga-bon manuscripts adopt the digraph 淡海 here. We have thus chosen to follow their usage.⁹⁶

As for Taga, the *Engi shiki* lists a Taga Jinja 多何神社, enshrining two deities (niza 二座), in the section on Ōmi Province 近江国, Inukami 犬上 district.⁹⁷ It is unclear why the *Kojiki* describes Izanaki as “dwelling” (i.e., “immanent”) in “Taga in Ōmi.”

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⁹⁴ Kojima et al., *Nihon shoki*, SNKBZ 2, pp. 60–62.

⁹⁵ Torao, *Engi shiki*, vol. 1, pp. 698–99.

⁹⁶ For further discussion of this issue, see Aoki Kigen, *Nihon shinwa no kisoteki kenkyū*, pp. 209–10.

⁹⁷ Torao, *Engi shiki*, vol. 1, pp. 600–601.