

SHINTÔ

At the Fountain-head of Japan

JEAN HERBERT



ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS: JAPAN

SHINTÔ

SHINTÔ

At the Fountain-head of Japan

JEAN HERBERT

With a preface by
MARQUIS YUKITADA SASAKI

Volume 81

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in English in 1967

This edition first published in 2011

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada

by Routledge

270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2011.

To purchase your own copy of this or any of
Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks
please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 1967 George Allen & Unwin Ltd

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the
publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0-203-84216-2 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-56498-4 (Set)

eISBN 13: 978-0-203-84317-8 (Set)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-59348-9 (Volume 81)

eISBN 13: 978-0-203-84216-4 (Volume 81)

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but
points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and would
welcome correspondence from those they have been unable to trace.

SHINTÔ
AT THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF JAPAN

JEAN HERBERT

WITH A PREFACE BY
MARQUIS YUKITADA SASAKI
President of the Kokugakuin University

London
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
RUSKIN HOUSE • MUSEUM STREET

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1967

This book is copyright under the Berne Convention. A part from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, 1956, no portion may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Enquiries should be addressed to the publisher

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2011.

To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.

© George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1967

*To my dear friend
General A.Kaba
formerly Military Governor of Kyôto
who made me know and love
his country*

PREFACE

ACCORDING to the tradition of Japan, Shintô, in which we see the very basis of our modern life, is the result of a spontaneous growth. Although it is a highly ethical and spiritual 'religion', it was often misjudged by Christians, partly because their specifically Western concepts were shocked by some of its momentary distortions.

Professor Jean Herbert has made an earnest endeavour to understand Shintô without any of the prevalent Christian prejudices. He made several long sojourns in Japan, visited and studied a great number of Shintô temples and had lengthy interviews with their high-priests. They were deeply impressed by his sincerity and by the respect he showed for their religious aspects.

We hope that the efforts made by this excellent scholar will reveal to the West a side of the real nature of Shintô. Since this 'divine way' deals with the very origins of human social life, it may be interpreted from many different standpoints, at various levels of esotericism, and with various degrees of comprehensiveness.

I do wish that more scholars will follow the same pure approach to proceed to a direct and thorough scrutiny of other cultural elements of Shintô, for I believe that its essence can ever bring a most valuable contribution to the peace of the world and the welfare of mankind.

Marquis Yukitada Sasaki
President of the Kokugakuin University
and of the Jinja-Honchô

The Kokugakuin University
June, 1963.

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	<i>page</i> vii
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	<i>Note on terminology and spelling</i>	3
PART ONE —RELIGION		
I.	GENERALITIES	7
	<i>The Kami</i>	
	— <i>Kannagara-no-michi</i>	
	— <i>Scriptures and theologians</i>	
II.	HISTORY AND MAIN SUBDIVISIONS OF SHINTÔ	26
	<i>Before Buddhism</i>	
	— <i>With Buddhism</i>	
	— <i>The Reaction</i>	
	— <i>The American Diktat</i>	
	— <i>The present situation</i>	
	— <i>Main subdivisions</i>	
III.	METAPHYSICS, ETHICS, SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND AESTHETICS	41
	<i>Metaphysics</i>	
	— <i>Ethics</i>	
	— <i>Ritual purity</i>	
	— <i>Spiritual discipline</i>	
	— <i>Aesthetics</i>	
IV.	TEMPLES	71
	<i>Site</i>	
	— <i>Himorogi and iwasaka</i>	
	— <i>Secondary structures</i>	

	— <i>Shaden</i>	
	— <i>Saikigu</i>	
	— <i>Honden, go-shintai and bun-rei</i>	
	— <i>Categories of temples</i>	
V.	PRIESTS	108
	<i>Functions and categories</i>	
	— <i>Gūji</i>	
	— <i>Women</i>	
	— <i>Ujiko and shake</i>	
	— <i>Formation</i>	
	— <i>Dress</i>	
VI.	SYMBOLISM AND INDIVIDUAL WORSHIP	122
	<i>Symbolism</i>	
	— <i>Individual worship</i>	
VII.	COLLECTIVE WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS	142
	<i>Generalities</i>	
	— <i>Agricultural matsuri</i>	
	— <i>Mat-suri for protection against evil influences</i>	
VIII.	COLLECTIVE WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS (continued)	166
	<i>Other individual matsuri</i>	
PART TWO —MYTHOLOGY		
IX.	AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MYTHOLOGY OF SHINTŌ	196
X.	GENESIS OF THE UNIVERSE—THE PRE-MATERIAL STAGES	202
	<i>General outline</i>	
	— <i>Ame-no-minaka—nushi-no-kami and the Musubi-kami</i>	
	— <i>The next twelve Kami</i>	
	— <i>Interpretation</i>	
XI.	THE BIRTH OF THE LAND	219
	<i>Onogoro-shima</i>	
	— <i>The first experiments. Hiru-ko and Aha</i>	
	— <i>The fourteen islands</i>	

	— <i>The Kami</i>	
	— <i>Kagu-tsuchi's birth and Izanami's death</i>	
	— <i>Izanagi's visit to Izanami</i>	
	— <i>Izanagi's purification</i>	
XII.	THE TWO JOINT RULERS OF THE UNIVERSE	248
	<i>General outline</i>	
	— <i>Birth of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto and Susano-wo-no-mikoto</i>	
	— <i>The conflict between Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo</i>	
	— <i>Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's retirement</i>	
	— <i>The expulsion of Susano-wo</i>	
XIII.	THE CONSOLIDATING OF THE LAND BY THE EARTHLY KAMI	273
	<i>Outline</i>	
	— <i>Susano-wo's descent and first marriage</i>	
	— <i>Ô-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto</i>	
	— <i>Sukuna-hikona and Ô-mono-nushi</i>	
	— <i>Ô-toshi-no-kami's descendants</i>	
XIV.	THE PACIFYING OF THE LAND BY THE HEAVENLY KAMI	293
	<i>Nigi-haya-hi</i>	
	— <i>Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, Ame-no-hohi and Ame-waka-hiko</i>	
	— <i>Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi</i>	
XV.	THE DESCENT OF THE HEAVENLY GRANDSON	311
	<i>Preparations for the descent</i>	
	— <i>The descent and the arrival</i>	
	— <i>The successive marriages and the birth of children</i>	
	— <i>The position of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami in the Shintô Pantheon</i>	
XVI.	HIKO-HO-HO-DEMI AND HIS ELDER BROTHER	330
	<i>Outline</i>	
	— <i>The quarrel between the two brothers</i>	
	— <i>The visit to the Sea-kami</i>	
	— <i>The elder brother's submission</i>	
	— <i>Hiko-ho-ho-demi's children</i>	

XVII.	EMPERORS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES	343
	<i>The position of the Emperor</i>	
	— <i>Temples and ceremonies in the Imperial Palace</i>	
	— <i>Jimmu-tennô</i>	
	— <i>Worship of later Emperors</i>	
XVIII.	THE HACHIMAN CYCLE	377
	<i>The original Hachiman</i>	
	— <i>Chûai-tennô and Jingû-kôgô</i>	
	— <i>Ôjin-tennô</i>	
	— <i>Hachiman and the Hime-gami</i>	
XIX.	OTHER HISTORICAL KAMI	391
XX.	LOCAL AND FAMILY KAMI AND GUILD KAMI	408
	<i>Local Kami and family Kami</i>	
	— <i>Guild-kami</i>	
XXI.	BEAUTIES AND POWERS OF NATURE	413
	<i>Celestial bodies</i>	
	— <i>Mountains</i>	
	— <i>Rocks and stones</i>	
	— <i>Water</i>	
	— <i>Fire</i>	
	— <i>Thunder and storm</i>	
	— <i>Wind</i>	
	— <i>Trees and plants</i>	
XXII.	KAMI OF THE ROAD, THE HOUSE AND THE FIELD AND KAMI OF FOOD	441
	<i>Kami of the road</i>	
	— <i>Kami of the house</i>	
	— <i>Kami of the field</i>	
	— <i>Kami of food. Inari</i>	
XXIII.	EBISU, DAIKOKU AND THE GODS OF LUCK	456
XXIV.	SECTARIAN SHINTÔ	460
APPENDIX	— <i>The Shintô Genesis and the Avatars of Vishnu</i>	469
	LIST OF SOURCES	478

Chief informants

—*Bibliography*

MAP OF JAPAN 499

ALPHABETICAL INDEX AND GLOSSARY 501

ILLUSTRATIONS

Combination of the four mitama	<i>page</i> 49
Magatama	52
Hand postures	66 & 67
Different types of torii	95
Yatsu-ashi-mon	76
Kado-mori-no-kami	77
Different types of tôrô	78
Koma-inu	79
Seal and otsukaï of the Tôkyô Mitake-jinja	81
Different types of architecture	86 & 87
Plans of the Tosa-jinja and the Nagahama-jinja no Chigi	88
Details of the Naïkû of the Ise-jingû	90 & 91
Shimenawa	92
Hassoku-an	93
Different types of goheï	94
Plan of the honden of the I wa-shimizu-hachiman-gu	95
Plan of the honden of the Aso-jinja	96
Plan of the honden of the Tensha-yamakage-jinja	96
Sashiha	102
Robes of Shintô priests	119
Shaku	112
Tomoë	125
Tamagushi	132
Seals of temples	136–138
Shinsen	147
Hito-gata	163
General scheme of Shintô Mythology	204
The Ame-no-yasu-kawa	255
Bun-reï of the Suwa-taïsha	303
Shinden of the Imperial Palace	349
Map of Jimmu-tennô's progression	354

Genealogy of the Imperial Dynasty	358
Hikiri-gine and hikiri-usu	432
Toyo-uke-bime as Inari	448
Hôju-no-tama	451
Daikoku	458

NOTE.—The illustrations on pages 95, 98, 99, 101, 108–9, 115, 117, 125, 144, 158, 173, 485, were taken from Gûji Michio Tezuka's *Jinja yûsoku kojitsu zuë*; the drawings on pages 112–13 were supplied by the Office of the Ise-jingû; the map on p. 401 was prepared by Prof. A.Nakanishi.

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this book is to present to Western readers Shintô, the national Japanese religion, as it is understood and practised by the Japanese in our time. My main source of information has been Shintô priests alive today, both as regards the interpretation of the few short texts which constitute the Shintô Scriptures and, still more so, about their beliefs, teachings and practice. I am fully aware of the fact that, as a Western historian put it, it is 'difficult and dangerous to assume the accuracy of any traditions clustering about the temples and shrines of Japan'.⁽⁶³¹⁾ But if such doubts should loom largely in the vision of the historian, they are of little import to the student of the Japanese Shintôist's mind in the middle of the twentieth century.

Further, I appealed to Japanese theologians and other professors of Shintô for elucidation in many cases when the statements made by the clergy were vague, confused or contradictory. Lay specialists, reformers, leaders of various Shintô sects were also consulted on a number of points. Views held by the very few Western scholars who have written on Shintô with some amount of sympathy—although in most cases without according to it the respect which should be expected and required of them—have in no case been accepted without having been submitted to and endorsed by competent Shintô authorities. Except for the sections dealing with the relations between Shintô and Buddhism, I systematically abstained from consulting any person who did not profess Shintô.

The preparation of this book required many years of study. During my various stays in Japan between 1935 and 1964, one of which lasted many months, I devoted most of my time to interviewing the high-priests of hundreds of temples, from the North of Honshû to the South of Kyûshû, including practically all the most important, but also many unpretentious country side shrines. I usually spent with them and their chief assistants between half a day and a whole week, asking them questions not only about the traditions and cult of their respective temples, but also about any aspect of Shintô in which they took special interest. The number of my informers among those groups rose to well over 300. I was thus able, among other things, to build up individual files on each one of about 950 temples.

Thanks to the active encouragement and the constant whole-hearted support of the Jinjahonchô (the Association of Shintô temples) and of the Kokugakuin University (the highest academic authority on Shintô), and thanks also to the unbelievable kindness, hospitality and frankness which are part of their nature, the priests (with two or three exceptions) devoted all their time to me while I was their guest, answered my questions as fully as their knowledge allowed, and did all they could to make me imbibe the spirit of Shintô. On several occasions, they kindly allowed me to take part in religious services and spiritual practices exclusively reserved to Shintô priests.

It should also be mentioned that meetings of the teaching-staff of the Kokugakuin University, and also of the high-priests of the main temples of one or another region were several times called for the exclusive purpose of answering my questions and patiently devoted as much as one whole day to do so.

2 *Shintô: At the Fountain-Head of Japan*

Owing to my choice of sources, it will be found that my presentation of Shintô differs greatly on many vital points from that offered by previous writers. In every case which might be controversial I have therefore deemed it desirable to indicate who was responsible for the information or the opinion transmitted; that is the purpose of the figures in small print which are scattered throughout the text and which refer to the list of sources at the end of the book. Where no such reference is given, the source was either common uncontroversial knowledge or the high-priest of the temple concerned or my own observation.

The task was difficult for many reasons. One of them is that Shintô is based on concepts totally different from those found in other great religions. The most elementary and fundamental questions which in other cases can normally be answered in a couple of words do not apply; hence the most competent and best-intentioned informers are at a total loss to give a valid and intelligible reply—it was just as if one were asking a musician whether the sonata he was playing was written in English or in French, painted in oil or in water-colours.

Another difficulty, which is only partly consequential, is that the Shintô vocabulary comprises many very old words which few people outside ecclesiastical circles can understand either in their written form or when spoken, or both. This means that the best general interpreters who so kindly helped me failed very often indeed to understand what they translated; but they were allowed to retain the original terms because I already knew their meaning, and therefore I could understand my informer better than they did.

These difficulties may explain why Shintô, so far, has been so thoroughly misunderstood by the greatest Western experts. Even a man like W.G. Aston, who supplied us with a most remarkable translation of one of the two basic Shintô Scriptures, the *Nihongi*, went so far as to write in an authoritative English Encyclopedia that Shintô is ‘the most rudimentary cult of which we have an adequate record’, and that ‘at the present day, Shintô as a religion is practically extinct’!⁽³²³⁾

Thanks to the untiring and efficient zeal of Professor Akira Nakanishi, every chapter of this book, while in draft form, was translated into Japanese and submitted to specialists, whose criticisms and comments were afterwards translated into English for my benefit. Needless to say, all their views—which are not always unanimous—were carefully recorded and incorporated into the respective sections of the book. Professor Nakanishi also agreed to be responsible for securing answers to questions which arose while the book was being written; I sent him well over 3,200, on everyone of which he supplied most valuable, precise and reliable information. It is no exaggeration to say that without his help and guidance this book could never have been written.

The main lines of my interpretation of the Shintô Genesis were published, in Japanese, in the *Kôdô-ishin*, the journal par excellence of the Shintô clergy, with an appeal for criticisms. No less than twenty-three high-priests, professors, theologians, kindly replied, some of them in great detail. Their views, whenever they differed from my own, were recorded in the relevant chapters.

I have left out altogether the delicate and highly controverted problems relating to the origins of Shintô, what it may have inherited from the Aïnu aborigines, from Malay infiltrations, from Korean culture or from Buddhist teachings and practices. However interesting from a purely intellectual standpoint those questions may be, the fact remains that in the minds and hearts of practically every Japanese, Shintô was born and grew with the Japanese race and is one with it.

Even a brief description of all that deserves to be known about Shintô would take many thousand pages. I have endeavoured to put into this book what I feel is most essential to give the reader an insight into its spirit and its main traits. Shintô is the heart and core of the Japanese people. Shintô has made them what they are, and to try to understand them without sufficient knowledge of Shintô is bound to end in failure. I hope therefore that what I have written will interest not only students of religions, but also the much wider public which now wants to understand Japan and *must* become able to do so in a world where that country is called upon to play an ever more important part, a part, moreover, of direct concern to the West.

However imperfect, incomplete and possibly in some places inaccurate this book may still be, I think I can claim for it that it is an honest endeavour to explain Shintô as it is viewed by its adepts—for whom I have only acted as a dutiful and respectful interpreter.

I am deeply indebted to Professor John Blofeld, of Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok), and to Mr Malcolm Barnes who kindly read my manuscript and made a considerable number of constructive suggestions. Deep thanks are also due to my wife, Josette Herbert, who prepared the Index.

It would not be fair to conclude this introduction without expressing my deep gratitude to the friends who kindly served as interpreters, and very often as advisers, in my talks with those representatives of Shintô who spoke no other language than Japanese:

Professor Tokuo Ebihara, from the Municipal University of Ôsaka; the late Professor Chikao Fujisawa, from the Nihon University, formerly an official of the League of Nations;

Professor Naofusa Hiraï, from the Kokugakuin University; the late General A.Kaba, Military Governor of Kyoto;

Mr Sachihiko Kataoka;

Mr Naoya Kurokawa;

Mr Minoru Mita, from the Belgian Embassy in Tokyo;

Professor Masakiya Miyamoto, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Municipal University of Ôsaka;

Professor Akira Nakanishi, from the Chuô University;

Mr Nobusada Nishitakatsuji, gûji of the Dazaifu Ten-man-gû;

Professor Atsushi Nomiyama, of the Fukuoka University; the late Professor Teikichi Satow, from the Tôhoku University;

Mr Shigezô Takeuchi;

Mr Takaharu Tokunaga, from the French Consulate-General in Kôbe;

Miss Eiko Tsuchida, parliamentary interpreter in Geneva;

Mr Mitsuo Yamagoutchi, who accompanied me in many journeys in various parts of Japan, and proved a most valuable assistant.

* * *

Note on terminology and spelling

The names of the various Kami can run into an impressive number of syllables and are often impossible for Westerners to memorize. Therefore they will be given in full only the first time they are mentioned and afterwards only as much of the name as is necessary

4 *Shintô: At the Fountain-Head of Japan*

to identify them will be used. A further difficulty arises from the fact that some Kami are known by a variety of different names; as a general rule, each will be referred to by the name officially used in that Kami's original temple—or in the main original temple of a Kami having several. However, in contents where another name has an important special significance, it will be used and the more common name added in brackets. Even a single name is often pronounced with variations which are reflected in the transliteration; thus we find Uga-no-mitama or Uka-no-mitama, Hime-gami or Hime-no-kami, etc. Since such differences seem to carry no special meaning, they will be ignored in order to facilitate identification by the reader; for example the forms Uga-no-mitama, Hime-gami, etc. will be employed whatever the local usage may be.

Some of the Japanese friends who helped and guided me in the preparation of this book were shocked at my using phrases such as 'This or that Kami is enshrined (or worshipped) in this or that temple.' They pointed out that it is not the Kami who is worshipped or enshrined, but his spirit (*mitama*), which is perfectly true; and they wanted me to correct my text accordingly. I did not feel that I could comply with their wish, for three reasons: (a) it would have made many sentences very burdensome and obscured the meaning; (b) my wording is that to which Western readers are accustomed and they will not interpret it as implying idolatry; and (c) the Japanese themselves use it normally in conversation. But I hope that the readers will remember that in all such phrases the words 'the *mitama* of are always implied.

The etymology of the names of the Kami, like that of many other Japanese words, is often uncertain, and occasionally controversial. We have indicated the one—or ones—most commonly accepted by present-day priests. The meaning of those names is very important, as they usually 'express the function of the Kami.'⁽⁷¹⁰⁾

Although the endings *-no-kami* or *-no-mikoto* in the names of the Kami are not synonymous, for a great number of them they are in practice interchangeable, so no importance will be attached to their respective use.

For the many Kami whose name specifies that they belong to the Heavenly (as opposed to Earthly) group, there is still a controversy among specialists of Shintô about the pronunciation of the prefix *Ama-no* or *Ame-no*. And in a number of cases, there is no agreement as to whether the prefix should be *Ame-no* or *Ama-tsu*. The meaning is the same, although a subtle distinction may be drawn, *ama* emphasizing the idea of 'in the Heaven' and *ame* 'from the Heaven'.⁽¹²²⁾ Here also we have followed the local usage in every case.

In literature published in the English language, it has been customary to use the word 'shrine' for Shintô places of worship and to reserve the word 'temple' for Buddhist edifices. Although the distinction is convenient when the same text deals with both, there is really nothing to justify it, and so both words will be applied indifferently to Shintô jinja. Where a distinction is necessary, however, the word temple will connote the ensemble of shrines within one compound or an edifice dedicated to the main Kami, in which case the word shrine will signify a smaller secondary place of worship (*sessha*, *massha*, etc.) within the same compound.

The word jinja itself will be used in its usual general connotation, meaning all Shintô temples, whatever their category, although the Japanese sometimes use it technically to denote one special—not very well defined—group, as opposed to *jingû*, *yashiro*, etc.

In Shintô at least as much as in other great religions, there are a great many temples bearing the same name. To identify every one of them every time it is mentioned would have been extremely cumbersome. The method adopted in this book is the following: in every case, the full address of the temple is given in the alphabetical Index at the end of the book, thus ensuring precise identification; in the text, when only one temple bearing a particular name is mentioned, nothing is added to its name; when more than one temple of the same name are mentioned, a very brief indication will enable the reader to find out which one is meant by simple reference to the Index.

Apologies are due for the use of so great a number of original Japanese terms; but this is unavoidable because so many of them are untranslatable and the use of English approximations would distort the meaning and misguide the reader.

For the romanizing of Japanese names and other words, the most common Japanese usage has generally been followed. However, in many cases where this usage is inconsistent, English usage has occasionally been substituted. Long vowels are shown by a circumflex accent above the letter; vowels which have to be pronounced separately although the reader might be tempted to take them as either mute or part of a diphthong are distinguished by two dots above one of them.

A very difficult problem is that of dividing compound names or other words into their components. In most individual cases there is no consensus of opinion either between Western scholars or between Japanese writers, and the same author often proves inconsistent. Any sort of rule would frequently run contrary to local usage. The very natural desire to be more or less consistent has therefore been regretfully relinquished.

Much doubt also often obtains as to whether—and in what context—a name should be romanized according to its traditional or its modern pronunciation, which makes it difficult to realize that both spellings refer to the same name. Thus there is no agreement about spelling Awaji or Ahaji the name of an island which plays an important part in mythology. Efforts have been made to reduce such divergences to a minimum.

PART ONE
RELIGION

CHAPTER I

GENERALITIES

THE most characteristic feature of Shintô is a basic conviction that Gods (Kami), men and the whole of Nature were actually born of the same parents, and are therefore of the same kin. According to the Holy Scriptures, after some preliminary stages, when Creation came to the stage of solid matter, a pair of Kami, Izanagi and Izanami, procreated all the existing Universe, including both what we see and what we cannot perceive.

Everything and everybody being Kami-born therefore has a Kami-nature and is a potential full-fledged Kami, which may come to be acknowledged as such.

It would not be an overstatement to say that this belief has been the preponderant factor in the moulding of the Japanese race, not only in their religious outlook and activities, but also in their social patterns and their individual behaviour, in their ethics and their mental attitude towards life. From it arises respect for all that is, a consciousness of unbroken continuity both in time and space, a high sense of duty, and a feeling of security and resultant fearlessness—features which were later accentuated rather than attenuated by Buddhist and Confucian influences.

As a modern writer put it, ‘Man is indissolubly bound up with Kami by both biological and spiritual ties. They share one and the same divine blood which flows through animals, plants, minerals and all other things in Nature’.⁽³⁸³⁾ ‘Man, land, mountain, river, valley, mist, tree, grass are *harakara*, out-of-the-womb-of-the-Divine-Mother-born-brethren.’⁽³⁸⁴⁾ Another Japanese author wrote: ‘The Japanese territory and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami (the Sun-Goddess)...are brother and sister.’⁽³⁹⁴⁾ Still another modern Japanese writer went so far as to say: ‘In ancient times, what was called Kami was man’.⁽³¹⁵⁾

In their relation to Nature, this means that ‘the Japanese are...capable of feeling vividly a consanguinous kinship with plants and animals.’⁽³⁸³⁾ For them, ‘the so-called inanimate universe is in reality instinct with sentient life.’⁽³²⁵⁾ One of their key-phrases is *mono no aware*, sympathy with all creatures.

In his relation with the Deity, man is physiologically a son of the Kami, *kami-no-ko*,⁽²¹³⁾ although he is theoretically entitled to that name only after he has been presented to the Kami in the temple (*jinja*) on the thirtieth day of his life.⁽⁶⁸⁾ There is between Kami and man a ‘spiritual coalescence’, *shinjin gôitsu*.⁽³⁸⁴⁾

One of the most common names to designate man is *hito*, the seat of the soul, and one modern scholar has suggested the interpretation ‘solar corpuscle’, *hi* (sun) *-to* (corpuscle),^(378, 381) and although that derivation is regarded with some misgivings by most Shintô authorities,⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ it expresses in a figurative way the admitted idea that the Sun-Goddess is the actual mother of mankind (cf. p. 311 below). An outstanding Shintô scholar of the Muromachi period, Urabe (Kanetomo) (1435–1511), expressed this idea that man is essentially derived from the same source as the Kami and indeed all else when he wrote: ‘That which is in the universe is called Kami; that which is in all things is called spirit (*tama*); and that which is in man is called heart (*kokoro*)’.⁽⁴¹⁷⁾

One modern Japanese author,⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾ who seems to have coined the word *hōjinism*, ‘the absolute oneness of land and man’, explains as follows the word *kuni-hito*: ‘If literally translated, it means nation-man. [It] includes, without hurting any, innumerable individual microcosms within itself while enjoying an independent macrocosmic life of its own, and it turns naturally into a microcosm when viewed in terms of the world, which, then, is supposed to enjoy an independent and macrocosmic life.’

This has had many consequences. On the one hand it means that there can be no hard and fast dividing line between mythology and history, between what the Japanese call *Kami-yo*, ‘the Age of the Kami’, and the present age, as was pointed out by Hirata.⁽⁶²⁵⁾ It also means that in Shintô, the ‘Kami can project itself into this phenomenal world without needing an especial mediator like Jesus.’⁽⁷⁰²⁾ And therefore also that God-possession, in states of trance or ecstasy, is ‘the actual incarnation of the ancestral spirit of the race.... The man [thus possessed] has once more temporarily become his own indefinitely great-great-grandfather.... If these his ancestors were gods in the past, gods they are that descend to embodiment today.’⁽⁵¹⁰⁾

But the most important consequence of this concept is that a relation of ‘filial familiarity’⁽³³⁵⁾ is established with the Kami. In a spirit of gratitude and love, the Kami are addressed as parents, or dear Divine ancestors, and the festivals held in their honour have therefore a joyous character.⁽³⁸⁴⁾ As was very well said by Mason, ‘When it is understood that man and the Divine are the same, there can be no worship [in the sense which we give to the word in Christianity], though there can be modes of showing respect and concentrating the mind in its spiritual being and its Divine ancestry.’⁽⁵²³⁾

This fundamental belief is so strong that foreign religions, in spite of the amazing Japanese tolerance, are apt to meet with considerable opposition if, when they try to get a footing in Japan, they go against the resultant religious attitude, both respectful and friendly, towards all ancestors, both human and Divine.⁽¹⁹²⁾

Unfortunately Christian missionaries ignored this basic requirement. In a book which received wide circulation in the West, one of them wrote bluntly: ‘Keep the boundary line clear between God and his world and all is order and discrimination. Obliterate that boundary and all is pathless morass, black chaos and on the minds the phantasms which belong to the victim of delirium tremens’.⁽³⁹⁰⁾ The fierceness of the onslaught against this basis of all Japanese religion, family life and ethics has been such that it has made an impression on some individuals. In one of the most important national Shintô temples, I was deeply shocked to hear the vice high-priest tell me, on his return from a scholarship visit to the United States, that the filiation between the first human Emperor and his Divine Ancestor the Sun-Goddess, was ‘of an exclusively religious nature, but not physiological.’⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Fortunately most of the great Japanese thinkers still agree with one of them who wrote recently: ‘The idea of claiming the deities as ancestors is the matured thought of a more advanced age.’⁽⁴⁰²⁾

Viewed superficially, Shintô is both pantheistic and polytheistic.

On the one hand the most authoritative Scriptures acknowledge the existence of eight (or eighty) hundred ‘myriads’ of Kami, *yao-yorozu-no-kami*, and I am sure that if a complete list could be drawn of all the entities worshipped as such in one place or another, the estimate would appear no exaggeration. As a matter of fact, one of the most respected theologians gave it as his considered opinion that the evaluation found in the Scriptures had

become obsolete, because a great number of Kami had appeared since; hence the number had probably reached double the figure formerly accepted.⁽⁴¹⁸⁾

On the other hand, as we have seen already, there is no clear dividing line, either in theory or in practice, between those Kami who could not be anything else than Gods, and men or other beings—animate or inanimate. And the latter may always, under certain conditions, be treated as Gods, since they have the same origin and nature as the highest Gods and are therefore potentially entitled to worship.

A closer study of religious practices, however, also leaves us inclined to wonder whether, in a certain light, Shintô does not offer a monotheistic aspect.

The only way to get an insight into the real nature of Shintô is to discard all the preconceived categories and classifications used by Western scholars—because they simply do not apply—and to study Shintô for what it is in fact.

For that purpose of course, the first essential is to get as clear an idea as possible of what the word Kami (or Shinmeï) means for the Japanese. And that is no easy task. As was recently very well put by a Japanese author: ‘The Japanese mind in all ages has been quite content without definite conceptions of Kami. The people have not cared to idolize Kami, even to their spiritual sight.’⁽⁴⁰²⁾ And the greatest theologian of Shintô did not hesitate to write: ‘I do not understand the meaning of the word Kami.’⁽⁴²⁷⁾ But Western students, who do not share the inborn feeling of the Japanese, want some intellectual definition.

Western writers on religion generally translate the word Kami by gods, and that is probably the nearest approximation obtainable if we insist on putting a Western label on a specifically Japanese concept. But we should not let ourselves be led into believing that the two words have the same meaning. To avoid any such misconception, we shall throughout this book keep the original term Kami, although in a few cases we may refer to them, for the sake of clarity as Deity, Godhead, or even God or Goddess.

Since by far the most influential school of Shintô theologians laid great stress on philology, considerable attention was devoted to the etymology of the word Kami, and a surprising variety of suggestions were—and still are being—offered. It will not be irrelevant to review some of them:

(1) a specific word meaning superior, as opposed to the word *shimo*, meaning inferior;⁽⁴⁰²⁾

(2) a specific word meaning ‘which possesses superior power’;⁽⁵⁴⁴⁾

(3) a provincial pronunciation for the word *kimi*, master, lord;⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

(4) a mispronunciation of the word *yomi* or *yomeï*, Hades;⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

(5) a derivation from the Aïnu word *kamui*, ‘he who (or that which) covers or overshadows’;

(6) a derivation from *kamosu*, to brew, to ferment;⁽⁷⁴⁰⁾

(7) a derivation from *kabimoye*, to grow and germinate, as explained by A.Hirata;⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

(8) a modified form of *kabi*, mould, fungus;⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

(9) an abbreviation for *kagami* (or *kangami*), mirror. According to Ansaï Yamazaki (seventeenth century) because ‘the heart of the Kami is pure like a clear mirror, without a single trace of dimness’⁽⁴²⁷⁾ Or according to K. Tanigawa (eighteenth century) because *kagami* means *kagayaïte-mieru*, ‘to appear bright or brilliant’;⁽⁶⁵⁸⁾ a view also shared by Kumazawa. The same etymology had already been suggested by Keïchû (seventeenth

century) in his *Enjuan-zakki*.⁽³¹³⁾ But the esoteric meaning of the mirror and its mythological connotations (cf. p. 152–5 below) may suggest other explanations or justifications.

(10) an abbreviation of *akami*, the All-seeing, meaning literally *akiraka-nimiru*, to see clearly;⁽⁴²⁷⁾

(11) an abbreviation for *kan-gami*, ‘shining-see’. According to M. Imibe⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾ because ‘the Divine mind, like a clear mirror, reflects all things of Nature, operating with impartial justice and not tolerating a single spot of uncleanness’;

(12) an abbreviation for *kakushi-mi*, ‘which hides itself’;⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

(13) along a similar line, an abbreviation for *kakuri-mi* or *kakure-mi*, a hidden person, a hidden body. Such is the opinion given by Hikomaro Saito (nineteenth century) in his *Katahisashi*;

(14) an abbreviation for *kagemi*, shadow-body;⁽⁴²⁷⁾

(15) an abbreviation for *kashi-komi*, fear, awe, reverence. This view is defended by H. Arakida (eighteenth century);

(16) a combination of *ka*, ‘which relates to something hidden or dim like the shadow and the fragrance of a flower (*kaori*)’, and *mi*, ‘which relates to something visible or tangible, like the fruit, the flesh and the body, all called *mi*.’ This view, which is held by various modern scholars^(378,383), was already defended by Hidenari Hori (nineteenth century) in his *Shin-meï-kô*, where he wrote: ‘The *ka* sound has the sense of hidden, mysterious, invisible and intangible..., while the *mi* sound represents fulness or maturity.... So the word *Kami* means something mature, invisible and intangible.’⁽³¹³⁾

(17) a combination of *ka*, strange, and *mi*, person. Therefore a person ‘possessed of mysterious or marvellous substance’;⁽⁵⁴³⁾

(18) ‘a subtle combination of the fire (*ka*) which blazes up vertically, and water (*mi*), which flows horizontally’;⁽⁷³⁹⁾

(19) a combination of *ka* (a demonstrative prefix) and *mi*, which stands for *hi*, the Sun. This is the explanation preferred by A. Hirata⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ and defended more recently by Dr Nobuki Yamamoto.⁽³¹³⁾

Needless to say that in addition to such etymological ventures, many attempts have been made to define the contents of the word *Kami*. Several of them have led to definitions which have a certain validity from one point of view or another. We shall give here only a few quotations from Japanese authors:

‘It will be relevant to construe *Kami* as the deification of life-force which pervades all beings, animate and inanimate. *Kami* is the invisible power which unites spirit and matter into a dynamic whole, while it gives birth to all things without exception.’⁽³⁸³⁾

‘The *Kami* appeared before Heaven and Earth of which He was the Creator. He forms and surpasses the positive and the negative. He is the *Kami* in Heaven and on Earth; the spirit in all creation; and the soul in humanity. The soul is the *Kami*. Therefore the *Kami* is the source of Heaven and Earth; the spiritual nature of all Creation; and the destiny of humanity. The *Kami* is immaterial, and yet gives life to the material.’⁽⁷⁷⁷⁾

‘The *Kami* are not merely abstract beings, but are individually endowed with divinity and respond to real prayer.’⁽⁴¹⁷⁾

‘The *Kami* have no form, but only function. On the contrary man has both form and action. The Gods cannot surpass the actions which have form, and men cannot surpass the wonderful functions which have no form.’⁽⁷²¹⁾

Admitting his inability to give a definition, Motoōri resorted to drawing up a list of what should be considered to be Kami. In the much-quoted passage of his *Kojiki-den* (III, App., p. 42), he mentions: all the gods of Heaven and of Earth and their *mitama* (spirits), human beings, birds, animals, plants, trees, seas, mountains, anything that has an extraordinary or eminent character, the entities which have to be feared, Emperors, ‘distant Deities’ (*tohotsu-kami*), thunder, dragons, Tengū (a mythological figure), foxes, peaches, rocks, tree-trunks, leaves.

If we leave aside some subsidiary, but related meanings of the word Kami, such as the top of the head, the hair, the head-waters of a river, paper, and if we confine ourselves exclusively to the meaning which the word has in Shintō, I suggest that the best definition would be ‘a sacred entity’.

On the higher level, and as enshrined in temples, the definition may be narrowed to: ‘An entity invisible to the human eye in our normal state of consciousness, capable of exerting an influence on our visible universe, and to which worship should be offered.’ A clear distinction is not always easy between that entity and the material object in which it is believed to reside, whether a tree or a mountain or a stroke of lightning or the mirror in the innermost sanctuary, and it may be supposed that a large proportion of worshippers do not make it—which after all is fairly immaterial for the practical purpose of worship. On the other hand, and with few exceptions, priests and enlightened believers strongly insist on it; but they nevertheless adopt for themselves and encourage in others a most worshipful attitude towards the material ‘support’ of the Kami. A comparison with the Christian Hosts would seem fully appropriate.

A somewhat clearer idea may be gained of what the Kami is—or are—if we consider some specific groups coming under that comprehensive designation.

The classical division, on which the Scriptures always insist, is that made between Heavenly Kami (Ama-tsu-kami or Ten-jin) and Earthly Kami (Kuni-tsu-kami). But here also distinctions are rather elusive. There are cases of course in which there can be no doubt. The Kami who prepared and effected the creation of the world were definitely Heavenly Kami. And on the other hand, the dragon whom Susano-wo slays and whom he calls an ‘evil’ Kami (cf. p. 313f. below), the ‘evil Kami which buzzed like fire-flies’ on the Earth when the Sun-Goddess decided to send her grandson down to set things in order (cf. p. 337 below) had evidently nothing Heavenly in them, and should therefore probably *a contrario* be considered as Earthly Kami. But both those groups fall into rather special categories: the Creators into that of ‘ideal’ Kami,⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ i.e. probably those which never had a material body, and the ‘evil’ Kami into one of more or less demoniacal beings which we shall consider later.

In most other cases, the reasons for the distinction are not nearly so clear. One thing is certain, that the criterium does not lie in the origin of the Kami: Susano-wo, the ancestor and prototype of all Earthly Kami, and Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami, the highest and most typical Heavenly Kami, are brother and sister. And we come across many cases in which avowedly Earthly Kami are direct descendants of the highest Heavenly Kami. Neither can any criterium be found in their beneficent or malevolent nature, since Earthly Kami are worshipped exactly in the same way and the same spirit of love as the Heavenly Kami, and equally shower blessings on their devotees.

The best suggestion I can offer is that—if we leave aside Kami who are known to have trod this Earth as men (*genzai-shiri*), and kamified objects, animate or inanimate, Earthly Kami are those who maintain and defend the existing status of the Earth both against further Heavenly infiltrations and against destructive attacks from hostile forces, while Heavenly Kami are those who endeavour to instil into the Earth further Heavenly influence.

It should be noted that among the denizens of the Shintô Pantheon there are a great number of Goddesses, some of whom stand alone, like the SunGoddess and the Goddess of Food, or in groups, like the three Munakata-no-kami, while others are closely connected with a male counterpart, such as Izanami. Some people even claim that Goddesses can in most cases be found also in temples to male Gods, and they draw the conclusion that in very old times the social system of Japan was matriarchal—and therefore peaceful.⁽²⁶⁷⁾

In Shintô as in most other Eastern religions, there is no very clear line of demarcation between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ Deities. The assembled Kami themselves called one of the most prominent among them ‘wicked’ (*Nihongi* 1, 47), and there are many other references to ‘evil Kami’. There are nevertheless some Divine beings who are notoriously and permanently evil by nature. The highest ones in the hierarchy are the Magatsuhi-no-kami, whom we shall discuss later (cf. p. 78 below); they are held responsible for all evil, including sin, pollution and disasters. ‘Things in life that are bad and unfortunate’, wrote Motoôri, ‘are the acts of the Magatsuhi-no-kami’.⁽⁵⁵⁴⁾

A remarkable feature of Shintô cosmogony is that immediately after the birth of the Magatsuhi-no-kami were born the Rectifying Kami, Naobi-nokami, ‘who remove all sin, pollution and disasters, restore the normal state, and bring back the pure, bright, proper and straight world of the Gods’.⁽³²⁷⁾

Hirata explained that men and Kami all have in them both the spirit of the Magatsuhi-no-kami, which becomes violent when something wrong has been committed, and that of the Naobi-no-kami, the *naobi-no-mitama*, as Motoôri calls it, which moderates it and leads it to gentleness.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

But there are other and lower entities which are more demoniacal, the Oni, whom Motoôri calls Ashiki-kami ‘evil Kami’.⁽³²⁴⁾ They ‘always come from outside’.⁽¹⁴²⁾ They are spirits ‘possessing a fearful countenance, great strength and near-human form’.⁽³²⁷⁾ One author explains that ‘the Oni may be blue, pink or grey; his face is flat, his wide mouth stretches from ear to ear; on his head grow horns; he often has a third eye on his forehead; his feet have three toes with pointed nails, and his fingers are also three in number’.⁽³¹⁰⁾ The Oni are *araburu-kami* (wild spirits), *mono-no-ke* (evil spirits), *bakemono* (beings possessed of magical powers).⁽⁵⁰⁶⁾ One official standpoint is that ‘although they do not really deserve to be considered as Kami, in Shintô it has been thought possible to soothe and pacify their evil hearts and actions by worship (*matsuri*) and thus change them into benevolent Deities.’⁽³²⁷⁾ And as a matter of fact, in the Nikkô Fire-festival, the three Onibu who play a part are described as friendly and trustworthy.

One specific instance, among many others, is thus given by the *Nihongi*. About the middle of the sixth century, ‘the men of Su-shên removed to Segaha Bay. The God of this Bay is a dreadful God, and no one dares to approach him. Half of those who drink of that water (presumably of the Segaha Bay) when thirsty die, and their bones are piled up on the rocky steps. The common people call this place Mishihase no Kuma’ (XIX, 26).

There are also Earth-spirits that dwell in the far depths of the mountains below the rocks and ores; they are also known as village-protectors who bring tools for cultivation, as well as weapons.⁽⁷⁶⁴⁾

One outstanding aspect of the concept of Kami in actual worship is that it is extraordinarily flexible. To take only a few points:

(1) In many cases, we find a large area of disagreement between theologians as to whether different names refer to the same Kami or to entirely different Kami.

(2) In many cases also, it is a matter of controversy whether one name designates one single Kami or a group of two or three or more. The *Isemonogatari* (CXVII) definitely refers to the three Kami of Sumiyoshi as being one single Kami. Apart from such extreme cases, it often happens that several Kami worshipped in the same temple should be considered collectively for all or most practical purposes; such is the case for the three Munakata-no-kami, the four Kasuga-no-kami, the three Kami of the Nikkō Futara-san-jinja, the two Ôarai-isosaki-no-kami, etc.

(3) When several Kami are enshrined in the same sanctuary (*honden*), separate worship is sometimes offered to each one individually, but more frequently no distinction is made within a collective service, even though they may be of entirely different nature, origin and rank.

(4) Many cases can be found when the name of a Kami worshipped in a certain temple has changed, and nobody can be quite certain whether it remains the same Kami, or whether there has been a substitution of one for another.⁽⁵⁹⁰⁾

(5) It frequently happens that the same Kami enshrined under the same name in different temples is believed by the worshippers to have entirely different powers (*shintoku*) according to the temple.

(6) Different aspects (*mitama*) and consequent modes of action of one and the same Kami are occasionally worshipped in different temples, or even simultaneously within the same temple, sometimes side by side in the same sanctuary (*honden*), and to all practical purposes are treated as different entities. And from a theological point of view, Motoôri admits further, with his theory of fractional bodies (*bun-shiri*), that one Kami may be one or many⁽³²⁴⁾

A Kami may also be ‘divided’ by a decision of the authorities. In the Ideha-jinja of the Dewa-san-dzan, the worshippers believe that the Ideha-no-kami, i.e. the Kami of the temple, is in fact Uga-no-mitama, ‘because he has among his virtues (*shintoku*) those of Uga-no-mitama.’ But after the war they were separated and made into two different Kami.

(7) Temples are not rare in which the priests themselves are not quite sure as to what Kami is enshrined and worshipped. When pressed for a precise answer, they are willing to consult their archives, but as often as not do not find in them any relevant information. The striking thing is that as a general rule they are not particularly interested, and they cannot imagine why the foreign visitor should be so inquisitive about it, when the actual worshipper displays no such curiosity. Although, as I was told by a Shintô authority,⁽¹²²⁾ ‘the Shintô exercisers who can penetrate into the upper worlds (i.e. mystics who practice spiritual discipline) often deplore it (i.e. that priests and devotees should be content with such uncertainty)’.

To give a few instances:

In the Nibutsuhime-jinja, some authorities⁽⁶⁸⁾ take the Kami to be Waka-hiru-me, while others⁽¹⁴²⁾ believe her to be Nibutsu-hime.

In the important Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, the Kami is ‘perhaps’ Taka-okami-no-kami, or else the first twelve Kami listed in the *Kojiki*.

It is ‘through deductions’ that people came to the conclusion that the Kami enshrined in the Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, one of the politically most influential temples in the Tokyo area is ‘probably’ Ô-kuni-nushi. And in one of its subsidiary shrines, the Amatsu-jinja, the Kami, designated by the vague appellation of Amatsu-ô-kami, is officially ‘unidentified’. Priests are inclined to believe that it ‘may be’ Sukuna-hikona, while lay devotees prefer to think that it is Michizane Sugawara.⁽¹²²⁾

In the main sanctuary (*honden*) of the Kumano Hongû-taisha, the central place does not contain any of the objects (*shintai*) in which a Kami usually resides, but the priests ‘suppose’ that Kuni-toko-tachi dwells there.

In Shiwa-hime-mura (Kurihara-gun, Miyagi-ken) is an independent shrine dedicated to a Kami called Shiwa-hime-gami, who may be either Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime or Ame-no-uzume.⁽¹²²⁾

In the Ten-jin-sha, a *massha* of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, the Kami is perhaps all the Ama-tsu-kami, and perhaps Michizane Sugawara.

There are a few cases, such as the Hase (Saëki) Hachiman-sha, where the Kami is simply called Mitama-no-kami, i.e. the Kami who resides in the *mitama-shiro*, which in simple language means ‘unidentified’.⁽¹²²⁾ And everybody is quite satisfied.

(8) In many temples which are regularly serviced by priests and frequented by devout worshippers, nobody can even guess what Kami has been enshrined. Such is the case in:

The Seimeï-jinja, a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha,⁽²⁴³⁾ the Miko-yama-jinja, a *massha* of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja.

The Kono-jinja, another *massha* of the same temple, in which there are three Kami, one of which, Sudo-ginkyo-kôtei, is an Emperor, but nobody knows which.⁽²⁴³⁾

The Waka-miya, a subsidiary shrine (*sessha*) of the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, where the Kami is called Wakamiya-ô-kami, i.e. the great Kami of the Waka-miya shrine, and was extensively worshipped in the Nara era; nobody knows who he is. Although this name is often given to the son of the Kami in the central shrine, I strongly suspect that in many similar cases no one knows who the Wakamiya-ô-kami really is.

The Nanden of the Sada-jinja, where out of five Kami, four are unknown, the fifth being Susano-wo.

The Izumo-ô-yashiro, in the precincts of which are two small shrines, where worship is regularly offered, although no one remembers who the Kami are.

The Imaô-sha and the Tarôsakon-sha, two *massha* of the Dazaifu Ten-man-gû, where the Kami are also ‘unidentified’.⁽¹²²⁾

Into this category we should also put a very large number of the subsidiary shrines of which the Kami simply bears the name of the shrine, followed by the words *-no-kami* or *-no-mikoto* or *no-ô-kami*; in most cases the priests are totally unable to give any information about the said Kami except that name.

(9) Sometimes also it happens that the people do not accept the verdict of the priests as to which Kami is enshrined in a temple. The official names of the Kami in the Tokyo Suiten-gû are Ame-no-minaka-nushi and Emperor Antoku, but the general belief is that there is only one Kami, Mizu-ha-no-me.⁽¹²²⁾

(10) There exist a considerable number of smaller shrines, still extensively used for worship, in which it is openly admitted that no special Kami is enshrined. It has been suggested, although not officially confirmed, that devotees can bring down into them for worship any Kami they particularly fancy.

All these peculiarities make it easier to understand the statement made by quite a few Shintōists that, to a certain extent, their religion is essentially monotheistic. It might be more accurate, however, to accept Mason's qualified description: 'Shintō shows a strongly-felt subconscious intuition that beside the individual expressions of Divine spirit there is a coordination of Divinity.'⁽⁵²³⁾ This would be consistent with a more precise explanation by a contemporary Japanese author: 'The eight myriads of Kami of our country are not separate; they are unified into one centre, which is Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami.'⁽⁴²⁰⁾

And that would explain the famous poem by Saigyō: *Nanigotono Owashimasukawa Shiranedomo Katajike Nasani Namida Kobomru*, 'I do not know what exactly is in here, but feeling some gratitude I cannot help crying.'

It should be noted, however, that this belief in one 'centre', in which all Kami are 'unified' should not be taken too literally. One other and no less authoritative Shintō writer declared recently: 'Shintō does not preach a monistic God behind these Kami, underlying and comprehending them.'⁽⁴¹⁷⁾

A classification of Kami proposed by Aston⁽³²⁵⁾ into 'individual objects' (such as Ame-no-minaka-nushi), 'classes' (such as Kukuchi, the Kami of trees) and 'abstract qualities' (such as the Musubi-kami, the Kami of growth) does not seem justified by anything in Japanese tradition. But another classification suggested by a high-priest⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ is probably based on some old text. It distinguishes between four types of Kami, the 'physical' Kami (*tetsugaku-shin*), the imported Deities (*ban-shin*), men known to have lived on Earth (*genzai-shin*) and the Kami 'of the Universe' (*uchyū-shin*), 'which are similar to the first category'. Under this system, some Kami like Ame-no-minaka-nushi may belong both to the first and the fourth group. One other high-priest, who is also a great scholar,⁽²⁾ but whose views were considered with more than diffidence until the end of the Second World War, stresses the difference between the actual real and full Kami, such as Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami as a Solar Goddess, Creator of the Universe, and the personified Kami, such as the same Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami viewed only as Ancestor.

A distinction is also made between the most important Kami who occupy the first place in influential temples, and the *Kenzoku* (a word borrowed from Buddhism), who are the various Kami or messengers subordinate to them. In this latter category fall the *Mi-kogami*, who are the offspring of the principal Kami.⁽³²⁷⁾

It should be noted that not even the highest Kami are either omnipotent or omniscient (cf. p. 260 below), but that each Kami has some powers (*shintoku*) derived from his 'lofty authority' (*mi-itsu*). Aston certainly exaggerated when he wrote: 'Almost any Kami, whatever his origin may send rain, bestow prosperity in trade, avert sickness, cure sickness or sterility, and so on, without much discrimination of function.'⁽³²⁵⁾ This may be true to a certain extent of the family-kami or the Kami who looks after a small community (*uji-gami*), but every Kami enshrined in a public temple is more or less of a specialist. Sometimes the belief is based on the myths relating to his origin and his life; sometimes it has as its basis some unexpected miracle which has been attributed to him, and which devotees expect him to be able to repeat in similar circumstances; sometimes it has its origin in a misreading

or a mispronunciation of his name. In the Ôsaka Hirota-jinja, for instance, the ‘regional Kami’ is called Ji (land-locality)-kami—and is believed to be no less a person than the Sun-Goddess; but *ji* (written differently) also means haemorrhoids, and he is credited with great powers to cure that disease; there are many ex-voto which testify to numerous cases in which he is believed to have succeeded. More often, however, specialization does not go so far, and the Kami is taken to be a protector either of agriculture, or of shipping and fishing, or of commerce, or of soldiers, or of pregnant or nursing women, or else a bestower of children or of physical health, or of inner purity. We shall have occasion to review a number of specific cases in the second part of this book.

One peculiarity of the Kami is that many of them, even among those who play a part in the earlier stages of Genesis, are reported to have ‘died’. Indeed, in one case, that of Izanami, who was one of the original pair of Creators, lurid details are given about the decomposition and putrefaction of her body. Another among the first Kami, the Goddess of food, is said to have been killed by an infuriated Divine guest. One, Kagu-tsuchi, was beheaded or even cut into three pieces by his own father. Ame-waka-hiko was killed by an arrow and the burial ceremonies are described in detail. Koto-shiro-nushi just ‘disappeared’. The supposed graves of many of them are known. The phrases used to describe their disappearance vary: Izanami ‘divinely retires’, Izanagi ‘apparently retires’, Ô-kuni-nushi ‘becomes concealed’, Susano-wo ‘enters the Nether-distant Land (Ne-nokuni)’, etc.

Nevertheless, the Kami who thus ‘die’ do not thereby cease to be active on this Earth. They continue to be prayed to for blessings, and they respond. Their ‘death’ should therefore be taken to mean that they discarded the physical body of gross matter with which they were seen on the Earth and subsequently assumed a different body invisible to the human eye.

In cases where a noun standing alone is required, the word Kami is invariably used, but for designating the title of an individual God by a word coming at the end of his name, as for instance in Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, it is often replaced by *-mikoto*, as in Susano-wo-no-mikoto. Translators generally render *mikoto* by His (or Her) Augustness. For some Gods, the word *-kami* is always used, and for others *-mikoto*, but for many—including the most important ones, like Izanagi and Izanami—there is apparently no fixed rule. Of the two greatest Scriptures, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, the former seems to show a slight preference for *-kami*, and the latter for *-mikoto*, (524) and the two are largely interchangeable without any perceptible difference of meaning.⁽⁶²⁴⁾ A theory noted by an early French author according to which *mi* (to see) *-koto* (august thing), i.e. a visible thing, should be distinguished from *ka* (hidden, intangible) *-mi* (body) i.e. a subtle, invisible being⁽⁶¹²⁾ does not find confirmation in the texts. There are, however, elaborate theories and learned disputes among theologians about the difference of meanings between the two titles.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Let us only note that whereas *-kami* is occasionally emphasized by the addition of *-ô* (great) and becomes *-ô-kami*, the same does not occur with the word *-mikoto*.

* * *

When it became necessary to give the original religious feelings and practices of Japan a name, because another group of religious concepts, Buddhism, had made its appearance in the country, and they had to be distinguished, the former were designated by two ideograms which are read Shin-tao, or Shintô in Chinese, and Kannagara (Kami-nagara)-no-michi in Japanese pronunciation. This is generally translated The Way of the Kami’. But when the

word Kami is replaced by a Western term, such as God, which admits of a singular and a plural form, the question arises as to which should be chosen. Some Shintōists object to the name 'The Way of the Gods' because it overstresses polytheism, which is only one aspect of Shintō. One author⁽⁷⁰²⁾ has suggested: 'The Way of the One and Many Gods'. The best translation is perhaps 'The Divine Way'.

The essential point, however, is that Shintōists are expected to observe *kannarau*, i.e. to follow 'the Way of the Kami', *kannagara-no-michi*. By this is meant that their lives should conform to what they understand to be the will of the Heavenly Kami and should emulate the lives of those earthly men who themselves became great Kami. As we shall see in the Chapter on Ethics (cf. p. 70 below), this general injunction is not elaborated in a list of do's and do not's, but Japanese children imbibe its spirit so thoroughly that qualms of conscience, such as those which are so prominent in the West and loom so large in our literature, hardly seem to arise for them when they are grown up.

The concept of *Kannagara-no-michi* has of course given rise to considerable esoteric speculation. To quote only one author, a modern philosopher defines it as 'the divine blood spontaneously welling forth out of the sacred heart of the cosmos'.⁽³⁸³⁾ *Michi* 'meaning presumably "the sacred blood" for it streams forth expansively from the heart and then returns contractively to the same in a recurrent cycle'⁽³⁷⁹⁾; *michi* is therefore 'the cosmic vitalizing continuum',⁽³⁸⁴⁾ and may be taken to be the present biological link between individual man and the cosmos, including the Kami. According to a highly authoritative priest, it also means 'the timeless, spaceless (Confucian) immutable Way, which existed even before the Divine Grandson, Prince Ninigi, descended on earth; as such it is based on what is immutable in the nature of man (*ningen-no-honsei* or *hito-no-makoto*)',⁽¹²²⁾ as for instance the love of parents for their children, in spite of the kaleidoscopic changes in daily life.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

Shintō insistently claims to be a religion of the 'middle-now', the 'eternal present', *naka-ima*, and that is certainly true. Its main stress is on what should be done at the present instant, without much concern for what happened before or for what will happen later, whether in this life or in after-life.⁽³⁹⁵⁾ This explains what appears as a strange anomaly, that while attaching paramount importance to dead ancestors and to relations with them in the present, the Shintōist as such hardly ever thinks, and still less worries as to what sort of ancestor he will himself become in the future. The wonderfully intricate Buddhist theories about what happens after death certainly had a great attraction when they were introduced because they opened up an entirely new field of thought. Some modern Japanese philosophers have propounded the idea that *naka-ima* was a Japanese 'concretization' of the Buddhist concept of 'suchness'.⁽³⁸⁴⁾ Personally I am rather inclined to think that it was the already existing Shintō trend to *naka-ima* which led Buddhists in Japan to attach more importance to its philosophical Buddhist counterpart of suchness.

This point was very well stressed by a modern Japanese author⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾ whose remarks quoted below are expressly stated to apply to all religions practiced in Japan—with the notable exception of Christianity: The common concern of these religions is the internal problems of man. Their main focus is on the domain of immediate experience. How to clear worries and anxieties from man's mind is their main task. Various devices are offered for that purpose. They generally try to remould man's mind. It makes the central part of the religious activities. Mental training is the indispensable element of these religions.

Religious experience of mystical nature is also cherished by them. But those religions do not show too much interest in the social life of the people. They do not put special emphasis on ethical problems of man. Such religions present a fairly different picture compared to those of the Western religious tradition.’ He adds in the same text: ‘The Japanese have been more interested in the domain of immediate experience. So, if one wants to call the Japanese thinking idealistic, it might be better to call it as empirical idealism. It should be distinguished from conceptual idealism of the Western type.’⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

However limited to the present, Shintô nevertheless remains all-embracing. As a religion of actual daily life,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ its theology, which is ‘repugnant to separate what is above from what is below’,⁽³⁸⁴⁾ is just as disinclined to accept any division between what we call material and what we call spiritual. A modern Japanese author wrote: ‘Any religious faith which exalts only or one-sidedly the spiritual as detrimental to the carnal will become self-complacently and smugly hypocritical’.⁽³⁸⁴⁾ Putting it in a different way, a Western author wrote: ‘To Shintô, both Heavenly Divine Spirit and material existence are Kami.’⁽⁵²⁴⁾

Like many Eastern religions (such as Hinduism, Taoism, &c.), Shintô has no creed, no dogma. As we shall see later (cf. p. 66f. below), even the highpriests of the most important temples may put upon what little there are in the way of Holy Scriptures interpretations which sometimes amount to disbelief. When I had the privilege of meeting groups of authoritative gûji to discuss the most basic problems of exegesis or metaphysics, it frequently happened that they expressed, quite openly, divergent views, and that seemed to them absolutely normal—just as different people may describe from entirely different angles what they feel about maternal love or cherry-blossoms. As a matter of fact, the attitude of the Shintôist to his religion is emphatically non-intellectual. The appeal of Shintô is more to an inborn sense of duty and responsibility, as well as to feelings of spontaneous and respectful world-wide love⁽⁴¹⁹⁾ closely akin to those of family relationships—and also, to a remarkably large extent, to esthetic sensibility. One Japanese high-priest told me with the express approval of many of his colleagues that ‘in Shintô one can be a devotee without requiring to understand anything intellectually’, and that ‘the worshipper is much more deeply affected by the trees around the temple or by the small lake near it than by any theory.’⁽²¹⁸⁾ A noted Japanese author who was very familiar with Western thought stressed that Shintô is not interested in *credenda*, but in *agenda*.⁽⁷³⁷⁾ And one of the attributes commonly acknowledged as belonging to the Kami is *koto agesenu*, the ‘non-raising of words’—which puts a strong break on any attempt to theorize or standardize.⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾ That is why in great religious ceremonies (*matsuri*) verbal expressions have little or no place, and all is expressions of feeling.⁽⁴¹⁹⁾ The absence of any orthodoxy nevertheless does not prevent people from feeling that some opinions, actions or ways of life (*murahachibu*) may in themselves be somewhat heretical⁽¹³⁵⁾ i.e. incompatible with ‘the Way of the Kami’.

This had led some Japanese to describe Shintô as ‘the faith at the basis of all religions’,⁽⁴⁶⁸⁾ and even to claim that ‘Japan is the seed-country, that which has in it the seeds of all religious precepts’.⁽²¹⁾ If we leave aside any historic implications, which indeed would be most difficult to substantiate, we must admit that Shintô is perhaps nearer than any other faith to Religion *in se*, as opposed to religions in the plural. Which would justify the epithet of ‘primitive’ so often attached to it, but the word should in no way be taken as derogatory; it should rather be understood to mean: original, before any degradation had taken place into the stage of rival sects and contradictory creeds. And that is probably the best answer

to the question so often asked by outside observers who want to apply their own labels: Is Shintô a religion?

Western authors can hardly be blamed for generally answering in the negative. Where they find no creed, no code of ethics, hardly any metaphysics, no clear line of demarcation between man and God, it is hard for them to imagine that Shintô fulfils the necessary conditions to be deemed a religion. But if one takes the word to mean a clear and age-old concept of the relations between man and his surroundings, visible and invisible, and a no less clear and age-old concept of the way in which man should behave in every circumstance of life, one cannot but agree with one of the keenest Western students of Shintô, who wrote: 'Shintô is most emphatically a religion, and moreover, a religion with extraordinary vitality.'⁽⁵⁹²⁾

The word religion is not the only one which it is difficult, as well as misleading, to apply in a description of Shintô. There are many other basic concepts which are designated very precisely by Japanese terms and phrases, and for which we have no appropriate translation in Western languages. We have already discussed the words Kami, monotheism, polytheism, pantheism, etc. Among others, as we shall see later, are those which correspond only very approximately to what we call ethics, sin, symbolism, metaphysics, soul and body, matter and spirit, etc.

The practically total freedom of thought which Shintô encourages, coupled with an unhampered and unlimited variety of ritual, is certainly one of the main reasons why it has been able to remain hale and hearty in spite of the attacks and rivalries to which it has been exposed in the course of its long history. In the following chapter, we shall see how it has reacted to aggressive Buddhist proselytism. It is now adopting a very similar attitude—it can hardly be called a policy, because it comes so naturally—in the face of virulent Western materialism, which gives economic interests a priority over ethical and spiritual values.

To an amazing degree, Shintô has always been able to combine adaptability and tolerance—and therefore love of peace—with unwavering faithfulness to everything in itself which is essential. *Shojin*, the principle of incessant progress⁽⁴³⁰⁾ is actually an essential element of the very spirit of Shintô.

* * *

Shintô has no sacred book which in size, importance and authority can be compared to the Christian Bible or the Muslim Koran. An ancient Japanese author has even gone so far as to write that 'in truth, there is no original Shintô Scripture. The three divine symbols (the gem, the mirror and the sword) are the only Shintô Scriptures of Nihon.'⁽⁴⁹⁷⁾ There is, however, a fairly large body of literature—although nothing as bulky as the Hindu, Jain or Buddhist Scriptures—which is considered as a valuable and trustworthy guide to whatever should be known about Shintô, and the substance of which is treated with considerable respect—although without any trace of that bibliolatry which in some other religions attaches to Holy Scriptures. These 'sacred' books are known under the collective name of Shinten; their teachings and records need not be accepted blindly and without qualification even by the most orthodox Shintôists, and we shall see later some wide variations of interpretations which are commonly admitted. They contain mythological and historical accounts concerning the origin of the Universe, the birth of the land, the appearance of the Gods and of all things and beings in the world, the establishment of the nation and the

relation of the Gods to government, ceremonies of worship, manners and customs, Shintô attitudes and norms, etc. There is no very definite line of demarcation between what is Shinten and what is not, but the name is occasionally applied exclusively to these portions of the *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, *Kogoshûi* and *Engi-shiki* which actually deal with Shintô.

The first work of which we have any record seems to have been composed in A.D. 620, but to have been largely lost in a fire twenty-five years later (*Nihongi*, XXII, 32 and XXIV, 25).

Probably very much similar in its purpose and presentation, the next one on record, the *Kojiki* ('Records of ancient matters'), was completed in A.D. 712, as stated in the author's Preface. In the eyes of the Japanese, it comes nearer than any other writing to what we consider as a sacred book. Composed along lines similar to those of Hindu Pûrana or of the Jewish Pentateuch, it carries the story of our globe from the early stages of Creation down to the year A.D. 628. The story of its origin, as told by the author himself in the second part of his Preface, is quite interesting. Sir Ernest Satow retold it as follows in a language somewhat more intelligible to us:

The Emperor Temmu, at what portion of his reign is not mentioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had the records carefully examined, compared and weeded of their faults. There happened to be in his household a person of marvellous memory named Hieda no Are (who may have been a woman^(418, 692)), who could repeat without mistake the contents of any documents he had ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. Temmu-tennô took the pains to instruct this person in the genuine traditions and 'old language of former ages' and to make him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. 'Before the undertaking was completed', which probably means before it could be committed to writing, the Emperor died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole depository of what afterwards received the title of *Kojiki*, or *Furu-koto-bumi* as it is read by Motoôri. At the end of this interval the Empress Gemmiô ordered Ô (or Futo)-no-Yasumaro to write it down from the mouth of Are, which accounts for the completion of the manuscript in so short a time as four months and a half. Are's age at this date is not stated, but... it could not possibly have been more than sixty-eight.⁷⁽⁶²⁵⁾

The authenticity of the work is beyond doubt. It is certain that many of the songs interspersed in the narrative are considerably older than the beginning of the eighth century. Professor Chamberlain thinks that 'a moderate estimate' would ascribe the writing down of the oldest ones to the fourth or fifth century, and he allows for the possibility that they may have been composed long before. As would be expected, the language is extremely archaic and hard for non-initiates to understand. In addition to the presence of many words which have long been completely obsolete, and to the usual difficulties—which we shall discuss later—attaching to the deciphering of any Japanese religious text, the interpretation of the *Kojiki* presents a further group of terrific obstacles. To quote Professor Chamberlain again: The songs are written phonetically, syllable by syllable, in what is technically known as *manyô-gana*, i.e. entire Chinese characters used to represent sound and not sense. The rest of the text, which is in prose, is very poor Chinese, capable (owing to the ideographic nature of the Chinese written character) of being read off into Japanese. It is also not only full of "Japanisms", but irregularly interspersed with characters which turn the text into nonsense for a Chinaman, as they are used phonetically to represent certain Japanese words, for

which the author could not find suitable Chinese equivalents. These phonetically written words prove, apart from the notice in the Preface, that the text was never meant to be read as pure Chinese. The probability is that (sense being considered more important than sound) it was read partly in Chinese and partly in Japanese.' The *Kojiki* was first printed in 1644. A considerable mass of Commentaries has grown around it since 1687 at least, more particularly in the course of the last two centuries. Two complete English translations are now available, the classical one by Professor Chamberlain, and a very recent one by a Japanese scholar, Mr Shunji Inoüe. Except when modern Shintō priests and theologians prefer a different rendering, I shall quote from Prof. Chamberlain's version.

Very similar again to the *Kojiki* in its purpose and presentation, the second most important text-book on Shintō, the *Nihongi* ('Chronicles of Japan'), called also *Nihon-shoki*, carries traditional Japanese history slightly further, i.e. up to A.D. 700. According to a commentary (the *Kōnin-shiki*, of the Kōnin period, 810–824), its compilation was completed in A.D. 720, therefore only eight years after the *Kojiki*. Its two authors are Futonō-Yasumaro no-Ason (the same who took down the *Kojiki* from the mouth of Hieda no Are) and Prince Toneri. One of its advantages for the student of mythology and religion is that for a large number of episodes, it records, side by side, different versions corresponding to various traditions. Its accounts differ from those in the *Kojiki* in a number of cases. In particular the names of the same Kami and other characters are often written in different Chinese logograms, which sometimes makes assimilations doubtful; as regards Genesis, the order of succession and the very identity of the successive Kami is presented with important modifications. It is written in the Chinese language and is about double the size of the *Kojiki*. It was first printed in 1599. An excellent English translation by W.G. Aston was published in 1896. We shall quote from it except when Shintō priests and theologians prefer a different rendering. For many centuries, it was more highly valued than the *Kojiki*, the Japanese theologians of the nineteenth century, however, showed a marked preference for the earlier work, largely because it betrays less Chinese influence.

Mention should be made of a recent Version' of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* which was published in 1936 under the title of *Shinten*, i.e. the Shintō Bible, and which gives the most authoritative Japanese readings of the words and phrases for which opinions differ. We have followed it except in a few cases when the priests of the main temples directly concerned insisted on different readings.

Until the nineteenth century, the book which ranked next in importance to the above two, the present *Kujiki* or, more properly, *Sendai-kuji-hongi*, was universally believed to be identical with the work composed in 620 to which we have referred. Motoōri—who pronounced it *Furu-koto-fumi*⁽⁶³¹⁾—however condemned it, or most of it, as a 'forgery', or rather a late compilation from the *Nihongi* and the *Kojiki*, and therefore of no interest because adding nothing worthwhile to the previous books.⁽⁵⁵⁴⁾ Now the tide has turned again, and practically all scholars, Japanese and Western, incline to the opinion that it is authentic, and that the original matter contained in the mythological chapters may be accepted as a trustworthy source.

The *Mannyōshū* (literally 'myriad leaves'), the oldest Japanese anthology of verse, was compiled in the eighth century by Moroye Tachibana, and supplemented by Yakamochi

Ôtomo.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ It contains approximately 4,500 poems written from the fifth to the eighth centuries by persons of various ranks, from Emperor to peasant. The two most outstanding poets included are Akahito and Hitomaro who are numbered among the Six Great Poets of Japan.⁽³⁴²⁾ Noted for its straightforward expression of grand, simple sentiments, it presents valuable information about ancient religious beliefs, customs, ways of life and thought.⁽³²⁷⁾ A complete English translation by J.L.Pierson was published in 1929–1956 in Holland.

From about the same period date the oldest extant codes of law. We should make a special mention of the *Taihô-ryô*, promulgated in 702 and added to in 718.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ Next in order of seniority, the *Yôrô-ryô*, which dates from 718 and comprises ten volumes, is the oldest fully extant. It remained the fundamental law of the country from even before the Nara period until the Meiji period. It contains the *Jingi-ryô* ('Laws concerning the Kami'), which deal with Shintô in general, and more particularly with the coronation ceremonies of the Emperor and the main annual festivals.⁽³²⁷⁾

The *Kogoshûi* ('Gleanings of ancient words', *Furu-goto*), a work by Hironari Imbe (a descendant of Futo-tama-no-mikoto),⁽⁵²⁹⁾ was presented to Emperor Heizei in 807. 'Written in a conservative spirit against the then overwhelming influence of Chinese culture',⁽⁴⁷⁰⁾ it contains commentaries on ancient words and practices, and gives details omitted by the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*.⁽³²⁷⁾ Although composed chiefly as a protest of the Imbe family against the claims of the rival Nakatomi clan, the very fact that it was to be scrutinized and discussed at Court in a highly controversial spirit is a good reason to believe that it records only facts which could then hardly be doubted. An English translation by G.Katô and H.Hoshino, with annotations, was published in Tokyo in 1925.

The *Fudoki* ('Records of Air and Soil'), are 'works of local geography presented to the Court in response to an Imperial order in 713 to the local governments to record... information on the origin of geographical names, descriptions of the country, fauna, flora,...old tales and legends of the region.'⁽³²⁷⁾ The only one to have been preserved in its entirety is the Izumo-fudoki, which contains a wealth of information about the country consecrated to the first Kami who took charge of the Earth. A few sections were translated into English by Atsuharu Sakaï in 1941. Fragments of various other *Fudoki* were also preserved: Bungo (Ôita-ken), Harima (Hyôgo-ken), Hitachi (Ibaragi-ken), Hizen (Saga-ken and Nagasaki-ken). In addition, important quotations were found in other works from the following: Bingo (Okayama-ken), Buzen (Fukuoka-ken and Ôita-ken), Chikugo and Chikuzen (Fukuoka-ken), Hahaki or Hôki (Tottori-ken), Higo (Kumamoto-ken), Himuka or Hyûga (Miyazaki-ken), Ise (Mië-ken), Iyo (Ehime-ken), Mutsu (Fukushima-ken, Iwate-ken and Miyagi-ken), Ohari (Aïchi-ken), Ôsumi (Kagoshima-ken), Settsu (Ôsaka-fu), Tango (Kyôto-fu), Yamashiro (Kyôto-fu). They contain little of interest for the study of Shintô. Most of them are incorporated in the *Shinten*.⁽¹²²⁾ Some were translated into German by Karl Florenz.

The *Shinsen Shôji-roku*, compiled in 815, gives in thirty volumes the origins and histories of the various clans. It contains valuable information about ancient Japanese genealogy (including that of the families claiming direct descent from individual Kami) and culture.⁽³²⁷⁾

The *Sendai Kujî Hongi*, which dates from the late ninth Century, consists of ten volumes detailing the history of Japan from the Age of the Kami until that of Empress Suiko (554–628). Although many of the narratives duplicate those of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, there are quite a few old legends not found in other books and which provide information about religious

ceremonies and thought. At one time it was believed to be a forgery, but in recent years it has been re-evaluated,⁽³²⁷⁾ particularly the three sections entitled *Tenson-hongi*, *Kuni-no-miya-tsu-ko-hongi* and *Jindaihongi*.⁽²⁾

The *Engi-shiki*, ‘Institutes of the Engi (or Yengi) Period (901–923)’,⁽³²⁴⁾ is ‘a collection of minute regulations about government administration current during the period of *ritsu-ryō* (seventh until late ninth Centuries) law...’ Compilation, by Tokihira Fujiwara, Tadahira Fujiwara and others, was begun in A.D. 905, and the complete work was presented at Court in 927, but it was not actually promulgated until 967.⁽³²⁷⁾ It was first printed in 1647, and the definitive edition, in sixty-one volumes, was published in 1828.⁽⁶²⁴⁾ The first ten of the fifty volumes of the first edition are regulations concerning Shintō and are highly valued for the study of Shintō ritual.⁽³²⁷⁾ Volume VIII contains an important series of *Norito*, to which we shall return. Volumes IX and X (*Jimmyō-chō*) contains a list of 3,132 Kami worshipped in 2,861 temples,⁽⁶²⁵⁾ and it is a matter of great pride for any Shintō temple to be mentioned in that list. With the following exception, no translation in a Western language is available.

One of the sections of the *Engi-shiki* most important as regards Shintō is the *Norito*, ‘enunciation of sacred words’,⁽³⁸⁴⁾ ‘a liturgic address that man offers to the Kami’,⁽³¹³⁾ ‘words spoken to the Gods. There have been...more than ten different etymologies of the word *norito*...Dr Shinobu Orikuchi (followed in this by Masayoshi Nishitsunoī)...regarded it as an abbreviation of...*nori-to-goto*, meaning divinely imparted magic words spoken in a sacred place’⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾ while Mabuchi prefers *noritabe-goto*, ‘[Imperial] words augustly expressed’,⁽⁵¹⁵⁾ and other authors suggest *noru* or *nori*, to resemble, resemblance, like that between father and son.⁽³¹³⁾ Originally, the *Norito* were transmitted as antique magic formulas, but in time they took on quite a different character as words spoken in worship of the Deities. With the development of Court ritual, the primitive *Norito*, which were originally the words of the gods themselves, took a different shape as ‘prayers from men to gods’,⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾—a view for which Motoōri sees no sufficient evidence.⁽⁵⁵⁴⁾

The *Norito* ‘contain words of praise for the gods, lists of offerings, words identifying the persons originating and pronouncing the prayers, and the subject of the prayer, but they contain no didactic elements.’⁽³²⁷⁾ In its broad sense, the name *Norito* includes *Norito* proper, *Yogoto* (formulae blessing and assuring that the reign of the Emperor will continue to flourish for ever),⁽³²⁷⁾ and *Iwaigoto* (prayers for congratulation).⁽¹²²⁾

The magic power attributed to the chanting of the *Norito* is in direct relation with *koto-dama*, the science of the spiritual power residing in words.⁽³²⁷⁾

The greater number of the *Norito* ‘are the oldest specimens of indigenous Japanese literature extant, excepting perhaps the poetry contained in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, although the oldest records we have of them are more recent.’⁽⁶²⁴⁾

Opinions vary as to the exact dates of some of the most important *Norito*. Thus Mabuchi ascribes the *Norito* on General Purification (*Ô-barai-no-kotoba*, also called *Nakatomi-barai-no-kotoba*) to the reign of Temmu-tennō (seventh century) and the Prayer for Harvest to the reign of Kōnin-tennō (eighth century), but Satow disagrees⁽⁶²⁴⁾ and thinks that the Prayer for Harvest dates back to Sūjin-tennō (first century B.C.) Such divergencies, however, in no way affect the practical and spiritual value of the prayers, and that is the only subject with which we are concerned.

An English translation by D.Philippi was published in Tokyo in 1959. Important comments in English by Satow were published in 1878 and 1881.

Included among the *Norito* is a very important document called the ‘Congratulatory Address of the Chieftains of Izumo’ (Izumo-no-kuni-no-miyatsu-ko-kamu-yo-goto)⁽⁶³¹⁾. Mabuchi ascribes it to the reign of Jomei-tennô (second quarter of the seventh century), but here also Satow disagrees.

Let us note also that some *Norito* are ‘strictly esoteric’, as we shall see (cf. p. 443 below) for the one chanted during the Go-ô-shinji.

The *Sansha-Takusen* is a group of oracles (*takuseri*) supposed to have been given by the Kami of the three temples (*san-ja*): the Ise Tenshō Kôtaï-jin (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), the Hachiman Daïbosatsu and the Kasuga Daïmyôjin. Its first appearance is traditionally believed to have occurred in the pond of the Tôdai-ji temple in Nara at the end of the thirteenth century. It consists of ethical teachings concerning purity of mind, honesty and benevolence. Although showing a very strong Buddhist influence, it contributed greatly to the spread of Shintô doctrines.⁽³²⁷⁾

Since the Ise-jingû is now considered the very centre of Shintô, it is probably justifiable to include in this list the *Shintô-go-bu-sho*, the five books which present the fundamental teachings of the Ise-shintô. They are believed to have been written in the latter half of the thirteenth century,⁽³²⁷⁾ but probably record some traditions which are considerably older.⁽²⁾

The comparatively meagre authoritative Scriptural sources which we have listed must of course be complemented. The obvious addition is the information supplied by recognized theologians (*kokugakusha*). The four most famous exponents of theology (*shingaku*), whom we shall have many occasions to quote, are:

Azumamaro Kada (1669–1736), a lay priest of the Kyoto Fushimi-inari-taisha, who first propounded *kokugaku*. He extolled the traditional Shintô spirit, free from Buddhist and Confucian influences. His main work is the *Sô Wagakkô Kei*.⁽³²⁷⁾

Mabuchi Kamo (1697–1769), a disciple of the former, devoted his life to the study of the classics, centring in ancient philology, especially that of the *Mannyôshû*. He actually started the Japanese Renaissance, *kogaku fukkô*, the revival of ancient learning, and played a vital role in the revival of Shintô. He announced the result of his studies in 1737.⁽⁴²⁷⁾ The most important of his numerous works are the *Koku-i-kô* and the *Norito-kô*. The last-mentioned book is, according to Satow,⁽⁶²⁴⁾ ‘the chief guide to the understanding of rituals.’ His forty-four volumes of commentaries on the *Kojiki* were printed with the text in 1789–1822.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

Norinaga Motoôri (1730–1801) took etymologies as his main basis. He became the highest exponent of *kokugaku*. His main work, *Kojiki-den*, ‘exerted a great influence on the knowledge and thought of later ages’;⁽³²⁷⁾ his theories are presented in a simpler form in his *Naobi-no-mitama*.

Atsutane Hirata (1776–1843) became a follower of Motoôri after the latter’s death; he caused his learning to be put into actual practice and contributed to the revival of Shintô. Possessing a voluminous knowledge, he wrote not only about the Japanese classics, but also studied and criticized Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity. He was the one among the great four who ‘left behind him the most varied and richest writings’.⁽³²⁷⁾ He is however taken to be less objective than Motoôri in his exegesis.

To them must be added Moribe Tachibana (1780–1849), who criticized Motoôri’s theories.

Among later theologians, we should make a special mention of Norikiyo Komo, Bonji Kawazura, Kiyomaro Kawai, Katsuhiko Kakehi, Professor Sokyô Ono, Professor Akira Nakanishi and Professor Motoki Matsunaga.⁽³²⁷⁾

Apart from those more or less officially recognized theologians, a considerable number of Japanese scholars, ancient and modern, have written on various aspects of Shintô, and the bulk of their works can probably compare with what was published on some of the other great religions. Only an insignificant section of it was ever translated into any Western languages. Among the most outstanding scholars whose works are available in English, special mention should be made of Genchi Katô. Among Western students who tried to study Shintô with deep respect, from the inside, we should mention specially Sir Ernest Satow, Lafcadio Hearn and Ponsonby-Fane.

Valuable material can also be found in the teachings of the many 'reformers' of Shintô, founders of new sects and others, whose main originality often lies in stressing one aspect of Shintô more than others, and in supplying partly new interpretations.

Although they do not always enjoy general recognition, and some of the information they contain may be controversial, the voluminous archives of a great many temples constitute another extremely valuable source. Many scholars, local and otherwise, have begun to explore them and derived from them precious monographs, but by far the greater bulk of them lies in manuscript form and has not *yet* been tapped, or even inventoried. Very likely it is on these works that the oral traditions preserved in the various temples are largely based. And, as one priest very aptly said, all such traditions, even if they are considered as legends, do carry a meaning.⁽²¹³⁾

For the purpose of our study, however, the most meaningful source of information is to be sought in what Shintôists, priests or laymen, believe, think and do. As Lafcadio Hearn put it: The elusiveness of Shintô for the foreign student is due to the fact that they have sought for it in books: in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, which are its histories; in the *Norito*, which are its prayers; in the commentaries of Motoôri and Hirata, who were its greatest scholars.' One of the present-day high-priests who can speak with the greatest authority said to me: 'As in every other religion, Shintô can only be really understood by those who live it.'⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ That is why for the purpose of the present book I have relied first and foremost on the testimony of its living priests and lay-devotees, sharing as much as I could of their life, their prayers and their various exercises.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND MAIN SUBDIVISIONS OF SHINTÔ

SINCE Shintô is believed to have been born at the same time as the Japanese people, it has a long history, and necessarily passed through a number of successive periods. Its historical development may be conveniently divided into four main sections:

- (a) Shintô before the impact of Buddhism and other foreign religions;
- (b) Its gradual merging with Buddhism (Shinbutsu-shûgô);
- (c) The efforts of Shintô to free itself from all external influences, and the resulting separation of Shintô from Buddhism (Shinbutsu-bunri);
- (d) The American Diktat and its consequences.

Most scholars hold that writing in Japan began almost simultaneously with the arrival of Chinese, i.e. Buddhist travellers. A theory according to which there existed an old syllabic script, the characters of which corresponded more or less to those of the present *kana*, although their shapes have little in common, was defended by a number of authorities, including no less a person than Hirata (particularly in his *Jinji-hi-fumi-den* and his *Giji-den*), and there exists considerable literature on the subject, with an abundant variety of reproductions. But at present only some esoterists seem to admit its validity.

It may therefore be assumed that we have practically no writing on Shintô prior to the arrival of Buddhism, and what pure Shintô was before that time can only be conjectured from whatever ancient oral traditions were later embodied in written sources, and what scarce information archaeology can yield. I do not think that much weight should be attached to comparisons with what could still very recently be observed in outlying islands such as Miyako (Ryu-kyu), where some scholars claim that Shintô has continued unchanged over twenty-five centuries!

One further difficulty arises from the fact that as long as Shintô had no competitor in the ocean-bound Empire, and its followers had no knowledge of any other system of religion and ethics there was neither need nor opportunity for it to become self-conscious. As we have seen, it had not even a name by which to be called.

One of the highest-ranking Shintô priests frankly admitted: 'I cannot tell what Shintô was worth before Buddhism came in.'⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ One author defines Shintô as 'a generic name for ideas and institutions existing in Japan prior to the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism.'⁽⁵⁰⁴⁾

The best guess we might make would probably be to describe it as a strong instinctive conviction of a deep underlying unity, both biological and psychical, between all men (living, dead or yet to be borne), nature, and whatever beings were not visible to the naked eye and should be held in reverence.

However ill-definable from our Western point of view that belief was, it very probably had far-reaching effects: a constant insistence on the maintenance and furthering of harmony between all men, nature and the godheads, respectful consideration for everything that

exists, a cult of ancestors, a feeling of security and durability, of inner peace and assurance in a world all of one's own kin, and also a spontaneous behaviour fitting to a society in which the individual was only a link in the unending chains of time and space—therefore the absence of any need for a code of ethics.

As was very well said by the high-priest of a large temple, original Shintô was common-sense, what all Japanese could accept as Truth.⁽²¹⁸⁾

Some Westerners, and unfortunately some of their Japanese admirers, were unable to see in pre-Buddhist Shintô more than 'an unorganized worship of spirits.'⁽³⁰⁸⁾ It would be more appropriate in my view to consider it as a highly detailed *Weltanschauung*, both consistent and healthy, which preceded the separation of science, metaphysics, religion and ethics.

Although a strong Chinese influence can certainly be detected in the presentation of the Scriptures, and although many assimilations were attempted at later periods—more particularly by Western scholars—its mythology is beyond doubt entirely original.

Since there existed nothing different to be intolerant about, Shintô could not be otherwise than fully tolerant. The Japanese people at that time had certainly never imagined that there might possibly arise any rivalry between sects or creeds, and they were therefore quite ready to welcome anything that might enrich their life and their concepts.

* * *

According to the *Nihongi* (XX, 14 sq.), this is how Buddhism arrived in Japan:

'In the tenth month of the year A.D. 552, "King Syöng-myöng of Pèkché [also called King Syöng] sent Kwi-si of the Western Division, and the Tal-sol, Nu-ri Sa-chhi-hyé, with a present to the Emperor of an image of Shaka (Shakyamuni) Butsu in gold and copper, several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of 'Sutras'. Separately he presented a memorial in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying: This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chow and Confucius had not attained a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han, where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them.

'Thy servant, therefore, Myöng, King of Pèkché, has humbly despatched his retainer, Nu-ri Sa-chhi, to transmit it to the Imperial Country, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of the Buddha: "My law shall spread to the East."'

This day the Emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the Envoys, saying: "Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. We are unable, however, to decide of ourselves." Accordingly he enquired of his Ministers one after another, saying: 'The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented by the Western frontier State is of a severe dignity, such as we have never at all seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?'" (XIX, 34 sq.)

Some of the counsellors were enthusiastic, others reticent. So various experiments were carried out, an important one of which was the following: ‘At this time Tattô found a Buddhist relic on the food of abstinence, and presented it to Mumako-no-sukune. Mumako-no-sukune, by way of experiment, took the relic, and placing it on the middle of a block of iron, beat it with an iron sledge-hammer, which he flourished aloft. The block and the sledge-hammer were shattered to atoms, but the relic could not be crushed. Then the relic was cast into the water, when it floated on the water or sank as one desired. In consequence of this, Mumako-no-sukune, Ikenobe-no-Hida and Tattô Shiba held faith in Buddhism and practiced it unremittingly; Mumako-no-sukune built another Buddhist temple at his house in Ishikaha. From this arose the beginning of Buddhism.’ (*Nihongi*, XX, 14 sq.)

Zen Buddhism, of course, came much later. It seems that the chief person in introducing it was Yeisai (1141–1215), a monk of Hiei, who brought it in 1191.⁽³⁰⁸⁾ Since Zen is known to have a great influence in Japan, it may not be unappropriate to quote here what a modern scholar wrote about it:

‘A grasp of Zen Buddhism will pave the way for a thoroughgoing comprehension of Japanese traditional culture envisaged as a whole. In effect, the fine and subtle spirit of Zen pervades all walks of our national life, while it has made a tremendous contribution toward the development of literature, art, manners, ceremonies and dancing, in Japan. So, it is quite natural that intelligent Westerners should find in Zennism the very key to the unlocking of the main portal of Japanese civilization. But, few people are aware of the undeniable fact that Zen Buddhism was able to reach the culminating point of its development under the overwhelming influence of Shintôism, which constitutes permanently the kernel of the Japanese existential thoughtpattern.’⁽³⁸⁴⁾

When Chinese Buddhism was introduced it brought with it many things which had never been thought of before: a detailed account of what happens to the individual after death, a code of ethics, systems of religious discipline, monasticism, an elaborate ritualism, plastic arts connected with religion, etc. Eager as ever to try anything new, the Japanese accepted the imported faith as a valuable addition to what they already had. The Shintô Kami were consulted when portents were noted which were unfavourable to the innovation, and they gave a willing consent.

The new religion was characterized both with a keen zeal for proselytising and a remarkable ability for adapting itself to local conditions.

After having accepted considerable adulteration of its original Indian form in order to make itself acceptable to the Chinese and the Koreans, it submitted to just as drastic a transformation when it spread from the mainland of Asia to insular Japan. There it found both natural and convenient to conform as closely as possible to ‘the national traditions of Japan, which were inseparably interwoven with [what then came to be called] Shintô.’⁽³⁰⁸⁾

In the field of doctrine, to quote a Japanese authority on the subject:

‘Buddhism in Japan shows radical differences from such [Indian] life-negating Buddhism... It also aims at remoulding man’s mind. But there is an important shift on the purpose of such remoulding. It does not try to exterminate man’s basic desires, but it tries to straighten the desire structure of man. The conflicting desires are the cause for worries and anxieties. But desires as such are not only the cause for worries and anxieties, but are

the cause for all the life activities. Only the wrong desire structure becomes the cause for worries and anxieties. So, desires as such should not be exterminated. But desires should be given a right structure. Following the teaching of Buddha, they believe man can remould the mind to give his desire system a right structure. Enlightenment means that a man has got a right structure of mind. The stimulations of environmental situations will no more make conflicting desires rise up in mind. His worries and anxieties disappear from his mind. He suffers from no miseries of life. The environmental world may remain the same, but for him, the life of miseries changes into a life of happiness. After having achieved the enlightenment, a man will still enjoy the earthly life. Buddhism for the Japanese people, thus, is a life-affirming religion.⁷⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

Japanese Buddhist sects were formed, which claimed descent from Chinese sects and often retained their names, but in fact were in most cases very different in their teachings and still more so in their practice. And of some sects, like the Hokke-shintô, inaugurated by the Buddhist priest Nichiren, but now practically abandoned,⁽⁴¹⁹⁾ it is almost impossible to tell whether they are preponderantly Shintô or Buddhist.

In the field of religious practices, 'the common folk found themselves good Buddhists without being quite aware how they became so.'⁽⁵⁰⁹⁾

In Shintô temples, which had never had any images before, Buddhist images were installed. Some temples, like the Izumo-ô-yashiro⁽⁶³²⁾ resisted the temptation, but they were the exception. The temples themselves received Buddhist Chinese names; the Dazaifu-tenman-gû was renamed Jyû-ichi-men-Kannon.⁽¹³³⁾ As we shall see in the second part of this book when we consider the various Kami, many of them were also awarded Chinese names of Bodhisattva (Bosatsu) or other Deities, and worshipped according to Buddhist rites. Relics of the Buddha were offered to them; in 758, a Buddhist priest, Dô-kyô, who was a great devotee of the Ise Daï-jingû, presented Buddhist sûtras to Amaterasu-ô-mikami.⁽⁶⁵⁵⁾ Buddhist priests (*sha-sô*) took an active part in religious services; processions came and went between the sanctuaries of the two religions. In the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja, the procession of the matsuri was taken to the Buddhist temple Tennô-ji by Shintô priests and brought back by Buddhist priests.⁽²⁰¹⁾ In the Ame-no-hashidate-jinja, since there were no longer Shintô priests, the matsuri was merged with the ceremony of the neighbouring Buddhist temple Chion-ji.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ In the Usa-hachiman-gû, a golden sacred image (*shô-tai*) made of the same metal as the Daï-butsu was kept in the Shintô temple, but regularly taken to the Buddhist Miroku-ji to be 'purified'; a Buddhist sûtra, the Hannya-shingyô, was offered to Hachiman to drive all illnesses out of Japan,⁽⁸¹⁾ etc.

Buddhist temples proper were erected, as often as not within or near the precincts of the Shintô temples, and in their turn welcomed Shintô shrines in their own precincts—either the Buddhist temple (then called *bettô-ji*) 'protecting' the Shintô one, or the Shintô temple (then called *chinju-sha*) 'protecting' the Buddhist one. The practice started early but was widely generalized during the Kamakura era.⁽⁵⁹²⁾ According to the traditions of the Matsu-no-wo-taisha, which, according to Motoôri, was never influenced by Buddhism, the Buddhist Hôriuji and the 'Moss-temple' (Saïko-ji) came under its authority. The Buddhist Chôkoku-ji became mixed up with the Shintô Ôtori-jinja because Nichiren was reported carried by an eagle and the Kami of the jinja was connected with the eagle!

Every Japanese normally shared his religious activity between the two, some ceremonies being more suitably performed in one type of temples, and some in the other.

Those practices came to be endorsed by theoreticians of both groups in what was called Shinbutsu-shûgô (or Shinbutsu-konkô).⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ According to it, the Deities of one religion were frequently considered as the real fundamental Gods (*honji*), while those of the other were believed to be their incarnations (*gongen*) or external appearances (*suijaku*), but both formed an indivisible whole (*honji-suijaku-setsu*). At the beginning, it was more or less taken for granted that the Buddhas were the *honji* and the Kami their *suijaku*, and in the early Nara period the former were regarded as more important than the latter. In the Kamakura period, however, Shintôists came to hold the opposite theory, that the Kami were the *honji* and the Buddhas the *suijaku*; this theory was called *han-honji-suijaku-setsu* or *shimpon-butsujû-setsu*.

Confucianism and Taoism also made their appearance in the land of the Kami. According to some authorities, the Analects were introduced in A.D. 405, while according to others, they arrived as early as A.D. 285, being brought in by Wang In. Those two foreign religions were equally welcome and put to practical use. A kind of division of labour took place between them: 'For moral conduct, people rely on the Confucian code. The domain of inner problems is left over to Shintô and Buddhism. In other words, Confucianism works for ethics, and Shintô and Buddhism for religion.'⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

Confucianism however, like Buddhism, had also become somewhat Japan ized and 'had to adjust itself to practical individualistic conduct instead of becoming simply a formal code of fixed rules of conduct.'⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾ Chu Hsi's *li-chi* (new theory of human nature), which dates from the fourteenth century, had great influence. Confucianism can well claim to have 'played an outstanding role in moulding the national character of the Japanese people.'⁽³⁷⁹⁾

Taoism did not come into the open to the same extent, and did not get the same official recognition, but it exerted a deep influence on a number of the more mystic sects.

Christianity was also brought in by missionaries, and at first heartily welcomed by the authorities until they discovered that religious preaching was mostly a pretext for gaining political influence and economic advantages. Reaction was violent, and what remained of the persecuted Christians had to go underground. They never had any influence on Shintô. As frankly admitted by a Christian author, 'Japan listened with tolerance to Christianity as long as that term implied religion.'⁽³⁵⁶⁾

The symbiosis between Shintô and Buddhism, to which Confucianism became a minor partner, was from the first fully endorsed by the Japanese authorities. Prince Shôtoku, the then Regent of Japan, who was largely responsible for allowing Buddhism to enter the country and begin its rapid progress, ever claimed to be a faithful Shintôist, even while in the garb of a Buddhist monk. In one of his edicts, he ordered: 'We hear that our Imperial Ancestors paid deep reverence to the Shintô Kami of Heaven and Earth. Whenever they dedicated temples to the mountains and rivers, they held mysterious communion with a Divine power of Nature. So, the male and female cosmic potencies were harmoniously blended and their concordant influences gave rise to durable peace. Let our ministers with their whole hearts do reverence to the Kami of Heaven and of Earth.'

The same Prince Shôtoku is also reported to have said: 'Shintô is the root and stem of a big robust tree replete with an inexhaustible amount of energy, and Confucianism is its branches and leaves, while Buddhism is its flowers and fruit.' Paraphrasing this famous

statement—which the Japanese quote with undisguised and fully justified pride—the young head of a modern but very traditional school of Shintô told me: ‘Shintô is the seed, which contains all potentialities; Buddhism is the root; Confucianism is the branches; Science is the flowers, which produces fruit and seed.’⁽²¹⁾

In the sixteenth century, Hideyoshi, writing to the Viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, stated emphatically: ‘To know Shintô is to know Buddhism as well as Confucianism.’⁽³⁰⁶⁾

Some of the most fiery partisans of the present separation of Shintô from Buddhism willingly admit that the intrusion of the imported religion was not without some good effect, in that it made Shintô become conscious of itself.^(21, 23) Temples had become spiritual centres, in which priests were ‘teachers and leaders’.⁽¹³³⁾

One outstanding Buddhist scholar is probably not far wrong when he writes: ‘Buddhism, with its influence penetrating deep into the Japanese culture, has made the Japanese mind more and more introvert. Turning inward, the radically empirical trait of the Japanese people was further accelerated. But the Japanese philosophy did not develop into abstract conceptual idealism.’⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

* * *

Buddhists, however, went too far.

In matters of religion, they practically dispossessed the Shintô priests of their own temples, bringing them down to subordinate positions. To give only a couple of instances, in the Usa-hachiman-gû, its Buddhist *jingû-ji*, the Miroku-ji, became more important and far richer than the Shintô host-temple. The Buddhist temple which had been allowed to be built within the precincts of the Nara Yûgayama-inari-jinja grew to such an extent that the Shintô host-temple had to remove to another location.⁽²²⁾ In the Ikutama-jinja, in Ôsaka there were nine Buddhist priests (*sha-sô*) in addition to the Shintô clergy. The administration of the Taga-taisha was in the hands of Buddhist priests.⁽¹³²⁾

In matters political, the Buddhist monasteries became so powerful and arrogant that the Shôgun had to destroy some of the most important and to exterminate their inmates.

In addition to which, the morals of the Buddhist monks and nuns had in many cases relaxed to such an extent as to bring them into complete discredit.

Discontent spread more and more widely.

Already in the fourteenth century, a crisis of Imperial prestige had given ‘impetus to a revival of national Shintô ideas, which found their mouthpiece in some patriots who attempted to concentrate all the moral ideas and religious teachings existing in Japan in the adoration of the Throne.’⁽³⁰⁸⁾ But that was an essentially political move, and it ended in failure.

At the end of the fifteenth century, a priest from the Hongwan-ji came to the Ôsaka Ikutama-jinja, started building a temple, and ‘invaded the divine boundaries’. This time, the Kami reacted; incensed at this pollution, he punished the priest, who accordingly cherished a desire to rebuild the Shintô temple and asked for the intercession of the Shintô *kannushi*.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

The drive for the ‘purification’ of the Shintô temples from all Buddhist influence began about the seventeenth century. As early as 1662, Naomasa Matsudaïra had already succeeded in ridding the Izumo-ô-yashiro of all Buddhist priests.⁽⁶³¹⁾

It was only in the eighteenth century that a nation-wide movement actually started. It originated almost simultaneously among the people themselves who resented the exactions, arrogance and loose-living of Buddhist monks, and among the intelligentsia.

A school of Shintô reformers arose. The first was probably Azumamaro Kada who in 1728 petitioned for a new study of Japan's own ancient literature, which he called 'the National learning', (665) but some pioneer-work had already been done, particularly by Keichû (1640–1701), who had made a thoughtful study of the *Mannyôshû*.⁽⁶⁶⁸⁾

The great theologians, those who are still considered the greatest authorities on Shintô, came in fairly soon afterwards.

More or less under their influence, sects began to be formed which endeavoured to rid themselves of all Buddhist influence and claimed to be 'pure Shintô'.

Even Confucianists turned against Buddhism.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

When at the beginning of the Edo era, the Shôgun moved his capital to what is now called Tokyo, he built a number of temples to a great many Kami.⁽¹⁴²⁾

Under the strong pressure emanating from many quarters, the Emperor's government decided for drastic action. The successive measures taken during the first few years showed, however, a fairly fluctuating policy.

The master-stroke was delivered by a Decree from the Dajôkan, dated March 28, 1868, which ordered complete separation between Shintô and Buddhism. That was the Shinbutsu-bunri, more commonly referred to in Shintô circles as the Meiji Reform. It ran as follows:

There is no Shintô temple, ever so small, in which the title of its Kami has not been designated ever since the Middle-Ages by a Buddhist term, such as Such-and-such an Avatar of Gozu-tennô. Each of those temples shall, as soon as possible, submit a notice containing the detailed history of the temple.

'Chokusaï-sha (i.e. jinja where the annual festival is attended by an Imperial Messenger) which possess any letter, tablet, etc., written by a member of the Imperial Family shall also give notice of it, after which they will receive official instructions.

'The other jinja shall submit their own notices to the local lawcourt, lord or governor.

'Any jinja which regards a Buddhist statue or statues as its *shintai* shall change it immediately.

'Moreover, any jinja which has a Buddhist image hung in front of it or is equipped with a Buddhist gong, bell or other instrument, or which has adopted some Buddhist theory, etc., shall abandon it as soon as possible.'

Complementary instructions followed in quick succession. On April 20, of the same year, it was repeated that:

(1) Since the Middle-Ages, there have existed numerous Shintô temples in which are Buddhist incarnations along with Buddhist guardian Deities such as Gozu-tennô, temples in which, also, Shintô Kami are called by Buddhist names. All such temples must immediately send in detailed statements of their histories. (2) Shintô Temples which are utilising Buddhist statues as *shintai* must correct the usage and make report.'

In the following month, an order 'commanded all Buddhist priests who had been connected with Shintô temples to return to secular life'. At the same time it re-ordained

them as Shintô priests; and those who did not accept that new assignment had to resign from the temple.

Less than a year later, Shintô priests who had been at the same time Buddhist priests were ordered to let their hair grow long as proof that they had renounced their affiliation with Buddhism.

Members of the nobility were forbidden to enter the Buddhist clergy.⁽⁵⁰²⁾

Far-going reforms were also imposed on both the Shintô and the Buddhist temples.

In Shintô, a great effort was made to divest the hereditary families of highpriests of their age-long privileges. A proclamation of July 1, 1871, stated: The affairs of the Shintô temples are religious festivals pertaining to the nation and are not to be controlled by a single person or by a single family. Since the Middle-Ages, owing to the degradation of the right principles the offices of the Shintô priesthood have become hereditary. While it is true that the inheritance of some priestly offices has been handed down from the Age of the Kami, yet for the most part priests have been merely appointed temporarily. Some have simply made this temporary title hereditary, while in other cases the affairs of the temple have become hereditary owing to changes in land inspectors and district lords. Even the priestly office of small village-shrines has become hereditary. The incomes of the temples have been made family-stipends and treated as private property. This widespread practice has continued so long that Shintô priests have come to form a different class from ordinary people and warriors. This does not agree with the present form of government which is the unity of religious affairs and the state. Owing to the greatness of the abuse, a reform is now instituted: all priests, from those of the hereditary priestly office of the Great Temple of Ise down to the various priests of all the shrines of the country shall henceforth be carefully selected and appointed.⁷

For Buddhism, the brunt of the attack bore on the actual teaching. An order sent out to all the superintendent priests of Buddhism in December 1872 attempted rectification of theological errors. The order reads: 'Buddhist priests have hitherto insisted that the Kami are the avatars (*hotoke*) of the Buddha and that the Buddha is the noumenon (*hontai*) of the Kami. Although they teach that the Kami are to be revered, their way of teaching is estranging. This method of instructing in reverence is not only insincere, but it also greatly dishonours the *shintai*. This is wrong. Examine yourselves, repent, and lead the people properly.'⁽⁴⁷²⁾

During the Meiji period of religious upheaval, and more particularly between 1868 and 1872, the hostility against Buddhist institutions took impressive proportions and many of them suffered considerable damage. To mention only a few cases which came to my notice, and in which Buddhist temples were ruthlessly destroyed: most of those around the Kumano Nachi-jinja,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ nine out of ten around the Kami-sha of the Suwa-taisha⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, the *jingû-ji* of the Iyahiko-jinja⁽¹⁸⁰⁾, five temples (and all auxiliary buildings) of the Tendai sect which were connected with the Dazaifu Tenman-gû,⁽¹³³⁾ more than thirty temples in the Dewa-san-dzan mountains,⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ all the sixteen temples of the Shingon sect around the Kashii-gû,⁽⁷⁵⁾ the Miroku-ji of the Usa-hachiman-gû,⁽⁸¹⁾ all those around the Kamado-jinja, all those within the enclosure of the Ikutama-jinja,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ all the Buddhist structures around the Udo-jingû, etc. The areas, like that of Munakata,⁽⁸⁶⁾ where no such destructions took place, were rather exceptional.

Some Buddhist temples were simply converted—or re-converted—into Shintô temples. Such is the case of what are now the Enoshima-jinja,⁽¹⁾ the Tokyo Kumano-jinja, probably the Tama-wakasu-mikoto-jinja.

The Buddhist statues and other works of art, sūtras and other books were enthusiastically taken out of most Shintô temples and fed huge bonfires, i.a. in Matsumoto (Nagano-ken), Kamakura, Kagoshima, Kôchi, Naoki (Gifu-ken), Oki-no-shima, Tsuwano (Shimane-ken).⁽⁸⁷⁾ Some devout Buddhists nevertheless managed to smuggle some of those treasures into their own houses for protection and brought them out only much later. Many others were merely transferred to neighbouring temples and presented to them. And probably in more cases than is openly admitted the Shintô priests themselves pretended that the statues were originally Shintô, generally without much evidence to support their claim.

Quite a number of Buddhist priests took the opportunity which was offered to them and turned Shintô priests, which was all the easier for them because they had received both ordinations (*kanjô*). In the third year of Meiji, the last Buddhist priest in what is now the Kunteki-jinja became its Shintô high-priest (*gûji*). Conversions are also recorded for nearly all those of the Nara Kôfuku-ji,⁽⁸⁷⁾ for a number of those in the region of the Dewasandzan,⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ for some around the Tosa-jinja.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ It is claimed that the reverse practically never took place.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

At the same time, however, there was in governmental circles a sort of pro-buddhist reaction, which aimed at recognizing Buddhism as a State religion, side by side with Shintô. On April 21, 1872, the Jingi-shô (Department of Shintô) was abolished and the Kyôbu-shô (Department of Religion) created, with the following jurisdiction: (1) Matters relating to the establishment and abolition of Shintô and Buddhist temples and also matters relating to the determination of the rank and grade of priests of both Shintô and Buddhism; (2) Matters relating to the new appointments of priests of Shintô and Buddhism; (3) Matters relating to the licensing of the publication of books on doctrine; (4) Matters relating to the licensing of those who assemble believers and explain doctrines and those who form religious associations; (5) Matters relating to the judgment of doctrinal cases.

From then on, Buddhist and Shintô priests were officially designated as *kyôdô-shoku* (teachers of religion and morals). The regulations for preaching to which they were to submit were: (1) To embody the principle of reverence and patriotism; (2) To make plain the laws of Heaven and the Way of Humanity; (3) To lead the people to respect the Emperor and to be obedient to his will. Those three principles, it was added, must be observed always, and care must be exercised not to go contrary to their purport. A preaching place (*kyô-in*) was to be established in front of every temple.

For a period, Buddhism fraternised officially with Shintô within the new framework. Buddhist priests appeared in public clad in Shintô robes.

In February, 1873, the government declared officially that it would ‘protect the freedom of Shintô and Buddhism and... encourage each of them to grow.’⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

But almost exactly two years later, on May 3, 1875, the government once more made formal dissolution of partnership. An instruction was sent to ‘the superintendent priests of all sects of Shintô and Buddhism’, according to which: ‘As stated in the attached Notice, the establishment of joint religious institutes (*kyô-in*) between the sects of Shintô and Buddhism is now prohibited. The three principles for preaching shall be observed more carefully; independent *kyô-in* shall be established; and propaganda shall be carried on diligently.’ The

‘attached Notice’ read as follows: ‘Propaganda carried on through joint *kyô-in* of Shintô and Buddhism is prohibited. Propaganda shall be conducted independently hereafter.’

As an indirect result, in February, 1877, when the Shaji-kyoku (Bureau of Shintô and Buddhist temples in the Department of Home Affairs) took charge,⁽⁴²⁷⁾ Buddhists had recovered a large proportion of their temples and property which had been confiscated.⁽⁶⁶⁸⁾

Nevertheless, that period, during which Shintô was an entirely autonomous religion, on the same footing with Buddhism and Christianity—which had then been re-introduced under the pressure of American warships—remains in the eyes of many present-day Japanese the Golden Age of Shintô, and they look back upon it with a nostalgic feeling, as an ideal to which Japan should endeavour to return.

It was not to last long. In the fourteenth year of Meiji, at the beginning of 1882, took place the *coup d'état* of the ‘young politicians’ (Yamagata, Kido, Kuroda and others) who immediately proceeded to laïcise Shintô. As early as January 24, a regulation emanating from the Home Department abolished ‘from this date on, the right of Shintô priests to exercise the functions of teachers of religions and morals/

And Article 28 of the 1889 Constitution confirmed that ‘Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.’

Under the new regime, Shintô priests became mere government officials and were salaried as such. They no longer had any religious duties to perform in the real sense of the word, and many of them became totally unconscious of what the duties of a priest should normally be. This created a tragic vacuum in the life of the people, a vacuum which was filled by a considerable development of the unofficial Shintô sects. There they found the spiritual food and the mystic possibilities which many still refused to take from Buddhism or Christianity.

Considerable emphasis was placed on the worship of Emperors and statesmen who had in the course of history contributed to the unity, the glory or the virtue of the Empire. Since the beginning of the Meiji era, no less than 25 new temples were erected to thirty-four deified historical persons. In 1876 a temple was built to the great patriot Yoshisada Nitta, in 1890 one to the two sons of Emperor Godaigo, in 1895 one to Emperor Kammu, in 1901 one to Emperor Jimmu, in 1921 one to Emperor Meiji &c.

* * *

Another sudden and drastic transformation came with the occupation of Japan by the victorious American army. The occupiers claimed that Shintô had been a potent factor for enhancing the patriotism of the Japanese, for making them loyal to their Sovereign and their country, and was largely responsible for the energy and obstinacy with which they had fought the last war. Which was true enough. Just as other countries had called upon their own priests, Christian, Moslem or others, to support their war-time effort. Hitler had sent his armies forward to the shouting of ‘*Gott mit uns*’. Roman catholic priests and protestant ministers had been asked to bless the guns and warships and to encourage the soldiers to fight. Countries of the Near-East had been invited to declare a holy war on the enemy of whoever wanted their help. The difference was rather one of degree. Whereas the appeals of the Christian clergy had not had very much effect, the call of Shintô had been fully heeded by the Japanese people. Just as much probably as that of other clergy

during the wars of religion which for many centuries devastated Europe and neighbouring countries. Not to mention the fact that one of the main justifications which were given to the American people much more recently for wresting the Philippines from Spain was that the Spaniards had converted the Filipinos to Roman Catholicism and they had to be re-converted to Protestantism, which was the sacred duty of the American people.

In a spirit partly of revenge and partly of self-protection for the future, the Commander-in-chief of the American Army of occupation therefore decided to 'disestablish' State-Shintô, i.e. to effect a separation between the State and the Shintô religion. The 'Directive' was couched in practically the same terms as one which had been issued a few days before banning prostitution. The essential parts of it read as follows:

'In order to free the Japanese people from direct or indirect compulsion to believe or profess to believe in a religion or cult officially designated by the state, and

'In order to lift from the Japanese people the burden of compulsory financial support of an ideology which has contributed to their war-guilt, defeat, suffering, privation, and present deplorable condition, and

'In order to prevent recurrence of the perversion of Shintô theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultra-nationalistic propaganda designed to delude the Japanese people and lead them into wars of aggression, and

'In order to assist the Japanese people in a rededication of their national life to building a new Japan based upon ideals of perpetual peace and democracy.

'It is thereby directed that:

'A. The sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of Shintô by the Japanese national, prefectural and local governments, or by public officials, subordinates, and employees acting in their official capacity are prohibited and will cease immediately.

'B. All financial support from public funds and all official affiliation with Shintô and Shintô shrines are prohibited and will cease immediately...

'C. All propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology in Shintô doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies or observances, as well as in the doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies and observances of any other religion, faith, sect, creed, or philosophy, are prohibited and will cease immediately.

'D. The Religious Functions Order relating to the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Religious Functions Order relating to State and other Shrines will be annulled.

'E. The Shrine Board (Jingi-in) of the Ministry of Home Affairs will be abolished, and its present functions, duties and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.

'F. All public educational institutions whose primary function is either the investigation and dissemination of Shintô or the training of a Shintô priesthood will be abolished and their physical properties diverted to other uses. Their present functions, duties and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency....

'H. The dissemination of Shintô doctrines in any form and by any means in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds is prohibited and will cease immediately.

‘(1) All teachers’ manuals and text-books now in use in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds will be censored and all Shintô doctrine will be deleted. No teachers’ manual or text-book which is published in the future for use in such institutions will contain any Shintô doctrine.

‘(2) No visits to Shintô shrines and no rites, practices or ceremonies associated with Shintô will be conducted or sponsored by any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds.

‘I. Circulation by the Government of...all...official volumes, commentaries, interpretations or instructions on Shintô is prohibited....

‘K. God-shelves (*kami-dana*) and all other physical symbols of State Shintô in any office, school, institution, organization or structure supported wholly or in part by public funds are prohibited and will be removed immediately....

‘M. No official of the national, prefectural, or local governments, acting in his public capacity, will visit any shrine to report his assumption of office, to report on conditions of government, or to participate as a representative of government in any ceremony or observance....

‘The provisions of this Directive will apply with equal force to all rites, practices, ceremonies, observances, beliefs, teachings, mythology, legends, philosophy, shrines and physical symbols associated with Shintô....

The Imperial Japanese Government will submit a comprehensive report to this Headquarters not later than March 15, 1946, describing in detail all action taken to comply with all provisions of this Directive.

‘All officials, subordinates, and employees of the Japanese national, prefectural and local governments, all teachers and education officials, and all citizens and residents of Japan will be held personally accountable for compliance with the spirit as well as the letter of all provisions of this Directive.’

* * *

As could easily have been foretold, the results did not entirely meet the American expectations.

For the older generation, people who had then passed forty, and for practically all women, the insult was resented as an outrage perhaps worse than the military defeat, and it created an unbridgeable estrangement from those countries overseas which for many years they had been trying to emulate, not only in the activities of peace, but also in the concept of and preparation for war, colonial policy and military conquest.

To a small portion of the generation which during the war had suffered under the strict discipline and austerity imposed on the soldiers, and for which the authority of Shintô had been invoked, the measure was not totally unwelcome, although the humiliation and resultant hate created among the veterans by the fact that it had been taken by a foreign invader were probably much stronger than any gratitude for the gesture could have been.

For the generation which had not yet had any schooling when defeat came, the absence of any religious teaching in the curriculum created a dangerous gap which could not entirely be made up by the families and the priests. Since in Japan history and religion had always been closely linked, the result was that Japanese now between the ages of fifteen and thirty were kept in total ignorance of their national traditions of honour, which were

the solid basis for all ethics; and in many cases the result was a complete collapse of moral background.

But the most fateful impact bore on the relations between the people and the Shintô temples and priests. For about seventy years, as we have seen, State Shintô had been monopolized by the government for its own purposes, and had kept little intimate contact with the people. When it was disestablished, the people re-discovered that it really belonged to them. The priests, from whom the government had been made suddenly to withdraw all support, turned to the people again, and again became conscious of their religious duties to them. There was a wave of religious feeling for Shintô such as Japan had perhaps never experienced before. One outstanding example was the re-building of the Ise shrines in 1953, for which more than fifty million people spontaneously contributed in cash or kind. Thus were created the relations which now obtain and develop, and the situation which we shall endeavour to describe in this book.

We should now say a few words about the present relations between Jinja-Shintô and Buddhism. In spite of the abrupt disentanglement which took place during the Meiji Reform, the two religions still live happily together in more than 'peaceful coexistence'. We shall mention only a few of its more obvious manifestations.

First of all it must be said that if all Japanese naturally feel themselves Shintôists and if, with few exceptions, they act as such, a large majority of them are also staunch Buddhists. The two religions are seen as mutually complementary, and in no way mutually exclusive.

Buddhist priests in many cases still take an active part in the services of Shintô temples, and vice-versa. On April 14, in the Shintô Hië-taïsha, it is the chief Buddhist priest (of the Tendai sect) who opens the ceremonies.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ In the month of March, for the Nigatsu-do festival in the Nara Buddhist temple Tôdai-ji, the presence of priests from the Shintô Hachiman temples is a necessity,⁽⁸⁷⁾ and the Buddhist priest who leads the function begins by a rite of Shintô purification (*ô-harai*) and a Shintô incantation (*norito*);⁽²¹¹⁾ before certain ceremonies, the high-priest (*gûji*) of the Shintô Hachiman-gû comes to the Buddhist temple to celebrate the Shintô purification (*ô-harai*) and even surrounds the sacred Buddhist objects with a sacred Shintô cord (*shimenawa*).⁽¹⁷¹⁾ During the procession of the Buddhist Goddess Kannon, the same *gûji*, in his robes of office, and a halberd in hand, stands guard to the statue of the Goddess and remains beside it in the temporary shrine.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ In a small Shintô Hachiman-temple within the precincts of one Buddhist temple, Buddhist sūtras are recited under the name of Bara-barashingyô instead of Hannya-shingyô, and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Hachiman are still worshipped under the Buddhist names of Tenshō-daïjin and Daï-bosatsu. Shintô cults are also celebrated by Buddhist priests in the Takisan-tôshō-gû.

Apart from such official functions, Buddhist priests often visit Shintô temples and bow respectfully before the sanctuary—with the qualification that they generally do not clap hands as is done by other devotees.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ In one great Buddhist monastery and temple, I saw a small Shintô shrine, well attended, hanging above the kitchen-stove. And in the courtyard of another I saw a small Shintô shrine to the ancestors of the Buddhist priests and monks. Such cases are not at all exceptional.

It must also be noted that for quite a few Gods, including some of the most important, it is not always clear whether they are Shintô Kami or Buddhist Deities. One outstanding

instance is the Shintô Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto, who originally was 'rather more' Buddhist and is now 'rather more' Shintô; she is often designated under her Buddhist name of Benten-san, and the visitor entering a Benten temple should enquire, if he wants to know, whether the temple is Shintô or Buddhist.⁽⁸⁷⁾ (Cf. p. 514 below.)

It was long debated whether Kotohira (or Kompira) was Buddhist or Shintô, and the conclusion was reached only fairly recently that he should be considered as Shintô—whatever he may have been in the past.

The seven Kami of good-fortune, whose pictures can be seen everywhere in Japan, are 'both Buddhist and Shintô'.

The many temples called Uga-sha, where the Kami is Uga-shin, are now Shintô, but it is admitted that the Kami was originally a Buddhist Deity.

More than that, a number of members of the Buddhist clergy were kamified and are now worshipped as Kami in Shintô temples. Such is the case for Izu-tama-hiko-no-mikoto, a priest who practiced austerities on the spot where a Shintô temple was later erected to him, the Kumo-yashiro, a subsidiary shrine (*massha*) of the Kotohira-gû. Also for Kunteki-oshô. Also for one Buddhist monk and two Buddhist nuns, Hôjôbô-sonshi, Kwakuju-ni and Iyômyô-ni, who each have a subsidiary shrine in the Dazaifu Ten-man-gû: the Sonshi-sha (a *massha*), the Kwan-kô-sha (a *sessha*) and the Hinoki-sha (a *massha*) respectively. The same applies to Tenyû, the fiftieth *bettô* of the Dewa-san-dzan, who is worshipped in the Tenyû-sha.

In practically all the temples which they have built, the Buddhists have sought the protection of the God (Jishu-shin) of the particular place where they built, and that was necessarily a Kami; in spite of the separation, they feel the need of continuing his cult.^(87, 211) But in addition to that, most Buddhist sects have placed themselves under the collective protection of one more widely-known Kami, such as Ô-namuchi (Ô-kuni-nushi) for the Tendaï sect.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

If we believe a Buddhist Japanese author, some hymns called *ima-yô* 'show a division of labour between Shintô Deities, who care for the earthly good, and Buddhist Deities, who guide men to the other shore of bliss'.⁽³⁰⁹⁾ One Western author has summed up the situation in a concise formula which is not very far from the truth: 'Using the technical language of Christian theologians, Shintô furnishes theology, Confucianism anthropology and Buddhism soteriology.'⁽³⁹⁰⁾ And we must note the fact that in the eyes of many Buddhists, the separation 'was impossible', and 'never actually took place' in fact.

One may conclude with three remarks made to me recently by two very pious Shintô professors and the most important priest of one of the most traditional Shintô temples respectively: 'Popular worship is very intense, but people do not really care whether the Gods they worship are Buddhist or Shintô.' The style of the cult can tell you whether it is Shintô or Buddhism, but now the Shintô style is more frequent.' 'The teachings and philosophy of Buddhism should be respected, but ceremonies are better in Shintô.'

* * *

What in common parlance comes under the general designation of Shintô presents itself under four main different aspects: Kôshitsu Shintô, Kokka-Shintô, Kyôha Shintô and Minkan Shintô.

Kokka Shintô, or what was called before the disestablishment State Shintô, and is now re-named Jinja Shintô, is accepted as evident truth by practically every Japanese, just as every Christian believes that the World has been created by God. The fact that a Japanese also belongs to some sect or other (Shintô, Buddhist or even Christian) does not affect that fundamental belief according to which the Kami, the Emperor, the Japanese people and the Japanese islands have the same ancestors and are therefore of the same kin. Consequential rules of behaviour have to be observed which ensure the continuing benefit of this consanguinity. It forms the subjectmatter of this book. When I pressed them for a clear definition of JinjaShintô, the highest authorities of the Jinja-honchô, after prolonged consultation, gave me the following: Jinja-Shintô is that which is handled by *kannushi* (Shintô priests), and it includes the *kami-dana* when the latter have received *o-fuda* from a Shintô temple in addition to the home Kami; it excludes cross-roads Kami and paddy-fields Kami because they are often serviced by Buddhist priests.

Kyôha Shintô, or the Shintô of the ‘sects’, includes a large number of religious movements based on the spiritual experience of some individuals; they concentrate on some particular aspect of Jinja Shintô and add to it some rites, practices, beliefs or cults. They are often deeply tainted with Buddhism or Confucianism, or both. They form groups in many ways comparable to the Christian ‘churches’ or the Moslem or Buddhist sects. We shall deal with some of them briefly in the last chapter of this book.

Kôshitsu Saïshi, or Kôshitsu Shintô is the Shintô of the Imperial House. It comprises the ceremonies which have to be celebrated in the temples of the Imperial Palace by the Emperor or his representative, or in their presence, in honour of the Divine and Human Ancestors of the Dynasty. Their main object is to preserve perfect harmony between the Emperor and the Kami, and therefore to ensure perfect conformity (*saisei-itcki*) between religious ritual and government, which is the only way of securing purity and happiness for the whole population. We shall discuss it in the Chapter dealing with the part played by the Emperor.

Minkan Shintô, sometimes rather disdainfully called Tsûzoku Shintô, the Shintô of the common people, does not form any consistent body of beliefs or practices. It really covers all legends, superstitions and other beliefs which probably had nothing to do with Shintô in the beginning, but held a strong sway over the minds of the people, and were gradually combined by the people with Shintô proper, Kôdô, from which it is sometimes now difficult to isolate them. This sort of folk-lore gained entrance in the concepts of a number of sects, and could not be totally ignored by Jinja Shintô, although the latter views it with considerable diffidence, at any rate at the higher levels of the hierarchy.⁽⁹⁴⁾ We shall come across some of its traits in the chapters on Mythology.

CHAPTER III

METAPHYSICS, ETHICS, SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND ÆSTHETICS

THE traditional schools of Shintô mystics have precise and systematic metaphysical concepts about the world and life on higher planes; this knowledge is solemnly transmitted to the disciples according to the latter's stage of development. It is, however, kept secret from the uninitiated, whether laymen or scholars and priests, who have not submitted to the appropriate discipline. Chikafusa Kitabatake wrote: 'It is true that the way of the Gods should not be revealed without circumspection.' Some of the greatest theologians, including the lay physician Motoōri and his disciples, had no access to those secret teachings, and therefore flatly denied their existence, and this had a fatal influence on the development of the modern 'science of Shintô', Koku-gaku. This is also the reason why, with the exception of the few initiated—who themselves decline to discuss the subject—Shintôists view with a considerable amount of disfavour all intellectual cogitation on religious matters, and are content with a metaphysics which is both fragmentary and vague.⁽¹²²⁾ Some indications may, however, be given on a few points: (a) the nature of man and the concept of *tama*, which is something akin to what we call soul; (b) the various 'worlds' which compose the universe; (c) after-life; (d) the concept of growth, *musubi*.

Man is described as both Divine and earthly. The most common Japanese word by which he is designated is *hito*, for which a number of different etymologies have been offered, but which is generally understood to mean 'a place where the spirit is'.⁽³²⁷⁾ A fuller term having the same connotation is *ame-no-masu-hito*, 'heavenly-increasing-man', or 'sacred human being increasing infinity'; in other words, man is a being living under the blessing of the Kami and fated to prosper in happiness.⁽³²⁷⁾ But he is also designated *ao-hito-gusa*, 'green-man-grass'; although this is explained as a word of blessing comparing the human race to the green grass which grows up in a thriving manner,⁽³²⁷⁾ it clearly stresses his earthly nature.

However vague the ideas may be in the absence of any dogma (Aston⁽³²⁵⁾ points out that the *Norito* contain no reference to immortality of the soul), one thing stands out fairly clearly, that there is something in man which survives the death of the body and continues to live,⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ and even is eternal.⁽⁸²⁾ The most common name for or it is *tama* or *mitama*, *mi* in this case being only an honorific and respectful prefix. One Western author⁽³²³⁾ has compared it to the *shekinah* of the Jews, but the comparison should not be pushed very far.

'In olden times', there was a belief that *tama* did not always remain in the body, even during our life-time. For *tama*, the body was only a temporary dwelling-place, even between birth and death,⁽⁵⁾ and there are many tales of *tama* leaving the body for a period of time; cases are even cited of the *tama* of two men going out simultaneously and getting back into the wrong bodies.⁽⁶⁷⁴⁾

Another concept, which is not identical with *tama*, yet not entirely distinct from it, is that of *tamashii*; it is interpreted as the power, capacity and action of *tama*.⁽⁵⁾ *Tamashii*, which etymologically means ‘the spirit bestowed by the Kami’, or ‘the spirit of the soul’, is probably the higher part or aspect of the *tama*. It is said that everybody ‘has or is given his own *tamashii*, which will live long beyond his body, being ever creative and growing into the higher dimensions, in normal conditions.’⁽¹²²⁾ It may be that part of the *tama* which, according to some authors, becomes Kami, and is ‘much higher than the other part, *mono*, which cannot become Kami.’⁽⁵⁾ The *mono* is sometimes given as ‘the spirit of animals’, while *mi*, another component part, would be a cognate ‘concept viewing objects or bodies as spirits’. Both *mono* and *mi* ‘are low spirits, but there are many points which are not clear about the difference in their meanings and their mutual relationship’. ‘At present, *mono* is used simply in the sense of being or object, and *mi* means body, fruit, or contents of a container.’⁽³²⁷⁾ In the prayer for the dead, *Maïdô-nokotoba*, it is his *mitama* that the deceased is asked to ‘leave behind to guard his family’.

A modern Japanese author also speaks of the *mamori-tamashii* as the ‘guardian soul’, in which he sees *the fons et origo* of the vital force.⁽⁴⁷⁹⁾

This idea of the soul consisting of two parts has been elaborated in various ways by different Shintô priests and theologians. One of them, the highpriest of a very ancient and traditional temple,⁽¹⁵²⁾ believes that those two ‘parts’ of the soul come into action at different times: the one, *kuni-tama*, which governs the unconscious movements of the body, appears at the time of conception; the other one, *wake-mitama*, is really the soul of the parents, and when it arrives into the body, the soul is ‘complete’ and the child is born. Death is brought about by a discord between the two.

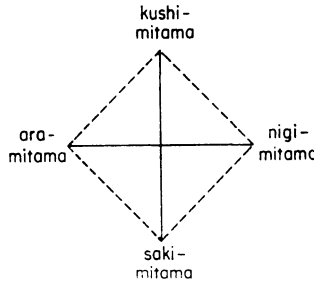
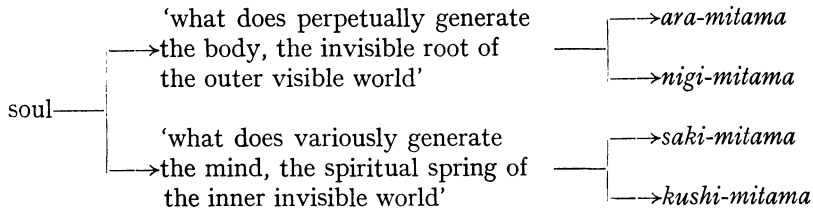
The *tama* is of course the essential part of man. One highly responsible highpriest⁽⁵⁾ explained to me that formerly wars were really waged between the *tama* of the warriors. This would provide a very satisfactory explanation for much that seems odd and mysterious in Japanese fighting of all kinds, whether it is fencing, sumô-wrestling, judo or any of the less familiar styles.

It is also believed that many—perhaps most, perhaps even all—entities of the animal, vegetable and even mineral kingdoms have *tama* of their own. Thus, ‘before the word Shintô was invented, the fisherman who wanted to catch a fish had to wait until the *tama* of the fish entered into him. The myth of Umi-sachi and Yama-sachi (cf. pp. 375ff below) is an eloquent proof of it. Both the twig of bamboo used in *kagura* and the sakaki-tree had a *tama*.’⁽⁵⁾ This in turn explains how a tree or a stone can be treated as a Kami.

One of the most striking cases is that of the Divine Sword, *Futsu-nomitama*, the Kami of the *Iso-no-kami-jingû* (cf. p. 315ff. below), which is taken by some to be the *mitama* of Japan.⁽⁵⁾

One very important feature of the *mitama* is that it can be considered under four different aspects, *shikôn*,⁽³²⁷⁾ which in some circumstances can be separated and even—after death—be located in different places. They are the *ara-mitama*, the *nigi-mitama*, the *saki-mitama* and the *kushi-mitama*. Their respective roles and relations are not easy to define in Western terminology, although the Japanese seem to have a very clear idea of what they—or at least the first two—represent.

According to a high-priest deeply versed in esotericism,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ but whose views are probably not shared by a majority of authorities on Shintô, they could be presented as follows, within the philosophy of *ichi-rei-shi-kôn*, ‘the four souls under one controlling spirit’:



with a correspondence between *ara-mitama* and *kushi-mitama* on the one hand, and *nigimitama* and *saki-mitama* on the other.

Within this context, *ara* ‘implies the function’ of *aru* (to appear to the outer world), *nigi* the function of *nigiru* (to consolidate the inner world), *saki* the function of *saku* (to split, to analyse, to differentiate), and *kushi* the function of *kushi* (to pierce, to penetrate, to centralize).⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

The above view is reported to be stated in many Shintô ‘books of secrets’ and to be constantly confirmed by deep meditation.⁽¹²²⁾ As a matter of fact some of the best esoterists say that while *ara-mitama*, *nigi-mitama* and *saki-mitama* are fairly easily identified in higher states of consciousness, *kushi-mitama* is rarely seen; they add that this is the reason why the symbol most frequently used, the *mitsu-domoe*, shows only three souls, *tomoe*, instead of four.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ (Cf. p. 150 below.)

Most theologians, however, follow Motoöri and take *saki-mitama* and *kushi-mitama* to be two aspects of *nigi-mitama*; this last opinion is that of most members of the present Faculty of the Kokugakuin University.⁽¹²²⁾

The *ara-mitama* is variously defined as wild, raging, raw,⁽³¹¹⁾ the power destructive of what is evil and constructive of what is Divine,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ a spirit empowered to rule with authority,⁽³²⁷⁾ manifestation as opposed to essence. It is sometimes stressed that the *ara-mitama* can only be one part or aspect of the whole *mitama*.⁽⁷⁵⁾ One explanation for its existence is that man is not always ‘pure’, i.e. desireless, but can occasionally yield to temptations, and that the soul has to oppose that trend and destroy desire; *ara-mitama* corresponds to that action.⁽¹³³⁾

The *nigi-mitama*, which is the counterpart of the *ara-mitama*, is described as mild, quiet, refined,⁽³¹¹⁾ peace, what gives peace, what makes adjustments to maintain harmony,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ a spirit empowered to lead to union and harmony,⁽³²⁷⁾ essence as opposed to manifestation. It is sometimes stressed that it is the essential and original part or aspect of the whole *mitama*.⁽⁷⁵⁾

The *saki-mitama*, or *sachi-mitama*, is described as happy, flourishing,⁽³¹¹⁾ as what makes happy, what gives pure love, creation,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ a power that imparts blessings.⁽³²⁷⁾ In a less personal, more cosmic, and perhaps more original context, *saki-mitama* is ‘the great original power in the blessings and the riches which come from the mountain and from the sea’.⁽⁵⁾

The *kushi-mitama*, or *kushibi-mitama*,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ is variously described as wonderful, hidden and also hideous,⁽³¹¹⁾ the inside spirit, wisdom, invention, discovery, what is mysterious,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ a spirit which causes mysterious transformations.⁽³²⁷⁾ It is occasionally said that it embraces both the *ara-* and the *nigi-mitama*,⁽⁷⁵⁾ sometimes that it ‘goes beyond them’.⁽¹³³⁾ It can be lost.⁽⁵⁾ In a less personal and more cosmic context, *kushi-mitama* is ‘the original healing-power, the power which is active in medicines’.⁽⁵⁾

According to some authorities, the *kushi-mitama* and the *saki-mitama* may come from outside.⁽⁵⁾ It is possible for a great soul outside of us to become ours and to be active in us. This may take place on the initiative of that soul, which may have its own reasons for so doing, or on our initiative if we have reasons to appeal to it.

One interesting comparison was made by an important high-priest⁽⁷⁵⁾ with the three successive stages of the disposal of the corpse according to an ancient tradition: first the *ara-haka*, where the body is left for three years, then the *nigi-haka*, when the bones are exposed on a hill, and then the *kushi-mitama*, when the remains are brought to the home of the descendants.

Reference is sometimes made to the *ô-mitama*, which would definitely embrace all the others.⁽¹²²⁾

Many are the cases where one particular *mitama* of a Kami is enshrined separately and worshipped by itself.

In the Ise-jingû, where the chief Kami is Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, the Ara-matsuri-no-miya is dedicated to her *ara-mitama*, while the name given to the Goddess in the Kôtaï-jingû, the main shrine, is Amaterashimasu-sume-ô-mi-kami, which is said to refer to her *nigi-mitama*.⁽¹²²⁾ The Goddess’s *ara-mitama* and *nigi-mitama* have separate temples of their own, the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja and the Kôbe Ikuta-jinja respectively. The Atsuta-jingû has one *sessha*, the Ichi-no-misaki-jinja, for Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s *ara-mitama*, and one *massha*, the Toôsu-no-yashiro, for her *nigi-mitama*.

In the Uchi-mitama-den, a section of the Suwa-taïsha Maë-miya, we find the *nigi-mitama* of the self-same Kami who are enshrined in the *honden*.

As we shall see, the Hië-taïsha worships both the *ara-mitama* and the *nigi-mitama* of Ô-yama-kui, in both his masculine and his feminine forms (cf. p. 199 below).

In the Marôdo-jinja, a *sessha* of the Itsukushima-jinja, each of the five Kami is represented by two *mitama*, each with his own *go-shintai*.

After the floods of 1048, a *sessha*, the Shin-gû, was set up in the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja to worship the *wake-mitama* of Taka-okami, the Kami of the Kifune-jinja-nonsha.

One peculiar case is that of the Tensha-yamakage-jinja, where one finds side by side Taka-mi-musubi's *ara-mitama* and *nigi-mitama* and Kami-musubi's *kushi-mitama* and *saki-mitama*. In the *oku-no-miya* of the same temple, one also finds the *kushi-mitama* of Ame-no-minaka-nushi, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo.

Ebisu (Hiru-ko)'s *ara-mitama* is worshipped in the Oki-ebisu, a subsidiary shrine of the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja.

The Kami of the Ubuta-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Kumano Hongû-taisha, is the *ara-mitama* of Izanami.

When Jingû-kôgô went on an expedition to Korea (cf. pp. 429–31 below), she was, according to one version, accompanied by the *ara-mitama* of the Sumiyoshi-no-kami, while the *nigi-mitama* of the same Kami remained in Japan. According to another version, their *ara-mitama* protected the army, while their *nigi-mitama* protected the Empress herself. A similar tradition existed till very recently in the Japanese army, where the commander-in-chief is expected to be inspired by *nigi-mitama* and his troops by *ara-mitama*.^(158, 182)

The most striking case however is probably that of Ô-mononushi. According to the high priest⁽¹²⁹⁾ of the Ô-miwa-taisha, his main temple, this Kami, who himself declared he was the *saki-mitama* and the *kushi-mitama* of Ô-kuni-nushi, (*Nihongi*, I, 61), should be considered under each one of his four *mitama* independently, because each of them is endowed with special powers. They are as follows: (1) His *ara-mitama*, who is worshipped in a special *sessha*, the Saï-jinja, is a great healer of bodily diseases; on the occasion of his *matsuri*, he is presented with local medicinal herbs and plants, particularly lily-roots. (2) His *kushi-mitama* is the Kami of sake, of medicine, of magic, of thread and of reunion. He is worshipped in a special *sessha*, the Iwakura-jinja, which, according to the *Nihongi*, was built by an Emperor to whom he had granted two sons. (3) His *saki-mitama* has no special temple of his own, but his blessing is known to bestow happiness in general (4) His *nigi-mitama* represents the whole of the Kami and is 'probably' what is worshipped in the main sanctuary—although another high-priest⁽¹³¹⁾ is rather inclined to believe that the Kami of the Ô-miwa-jinja is the *nigi-mitama* of Ô-kuni-nushi. The said *nigi-mitama* is the Kami of *wa* peace, absence of quarrels, and also of longevity. As a proof of which it is pointed out that in the district of his temple, old men and women are much more numerous than on an average elsewhere, so much so that the Association for Respect for Old People, which in the rest of Japan celebrates seventieth anniversaries, here celebrates only the eightieth. Apart from that, the matter is still further complicated by the fact that the Kami himself worshipped his own *nigi-mitama* on Mount Miwa, and also that both Ô-mono-nushi and Ô-namuchi should be considered as expressing the totality of Ô-kuni-nushi. In such a case, the logic to which we are accustomed in the West is evidently quite helpless.

The subdivision into various *mitama* can also in some cases apply to kamified human beings. Thus Sutoku-tennô and Junnin-tennô's *nigi-mitama* are worshipped in the Kyoto Shiramine-gû, while their *ara-mitama* are worshipped in a Shikoku Shiramine-gû and in a temple on Awaji-shima respectively.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

It should be noted that since the beginning of the Meiji era no jinja has been erected to any separate *mitama*.⁽¹⁴²⁾

One more remark which shows the strength of the belief in the powers of the *mitama*. In the vicinity of the Miyazaki-jingû, on the Heiwa-daï (Peace plateau) stands a huge masonry tower, the Heiwa-no-tô (Tower of Peace), which used to be called Hakkô (radiation)-daï- or

Hakkô-no-moto-tsu-bashira, at the four corners of which stood four monumental statues representing respectively the *ara-mitama*, the *nigi-mitama*, the *saki-mitama* and the *kushi-mitama* probably of the temple's main Kami, Jimmu-tennô. After the Second World War, the statue of the *ara-mitama* was ordered to be destroyed and was never rebuilt...

Let us note in passing that the division into *mitama* is not the only one which is possible for the Kami. Thus in the Kumano Hongû-taisha Kumano-fusumi is a 'function' of Izanagi-no-kami. In the Rokusho-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Fujisaki-hachiman-gû, Rokusho-ô-kami is enshrined six times, side by side, and it may be surmised that it corresponds to at least six 'aspects' of the same Kami.

One of the questions to which religions are expected to provide an answer is: What happens after death to whatever in man may survive it? As we said before, Shintô—like the Old Testament⁽³²⁴⁾ and in spite of its strong ancestor-cult—never showed great interest in the problem, and that is probably one of the reasons why Buddhism, finding in Japan a great gap that it was able to fill, received such a cordial welcome by the population. A distinguished author who often voices the views of the Jinja-honchô⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ said with some emphasis: 'We do not stress eschatology, but life in this world, which is more important.' One Western Japanologist wrote in an Encyclopaedia: 'Even today the majority of the Japanese scarcely think of a future life, and yet towards their ancestors they perform no less rigorously the minute rites of the ancestor-worship borrowed by them from China. It is probable that the primitive Japanese also, who, as the ancient writings testify, were even at the hour of death not in the least concerned about a future life, felt nevertheless the desire to do all that they thought might still be useful for their dead relatives.'⁽⁵⁹⁶⁾

There are, however, a number of cases in which the Shintô Scriptures tell us that when some Kami or other important person died, he or she went to a certain other world. It is therefore necessary that we should review the various worlds mentioned in this or other connections before we can form some idea of the concept of after-life in Shintô.

But it must first of all be noted that 'in Shintô there is no "end of the world", no "last day"'. There is only progress through endless growth and evolution, birth and development.'⁽⁴¹⁷⁾ Of paramount importance is also the fact that in Shintô 'souls are never lost'—and therefore need not be saved.⁽⁵²³⁾ Professor Nakanishi stresses that 'one cannot find the word *death* or *to die* in proper Japanese. Instead of dying, a man will *withdraw* (*mi-makaru*) from this world or *rise* (*kamu-agaru*) to Heaven at the end of his "life". There is no death, but, from the standpoint of *musubi*, endless conversions or evolutions.'⁽¹²²⁾

This does not prevent, however, one of the greatest Shintô theologians from speaking of death in terms which are strangely reminiscent of Western thinking: 'Upon his death, man must leave everything behind—his wife and children, relatives and friends, house and property.... He must of necessity go to that foul land of death.... Death...is and should be a sorrowful event.'⁽⁵⁵⁴⁾

Takama-no-hara, the High Plain of Heaven, the residence of the Kami, we shall discuss later (cf. p. 236 below) in connection with the beginnings of the process of Creation. Let us note, however, that there are quite a few popular tales of mortals ascending to Takama-no-hara and remaining there, either through magical powers or by Divine favour.⁽⁴⁵⁴⁾

Utushi-yo, the visible world, the open world⁽³²⁷⁾ is the world in which we actually live during this life on Earth. As we shall see, one of the names of Ô-kuni-nushi, the Master of

the Great Land, is Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami, the Kami Spirit of the Land of the Living (*Kojiki*, I, xx).

Kakuri-yo, the Hidden World, the invisible world, the world of the Gods, is also interpreted as the world after death.⁽³²⁷⁾ Toko (stable, immutable, eternal)⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ -yo (world) -no-kuni is 'eternal life', 'far-away ideal land across the seas', 'eternal darkness'.⁽³²⁷⁾ Toko-yo-no-kuni, i.e. the Land of Toko-yo, is a world blessed with boundless wealth, pleasure and peace, and those who come from it to visit this world were thought to impart blessings; it seems originally to have been a purely religious world, the dwelling-place of the purified soul of the dead, but it was frequently identified with actually existing foreign countries.⁽³²⁷⁾

It is the country to which Sukuna-hikona went, by sea, when he retired (*Kojiki*, I, xxvii), the one to which Jimmu-tennô's brother, Mike-nu-nomikoto walked, across the crest of the waves (*Nihongi*, III, 10), the one from which Tajima-mori fetches 'the fruit of the everlasting fragrant tree', i.e. the mandarin orange, *tachibana* (*Kojiki*, II, lxxiv; *Nihongi*, VI, 27).

Yomi (probably from *yoru*, night)⁽³⁴⁸⁾ is the land *par excellence* to which the dead go, the world where evil, unhappiness, destruction, curses, etc., originate. It is inhabited by the evil spirit called Magatsuhi, and is in fact the antithesis of Takama-no-hara.⁽³²⁷⁾ It is considered by Satow to be identical with Yomo-tsu-kuni, Yomi-no-kuni, Ne-no-kuni (nethermost region), Soko-no-kuni (bottom region), Shita-tsu-kuni (under-region), Ne-nokatasu- (from *katasumi*, one corner) -kuni,⁽⁶²⁵⁾ sometimes translated 'low and far-away land'.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ According to Hirata, however, 'the notion of *yomi* being the abode of the dead is comparatively modern'.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

Yomi is the land to which Izanami retired after her death, and in which she became Yomo-tsu-ô-kami, the Great Kami of Yomi. In this case, it is described as a sinister and terrifying place, bringing pollution to those who come into touch with it, a realm of death, practically without any vegetation. But it is also, under the name of Ne-nokatasu-kuni (*Kojiki*, I, xxiii), the land to which Susano-wo repaired after his expulsion from Heaven, and in which he received the visit of his son Ô-kuni-nushi; in this case, we are told that the country is inhabited not only by dangerous and aggressive wasps, centipedes and serpents, but also by friendly and helpful mice, and it is the realm of a ruler full of strength and a maiden full of energy. The least that can be said is that Yomi can be viewed in different lights.

We may now return to the fate of man's soul after death.

It must first of all be noted that in the concept of two souls, the *kunimitama* and the *wake-mitama*, the former naturally returns to the earth from which it came and becomes merged into it.⁽¹⁵²⁾

Hirata wrote in his *Tama-no-mi-hashira* (The true pillars of the Soul, 1812):

'After a man's death, the water and earth in him become his corpse, which is left behind, but the soul flies away with the air and fire... The souls of the Japanese... when they die... remain eternally in Japan and serve in the realm of the dead governed by Ô-kuni-nushi. This realm of the dead is not in any one particular place in the visible world, but being a realm of profoundness and dimness and separated from the present world, it cannot be seen... The actions of men can be perceived from the realm of the dead, but from the visible world it is not possible to see this realm of darkness People of this world, wherever

they may live and however they may be employed, go to the realm of dimness when they are dead, and their souls become Kami, differing in the degree of excellence, virtue and strength according to the individual. Those of superior powers are capable of feats in no way inferior to those of the Kami of the Divine Age, and do not differ from those Kami in their power to inform men of future events.’

But immediately before this paragraph he also wrote: ‘It is quite wrong to think that the soul goes to Yomi-no-kuni after death.’ And he added significantly: ‘The ancient Japanese people never pondered over such matters.’

‘According to Shintô classics, it should be said that the soul does usually return to Takama-no-hara after death,’ says a recent author, ‘and it should be remembered that there are many stages or grades in Takama-no-hara, and that a soul can become active more extensively, i.e. *amagakeri-kunigakeru*’.⁽¹²²⁾ This idea was stressed and elaborated by many authoritative writers of the nineteenth-century Kokugaku school: Takamasa Ôkuni (1791–1871), Koreyoshi Mutobe (1805–1865), Shigetane Suzuki (1811–1863), Harumichi Yano (1822–1887).

The same Shintô classics, however, provide no further information, in particular as to how the soul returns to its ancestors’ spiritual residence. It is to Shintô mystics that we must turn for more details. According to some of them at least, the soul will work and grow and go to the higher stages by its merits; and the period of purification will vary according to the conditions of the soul at the time of the death on Earth. This means that the innocent or refined souls will immediately awake in Takama-no-hara, while the ‘very dirty’ ones may take many years.⁽¹²²⁾

On the other hand, a group comprising the most representative and authoritative high-priests of the Kansai told me very explicitly that in their collective opinion, the soul of the deceased ‘comes back to the Kami’, purified, one year after death. This illustrates the unlimited freedom of thought allowed by Shintô to its followers.

Whatever the timing and stages of the evolution of the soul after death, it is universally accepted that the deceased, becoming an ancestor, ‘must continue to work for the improvement and the peace of the world’.⁽¹⁴²⁾

One very significant and basic concept in Shintô is that of *musubi*, ‘the most enlightening word in Shintô’.⁽⁵²⁴⁾ *Musubi* may be translated ‘the spirit of birth and becoming; also birth, accomplishment, combination; the creating and harmonizing powers’.⁽³²⁷⁾ It embraces everything, including the Deities; even Magatsuhi, the cause of every evil, is understood as a deviation of *musubi*.⁽¹²²⁾

There are numerous Kami connected with *musubi*, whom we shall discuss in various sections of this book: Taka-mi-musubi and Kami-musubi (cf. pp. 240–3 below), by the creative power (*musubi-no-mitama*) of whom Heaven and Earth, all the Kami and all phenomena were brought into existence (Motoôri *dixit*); Ho-musubi-no-kami (cf. p. 484 below); Waku-musubi-no-kami (cf. p. 268 below); Iku-musubi-no-kami and Taru-musubi-no-kami (cf. p. 407 below); Ho-no-hiko-musubi-no-kami (cf. p. 283 below); etc.

According to Hirata (*Koshi-deri*), *musu* (from which *musuko*, son and, *musume*, daughter) means ‘to beget’, while *bi* (= *hi*) is here an archaic word applied to whatever is wonderful, miraculous and ineffably worthy of honour, and to the Sun *par excellence*.

As might well have been expected, *musubi* has given rise to considerable esoteric speculation. We shall quote only from one author, Professor Fujisawa: According to him, *musubi* may be said to be an abbreviation of *mi-musubi*, *mi* meaning ‘three’, because the course of its vitalistic evolution is threefold: expansion, contraction and evolution, and of *umusub*, ‘the act of begetting’. Whatever its origin, *musu* means to produce, to fecundate, to brew, to ferment, etc., while *bi* (=hi) means the sun, the fire, the light, the soul, the Deity, etc.

Musubi itself means therefore tangibly the Sun, which begets or germinates, while its intangible meaning is a dynamic power uniting a pair of correlative opposites such as man and woman, day and night, and subject and object. So the deflational recuperation of the true meaning of the word *musubi* can alone pave the way for the overcoming of antinomy between religious subjectivity and scientific objectivity.

In short, *musubi* is confirmed as a dialectical process conforming to which the Sun generates all beings, animate and inanimate. The positive movement of *musubi* deified as Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami, is the forward, expansive, swelling, exhaling, diversifying, ramifying male energy revealed in the exhaling, swelling and diversifying seasons of spring and summer, whereas its passive movement, deified as Kami-musubi-no-kami, is the backward, contractive, absorbing, inhaling, unifying or reintegrating female energy, revealed in the inhaling, withering and unifying seasons of autumn and winter. The dual polarized forces witnessed in this phenomenon of periodical recurrence are also called *saki-mitama* and *kushi-mitama*. *Saki-mitama* is the Divine spirit which spurs the tree on to set forth twigs, branches and flowers; and this explains why Taka-mi-musubi is often designated as Taka-ki-no-kami, a High-tree-kami, inasmuch as the growth of a tree reveals the dialectical process of *musubi* with palpability. *Kushi-mitama* on the other hand is the Divine spirit which despoils the tree of its luxuriant foliage and induces its vital energy to concentrate on the growth of the roots lying underground. *Kushi* implies alike the ‘comb’ with which one trims the dishevelled and unkempt hairs, and the ‘skewer’ with which one impales together Japanese dumplings.

There is one more meaning of *musubi*: completion or conclusion, referring evidently to the synthesizing power which is deified as the August Heavenly Centre Deity, Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami. It is thanks to the mediation of this Supreme all-unifying Divinity that confluence of the waxing and waning cosmic forces is harmoniously achieved.

The Shintō emblem showing three comma-shaped figures in a whirl symbolizes the triad of the dynamic movements of *musubi* as mentioned above. It is worth mentioning in particular that the dynamic concept of *élan vital* which made the life philosophy of Henri Bergson universally famous must be apprehended as the inscrutable thrusting force ever at



Magatama

work behind the process of evolution. We Neo-Shintôists wish to posit the Bergsonian *élan vital* as identical with *musubi*, which is nothing other than pure duration, having neither beginning nor end. So it is understandable that Bergson alluded to a centre from which both life and matter were thrown off like fire-works in a vast illumination.

Many other theories of *musubi* could be quoted, which agree with that of Professor Fujisawa on some points and differ on others.

Mason pointedly remarks⁽⁵²⁴⁾ that the concept of *musubi* 'eliminates from Shintô a mechanistic philosophy of life under the control of an aloof Deity or dominated by fate or any principle of the inevitability of cause and effect.'

Incidentally, *musubi*, which allows for the combining of tradition and progress,⁽¹²²⁾ is what enables Shintô to retain its traditions intact while adapting continually to ever-changing conditions of life.

* * *

A very peculiar feature of Shintô proper is that it has no recognized ethical code to offer. By outsiders this has generally been considered a most heinous imperfection; missionaries have used it as strong evidence in favour of their contention that Shintô does not deserve to be regarded as a religion. It is indeed a fact that one of the attractions offered by Buddhism when it was introduced into Japan was its greatly detailed code of morality, a thing which until that time had been quite unknown; and, partly in order to meet Western criticism which, although it has somewhat abated, is becoming more and more keenly felt as international relations become closer, many Shintô circles are now trying to draw up a standard Shintôist code of ethics along the lines to which we are accustomed.

The last two facts however should not lead us to believe that the absence of such a code in Shintô is a sign either of the religion's immaturity or of an insufficiently organized society, or the result of careless omission. Various sets of perfectly valid reasons can be adduced for the non-inclusion of a code of ethics within the field of Shintô proper. We shall consider some of them.

From a metaphysical and cosmogonical angle, man is not a creation of the gods, but their direct biological descendant. It is therefore only normal that his life should be patterned very much like theirs. Now we know that in the various Pantheons, whether Greek, Hindu, Pre-Columbian or Judeo-Christian, the gods do not apply rules of morality at all comparable with those gradually evolved by man for the purpose of establishing a human society as we know it.

If we now turn to the purpose of religion in human life, it has been aptly said that Shintô (and in the mind of the author here quoted, this applies equally to Japanese Buddhism) tries 'to deal with the sphere of man's problem which is beyond the sphere of good and bad conduct.... The problem whether man's conduct is good or bad is different by nature from the problem of how to emancipate man from worries and anxieties [and] in Japan the task of religion has been concentrated on the latter problem', i.e. 'the inner problem of man', not 'preparing ethical principles for man's social conduct'.⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

From a purely practical angle, if a man follows the pattern of life which has been bequeathed to him by his ancestors the Gods, what need is there to codify rules of conduct for various arbitrary groups of occasions? It is only when the man should fall so low as to be divorced from the life which children of gods should live that he must resort to

principles of morality—which otherwise would have a paralysing effect and infringe upon the freedom which is his heirloom and which he needs.⁽²¹³⁾

According to the greatest authority on Shintô theology, ‘Human beings having been produced by the spirit of the two Creative Deities, are naturally endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do and what they ought to refrain from. It is unnecessary for them to trouble their heads with systems of morality... If a system of morals were necessary, men would be inferior to animals, all of whom are endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do, only in an inferior degree to men.’ (Motoôri, *Nahobi no mitama*).

A modern author gives this additional justification: ‘Because judgements of good and evil in religious ethics vary in meaning and value with each individual and because we are emphasizing rather a dynamic life-attitude, which in itself will cause people to perform moral acts, we do not desire the forcible application of rigidly formalized virtues’.⁽⁴¹⁷⁾

However well justified the absence of an ethical code may be, close examination will nevertheless reveal the fact that if Shintô has no official list of do’s and don’ts, the obligations which it imposes on the outer and inner behaviour of its followers are extremely strict and numerous—probably just as much, if not more, than in the case of any of the other great religions. But they stem from an entirely different concept, that of *kannagara-no-michi*, which we have already discussed (cf. p. 32 above). A. Hirata wrote:

‘We [of the Japanese race] who have been brought into existence through the creative spirits of the sacred ancestral Kami are, each and every one, in spontaneous possession of the Way of the Gods. This means that we are equipped by Nature with the virtues of reverence for the Gods, for rulers and parents, with kindness towards wife and children, with the moral qualities which in Confucianism are called the five great ethical principles (*gorin*) and also with the five virtues (*gojô*), and to follow the nature just as it is, without bending or turning aside, is to conform to the teaching of the Kami.’

Another Japanese author stressed ‘the insistent care of Shintô for behaviour.’⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾

Tasuku Harada has elaborated as follows on the ethical implications of *kannagara-no-michi*:

‘By *michi*, the Way, is intended a mysterious, unformulated, yet influential conception, carrying with it a sense of awe and solemnity. The word *michi* is probably the most expressive term in the Japanese vocabulary of ethics and religion. Primarily, and as in common use, it means path or road. In religion and ethics, it means way, teaching, doctrine, or, as sometimes translated, principle (In Chinese, *michi* finds its equivalent in *tao*)... An ennobling atmosphere breathes from its presence. A man of *michi* is a man of character, of justice, of principle, of conviction, obedient to the nature of his humanity. To be accused of having wandered from the *michi* is to suffer an insult, for it implies perversity to that which is most essentially manly. *Michi* is a heavengiven constituent, the ideal of heaven to be realized in humanity. Again, *michi* is the path of life taught as the ideal and accepted as such to be followed. Confucianism is called the *michi* of scholars and sages; Buddhism is the *michi* of Buddha; Shintô is the *michi* of Kami. Morality is *michi*, the harmony of life with the ideal; and even reason is thought of as the essence of *michi*. But in whatever meaning employed, *michi* expresses a very deep and sincere conception, linking the subject in some awe-inspiring way with the height and the depth of the great All. It implies the essence of human life linked with the life superhuman. Michizane Sugawara wrote: “If in

the secret heart—We follow the hallowed Way—Surely the gods will guard—Though ne'er a prayer we say.” The *michi* of the ancient Japanese was doubtless most naïve and simple. Before the use of the word Shintô to designate the way of the native gods in distinction from those introduced by foreigners, *kannagara* denoted the religious ideal of the people: “an unconscious observance of the Way” believed to have existed from time immemorial. To act in accord with the course of nature, without conscious effort, obedient to the impulse of constitutional prompting, is the highest virtue in Shintô eyes. The course of nature is the will of the Gods. The will of the Gods is performed in all that acts naturally. Here is extreme simplicity, utter faith in the rightness of the natural. Such is the core of the Japanese *michi*.⁽⁴⁰²⁾

There is also a word, *zen*, which ‘besides good in the moral sense, also refers to happiness and superiority of the nature or value of a thing’,⁽³²⁷⁾ and part of the meaning of which is probably the nearest approach in Shintô to what we call goodness, or virtue, in general.

If we now turn to what are considered individual virtues in Shintô, we must first note that in spite of the multiplicity of names by which they are designated, they are regarded as different aspects of one and the same thing. ‘Virtue is an inseparable thing’, it cannot be divided.⁽⁴¹²⁾

The one which is stressed most insistently is purity, although it is more a state to be realized through or with the help of virtues rather than a virtue in itself. As Kaempffer noted more than two centuries ago, the first ‘chief point’ is ‘the inward purity of the heart.’⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾

It is a strange thing that, whereas many words describing purification and its numerous methods normally occur with remarkable frequency in every talk or writing about Shintô, and although purification is evidently the chief concern of Shintôists, one hardly ever comes across a word designating the state of purity. This is just the reverse of what can be observed in Western languages. Two contradictory explanations may be offered for that oddity: either the Japanese lack our self-complacency and admit that ‘absolute purity is never attained’,⁽³⁸⁷⁾ or else purity, being the natural state of man, is taken for granted; personally I am inclined to accept the former. Nevertheless, it is an uncontroverted truth in Shintô that the natural, real state of man is more pure than his present, apparent state: ‘if not best, it is at least better’.⁽²¹³⁾ The nearest word seems to be *seimeï* which we shall see later.

As regards actual individual virtues, the basic one is undoubtedly *makoto*, sincerity. In the seventeenth century, Nobuyoshi Watarai wrote: ‘perfect sincerity is the supreme principle of Shintô.’ The word *makoto*, which occurs so often in modern Shintô, is usually translated sincerity, but it means much more than what is generally implied by the English term. We read in the *Kokutai-no-hongi*: The heart of sincerity is the purest manifestation of the spirit of man.... Sincerity means that true words become true deeds.... That which is spoken by the mouth must surely be manifested in actions.... The source from which beauty, goodness and truth are born is sincerity.’ According to a distinguished theologian, its original meaning is ‘truth’,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ not in the sense of a mere abstract, universal law, but with an individual, concrete value applicable to each particular act or fact. It covers in particular honesty, truthfulness, conscientiousness. It is by serving the Kami with *makoto* that man can conform to the will of the Kami.⁽³²⁷⁾ ‘The state of being *kannagara* is called *makoto*’.⁽¹²²⁾

To quote another modern exponent of Shintô:

‘*Makoto* is a sincere approach to life with all one’s heart, an approach in which nothing is shunned or treated with neglect. It stems from an awareness of the Divine. It is the humble,

single-minded reaction which wells up within us when we touch directly or indirectly upon the workings of the Kami, know that they exist, and have the assurance of their close presence with us.

‘Then, while on the one hand we sense keenly our baseness and imperfection in the presence of the Kami, on the other hand, we will be overwhelmed with ineffable joy and gratitude at the privilege of living within the harmony of nature.

‘While the conditions of life surrounding us remain the same, a new lifeview will be born. Then, when this new life is opened before us as we have a change of heart, we will find many cases of poverty and sickness being well on the way to being righted.

‘The source of Shintô ethics is really in the life-attitude of *makoto*. When a person has this attitude in his contacts with others, in the case of his parents, for instance, then naturally there appears conduct which can appropriately be called by the name of the moral virtue of filial piety. Although the attitude of the individual is always the same, there appear actions suitable to be called benevolence towards children, faithfulness towards friends, loyalty towards the ruler, and love towards neighbours.’⁽⁴¹⁷⁾

One of the most powerful modern sects of Shintô teaches: ‘Sincerity is the attitude of an awakened spirit that has been swept clean of the eight dusts (moral contamination) and made free from evil fate.’ (*Tenri-kyô-kôyô*).

Some authors have even suggested that the importance attached to sincerity explains why the object (*mitama-shiro*) into which the Kami is asked to descend is more often than not a mirror.⁽⁴¹⁹⁾

There seems to be little doubt that within the wide concept of *makoto* comes the more specific virtue of *seigi* or *nahoki-koto*, righteousness (adjective: *nahoshi*). *Kiyoki-nahoki-koto* or *akaki-kiyoki-nahoki-makoto-no-kokoro* often appeared as a fundamental request in the ancient Imperial edicts.⁽¹²²⁾ Strangely enough at first glance, *seigi* itself includes *koto-dama*, ‘the right use of words’, literally ‘the soul of the word’. But *koto-dama* goes considerably further than its name would seem to imply; it covers affection, tenderness, ‘having one mind’⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ and also *kotomuke*, the ‘directed word’, the aim of which is always to bring peace.⁽⁷⁵⁾ And ‘to bring peace’ should be our main purpose in life, because ‘when our opponent commits a fault, we are always responsible for it; he would not have done so if we had sufficiently appeased him’.⁽⁷⁵⁾

In connection with the science of words and the power of words, let us mention in passing the importance in Shintô of avoiding *imi-kotoba*, i.e. words which are ‘abhorred by the deity’ and which should be replaced by other words. ‘The practice of tabooing words is mentioned in the *Engi-shiki*, and there are similar taboos among people engaged in hunting, forestry and fishing.’⁽³²⁷⁾

To return to *makoto*, I suppose it may be said that part of it is *shôjiki*, or *tadashiki-nahoki*, honesty, i.e. careful avoidance of ‘error in word or deed’.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ The real meaning of the Japanese word is ‘correct and docile’.⁽³²⁷⁾

The very practically-minded Japanese nevertheless recognize that in everyday life *shôjiki* cannot be followed entirely and without any deviation. And that applies particularly to tradesmen ‘whose very profession compels them to lie’. That is why in Kôbe, the original idea started of having a special annual matsuri, the Seimon-saï, which takes place on November 20th in the Nishinomiya-jinja and during which those who engage

in business come to beg Ebisu's forgiveness for all the untruths they have told during the previous twelve months. By way of atonement, the head of the firm makes apologies to his employees and gives them presents, and he also makes important reductions (*seimon-barai*) in the prices of the goods bought from him on that day. The practice, which started in the district of that particular temple, has now spread to many parts of Japan.⁽²²⁰⁾ That day, however, (now solar) October 20th, has also come to be regarded as a day for *konshinkwai*, social gatherings, that is, of the members of a guild, political coterie, learned society, and so forth.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

The attitude of *makoto* is considered to be that which leads to *wa*—another word which has no exact equivalent in Western languages. The Chinese character with which it is written is composed of two elements which mean respectively 'rice', and 'mouth', and the conjunction of the two evidently results in 'harmony',⁽⁵⁴⁾ but it became gradually connected with the idea of 'we, us'; thus *ware ware no kuni* means 'our country', i.e. Japan,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ 'because formerly there was no concept of the individual in contradistinction to the community'.⁽¹³³⁾ And thus it came to imply the idea of solidarity, and since the Tokugawa era, it has been more properly translated by 'peace'.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ *Wa* applies both to the individual and to the community, large or small; in the latter aspect it means a harmonious community: 'If every one expresses *makoto*, we have *wa*.'⁽¹³³⁾ Shintôists stress the fact that *wa* is not a compromise for reaching superficial agreement, but a harmonious combination of what exists,⁽¹³⁷⁾ including the harmonious coexistence of different religions, of various modes of life.⁽⁷⁵⁾ One priest went so far as to tell me: 'Even when my wife and I differ (the interpreter actually said "quarrer, but I suppose he was transposing in order that a Westerner should understand) we are still *one*, and that is *wa*.'⁽¹³⁷⁾ On the individual level, *wa* means a sense of inner peace, a feeling that there is no opposition between oneself and the outside world. It is very much akin to that 'balanced tranquillity of mind' which the Japanese have cultivated to an amazing extent, which gives them 'a peculiar ability to meet with difficult situations' quietly and which 'is regarded as a high virtue'.⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

Concomitant with *makoto* and *wa* comes *seimeï* or *akaki*, 'purity and cheerfulness of heart', two inseparable factors which constitute 'one of the most prized virtues in Shintô, the spiritual element of purification (*harai*)'.⁽³²⁷⁾ Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami said to Susano-wo: 'I know that thy mind is *akaki*.'

There are of course many other virtues, which are so closely interwoven as to be overlapping and even sometimes interchangeable. For the sake of clarity, we shall mention some of them separately.

An essential component of the right attitude in life is *kansha*, thankfulness, which should be directed to the Kami, the nation, the society and the family; it should normally be coupled with an effort (*doryoku*) to be a good member of those various groups.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ As we shall see (cf. Chapters XIII & XIV) it should find expression in thanksgiving, which is part of all worship. But mental thanksgiving, often accompanied by small gifts, may apply at different levels according to the state of mind of the devotee. It may just be for the fulfilment of a certain wish or desire; on a somewhat higher plane, it may be thanks to the Kami for the fact that we exist in our present condition. When more deeply inspired, man can express gratitude to the Kami for having reached a certain understanding of life's meaning, by living a religious life.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

A very important element which is difficult to describe in Western terminology is *kenshin*, from *ken*, to offer, and *shin* body, individual person. It means total offering of what one has and is, something akin to what Shri Aurobindo calls ‘surrender’. But it differs from the latter because it has to be perfectly spontaneous. It is not a sense of duty, because it stems from the heart and not from the mind. It is stronger than love, because it is more imperative and admits of no compromise or distortion.⁽¹³³⁾ It differs from the Hindu *bhakti* because it has to be directed not only to God, but also to the world, to the nation (Japan), to the place of birth, and to the whole of that society to which we owe what we are.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ It has been defined as ‘devotion to the common interest’.

In the eyes of the Shintōists, one prerequisite to harmony is the practice of tolerance,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ not only in the field of ideas and beliefs, but also of action, and they go so far as to refrain systematically—with exceptions of course—from interfering when they see somebody else acting badly.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ One typical qualification to the rule would seem to be that the liar is likely to be ostracized by society.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ One significant phrase is *kwan-yō-sei*, which is translated as ‘tolerant generosity’ and explained as ‘mental search for variety’.⁽⁴³⁰⁾ And some value is attached to the fact of having an ‘assimilative nature’, *dōkwa-sei*.⁽⁴³⁰⁾

The fundamental relation between human beings is much more *jin* or *itsu-kushi-bi*, humanitarianism or benevolence, the Chinese character for which is a combination of ‘man’ and ‘two’, 仁.⁽³⁷⁹⁾

Complementary to this should also be taken the concept of *uyamau* (*iyamafu* in classical texts). *‘Iya* means actions showing respect, etiquette or ceremonial behaviour. Originally *iyamafu* meant to show respect by appropriate formal behaviour, but today it means also to respect internally. It is an attitude towards the Gods, nobles, superiors, or superior personalities; and also a necessary attitude or state of mind in dealing mutually with relatives and friends.’⁽³²⁷⁾

Closely connected with *uyamau* is *tsutsushimi*, ‘a circumspect attitude, an attitude carefully obeying precepts and rules; an attitude careful not to be guilty of disrespect or failure. An attitude especially necessary when serving a God or a noble or when dealing with matters pertaining to a God or a noble. *Saikaï* or *mono-imi* and religious ceremonies are performed with *tsutsushimi*, and the purification of sin or pollution is also connected with *tsutsushimi*. Ansai Yamazaki, the founder of Suiga Shintō, discovered a special significance in *tsutsushimi* and made it the basic principle of Shintō. *Tsutsushimi* has the same meaning as the “reverence” which was the basic morality of Neo-Confucianism.’⁽³²⁷⁾

Although filial piety, *kōkō*, devotion to the Emperor, faithfulness to friends, etc. play such an overwhelming part in determining the life of Shintōists, there is not much to say about them within the field of Shintō proper, which seems to consider them as essential components of the nature of man, but never bothered to develop either a philosophy or a detailed code of rules about them. When Confucianism came into Japan, it seems that its elaborate social construction fitted in very well with what was deeply imbedded in the minds and hearts of the people, and it could be adopted without much difficulty. A modern Japanese author wrote: The loyal subject issues from the house where filial piety is revered.’⁽⁴¹²⁾

Dr Nitobe mentions a very striking and touching instance of filial piety:

‘It was a usual thing for one dying in youth of sickness or suicide to apologize to his sorrowing parents for his premature departure in terms something like these: “Forgive me

that I go before you. I grieve, my father and mother, that I have to leave you behind me, now that you are growing older. In your old age, you will miss me. I could have done something in return for all you have done for me. Tis all Heaven's decree, and I must go"⁽⁷¹⁰⁾

Filial piety is of course closely connected with the remarkably strong sense of duty to ancestors, which is an essential part of the religious attitude of the Japanese, and is dealt with in other chapters (cf. VI, XIII and XXIV). Parallel to it is another sense of duty which I have never come across in any other religion, that of a duty to generations yet unborn. It is customary that prayers or offerings to the dead should also be directed to future posterity. And the love of Japanese parents for their children is unsurpassed anywhere in the world.

Great stress is also laid⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ on industriousness, *tsui-shin*. One very striking aspect of Japanese life is that one hardly ever sees idle people. Even outside actual working-hours, in what elsewhere might be termed leisure, they are always *doing* something. Although this may be unduly narrowing down its field of application, one may perhaps take in connection with it another great Shintô virtue, *itsu*, strong will and power. And the combination of 'tolerance', internal *wa* and *itsu* is perhaps one explanation of the remarkable aptitude of Japanese for such sports as judo.

Mention should also be made of the stress laid by many Shintôists⁽¹³⁵⁾ on the need for spontaneity; they see in this attitude a strong safeguard against the pressure of the ego.

Shintô does not seem to be concerned about problems of sex and drink. When pressed to give an answer, priests will say that sexual relations should not be encouraged before marriage⁽³⁷⁾ and that extra-marital relations are undesirable⁽¹⁹⁹⁾, but they are not very emphatic about it. They seem to have little objection to drinking, and occasionally engage in drinking bouts between themselves, just as Christian priests do, and even go so far as to say that *sake* may contribute to our inner harmony, but they maintain that drunkenness should be avoided.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

It was traditionally believed that the essence of the famous *sansha-takusen*, the oracles delivered during the Kamakura era in the three temples of Isejingu, Kasuga-taisha and Hachiman-gû were respectively honesty, benevolence and purity.⁽¹⁹²⁾ The three words were often inscribed on hanging scrolls in the houses of the court nobles at the beginning of the Muromachi period; they were also very often written or carved on the weapons of the samurai during the Edo era. The three virtues were regarded as the essential of Shintô ethics until the Meiji reform, when they were substituted by *kannagara-no-michi*.⁽¹²²⁾

The deep concern for one's honour and still more so the honour of one's family is also a very effective substitute for a list of do's and don'ts. Dr Nitobe expressed it adequately and tersely when he referred to the 'inborn sense of shame at all wrong-doing'⁽⁷¹⁰⁾ and added: 'Honour is the only tie that binds the Japanese to the ethical world.'⁽⁷¹⁰⁾ Rather than describe an action or attitude as 'sinful', the Japanese prefer to think of it as 'shameful'.⁽¹³⁵⁾ 'In the absence of any written commandments, the *ren-chi-shin*, the consciousness of shame', is 'the last and highest court of appeal.'⁽⁷¹⁰⁾

General Count Nogi expressed an important complementary idea when he wrote in a marginal note on a manuscript submitted to him for approval: 'I cannot consent to the separation of wisdom and virtue.'⁽⁴¹²⁾

Dr Nitobe has perhaps succeeded better than anybody else in summing up what 'the central moral teachings of Shintôism' are:

‘Know thyself; reflect into thy mind; see in thy heart a god enthroned, appointing this, or commanding that; obey his mandate, and thou needest no other gods. Consider whence thou camest—namely from thy parents, and they from theirs, and so back from generation to generation: thou owest thy being to thy progenitors, to whom, though invisible, thou canst still be thankful. Consider also where thou art—namely in a well-ordered state, where thou and thine are safe and well: only in such a state could thy mother give birth and suck to thee; only in such a state can thy children thrive; forget not, therefore, him thy Lord and King, from whom peace, law and order emanate. In such simple wise did Shintôism instil moral responsibility into our own conscience, filial love to our parents and forefathers, and loyalty to our own King. These threefold duties, representing respectively personal, family and social relations, may be called the primary moral notions, in the practical exercise of which many others must of necessity follow as postulates.’⁽⁷¹⁰⁾

* * *

If Shintô offers no system of ethics which can be compared with ours, it is on the other hand deeply concerned about ritual purity. And although two Cabinet decrees in 1872 and 1873 greatly relaxed the rules to be observed, they are still remarkably strict. The main causes of pollution (*kegare*) are child-bearing, menstruation and the occurrence of death, all of them applying not only to the persons directly concerned, but to the whole family. Until the middle-ages, it also included the eating of meat, sickness, acupuncture, etc.⁽³²⁷⁾ We shall give only a few typical instances.

In the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja, a priest could not until very recently take part in a matsuri within thirteen months after the death of his father or mother, and until 1910 he could not take a meal in his own house when one of the female members of the household was menstruating.⁽²¹⁵⁾

In the Shika-umi-jinja, still greater importance is given to the ritual incapacities attached to the period of mourning (*imi*, or *buku*, or *kibuku*, or *bukki*.)⁽³²⁷⁾ Until a few years ago, when the *gûji*, another priest or a parishioner lost his father or his mother, the period of pollution lasted three years, during which time his meals could not be cooked on the same fire or with the same utensils as the meals of other members of the household, and he lived either in a special room used only in such emergencies or in a temporary hut built for that purpose alongside the house. The period has now been cut down to one year, but the same rules still apply. And there is a correspondingly shorter period when death has struck a more distant relative. After which there is a great purification ceremony, *fujô-barai*. When I visited the Shika-umi-jinja, the *gûji*, who had lost his father, was not allowed to come into the precincts of his own temple.⁽¹⁰⁾

In the Todoroki-jinja, the young men selected to carry the *mikoshi* during the *rei-tai-sai* become polluted if a birth or a death has occurred in their family during the 20 days preceding the ceremony, or if any woman of their family is menstruating on the day of the ceremony. In such cases, they must be left out and replaced, and if they should hide the fact, disastrous consequences may ensue.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

The Kibitsu-jinja has a very curious tradition according to which the iron caldron, Kibitsu-no-ô-kama-san, in which the *shinsen* is cooked will stop ‘singing’ if any person is present who is—or ought to be—in mourning.

All the above are instances of *imi* (the original meaning of the word is ‘avoidance’), i.e. of states or events ‘which present an impediment to religious ceremonies’.⁽³²⁷⁾

The constant danger of ritual impurity for members of the female sex between puberty and menopause is undoubtedly one of the main reasons why women were excluded from participation in many ceremonies. *Miko* are expected to abstain from exercising their functions while menstruating. Until fairly recently, nubile *miko* could not even be employed at all except in some temples such as the Izumo-ô-yashiro,⁽⁶³¹⁾ and in the Ise-jingû the age-limit was raised only to nineteen years.⁽¹²²⁾

Until the end of the Second World War, women could not take part in the Jidai-matsuri of the Heian-jingû,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and it was only in 1868 that they were allowed to climb the sacred Mount Fuji. They are still prohibited from setting foot on the sacred island of Okinoshima, on ‘mostly’ religious grounds.⁽⁸⁶⁾ During the Shô-rei-sai of the Dewa-san-zan, they may not come into the sacred mountain area. They are still not entitled to enter the house of the gûji in the Izumo-ô-yashiro.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

In Christian treaties on morality, it is customary to deal with sin as the natural counterpart to virtue. That polarity does not exist in Shintô, where what we call sin is considered more in the nature of an extrinsic element, a mistake, which does not affect the real person. The widest Japanese term for it, *tsumi*, ‘in antiquity had a broad meaning, and included pollution, sickness, disaster and error’.⁽³²⁷⁾ It is largely synonymous with the Sanskrit word *enas*, which means both sin and disaster. *Enas*, whether due to immoral behaviour, or misfortune, or ritual mistakes, or sheer accident, could be destroyed, burnt or washed away by purification rites (Gonda). The Japanese word *aku* has practically the same meaning as *tsumi*, and also embraces ‘any inferiority of the nature or value of a thing’.⁽³²⁷⁾

A distinction used to be made between *ama-tsu-tsivmi*’, heavenly sins, and *kuni-tsu-tsumi*, terrestrial sins, the former being all those which were committed by the god Susano-wo-no-mikoto, including destructive acts harmful to agriculture, and the latter inflicting deadly injury, immodest actions, killing of domestic animals, using magic, leprosy, the falling of lightning, and damage done by birds.

The occurrence of moral and criminal offences, as well as of all evil, is in classical Shintô thought to be produced by the action of the evil spirit or spirits named Magatsuhi, who intruded from the land of Yomi, the land of the dead, the antithesis of Takama-no-hara; hence it was regarded as being caused by something beyond man’s control.

Although man is fated to be exposed to the attacks of Magatsuhi, there is nothing in Shintô that can be compared to the Christian concept of original sin;⁽⁵²³⁾ the sinner is regarded not as a born criminal, but as having ceased for a while to be a member of a world of goodness and happiness and as still entitled to return to that world; he should be reminded of it if he happens to have forgotten it, and he should be restored to the happiness to which he is entitled.⁽³²⁷⁾ Unlike the Buddhist, the Shintôist ‘does not regard man as having been victimized by being born. Earthly life, to Shintô, is a desired satisfaction for divine spirit/ wrote a Western author.⁽⁵²³⁾ And the Japanese regard themselves as bound to emerge out of any ethical failure: ‘However often the water may turn turbid, it will nevertheless regain its original purity and transparency. This is the very image of our venerated land.’ (Hatta Tomonori).

An authoritative writer tells his compatriots:

‘We are recipients from the Kami, by direct descent through the ancestors, of a specific endowment of tendencies and capacities, and if we permit this innate disposition to find

normal expression, we achieve spontaneously filial piety, loyalty and love of fellow-men. There is here no conflict of individualism and no placing of the gods outside of the world of men. As a race, we are one with our ancestors, a part of divine nature. It is thus involved in the natural unfolding of the Way of the Gods within us that we should be prudent regarding self, that we should contribute to national progress and anticipate the future peace of the whole world.^{7(715a)}

‘All we need,’ a distinguished Shintōist told me, ‘is to be aware of the need to return to the Kami’s *wake-mitama*, which we *have*. Purification is necessary to regain it. To re-find it, we need good conduct in daily life.’⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

One of the most popular among the modern schools of Shintō, the Tenrikyō, compares sin to dust which comes to lie upon the face of a mirror. The mirror no longer reflects a true picture, but it is not to be blamed for it, and the only thing to do is to wipe off the dust—after which the mirror is again just as pure as it was originally.

Due warnings, *tatari*, may be given by a Kami when he is dissatisfied or angered at a man’s words or conduct. They may take the shape of disasters, *wazawai*—in antiquity also regarded as a type of *tsumi*—such as strange phenomena, mysterious destructive happenings, unhappiness, or even sudden death.⁽³²⁷⁾

There is also a possibility that under the same circumstances, the offended Kami will actually inflict punishment, *bachi* (which is a corruption of the Chinese word *batsu*, with the same meaning).⁽³²⁷⁾

Whether he has received a Divine warning or not, man should accept responsibility for doing whatever may be necessary to return to his normal state of purity. This is achieved mostly by *harai*, which comprises the removal of impediments, purification and the expulsion of Magatsuhi.⁽³²⁷⁾

* * *

In Shintō, the object of spiritual discipline and mystical research is generally described as ‘pacifying the soul’ (*mitama-shizume*, *chin-kōn*). As in every other religion, the exercises which directly pertain to transformation of the inner self are preceded and accompanied by others of an apparently more material and mechanical nature which aim at purification (*misogi*, *harai*).

The most methodical description which I could obtain of the whole process was given to me by the Yamakage Shintō school. It runs as follows:

Misogi-harai leading to *chin-kōn* should comprise four different stages, each of which includes *yoshi-barai* and *ashi-barai* (literally purification of good and purification of evil):

- (1) *Misogi-harai* of the body, including
 - (a) washing away external dirt by a bath
 - (b) washing away toxins inside the body by purifying the bowels and the blood
 - (c) adjusting diet and sleep
 - (d) regulating the body, by regulatory movements which ‘confer divinity upon it’
 - (e) purifying the astral body.
- (2) *Misogi-harai* of the heart
 - (a) entering a purified life which is separated from unclean mental life, i.e. trying to

establish in oneself the concepts of life, soul, universe and Deity in order to obtain 'basic life' through peace, tranquility, tolerance and placidity

- (b) practicing mental unity, which uncleanliness can never affect
- (c) rising purified to higher and wider consciousness.

(3) *Misogi-harai* for regularising the environment

- (a) cleaning up the environment
- (b) abstaining from dark and discouraging words and using only luminous words
- (c) avoiding useless talk with people and endeavouring to quieten the soul
- (d) serving and helping others; helping both oneself and others to express greater devotion to the Kami.

(4) *Misogi-harai* of the soul (*rei*)

- (a) purified unification of the soul
- (b) purification by the holy soul which sheds light like the sun
- (c) rising into the world of 'higher and wider dimensions'

After which comes *chin-kôn*.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Taken by itself, *stricto sensu*, *misogi* is 'a practice of removing sin and pollution from body and mind by the use of water...a purification performed by a river or sea'.⁽³²⁷⁾ Its essential element is therefore the cold bath. It is an 'intransitive purification'.⁽¹²²⁾

In practice, however, the word *misogi*, whether or not linked with *harai*, connotes *lato sensu*, the whole process of spiritual discipline, and covers not only all 'observances to cast off impurities and mishaps and to purify body and mind',⁽³²⁷⁾ but all the stages which we have indicated above.

Taken separately, *harai*, formerly pronounced *haraë*⁽³²⁷⁾ and sometimes written and read *baraï* in composition, designates 'the purification ceremonies of Shintô; the removal of all sins, pollutions and disasters by praying to the gods; the return to a condition in which one can approach the gods, by purifying body and mind'.⁽³²⁷⁾ It is a 'transitive purification'.⁽¹²²⁾

The word *shugyô* or simply *gyô*, which has a Buddhistic connotation, is used for 'mental training', but also embraces all that contributes to that training, i.e. 'water-fall ablution, mountain-climbing, fasting and others'.⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

Let us say first of all that in order to reap the full benefit of his *misogi*, the Shintôist should follow some definite rules during the period immediately preceding. The rules of course vary with the sects and schools, but generally speaking, he should take simple food in small quantities and follow a vegetarian diet, abstain from alcohol, tea and coffee, take a cold bath or a cold shower after his daily hot bath, change his underclothing every day and spend more than one hour in meditation both morning and evening.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Considerable value is attached to ritual bathing in cold water. One author writes: 'What is ablution? It is not merely the cleansing of one's body solely with lustral water; it means one's following the Right and Moral Way. Pollution means moral evil or vice. Though a man wash off his bodily filth he will yet fail to please the Deity if he restrain not his evil desires.'⁽⁶⁶³⁾

When bathing in cold water for *misogi-purposes*, it is said that water should first be splashed over various parts of the body in the following order: the mouth, the face, the private parts, the chest and abdomen, the feet and legs, the shoulders and arms, the back, the chest and abdomen again, and finally the whole body.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ To be complete, the cold bathing

(*mizu-gori*) should take place successively at the mouth of a river, near the source of a river, in the sea, under a waterfall and in a spring or well.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The lastmentioned exercise provides one of the reasons why most large temples have a small artificial lake in the precincts. Some of them are still in use and enjoy great fame, e.g. the Ô-te-baraï (or Mitarai-no-ike) of the Kashima-jingû (cf. chapter X).

The cold bath is of course more effective when taken in a state of complete nudity. The gûji of the Imi-no-miya-jinja bathes naked in the sea on the three days preceding the December matsuri.

Exceptionally, on the morning of the Nagoshi-saï, the priests of the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja take a hot bath, but the gûji pours some cold water over his head.⁽²¹⁵⁾

When water is not at all obtainable, prolonged exposition to cold air, preferably on a mountain top with a biting wind or a snow-storm, may be considered a satisfactory substitute.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In connection with the use of cold water is that of salt.

Salt (*shïo*) is considered to be a very potent purifier, more particularly in sea-water. The mythological justification given for it is that Izanagi bathed in the sea to purify himself from pollution after he had seen the rotting corpse of Izanami (cf. chapter XVI sq.). Another and more earthly explanation is that salt is a good preserver for many articles of food. However that may be, salt is often used for purification or protection against evil in every-day life. It is sprinkled before the gate of the home morning and evening, and also after an unwelcome visitor has left; little piles of salt are placed before the doors of restaurants; people who have attended a funeral sprinkle salt on themselves.⁽³²⁷⁾ Salt is also scattered in the bathroom (*o-furo*) before it is used for *misogi* purposes. In matches of *sumo*, the wrestlers sprinkle salt on the arena before they clasp each other, so that the match may be perfectly fair.

The collection of salt for worship is made with the same extreme care as the production and preparation of rice for offerings. That used in the Ise-jingû comes exclusively from the temple's salt-pans.

As we shall see later, in many important ceremonies, after a priest has waved the *harai-gushi* over the congregation, another priest performs *shubatsu*, i.e. sprinkles water from a special wooden box, the *en-tô-oke* (or *en-tô-no-oke* or *mage-mono*), which is supposed to contain sea-water. It still does in the Izumo-ô-yashiro (where it is carried in a special box, the *shïo-kumi-kago*), in the Iyahiko-jinja, in the annual matsuri of the Ô-kuni-tama-jinja and a few others, but the rite has been adulterated in a number of highly respectable temples, probably for fear of soiling the luxurious garments of the priest. The *mage-mono* of the Kôbe Nagata-jinja contains fresh water to which a small quantity of salt has been added; in the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû, it contains only salt and no water; in many others it contains fresh water, and in quite a few it contains nothing at all.

Bathing in the sea itself is of course one of the most traditional forms of *misogi* (cf. p. 279f.). In the Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, on the 21st of April, all priests are required to proceed to the beach of Shinagawa to collect sea-water which they will use for their daily hot-bath (*o-furo*) all year round.

Even the *mikoshi* (portable shrines) are in some cases dipped in sea-water for purification (*mikoshi-araishiki*), as in the Sumiyoshi-taïsha on the eve of the great matsuri.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

But the most notable part played by salt in worship is to be found in the Shiogama-jinja. Shiô-tsuchi-no-oji-no-kami, the Kami of the *betsugû*, who has gradually become

more important than the Kami in the main *honden*, is not only a god of fishermen, but also the god of salt-extraction. He was companion and guide to Take-mika-dzuchi and to Futsu-nushi in the long expedition which took them over most of the present-day Japan (cf. chapter XIX). The fact that his name is evidently derived from *shiô*, salt, the great purifier, is in itself a most striking proof of the paramount importance which old Shintô already attached to purification in general, and to salt as its medium in particular. In addition to the *betsugû* mentioned above, Shiô-tsuchi-no-oji has three important shrines of his own in the Shiogama-jinja: the Magaki-jinja, on the island of Magaki, the Fuji-mitsu-sha, where some kind of worship is offered to the whip with which the Kami drove his cow—the one which carried the salt he had extracted—and the Ô-kama-jinja which deserves detailed description. It contains four caldrons (*kama*) of very large diameter, but not very deep, which are always full of sea-water; they never dry up and they never overflow, but if some catastrophe threatens the region, the colour of the water changes; the shrine was built on the very spot where the Kami is reported to have extracted salt for the first time. From July 4th to 10th a most impressive matsuri takes place in which seaweed is picked in the sea. The water in the four caldrons is changed, salt is extracted by boiling the water in a fifth caldron of the same size, and finally the salt thus obtained is offered to the Kami in the *honden*.

This is probably also the place to mention the use of sand, generally from the seashore, which is also occasionally used in worshipping. In the Izumo-ô-yashiro, devotees throw handfuls of it under the shrine of Susano-wo-no-mikoto. In the Iku-tama-jinja on the other hand, parishioners take sand from the temple-precincts (*o-suna*) and spread it on the ground where a house is going to be built. Great importance is attached to it in the Miyazaki-jingû, where parishioners take some from the sea-beach to bring to their homes and to the temple. In the Hirose-jinja, they have a ‘sand-throwing festival’ on February 12th.

For the ‘washing away of toxins inside the body by purifying the bowels and the blood,’ during periods of *misogi*, a special diet has generally to be observed, but it varies largely with the different schools and with circumstances. What follows is only a description of certain cases which are fairly common, and is by no means of universal application.

For a short period of *misogi*, meals consist exclusively of rice which has been boiled so long that it has turned almost into paste, salt, sesame seeds, fruits, bean paste (*miso*), seaweed, and small plums preserved in vinegar (*ume boshi*) but which may be left in hot water for some time before they are eaten.

For a longer period, one may take vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, *tôfu* (another type of bean curd), *age* (fried bean-curd), various kinds of nuts, mushrooms, various types of buds, bamboo shoots, and also, as a special delicacy, sprigs of the following ‘weeds’:

seri: *Oenanthe stolonifera* DC., a kind of parsley

hoko-hoko: a popular name for an unidentified herb

fuki: *Petasites japonicus* Mig., colt’s foot (the flowers only)

yomogi: *Artemisia vulgaris* L., var. *indica Maxim.*, mugwort

nazuna: *Capsella Bursa-pastoris* Medicus, shepherd’s purse, or pickpurse

hakobe: *stellaria media* Cyr., a chickweed

tanpopo: *Taraxacum platycarpum*, Dahlst., a kind of dandelion Variants from the above list of ‘weeds’ include:

haha-ko-gusa (or *hōko-hoko-gusa*, or *gogyō*): a cotton-weed or cud-weed

renge-sō (or *hotoke-no-za*): Chinese-milk

suzuna: Chinese sape

suzushiro: garden radish

For a period of one hundred days or more, white-fleshed fish is also permitted.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

As a rule, in all cases, no coffee, tea or alcoholic drinks are allowed.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

For the purpose of ‘regulating the body by regulatory movements which divinize it’, the use of special methods of breathing is resorted to in Shintō as an aid to spiritual elevation. In the Izumo-ō-yashiro, all members of the Senge family practice a very special kind of rhythmic breathing. I was told however that Hindu techniques of *prānāyāma* cannot be applied in Japan below an altitude of 3,000 feet, ‘because the air is too damp’ and they might cause kidney and other diseases. One fairly common Japanese method consists in breathing through the nose, withholding the breath for a short time and silently exhaling through the mouth, while the eyes are mentally directed towards a mirror which is at their level, at a distance equal to the length of the arm.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In two of the most important and esoteric temples, the Iso-no-kami-jingū and the Kashima-jingū, I was privileged to receive instruction in some of those breathing exercises practised within a somewhat wider context of movements of the body and utterances of sounds and words, as they normally should be. I shall describe the exercise as regularly performed by the gūji of the Iso-no-kami-jingū. It is an essential element in a kind of *tama-furi* for oneself, therefore a *jishu* (*self*)-*chin-kōn*, which is called *furube-no-kam-waza* (technique).

The gūji sits on a small mat in the *haiden*, facing the *honden*. His feet are joined together in front of him, sole against sole. The knees are raised, the distance between them being the breadth of two fists. The trunk is bent to the right, then to the left, then forward, then backward, and then returns to the upright position, the exercise being repeated without interruption throughout the *furube-no-kam-waza*. The hands lie flat, one on top of the other, palm against palm, leaving however a certain empty space between their central parts; they rotate alternately one against the other, so that the tip of the thumb of one hand meets the root of the middle finger of the other. While the hands thus move in relation to each other, the arms are extended and follow the movements of the trunk so that the hands come over each knee in succession.

Throughout the exercise, the priest repeats a sacred formula which consists of the first ten numbers, pronounced according to old religious usage: *hi* (one), (*hu* (two), *mi* (three), *yo* (four), *itu* (five), *mu* (six), *nana* (seven), *ya* (eight), *kokono* (nine), *tari* (ten) (cf. p. 306f. below). The repetition, which used to be silent, is now audible; it takes about thirty-five seconds. Breathing should therefore be very slow; inhaling takes place through the nostrils, exhaling through the mouth. There is no definite rule concerning the direction in which the eyes should look.

What has just been described is of course only the physical part, and therefore the least important, of the exercise. We shall return to the mystic developments later.

Formerly, this type of *tama-furi* was practiced exclusively in secret, and was the sole privilege of the gūji of the Iso-no-kami-jingū, who transmitted it to his successor. In 1954 a

few other priests of the temple were allowed to share the knowledge and put it into practice, and later this was extended to all the priests of the temple. Very recently, the Association of Shintô temples (Jinja-honchô) asked for the privilege of sending some selected priests from other temples to receive the same instruction, and about thirty are now admitted every year for a training period of one week. No layman, Japanese or foreigner, had ever been initiated into it before my wife and I were admitted to take part in 1961.

There are of course variants in other schools and temples. In Yamakage-shintô for instance, the reciting of the first ten numbers is followed every time by the *words furube* (balance) *yurayura* (by shaking). In the Kashima-jingû, the rotation of the trunk is continuous and follows the surface of a cone; when the hands come over the right knee, the priest endeavours to 'bring down the spirit' and when over the left knee to 'bring it up again'.

I suppose that the prayers used during *misogi-harai* should be taken in connection with what the Yamakage school calls 'purifying the astral body'.

The most common prayer used for *misogi* or *harai* purposes is the *misogi-harai-no-kotoba*, which is worth quoting:

'Awe-inspiring august Izanagi-no-ô-kami, when thou performed *misogi-harai*, facing the sun, in the plain covered with green trees at the mouth of a river (or: at Awagihara of Tachibana-no-odo at Himuka in the province of Tsukushi), the great Kami of Purification, Haraëdo-no-kami, appeared. Give us purification for every kind of sin, blamable action or pollution. Cause the Heavenly Kami, the Earthly Kami and the august eighty myriads of Kami, all together, to give us purification. Please listen to me and augustly speak.'⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In the course of *mitama-shizume*, some kind of meditation and concentration is normally practiced, although the method to be followed seems to be mostly a matter of individual choice.

In direct contrast to the Hindu system, where great care is taken to make meditation as easy and therefore as effective as possible,* the keen Shintôist likes to submit himself to as much hardship as he possibly can. He will practice squatting in the most awkward position, scantily clothed, or even stark naked after a bath taken with ice-cold water, or in the open on a hill-top battered by wind and snow, while his shivering body turns numb and his flesh turns blue and green.

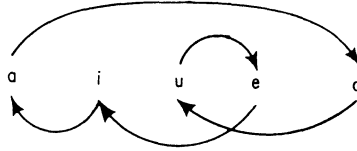
On other occasions however, meditation may be practiced in the temple, either in the *haiden*, or, for priests, in a special building, *saïkan*. The gûji of the Izumo-ô-yashiro has for his exclusive use in the house of the Senge family a 'straw-hut', the *o-hido-koro*, where he practises *mu* (nothing) *-nen* (thoughtwave), freedom from all thought, impassibility. But his method is an absolutely secret one which he communicates only to his successor.

Peculiar expressions are occasionally used to denote an opening of the inner self to higher powers. It is said that, after both breathing and consciousness have been 'regularized', the 'eyes of the heart' should be 'focused', that the 'ears' of the body and the heart should be kept 'open to have a good reception of the strong spiritual waves', that 'the chords of the heart which aim at a higher spirit' should always be 'brought into vibration'.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ All such phrases cannot but remind us of the language used by Christian or Moslem mystics.

* Cf. Jean Herbert: *Comment se préparer a la meditation*. (Lyon, Derain, 1958.)

In Shintô spiritual exercises, many people make use of hand postures which are believed to help and increase concentration. It is difficult to say, however, how far those postures, which are very different from the Hindu *mudras*, come from Buddhism. Some of them are reproduced on the following pages.

Those postures, which are sometimes connected with possession by a special Kami, called Hakkai (?),⁽⁵⁰⁹⁾ are often accompanied by sacred formulas one of which, the *mantra* for contraction and expansion, is given as



Another, reported to be that of the Imperial family, is

A—JI—MA—RI—KA—N⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

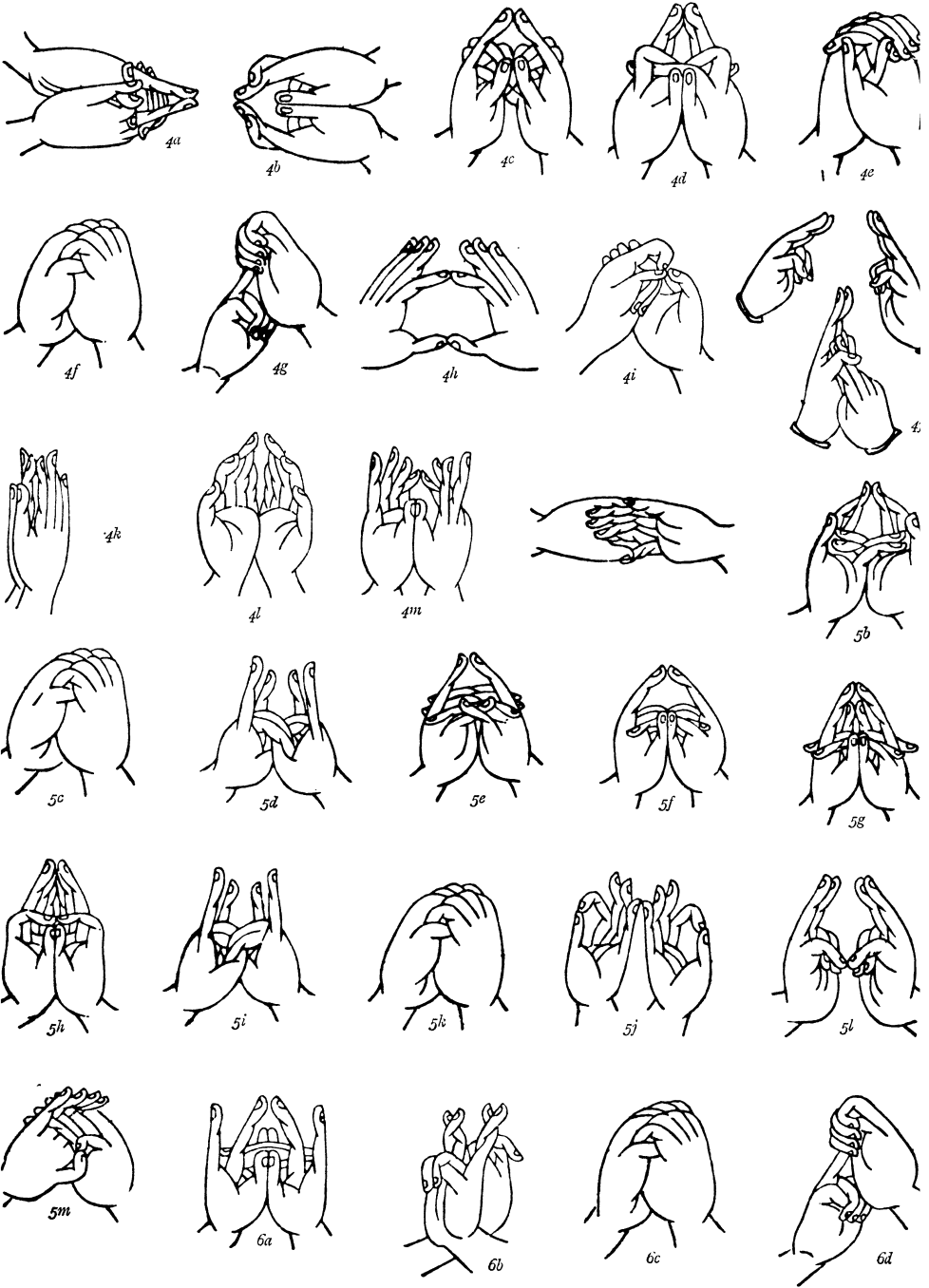
It should be mentioned, however, that some of the greatest authorities on Jinja Shintô⁽¹²²⁾ condemn those two *mantras* as well as the hand postures as Buddhistic and not Shintô. They are included here because they are practised in some of the sects which claim to be traditional Shintô.

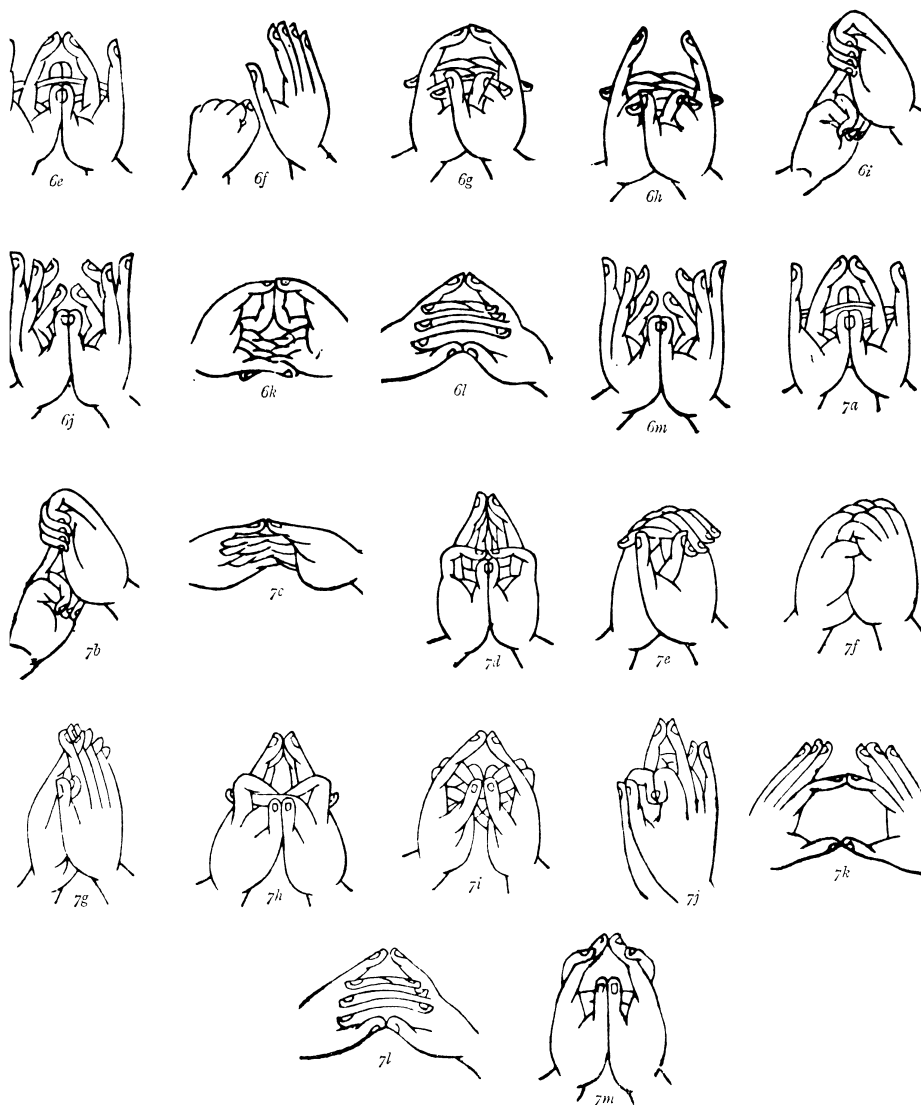
There are of course numberless schools of spiritual research, each with its own technique. In one of them, the Masumi-shûyô-kaï, the disciples are made to ‘dream divine dreams’ (*shimmu*), in the course of which they enter the *yûkaï*, a ‘very faint and difficult to grasp world of beyondness’, distinct from the human world (*genkaï*) and the divine world (*shinkaï*); they are reported to understand then the divine descent on Earth (*tenson-kôrin*), and it must be admitted that the prophecies they utter while in this condition are impressive.

The persons who wish to be instructed in Shintô *gyô* (*misogi-haraï*, *mitama-furi* or *mitama-shizume*) may be guided by teachers (*oshi* or *sendatsu*), who are generally to be found in the places where the discipline is practised; they occasionally have a large house (*saikari*) where their pupils can stay and get the appropriate diet, a large bath-room (*o-furo*) for *misogi*, and all other facilities. The *oshi* are in most cases *shake* and priests of the nearest temple. One of them may be the ‘main teacher’, *oshi-no-iyemoto*.

As we said before, however, the ultimate purpose of *misogi-haraï* is pacifying the soul; this is called by various names: *mitama-shizume*, *tama-furi*, *mitama-furi*, *chin-kôn*, all of which can be written with the same *kanji*.⁽⁵⁾

According to the *Ryô-no-gige*, of the Heian period, *chin-kôn* comes from *chin*, to pacify, and *kôn*, a moving spirit, and it therefore means ‘calling the moving and ever-departing soul (*tama*) so that it should bring peace within the body, down to the very centre of the bowels’.⁽⁵⁾





Hand-postures

According to some schools, there are seven possible objects of *mitama-shizume*:

- (a) to pacify the soul of living beings, including oneself;
- (b) to obtain healing of physical and mental diseases in oneself and others;
- (c) to pacify the souls of the dead, in particular by correcting whatever evil deeds they may have committed in their lifetime;
- (d) to purify the souls of the dead;

- (e) to unite the souls of the living and the dead to the Kami. In the *mitama-shizume* of the Iso-no-kami-jingû a special effort is made ‘to impart liveliness and live energy to the souls which are leaving their body or are about to leave it’;⁽⁵⁾
- (f) to promote the development of the life (or soul) of the State;
- (g) to enable the soul of the Emperor to increase in life and power and to enable the action of the Emperor to be perfect.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Another distinction in the contents of *mitama-shizume* is that it may be either for oneself (*jishû-chin-kôri*) or for the community, and it is stressed that the former type should not be over-emphasized.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The ‘community’, as a matter of fact, may extend so as to embrace the whole of mankind, and even the entire animate and inanimate world. For that purpose, prayers and blessings are often sent to the four cardinal points in succession.

To take another description, the main object of personal *mitama-shizume* is to collect and unify all that goes to make one’s personality. Intuition and inspiration are of course intensified as well as wisdom, internal peace, compassion, cleanliness, serene joy, honesty, etc., but this is a secondary result, a by-product, and not the essential. Visions, powers of clairvoyance and prophecy and various other psychical phenomena are also normally experienced and do not constitute a hindrance to further progress unless one gets attached to them. The mind and the heart are both purified and brought into complete harmony.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ A modern mystic philosopher gives the following description of the *Chin-kôn-sai*, the great *chin-kôn* ceremony: It is a ‘Soulpacification-ritualistic-ceremony, an esoteric meta-technique (similar to Yoga) capable of re-integrating the split mental state into a dynamic harmony’.⁽³⁸⁴⁾

Tama-furi, as practiced in the Iso-no-kami-jingû, aims at ‘binding to our own being a great soul from a higher world (Takama-no-hara), a *gdî-rai-kôn*, which has strength and energy’, and can give them to us; *furi* (= *fum*) having here the essential, but long-forgotten meaning of ‘to attach’. According to the present *gûji*, it constituted originally the whole Shintô ceremonial, even before the word Shintô was invented. It embraced the whole action and contents of what are now designated by *tama*, *mono*, *kami*, *mo*, *furu*, *kagura*, *asobi*, *fuyu*, *tamaki-haru*, *matsuri*, etc., but since we have no written record of that period, it is difficult to ascertain the form which *tama-furi* then took. When thus linking themselves closely with man, the *gdî-rdî-kôn* (souls coming from outside) beget vital energy, i.e. *musubi*. According to tradition, the first *tama-furi* which was not only for the profit of the celebrant was performed by Umashi-maji-no-mikoto, a son of Nigi-haya-hi-no-mikoto, in honour of Jimmu-tennô and his wife; this is the origin of the Imperial *Chin-kôn-sai* (cf. chapter XX) performed in the Imperial Palace and in the Iso-no-kami-jingû.

According to the Yamakage and other schools, *mitama-shizume* should be practiced in five different places in succession:

- (a) in a *jinja*;
- (b) in a private dwelling which has *honden* and *haïden*;
- (c) in a hall (*dôjo*) specially reserved for spiritual practices;
- (d) in a special shrine (*hôzeri*) of Sectarian Shintô;
- (e) either on a mountain or in a field, at the foot of a tree.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In the Kashima-jingû, *mitama-shizume*, in the *matsuri*-style, comprises the following:

- (a) reciting of the *misogi-norito*;
- (b) *misogi* (bath);
- (c) donning of clean clothes, and offering of *shinsen*;
- (d) reciting of the *ô-harai-norito*;
- (e) *mitama-shizume* proper (breathing exercises as indicated on page 83);
- (f) *kagura-uta* in the style of Ise.

A very old and peculiar type of *tama-furi* is *oë*, which means paralysis, withering. In the process of *oë*, a stage of actual paralysis takes place, during which a man should feel perfectly at peace, awaiting resurrection. Some *mitama* disappear, die off, and new *mitama* appear in their stead. It is a kind of rejuvenation or resurrection. The name *mono-imi* is now sometimes used instead of *oë*. It is still practised, particularly in the Oë-jinja and the Iso-no-kami-jingû,^(5, 244) It has been suggested that the successive deaths of the three elder brothers of Jimmu-tennô should be understood as so many *oë* through which the great Emperor passed,⁽⁵⁾ but very few people seem to be familiar with that interpretation.

We shall describe in a later chapter the very important ceremony of *Chin-kôn-sai* as practised in the Imperial Palace (cf. 396f.).

In the advanced stages of *mitama-shizume*, according to one person with considerable practical experience, one ‘comes up against a wall of consciousness of different dimensions’, the mystic consciousness. Many people stop there, but it is possible to go beyond. One can then pierce through the walls of space and time and master them. Next comes the flash of dawn, pinkish orange (some say, light blue) in colour, in which all Kami vanish. The divine consciousness, pearl or lightning coloured, is then reached and one becomes ‘of the essence of the Kami’.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Another person, also with considerable experience, but belonging to a different school, also stressed the fact that when ‘perfect unity’ has been achieved between ‘the heart, the breath and the body’, one loses consciousness of both time and space; sometimes lights appear within the body, and there are also other phenomena which are too sacred to be described. But the most important of all is that the devotee very definitely feels he receives the *mitama* of the Kami in his hands.⁽⁵⁾

Needless to say, other mystic travellers in Shintô might give different descriptions of their journey.

A Western observer noted that during the period of ecstasy, ‘the pulse is practically obliterated’.⁽⁵⁰⁹⁾

An interesting remark made by a Japanese mystic is that *chin-kôn* must have been practised before the *Kojiki* was composed, ‘or else it could not have been composed’.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

According to certain mystic schools, personal *mitama-shizume* may be said to have been successful when one has come very near to Ame-no-minaka-nushi, the ‘universal Kami’, i.e. when all distinction between oneself and others disappears, when other men, family, Society, the State, Nature, the whole Universe, become identical with oneself. One evidence adduced to prove that this consciousness of unity is traditional among the people of Japan is that the word *ware*, which means ‘I’, is still used by peasants to mean ‘you’. ‘Vertical’ unity is also realized between Kami, human ancestors, oneself and posterity. It is

therefore only natural that the social aspect should ‘emerge’, even in *mitama-shizume* done essentially for one’s own self.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

* * *

If Shintô has little direct relation to ethics as we know it, it is on the other hand closely connected with aesthetics. ‘Purity and beauty always go hand in hand’.⁽³⁸⁷⁾ A distinguished Shintôist stressed before me the need for ‘maintaining aesthetic order in the world’ and the fact that anything that impairs that aesthetic order is thereby ‘impure’.⁽¹³⁵⁾

Shintô temples, in all their elaborate simplicity, are things of beauty.

Artistic manifestations form an integral part of practically every Shintô ceremony: exhibitions of flower arrangements, sacred dances, theatrical performances, poetic or singing competitions. They are not only offerings to the Kami; their quality testifies to the religious value of those who submit them. In the Udo-jingû, a singing competition is held every year between two villages to decide which one of them will offer first rice to the Kami on the occasion of the *rei-sai*; and the winning village is sure to reap the better crop.

Some of the most valuable treasures of Japanese art are worshipfully preserved in the temples, in a few cases for their religious associations, but much more often for their artistic value only. The contemplation of them is expected to raise the devotee to a higher level of consciousness.

But the relation between religion and art goes much deeper than that. Both art and religion try ‘to grasp objects as they are’, and for that purpose require perfect tranquillity of mind.⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾ The training must therefore be very much the same.

Both are a conscious, methodical and stubborn effort to reach perfection in some field or other. And it is a Japanese conception that when a man has attained a high degree of perfection in any one thing, however trivial that thing may seem to be, he has attained a similar level of Perfection pure and simple. Thus the artist who can bring out a faultless sound from his instrument, or write faultless *kanji* (characters) or execute a faultless gesture must be a faultless man, a saint. And the Shintôist who attains a high degree of spiritual illumination is also capable of producing masterpieces of art. As a matter of fact, just as Japanese artists—except for those of the most recent schools—are deeply religious, most Shintô priests—except for some of the youngest generation—are not only deeply appreciative of artistic values, but themselves creative artists: musicians, calligraphists, poets, performers of the teaceremony, etc.

An eminent Shintôist commented as follows on the above paragraph: ‘The proper Japanese *itsu* (or *utsu*)-*kushi-bi* (spiritual, piercing, penetrating spirit) implies beauty (*utsu-kushi*) and benevolence (*itsu-kushibi*). The person who is on the *kannagara-nomichi* should naturally be both an artist and a moral man. Since the source of creation and beauty is directly and infinitely connected with the *mi-itsu* (light) of the Kami (from the standpoint of *musubi*), there is in Japanese communities a traditional custom according to which competitions in sports or arts should be held at the temple or before the *bun-rei* of the Kami (in a branch shrine or in a *mikoshi*).⁽¹²²⁾

CHAPTER IV TEMPLES

As we shall see later, Shintô shrines vary in size from the area of a middlesized village (the grounds of the Kirishima-jingû cover several thousand acres) to that of a small bee-hive (*hokora*). The general description given in this chapter will apply to those which comprise at least a few buildings or other architectural structures within a sacred enclosure. That category alone probably numbers about 100,000 jinja.

If taken by themselves, they differ considerably from one another in many essentials. There is something however which they nearly all have in common and which distinguishes them from any Buddhist, Christian, Hindu or Moslem shrine, something undefinable and yet so strong that in many cases one can tell from a distance whether a wood or a hill has been dedicated to a Kami and contains a jinja, however hidden it may be. Mason said very aptly that ‘Shintô shrines...are places for spiritual refreshment’; about the Ise-jingû, he wrote that it ‘has the simple freshness, the gentle delicacy and the gleaming purity of a virtuous woman.’⁽⁵²³⁾ On more than one occasion, I entered the precincts of some great Shintô centre, particularly Ise, with groups of foreigners who knew absolutely nothing about it and were not particularly interested, and yet were so deeply struck with the atmosphere they found there that some of them actually shed tears. The best explanation I can offer is that the Shintô shrine is a visible and ever-active expression of the factual kinship—in the most literal sense of the word—which exists between individual man and the whole world, including mankind, all living and non-living beings, the dead, the whole earth, celestial bodies and deities, whatever name they be given. When entering it, one inevitably becomes more or less conscious of that blood-relation, and the realization of it throws into the background all feelings of anxiety, antagonism, loneliness, discouragement, as when a child comes to rest in its mother’s lap. A feeling of almost palpable peace and security falls upon the visitor as he proceeds further into the holy enclosure, and to those unready for it, it come? as a shock. Epithets such as *kôgôshi* (god-like) and *kami-sabi* (divinely serene)⁽³⁰⁸⁾ seem fully justified. The fact that, after the last war, many of the precincts were opened to children and are now favourite playgrounds has added to the feeling rather than detracted from it.

The choice of the site—which of course must be a ‘sacred place’ (*seichi*)—may be determined by a variety of factors. The general rule seems to be that ‘the Kami is venerated at a place of his own selection, rather than that of man’.⁽³¹³⁾ Some of the most ancient and famous shrines were founded at places where mythological events were reputed to have occurred, others in spots specifically designated by the Kami—sometimes in a dream, more rarely in a vision—as appropriate for their worship, others near the tomb of an Emperor or of some other person who was admitted to the rank of Kami after his or her death. Occasionally, it is acknowledged that the site was used for the worship of some local nature-deity before it was consecrated to a Kami. Many however cannot boast of such a

noble origin, and were set up just because the need for a jinja to a particular Kami was felt in some particular area.

In such a case of course, considerable research was carried out by methods cognate to geomancy to determine the precise location which would be most suitable. In some cases, which cannot have been purely accidental, the place must have been determined by the previous existence of other temples and by the necessity—or mere admission—of an esoteric relation with them; thus the Ise shrine is alleged to be on a straight line which goes from Kumano to Owari.⁽²³⁴⁾

But of course it is necessary to do much more than choose a suitable place. Long ceremonies (*ji-chin-sai*) are required not only to ‘bring down’ the Kami into the place where he will be called upon to reside, but also to make the place fit to receive him. They are normally carried out by the high-priest according to very ancient rituals which are too sacred to be divulged to laymen. I did not think it proper to seek information about them.

When for some reason or other it becomes necessary to abandon the site and remove the jinja, similar rites are performed to desanctify the grounds after the Kami has been respectfully requested to leave them. But even then, some section, however small, is fenced in and preserved untouched.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The rest of the place remains holy and no one is allowed either to till the soil or to build on it. No human penalty is inflicted upon those who are so unfortunate as to break the taboo, but the guilty ones are invariably struck with severe diseases or other calamities, even if for a period the sacred nature of the place has been forgotten, and those who encroached upon it did so unwittingly. More often than not, another jinja to the same Kami is built on the spot, in spite of the instructions given under the Meiji restoration at some time around 1908, to ‘centralize’ temples.⁽¹⁴²⁾

* * *

It is widely admitted that the erection of buildings was a later development in the history of Shintô and that ‘the earliest form of the Shintô place of worship’⁽³¹³⁾ was the *himorogi*, ‘a place of rituals’⁽⁷⁰⁶⁾ or a ‘Sacred Tree of Life...the Tree in which the spirit, *mitama*, of the Kami dwells and operates’.⁽³⁸³⁾ For its name, a considerable number of etymologies have been offered by different authorities. According to Motoôri, it comes from *fushi* (shrub, bush, small tree)—*muro* (dwelling-place, house, cave, cellar)—*ki* (tree). Moribe derives it from *ohi* (from *ofu*, to live)—*moro* (for *moromoro*, all)—*ki* (tree) and therefore explains the meaning as ‘all living trees’. In the *Mannyôshû* we find *hi* (for *hinoki*)—*muro* (same as above)—*gi* (from *kaki*, fence, hedge, enclosure). Aston derives it from *hi* (sun)—*moro* (as above)—*gi* (wood) and ‘therefore’ explains it as ‘a sacred row or group of sticks of some sort or another’. Prof. Nakanishi prefers the etymology *hi* (spirit)—*moro* or *moru* (to leak or come through)—*ki* (tree or equipment). Shizuo Matsuoka takes *himoro* to mean esoteric or mysterious and *gi* or *ki* to mean ‘tree, castle or food’. It may be worth noting that the ideogram for *himorogi* may be read *kami-gaki* (sacred hedge) or *kamu-gaki* (taboo-fence).⁽⁴²⁸⁾

Associated with the *himorogi* is the *iwasaka*, a sacred enclosure in which it is normally—but not always—included. The etymology does not seem to be controversial: *iwa* means rock and *saka* enclosure.

The mythological explanation is that the High Tree Deity (Taka-ki-no-kami) who appeared in company with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, addressed himself as follows to the

two representatives of the Shintô priesthood (Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama) in what is commonly known as his Third Divine Rescript:⁽³⁸⁴⁾ 'I shall set up in the Heaven a sacred tree of life (*himorogi*) as well as a sacred enclosure (*iwasaka*) to pray for the prosperity and longevity of Sumera Mikoto (the Emperor). You must also bring the sacred tree of life (*himorogi*) down to the Central Land (Japan proper) to do the same thing.'⁽³⁸³⁾ (Cf. p. 359 below.)

Considerable esoteric speculation has developed around those two concepts, and it would take at least fifty pages to give even a brief description of it. Let us just quote, for the sake of illustration, one modern author, for whom the '*himorogi* contains in its bosom the solar energy which comes into full play, thanks to the operation of *musubi* dialectics'.⁽³⁸⁴⁾

Such *himorogi* and *iwasaka*, when they exist, are considered still more sacred than any shrine. Quite recently, the gûji of the very important Munakata-taïsha rediscovered a forgotten *iwasaka*, and planted in it what is now a *himorogi*; both are now the object of the deepest worship.

In modern usage, however, the word *himorogi* is also used to mean a small 'area of the purified floor, where straw-mats are spread out and eight-legged tables (*hassoku-an*) are set up. In the centre a branch of sacred tree (which is the *himorogi* proper) is set up and yû and *shide* are strung on it.'⁽³²⁷⁾ It may also, as in the case of the Usa-hachiman-gû, be taken to mean the place containing the *iwasaka*.

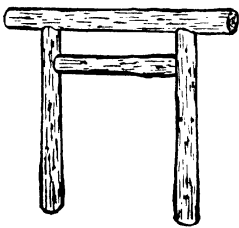
The passage from the *himorogi* to buildings (*yashiro*) in which the Kami is housed is explained as follows: Formerly the Kami resided exclusively in the Plain of High Heaven (Takama-no-hara), and when the devotees wanted them to come down, they asked them to descend into the *himorogi*, where they were welcomed (*mukaë-bi*); at the end of the ceremony they were dismissed (*o-kuribi*), as in the Buddhist *o-bon*. Now the temple houses permanently an earthly manifestation of the Kami and he no longer has to be asked to come.⁽¹³⁶⁾

* * *

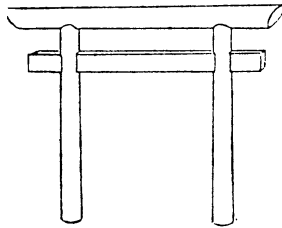
Although the entire precincts (*keïdai-chi*, occasionally called *shin-en*, divine garden) are held sacred and considered as such, they do not all enjoy the same degree of sanctity. In the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the most sacred part is given the name of *saijô*. As the visitor approaches gradually from the first entrance to the buildings where the Kami resides, he goes through a succession of stages. Roughly speaking, they are marked by three sorts of boundaries: (1) *torii* under which one passes; (2) small streams which are crossed by bridges; (3) walls or fences (*tama-gaki*) through which gates (*shin-mon*) give admittance. Let us consider them one after the other.

A distinguishing feature of Shintô temples is the presence of *torii*, a sort of gate-frame composed, in its simplest original form, of two vertical posts supporting two horizontal ones. The universally-admitted explanation is that they symbolically represent perches (*i*) for birds (*tori*) and that they commemorate the help which some birds gave to the Gods when by their singing they so much intrigued the Sun-goddess Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, that she came out of the cave to which she had retired. And it is probably not wrong to imagine that 'in its original significance the *torii*...was a magical, protective device'.⁽⁴²⁶⁾ Originally the *torii* were made of unpainted tree-trunks, but now they vary. In modern temples, the first one is more often than not constructed of concrete, sometimes of bronze (Suwa-taïsha,

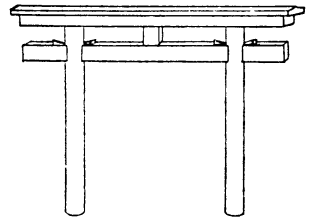
&c.). In many temples, they are painted bright red. They may rise to a height of 50 feet, as in the Yasukuni-jinja,⁽⁴⁵²⁾ have a breadth of up to 14 feet (Kami-sha of the Suwa-taisha) and pillars with a diameter of 4 feet (Meiji-jingû). Their actual shape may vary considerably (there are more than twenty types), sometimes on esoteric grounds which in most cases seem to have been totally forgotten and to have degenerated into mere tradition, sometimes perhaps for purely aesthetic reasons. Thus in some mountain temples (e.g. Hië-taisha) we find *san-no-torii*, the top of which is shaped to resemble a mountain. Sometimes (Dewasan-dzan, Itsukushima-jinja, Hakone-jinja), they can be of the much more elaborate ‘four-legged’ type (*ryôbu-torii*).



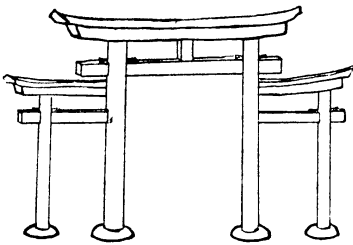
Shinmei-torii



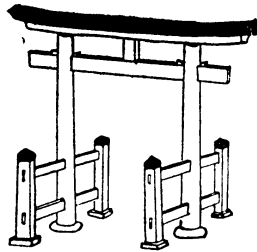
Kashima-torii



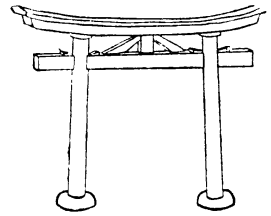
Hachiman-torii



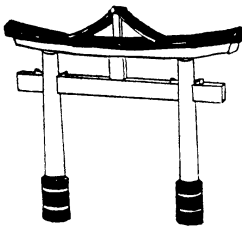
Miwa-torii



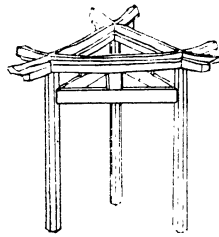
Ryôbu-torii



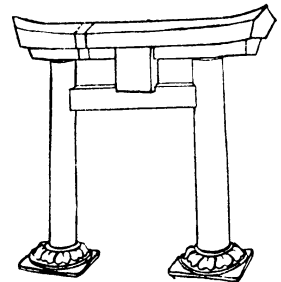
Nune-torii



Sannô-torii



Mihashira-torii



Myôjin-torii

Each main temple normally has three *torii*: the first one (*ichi-no-torii*) marks the entrance to the sacred precincts, the other two are at varying distances between the first one and the holy of holies (*honden*). When there are several entrances to the precincts, the series is repeated for every one of them. Conversely, one *torii* may serve to mark the entrance to several jinja, as in the Kaname-jinja (Ogata). When the built-up area of the locality has encroached

upon the grounds formerly allotted to the temple, the *ichi-no-torii* generally remains on its original site and may therefore be at quite a distance from the present precincts. Even in such a case, however, it retains some of its religious value and no devout Shintōist will pass under it without bowing reverently and mentally repeating some salutation to the Kami. There are even *jinja* where the *torii* is inaccessible at high tide, being either in the sea (Itsukushima-jinja) or on some rock (e.g. Ôarai-isosaki-jinja). The secondary shrines inside the compound of the large temples usually have no more than one *torii* before them, as is the case also for very small independant temples.

In some temples, particularly those dedicated to Inari, it is customary for devotees and pilgrims to offer *torii*, and a large number, 'one hundred', can often be seen all along the way leading to the shrine; sometimes also miniature *torii* are used as offerings, and pile up before the door.

Torii are also occasionally used to mark the sacred character of a rock or other natural or man-made feature on or before which they stand. Thus in the Hakozaiki-gû, one stands before the place where Ôjin-tennô's umbilical cord was buried, in Nikkô one stands below a sacred bridge. The *haïden* of the Ô-wata-tsu-mi-no-yashiro, a *sessha* of the Sumiyoshi-taïsha, (591) and the Tatsumushi-jinja are the only two instances I know of a *torii* inside a temple.

Normally the visitor has to cross one or several bridges (*hashi* or *shin-kyô*) before he can reach the actual temple (*honsha*). The idea is that water is a great purifier, as we have seen (cf. p. 80f. above), and that a rivulet, however small, is an effective barrier against anything evil or unholy. By crossing it, one leaves behind some important portion of whatever he may have in himself that is undesirable and therefore becomes fit to enter a purer area. When reaching the first such bridge (*seki-no-baba*) in the Izumo-ô-yashiro, it was customary for visitors to wash their mouths and hands upstream from the bridge and their feet downstream from it. In the Udo-jingû, it is stated very definitely that the last bridge, a very impressive structure, is 'the dividing-line between the world of men and the world of Kami,; formerly visitors removed their shoes before setting foot on it, and impure people *could* not cross it at all.

Some of the bridges are monumental and, not infrequently, they are so arched that they prove extremely difficult to cross (Itsukushima-jinja, Atsuta-jingû, Ôsaka Sumiyoshi-taïsha, etc.) They are sometimes painted red. Near one of them is often found a very small auxiliary temple dedicated to the Haraï-do-no-kami, the 'gods of purification' (cf. p. 278ff. below).

What divides the *keïdai-chi* most visibly however is a series of fences, *tama-gaki*, etc., through which gates, *shin-môn*⁽³²⁷⁾ open a way. Sometimes there are two or three, occasionally four as in the Ise-jingû. The most common appellations for them are:

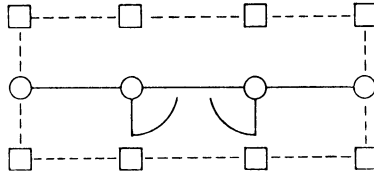
- for the outer one: *ita-gaki*, or *ara-gaki* in Izumo;
- for the next one: *soto-tama-gaki*, or *mizu-gaki* in Izumo;
- for the next one: *uchi-tama-gaki*, or simply *tama-gaki* in Izumo;
- for the next one: *mizu-gaki* or *suki-beï*.

The gates can be very simple as in Ise, but in the middle and large-size temples they are often impressive structures, sometimes as big and ornate as the main buildings themselves. They bear different names:

Rômon, which seems to apply to any category indifferently⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ but may be reserved to one special gate, sometimes a two-storied gate, formerly used by the Imperial Messenger only;⁽¹²²⁾

Sômon, which generally applies to the gate through the second *tama-gakit*,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ but sometimes also to the outer gates;⁽²⁵⁰⁾

Yotsu-ashi-mon, which has four pillars to support the central pillars from which the door hangs;⁽²⁵⁰⁾



Yatsu-ashi-mon

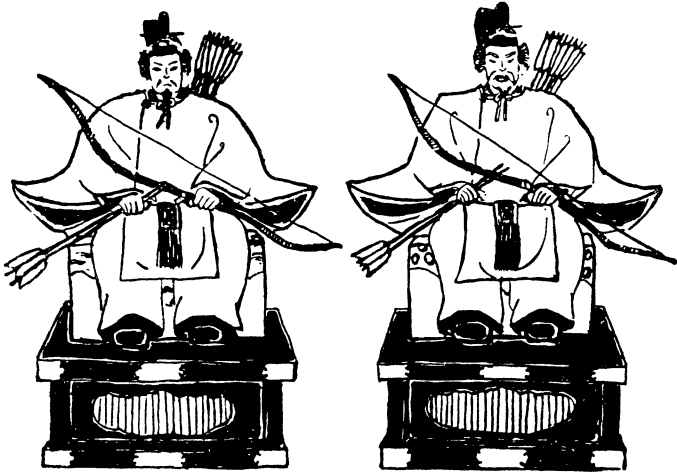
Yatsu-ashi-mon, the gate that has eight (*yatsu*) pillars (*ashi*), usually of square timber, to support the four central pillars, generally of round timber;⁽²⁵⁰⁾

Kara-mon, a gate in the Kara (Chinese) style, with gables at its front, rear, right and left; this style appeared during the Kamakura period;⁽²⁵⁰⁾

Zuijin-mon, the gate which either enshrines the guardians of the gate (Zui-jin, ‘satellite-kami’), or is flanked by their statues on its right and left; it is found mostly in the Chûgoku district (Okayama, Hiroshima, Shimane, Tottori, etc.).⁽²⁵⁰⁾

The said guardian deities, which should really be called Kado-mori-no-kami (*kado* is the Japanese equivalent of the Chinese *mon*),⁽²⁵⁰⁾ but are more frequently termed Zui-jin, or Mon-shu-jin, or Onzaki-sama, were formerly Buddhistic deities (Niô-sama), or, during the Heian era, the Ministers of the Left and of the Right,⁽¹²²⁾ but, after the Meiji reform, they were in most cases replaced either by Te-nazu-chi-no-mikoto and Ashi-nazu-chi-nomikoto,⁽¹²²⁾ the parents of Susano-wo’s first wife, or by Japanese heroes with bows and arrows, and dressed in ancient court costumes; if the statues are actually ‘animated’ (i.e. if they are *mitama-shiro*), the niches in which they are placed are real temples, *onzaki-gû*⁽¹²²⁾ or *mon-jin-sha* (the name used in Izumo), The Kami normally face the in-coming visitor, but in some rare cases they face each other (Asayama-hachiman-gû). The Kamo-wakeikazuchi-jinja, exceptionally, has only one temple for both guardian deities.

Before we reach the essential buildings of the jinja, let us first say a few words about various secondary features which are normally to be found within the precincts: In the grounds of almost every temple, there is a diminutive lake called *shin-chi*⁽²⁵⁰⁾ or *kiyome-no-ike* (in Izumo). In some cases it is—more often *was*—used for purposes of cold-water purification (*misogi*), and sometimes either its shape or that of some rock in it is given a symbolic meaning, but in general it is taken to be mostly, if not exclusively, ornamental.



Kado-mori-no-kami

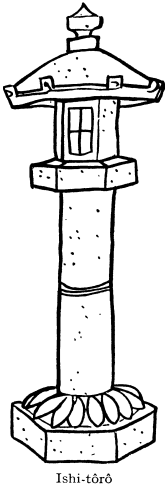
One very striking feature of practically every Shintô temple is the presence of a number of high standing lanterns (*tôrô*) generally made of stone (*ishi-tôrô*), but occasionally of wrought iron, or of wood, or of both stone and wood. Although the models vary in detail, there is among them all a close similarity. The oldest known *ishi-tôrô* is at the Taïma-ji Buddhist temple in Yamato; it was erected in 682. Some lanterns (*tsuri-tôrô*) are hanging instead of standing. Hanging braseros (*tsuri-kagari*)⁽²²⁾ in which logs of wood are burnt seem to serve a similar purpose.

They are generally offerings brought by devotees and pilgrims, and temples are just as proud of those received from distinguished donors as the donors themselves are proud of having been allowed to testify of their devotion in some famous temple.

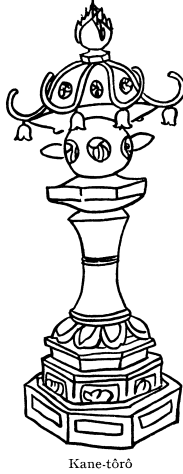
Many temples also have a model landscape garden (*ko-niwa*).

On the way from the entrance to the central buildings, the visitor always passes a *te-mizu-ya*, a small structure covering a basin of pure water (*mitarashi*), on which lie one or more ladles (*hi-shaku*) with long handles,⁽¹²²⁾ generally made of bamboo; the visitor is expected to use the water for washing his mouth and hands before proceeding further. The vessel may be just plain concrete, but it is sometimes a curiously shaped stone (*chôzu-bachi*), or even a beautiful piece of sculpture. The *te-mizu-ya* is of course a modern substitute for a spring, a stream or a beach, and is usually set near one.⁽¹²²⁾

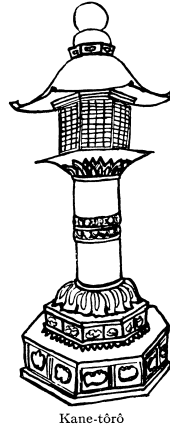
Temples, big and small, in the region of Lake Suwa, and most temples of the Suwa line, boast of a very unusual feature, a number of high posts (*om-bashira*), generally four, which are periodically replaced. They bear traditional incisions the meaning of which has long been forgotten and, although it is more or less generally admitted that the posts enclose the space where the Kami resides, opinions differ greatly, among clergy and laymen, as to their actual meaning and purpose (cf. p. 345 below).



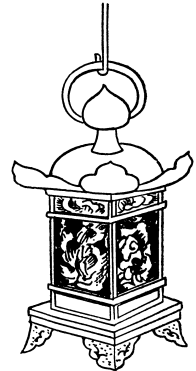
Ishi-tôrô



Kane-tôrô



Kane-tôrô



Tsuru-tôrô

A stone-pillar (*hyakudo-ishi*) is sometimes seen which marks the spot from which devotees walk to the shrine and back one hundred times repeating a certain prayer (*o-hyakudo*).

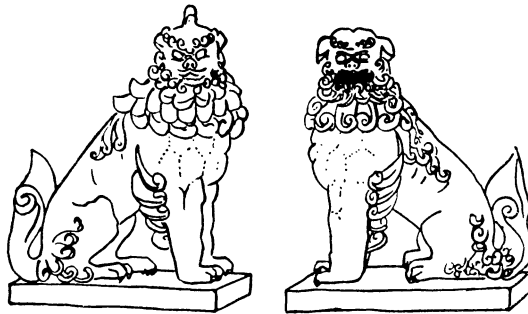
One remarkable and puzzling feature in most temples is the presence of a certain number of animals, either alive or merely in painting or sculpture. They belong to different types which are entrusted with diverse responsibilities.

First of all, and in a very few cases, animals are sacrificed to the Kami. According to the Harima-fudoki, there was in certain regions a custom of sacrificing animals, in particular a stag, when rice was sown.⁽⁵²⁹⁾ A Western scholar states that until very recently seventy-five deer were sacrificed every year in the Suwa-taisha;⁽⁶⁰⁷⁾ other sources indicate that on great festivities, a frog and a bird are thus offered, as well as the head of a stag sent from Ise.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ A trace of that custom is still found in the old saying: The horse for the god to ride on, the cock to tell the time, and the domesticated boar for the god's food,⁽⁶²⁴⁾ which paraphrases the text in the *Engi-shiki (Kinen-sai-norito)*: 'We offer the white horse, the white boar and the white fowl to Mitoshi-nokami.' A much more detailed version was supplied by a modern author:

'When Ô-kuni-nushi cultivated his rice-field, he gave his workmen beef to eat. There came by a son of Mitoshi-no-kami, the god of the harvest, who saw the fields stained by the impurities caused by beef-eating. He told his father, and the Harvest-god sent a host of locusts to the fields which ate up nearly all the rice-plants. Through his powers of divination, Ô-kuni-nushi learned that the disaster was caused by the wrath of Mitoshi-no-kami. In order to propitiate the offended God, Ô-kuni-nushi offered a white boar, a white horse and a white cock. Then Mitoshi-nokami was appeased and taught him how to restore his rice-plants, how to fan the hemp, how to set up a phallus, and how to offer to it fruits and berries.... Thereafter the three white animals were always offered to Mitoshi-no-kami.'⁽³¹⁰⁾

What is far more frequent is the reverse, i.e. that on solemn occasions captive birds, fish, etc. are set free (*hōjō-e*). This custom, which may well be of Buddhist origin, is practised during the Iwa-shimizu-matsuri, which is now held on September 15th, in other Hachiman temples⁽¹²²⁾ and in various other places.

Always in evidence are the *koma-inu*, or *shishi* (lion)-*koma* (Korean)-*inu* (dog), the fanciful animals which ‘guard’ the entrance to the temple. In most cases they are two lions, or rather the animal which Chinese artists take to be a lion, and they sit one on each side of the entrance to the first building (*haïden*) of the main sanctuary. Occasionally more than one couple can be found in the precincts of the same temple. Frequently the lion—then a lioness—has one or two cubs with her (Yasukuni-jinja, Tokyo). As far as I know, one of the lions invariably has its mouth open while the other has it shut, and tradition says that this has a symbolic, although rather indefinite meaning, probably the beginning and the end, the alpha and the omega. One rather unusual instance is provided by the Ô-kuni-tama-jinja (Tokyo), where a ‘divine’ tree, almost certainly more than a thousand years old, is worshipped for the influence which its bark and also a sort of snail (*nina*) between its roots can have on the lactation of nursing mothers; there, in two couples of *koma-inu*, the lioness nurses her young, and that can hardly be a coincidence.



Koma-inu

Another animal whose presence is almost universal in large temples is the horse (*shin-me*). Not infrequently it is a live one. According to the *Engi-shiki*, one was offered traditionally to each one of the Watarai shrines (Ise), to Mitoshi-no-kami and to nineteen others.⁽⁶²⁴⁾ Even now, real horses which either belong to the temple or are loaned to it for some particular occasion, are found in the Ise-jingū, the Iwa-shimizu, the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the Ôsaka Sumiyoshi-taïsha and many others. The animal is then almost ‘kamified’, and offerings of oats, carrots, etc., to it in the sacred stable (*mi-uma-ya* or *shin-me-no-ya*) rank nearly as high as those presented to the Kami of the temple.

More often than not, however, it is a life-size standing bronze statue (Izumo-ô-yashiro, Nagasaki Suwa-jinja, Yasukuni-jinja, Sanuki Kotohira-gū, etc.).

I have never seen small statues of horses used as offerings, but a fairly common practice in some temples is to donate pictures of horses (*ema*), and in the buildings (*emaden*) specially erected to house them, sometimes the visitor can admire works of famous artists (Kotohira-gū, etc.). The art of painting *ema* developed to a high degree during the

Tokugawa period;⁽³⁴²⁾ they are traditionally in pentagonal frames for reasons which I was not able to elucidate.

The only case I know in which the horse serves a purpose which is at all clear to the layman—and, I believe, to the priests—is that of Ise, where two white horses which are presented by the Emperor⁽¹²²⁾ are always kept in the *jingû* and represent the Emperor in ceremonies on the first, eleventh and twenty-first days of every month. It is said also that formerly people had to confess their sins before ceremonies of purification and that its long ears made the horse an appropriate confidant!⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

As already mentioned, it is a tradition that Kami ride on horseback, but I could find no scriptural reference to the fact, and I could trace only two instances where the priests themselves saw the connection. One of them is the Mikage-matsuri of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, during which a live horse is dispatched to Mount Mikage, about three miles from the temple, ‘to bring back the Kami’. The other is the Izumo-ô-yashiro where, during the night of August 14th-isth, the Kami (Ô-kuni-nushi) takes a ride (*mi-nige*) to three sacred places outside the temple: the temple of Minato, the temple of Akahito and the sacred beach of Shiotaki; the inhabitants go to bed early and put out all the lights so as to avoid all risk of seeing the Kami—but the horse he rides is *not* the bronze one in the temple.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ In various pageants (*matsuri*) also, a live horse follows the portable shrine (*mikoshi*) in case the Kami should prefer to ride part of the way.

Japanese folk-lore provides many other cases where the horse is entrusted with a very definite mission. Let me quote some local practices. In some regions, for instance in the Nibukawakami-jinja and the Kifune-jinja, a white horse is offered to the Kami, Tatsutahime,⁽³¹⁰⁾ when the people pray for fine weather, and a black one when they pray for rain.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ In Tôhoku-ehiko (N.E. of Japan), when the time has come for a woman to give birth to a child, a horse is let loose, followed by a man; when the horse neighs, ‘the Kami enters the child’, i.e. the child is born.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ It is reported, although I could obtain no reliable confirmation, that the character *ba* (horse) written three times in white on a piece of red paper is believed to protect a house against plagues.⁽⁵³⁸⁾ As we shall see, the horse may also be connected with longevity, as in the case of the Chagu-chagu-umako (cf. p. 206 below). The ‘guardian-spirit’ of the horse, Sôzen-sama, is also worshipped in subsidiary shrines, generally called Sôzen-jinja, in many temples, particularly in the Tôhoku district, but also wherever horse-breeding is or has been an important industry. In Ô-mi-shima, it is the Sorei-den, a *massha* of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja.

In the Dewa-san-dzan, the only reason given for the fact that Ideha (name of a district in N.E. Honshû)-no-kami’s *otsukai* is a horse is that ‘the Kami is in close relation with the farmers, who, in that region, use horses for cultivation’ (Ideha-no-kami was worshipped by Buddhists under the name of Showo-kannon).

The most interesting and typical case however is that of the *otsukai* or *mi-tsukai*. The word is commonly translated ‘messenger’, but generally speaking the activity of those members of the animal kingdom has little in common with that of a messenger; they merely ‘belong’ to the Kami.⁽¹³³⁾ Various modern scholars in Shintô circles hold that in most cases the *otsukai* was ‘a spontaneous product of popular belief’. That is not unlikely in the many

instances when the only apparent connection between the *otsukaï* and the Kami is that the former can be found on or near the precincts of the latter's temple.

Thus Ô-yama-kui's *otsukaï* is a monkey because his original temple, the Hië-taïsha, is situated in wooded hills (Hiëi-san) where many specimens can be seen.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ More often than not, a statue of a monkey, sometimes dressed in human clothes, is found near branch shrines, as in the case of the Tokyo Hië-jinja. The monkey (*saru*) is also the *otsukaï* of the Ômi Hiyoshi-jinja, dedicated to the Sun, 'because of the monkey's strong love for sunshine'.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In the Tokyo Mitake-jinja, Kushi (mysterious, penetrating) -machi (divination, true wisdom)⁽¹²²⁾ -no-mikoto's *otsukaï* is the wolf, which has a shrine in its own right (the Ô-guchi-magami-sha) probably for no other reason than that formerly there were many packs in the surrounding woods.



Seal and *otsukaï* of the Tōkyō Mitake-jinja

A similar explanation is offered for the fact that the wolf plays the same part and has a shrine of its own (the Mikariya-jinja) in the Mitsumine-jinja, but this time for Izanagi-no-kami and Izanami-no-kami.

Nevertheless, the same two Kami, in the Taga-taïsha, have the crow for their *otsukaï*, and not the wolf. Until the Second World War, when food-offerings (*shinsen*) were to be made to the deities, paddy was first offered to the crows in front of the sanctuary (*honden*)

and the priests clapped their hands to call them; if they did not come, the operation was repeated 300 yards further and, in the case of renewed failure, at a distance of 2½ miles. The whole process might have to be repeated again. But ‘in the end, they always came’, which proved that the rice offered was perfectly pure and could be presented to the Kami, and that the ceremony could proceed.⁽¹³²⁾

Similarly, in the Ô-kuni-tama-jinja (Tokyo), a white crow, the *otsukai* of Ô-kuni-tama-no-kami, comes to taste and test offerings on the first and the fifteenth days of each month.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

At the Itsukushima-jinja, during the Togi-shiki, which is an episode in the great matsuri called Shimameguri-shiki, two crows, after ‘having taught their young, always one male and one female, the niceties of the ceremony, return to Yatagarasu-jinja in Kumano’.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

The most important ‘crow’ in Shintô is however Yatagarasu, who is more a Kami than an *otsukai*, and whom we shall discuss later (cf. p. 443f. below).

Many other birds are also found among the *otsukai*, for various reasons, but often for no apparent reason at all. In many Hachiman temples, it is a dove. In the Suhara-jinja, special veneration is offered to a beautiful blue bird, the *bôsô*, mentioned in the Scriptures, and for which nests are built in the trees; moreover a couple of stuffed ones are kept in the temple.

In the Udo-jingû, the *iso-tsugumi*, a kind of sea-blackbird (*merula eunomus*), is the (*go*)-*shinchô*, the ‘divine bird’ of the temple, and more or less its *otsukai*. In the cave there are always a couple of them, which brood on two eggs. When the young are strong enough to fly, the parents clap their wings and fly away singing. They are quite tame, and very often walk or fly before the high-priest when he goes to the shrine for divine service. Local people treat all birds of that species as belonging to the Kami.

One of the cases most familiar to the Japanese is that of the eagle (*tori*, more specifically *washi*) which has given its name to some fifty Ô-tori-jinja. The famous festival (*Tori-no-ichi*) of the rake (*kuma-de*) which is so popular in those temples (particularly in the Washi-jinja, Asakusa, Tokyo) is explained by the similarity between the rake—with which to rake up (*tori*) not only dead leaves, but also money and happiness⁽³²⁷⁾—and the claws of the eagle. According to tradition, Prince Yamato-takeru (cf. p. 413ff. below) returning from his military expedition, came to the Asakusa temple on the middle-day of the bird, in November, in order to worship the Kami, whose name, Ame-no-hi-washi-no-mikoto, means Eagle (*washi*) of the celestial (*ame*) sun (*hi*).

In some important instances, however, the choice of the *otsukai* is determined by very clear mythological or historical considerations.

In most temples to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami—to mention one more species of birds—it is the cock and the hen (*tori*), because the singing of birds (*tori*) was largely instrumental in bringing the Sun-goddess out of the cave in which she had sought refuge (cf. p. 302 below). However close the connection, it should not lead us to believe that those fowl are distinctive of temples in the Amaterasu-line. In the Kôbe Nagata-jinja, a cock is the ‘servant’ of Koto-shiro-nushi, of the Susanowo-line, ‘because the Kami heard its song in the early morning’.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Another mythological episode explains the presence of the thousands of tame deer which form one of the greatest attractions for tourists in Nara. According to a well-established

tradition, they were introduced by the very Kami, Take-mika-dzuchi, who came riding from the Kashima-jingū on the back of a beautiful stag (cf. also p. 352 below). And the same deer are to be found, in lesser numbers, in many other jinja of the same line,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ either living or in stone (Ô-harano-jinja, where it is a stag, Matsuë, &c.,) or portrayed in paintings. According to some modern esoterists,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ a symbolic meaning attaches to the fact that the stag, and still more so the doe, treads with its back-hoofs into the very marks left by the front-hoofs, so that ‘they may be followed just as we follow the footsteps of our ancestors—and they never fall’.

Formerly in the Kami-sha, which is now part of the Suwa-taisha, when the very youthful high-priest (*ô-hôri*) saw a deer (not then an *otsukai* but a mere sacred animal) at the foot of the mountain, his ‘divinity’ was thereby strengthened.

Japanese children—and even adults—are prone to see in the lights and shades on the disc of the moon a rabbit (*usagi*) and that no doubt accounts for the fact that in the Dewa-san-dzan, a white rabbit is *otsukai* to Tsuki-yomi, the ‘Moon-god’. It may well be that very rabbit which plays the important part of magistrate in the Shô-rei-sai festival of the Gassan-jinja (Moonmountain-temple) in the same Dewa-san-dzan. Another rabbit is also among the *otsukai* of Ô-mono-nushi in the Ô-miwa-taisha.

The wild pig (*inoshishi*) which is seen before some temples to ‘all emperors’ such as the Tokiwa-kakiwa-sha of the Tokyo Mitake-jinja can probably be explained by the following story: When Empress Shôtoku was being persistently plagued by her regent the Buddhist monk Dô-kyô, a faithful subject, Wake-no-kiyomaro (cf. p. 445 below), lost the use of both his legs in her service and had to escape in a palanquin; he was then overtaken by his foes and only saved from death by the miraculous intervention of a pack of 300 wild pigs.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ A beautiful statue of a wild pig is to be seen in the Gô-ô-jinja, of which Wake-no-kiyomaro is the main Kami.

One very interesting case is that of the *ushi* (or *shin-gyû*)—which may be a bull, ox, or a cow, nobody knows which—which is to be found in stone or in bronze in all temples having a shrine to Michizane Sugawara (845–903). That prince, who was elevated to kamihood within fifty years after his death, had an extraordinarily close connection with the animal. He was born in the year of the bull, and his coming of age, at fifteen, was celebrated (*gen-shiki* or *gen-puku*) on the day of the bull. That very same night, he had a dream in which he saw a violent storm uprooting huge pine-trees; in their fall, they killed a white cow which was lying under them. In order to offset the danger which seemed to threaten him personally, he painted a cow on a sheet of paper and worshipped it. Since that day, and for the rest of his life, he always observed the day of the bull (i.e. every twelfth day) as a day of mourning. On another occasion, also on the day of the bull, as he was walking in the company of friends looking for mushrooms on the ‘Hill of the North’, Kita-yama, near Kyoto, a white cow came to him, and looked at him imploringly ‘with human gestures’; this reminded him that the great sage Confucius, while walking also on a ‘Hill of the North’ had met a winged giraffe, one of the animals in Chinese mythology. So he brought the cow to his house. Later in life, when he was sentenced to exile by the Emperor, he paid a visit to his aunt, a Buddhist nun, to seek her blessing, and there in the night he heard the

bellowing of cows. This he interpreted as foretelling the close approach of death for certain human beings, and, as it happened, while returning home accompanied by one servant, he fell into an ambush laid for him by his foes. However, the unequal fighting was brought to an unexpected end by the arrival of a bull who killed the chief of the assailants; whereupon the others took to flight so that Sugawara and his companion were able to proceed unhurt. After his death in Kyûshû, his earthly remains were sent to Kyoto in an ox-cart, but when it reached a certain place, the animals refused to go further and ‘went mad’. The conclusion was drawn that the prince must be buried there. Near his grave—which is at the foot of the Ô-no-jo (or Shi-ôji-san)—an impressive temple, the Dazaifu-tenman-gû, was later erected. No wonder that the cow, or bull, should be so closely associated with the cult of the Kami Michizane Sugawara. The clergy of his temples stress the fact that the prince in his life-time manifested all the qualities associated with the cow: he was an untiring worker, solemn in his demeanour, peaceful in spirit, faithful to his friends.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Respect for the cow among his devotees goes so far that those who worship him in the Dazaifu-tenman-gû never eat beef, and the high-priest does not even touch cow’s milk.⁽¹³³⁾

In the Izumo-ô-yashiro, a statue of Ushikaï-jin (the ‘cow-breeding god’), ‘alias Waka-futsu-nushi-no-kami, god of agriculture’, leading a cow with a tether, is in the very *honden*.

It is interesting to note that the cow, like the horse, was originally an animal foreign to Japan and that it was imported from the continent in historical times.

Another most important case of animal-worship is Inari’s fox, which we shall consider at length in a later chapter (cf. p. 504ff. below) because it has now assumed such importance in the minds of worshippers that they often forget the Kami it serves.

A serpent and a mouse are among the *otsukaï* of the Ô-miwa-taïsha. Denizens of the sea figure rarely among the *otsukaï*; yet an eel is reported to fulfil those functions in the Izu Mishima-taïsha, carps in the temples of Tsukubushima, Namikawa and turtles in Matsuo and Hikamiyama,⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ for reasons which I was not able to ascertain.

Some Kami, such as Jimmu-tennô, sometimes have an *otsukaï*, as in the Kashiwara-jingû, and sometimes not, as in the Miyazaki-jingû. Others, like Koto-shiro-nushi,⁽²⁰¹⁾ seem to have one only exceptionally.

As might be expected, deified material objects such as Atsuta-no-kami, the sacred sword worshipped in the Atsuta-jingû, never have *otsukaï*.

It is said, but not without critical intent, that ‘the Kami who has an *otsukaï* is normally one to whom worship is offered in a very ancient temple’.⁽³⁸⁾

* * *

We now come to the actual buildings (*shaden*) which are to be found in the compound. But first of all let us note an interesting fact, that the avenue of approach (*sandô*) to the shrine should not be in a straight line and that, somewhere between the first *torii* and the shrine, there should be a bend, as it would be disrespectful to walk straight towards the sanctuary. In principle, only the Kami and the Emperor are entitled to tread in the middle of it,⁽⁹⁹⁾

and other rules specify who may walk on the right side and who on the left, and on what occasions, but with very few exceptions all such refinements now seem to be ignored, even by the clergy.

The term *shaden* covers the *honsha*, the *bekkû*, the *oku-miya*, the *sessha* and the *massha*.⁽¹²²⁾ These terms will be explained later.

The essential group of buildings is what constitutes the *hongû* or *honsha* (it is called *hongû* in *jingû* and *honsha* in *jinja*) and normally comprises three different sections, one in front of the other, called respectively *honden*, *heiden* and *haïden*.

In contradistinction to *hongû*, where the main Deities are enshrined, a few temples use the word *kyakuden* to designate a shrine reserved for ‘guest Deities’, *aïdono-no-kami*.⁽¹²²⁾

The *honden* is the actual sanctuary, the holy of holies, where the Deity is enshrined. We shall deal with it later.

The *heiden*, or hall of offerings, is the building where religious rites (offerings and prayers) are performed by the officiating clergy.

The *haïden*, or hall of worship, is open to the devotees for their worship and prayers.

Occasionally one or two of them may bear other names or be missing.

The *heiden* is absent in the Ise-jingû and the Atsuta-jingû; in the new Nishinomiya-jinja it is represented by an open space covered with pebbles, in the Ô-miwa-taïsha by a triple *torii*; at the Yoshida-jinja, a roof is considered sufficient. On the other hand, the Kashiwara-jingû can boast of two *heiden*. In the Kami-sha of the Suwa-taïsha, the *heiden* is called *jukken-rô*. In a few temples it is called *norito-den*, because it is there that the most sacred prayers (*norito*) are chanted, but in the Tamaë-gû-tôshô-gû there is a special *norito*-hall between the *heiden* and the *honden*.

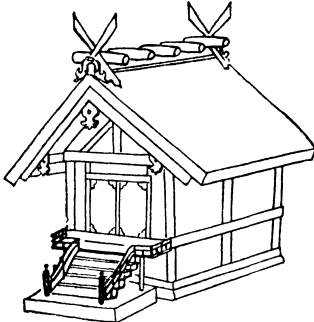
The Ise-jingû has no *haïden* either; in the Maë-miya of the Suwa-taïsha, which has no *heiden*, there are two successive *haïden* at a fairly great distance from each other. In the Yoshida-jinja, a monumental gate, the *chû-môn*, plays the part usually played by the *haïden*. In the Kamo-wake-ikazuchijinja, the *haïden* is replaced by the *hashi-dono* (a bridge with a roof), a structure built over a rivulet (Naranoo-gawa), in which the Imperial messenger offers worship and reads the *norito*.⁽²⁵⁰⁾

In front of the *haïden* stands a very large wooden alms-chest, *saisen-bako*, the top part of which is made of longitudinal strips of wood, and into which visitors throw small coins. Above it is sometimes a bell to which a rope is attached, so that the visitors may ring it.

The *hongû* may be built in any one of many different architectural styles (*zukuri*). On the following pages will be seen drawings of those which are most common—or most famous. Let us mention, in the chronological order in which they were initiated:

Shinmeï (divine brightness)-*zukuri* or *Tenchi-kongen* (heaven-earth origin) or *Yûitsu* (*umque*)-*shinmeï-zukuri*, as in the Mi-shôden, the main shrine in Ise. *Taïsha-zukuri*, as in the *honden* of the Izumo-ô-yashiro.

Nagare-zukuri, as in the Meiji-jingû and the two Kamo temples in Kyôto; it is now one of the most popular.



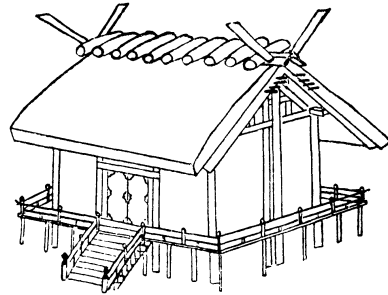
Ōtori-zukuri



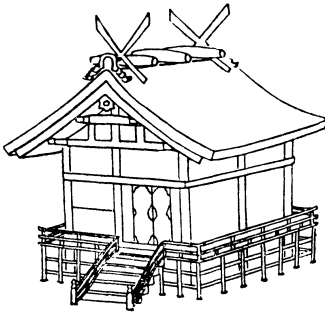
Kasuga-zukuri



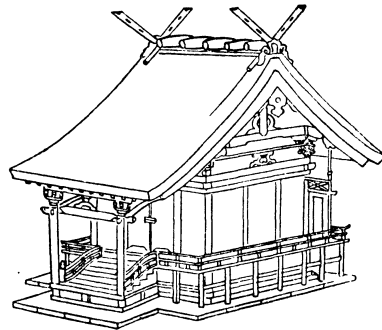
Sumiyoshi-zukuri



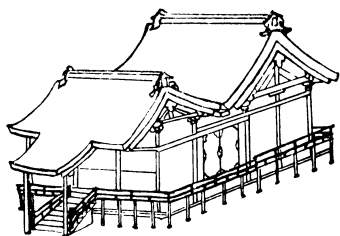
Shinmei-zukuri



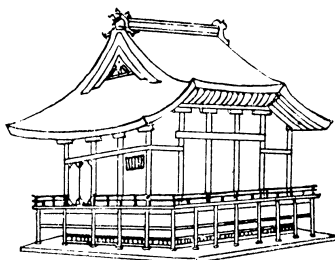
Taisha-zukuri



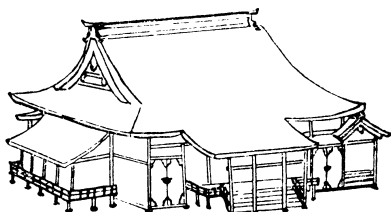
Nagare-zukuri



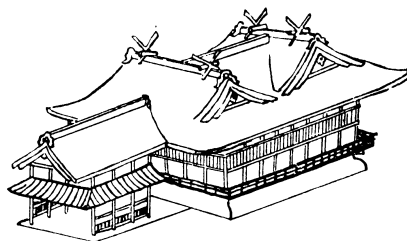
Hachiman-zukuri



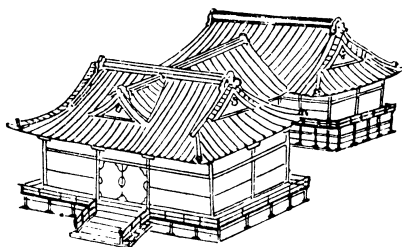
Hië-zukuri



Gion-zukuri



Kibitsu-zukuri



Gongen-zukuri



Sengen-zukuri

Kasuga-zukuri, as in the *honden* of the Kasuga-taïsha.

Gongen (incarnation)-zukuri, as in the Kitano-ten-man-gu, where the three main buildings are H-shaped.

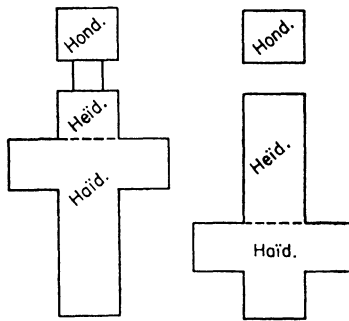
More recent and complicated styles include:

Gion-zukuri, as in the Kyoto Yasaka-jinja.

Hachiman-zukuri, as in the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû.

The main buildings are traditionally built of wood, preferably *hinoki* (Japanese cypress), but owing to the constant danger of fire, there is now a growing tendency to use concrete, both for the walls and for the flooring—which considerably detracts from the whole atmosphere. Traditionally the roof is covered with a kind of pampa-grass, *kaya* (*miscanthus sinensis*) or with *hihada-buki*, a thick shingling made from the bark of *hinoki*,⁽⁶²⁶⁾ but some modern structures, like the newly-rebuilt Meiji-jingû, are now covered with copper-plates; in the latter case, the plates are the individual offerings of devotees, just as the tiles for the new roof of the Vienna cathedral.

In the purest Shintô style, of which the Ise temples are the most outstanding example, the timber is left unpainted and that very fact imparts an amazing dignity and purity to the whole jinja; but under Buddhistic influence it gradually became customary to paint all the main features in deep red, and that is now the case for many of the larger temples, particularly those dedicated to Hachiman or Inari.



Tosa-jinja and Nagahama-jinja

Apart from monumental gates and some office buildings, it is extremely rare to find constructions of more than one storey. Among exceptions may be mentioned the Fujisan-hongû-sengen-jinja.

Peculiarities are occasionally met with. In the Asamine-jinja for instance, *honden*, *heiden* and *haiden* are at some distance from each other. In the Hië-taïsha, for the *haiden* of Kamo-yama-tori-hime, the outer walls are all lattice, 'because it is more proper for a temple to a Goddess'.

But the most interesting case which has come to my knowledge is that of the Tosa-jinja and the Nagahama-jinja. There, the two *shaden* have the shape of dragon-flies (*tombo* or *akitsu*) moving in opposite directions, one 'out-going' and one 'in-coming', probably to commemorate a battle in which the Chôso-kabe army went out to attack and returned victorious. But there are evidently other deeper meanings. Not only does the dragon-fly destroy insect-pests in the paddy-fields; it also became a symbol of Japan itself when Emperor Jimmu, looking at the land from the top of a hill, said: 'Oh! what a beautiful country we have become possessed of! Though a blessed land of inner-treefibre, yet it

resembles a dragon-fly licking its hinder parts.’ From this it first received the name of Akitsu-shima. (Cf. p. 405f. below).

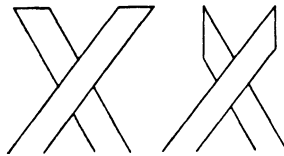
According to some authorities, it may even happen that one temple (e.g. the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha) should be the *hongû* of another temple (in this case the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja).^(119, 196)

Of course most architectural details may be and probably are of some esoteric or symbolic significance. Unfortunately, nobody seems to remember which and the only explanation one can get is that they are remnants of very old styles of house-building. That is even alleged for the peculiar crossed beams (*chigi*) which stick up on both ends of the gable-boards on the roof and for the no less peculiar cigar-shaped logs (*katsuogi*) which lie horizontally at intervals across the ridge of the roof; in the Kasuga style of architecture they are curiously curved.⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾

The officially accepted tradition is that they were necessary to hold the roofs of ‘aboriginal buildings’, such as served as models for the *shinmei-zukuri*; that is why all structures in the Ise-jingû, including the gates, have them. Temples built in other styles have them only on the *honden*, as a ‘divine symbolic decoration’. After the Meiji restoration, the government decreed that the use of *chigi* and *katsuogi* should be limited to the roof of the *honden* for all new temples.⁽²⁵⁰⁾

No *chigi* or *katsuogi* is found in old buildings with tiled roofs, such as those built at Kyoto at the beginning of the Heian era, under the architectural influence of the Kyoto Imperial Palace.⁽²⁵⁰⁾

The top end of the *chigi* is cut vertically when the Kami is male, and horizontally in the case of a Goddess.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ An unexplained exception to this rule is the Kumano Hongû-taisha. One other is the Okayama Ise-jinja, in which they are cut vertically at one end of the roof of the *honden* and horizontally at the other; the gûji however explains that one end is for Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and the other for Toyo-uke-bime.



Chigi

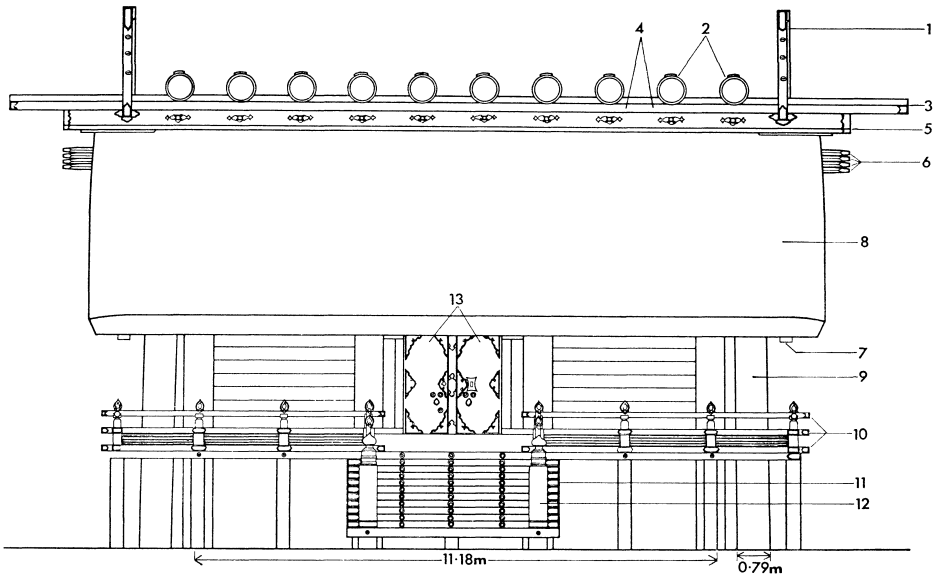
As regards the *katsuogi*, their number, generally an odd number as in the Ise Naikû, but sometimes even, as in the Ise Gekû—and perhaps also some other details—are distinct indications of the rank held by the Kami of the temple; so much so that the high-priest of the Himuka-jinja told me that his shrine was really entitled to as many *katsuogi* as the one in Ise, but that out of respect for Ise they actually had less.⁽¹²⁶⁾ One exception I discovered was the Saijo Iso-no-jinja, which has no less than 14 *katsuogi* on the *haïden* and 10 on the *honden*.

Before the *honden* there is often a fairly large mirror (*kake-kagami* or *suë-kagami*) which, according to some authorities⁽⁶²⁶⁾ was adopted ‘under the influence of Buddhism’

but which nevertheless must bear a close resemblance to the sacred Shintô mirror, the holy symbolism of which will be discussed later (cf. p. 152f. below).

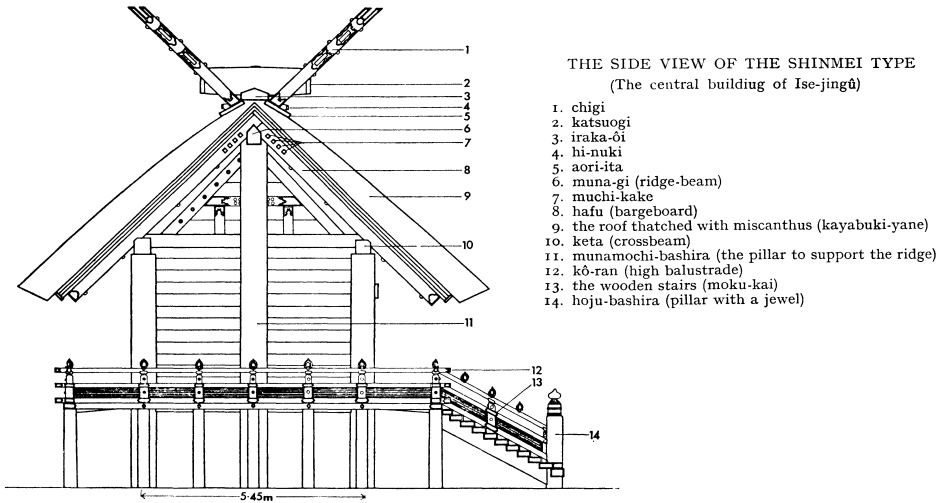
The drawings on page 122f. show the main architectural elements.

A peculiarity of some of the most important Shintô temples is that the *hongû* has to be rebuilt periodically in its entirety, including even the furniture, ornaments, etc. This practice is called *shikinen-sengû*. There is a theory according to which such a transfer originally took place every year.⁽³²⁷⁾ However that may be, at present the most famous case is that of the Ise-jingû, where both Gekû and Naikû are rebuilt every twenty years. This was prescribed by Emperor Temmu (673–686) and first carried out by Empress Jitô (686–689). It has already been effected 59 times. There are many other instances. In 1036, it was decided that the two Kamo temples in Kyoto should be rebuilt every 21 years,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ as was already the case for the great shrines of Kashima, Katori, Kasuga, Sumiyoshi and others.⁽⁶²⁴⁾ Later that periodicity was reduced to 30 years for the Kasuga-taisha, 50 years for the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, etc.⁽³²⁷⁾ The Kashima-jingû was reconstructed every 20 years until the fifteenth century. The Kyoto Kono-jinja is still supposed to be rebuilt every 30 years, but in fact the present buildings date from 1840. The same process is sometimes applied also to the *o-tabisho* (as it was until quite recently to the Wakamiya-jinja of the Kasuga-taisha). In Ise the main bridge (Uji-bashi) and the fourteen main subsidiary shrines (*bekkû*) are also rebuilt every 20 years.



THE FRONT VIEW OF THE SHINMEI TYPE
(The central building of Ise-jingû)

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. chigi | 8. the roof thatched with miscanthus (kayabuki-yane) |
| 2. katsuogi | 9. munamochi-bashira (the pillar to support the ridge) |
| 3. iraka-ô | 10. kô-ran (high balustrade) |
| 4. hi-nuki | 11. hoju-bashira (pillar with a jewel) |
| 5. aori-ita | 12. the wooden stairs (moku-kai) |
| 6. muchi-kake | 13. the door (mi-tobira) |
| 7. hafu (bargeboard) | |



Among other buildings which may also be of large proportions and beautiful design, special mention must be made of:

(1) The *kagura-den*, in which *kagura* (sacred dances) are performed for the Kami; occasionally there is also a similar structure for *nō* performances. Both however have only existed since the Muromachi period. Before that, there was only the court dance and music (*gagaku*) which was usually performed on a temporary stage (*mai-dono* or *bu-den*) set up in front of the *honden*.⁽²⁵⁰⁾

(2) The *gishiki-den* used for such ceremonies as weddings, since it has become more and more customary to celebrate them in Shintō temples, and the other buildings do not provide sufficient facilities.

(3) The *shamusho* (called *jingū-shichō* in Ise and *kūchō* in the Atsuta-jingū), in which all the administrative and secretarial work of the temple is carried out.

(4) The *haraē-do* (or *haraē-sha*), a very simple structure in which to practice some sort of purification for the people who will take part in a ceremony, for the *harai-gushi*, etc. In many smaller shrines, a small open place delimited by a *shimenawa* supported by four sticks serves the same purpose.⁽¹²²⁾

(5) The *saikan*, where the priests practice purification (*kessai*) before religious ceremonies; a few temples also have a special building for spiritual disciplines: the *gyōjishō-ya* in the Yoshida-jinja, the *harai-sha* in the Miyazaki-jingū, etc.

(6) The *shinsen-den* (called *shinsen-shō* in Izumo, *ii-dono* in the Iyahiko-jinja), a special 'kitchen' in which articles of food are prepared for the Kami.

(7) The *hōmotsu-den* (sometimes called *hōko*, and *gehei-den*, *tōhō-den*, *sei-hōden* in Ise), in which are stored the most precious treasures (*shinpō*) of the temple: works of art, sacred implements used for the Kami, etc. When its original purpose was to house pictures

of horses, it is called *ema-den*. It is sometimes built in very antique style, a couple of feet above ground.

(8) The *mikoshi-gura* (or *shinyo-ko*) in which the *mikoshi* is housed between matsuri.

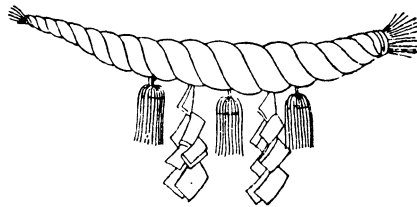
* * *

The size of this book will not allow even a brief description of the various ornaments and pieces of furniture (*saikigu*), etc., which are found on and in a Shintô temple. A few words must however be said about two or three of them, for the sake of illustration.

One remarkable instance is the *shimenawa*, a sacred rope made of ricestraw, and from which hang paper and flax pendants (*shide* and *yû*).

According to the Kogoshûi, the more archaic form of the word *shimenawa* is *shirikume-nawa*, which both Motoôri and Chamberlain interpret as 'a straw rope so constructed that its roots project and are visible at the end thereof', that is: a rope made of rice straw which has been pulled up by the roots. Aston follows this etymology. The view advanced by Dr Genchi Katô sounds however more probable. He suggests that *shime* should be taken in the sense of 'forbid' (cf. *shime-no*, forbidden field). Therefore the *shimenawa* is really, according to the last etymology, a taboo-rope, and as a matter of fact peasants hang it up above the door of their house to keep out evil influences.⁽⁴²⁸⁾

The *shimenawa*, sometimes called *kazari* (ornamental)-*shimenawa* (213) is hung over the doors of temples and other religious buildings and occasionally of private dwellings or even barns (particularly at New Year), also around building sites after they have been purified.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ It was also customary to hang a *shimenawa* over the door of a house while one member of the household was on a pilgrimage to Ise.⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾ It is also used to encircle both empty holy spaces used for special rites (Ise) and holy objects, such as trees (*shinboku*), rocks, etc., to which worship is offered and even boxes containing objects used for worship. Only twice have I seen it used to connect two objects without encircling them: the much-photographed two rocks near Futami and the Yoshida-jinja, where eight *shimenawa* bind the 'misery-mound' (*yaku-zuka*) to the door of the *honden*.



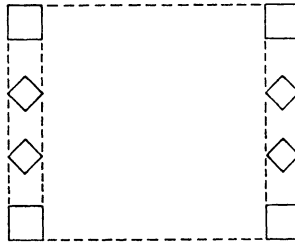
Shimenawa

The *shimenawa* may be no bigger than an ordinary string, but it may also be of huge proportions; in the Miyachitake-jinja it is more than six feet in diameter. It has normally one very thick end and tapers to a point, the latter showing the direction the visitor should follow when walking around the building, which is normally clockwise, though occasionally, as in the Izumo-ô-yashiro, it is anti-clockwise. But there are exceptions: in the region of the Udo-jingû, both ends are thin—as they are also in structures used for Japanese wrestling, *sumo*; in the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, the *shimenawa* has the shape of a boat; in the Suwa-taisha, the

ears of rice are not removed from the straw, etc. Let us mention that according to Lafcadio Hearn there used to be in Enoshima a bronze *shimenawa*.

The setting up of the *shimenawa* may be the occasion of an impressive ceremony (*shimenawa-taki*), as in the Hiraoka-jinja on December 25th. Old *shimenawa* are consigned to fire, as are most other ‘sacred tools’.⁽¹²²⁾

From the *shimenawa* hang white paper strips, *shide*, which are folded in very peculiar ways. Originally, the *shide* were pieces of cloth offered to the Kami. Paper could be substituted later because it was made from the same material as the cloth. Occasionally very thin sheets of metal (brass) are used, but I could obtain no valid explanation for them.



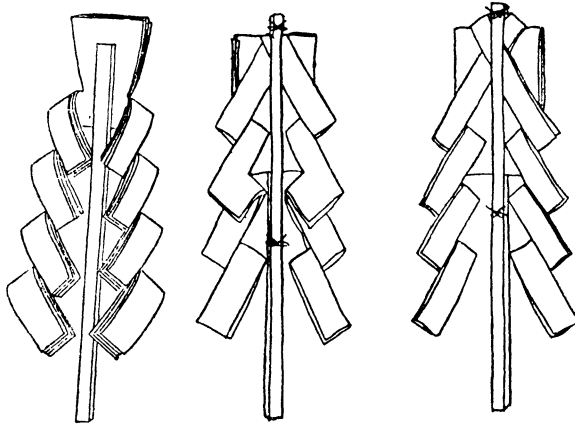
hassoku-an

Another interesting item is the *hassokuan*, an eight-legged table used mostly to bear offerings (*heihaku*). It is generally made of *hinoki* wood. Its many names vary with its height, the shape of its legs, etc. According to esoterists, the legs should all be square, but those at the end of each row should have their sides parallel to those of the board, while the intermediate ones should be set with a diameter parallel to the edge of the board, the eight legs thereby providing a reference to the four cardinal and the four intermediate points of the compass as interpreted in China, but tables which comply with that rule are extremely rare. A still older type was the *kuro-kino-an*, a four-legged table the top of which is made of branches tied together with twigs of wisteria; it is now very rarely used.⁽²²⁾

One object of which the symbolism is not open to much doubt is a couple of banners (*goshiki-ban*) which generally hang on either side of the entrance to the *honden* and are made of strips of cloth of five different colours (cf. p. 148f. below); from one of them hang miniature replicas of the sacred mirror and the sacred string of jewels, both of which served to draw Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of her cave, while from the other hangs a replica of the sacred sword found by Susano-wo in the tail of the dragon (cf. p. 152ff. below).

Two objects made of paper strips which hang from a vertical stick stand out very prominently in the *haïden* and play an important role. They are the *goheï* and the *harai-gushi*.

The word *goheï*, which is of practically universal use, is Chinese; the Japanese proper term is *mitegura*, the etymology of which is explained in different ways: *mi* (= *go*, an honorific particle) *-te* (which, according to Wan-kun-kan, stands for *take*, cloth, but, according to Motoöri (*Kojiki-den*, VIII, 43), either means hand or stands for *tamuke*, offering) *-gura* (standing for *kura*, which means ‘seat’ according to Wan-kun-kan, but, according to Motoöri, is derived from *kureru*, to give, to present).⁽⁶²⁶⁾



gohei

The *gohei* is both a symbolic offering and an indication that the Kami is present in the shrine.⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾ It has the strips of paper (*shide*) elaborately folded in zigzag fashion, hanging on either side of the stick. The number of folds and the manner of folding are considered to be of very great significance by esoterists, who can describe more than twenty types. The colour of the paper may also vary and thin sheets of metal are sometimes used instead of paper. It is of course beyond the limits of this book to go into details. In the Kibitsu-jinja, on great occasions, the priest uses a *gohei* of gilded metal, which he only approaches with a white cloth over his mouth.

The *harai-guchi* is used for purification prior to worship; we shall discuss it later (cf. p. 158f. below).

Mention should also be made of a sacred mirror which until fairly recently figured prominently in the part of the temple open to the worshippers, or at least was visible from it.⁽⁶²⁴⁾

This may be the right place to mention the fact that some Kami have no temples at all, not because they have been forgotten or have no devotees, but because no temple is required to bring them down into the world of men. Such is the case for instance for the water-kami,⁽¹²²⁾ and also for the three Kami of the road (Michi-no-kami), because the latter 'are always present on this earth'.⁽¹³¹⁾

Some very conservative priests⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ are inclined to believe that the people who in the mountain areas hold religious services all by themselves, without temple or priest, may be the truest Shintôists.

* * *

The most important building of the whole jinja is naturally the sanctuary, *honden*, in which the spirit (*mitama*) of the Kami resides. In most cases it is a more or less independent architectural structure, which only the high-priest is allowed to enter, and into which no layman is normally allowed to look.

In some cases however, there is no *honden* building at all, as in the Ô-miwa-taisha, and probably in the Kanasana-jinja.⁽³¹³⁾ What is more frequent, and easier to understand is

that in some temples the ‘sacred dwelling for the Kami’, *mi-muro* or *mi-moro*⁽⁵²⁰⁾ is not a building, but a mountain, as for the Kami-sha of the Suwa-taisha, where the doors at the back of the *heiden* open three times a year on to the sacred hill. It may also be a wood, or a terrace on which a cascade falls, as in the Todoroki-jinja. In such cases, part of the back-wall of the *heiden* is generally transparent, being formed by a curtain of bamboos or some sort of network.

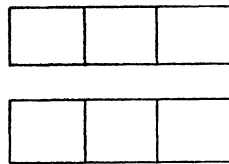
Sometimes, when there are several Kami to be housed in the same *hongu*, there is one *honden* for each Kami. Thus the Kasuga-taisha has five, the Hirano-jinja (Kyoto) and the Yoshida-jinja four, the Aso-jinja three; but there seems to be a trend to merge them all into one, as in the Imi-no-miya-jinja which used to have three and now has only one.⁽⁵⁴⁾ There may also be on either side of the main *honden* ‘secondary’ *honden* called *waki-den* as in the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja.⁽¹²⁷⁾

In some cases, like the Heian-jingū, the Kasuga-taisha, the Sumoto Kamo-jinja, there are two or more *honden* directly connected with the one *heiden*.

A single *honden* may be divided, sometimes by inner partitions, into several sections one for each Kami or group of Kami. Such is the case in the present Imi-nomiya-jinja.⁽⁵⁴⁾

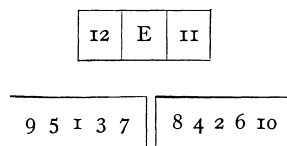
A very special case is that of the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gū, where the *honden* is divided into six sections for three Kami, the Kami staying normally in the back sections, but coming forward, in spirit, into the front sections when worship is offered.

Apart from this, there is often within the *honden* itself a still more sacred section, a *sanctum sanctorum*, which may be a cupboard (*mi-chōdai*) or a small room (*o-zushi*, *kūderi*), and which contains the object (*mitama-shiro*) in which the spirit of the Kami resides; it remains closed even when the doors of the building open.



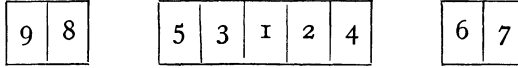
Iwa-Shimizu-hachimna-gū

Whether the structure is divided or not, the order of precedence between several Kami in the same *honden* is marked very carefully by the respective place allotted to each. The normal order is 5, 3, 1, 2, 4 when they are odd in number, 6, 4, 2, 1, 3, 5 when they are even in number. There are exceptions, however. In the Kasuga-taisha, and also in the Izumo-ō-yashiro for the *aïdono-no-kami*, the order is 5, 4, 3, 2, 1; in the Sumiyoshi-taisha it is 1, 2,



Aso-jinja

3, 4, 5, and in the Usahachiman-gû 1, 2, 3. A very unusual arrangement is found in the three *honden* of the Aso-jinja, which altogether house twelve Kami, all relatives and descendants of Jimmu tennô, together with their wives, to whom have been added (in E in the sketch) ‘all Kami found in the *Engishiki*’. In the Tensha-yamakage-jinja, the order is:



In one case only, namely the weird Atsuta-jingû, did the gûji refuse to reveal the places occupied by the various Kami, a fact which clearly confirms the esoteric importance of the placing.

Within the *honden*, in addition to the main Kami (*gosaijin*), other Kami are occasionally enshrined (*haishi*). They are called *aidono-no-kami*; although the phrase is usually translated ‘guest-kami’, they are there permanently; they do not enjoy quite the same rank, but regular worship is offered to them. They may even be found in subsidiary shrines, as in the *sessha* of the Shir amine-jingû.

As was said before, under normal conditions the doors of the *honden* are kept closed; they can only be opened (*kai-hi*) in very exceptional circumstances, and by the high-priest or his substitute. The door of the Dazaifu-ten-man-gû is never opened,⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ which may be related to the fact that some people believe it contains the tomb of the Kami. On the other hand, in some rare cases, such as the Hakozaki-gû⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and the Achi-jinja, the outer doors remain always open. In the Miyazu Wakimiya-jinja, the *honden* is open to view on certain days: on three days every month, the first, fifteenth and twenty-first, the outside doors are open; for the big matsuri the inside door also is open but a curtain takes its place; for the autumn matsuri the curtain is removed from 5 to 9 p.m.

The sacred object in which the *mitama* of the Kami dwells and is worshipped is called *mitama-shiro* or *shintai* (pronounce *go-shintai*). In practice the two words are interchangeable, but *shintai* refers more specifically to the divine (*shin*) substance (*tai*), and *mitama-shiro* to the material object (*shiro*) where the divine (*mi*)-soul (*tama*) resides.⁽¹²²⁾ The high-priest of the Atsuta-jingû, where the Kami *is* actually a sacred sword now assimilated to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, even went so far as to specify: The sword is the *mitama-shiro*, the *go-shintai* is the Kami.⁽³²⁾ But such a clear-cut distinction is very exceptional. As a matter of fact he added that Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami has three *mitama-shiro* and that her action and power are not the same in all three. However the distinction, as he pointed out, was not the same as that which is made between the different *mitama*.

The word *yori-shiro* is also often used instead of *mitama-shiro* and with practically the same connotation.

The *go-shintai* is of course normally in the *honden* but, in very rare cases such as the Tamaë-gû-tôshô-gû, it may be in a *norito-den* in front of the *honden*.

Although I never heard the distinction made by any Shintô authority, one may take it that there are two major kinds of *go-shintai*, those in which the presence of the Kami was discovered, which are mostly natural objects, and those into which he was asked to descend, which are mostly man-made objects.

In cases where the Kami was once a human being who trod this earth during a recorded period of history, actual or legendary, the *yorishiro* is often a relic which he left behind.⁽¹³⁴⁾

For other Kami, in most cases, the devotees—and often the high-priest himself—do not know what material object the *go-shintai* actually consists of—and they are 10th to talk about it. It is generally enveloped in a number of precious cloths, caskets, etc. to which more are added as the previous ones show signs of wear, and no one may—or will—commit the sacrilege of opening the many protective layers. It is believed however that in a great majority of shrines the object (then called *yorishiro*) is a mirror (*mi-kagami*), the most impersonal and abstract material object that could be devised. We shall see later (cf. p. 302f. below) one mythological explanation for its use.

In spite of the drastic iconoclastic measures prescribed in the first year of Meiji that all statues which were used as *go-shintai* should be destroyed by fire (which was a reaction against Buddhist infiltrations), many temples succeeded in keeping them. They are called *shinzō* or *kaiga*.⁽³²⁷⁾ In the Kumano-jinja in Tokyo they are still admittedly three bas-reliefs of Buddhist origin representing Amida, Yakushi Nyorai and Kannon. In other temples, it is claimed that they are Shintōist statues (according to a commonly accepted view⁽¹³⁴⁾ the Shintōists started making statues about the tenth century) which never had anything to do with Buddhism and which it was therefore quite legitimate to keep—a very controversial point. To mention only those temples in which the presence of a wooden statue serving as *go-shintai* was confirmed to me personally by the high-priest, they are the Kunteki-jinja, the Tamura-jinja, the Tsu-no-mine-jinja, the Okayama Ten-jinja, the Kibitsu-jinja, the Kakegawa-jinja (where they are called *moku-zō*), the Matsu-no-wo-taisha for Ō-yama-kui (a very ancient statue), the Kumano Hayatama-taisha and Nachi-jinja (copies of both statues can be seen in the museum of the Hayatama-taisha) and probably also the Tagataisha for Izanagi and Izanami and the seven shrines of the Hië-taisha (although nobody has ever seen them). In the Ishidzuchi-jinja, three statues were recently installed in the *honden* at the insistent request of the devotees; they represent the *ara-mitama*, the *nigimitama* and the *kushi-mitama* of the Kami.

In support of the theory that statues which are unadulterated Shintō were not prohibited may be adduced the fact that, in the sixth year of Meiji (1874), two statues were solemnly installed in the Tokiwa-jinja for Nariaki Tokugawa and Mitsukuni Tokugawa.

Paintings (*miei*) can also occasionally be *go-shintai*. Such is the case in the Shiramine-jingū where the Kami is Sutoku-tennō. Paintings by him are used as such both in the *honden* and in two *massha* of the temple.

The possibility should not be entirely excluded that when the *go-shintai* is admittedly a statue or a painting, behind it there may be a still more sacred and more secret object.

One peculiar case is that of the Aso-jinja, where every year a statue is carved representing the Goddess Hime-miko-no-kami who is the wife (*gozen*) of the third Kami, Kuni (land)-tatsu (dragon or establishment)⁽¹²²⁾-no-kami. On the sixth day of the big matsuri a priest, blindfolded, chooses a tree from which the image is then carved. For six successive days, the statue spends the day in the *honden*, but for the night it is taken (with great precautions so as not to awaken jealousy in the husband) to the house of one of the hereditary priests, where worship is offered to it. After which it is left in the temple, but as those statues rapidly accumulate, the old ones are periodically taken to a sacred place where they are committed to the flames.

In the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja, a statue of Ebisu (Hiru-ko-no-mikoto), which seems to have been used as a *go-shintai* for many centuries, was relegated to a less sacred building, but is still considered so holy that only the high-priest is allowed to see it, and only on exceptional occasions.

In the Tosa-jinja, the *go-shintai* is a two-edged sword (*tsumgi*); in the Kushige-jinja, a *massha* of the Awaji-shima Izanagi-jingû, a comb made from bamboo (*yutsu-tsumagushi*)⁽⁷³⁾ (cf. pp. 150ff. and 273 below); in the temples of the Yoshida group, it is often a *goheï* (*nusa*).⁽¹²²⁾

In some cases apparently there is no *go-shintai* at all, for instance for Kuni-toko-tachi in the Kumano Hongû-taisha.

The sacredness of the *go-shintai* naturally requires that it should be pre-served and protected with the utmost care against sacrilege and destruction. We shall see presently the extraordinary precautions which are taken to hide it from human eyes whenever it has to be removed from the *honden* for some reason or other.

During the last war, when one of the main aims of USA bombers was to set fire to Shintô temples and destroy them, the *go-shintai* were hidden away, often in deep bomb-proof caves or cellars, ordinarily just behind the *honden* so that services could proceed without any visible change; and it is surprising how extremely few of them were lost or damaged, even when nothing was left of the buildings. When the *keidai-chi* is about to be captured, as was the case in Formosa, and no hiding can save it from the enemy's hands, it is respectfully consigned to fire—and the ashes either brought back to Japan or dropped into the sea.⁽¹²²⁾

In many cases also the *go-shintai* is a natural object. It may be a mountain, (then called *kami-yama* or *shintai-zari*), as in the case of the Ô-miwa-taisha,⁽¹³⁴⁾ in the Kanasana-jinja, in the Aso-san-jô-jinja (where it is the crater of Mount Aso), in the Munakata-taisha (where only the priests in charge of a small shrine recently built on the mountain, the Kami-take-miya, are allowed to set foot on it), etc.

Such was also the case in the Asakura-jinja, where the *go-shintai* was Mount Asakura, but is now a mirror,⁽³⁰⁾ and also in the Kotohira-gû, where Emperor Sutoku sent as a substitute—enclosed in a precious casket which no one ever dared to open—what is probably a wooden statue; later two more wooden caskets were added, which probably contain mirrors.

In the Todoroki-jinja, the *go-shintai* is a cascade; in one of the *massha* of the Shiramine-gû it is a well; in the Asamine-jinja, where the Kami is Prince Ninigi's wife, it is a huge crevice in the rock, in the shape of female pudenda; in the Yudonosan-jinja of the Dewasan-dzan, it is a big rock from which hot water wells (however, two more *go-shintai* were added later). In such cases the rock is generally considered as an *iwa-kura*, which is 'similar to a solid shrine', and not as an *iwasaka* (cf. p. 94 above).⁽¹²²⁾ In the Ishi-jinja, a *massha* of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, it is a stone. In the Suwa-taisha, some authorities⁽¹³⁴⁾ believe that the *go-shintai* is a tree (*himorogi*).

Sometimes, the *go-shintai* may possibly be an animal. For instance, it would seem that in all Uga-sha (*uga* is alleged to come from the Sanskrit *naga*) it is a serpent⁽²¹¹⁾. In the Nabaki-jinja, according to a distinguished archaeologist,⁽⁹⁴⁾ it is a white serpent which was washed ashore on the shell of a white tortoise, and it is shown to devotees once every sixty years; according to the same authority, a tortoise is worshipped as the god of fisheries in

the Kawaguchi-jinja, and in the region of Chiba very large earshells (*awabi*) are used as *go-shintai*. In none of these cases, however, could I get confirmation from ecclesiastical circles—they did not even succeed in identifying the jinja!

The same doubt obtains about another statement made by the same author⁽⁹⁴⁾ that jade-like stones washed up (*yorishi*) on the shore are worshipped as *go-shintai* in the Tamanaë-jinja. But a similar case of ‘gods cast ashore’ (*yorigami*) was definitely confirmed by the high-priest of the Ôarai-jinja. It would seem that in many other cases, such as the various temples on the island of Iki, and many others in the Izu peninsula, the *go-shintai* is a stone, to which tradition often attributes a miraculous origin.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In the Ozu-jinja, for reasons which I was not able to ascertain, the *go-shintai* is an iron ball (*tetsu-no-tama* or *makane-no-madama*); in the *sessha* of the Shiramine-gû, which is closely associated with the ball-game of *kemari*, it is probably a piece of paper on which is written *Mari-no-sei*, ‘spirit of the ball’.

The same *mitama-shiro* may house the *mitama* of several Kami together. Thus, in the Tamukeyama-hachiman-gu, there is only one for Jingû-kôgô and Chûai-tennô, and one for the three Goddesses who make up Hime-gami.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The *honden* may also, in exceptional cases, contain other sacred objects. We have already mentioned the case of the Dazaifu-ten-man-gû, where it was perhaps built over the grave of the Kami. According to tradition, the Awaji-shima Izanagi-jingû was erected over the grave of Izanagi himself. In the Hië-taisha, the *honden* of the jinja to Kamo-yamatori-hime contains a sacred well, a fact which is explained by the relation acknowledged between woman and water.

We shall see later (cf. p. 130 below) the very common system according to which most temples are ‘branches’ of older and more important ones, which means that they fall into actual families. One very common and perfectly accurate way of expressing that relationship is to say that the branch-temple (*bun-sha*) has a *bun-rei* of the mother-temple.

The idea of the *bun-rei* is that the *mitama* of the Kami, which is enshrined in the *mitama-shiro*, can be divided by a mystic process in such a way that it both remains where it was before and also goes into another sacred object prepared to receive it, which will thereby become a *go-shintai* for use in another temple. As Motoôri puts it, it is like dividing a fire; it does not mean that the original fire is thereby decreased or loses its force or its heat; but its total effect grows.

Normally of course the *bun-rei* is given for temples in other localities, or at least outside the *keidai-chi*, but I have come across cases where it is given to subsidiary shrines in the same temple; thus the Minami-shin-gû, a *sessha* of the Atsuta-jingû, the Susano-wo-jinja, a *massha* of the same, and the Shingû-sha, a *massha* of a *sessha* (Takakura-musubi-miko-jinja) of the same all have *bun-rei* from the *hongû*.

The *mitama-shiro* carrying the *bun-rei* is in very many cases a mirror, but some temples have very special traditions; thus the Suwa-taisha gives a plate of metal of a curious shape (*naï-gama*), the significance of which is not very clear, even to the priests. (Cf. p. 345 below).

The transfer of the Kami’s *mitama* into the new *mitama-shiro* is a long, solemn and delicate process carried out by the high-priest of the original temple in the presence of all the clergy of the temple to which the *bun-rei* is given. In some cases, only the priests of the original jinja are present,⁽¹⁴²⁾ but sometimes also the authorities of the locality to which the *bun-rei* will proceed are allowed to attend (mayor, *ujiko*, etc). The ceremony

may be divided into two parts, one for the actual transfer of the *mitama* and another just before the new *go-shintai* starts on its journey.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ In the first stage, the new *mitama-shiro* is placed in the *heiden*, in front of the *honden*,⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ and the Kami is invited ‘to please divide his *wake-mitama* and let part of it enter the new *go-shintai*.’ The ceremony generally takes place at midnight and in total darkness, after all participants have submitted themselves to purification for several days. Another ceremony (*kanjô*) takes place after it has reached its destination and, in some cases, it is only then that the Kami is requested to enter it, but the latter method is regarded as second best.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Normally a *himorogi* and in all cases a certificate bearing the seal of the original temple accompany the new *go-shintai*; the certificate is carefully preserved in the treasure-house of the branch-temple.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

As we have seen, a peculiar word is used in the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, where it is said that the Kami is a ‘representation’ (*sairei*) of the Kami in the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha.

In a number of temples where two or more Kami share the *honden*, the *bun-rei* given out are collective, i.e. one single *mitama-shiro* carries the *mitama* of all Kami, as in the case of the Ôarai-jinja, the Sumiyoshi-taisha, various Hachiman-gû, the Munakata-taisha, the Kasuga-taisha, etc.⁽²⁴²⁾ In such cases, it often happens that the original names of the Kami are dropped or forgotten, and that in their new shrine they are called by the name of the temple from which they come: Sumiyoshi-no-kami, Munakata-no-kami, etc.

Bun-rei of famous temples are in great demand for setting up new shrines or even enriching existing ones. Thus, according to the respective high-priests, the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû has distributed 30,000, the Usa-jingû 15,000, the Suwa-taisha more than 10,000, the Kotohira-gû ‘officially’ 3,200, the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja, the Kumano Nachi-jinja and Hayatama-taisha more than 3,000 each, the Matsu-no-wo-taisha 1,112, and those given out by the Hikawa-jinja are ‘innumerable’.

But apart from those ‘official’ *bun-rei* given by the temple after appropriate rites have been performed, it often happens that *ujiko* uproot a small sakakitree in the precincts—or take a stone—and bring it home with them, honestly convinced that they have an actual *bun-rei*, and use it for worship. Such is frequently the case for instance in the Todoroki-jinja.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

Some temples in which the *mitama-shiro* is already a *bun-rei* from some other temple nevertheless give *bun-rei* in their turn. Such is the case of the Kasuga-taisha, the four Kami of which are enshrined in *bun-rei* coming from Kashima, Katori and Hiraoka.⁽⁴²⁾ The Rokusho-jinja in Okazaki gives *bunrei* although it has itself only a *bun-rei* from another temple of the same name in Matsu-daïra-mura, which in its turn has only a *bun-rei* from Shiogama. The Hachiman-asami-jinja has a *bun-rei* from the Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gû in Kamakura, which itself has a *bun-rei* from the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû. Successive divisions and transmissions do not seem to impair the sanctity or powers of the *go-shintai*.

Although any Kami should be able to provide *bun-rei*⁽¹²²⁾ there are some who traditionally never give it, such as Iku-shima-no-kami and Taru-shimano-kami in the Ikutama-jinja (Ôsaka)—although there is one *bun-rei* in the *mikoshi* carried by the children during the Natsu-matsuri.

Bun-rei can be given of human Kami as well as of divine Kami. Apart from the very special case of Hachiman, the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû gives *bun-rei* of Michizane Sugawara, while the temples (Tôkyô-gû) dedicated to Ieyasu Tokugawa apparently decline to do so.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

Similar *o-fuda* are also issued for the same purpose by many temples which give *bun-rei*, but in this case, the shrines in which the *o-fuda* are placed are almost exclusively home-shrines, *kami-dana*, and can have no official status whatever.

The *mitama-shiro* has to be taken out of the *honden* on various occasions, in particular when workmen carry out repairs to the building. Some temples have a special empty shrine (*ô-kari-deri*) ready for that purpose, to house it for as long as may be necessary. Such is the case with the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja, the Kashima-jingû, etc. In the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the *ô-kari-den* (which is there called *gon-den*) is as big as the *honden*, close to it and almost identical. When there is no such shrine, the Kami generally goes to another jinja, where he remains the guest of the local Kami for the time required. For instance Kunado-no-kami from the Izumo-jinja was in my presence taken to the Ô-kami-miko-tamae-jinja where he was the guest of Taka-hime-no-mikoto; there is no relation between the two Kami, but both shrines are *sessha* of the Izumo-ô-yashiro.

In the Shimo-sha of the Suwa-taisha, there are two identical *honden* (Haru-miya and Aki-miya) and the Kami spends six months in one and six months in the other; the transfer from the former to the latter gives rise to colourful festivities, the O-fune-matsuri.

It also happens in many jinja that the Kami is taken round the whole or a part of his 'parish' periodically, on a tour of inspection (*shinkô-shiki*) and in order to enable the *ujiko* to worship him in their own particular section. He is then housed in temples which are either permanently built for that purpose, *o-tabisho* (tabi=journey, sho=place),⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ as in Kyoto for the Yasaka-jinja, or else in temporary structures erected to stand for one or more days, as for the Wakamiya-jinja of the Kasuga-taisha. Occasionally the object of the journey may be to pay a visit to another Kami in a neighbouring jinja, as is the case in the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha when the Kami goes to the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja.

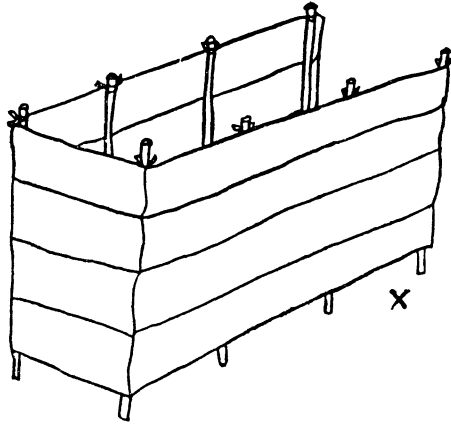
The combined feeling of awe and love which permeates the whole ceremony of transfer (*sengû*) is most impressive. Everything is carried out at dead of night, with all lights extinguished, not only in and around the temple, but sometimes in a much wider area. In Nara, the cars still have to put out their lights within a radius of about half a mile. Until the Second World War, all lights were extinguished throughout the province during the Kurayami (darkness)-matsuri of the Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja on May 5th.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

The priests who have to come near the Kami wear white cloths over their mouths so that their breath should not reach him.⁽¹²²⁾ They carry all round the palanquin (*mikoshi*) a three-fold veil (*sashiha*) generally made of silk (*kinugaki*)⁽²²⁾ which is sometimes replaced by a moving hedge of sakaki branches, or of sedge-reeds (*suge-no-sashiha*).

Sometimes, as in the Izumo-ô-yashiro, a sacred cord (*shimenawa*) is stretched all around the way which the procession will follow—which may well extend for miles.

Sacred *norito* are chanted before and after the *mitama-shiro* is moved, and the impressive Ô (*keihitsu*), which is both the call to the Kami to be present and the announcement that he *is* present, resounds through the aweinspiring silence. Priests play various musical instruments, make offerings (*shinsen*) to the Kami, etc.

One very curious practice is that in some temples services and offerings to the Kami continue during his absence. This happens in the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, the Suwa-taisha, the Wakamiya-jinja of the Kasuga-taisha, etc. Several explanations of it were given to me. One was that the Kami does not actually leave his temple, but only allows a *bun-rei* to proceed on the journey;⁽²²⁾ another was that what is then offered to the Kami is really the



Sashiha

kage-zen (shadow-table)⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾, the meal which is served in homes to members of the family who are absent. In some other temples, no service is actually carried out, but devotees still offer *tamagushi*; in yet others, the temple is considered as being really empty and no worship is offered. One peculiar instance is that of Umashi-ôya-hime-no-mikoto, wife of the main Kami of the Iyahiko-jinja; she has her *go-shintai* in a temple (*sessha*) of her own, the Sumato-jinja, which is outside the precincts of the main temple; nevertheless she is 'always present' in her husband's *honden* where she has no *go-shintai*.

* * *

However individualistic and independent the various temples and their respective clergy may be in the determination of their own rituals and the management of their secular affairs, there is nevertheless between them a complex hierarchy, which used to be regulated by the Imperial Court or the various departments in charge of their administration and is now largely in the hands of the Association of Shintô temples called *Jinja-honchô*.

The ancient government office in charge of Shintô worship was the *Jingi-kwan*, which the *Taihô-ryô* (the basic law of 701) put on an equal footing with the *Dajôkan*, the highest government office. It remained in charge of everything concerned with the worship of the gods during most of the Nara and Heian periods; on various occasions, it was destroyed by civil wars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but was always rapidly rebuilt by the Imperial Court. It disappeared in 1590, when its central shrine, the *Hasshin-den*, was removed to the palace of the Yoshida family, to whom its powers were transferred. It was reconstituted in April 1868 in accordance with the ideals of *saisei-itchi*. In August 1871 it became the *Jingi-shô* and in March 1872 the *Kyôbu-shô*, which was finally abolished in 1877. It had been made responsible in 1875 for making uniform the ritual observances (*jinja saishiki*) of all shrines in the country. As the present Shintô authorities put it, 'it finally ended as an entity quite far removed from the original plan,⁽³²⁷⁾

When the *Kyôbu-shô* disappeared, Shintô affairs were entrusted to the *Shaji-kyoku*, a department of the Ministry of the Interior (*Naïmu-shô*) which also dealt with Buddhist

affairs. This combination, however, was not found satisfactory and in April 1900, the Shaji-kyoku was split into two departments, one, the Jinja-kyoku, which dealt with Shintô temples and priests, and one with other religions. The Jinja-kyoku was later raised to the first rank among the five departments of the Ministry, and divided into sections of General Business, Research and Leadership. It is acknowledged that it ‘made great contributions to the spread of correct Shintô thought’.⁽³²⁷⁾

An additional short-lived institution which ‘was the core of shrine administration and held the leading position in the Shintô world’ was the Jingi-in (1940–45). It was a government office within the Jinja-kyoku.⁽³²⁷⁾

Soon after Shintô was ordered by the American forces of occupation to be separated from the State, in 1945, an independent organization of temples, the Jinja-honchô, sprang up spontaneously on February 3 1946.⁽⁷⁷¹⁾ Its head office is in Tôkyô and it has branches (*jinja-chô*) in every urban or rural prefecture. The Jinja-honchô is governed by a Council composed of the representatives of the various *jinja-chô* and a number of co-opted members; it elects its trustees and officers, approves the budget and decides all major matters of policy.⁽⁷⁷¹⁾ In 1948 it fixed the ritual observances (*jinja saishiki*) to be followed by the some 80,000 shrines now affiliated to it, comprising about 97 per cent of all Shintô temples. Among those (*tanritsu-jinja*) which have not joined it, many important temples, such as the Yasukuni-jinja, the Ô-miwa-taïsha, the Fushimi-inari, etc. can nevertheless be found.⁽¹²²⁾

The Jinja-honchô works in close contact with the Kokugakuin University (cf. p. 141ff. below), and in order to ensure harmonious co-operation, the same person is now President of both institutions.

Temples have different ranks (*shinkai*) and can be promoted or demoted from one rank to another by the competent authorities. The earliest known promotion in the hierarchy dates back to 746, when the Hachiman-taïsha ‘was given the third rank in supplication for the cure’ of the Emperor, who was then seriously ill, as recorded in the *Tôdai-ji Yoroku* (compiled about 1118). From the late Nara period, it gradually became customary to bestow grades upon temples or raise them in rank ‘on the occasion of prayers accompanying the moving of the capital, Imperial travels, coronations, wars, etc. At the beginning, fields proportionate to the grade were given in fief, but gradually, for economic and other reasons, the practice became one of bestowing merely formal ranks, and finally the whole system of *shinkai* was abolished after the Meiji period. In Japanese religious history, the study of *shinkai* provides valuable information about the comparative dignity of a shrine, the period at which it received the fullest government support, and the ebb and flow of belief in it...⁽³²⁷⁾

A system of ranks of temples (*shakaku seïdo*) continued to receive government support until the 1945 separation between State and Shintô, and even after that temples retained the titles attached to those ranks, although they no longer corresponded to an official status.

The first distinction, as recorded in the beginning of the tenth century, is between those mentioned in the *Engi-shiki*—which have the envied title of *shikinai-sha*. They were divided into *kampeï-sha* (governmental temples) and *kokuhei-sha* (national temples). Each of those two groups was later subdivided in great (*dai-*) and small (*shô-*), and differences in treatment were made ‘on the occasion of presentation of offerings’ at the main festivals. ‘Because of the lax principles which prevailed since the middle Heian period, there arose

another system of subsidiary ranks, including those of the twenty-two temples in the metropolitan area (*nijû-nisha*) and those in the rest of the country.⁷

In May 1871, temples were classified into *kansha* (governmental) and *shôsha* (miscellaneous). Further, the *kansha* group was subdivided into *taisha* (great temple), *chûsha* (temple of medium importance) and *shôsha* (small temple), and the *shôsha* (miscellaneous) into *fusha* (metropolitan), *kensha* (prefectural), *gôsha* (regional), *sonsha* (village shrine) and *mukakusha* (shrine with no official rank). In addition to it all, a category of *bekkakukampeï-taisha* was established in 1872.⁽³²⁷⁾ According to the 1946 *Jinjataikan*, the number of temples in the various categories about the end of the Second World War was as follows:

1. Jingû (the two main Ise temples)	2
2. Kampeï-taisha	59
3. Kokuheï-taisha	6
4. Kampeï-chûsha	25
5. Kokuheï-chûsha	46
6. Kampeï-shôsha	5
7. Kokuheï-shôsha	39
8. Bekkaku-kampeï-sha (among which the Go-ô-jinja, the Minatogawa-jinja, the Nashinoki-jinja, the Danzanjinja, the Yasukuni-jinja, the Hôkoku-jinja, the Kenkunjinja and the Kikuchi-jinja ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ dedicated to famous loyalists)	27
9. Fusha and Kensha	1,098
10. Gôsha	3,616
11. Sonsha	44,823
12. Mukakusha	60,496
	Total 110,033

The titles (*shagô*) now born by temples and which are part of their official designation form an entirely different list. That of *-jingû* is the highest and is applied to the two Ise temples, to some special temples where Imperial ancestors of Emperors are enshrined, and also to a very few other temples ‘of especially distinguished background’. The title *-gû* belongs to lesser temples where an Emperor or a member of the Imperial family is enshrined, and also to some others ‘with some especially important historical background’. Even now the terms *-jingû* and *-gû* are not permitted to be used indiscriminately; the title *-gû* however is occasionally applied to some *minsha* (ordinary temples) which for some reason or other had been overlooked in official classifications.

Another highly valued title is that of *taisha*—of which *ô-yashiro* is the Japanese pronunciation. Before the Second World War, the government had officially granted its use to the Izumo-ô-yashiro. More recently, the Jinja-honchô allowed it to be used also by the Mishima-taisha, the Nagano Suwa-taisha, the Matsu-no-wo-taisha, the Ôsaka Sumiyoshi-taisha, the Tatsuta-taisha, the Kasuga-taisha, the Taga-taisha, the Shiga-ken Hië-taisha, the Kumano Hayatama-taisha and Hongû-taisha and the Kôra-taisha. The Fushimi-inari-taisha also bears the same title.⁽¹²²⁾

Temples which do not come under any of the previous categories are called *-jinja* or *-sha*, or *-miya*.⁽³²⁷⁾

A special distinction which is granted to some *jinja* is that they should be put ‘on the Separate List’. Those *Beppyô-jinja*, selected by the *Jinja-honchô*, and which include former national or state temples, numbered 244 in 1957⁽³²⁷⁾

Another matter of pride for a *jinja* is to be the *ichi-no-miya*, the ‘first temple’ of a certain region, or country, or even village. After it come the *ni-no-miya*, or second-ranking temple, and the *san-no-miya*, the third temple. Changes were occasionally made in the order of precedence. It would seem that one purpose of this classification, the origin of which is not very clear (it seems to have started about the end of the Heian period) was ‘to facilitate the visits of the local *kokushi* or governor’.⁽³²⁷⁾

The *ichi-no-miya* however should not be confused with the *sôsha*, a shrine also intended to spare discomfort to the *kokushi*. In it were enshrined the various Kami of the special temples, or sometimes of all the temples in the administrative region, so that the *kokushi* could worship them all without having to go the round of all the temples.⁽³²⁷⁾

Another title which is occasionally found is that of *-byô* which apparently only Ise (called Ise-tai-byô) and the Kashii-gû are entitled to claim, but which was also taken by three other *jinja* to which the Kashii-gû had given *bun-rei* of Jingû-kôgô and Chûai-tennô.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The title has, however, an unpleasant connotation since it really means ‘mausoleum’ and is therefore connected with death and pollution.⁽¹²²⁾

The most distinguished group of temples is nevertheless that formed by the fifteen to which an Imperial messenger (*chokushi*) is sent on the occasion of the great matsuri. Those *chokusai-sha*, apart from the Ise-jingû, which receives a *chokushi* three times a year and is in a category of its own are: the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû, the Kasuga-taisha, the Hikawa-jinja (Saitama), the Atsutajingû, the Izumo-ô-yashiro, the Kashiwara-jingû, the Meiji-jingû, the Katori-jingû, the Ômi-jingû, the Kashima-jingû, the Yasukuni-jinja, the Usa-jingû and the Kashii-gû, the last two being visited by a *chokushi* only once in every ten years.⁽¹²²⁾

Since the various Kami are more or less identified with the temples dedicated to them—or to the most important of those temples when there are many—it may be said that the promotions—or sometimes demotions—affecting a temple also affected the rank held by the Kami in the Shintô pantheon. It is therefore not entirely wrong to admit that the Emperor has (or had) pretty much the same degree of authority over the divine hierarchy as over the earthly human society. Of course this is particularly striking in the case of men officially elevated to the dignity of Kami, for whom political considerations have often played a decisive role (cf. chapter XIX below).

Within practically every temple except those of the smallest size, there are, in addition to the main shrine (*honden*), a number of lesser shrines. Normally, these are dedicated to Kami other than the one (*gosctijiri*) in the *honden*, but it occasionally happens that they enshrine the same one (e.g. the *bekkû* of the Atsuta-jingû), or one aspect or soul (*mitama*) of that Kami. Except in the last two cases or when the Kami of the smaller shrine is a relative or follower of the main Kami, they are nearly always branches (*bun-sha*) of a different temple.

According to their relative importance, they fall into three main categories: *bekkû* or *betsu-gû* (literally ‘separate shrine’, which is the highest), *sessha* and *massha* (the lowest).

Bekkû are found in few temples, such as the Ise-jingû, the Himuka-jinja, the Shiogama-jinja, the Futara-san-jinja, the Atsuta-jingû, the Miyazaki-jingû; I was informed that the term *bekkû* has not exactly the same meaning in Ise and in the Miyazu Wakimiya-jinja, but I understand it is a point of detail.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ According to some authors, *massha* is an abbreviation of *matsu-sha* (literally branch-shrine) and *sessha* of *setsu-sha* (literally embraced shrine).⁽⁶²⁶⁾ The distinction is not always clear between *sessha* and *massha*, for instance in the Hikawa-jinja; both are covered by the term *setsu-massha*. *Bekkû*, *sessha* and *massha* also bear in their own right the titles of *-jinja*, or *-sha*, or *-miya*, or even *-yashiro*. The word *keidai-sha* covers all *sessha* and *massha* within the *keidai-chi*.⁽¹²²⁾

One particular type of subsidiary shrine is the Wakamiya, where the children of the main Kami are often enshrined.

Another cross-distinction can be made on the basis of the facilities of access to the shrine. In mountain temples, it often happens that the main shrine (*honsha*) is at the foot of the mountain and a smaller one (*oku-miya*) on the summit. In the case of Mount Fuji, for instance, the main temple (*hongû*), the Fujisan-hongû-sengen-jinja, is at the foot and there is an *oku-miya* near the summit.⁽³²⁷⁾ Sometimes, as in the Kashima-jingû, the *oku-miya* is simply at a certain distance from the main temple. It may also happen that the main shrine is on a mountain top or in some other inconvenient place; in this case a smaller shrine, the *sato-miya*, is then located nearer to the village (*sato*), as in the Hodaka-jinja. And in some cases, there is even a *yôhai-jo*, to allow 'worshipping from a distance' (*yôhai*).

In spite of all administrative organization and of all attempts at uni-formity,⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Shintô temples have remained most remarkably individualistic, each with its own cherished mythological, historical, ritualistic and ecclesiastical traditions, and often in blissful ignorance of what may exist in all but a very few other temples.

Nevertheless, there are a variety of ties, some of them very close, which bind two or three temples together. Let us first of all mention the most common and evident of all, the connection which exists between the temple where a Kami or an aspect of a Kami was originally enshrined and the temple (*bun-sha*) which received from it a *bun-rei*. This sort of filial relationship has of course numerous and far-reaching consequences, but it does not prevent the 'branch'-temples from altering the ritual, from entering into totally different religious and social activities, etc. whenever local or other conditions demand it.

More interesting are individual ties between two temples because of the relations which exist between their respective chief Kami. Cases are numerous; we shall mention only a few as illustrations.

As we have already indicated, the Kami of the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, i.e. Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-no-kami, is held to be a 'representation' (*sairei*) of the Kami of the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, i.e. Taka-okami-no-kami. The latter is 'called' by a sacred song, the *ô-harai-norito*, to the Kamo-wakeikazuchi-jinja for the Mi-are-matsuri on May 12th, and remains there for four days, during which he is duly worshipped.⁽¹⁵²⁾ On the other hand, Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-no-kami is the son of Kamo-take-tsunu-mi-no-mikoto, the main Kami of the other great Kyoto Kamo temple, the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, and the great Aoi-matsuri, on May 15th, is celebrated by the two temples jointly.

The two great temples of Katori and Kashima have a different kind of link. Their respective Kami, Futsu-nushi and Take-mika-dzuchi, co-operated closely in preparing the descent to earth of Prince Ninigi, the 'divine grandchild', the first earthly Ancestor

of the Emperors of Japan, after which they are reported to have travelled together very extensively throughout Japan. So now they pay visits to each other periodically, and the country between the two temples, the Shin-shin-goëtsu, is considered particularly sacred.

The Kami of Kashima, Take-mika-dzuchi, as enshrined in a much less important temple, the Ariga-jinja, also pays a visit to the Kuni-tsu-kami whom it formerly succeeded in ousting to make room for Prince Ninigi, Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi-no-kami) and his faithful companion Sukuna-hikona, both of them as enshrined in the neighbouring Ôarai-isosaki-jinja. The visit, which takes place on November 11th, on the occasion of the Ariga-sai, is extremely picturesque, the gûji of the Arigajinja bringing 'the whole spirit' (*mitama*) of his Kami in a lance which is deposited and worshipped for several hours in the other temple and then taken back by the same gûji.⁽¹⁷²⁾

At the end of the great Shinkô-sai, during which Ô-yama-kuï-no-kami, the Kami of the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha, visits various temporary temples (*o-tabisho*) of his own for twenty days, he pays, in his *mikoshi*, a respectful visit to the site of the former Saiji-jinja with which the temple formerly had close relations.

At the beginning of every year, the Udo-jingû presents offerings (*mochi* and *o-miki*) to the Miyaûra-jinja, because the Kami of the former, Hiko-nagisatake-ugaya-fuki-aëzu-no-mikoto, is the husband of Tama-yori-hime, the Kami of the latter. And the Udo-jingû also provides the Miyaûra-jinja with timber when necessary for various repairs.⁽²⁰⁰⁾

Let us mention finally efforts which are at present under way to create, quite independently from the Jinja-honchô, some associations of temples worshipping the same Kami. Thus, the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû is trying to set up an association of all Hachiman temples;^(56, 192) another one already exists which links the temples worshipping Michizane Sugawara in the region of Fukuoka,⁽¹³³⁾ etc.

CHAPTER V PRIESTS

THE Shintô temples, the *jinja*, are serviced by a numerous clergy, which in 1962 numbered about 21,000 priests⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾ of which 16,674 in temples affiliated to the *Jinja-honchô*.⁽¹²²⁾

The main function of priests of all ranks is to worship and serve the *Kami*, thus ensuring the maintenance of good relations between the world of Gods and the world of men, and obtaining divine protection and guidance for the people, the country and the Emperor, both materially and spiritually. According to a recent author, 'in Shintô there is no clear demarcation between *Kami* and priest. When priests or priestesses impersonated *Kami* during a *matsuri*, they were really *Kami*.'⁽⁵²⁹⁾

Although they are greatly respected by all classes of society and are often consulted by laymen on all sorts of subjects, they are not expected to act as spiritual leaders or directors to the community or to individual members of it. Their only intervention consists in holding divine services at the request of parishioners and for their benefit.

It is not customary for them to preach or lecture because, in the words of a very high-ranking *gûji*, 'human speech cannot be perfectly pure'.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Preaching was even strictly prohibited in 1885, 'because Shintô is not a religion'.

The two most common words to designate all or most members of the clergy, at least in the higher ranks, are *kannushi* and *shinshoku*.

Kannushi (*kami-nushi*), a Japanese word, originally meant the person belonging to the *Kami*, then the medium through whom a *Kami* finds expression,⁽¹²²⁾ and that normally was because, after a long period of 'strict abstinence', he had obtained the required qualifications.⁽³²⁷⁾ Some authorities⁽⁶²⁴⁾ have gone so far as to translate it by 'the owner of the god'. Before the Meiji Reform, the term was applied exclusively to the high-priest and the assistant high-priest; the Emperor himself was actually, and still is, in a religious sense, the highest *kannushi* and, in the social scale, the *kannushi* stood above the samurai.⁽²²⁰⁾ Later, and largely as a matter of courtesy, it came to be used for all priests, in current language, where it is often followed, colloquially, by the suffix *-san*.

A more formal, although in fact equivalent term, is *shinshoku*, a Chinese word corresponding to the Japanese *kami-zukasa*, '[one whose] profession [is to serve the] *Kami*'.⁽¹²²⁾ The word *shinkan* has the same connotation, but is not used so frequently; until the end of the Second World War, it applied only to the priests of the Ise-jingû.⁽¹²²⁾

Another name, now very seldom found, except in some *taisha*, is *tayû*. It was originally a designation of the fifth court rank, and was applied by the inhabitants of rural areas, probably because the priests held that rank.⁽¹²²⁾

In 1902, Imperial Edict No. 27 fixed the official titles and number of priests in the various types of *jinja*, but it is not really applied now.⁽⁴²⁷⁾

The topmost category, a very exceptional one, is the *itsuki-no-miya* ('princess dedicated to the *Kami*'), or *mi-tsuë-shiro* ('medium for the *Kami*'), now commonly called *saïshu*

(‘chief of the matsuri’), a virgin princess of the Imperial family who is now found only in the Ise-jingū, over the destinies of which such a one has presided ever since its origin (cf. p. 410ff. below) with the exception of a short period, from 1868 to 1946.⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾ At the time of the *Engi-shiki* (tenth century) there were two such princesses holding the office of high-priestess, one for the Watarai temples, and one for the Kamo temples ‘in Yamashiro’.⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾ The Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja retained such an *itsuki-no-miya* from 810 to 1212.

The high-priest in charge of the temple is now uniformly called *gūji*, although the names formerly varied with local traditions. In the Ise-jingū, he bears the title of *dai-gūji*, ‘great *gūji*’. We shall speak of him in detail later (cf. p. 134ff. below). Normally every jinja has a *gūji*.

In the Izumo-ō-yashiro, immediately below the *gūji* and above his two assistants comes the *kyōtō*, the ‘chief educator’, ‘reader on doctrine’.

The important temples also have one, or exceptionally (as in the Kasuga-taisha, the Izumo-ō-yashiro) two assistant high-priests, called *gon-gūji*, sometimes *shō-gūji* (as in the Ise-jingū and the Fushimi-inari-taisha), who take the place of the *gūji* during his absence and also for many ceremonies; they often have special duties of their own, administrative and otherwise.

Below those high dignitaries, we find in most temples of any but the smallest size, one or more *negi* and assistant *negi* (*gon-negi*). There may be as many as ten, or even more, and they have important responsibilities in the conduct of affairs, both spiritual and material; in some districts, they were formerly called *shake* (cf. p. 140ff. below) because they were normally drawn from families of *shake* which had the exclusive privilege of supplying them.⁽²²⁰⁾

Probably more or less on the same level as *negi* and *gon-negi* are *shōten* and *shōten-ho*, ‘priests who belong to the *shōten-shoku* in the Imperial household (Kunai-chō) and who exclusively attend to religious ceremonies in the shrines of the Imperial Palace’.⁽³²⁷⁾

After them comes an intermediate class, the *kujō*, who are found in a few jinja only (such as the Atsuta-jingū, the Ise-jingū, the Yasukuni-jinja, the Izumo-ō-yashiro). In some cases, they seem however to rank below the following category, that of *shuten*.

With that qualification, the lowest group of fully-ordained *shinshoku* is formed by the *shuten*, ordinary priests which are naturally to be found only in such jinja which can afford more than one *negi* in addition to the *gūji*. They were formerly called *hafuri*.⁽²²⁰⁾

Several other important categories are found below *shinshoku* rank. First among them are the *shusshi*, novices who have not received a sufficiently high ordination to fulfil all the duties of a priest, but who will normally receive it some day or other. Their period of novitiate varies between 3 and 16 years, mostly according to their ecclesiastical academic training.

After them come girl-attendants, *miko*, who have very special tasks assigned to them, and who will never accede to ordinary priesthood. We shall deal with them later when we consider the part played by women in the clergy. Let us say here, however, that formerly their functions were in some circumstances undertaken by men.

In a special category fall the *oshi*, who are described as follows in an official publication: The name *oshi* is ‘considered an abbreviation of *o-kitō-shi*, prayer-reciters. The *oshi* existed before the Meiji restoration. Since the Middle-Ages, *oshi* were employed by the Ise-jingū and the three Kumano temples; a close relationship was kept up between them and those

who asked for their prayers, the *danna*. The *oshi* travelled around year by year visiting the *danna* in various localities and distributing amulets. When the *danna* paid a visit to the temple, they would obtain lodging and quarters to purify themselves from their respective *oshi*.⁽³²⁷⁾

There are in addition a great variety of other attendants and servants of the temple. The musicians and dancers, who play a very important part in all ceremonies, are often chosen from among the priests, but more frequently they are laymen.⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾ The secretaries (formerly called *sho-yakunin*)⁽²²⁰⁾ are in great numbers in the more important jinja.

There is nothing to prevent the same priest from being *gûji* to two or more temples. The case is extremely frequent for small shrines, the income of which can evidently not support a whole family. I have come across cases where the same *gûji* services 30 temples, and I am told that some exceed that number by far. But it also happens that two important and wealthy temples are under the same *gûji*; such is the case for the Dazaifu-tenman-gû and the Kamadojinja, for the Aoshima-jinja and the Tsunô-jinja, for the Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gû and the Egara-jinja, for the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja and the Ôsaka Hirota-jinja, etc.

The *gûji* of one temple may also be *negi* in another and generally larger temple. Thus in Shimonoseki the *gûji* of the Ôtoshi-jinja combines his functions with those of *negi* in the Akama-jingû.

And in all such combinations, there may be little or no connection between the Kami worshipped in the several jinja.⁽²²⁾ Since 1945, however, there has been a growing tendency for each priest to remain more or less in the same 'line' of temples.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

* * *

The *gûji* of many temples form a most remarkable category of men, and often stand in some contrast to the priests of the other ranks—from which they themselves came. It would seem that the responsibility which has fallen upon them and the direct personal relation which they have with the Kami has elevated them to an exceptionally high intellectual, moral and spiritual level. When in their presence, one feels in the company of a Prince of the Church. As a matter of fact, until the Meiji era many of them used to wield secular authority over vast districts, and to be administrators and statesmen as much as churchmen. The most famous of those families (*kuni-no-miyatsuko*) which are still extant are the Senge and Kitajima families of the Izumo-ô-yashiro and the Aso family of the Aso-jinja.

In not a few cases, the hereditary high-priest is or was a direct descendant either of the Kami himself or of a contemporary friend or vassal of the Kami. Thus in the Iyahiko-jinja, for eighteen centuries, the *gûji* was a descendant of the Kami.

As we shall see later (cf. p. 458f. below), some of the original *gûji* were later elevated to kamihood and special temples were dedicated to them.

When they could claim divine lineage, even more than in other circumstances, the *gûji* were looked upon by the parishioners with as much awe as the Kami himself, and this lasted until a very few years ago. In some districts the inhabitants were convinced that dreadful things would happen to them if their eyes should ever fall on the *gûji* or one of his children—so the *gûji* could not even send his children to school!⁽⁹⁾

One typical although probably unique instance was that of the high-priest (*ô-hiro*) of the Kami-sha, now part of the Suwa-taisha. He was a real *dai-gûji*, who was generally assigned to that exalted position at the age of eleven and had to leave it at the age of fifteen (that

limit was later raised to twenty). He was treated with almost as much reverence as the Kami himself, and twice a year he would enter the Uchi-mitama-den (the holy of holies) of the Maë-miya (in which the *nigi-mitama* of the Kami of the main temple were enshrined) and sit there at a level only very slightly below that of the Kami, in communion with the Kami, ‘in order to renew his own divinity’.

But even apart from such exceptional cases, traditionally, in most temples, the office of high-priest was hereditary, and it has remained so in what is probably a large majority of temples in spite of the great efforts made at the time of the Meiji Reform to abolish this automatic transmission and to secure for the authorities the power to select the new incumbents.

The origin of those ‘dynasties’ (the word is no exaggeration) often goes back to a very remote past. If we count by generations, the *gûjiship* of the Kashii-*gû* has remained in the same four families, who took it in turn for periods of four years, for one hundred generations, the *gûjiship* of the Aso-jinja for ninety generations, beginning in 481 B.C., that of the Usahachiman-*gû* for eighty generations, since the founding of the temple, those of the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja for fifty-four generations if we accept only what is substantiated by authentic documents, of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja forty, of the Ôyama-suwa-jinja thirty-nine generations, the Dazaifu-tenman-*gû* thirty-eight, the Hachiman-asami-jinja thirty-six since the foundation, the Shikanoshima Shika-no-umi-jinja thirty if we take into account written documents only, although the *Kojiki* already mentions that family—direct descendants of the Kami—as in charge of the temple. In the Okayama Ise-jinja, we have twenty-one generations, in the Aoshima-jinja nineteen, in the Miyazu Wakimiya-jinja sixteen, in the Tsu-no-mine-jinja, ‘at least thirteen according to archives extant’.

If we reckon in terms of dates, at the beginning of the fifth century, the office of chief-priest (*kokuzô* or *kuni-no-miyatsuko*) of Izumo had already been in the same family for seventeen generations,⁽⁶³¹⁾ the *gûjiship* of the Iwashimizu-hachiman-*gû* (where the *gûji* is a direct descendant of Take-nouchi-no-sukune, Empress Jingû’s prime minister) and that of the Fukura Hachiman-*gû* have not changed families since the foundation of the temple in the ninth century, that of the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja since the tenth century, those of the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja and the Ogata Ichi-nomiya-hachiman-*gû* since the twelfth century.

Among others, let us mention the Kotohira-*gû*, the Kibitsu-jinja, the Kameïdo-tenjinsha, the Tosa-jinja.

Some *gûji* who cannot claim such a long line of succession in their present functions can nevertheless boast of being the living representatives of many successive generations of *kannushi*: fifty for the *gûji* of the Kono-jinja (the last seventeen being *gûji*), thirty for the *gûji* of the Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, covering a period of 700 years, etc.

Among the temples in which the Meiji Reform succeeded in abolishing the hereditary *gûjiship*, we may mention the Umi-hachiman-*gû*, the Ôsaka Ikutama-jinja, the Kôbe Ikuta-jinja, the Hië-taïsha (where two families alternated regularly), the Ômiya Hikawa-jinja, the Ôaraï-isosaki-jinja, the Kasuga-taïsha (where the Nakatomi and the Ô-nakatomi families, which came from Ise in 967, alternated for the spring and summer matsuri), the Awaji-shima Izanagi-jingû, the Ô-miwa-taïsha (where the office had been hereditary since the time of the Emperor Sujin, twenty centuries ago), the Iso-no-kami-jingû, the Kasuga-taïsha, the

Suwa-taïsha (where the *gûji* was a direct descendant of the Kami), the Himuro-jinja, the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the Tamura-jinja.

It must be noted, however, that in some temples the office of chief-priest ceased to be hereditary for quite other reasons. For instance, this happened when the original family became extinct, as was the case in the Kyoto Himuka-jinja six generations ago, in the Sumiyoshi-taïsha in the Taishô era. In the Take-no-kuchi-hachiman-gu it remained in the same family for 1,245 years until the family became extinct in 1919. In the Munakata-taïsha, transmission within the same family ended in the middle of the sixteenth century.

There is no hereditary *gûjiship* in the Kumano Hongû-taïsha and Nachi-jinja, in the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, the Enoshima-jinja, the Atsuta-jingû, the Miyaûra-jinja, the Miyazaki-jingû, the Kôbe Nagata-jinja, the Todoroki-jinja or the Tatsuki-jinja.

There seems nevertheless to be in some places a trend to return to the system of hereditary *gûjiship*. New ‘dynasties’ seem to be starting in temples like the Minato-guchi-jinja, the Yuzuruha-jinja, etc.

It should be remembered, however, that, in Japan, traditional does not mean ‘static’. Just as Shintô has always been in constant evolution in order to face varying circumstances, *gûji* are also constantly adapting themselves to meet the needs of the moment. There is at present, mostly in the North of Kyûshû, in Kagoshima-ken and in Akita-ken a group of ‘young *gûji*’, most of them at the head of very important temples, who are bent on finding and applying methods which will give to the Japanese of today—those who suffered the horrible shock of the American atomic bomb and of the heartrending surrender—and more particularly to the younger generations, the full benefit of Shintô. They have now organized on a national scale in the Zenkoku-shintô-seinen-kyôgi-kai, which has been recognized by the Jinja-honchô.

* * *

Women are not absent from the Shintô clergy. We have seen that the highest rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy is still held by a princess, the *saïshu* of Ise.

Among the other exalted positions reserved to women, we should also mention that of the *naïshôten*, priestesses who belong to the Board of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household (*kunai-chô*), and who exclusively attend to religious ceremonies in the shrines of the Imperial Palace.⁽³²⁷⁾

Many other representatives of that sex are to be found at various other levels.

In the Usa-hachiman-gû, there were full-fledged priestesses down to the end of the Muromachi period (sixteenth century), and most of the oracles which followed Ôoga-nohigi (cf. p. 433f. below) were *women-kannushi*, who for that reason bore the title of *menegi*.⁽⁸¹⁾ The possession (*takusen*) by a Kami of a human body—more often that of a woman or a child—through which he expresses his Divine will in human words has always been a common occurrence in Shintô. It should be mentioned in this connection that research workers in the field of Shintô origins devote considerable attention to women-shamans still active in out-of-the-way sections of the Okinawa Islands; according to them, this institution is a survival of the oldest form of Shintô worship. As a matter of fact, the tradition still continues among common people of having old women (also called *miko*) who go into trances and convey the words of the Gods, drive out devils, heal the sick, communicate with the dead,⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ but they are now quite independent of official Jinja-shintô.⁽³²⁷⁾

To return to the present-day official clergy, there is now a definite trend to admit women to priesthood and even to high-priesthood. In 1962, there were already about 480 *women-shinshoku*, of whom ninety-eight were *gūji* in jinja recognized by the Jinja-honchō.⁽¹²²⁾ Among the jinja with *women-gūji*, we may mention the Kaname-jinja, the Sōya-jinja, the Hōtoku Ninomiyajinja, the Sasuke-inari-sha.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Their number is constantly increasing, although the authorities now make the examinations for the admission of clergy as difficult for women as they are for men.⁽¹⁴²⁾ It was my privilege to interview at great length some of the *lady-gūji* and what follows is derived almost exclusively from what they told me.

It must first of all be said that in most small temples which are serviced by only one priest, the *gūji*, just as the work does not amount to a full-time occupation, so does the income fail to provide a living for a whole family. Whether the *gūji* devotes the rest of his activities to other temples or to secular work, he is therefore absent most of the time. For very small shrines, nothing is done about it and when devotees come to pay homage to the Kami, they just do so all by themselves, quite happily, and without any ecclesiastical help. In somewhat more important shrines, which often have a parish of their own, it is customary that the *gūji* and his family should live in a small house on the precincts; hence when parishioners come in the absence of the priest, they may find his wife, or his daughter, or old parents, or a young son. And it is quite natural that they should go to that relative to get information or advice, or even minor help that would normally be given by the priest himself, such as that required for offering a *tamagushi* (cf. p. 158 below).

When the *gūji*'s absence is of long duration, while he is serving in the army for instance, and still more so in war-time when priests are scarce all over the country, the role of the family-member who remains behind, more particularly the wife, takes on a more permanent character, and she is called upon to play an ever more active and more responsible part. And if finally the *gūji*, whether dead or a prisoner of war, does not return at all, the majority of the *ujiko* will often prefer that the service of the temple should be continued by his wife than by a full-fledged priest coming from another region, or by one having no close relationship with the family of the *gūji*. In such cases, the wife generally does what she can to get formal professional education in one of the seminaries for priests and, after she has succeeded in obtaining the appropriate degree, she has full authority for acting as a *shinshoku*. The next stage is that the parishioners themselves petition the authorities to have her elevated to the rank of *gūji*, which is then granted without any further academic requirements. From that time on, she is competent to fulfil all the duties incumbent on a *gūji*, not only in the temple for which she has been chosen, but also in any other temple of comparable size.

Such is the way in which most women who are now *gūji* have come to occupy their present position. Even in a temple under an extremely strong Buddhistic influence, such as the Kurama-dera, it has been decided that the present high-priest (*kanjō*) will be succeeded by his daughter.

One typical case which came to my notice is that of a fairly large village temple in Tōhaku (Tottori-ken), the *gūji* of which was killed during the last war. His father, who had been *gūji* before him but had retired, took his place, and after he had died in his turn, another son, a brother of the one who had been killed, took charge of the temple. The *ujiko*, however, did not like the idea of the succession following a collateral line, and they exerted considerable pressure on the daughter of the first *gūji* to make the necessary studies in

order that she could take on her father's duties. When she told me the story herself, she was about twenty, and she did not seem ever to have contemplated the possibility of eschewing that responsibility.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Another one, who had become a *gûji* under similar circumstances, to take the place of her husband, had her son educated as a priest, so that he could become *gûji* in his turn, but she intended to continue herself as a *shinshoku*, in order to help her son in his very heavy duties, for which one person could not suffice.⁽⁶⁷⁾

One other *lady-gûji* told me that although some more conservative sections of the community had at first misgivings about the very idea of a female *gûji* and had occasionally made life somewhat difficult for her, everybody had apparently become reconciled with the new arrangement and now gave her unqualified and unconditional support.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

There is of course nothing to prevent priestesses from marrying and having a family, any more than there is for men-priests. As far as I could make out, there is not even any objection on the part of the parishioners to their carrying on their duties during their monthly periods or while they are with child, although the authorities of the Jinja-honchô seem to look upon that practice with some degree of disfavour.

In a totally different category are the *miko* (formerly *kamiko*)⁽²²⁰⁾ whose attractive figures and bright garments add a touch of youth and grace to the somewhat austere appearance of most temples of any importance.

Whatever the name may have meant in olden times, it now designates virgin girls who fulfil a number of duties as acolytes to the priests in most services, as dancers and musicians in most festivities, as secretaries in temple offices, as servants when guests are treated to meals, as messengers between the priests, etc. They used to be recruited almost exclusively from families of *shake* (cf. p. 140f. below) or from other families which had been connected with the temple for many generations, but now it is not an uncommon occurrence that they should come from other circles. They generally join the temple when they come out of high-school. From what I was told by those whom I interviewed, they are attracted to temple life mostly because they see in it an opportunity to serve 'in a discipline of purity, of courtesy and of filial devotion';⁽²⁴⁾ they retain their secular name, but they actually live a very monastic life, working very hard and earning very low salaries. They are treated most respectfully by all priests, and they are taught not only the arts necessary for their functions, but also often many other subjects, such as painting, calligraphy, sewing, cooking and even Western styles of dancing—all of which contribute to making them accomplished wives when they marry.⁽²³²⁾ As a general rule, they seem to remain in office for an average of five years, seldom more than ten, but they are under no obligation to serve longer than they wish.

In some exceptional cases, the *miko* may be fairly old women. In the Kibitsu-jinja, the food offered to the Kami is prepared every day by a very old *miko*, called *asome*, 'the very pure woman', who is generally a widow.

In some temples, the work normally done by young *miko* is entrusted to elderly women of canonical age, called *naishi*; and there are even some like the Beppu Hachiman-asami-jinja where a *naishi* can continue her work throughout life, without interruption.

With the exception of a few national shrines, every temple of any size has a territorial parish of its own, and we shall see later the spiritual links which bind it to the natives and the inhabitants of that parish, the *ujiko* (cf. p. 461f. below). Here we are concerned only with the part they play in the activities of the temple. For many ceremonies they are represented by selected members, the *ujiko-sōdai*.⁽²²¹⁾ For others they organize into groups, called *miya-za*, or *tō-za*.⁽³²¹⁾

A special case is that of the *sūkeisha*, literally ‘worshipper’, a person beyond the geographical bounds of the *ujiko* organization who nevertheless has formed a personal relationship of belief with a temple irrespective of geographical considerations. The *sūkeisha-kai* is a religious organization of these persons.⁽³²⁷⁾

In some rare cases, like that of the Sabaë-jinja, a *massha* of the Asakura-jinja, they are in sole charge of the shrine, for which the priests themselves have no responsibility whatever.

More often, they supply ‘one-year-priests’, *ichi-nen-kannushi*, whom they chose among themselves to be their representatives and to play a large part in the administration of the temple, and even to act as actual priests in a number of ecclesiastical functions. They have to abide by a very strict asceticism during their period of preparation—which may last two years or more—for their office.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ According to most Japanese historians, such an elective system (*tōya*) was the one first applied in Shintō.⁽¹²²⁾

One very striking, but not exceptional instance, is that of the Shō-rei-sai (popularly Toshiya-matsuri) held in the Dewa-san-dzan to commemorate the victory of Hachiko-no-ōji-no-kami, a son of Emperor Sushun (seventh century) over a devil (*akuma*) which had taken the shape of a monstrously big worm, the *tsutsugamushi*. Two laymen, the *matsu (pine)-no-hiziri* (one hundred), each representing one group of parishioners, and elected by them, submit to a severe regime for a period of one hundred days in a special building (*saikan*). They are accompanied and served by two younger men, *ko-hiziri*, who also serve as heralds to them, blowing conches (*horagai*) before them. Each one of them takes possession of a *tsutsugamushi*, represented by an enormous sausage-shaped bundle of rice-straw tied up with proportionately thick cords (*hikizuna*) of the same material. The ‘worm’ is whipped, the cords which tie it are cut up into small sections and distributed to the men present who hang them above the doors of their houses, as a protection against fire and a guarantee that crops will be plentiful. A quaint ceremony is then celebrated for the ‘division of the land’ (*kuni-wake-shinji*), after which a kind of mystic trial takes place in which the judge is dressed up as a rabbit and the two groups of *ujiko* stand opposed in the main temple. The time has now come for the burning-up of the *tsutsugamushi*, and since the fire which has consumed it has thereby become impure, it is put out and a new fire is lit (*hi-no-mhikaë-shinji*). When everything is over, the *hiziri* hold a short service (*shō-shin-sai*) to thank the Kami who remained with them for 100 days and to send them back to their heavenly dwelling-place. The remarkable thing about this matsuri is that it is entirely carried out by lay *ujiko*, and that the priests of the temple attend only as onlookers, apart from the fact that at one time they ‘report’ to the temple Kami on what is happening.

Prominent among the *ujiko* in all important temples other than the very recent ones are families of high-ranking devotees, the *shake*, who have been connected with the temple for centuries, and whom everybody considers with the greatest respect. Among them are found some of the most illustrious Japanese names, the Nakatomi, the Imbe, the Tachibana,

the Shirakawa, the Senge, the Takakura, the Yamashina, etc. In the Aso-jinja, most of the twenty-one families of *shake* are direct descendants of one of the Kami in the *honden*.

Some temples have only few such families, others a great many; in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja had 140.

Until recently they supplied most *negi* and other priests, as also most *miko*. The ‘temporary priests’ are generally taken from among them also and they are often implicitly entitled to represent all *ujiko*. They play an important part in all ceremonies, where certain duties are exclusively reserved to them. Sometimes, as *goku-za-shake*, they are entitled to offer food (*shinsen*) to the Kami.⁽¹⁹⁾ In the Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, where the word *shake* has a somewhat different meaning, and where their fifty-two families are fed from the temple’s paddy-fields, they alone are entitled to take part in the great matsuri. In the Mitake-jinja, the *gûjiship* belongs to them collectively and is exercised by all families of *shake* in turn, changing every day.

In some cases, the *gûji* of one temple may come from a family of *shake* attached to another temple (e.g. the present *gûji* of the Suwa-taïsha belongs to a family of *shake* of the Ô-miwa-taïsha).

In the Shika-umi-jinja, where they are called *shamin* and number twentyone families, they are very active assistants to the priests. According to a custom of which I found no other instance, each *shamin* falls into one or other of six different ranks, termed respectively *dai-gûji*, *negi*, *betto*, *gi-betto*, *ken-gyô*, *gaku-za*; and when the parents bring an infant to the temple for the first time, they are entitled to chose the category in which he will be.⁽¹⁰⁾

* * *

As in every other religion, the formation of priests raises in Shintô very crucial problems, which recent historical developments have made more difficult still. In the course of about eighty years, from the Meiji Reform to the MacArthur decree, Shintô priests—with the exception of hereditary *gûji* and others from *shake* families—were civil servants like officials of any government department. It was no uncommon occurrence that a man should be transferred from an office in a ministry to a priest-ship in a temple,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ after a short period of study in a Shirakawa or a Yoshida school. I know of at least two cases of high-priests now at the head of very important temples who were only given one year of special training before they were thus invested with those highly responsible duties, and the *gûji* of the Meiji-jingû could state openly with only a very discreet smile of combined humility and humour that *gûji* were really amateurs, holding honorary positions which had been granted to them out of respect for their ancestors.

In order that the jinja should again become live spiritual centres and play the part which Shintô circles want to be theirs, it became necessary to rebuild the required ecclesiastical elite. It is frankly admitted that the result has not yet been fully reached.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Although one can find among the present *shinshoku* a most surprising proportion of priests who are remarkably competent in every possible way, the training of the younger generations still leaves much to be desired.

As regards what may be called their academic education the Jinja-honchô has made considerable efforts and obtained results which are as good as could possibly be achieved.

Priests are now expected to have one of four academic degrees which are *jô* (purity)-*kaï*, the highest, *meï* (brightness)-*kaï*, *sei*(righteousness)-*kaï* and *choku*(uprightness)-*kaï*, the

lowest. They are awarded ‘according to the career and merits’ of the individual,⁽¹²²⁾ and the authority competent to issue them is now the Jinja-honchō.

The normal procedure is that they should be obtained—with the exception of the highest, *jō-kaï*—after a period of study either in the central Shintō University, the Kokugakuin, or in a regional seminar (*kokugaku-kan*), or in some cases simply after an examination conducted by a regional association of shrines (*jinja-chō*) under instructions from the Jinja-honchō.

The cycles of study are at present as follows:

The future priest may become a *choku-kaï* after he has left high-school and spent only one month of study in the Kokugakuin or in a local seminar. According to the rules enacted by the Jinja-honchō, this degree does not entitle him to become *gūji*.

To become a *sei-kaï*, after he has already been made a *choku-kaï*, it is now sufficient that he should either pass a special examination in a Jinja-chō, or that he should serve for two years in a temple and then study for a minimum of three months in a local seminar where he receives both academic and spiritual instruction (lectures, *misogi*, etc.). Those two qualifications are now considered quite unsatisfactory by the authorities who propose to suppress them as soon as proper arrangements can be made for better methods, but it is not expected to do away with them completely before 1970. The new regulations being gradually put into force specify three alternatives: (1) one year to be spent after leaving high-school either in one of six higher regional seminars or in the Bekka department of the Shintō-kenshu-bu (Kokugakuin); as from May 1961, those who follow this course only become *gon-seikai*, (2) as from the same date, the degree of full *sei-kaï* was given only to those who spend two years after high-school in the Kenshuka department of the Shintō-kenshu-bu (Kokugakuin); (3) one month in a special department of the Kokugakuin after two years in a Junior College. Normally a *sei-kaï* who has had only three months of technical training must serve at least one year in a jinja before he can be made the *gūji* of even a small countryside temple.

To become a *mei-kaï*, there are four alternative qualifications: (1) four years of study in the Department of Shintō of the Kokugakuin; (2) four years of study in a lay university, followed by one year in the Shintō-kenshu-bu of the Kokugakuin; (3) four years of study in a lay university and two years in a ‘graduate school’ (Daigakuin) of the Kokugakuin; (4) a special examination by the Jinja-honchō. A *mei-kaï* is entitled to become *gūji* of even the greatest temples. The ideal which the Jinja-honchō hopes to reach in the course of time is that all *shinshoku* should be *mei-kaï*, preferably according to system (3), but at least according to one of the systems (2), (3) and (4).

The supreme degree of *jō-kaï* is conferred by the Jinja-honchō in exceptional cases, and no rule of procedure seems to have been adopted for it.

As regards spiritual training, success has probably not been very outstanding. It seems that only within the last very few years has a systematic effort been started to give young priests an instruction into mystic disciplines; we have seen an instance of it in what is now being done in the Iso-no-kami-jingū. It must be said, however, that on the one hand, the families from which priests come generally have long and strong traditions of Shintō worship and, on the other, that many aspirant priests attend the pilgrimages, *misogi-harai* ceremonies and other mystic cults of Shintō sects, entirely outside Jinja-shintō—more often than not without informing their teachers in the establishments where they are studying for

the priesthood. This private training is officially ignored but unofficially looked upon with great favour.

The abnormal prominence given to academic formation, however, may be partly explained by the present trend in many Shintô circles—as we have seen in the case of the ‘young *gûji*’—to attach more and more importance to social work, and therefore proportionately less to worship.

The Kôgaku-kan University, which had been erected in the 15th year of Meiji and remained the governmental Shintô high-school until the end of the Second World War, was rebuilt in 1962 on its former site, near the Ise-jingû. It is now a private institution, which ranks almost on an equal footing with the Kokugakuin University.⁽¹²²⁾

Once he has been ordained, the priest is expected to continue as such for the rest of his life, but he is under no obligation to do so. There are cases of *kannushi* deciding to turn to other activities, and this is no disgrace. It may also happen that a priest is dismissed by the *gûji*, in which case he probably finds it difficult to be admitted to the clergy of another temple.

Priests are expected to marry and to raise a family; they live in a house of their own, generally outside the precincts of the temple, except for the *gûji*, whose dwelling is normally very close to the shrine. They are under no obligation to practice concentration or meditation.

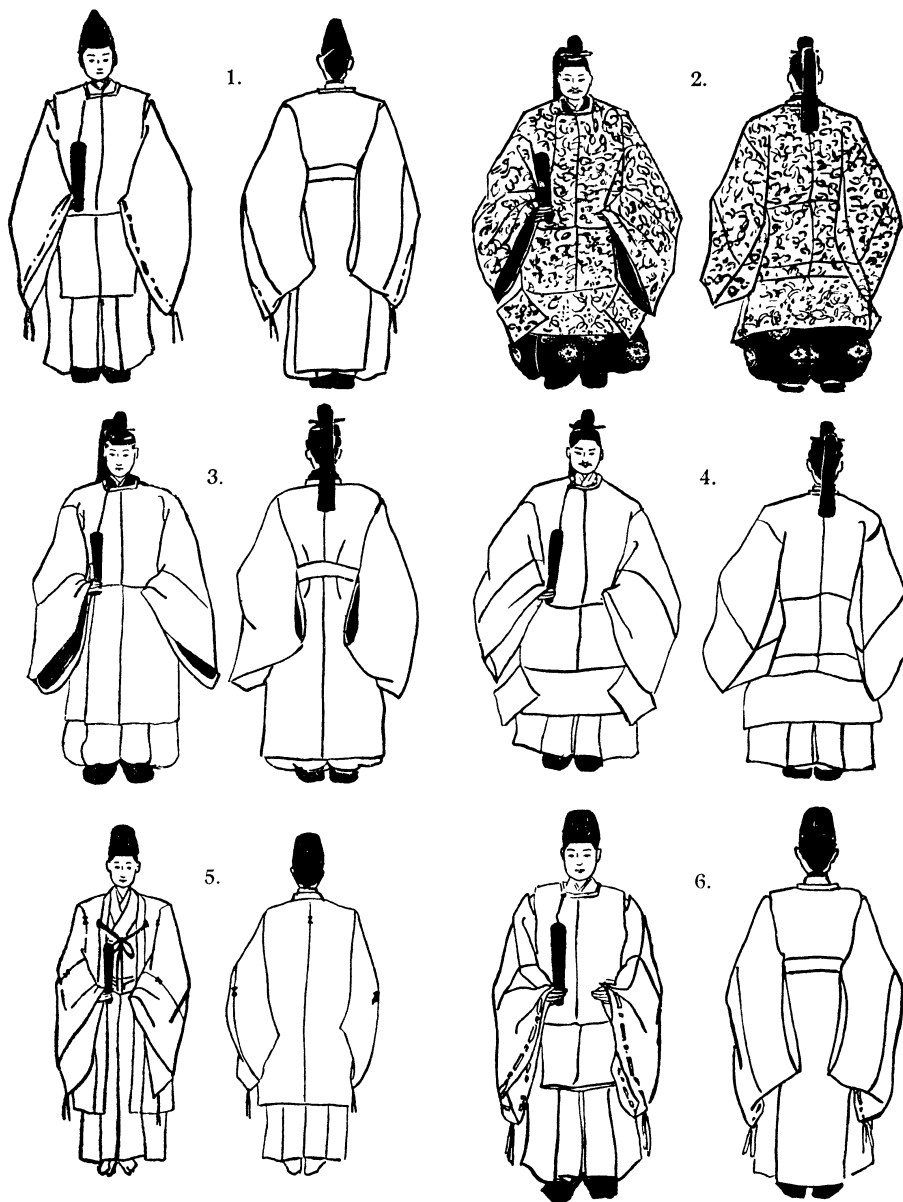
* * *

The priestly robes (*shôzoku*) in Shintô temples are characterized by that unostentatious refined beauty which permeates all forms of Japanese art. Outside the precincts they are worn only for the performance of sacred rites and ceremonies; otherwise, in ordinary life, there is nothing to distinguish a priest from a layman. Within the temple itself, the priest also occasionally wears plain civilian clothes.

Generally speaking, the costumes seem to date from the Heian period. One article, the *kari-ginu*, has a name which means ‘hunting garment’ which is directly reminiscent of its former use.

One of the most typical items, which forms part of most if not all ecclesiastical dresses is the *hakama*, a wide split skirt which falls down to the ankles. It may be of various colours: white, light blue and, for the high dignitaries, of purple silk. With the crest of the temple woven in the material it is with a few exceptions (the *gon-gûji* of the Izumo-ô-yashiro residing in Kyoto, the *gon-gûji* of the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja, etc.) reserved to the *gûji* of the temple.

The upper part of the dress is generally composed of two or more layers of what Westerners call kimono, with very wide and very long sleeves, occasionally almost trailing to the ground. According to their actual shape, colour and usage, they are called by various names. The *i-kan* and the *sokutai* are among the most common. The *sai-fuku*, for formal use, is of the same cut as the *ikan*, but in white silk.



1. Jō-e
4. Sai-fuku

2. I-kan
5. Kakuē

3. Myō-e
6. Kari-ginu

Over them come other garments, of more or less the same shape, which also bear a variety of names: the *hō*, which may be black, red or light blue and which may be worn over any of the above; the *kari-ginu*, an informal outer robe, which may be of a dozen different

colours according to the age of the wearer and the season of the year; the *jô-e*, of white silk or cotton, which is cut like the *kari-ginu* and may also be worn by laymen on pilgrimages and on various other occasions.

There is a considerable diversity of headgear, varying according to the rank held by the priest, but apparently still more according to the type of ceremony and the part which he plays in them. When not actually officiating, he is practically always bare-headed.

The simplest type is the black *eboshi*, which may be worn with the *jô-e* or the *kari-ginu* and may be donned by laymen when they wear the *jô-e*. The *kaza-ore*, which is somewhat more sophisticated, is made of the same black stiff wide-meshed lacquered silk. The very formal *kanmuri* is worn with the *i-kan*, the *sai-fuku*, etc.

The only type of footwear which seems to be exclusively used by priests is the *asa-gutsu*, black lacquer clogs, originally made of leather, but now made from paulownia wood; they are worn only when proceeding to ceremonies.

The rest of the time, priests wear very much the same sandals and socks (*tabi*) as are used by laymen, changing from one type to the other as they walk from the garden into the corridor, then into a room with *tatami-covered* floor, or into the toilet, etc. For treading on very sacred ground, such as holy mountains, both priests and laymen must use a special type of sandals, *waraji*, consisting of a sole made of a certain kind of grass, and ribbons to hold it to the foot.

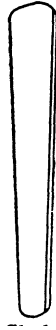
Of all the insignia of office, that which seems most mysterious to the foreign observer is a flat wooden scepter called *shaku*, which the priest invariably carries with him, sometimes stuck in his belt, but more often in his hand, when he wears ecclesiastical robes. In a way, it plays very much the same part which the fan plays in civilian attire; and, as a matter of fact, on a few rare occasions I saw priests in full ecclesiastical garb, who were not officiating, as for example at meals or during conversations, replacing the *shaku* by a fan and using the latter in very much the same way.

Formerly, it was carried only by high-ranking priests and other officials, and could be of ivory, ebony, yew, oak (*kashi*) or *hinoki* (which is the material now uniformly used by priests).^(22, 150) For that reason it is popularly called *ichi-hinoki* or *ichi-kashi*. In the Imperial court, during the Heian period, the Emperor's secretaries used to write their answers to the Emperor's questions on a sheet of paper resting on the *shaku*; for a pen they used the nail of their little finger and for ink rouge taken from their lips.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ At a much later period, only the Emperor and the Crown-Prince were entitled to a *shaku*.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ The Emperor used to carry one of ivory, with the top-end square when he faced his subjects, round when he faced the Kami.⁽²²⁾

The way in which the *shaku* is held and handled by priests when officiating is minutely regulated by a strict ritual, which is adhered to with the utmost care. According to the unanimous opinion of the highest-ranking *gûji* of the Kansai, 'holding the *shaku* is in itself a purification, *haraï*, and the priest is thereby transformed,' although when taking up the *shaku* the priest is not expected to repeat any formula, or to have any particular thought in his mind.

The importance apparently accorded to the *shaku* and its use would definitely suggest that it corresponds to an elaborate symbolism, and it is most remarkable that hardly any priest, even among the oldest and highest-ranking has the slightest notion of what the symbol may be. They even appear surprised when they are asked what it is. Their usual

reply is that the *shaku* is purely ornamental, or adds dignity to their behaviour or that it is a convenient ‘reminder’, although they have no clear idea of what it should bring back to their mind.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ They just buy it from a department store; when it happens to break, they throw it away and order another.



Shaku

One piece of information which I received with considerable doubt was that it keeps your hands warm when you hold it. But to my great surprise, personal experience taught me that, with the temperature many degrees below freezing point during a raging snowstorm, the hand which holds the *shaku* does *not* feel the cold. For this peculiarity I found no logical explanation.

An eminent representative of a great esoteric school gave me the following interpretation, which may or may not be accepted in other esoteric circles. According to him the *shaku* represents both the microcosm and the macrocosm and is therefore a symbol of their identity. The top then is a symbol both of heaven and of the head of man, its curve corresponding to that of the cranium; the bottom is a symbol both of the earth and of the foot of man, its curve corresponding to that of the heel. The person who will use it should carve it himself from a log of wood and polish it himself. Its length should be that of the forearm and hand, measured from the elbow to the last joint of the middle finger; the two curves should reproduce exactly the corresponding parts of the body of the user.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In the Izumo-ô-yashiro, priests make a mark on their *shaku* with a fingernail every time they enter the *ô-hido-koro*.

On very formal occasions, the *shaku* is replaced by the *hiôgi*, made of thin strips of *hinoki* wood tied together with threads; priestesses hold a different type, the *akomeôgi*, of extremely bright colours.⁽³²⁷⁾

CHAPTER VI

SYMBOLISM AND INDIVIDUAL WORSHIP

As we said before, the Japanese man, woman or child has a very deep and continuous sense of his direct relationship with his ancestors, human and divine, and attaches to it paramount importance. One may say that Shintô is both the science and the art of keeping that connection alive, harmonious and fruitful. Ritualism and worship therefore play a considerable role in daily life, both in the *jinja* and before the family altar, and also in many other circumstances. 'Ritual is important', says a modern theologian, 'because it enables us to discover the will of the Kami. And for that purpose *norito* (incantations) give us peace,'⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ and, adds another, also 'fundamental vitality'.⁽¹²²⁾

As in every other religion, the rites practiced by the man in the street without ecclesiastical co-operation are extremely simple—to the eyes of a foreign onlooker, they even look childish—and they are closely connected with a certain symbolism. The ceremonies of worship celebrated by priests in their temples can on the other hand reach an amazing degree of complexity which is proportionate to what Westerners would call their mystic value; in some *jinja*, it takes priests about ten years to master the essential ceremonies.⁽⁵⁾ In this chapter we shall deal with individual worship, and we shall begin by a consideration of the symbolism connected with it.

Numbers undoubtedly have an esoteric meaning in the Shintô Scriptures. The two which occur most frequently in the *Kojiki* are eight (fifty times) and eighty (eighteen times), whereas the next one by order of frequency is not found more than half-a-dozen times. Eight and its multiples however do not seem to be resorted to to any particular extent in any form of ritualism. The only interpretation which I could obtain was a reference to a saying: *nanakorobi-yaoki*, 'one falls seven times, but one gets up again on the eighth time'. There are a few cases in the Scriptures where such an explanation would apply; for instance Susano-wo saves the remaining one of eight sisters, the first seven of whom had been devoured by a monster. But in a great majority of cases the reference to eight or eighty has no visible connection with this precise concept. If I may venture a personal suggestion, I submit that in Shintô mythology, eight and its multiples in a great majority of cases express the combined idea of completeness and perfection, very much like the German adjective *vollkommen*. One possible explanation might be that the complete compass-dial comprises eight cardinal points and intermediate points.⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾

Within the mythological context it would therefore also have the subsidiary connotation of sacred or Divine. This explanation would be consistent with the way eight is used in such terms as *yata-no-kagami*, the holy mirror which is one of the three regalia and which we shall discuss later (cf. p. 302f. below), the eight-fathom hall (*tono*) of Izanagi and Izanami (cf. p. 259 below), the eight-forked serpent with eight heads and eight tails which devoured the eight daughters of Earthly Kami and was killed by Susano-wo with eight jars of eight times refined sake poured into eight vats on eight platforms behind eight gates (cf.

p. 314 below), the eight clouds and the eight-fold fence of the Palace of Suga (cf. p. 317 below), etc.

Seven, which is so important in most other religions, occurs only three times in the whole *Kojiki*, although there is a vague idea that six corresponds to work and seven to achievement. It is closely connected, however, with what concerns the Tanabata-matsuri.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

Theologians hold that examples of Duality in Unity (as found in the names of Wind-gods, Metal-gods, etc.) and Trinity in Unity (as found in the names of Wata-tsu-mi-no-kami) ‘have a profound and mysterious significance’,⁽⁴¹⁸⁾ but they do not explain what it is. On the other hand, in Shintô, even numbers other than eight seem to incur a general disfavour, with a few exceptions (for example *shide* are always in an even number).⁽²²⁾ It has been noted also that ‘the Japanese people have always loved double numbers. They celebrate the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the ninth day of the ninth month, and, especially, the seventy-seventh and the eighty-eighth birthdays’.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ But there is nothing to show that such a preference had its origin in Shintô.

The Japanese are highly sensitive to colours, and ‘feel in them particularly delicate meanings which are beyond human descriptions’.⁽¹²²⁾

Nevertheless, some schools are ready to give very full and intricate explanations as to their esoteric meaning. One of the most complete table of correspondances can probably be drawn up as follows:

Black (<i>kuro</i>)	}	North	<i>Ara-mriama</i> , primitive, origin, paradise.
Purple (<i>murasaki</i>)			
Blue or green (<i>ao</i>)		East	<i>Kushi-mitama</i> , life, creation.
Red (<i>aka</i>)		South	<i>Sachi-mitama</i> , harmony and expansion.
White (<i>shiro</i>)		West	<i>Nigi-mitama</i> , integration and propulsion.
Yellow (<i>ki</i>)		Centre	<i>Nao-hi</i> (sun-rays), creator, unity.

According to Ryôbu Shintô, the Kami corresponding to the five directions (and colours) mentioned above are:

North: (Kontaï-kon-ryô)-ame-no-hiwashi-ara-bi-mitama-no-6-kami (but this Kami is also connected with golden yellow, as it is taken to be the ‘gold body’, the ‘gold spirit’, the ‘sun-eagle’, *hiwashi*).

East: (Koku-ryô-ten-) kushi-bi-mitama-no-ô-kami, the ‘black spirit’, ‘because green+blue=black’.

South: (Byaku-ryô-ten-) sachi-bi-mitama-no-ô-kami, the ‘white spirit’, ‘because red pales into white’.

West: (Shirataka-ten-ryô-) nigi-bi-mitama-no-ô-kami, the ‘white hawk’, the ‘sky-flying spirit’.

Centre: Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In ritual those five colours are found together in at least two important cases. When the Emperor makes an offering of cloth to a Kami, either it is all white (*mitegara*), or there must be at least one piece of each of the five colours, the order of which is strictly regulated: *sei* (blue or green)—*ô* (yellow)—*seki* (red)—*haku* (white)—*koku* (black or purple).⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ In

temples the *goshiki-ban* hanging in front of the *heiden*, and from which the three ‘treasures’ (*sanshu-no-shinki*) are suspended, also have long streamers of each of the five colours. In some dances also, the *miko* use clusters of small bells (*suzu*) from which similar but smaller streamers also hang.

Very probably the symbolism of the five colours was imported from China.

Something should also be said about the fact that many Shintô temples, particularly those dedicated to Inari and to Hachiman, are painted bright red. Even from the chief-priests of those temples, however, I was unable to elicit any intellectual explanation. Vague tentative suggestions were offered when I pressed the question: that red is the colour of blood and the temple shows the blood-relation between the Kami and the people,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ or that red symbolizes sap, the blood of plants, and should therefore be adopted for temples dedicated to agricultural Kami. But it was clear that the priests who ventured such hypotheses were very far from being convinced of their validity.

There is also a definite symbolism about the relation between right and left, although very few people can describe it, and even among those who can, there is considerable variety of opinion. A more or less similar tradition exists in China, and it may have been established in Japan under Chinese influence. It has been said that the left, *hidari*, is connected with *hi*, fire, the male element, while the right, *migi*, is connected with *mi* (for *mizu*), water, the female element.⁽²¹³⁾

The myth of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, the Sun-goddess, being born from the left eye of Izanagi, while her brother Tsuki-yomi was born from the right eye (*Kojiki*, I, x) would seem to contradict this relation of left and right with male and female, but most definitely confirms the precedence which left is entitled to claim over right.

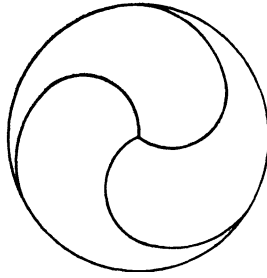
It has also been stated most emphatically by a modern author⁽⁴¹⁹⁾ that when Izanagi and Izanami went round Onogoro-jima, ‘the pillar of the centre of the land’ according to the *Nihongi* (I, 5–10) or round the ‘jewel-spear’, *nu-hoko*, which they had made ‘the central pillar of their house’ according to the *Kojiki* (I, iv–v), one from each side, to meet again behind the pillar and procreate children, it was essential that the God should go round from the left and the Goddess from the right⁽⁴¹⁸⁾, which would invalidate the *Kojiki* version.

However all that may be, it is an undisputed tradition that left has precedence over right.

Among the shapes to which an esoteric meaning seems to be attached, special mention should be made of the *hôju* (pronounced *hoshi* in Ôsaka and various other places) *-no-tama*, an object which seems connected mainly with the cult of Inari, but which is found on many other altars, and which is also drawn on many documents and even used in architectural decoration. We shall deal with it later (cf. p. 506 below).

One design very often met with in temples and on objects connected with them is the *tomoë*; it is frequently associated with the Chinese symbol of the *yin* and the *yang*, and occasionally used in contra-distinction to it, for instance to underline what has come from Korea and what from China.

Of course, materials are also important. The species of timber with which temples are built, the threads with which cloths are woven, the earth which is baked into pottery, the wood from which sacred utensils are carved, etc., have traditionally been chosen with the utmost care. It has been suggested that bamboo may be a symbol of adjustability and pine-wood of unchangeableness.⁽³⁶⁸⁾



Tomoë

Among objects which are invested with a sacred character and to which therefore it may be supposed that some symbolism attaches, special mention should be made of the nine *tori-mono*, 'articles which are held in the hand of the main performer in *kagura* and various other religious performances'.⁽³²⁷⁾ They are the branch of *sakaki*, the *mitegura*, the *tsuë* (staff), the *sasa* (bamboo-grass), the *yumi* (bow), the *tsurugi* (sword), the *hoko* (halberd), the *hisago* (gourd) and the *kazura* (vine). Traditionally, 'it was thought that the spirit of the deity went into action through the mediumship of these nine articles; and the person who held these articles in his hand possessed the character of a medium for the spirit of the deity'.⁽³²⁷⁾

It is difficult to say how far the priests and *miko* who now use those implements in sacred dances are conscious of their symbolic, mystical and magical value.

We have already discussed the case of the eight-legged table (Cf. p. 116), the *shimenawa* (Cf. pp. 115f.), the *shaku* (Cf. pp. 145f.) and the *harai-gushi* (Cf. p. 117), and we shall later consider the *tamagmhi* (Cf. p. 158).

Apart from those, there are few objects which seem to carry esoteric implications. One of the most intriguing is the comb (*kushi*) which plays a decisive part in many important episodes of Shintô mythology.

When Izanagi tried to visit his deceased wife, Izanami, in the 'land of Yomi' and she asked him not to look at her, he 'did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and, breaking off its end tooth (*wobashira*, male pillar), made a torch of it and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up, and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb at night'. (*Nihongi*, I, 18). Later when the same Izanagi was pursued by the eight Ugly-females (*shikome*) of Yomi, 'he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly-females pulled them up and ate them' (*Nihongi*, I, 19).

When the Sun goddess, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, gravely offended by her brother Susano-wo, retired into the Rock-cave of Heaven, Ame-no-iwa-ya, one of the first concerns of the other Gods to bring her back, was to cause 'Yama-tsuchi to procure eighty precious *kushi* of the five-hundred-branched true *sakaki* tree, and Nu-dzu-chi to procure eighty precious *kushi* of the fivehundred-branched *suzuki-grass*' (*Nihongi*, I, 43). When Susano-wo endeavoured to 'destroy' his sister's rice-fields, one of the things he did was to 'set up *kushi*' and to make horses lie down in the rice-fields (*Nihongi*, I, 45). When the same Susano-wo wanted to marry Kushi-inada-hime but first had to kill a dragon, Yamata-no-orochi, which had

threatened to kill her, he ‘changed Kushi-inada-hime into a many-toothed close-comb, which he stuck in the august knot of his hair’ (*Nihongi*, I, 51).

When Hiko-ho-ho-demi despaired of ever being able to satisfy a request from his brother, he met an old man, Shiö-tsuchi-no-oji, who offered to help him. For this purpose, ‘the old man took from a bag a black comb, which he flung upon the ground. It straightaway became changed into a multitudinous clump of bamboos’ (*Nihongi*, II, 36). And even in modern times ‘when in danger of shipwreck the hair might be cut off and offered as ransom to the Dragon-god’.⁽³²⁴⁾

I was able to trace only one case in which the comb was used in ritual. Apparently when sticking a comb into a woman’s hair, one makes her ‘a daughter of the Kami’. The Scriptural authority for it is that, when Emperor Sujin entrusted his daughter Toyo-suki-iri-hime with the sacred Mirror embodying the spirit of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and instructed her to find a place where the Temple of the Goddess should be erected, he stuck into her hair the ‘comb of farewell’, *wakare-no-mi-kushi*. But I could find no more recent instance of the practice.⁽¹³⁴⁾

However that may be, the comb, even now, will never ‘be treated slightly’ in a respectable Japanese family.⁽¹²²⁾

The word *kushi* (comb) is related to *kusushi* (pharmacist) and *kusuri* (drug) in archaic Japanese; it also designates a skewer and a curious and mysterious (*kushi-ki*) object in traditional parlance.⁽¹³⁴⁾ As a verb, it also means to penetrate and to be miraculous.⁽¹²²⁾ In the word *tama-gushi*, the second part, *gushi*, is generally explained as being identical with *kushi* and meaning ‘a sacred sign utilised when a human being enters into relation with the Kami’.⁽¹³⁴⁾

The esoteric significance of the comb, however, seems to have been entirely forgotten, and even the most learned representatives of esoteric schools could not give me any clue. What follows is therefore just a guess. In many if not most civilizations, the head, more particularly the top of the head, is considered to be the noblest part of man. In most languages, the same word is used to designate the chief of a group and that part of the body. The exception noted by Schwaller de Lubicz about Pharaonic Egypt* only confirms the rule. What comes on top of the head often ranks ‘higher’ still, owing to its very position. I noted elsewhere† the close etymological relation between crown and cranium, which appears not only in Indo-European languages, but also in many others. We find something similar in Japanese, where the top of the head is called *kami*, as is a deity—although written with a different Chinese ideogram. However, as the ideograms admittedly arrived at a period when the Japanese language was already fully developed, it may not affect the issue.

Now in many countries the hair and the way it is arranged are either a symbol of power (cf. Samson and Delilah), or of membership in a group or a caste (cf. India and many ethnical groups in Africa). Or it may be cut in such a way as to ensure a link with the Divine at the time of death (the Moslem tuft of hair, *nâsiya*; the Hindu *brahmarandra*) or else a sign of total consecration to religious life (Buddhist monks, Roman Catholic and Russian

* *Le Temple dans l’homme* (Le Caire).

† Cf. Jean Herbert, *La Mythologie hindoue, son message* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1953).

orthodox priests, Shivaïte sannyâsins, Hindu widows). One way of breaking down the individualistic tendencies of a group has often been to compel its members to arrange their hair differently.*

In Japan, a certain way of arranging the hair was until the Meiji reform a distinctive sign of nobility, and any unjustified use of that distinction was absolutely unthinkable. And the tufts of hair which adorned the head of the samurai⁷ and of ladies of rank could only be kept together by combs.

From a more esoteric angle, the comb may therefore be taken as that which keeps together the component parts of that which is the symbol of man's strength, his nobility or his relation with God, i.e. of that which he regards as the most precious, as the most valuable and specific part of his personality. A confirmation of this is found in the *Azuma-kagami*, which mentions a belief according to which any one who picks up a comb which has been thrown away is transformed into another person.⁽³²²⁾ And the teeth of the comb, to which special reference is sometimes made in Shintô myths, are what keep those components separate while they are united by the comb as a whole.

If nobody in present-day Japan seems much interested in the symbolic significance of the *tori-mono*, the comb, etc., considerable speculation still continues about the implications of the three 'Imperial Treasures', the *sanshu-no-shinki*, also called in purer, but far less used Japanese, *mikusa-no-kandakara*.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ They consist of a mirror, a sword and a string of jewels, and they are 'transmitted together with the Imperial Throne. In the past, possession of the status of Emperor was proved by the transmission of those treasures'.⁽³²⁷⁾

The Mirror (*yata-no-kagami*) is believed to have been made by Ishi-kori-dome-no-mikoto to draw Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the Rock-cave of Heaven. The String of Jewels, *yasaka-no-magatama-ihotsu-musumaru-no-tama*, or *yasakani-no-magatama* for short,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ is believed to be that manufactured by Ame-no-akaru-tama-no-mikoto on the same occasion and for the same purpose. The sword (*Ame-no-murakumo-no-tsurugi*, the 'Heavenly-clustering-cloud-sabre' or *Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi*) was found by Susano-wo in the tail of the great dragon, Yamata-no-orochi, and sent by him to his sister Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami as an offering through his descendant in the fifth generation, Ame-no-fuki-ne.

Much has been written about the shape of the three Treasures, but nothing is really certain.

The *yata-no-kagami* has certainly something to do with the number eight, and this relation has perhaps given rise to more speculation than anything else in Shintô mythology. It has been suggested that the mirror is circular with a diameter of eight *sun*, i.e. nine inches (*Kokin-chômon-shû*) or eight feet,^(348,609) that it has the form of a flower with eight petals⁽⁵⁸³⁾ or that it is ornamented with eight floral motives (Moribe), that it is fitted with eight handles,⁽³²²⁾ that it has many angles,⁽⁶²⁶⁾ etc. We prefer, however, to interpret here eight as meaning complete and perfect, or Divine, and we shall therefore translate its name by The Divine Mirror⁷. The nature of the metal used for the mirror, *kane* or *ma-gane*, has also been much discussed by scholars, who have offered various suggestions: iron, copper, gold.

Some people believe that it bears on the back a Hebrew inscription taken from the Old Testament: 'I am that I am'. It has been stated that it is en-closed in two successive gold

* Cf. Jean Herbert, *An Introduction to Asia* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1965).

caskets, themselves in a ‘barrel-shaped box’, which in turn is enclosed in a succession of brocade bags, one new bag being added each time the shrine is removed, i.e. every twenty-one years. It is believed that Emperor Meiji himself sealed it in the cylindrical case made of pure gold, the *kara-hitsu*, itself enclosed in a Japanese casket, the *mifuna-shiro*.⁽¹²²⁾

The *kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi* is reported to be two *shaku*, seven or eight *sun* (about thirty-three inches) in length, and to be enclosed in a piece of hallowed camphor wood laid in a stone box.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

As regards the *yasakani-no-magatama*, nothing is actually known about their substance, shape or colour (*Jinnô-shôtô-ki*). It is assumed that they are curved, like the usual *magatama*, and either blue, or red, or of various colours; they are enclosed in a box about one foot by seven and a half inches by six inches, with ‘rectangular corners’, wrapped in brocade.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

As regards their history, when Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami sent Prince Ninigi to ‘subdue’ the ‘Luxuriant-reed-plains-the-land-of-fresh-rice-ears-of-a-thousand-autumns’, Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-naga-i-ho-aki-no-mizu-ho-no-kuni, i.e. Japan, tradition has it that the Goddess gave those three jewels to her grandson the Prince. According to a sixteenth century writer considered as authoritative, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami said to Ninigi: ‘Illumine all the world with brightness like this mirror. Reign over the world with the wonderful sway of this jewel. Subdue those who will not obey thee by brandishing this divine sword.’⁽⁴⁷⁸⁾ But, curiously enough, the Scriptures make no reference to the transmission of the jewel and the sword. All they say is that when remitting the mirror to the Prince, the Goddess said to him: ‘Regard this mirror exactly as if it were Our august spirit and reverence it as if reverencing Us.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxiii). And it is a strange thing that the two most authoritative sacred books, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, make no reference whatsoever to what had apparently been the three Imperial Regalia for more than fifteen centuries and do not even mention their transmission to Jimmu-tennô, the first earthly Emperor. There is a reference to ‘the Sacred Mirror and the Sacred Sword’ in the *Kogoshûi*, but in the *Kojiki* we find nothing at all, and in the *Nihongi* we have to wait until the year A.D. 507, on which we are told that Emperor Keitai was presented with ‘the Mirror, the Sword and the Imperial Signet’ (XVII, 4). Japanese authorities almost without exception understand the ‘Imperial Signet’ to be the String of Jewels.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Nevertheless, it is an established tradition that the three Imperial Treasures were kept in the Imperial Palace until the reign of Emperor Sujin, who, as we shall see later (cf. p. 410f. below) parted with the Mirror and the Sword. The former is now in the Ise-jingû and the latter in the Atsuta-jingû. The original String of Jewels, as well as replicas of the Mirror and the Sword, are kept in the Kashiko-dokoro of the Imperial Palace. We shall deal with their history in later chapters.

Practically every Japanese theologian, historian or philosopher has had his own ideas about the value and significance of each of the three Treasures, and it is evidently not for a foreigner to express a preference between the various theories. All that we can do is to note some of the most typical.

As reported in the *Nihongi* (VIII, 6), when ‘Itote, the ancestor of the Agata-nushi of Ito’, presented the three objects to Chuai-tennô, he said: ‘Mayst thou govern the universe with subtlety tortuous as the curvings of the Yasaka jewels; may thy glance survey mountain, stream and sea-plain bright as the mirror of white copper; mayst thou, wielding this ten-span sword, maintain peace in the Empire.’

According to a popular doctrine, which may have been ‘adapted from the principles of Confucianism and elaborated by the metaphysics of the Zen sect of Buddhism’⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ the Mirror, Sword and Jewel are identified with the three virtues of *chi* (knowledge), *yū* (bravery) and *jin* (benevolence) respectively. This has been endorsed by the *Mannyōshū* (I, 17). According to the *Jinnō-shōtō-ki*, they are ‘the body of the Sun, the essence of the Moon and the substance of the stars’.⁽⁶⁶⁵⁾

If we turn to modern exponents of Shintō, Seizo Irita sees in them ‘the source of honesty, the source of wisdom and the source of mercy’;⁽⁶³²⁾ Professor Fujisawa ‘the unifying and potentializing power, the diversifying and actualizing power and the co-ordinating, interconnecting power’ or ‘sageship (the unifying, spiritual power of religion), statemanship (the diversifying, analytical power of science) and the interlocking of religious unity and scientific variety’;⁽³⁸⁴⁾ Mr Fujinomiya ‘the harmony of man with nature, which are not separated in its reflection; pacifying, (which cuts asunder), spontaneity and purity, as opposed to egocentricism’; priest Tomoshige Honda ‘intelligence, will and sentiment’ or ‘a reflexion and a meditation; the holy power of the Kami; a consciousness of the link with one’s ancestors’.

An interesting description was given by the same fourteenth century author whom we have already quoted: ‘The mirror does not possess anything of its own, but without selfish desires reflects all things, showing their true qualities. Its virtue lies in its responses to those qualities, and as such represents the source of all honesty. The virtue of the jewel lies in its gentleness and submissiveness; it is the source of compassion. The virtue of the sword lies in its strength and resolution; it is the source of wisdom. Unless these three virtues are joined in a ruler, he will find it difficult indeed to govern the country.’⁽⁴⁷⁸⁾

But to me the last word on the subject was said by a priest: ‘Such distinctions are recent and purely philosophical. Experience, *misogi*, *kessaï*, study of the Scripture and priestly life should make us realize that the three are one, the threefold action of the one Kami.’⁽⁴⁰⁾

It will be seen from the above that with few exceptions the average Shintōist, and even the average priest, is practically unaware of the existence of any symbolism in his religion. It is open to doubt whether there used to be in former times as in other religions a much more extensive and conscious system of symbols which was gradually lost, possibly because Buddhism had a better and richer one to offer, or whether Shintō, by its very nature, can more or less dispense with symbols. In support of the latter supposition, it may be said that the Japanese show a most remarkable capacity for feeling the influence of a sacred object, or place, or event, and submitting to it, and deriving all the benefits of it, without having to interpose between them and it the intellectual concept of a symbol. If that were the deciding factor, the relative absence of symbolism would not be a source of inferiority as compared with other great religions, but rather a source of superiority, on account of the direct contact established with divine manifestations at all levels.

At a meeting of the highest-ranking *gūji* of the Kansai, I was told that by using the *shaku*, the branch of *sakaki*, the *suzu* bells (thus called ‘cool and refreshing’ because of their clear ringing’),⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ etc., the devotee ‘calls the Kami, listens to his voice, and drives away demons’, but nothing precise could be said about the symbolism of any of them.

In addition to the *nenchû gyôji*, traditional collective acts of worship repeated periodically, the Japanese pays individual homage to the Kami many times a day, whether in his house before the family altar, or in the large temple in front of the *haiden*, or in the open country at small shrines, or when passing other sacred objects.

The generic terms for regular or irregular visits to a Shintô temple are *kami-môde*, *jinja-sanpdi* or *sankei*. In the main, their purpose is fourfold: reporting, thanking, praising and praying.

It is a peculiarity of Shintô that the devotee should periodically report to the Kami what has happened to him, not apparently for approval, or criticism, or forgiveness, but merely for information. The Emperor reports to the Goddess Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami at Ise after he has been enthroned and also after events of considerable importance have taken place in the Empire. The Crown Prince reports when he has become of age and when he has been made heir to the throne. Government officials report to their respective temples when they have been promoted. Members of a household report every morning to the Kami on the family shrine what has happened to them during the last twenty-four hours. And children coming back from school inform their ancestors on the same shrine of the marks they have been given before they tell their own parents.

Expressions of gratitude (*kineri*) for blessings received (*mi-megumi*, *mitama-no-fuyu*) also form an integral part of every act of worship. We have already seen, when discussing *kansha* (cf. p. 73f. above), the various levels on which it may be situated.

Of a less personal character is the praise which should be offered to the Kami. It does not seem to differ greatly in spirit and nature from that which is offered to the Gods in any other religion.

There is a greater difference on the other hand as regards prayers (*kigan*). In the first half of the thirteenth century, Jyun-toku already wrote: 'The gods are not to be annoyed with greedy petitions' (*kimpi-mishô*).⁽⁶²⁵⁾ An eminent theologian⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ told me emphatically that not to pray for oneself is a virtue, and another one⁽¹⁴²⁾ in this connection reminded me pointedly of Professor Kishimoto's definition of Shintô as *tsunagari-no-shûkyô* (the religion of connection, of solidarity). Essentially therefore, prayers are offered for the various communities to which the worshipper belongs, for the Nation and for the Emperor who is the living spiritual support of the Nation.

To the extent that Jinja-Shintô has 'become a religion',⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ rather than a mere consciousness of the relationship between men, ancestors, gods and nature, personal prayers (*kitô*, or *gan-gake* when it turns into an appeal for help) have nevertheless made their way from Shintô sects into Jinja-Shintô itself, although they are still regarded with some amount of suspicion and treated as a sort of undesirable innovation. Some temples, such as the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja, have erected a special *kitô-den*, partly of course to give the devotee the required facilities, but probably also to keep such egoistic prayers out of the main temple. It is possibly due to a similar feeling of discomfort about such prayers that in the Akama-jingû, instead of *kitô* (prayer of intercession), they are euphemistically termed *kinen* (expressions of gratitude).⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Devotees often request priests to transmit their prayers to the Kami in a short rite celebrated for them individually or in groups. The priest then reads to the Kami the name and age of the applicant, but never asks for anything like a miracle. If it is a petition for healing, he merely prays that the care given by the doctors and the relatives should be

crowned with success,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and he always links the interests of the individual with those of the community: ‘Let his success be of advantage to his group’.⁽¹⁴²⁾ A properly trained Shintô priest is expected to know from the sound of the hand-clapping, unusual flashes in the fire or other signs whether the prayer has been granted, but old *gûji* often complain that this faculty is sadly lacking in most young priests.⁽¹²²⁾

A frequent accessory to individual worship is divination, which may or may not have come as a result of Buddhistic influence. Just as in Buddhist temples, practically all Shintô jinja when a priest or a *miko* is on duty provide boxes of long sticks for the visitor. The latter pays a very small sum which entitles him to shake the box until one of the sticks falls out. On every stick is written a number. The visitor is then given a printed sheet of paper (*ô-mikuji*) bearing the same number, and which contains predictions or instructions. After the contents of it have been perused and when they have been found bad, in order to conjure away the prediction, it is customary to knot the piece of paper around the twig of a tree or any other convenient support and leave it there; that is *sute-mikuji*.

Individual worship (*hairei*) of course implies a number of ritual gestures. One which seems to belong exclusively to Shintô is hand-clapping, called *hakushu* in general but *kashiwade* when made before the Kami. A number of different etymologies have been suggested for the word; it may come from *kashiwa*, ‘feast or ceremony’ because it was used on those occasions, or from *kashiwa*, ‘Mongolian oak’ because the human hand bears a resemblance to its leaves, or it may simply mean ‘offering’ since for instance the official in charge of the offerings at the Ise-jingû bore the title of *kashiwade-no-osa*.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ The devotee, priest or layman, normally begins by making two deep bows before the shrine, after which he joins the palms of his hands at the level of his face and at some distance from it, the left hand advanced slightly further than the right. He then claps twice, in some cases four or even eight times, brings his hands down, and again bows twice, the first time deeply, the second time not so deeply.

A commonly admitted explanation is that the noise made attracts the attention of the Kami to the worshipper. Although authorities do not actually deny it, it is fairly clear that the rite must have much deeper implications. Otherwise, reasons could hardly be found for repeating it after the end of a prayer, and there would be no justification for having the left hand ahead of the right one. And there is also such a thing as silent hand-clapping, *shinobi-te*⁽³²⁴⁾

According to the President of the Izumo-ô-yashiro-kyô, one of the most traditional groups in Shintô, *kashiwade* provides an efficient practical means of connecting man and God, of tuning the man in to God, of unifying the will of man to that of God, and thereby reaching the state of *gôi*, agreement, mutual comprehension, the physical expression of which is *musubi* (cf. p. 67f.).⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

One of the great ‘reformers’ of Shintô in our times, Mr Masahisa Goï, who has a remarkably large and enthusiastic following, goes much further. He has devised a method of extremely loud—one might almost say deafening—hand-clapping which he claims causes ‘divine’ vibrations; those overcome and replace the ‘human’, ‘dirty’ vibrations, bring down the ‘white light’ and heal physical and other diseases. I never had the privilege of witnessing such healings, but I must admit that Mr Goï’s *kashiwade*, which he is ready to teach to those whom he deems ready for it, creates a most remarkable atmosphere.

To turn to less authoritative but probably more representative people, a group of men in their thirties, none of whom was then religiously-minded, told me very definitely that the sound given by the hand-clapping provides a very sure indication of the state of mind of the person who performs it; by doing it in the morning some people get a very clear idea of what their day will be. And when one of them confided that in his childhood his clapping made him feel that ‘God was taking his soul in His hand’, the others nodded approvingly. Probably not a few people clap hands every morning before the rising sun.

When proceeding to *kashiwade* in a temple, it is customary to make a small offering (*saimotsu*), such as throwing one or two small coins (*saïseri*) into the *saisen-bako* (cf. p. 107 above).

One peculiar mode of offering is the *sanku*, which is practiced mostly for local or family Kami, in any private or public place, for instance when a building is going to be erected, but may also be used within temples. Rice, sake, small coins, bits of cotton-cloth, etc., are scattered over the floor, mostly in the centre and the four corners of the room, as offerings, and hence for purification.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

If the devotee wants the priest of a temple to perform for him a simple ceremony, he may ask for it at any time when a priest is available, and he is given satisfaction immediately.

The simplest and most common solemn offering is that of a *tamagushi*, a small branch of the *sakaki-tree*, to which are attached small strips of folded paper (*yû* or *shide*).

The great lay theologian Motoôri derived *tamagushi* from *tama*, gem, precious stone, and therefore saw in it mostly a material offering—which is supported by the very plausible reference to the *sakaki* tree which was brought before the heavenly cave in order to draw Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami back to the world, and to which a string of jewels (*tama*) was attached (cf. p. 304 below). That etymology is not accepted by the priests, who prefer



Tamagushi

to take *tama* as standing for *tamashii*, soul, and interpret *gushi* (for *kushi*) as meaning to link, to connect; the purpose and symbol of offering *tamagushi* would therefore be to

establish connection between the human soul and God—very much that which is meant in Hinduism by *yoga*. Such an interpretation is confirmed by the two successive positions of the *tamagushi*, which the devotee first of all points towards himself while he holds it and then towards the shrine where he lays it down on the eight-legged table for offerings (*hassoku-an*); that is taken by priests to indicate first the movement from God to man and then the complementary movement from man to God.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

The offering of *tamagushi* is naturally preceded and followed by various accessory rites.

After removing his shoes, hat and overcoat (all that may bring outside dirt), the devotee is made to sit in the *haiden*, facing the *honden*. And of course, the first thing is purification.

Before proceeding to any ceremony of worship and occasionally also in the course of many such ceremonies, the Shintô priests wield a *harai-gushi*, an instrument for purification which is made of a wooden stick, about three feet long, from one end of which hang a great number of strips of white paper. Formerly the wood used to be *kôzo*, paper-mulberry, and flax was used instead of paper.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Originally, it was considered as an actual *himorogi* or *shintai* for the six *Harai-dono-kami*, the Kami of purification; it was used only once, i.e. for one ceremony or even one devotee or pilgrim, after which it was thrown either into fire or into a stream.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

In a very few temples, such as the Itsukushima-jinja, miniature *harai-gushi* are at the disposal of worshippers, who may use them themselves. But the almost universal practice is that the *harai-gushishould* be handled only by a priest. He shakes it three times over the person or group, or object or place to be purified, first to the left, then to the right, then straight ahead, although the very name of the rite, *sa-yu-sa* implies left, right and left.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In a few temples, such as the Isono-kami-jingû, it is shaken four times: left, right, left, and right. Several Japanese friends told me that the waving of the *harai-gushi* over them gives them 'a feeling of very real purification'.

Instead of *harai-gushi*, *ô-nusa* may also be used; they are branches of the sacred *sakaki* tree or of some evergreen to which strips of cloth or paper have been attached; the small-sized one for individual use is termed *ko-nusa*.⁽³²⁷⁾

After the purification with the *harai-gushi*, the priest generally beats a monumental drum at an ever faster rhythm, ending with a few slow strokes. He then hands the *tamagushi* to the devotee, who walks with it to a table prepared for the occasion, lays it down, walks back a couple of steps and sits down again.

At the end of the ceremony, a *miko* presents a small cup of consecrated sake (*miki*) to each assistant, who drinks it ceremoniously and puts the empty cup back upon a tray. Occasionally a couple of rice-cakes, emblazoned with the arms of the temple, are also presented to each participant in a neat white cardboard box.

In the home, the cult is normally celebrated before the *kami-dana* (*dana*= *tana*, shelf), an altar on which the favourite Kami of the family have been enshrined. It generally consists of a diminutive cupboard in the shape of a Shintô temple. There are of course many different types, but the most common consists of three 'seats' i.e. shrines, or boxes, side by side on the board. The central one contains a *taïma* from the Ise-jingû or an *o-fuda* of the 'Kami of the world'; the one to the right of the devotee contains an *o-fuda* of the particular Kami of the local community (*ubusuna* or *uji-gami*); the one to his left some object related to the ancestor-kami. *Ô-fuda* from various temples which were visited recently are also

commonly found. In front of the shrine are various offerings: rice, salt and water presented daily, sake, fruits and other foods on special days. Also twigs of evergreens, and one special item, the *kagami-mochi*, which consists of two pieces of round *mochi* (ricedumpling), one smaller than the other, with the smaller one on top.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Occasionally, there are also other objects treated as relics, or for some reason or other associated with the religious cult. In many cases, a light is kept burning before the *kami-dana*.

Sometimes a special shrine (*sorei-sha* or *tama-ya*) is dedicated to the spirits of deceased ancestors. Usually it is on a slightly lower level than the *kamidana* and contains either a mirror into which the ancestral spirits have been asked to descend, or a scroll on which their names are written.⁽³²⁷⁾ (Cf. p. 166f. below).

In addition to the *kami-dana*, there is in some big houses with a large garden another small shrine (*yashiki*) dedicated to a special deity, the *yashiki-gami*, 'which has a deep connection with the belief in ancestral spirits'. When only the house of the most influential family in a village has such a *yashiki*, it happens sometimes that its *yashiki-gami* becomes the tutelary deity (*uji-gami*) of the whole village.⁽³²⁷⁾

Mention must also be made of the Toshi-gami, literally 'god of the year', a deity received into the house and worshipped at New Year. There are examples of this practice in the Scriptures. A special altar is set aside in the house for this deity, to whom abundant offerings are made of products of the sea, of the mountains and of the fields, and to whom prayers are offered for abundant harvests. In some regions, this Kami is thought of as the god of food or the god of agriculture; in some he appears in the form of an old man and an old woman; in Kagoshima-ken, there are places where on New Year's eve, young men disguise themselves as white-bearded old men and go around to visit the houses where there are young children, to whom they give ricecakes.⁽³²⁷⁾ (Cf. also p. 499f. below).

Among practices of individual worship should also be counted the various purification ceremonies which are carried out by a priest on the site where a house will be built, or a well will be dug.

The *ji-matsuri*, or *ji-chin-sai*, or *toko-shizume-no-matsuri*, is a ritual performed before breaking the ground for the construction of a building. It is intended to pacify either the Kami of the locality or Ô-toko-(i.e. Ô-kuni) nushi, the Kami of the whole land, to purify the place and to pray for safety during the process of construction.^(131, 327)

The *jôtô-sai* is another ritual, which is performed during the actual building, when the carpenters worship Kami connected with architecture and pray for a safe completion of the work. It takes place when the ridge-poles have been made and raised to their place on the roof.⁽³²⁷⁾

In addition to the daily routine visits to shrines, both in the home and outside, there are a number of occasions when, either alone or in small groups, the Japanese solemnly turns to the Kami. We shall mention only a few of them.

First of all, there is a particular day (*ennichi*) in each month, when special merit is supposed to be gained by a visit to one's own favourite temple—a custom also common to Buddhism. On that day large crowds of worshippers come to the temple, a number of temporary shops spring up where all sorts of foods, sweets, toys, souvenirs, etc., are sold in large quantities.⁽³²⁷⁾

One very special visit is the one which is made on the first day of the year (*hatsu-môde* or *hatsu-mairi*) to pray for divine protection and for happiness throughout the year. It is

believed to be a very old custom, which has been influenced by the medieval practice of *ehō-mairi*, of visiting a temple standing in an auspicious direction.⁽³²⁷⁾ During the first two or three days in the year, it is estimated that about five million people thus worshipfully visit the Meiji-jingū, and proportionately great numbers can be found in practically every other temple.

At various times during the year also, it is customary for small groups to meet for religious purposes. On the evenings of the 15th, 17th, 19th and 23rd of January, May and September, for instance, people assemble to hold a religious ceremony, offer food to the Kami and pray. The custom is called *tsuki-machi*, ‘waiting for the moon’, because generally the participants do not retire before the moon has appeared.⁽³²⁷⁾

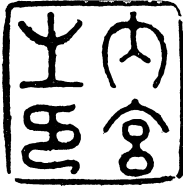
But the Japanese, like most people in the Far-East, are also extremely fond of going on pilgrimages to as many sacred places as possible. Kaempffer had already noted more than two centuries ago: ‘The Japanese are very much addicted to pilgrimages’.⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾ More recently a Western student of Japan wrote: ‘One cannot journey anywhere in the heart of Japan without meeting multitudes of these pilgrims, with their neat white leggings and their mushroom-hats, nor rest at night at any inn that is not hung with countless little banners of the pilgrims’ associations, of which they are all members. Being a pilgrim there is equivalent to being a tourist here.’⁽⁵¹²⁾ Lafcadio Hearn noted: ‘Even the poorest farmer, one so poor that he cannot afford to eat a grain of his own rice, can afford to make a pilgrimage of a month’s duration... But multitudes of the poor undertake pilgrimages requiring much more than a month to perform.’⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ It frequently happens that boys and girls escape from home and beg their way to the Ise-jingū.⁽³²⁴⁾ Within the field of Shintō the *junpai*, which became common during the middle Heian period, follow a definite course. One of them covers the eighty-eight holy places of Shikoku (*henro*), another the thirty-three in Edo and Kyoto. The original purpose was ‘to gain merit by travelling around and praying through hardships and austerities’,⁽³²⁷⁾ but nowadays most people take full advantage of the admirable network of trains and buses which reach into every remote corner of Japan and also of the extensive facilities offered to travellers at a very low price for food and lodging, so that the main part of the ‘hardships and austerities’ very often consists in amassing patiently the sum of money required for the expedition. During their visits to the shrine, the pilgrims may seek the help of special guides (*sendatsu*) who explain to them ‘religious matters’; the practice seems to have started in the late Heian period, particularly in the Kumano and Yoshino temples.⁽³²⁷⁾ A quaint practice (*ishi-age*), when visiting a temple on a pilgrimage is to put—or throw—a stone or pebble on the pedestal of a *koma-inu*, on a lantern, on the upper beam of a *torii*, or the branch of a tree, etc. One other custom which is very popular with people visiting temples consists in carrying a ‘stamp-book’ (the English expression is commonly used) on which they collect the rubberstamp seals of the various shrines. Those seals, which are in most cases very aesthetic, do not only give the name of the temple; their very style and shape are very often characteristic of the Kami and of the type of worship offered to him. Some are reproduced on the following pages.

As in every other religion, important events in the life of the individual are marked by special ceremonies.

One ceremony, the *iwata-obi*, takes place four months before the expected birth of a baby, because it is believed that, at that time the soul (*tamashii*) enters the foetus. *Iwata-obi* (or *hara-obi*) is really the name of a piece of unbleached white silk, eight feet long, which

is wound around the expectant mother's body for protection. The material used now is very often white, red or yellow cotton. The ceremony takes place on a day of the Dog (inu).⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Formerly, four ceremonies followed the birth in quick succession: the evening of the birth, the evening of the third day (*san-ya*), the evening of the fifth day and the evening of the seventh day (*o-shichiya*). The first and third Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami back to the world, and to which a string of jewels (*tama*) was attached (cf. p. 304 below). That etymology is not accepted by the priests, who prefer have now practically disappeared, and the *san-ya* is only observed in some rural districts.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾



Ise-naikû



Ise-gekû



Miho-jinja



Chichibu-jinja



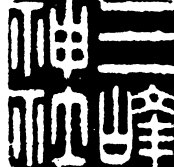
Hirota-jinja



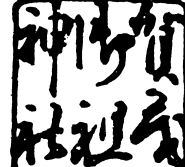
Usa-hachiman-gû



Kashima-jingû



Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja



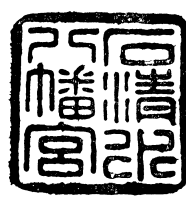
Kamo-mi-oya-jinja



(Moto-ise) Kono-jinja



Kushida-jinja, Fukuoka



Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû



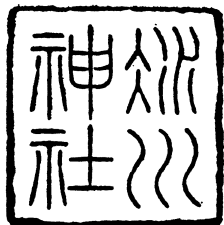
Izumo-ô-yashiro



Kashii-gû



Iso-no-kami-jingû



Akasaka-hikawa-jinja, Tôkyô



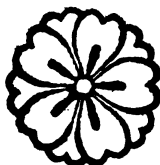
Kuta-jinja, Kôbe



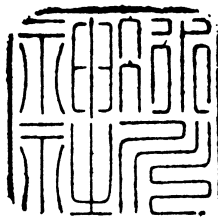
Ômiwa Hikawa-jinja



Sumiyoshi-taisha



Kotaï-jingû



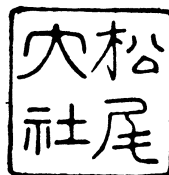
Matsu-no-wo-taisha



Iseyama-kôtaï-jingû



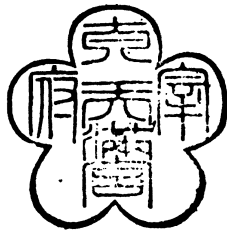
Dazaifu Ten-man-gû



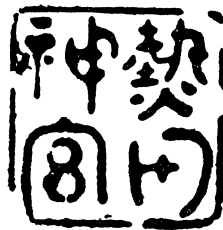
Atsuta-jingû



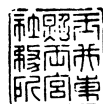
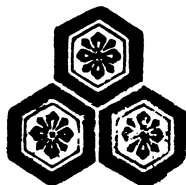
Kitano-ten-man-gû



Itsukushima-jinja



Tamaë-gû-tôshô-gû





Kameido-tenjin-sha



Taga-taisha



Miyachitake-jinja



Hongû-taisha



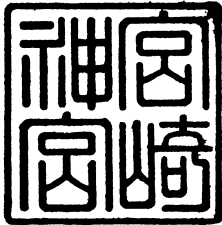
Kirishima-jingû



Inari-jinja, Kamakura

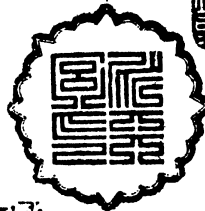


Shiogama-jinja



Miyazaki-jinja

昭和三十年三月十日



天宮
永務
社印
章所

Tôkyô Suiten-gû

At *o-shichiya*, at which the mother does not appear, the baby is introduced officially to relatives and friends and receives its name—which is often chosen by a ‘god-parent’, the *nazuke-oya*. The repast normally consists mostly of *sekihan*, ‘red’ rice, i.e. cooked with red beans (*azuki*), seabream (*tai*) and sake.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The first visit paid by a child to the tutelary deity gives rise to the first ceremony of initiation, *hatsu-miya-mairi*. It takes place, as a general rule, on the thirty-second day after the birth of a boy, and the thirty-third day after the birth of a girl. The child who is taken to the temple by a close relative, thus becomes one of the parishioners.⁽³²⁷⁾ It is customary that on this occasion, the baby—and also other participants in the feast—are given *ame* (wheat gluten), a common supplement to the mother’s milk.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ According to mythology, *ame* was given to Jimmu-tennō’s father, Ugaya-fuki-aezu-no-mikoto, in the cave of Udo, by his aunt Tama-yori-hime, after his mother Toyo-tama-hime had to leave him. (Cf. p. 388 below).

Next comes *tabe-zome*, ‘eating for the first time’, when the child, then 120 days old, gets its first morsels of solid food. It is the first party which the mother—who until then was deemed ritually unclean—attends.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The next initiation ceremony is the Shichi-go-san. On November 15th, boys of three (*san*) and five (*go*) years old and girls of three and seven (*shichi*) years old visit their tutelary shrine (*uji-gami* or *ubusuna*) and pray for protection and social approval. The custom is practiced widely around the Kantō area, but is also very popular in other parts of Japan.⁽³²⁷⁾ It is believed that the reasons why those ages are important are the following: at the age of three, both boys and girls come out of babyhood; when boys of the samurai class reached the age of five, they were formally introduced to their feudal lord and for the first time wore formal *hakama* (the event is called *hakamagi*), at the age of seven, girls wore for the first time the stiff formal obi instead of a loose cloth around their waist (an event called *obiage*).⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

On the ninth anniversary of his birth, ‘after maturity’, the child is submitted to the ceremony of *ofukasogi*, when his hair is cut like that of an adult.

On March 13th of the lunar calendar (now on April 13th of the solar calendar) comes the yearly *jūsan-mairi* for boys and girls who have attained the age of thirteen in the course of the preceding twelve months. At that age, the young samurai was for the first time allowed to buckle on two swords; that was the *genpuku* ceremony.⁽³⁴²⁾ The festival originated in the Shingon sect of Buddhism, but gradually also spread to Shintō temples. It is sometimes called *chië-mairi*, ‘worship for wisdom’.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In rural districts, people still celebrate the *hatsushimada*, the ‘first hair arranging ceremony’, when girls of sixteen are considered to have entered womanhood.⁽³⁴²⁾

The *shinzen-kekkon* is the Shintō wedding. Originally weddings were celebrated in the home and the rites performed in accordance with folk beliefs, but since the Mēiji reform, it has become gradually more common to use the temples. It is believed that marriage is realized through the protection of the Kami and that children are born after receiving the spirit of the Kami.⁽³²⁷⁾ Many temples apparently derive a large part of their income from the donations they receive on such occasions; they have special halls reserved exclusively for that purpose, they hire out luxurious gowns for the bride, etc.

The Shintō wedding is very impressive. The bride comes in a highly elaborate costume, with a quaint white hat (*tsu-no-kakushi*, [that which] hides the horns [of jealousy]) worn only on that occasion; the bridegroom and other male assistants wear black morning-coats

and striped trousers, the ladies their most precious kimonos, although some of them have now taken to European dress. A priest makes offerings to the Kami to the sound of sacred music. A *miko*, with ritual gestures, serves sake, first to the bridegroom and then to the bride, twice; they drink it according to a special rite, *san-san-kudo*, the name of which is sometimes given to the whole ceremony. After which both offer *tamagushi* to the Kami. The time then comes for the intervention of an elderly couple, husband and wife, who play more or less the part of god-parents; the lady, who has been standing behind the bride, puts on her finger a ring which a *miko* has brought in a jewel-case. After that, the god-parents, and one guest from each side of those present offer *tamagushi*. Tables are then set for the newly-wed couple on one side at the back of the room, and for the god-parents on the other, also for guests alongside the two side-walls, and a small meal (*naorai*) is served.

The sixty-first anniversary (*honke-gaëri*, completion of the sexagenary cycle), the seventieth (*koki-no-iwai*), the seventy-seventh (*ki-no-ji-no-iwai*), and the eighty-eighth (*beiju-no-iwai*) are considered of special importance and generally give rise to festivities.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Shintô funeral ceremonies (*sô-sai*) are carried on because of the Shintô belief in the survival of the soul (*tama*) after death. However, they take place mostly in the home or in other private buildings, and not in temples because of the intense abhorrence of the pollution accompanying death. During the Tokugawa period, the vast majority of the people were forced to have Buddhist funerals, and only a very few persons were able to have Shintô rites. Even now, it is estimated that 90 per cent of funerals are carried out by Buddhist priests.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ The present-day Shintô ritual is based on the teachings of Atsutane Hirata and embodies the ancient views on life and death of the Japanese people.⁽³²⁷⁾

In Shintô funerals, the corpse is dressed in (1) a *tafusagi*, a kind of apron tied round the waist; (2) a *hadagi* or shirt, reaching down to the knees; (3) and (4) a *shitagi* and an *uwagi*, a lower and an upper garment corresponding to the *kami-shimo* (literally upper and lower) of ancient Japanese dress; (5) an *obi* or belt; (6) *shitagutsu* or shoes.

There are two kinds of coffins (*kwan*), one in which the body is in a recumbent position (*nekwan*) and one in which it is in a praying posture (*zakwan*).

After the corpse has been dressed and put into the coffin, there are six successive rites, the *senreishiki*: (1) the *tamashiro*, a tablet containing the name of the deceased, is prepared; (2) immediately afterwards takes place the *mitama-utsushi*. The *moshu* (chief mourner), dressed in dark, with *hitatare* (surplice) and *eboshi*, chants the Norito and invites the soul, which has taken place in the *tamashiro*, to participate in the feast. The *tamashiro* is then placed on the *kami-dana*; (3) offerings are made, including a *tamagushi*, and the coffin is taken out of the house (*shukkwan*) in a formal procession, and the house is immediately purified by a Shintô priest; (4) the *sôsô-no-shiki*, i.e. the funeral service, is generally celebrated in a curtained enclosure or in a mortuary chapel if there is one. More offerings, including *tamagushi*, are presented and the chief mourner recites certain prayers which contain a recital of the deceased person's life and concludes with the *maisô-no-kotoba* ('words of committal'): 'Our honoured Mr or Mrs So-and-so has passed away to our great regret; to our sorrow he has given up the ghost. The prayer of our inmost heart was that he might live to a very great age, but it is the way of the fleeting world that he should come to this. Our prayer is that he will regard with tranquil eyes the obsequies we are now performing, and lie down to rest in his grave, leaving his spirit behind him to guard the house. Reverently and with humility I make this prayer.' (5) In the *maisô* which follows the

coffin is taken to the grave and lowered into it with little ceremony; (6) the mourners return to the house by a different route and are purified. Offerings are made to the *tamashiro*, and again every day for fifty days, after which it is removed to the *mitama-ya* and asked to take up its abode in it; the other ancestors are entreated to receive him in their company. After which he is treated as the other ancestors.

A definite reference to some of those rites is given in the account of a funeral related in *Kojiki* I, xxxi (cf. p. 340 below) in which various birds represent as many participants: the 'head-hanging bearer' the person who lays food besides the coffin, unusually near the head of the deceased; the 'broombearer' the person who cleans the mourning-house with a broom; the 'person of the august food' the one who cooks and presents the august food to the dead in the mourning-house; the 'pounding-woman' the woman who pounds the cereals in a hand-mill for the dead; the 'weeping-woman' the woman who in the procession weeps loudly.⁽¹²²⁾

Mourning (*kibuku*, *bukki* or *buku*) is observed for a certain period, which varies according to the closeness of the relation.⁽⁵⁰⁵⁾

A word must be said also about the many 'amulets' which pilgrims like to take back from the temples they visit. They vary all the way from small sheets of paper bearing the name of the Kami or the stamp of the temple (*o-mamori*) and enclosed in small bags of brocade emblazoned with the arms of the temple, to small toys more or less reminiscent either of the locality or of religious practice in general. Clay bells and small clay animals are great favourites, as also small wooden hammers (*uchide-no-kozuchi*), small porcelain reproductions of masks used in sacred dances (sometimes turned into cups for sake), wooden effigies of the god Saruda-hiko with his red face and his long nose, etc. But there are also sheets of rice-paper on which a picture of the god or his *otsukai* or some other prominent feature of the temple has been printed, descriptive booklets, postcards, etc. All of which are afterwards treasured as precious reminders of a happy communion with the Kami in one or other of his innumerable aspects.

CHAPTER VII

COLLECTIVE WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS

IN addition to the daily worship (*nikkū*), literally ‘daily offerings’, solemn celebrations, called *matsuri*, take place periodically in every Shintō temple. The Chinese word *saishi*, or *sai*, festival, is more generally used in compound terms instead of *matsuri*, although its connotation is not exactly the same.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Thus the days on which *matsuri* are celebrated are termed *saijitsu*.

In English, *matsuri* is generally translated ‘festival’, and there is no doubt that most *matsuri* are accompanied by great and impressive festivities, in an atmosphere of gaiety and rejoicing which cannot but remind us of a Swiss or German carnival. The meaning implied, however, is entirely different, and participants to the festival remain perfectly aware of it.

Etymologically, *matsuri* is closely related to the verb *matsuru*, ‘to worship’. The Japanese *matsuru* their ancestors, or those of their employers, as well as other Kami, morning and evening, as described in the previous chapter. *Matsuri* is also one of the components of the composite word *matsuri-goto*, now translated ‘government’, but which really means administering worldly affairs in the spirit of *matsuri*, the same spirit in which one worships the Kami, ‘following...in political life...the will of the gods’,⁽³²⁷⁾ the spirit of *saisei-ichi*, unity of politics and religious rites, to which we shall return later (cf. p. 391 below).

In its real deep meaning, *matsuri* means ‘to live in an attitude of constant prayer and obedience to the will of the Kami, and therefore under his protection—which should be prayed for’.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ A keen observer of things Japanese expressed the same idea in a more poetical form by saying that when a *matsuri* is celebrated, the very earth is integrated into one whole which reaches from the highest heaven to the deepest abyss in the oceans. A modern theologian explains that in its wide meaning the word signifies ‘life’, and in a narrower sense, ‘ritual’.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ As was pointed out by a learned student of Shintō, the word ‘*matsuri* can apply to a fast as well as to a feast’.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ And at the end of the *matsuri*, the priest can tell whether the Kami was satisfied or not. The essential purpose of *matsuri* is that when people come away from it, ‘they should take home with them the level of consciousness to which it corresponds and live it in their daily life’⁽¹⁶⁶⁾—a definition which could very well apply to the Roman Catholic mass or the Moslem service in the mosque.

The philosophy of the *matsuri* is that it enables the worshipper to revert to what is his or her proper spiritual state, i.e. that of a direct descendant of the Kami, and therefore to live his daily life in the spirit of the Kami, *shin-i-keishd*.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

The process consists essentially in offering to the Kami enshrined in the temple expressions of gratitude for everything received in life, accounts for past actions, thoughts and all events affecting the devotee directly or indirectly, praise and also presents.

Generally speaking, the successive phases of the *matsuri* are:

(a) internal and external purification of the participants. This is *kiyome*, which embraces *kessai* or *mono-imi*, *misogi* and *harai* or *keibatsu*.

(b) purification of men and objects at the place where the matsuri will take place. This is *shūbatsu*.

(c) *kōshin*, i.e. begging the Kami ‘to bestow his spirit on the spot’. For that purpose, three things are necessary: (1) beating the drum (*taiko*) or ringing the bells (*suzu*); (2) opening the innermost door of the sanctuary; (3) calling the *keihitsu*, sometimes accompanied by various mystical words.

(d) *kensen*, presenting of offerings (*shinsen*) to the Kami.

(e) *norito-sōjō*, chanting of *norito*.

(f) *tamagushi-hōten*, offering of *tamagushi*.

(g) *bugaku*, offering of songs and dances to the Kami.

(h) *ura-goto*, divination.

(i) *tessen*, withdrawal of the offerings which have been accepted by the Kami.

(j) *kōshin*, inviting the ‘presiding spirit of the matsuri to withdraw’.

(k) *naorai* or *nahorahi*, a sacred repast of communion.⁽¹²²⁾

We shall deal with those various phases successively.

Until the year 1873, the Japanese used a lunar calendar, which had been adopted from China in 861 and somewhat improved in 1683.⁽³⁴²⁾ The adoption of the European solar calendar tended to disorganize the old Japanese round of festivals. Gradually, the date for a large number of matsuri was changed to the same day in the next month of the solar calendar. For a few others, the exact adjustment was made in a certain year and the new solar date made permanent afterwards. But there is still an important minority of festivals for which the date continues to be computed according to the lunar calendar, and therefore varies according to ours, as does Easter in the West.

All participants in a matsuri, and of course the priests still more than the laymen, are expected to purify themselves beforehand in many ways; that is *shōjin*, *kessai* or *mono-imi*. According to the level of abstinence (*saikai*) practiced, one distinguishes between two types: *ara-imi*, ‘rough’ abstinence, and *ma-imi*, ‘true’ abstinence.⁽³²⁷⁾ When coupled with seclusion, it is termed *o-komori*.⁽¹²²⁾ We shall give here a fairly full description of a typical traditional case, that of the priests who participate in the *Koden-shinjō-sai* of the *Izumo-ō-yashiro* (Laymen taking part in the same matsuri must abide by a different set of rules, which are neither so numerous nor so strict).

Before the *saikai* proper begins, the priest should (a) have his hair washed or trimmed; (b) cut the nails of his fingers and toes; (c) shave, or else wash his beard and moustache; (d) wash his whole body in warm or cold water; (e) wash his hands after he has passed water, and take a full bath after he has been to the toilet.

During the nights of *kessai*, priests are naturally not allowed to go to their respective homes. They have to stay in a special hall, the *saikan* or *kessai-kan*, or *imi-ya*, within the precincts; the hall should normally be isolated by a *shimenawa*, and should contain a *harai-gushi* for purification. Immediately after entering the *saikan*, the priests should take a bath and change their clothes. They should not undertake any work, except what may be urgent for the matsuri itself; they should not receive visitors, even relatives; and they should not indulge in amusements.

No object should be used for *saikai* before it has been purified with an *ô-nusa*.

On the morning of the *matsuri*, after they have had their bath and have cleaned up the hall, and before they take any food, the priests hold a short service (*tonaë-goto*, or *shin-go*) in the *hongû*, in front of the *honden*.

Food served during *saikai* (*sai-shoku*) should be cooked exclusively on a special fire which has been lit by rubbing together two pieces of wood (*hi-kiri-usu* and *hi-kiri-gine*) specially consecrated by the *gûji* in a previous *matsuri* (cf. p. 485 below). Articles of food should not come from a house which has been polluted by dirt or death.

Breakfast is served in what used to be unglazed crockery, but is now white undecorated crockery (*shiro-yaki*). It comprises white rice, seabream (*tai*), fish and seaweed soup (*wakame*, *minosha*), some boiled cabbage and extremely bitter plums (*ume-boshi*); the only seasoning is salt and the only drink tepid water. The chopsticks (*hashi*), which are of a very special type, are made of willow, and the whole meal is served on a tray of plain white wood. What remains of the meal is buried near the *kessai-kan*.

More generally speaking, during the period of *kessai*, priests are expected to abstain from alcohol, all kinds of tea, iced drinks, mustard and pepper, onion and garlic, ginger (*shôga*), horse-radish (*wasabi*), most types of fruits and cakes, and all foreign food, but there is no objection to sea-food in general.^(166, 618)

In the Meiji-jingû, on the other hand, during the five days which precede the great *matsuri*, priests should eat neither meat nor fowl, but eggs and fish are allowed.⁽⁶⁴⁾

In *kessai*, however, ‘the most important thing of course is to establish calm, peace, emotive stability and receptivity to the Divine.’⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ For that purpose, it is recommended not to turn one’s mind towards anything vulgar, to avoid reading newspapers, listening to the radio, talking with laymen, to sit in an appropriate posture, and to read only sacred books.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ It is the outward manifestation of the state of mind thus reached which becomes the mental thanksgiving (*saiteri*), the first part of the *matsuri*.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

In some temples, such as the Wada-jinja, the nobles used to spend one night of *kessai* with the priests.

According to the strictest traditions, such prior purification as outlined above is not always deemed sufficient. Formerly, in the Ise-jingû, a peculiar ceremony was held to select for each of the three greatest *matsuri* the priests who were most worthy of officiating. One priest would read the ‘given’ name (in Japanese usage the ‘second’ name) of all those of appropriate rank; another priest drew his breath noisily after each name; and from the hissing sound thus produced, a third one decided whether the person whose name had been spoken was sufficiently pure, and he notified his decision by sounding a note on his *koto*. The practice has now been discontinued.

The period of *saikai* before *matsuri* varies considerably in length according to the temples, and also to the individual *matsuri*. There is a strong tendency to shorten it considerably, as well as to relax and simplify its rules, reducing it in some extreme cases to a few purely formal gestures. In the Iyahiko-jinja, during the Ô-go-zen-no-shinji which precedes the Tôrô-shinji on April 18th, the *gûji* remains confined (*sanrô*) in a special building (*shinsen-sho*) for one whole week in order to prepare pure food (rice, etc.) for the Kami; and the food is escorted by a white banner on an eight-foot pole. In the Shika-umi-jinja, before the main *matsuri*, it lasts for one week, with *misogi* in the sea, both morning and evening, although for the *gûji*, who is also mayor of the town, the period may be cut down to three

days, in order that the administrative work of the municipality should not suffer.⁽¹⁰⁾ For the Fuyu-matsuri of the Aoshima-jinja, it used to be also of one week, with *misogi* in the sea; now it is only one day, with *misogi* at the well.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ At the Atsuta-jingû, it lasts ten minutes (!) before the Tôka-sechi-e.⁽³²⁾

Not only the priests, but also other persons who play an active part in the matsuri must purify themselves before the ceremony. In the Shika-umi-jinja, the young men who are to shoot arrows during the Ho-sha-sai must have *misogi* morning and evening every day of the preceding week.⁽¹⁰⁾ It should be noted that in the three temples of the Imperial family priests purify themselves also after the ceremony; that used to be done also by everybody after the Daijô-sai (cf. p. 396f. below).⁽¹⁴²⁾

A special purifying ceremony is the *yudate*, 'in which water is boiled in a large cauldron on a coarse straw mat inside the shrine precincts and the hot water is sprinkled with bamboo-leaves on themselves and the worshippers by the priests and *miko*', it is believed to signify the casting off of impurities by bathing in the sacred hot water. There are also cases when it is performed in order for the *miko* to utter trance prophecies. It is also widely performed as a musical ceremony called *yudate-kagura*.⁽³²⁷⁾

One essential part of the matsuri is the solemn chanting of the liturgic prayer and invocation called Norito (cf. p. 39 above) by one of the highest-ranking priests.

The Norito is accompanied by the *kami-mukaë*, the summoning of the Kami when the ceremony takes place outside his usual dwelling-place, in a *himorogi* or a temporary shrine set up for the celebration. This is effected by the *keihitsu*, the sacred call to the Kami to manifest himself. It is a long, deep and most awe-inspiring Ô, also pronounced by a high-ranking priest.

Another essential part of practically every matsuri is offerings of food to the Kami; that is *shinsen*. The composition of the meal varies considerably with the temples, the Kami and the matsuri, but is strictly regulated in every individual case. To take a typical instance, in the Kodon-shinjô-sai at the Izumo-ô-yashiro again, the main *shinsen* consists of: one dish of white rice, one dish of yellow rice, one fish, two flasks of sake, another fish, one flat cake, one peacock, another peacock, one dish of green vegetables or seaweed, one dish of various vegetables, another dish of various vegetables, one dish of fruits. For the two *tai-sai* of the Kibitsu-jinja, the *shinsen* comprises seventy-five different dishes !!!

At any rate, it is customary that the *shinsen* should comprise 'happy presents' from the mountain (*yama-no-sachi*), such as birds and vegetables, and 'happy presents' from the sea (*umi-no-sachi*), such as fish, all of which have of course been obtained through the grace of the Kami and are now offered back to him as tokens of gratitude (*mitama-no-fuyu* or *kansha*). The *shinsen* may be raw (*seisen*) or cooked (*jukusen*); in some rare cases it has to be strictly vegetarian (*soosen*). *Shinsen* always includes sake.⁽¹²²⁾

One *shinsen* is sometimes thought sufficient for the several Kami enshrined in the same *honden*; more often there are as many *shinsen* as there are Kami (e.g. the Meiji-jingû, for the Emperor Meiji and his wife). Sometimes Kami other than the chief one, and of course still more so *aidono-no-kami*, receive fewer dishes than the chief Kami himself (e.g. in the Izumo-ô-yashiro).

Many *shinsen*, especially in agricultural matsuri, comprise the first-fruits of the season (cf. p. 183–187 below).

The preparation of the *shinsen* is naturally done with the greatest care and respect and according to detailed rituals.

Rice being the basic food of Japan, the rice for this purpose is generally grown in special paddy-fields (*shinsen-deri*) which are cultivated by hand, without the help of horses or oxen, under the close supervision either of priests or of families specially entrusted with that responsibility (*kami-yaku*).

The water used for cooking is often drawn from a special well which is used for no other purpose. In the Izumo-ô-yashiro, the well, Mikei, is within the innermost enclosure, near the *honden*.

The sacred rice-wine, *miki*, may be prepared according to various methods. In the Izumo-ô-yashiro, it was formerly made in a building used exclusively for that purpose, the *saka-dono*, for the Nii-name-sai and the Daijosai, it has to be prepared from rice coming from special areas, which are every time selected by divination. It is either 'white' and pure (*shiroki*), or made darker (*kuroki*) by the addition of ashes of *kusaki* or of roots of the *yama-utsugi*.

It is assumed that formerly a group (*za*) of parishioners had in each temple the responsibility of offering the food (*goku*) for the Kami; they were the *goku-za*. Gradually this seems to have become the exclusive privilege of a permanent small group, the *goku-za-shake*. But both customs have now disappeared in all but a few temples.⁽¹²²⁾

It is proper that a few more dishes should be prepared than are to be offered, so that, in case some dishes are spoilt, there are others ready to replace them; it seems however that nowadays comparatively few temples take such precautions.⁽¹²²⁾

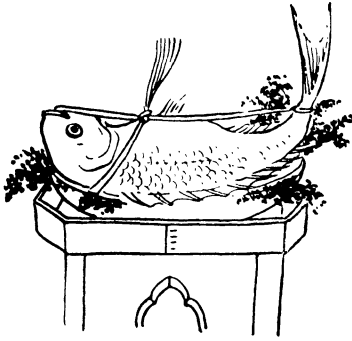
The presentation of the *shinsen* takes place in great pomp. The officiating priests line up to form a chain between the *shinsen-den*, where the food is waiting, and the *heiden*, where it is to be offered. The highest ranking among them, generally the *gon-gûji*, kneels before the tables (*hassoku-an*) on which the dishes will be laid. The *gûji* himself usually sits at a distance and supervises the whole procedure without taking any physical part in it.

Dishes are borne either on a square or octagonal support (*sanbô*) in unpainted *hinoki* wood, bearing a tray (*oshiki*), or on a lacquered stand (*takatsuki*) which may be either rectangular (*kaku-takatsuki*), or round (*maru-takatsuki*). The *shinsen* is thus passed from hand to hand, each priest in turn bowing reverently before it both before he takes it and after he has given it to the next priest in the row.

The order in which offerings are laid on the tables is regulated by a strict and complicated ritual.

Shintô mystics state most definitely that, while the *shinsen* is in the *heiden* on the eight-legged tables, it receives rays emanating from the Kami and that, on reaching the appropriate level of consciousness, the devotees can actually see them, lightning-like; the *shinsen* thus becomes a sort of *bun-rei*.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

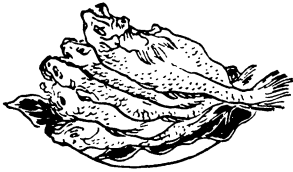
Many other offerings, such as cloth (*heihaku*, *saimotsu*), particularly rough and fine white silk (*ara-tahe* and *nigi-tahe*)⁽⁶²⁶⁾ or special paper as a substitute, jewels, weapons, money and utensils, are also made to Kami on various special occasions; that is *hōhei*.⁽³²⁷⁾



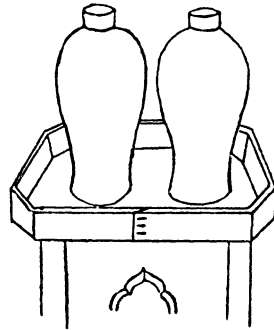
tai



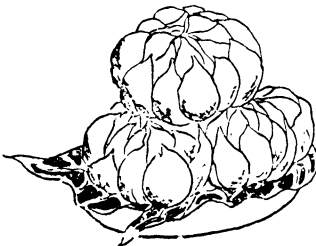
ebi



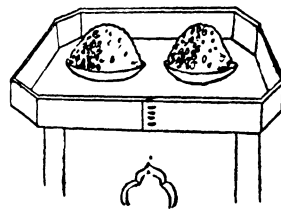
hoshi-wo



miki



yuri-ne



ara-shine and nigishi-ne

Shinsen

Shinsen

After *shinsen* has been offered to the Kami, it is brought back from the *heiden* to the *shinsen-den* with the same ceremonial. The usual thing is that a meal should then be served to the priests and to an appropriate number of laymen, during which the consecrated food and drink are consumed. The meal is called *naorai*, literally direct [meeting], and Japanese devotees are wont to translate the word by ‘feast’, however frugal it may be from a material point of view.

In point of fact, however, if in many temples what is eaten and drunk is actual *naorai* (e.g. in the Kami-sha of the Suwa-taisha), there are now many, even among the most conservative, in which the meal is simply ordered from a near-by restaurant and is never presented in the *heiden* (e.g. in the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû).

On the other hand, great care is taken that whatever may be left over of the actual *shinsen* should not be desecrated. It is most often buried in a selected place or thrown into sacred waters, as in the Sannô-matsuri of the Hië-taisha, when it is solemnly dropped into Lake Biwa.

Needless to say, the meal of *naorai* (*naorai-shiki*) has a mystic value, just like the Christian communion. Through it, the devotee receives the ‘prestige’ (*mi-itsu*) of the Kami. And the fact that it is not mere food is confirmed by the very peculiar sweet taste which sake takes after it has been offered to the Kami⁽¹⁵⁰⁾—a phenomenon comparable to what takes place in India for food which has been offered to Krishna. As very clearly explained by one of the most authoritative high-priests, ‘when the faithful consume the sake and food offered to and accepted by the Kami, it means that they return *bodily* to their own spiritual state in God; just as *tamagushi* is a mental return to God, *naorai* is a corporeal return to God.’^{?(166)}

According to some very exacting traditionalists,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ the only real and authentic *naorai*, however, is the rice consumed by the Emperor at the Nii-name-sai after it has been offered to the Kami.

As mentioned before, in most matsuri of any importance, the Kami is also entertained to music and dancing of various kinds. It is believed that a large part of the classical music and dancing now performed in religious—and even other—ceremonies comes from Korea, China or India.

Some, however, the *azuma-asobi*, comes from the ‘Eastern provinces’ of Japan, largely from the regions of Sagami and Suruga, and was offered as a token of submission to the Court when anxiety was felt about the loyalty of the inhabitants of those regions. During the reign of Emperor Daigo (ninth and tenth centuries), the musical notation of the songs was ‘fixed’ by Imperial command.⁽³²⁷⁾ *Kume-mai* is also of pure Japanese origin.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Special performances of *azuma-asobi* can be witnessed on April 8th in the Ô-harano-jinja during the annual festival,⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ on May 17th and 18th during the spring procession of the Nikkô Tôkyô-gû, and during the *rei-tai-sai* of the Ômiya Hikawa-jinja. The *dengaku*, which we shall consider later, may also be taken to belong to the same category.

Classical ceremonial music and dancing are generally termed *bugaku* or *gagaku*, the difference between the two being that *bugaku* always comprises dancing.⁽³²⁷⁾ Instrumental music unaccompanied by dancing is called *kangen*.⁽³²⁷⁾ There are 160 different kinds of *bugaku*, of which thirty, called right-hand dances, come from Korea, including *nasori* and *hoshin*, and 130, called left-hand dances, come from China, India, etc. Among the latter, the

most famous are *ryo-ô*, *taiheiraku* and *ettenraku* from China, *baïro* from Annam, *garyôhin* from India, *gejoraku* from Tibet, *konju* from Central Asia, and *shinmaka* from Siberia.^(342, 548) The first *bugaku* was the *kiji-mai*, a wardance, which is said to have been introduced from Korea by the Empress Jingû-kôgô in person.⁽³⁴²⁾

One special department in the Board of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household, the *Gakubu*, is in particular charge of traditional sacred music and dances.⁽³²⁷⁾

In Shintô temples particularly, classical religious and ceremonial music and dancing are designated collectively by the name *kagura*. Their origin is attributed to the performance of *Ame-no-uzume* when the Gods were endeavouring to entice *Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami* out of the Rock-cave of Heaven. (Cf. pp. 305–8 below). Their present purpose is to ‘pacify, console and give pleasure’ to a *Kami*.⁽³²⁷⁾

Sato-kagura, i.e. *villzge-kagura*, was originally a popular kind of *kagura*, which gradually became more or less professional;⁽³²⁷⁾ it represents tales from the *Kojiki* and other Scriptures; one outstanding feature of it is that the actors who wear masks do not speak; nowadays, however, a narrator outlines the story of the play because very few people are able to understand the pantomime.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Excellent *sato-kagura* can be witnessed on April 29th during the annual festival of the *Ko-mikado-jinja*.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

A very special sword-dance can be seen during the *Kagura-sai* of the *Ôasahiko-jinja* on March 12th by the lunar calendar. Ancient *kagura* dances called *tôkei-gaku* and *jindai-odori* are performed by the parishioners of the *Hida-ichinomiya-minashi-jinja* during the annual festival on September 23rd.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

The musical instruments used during *matsuri* are naturally very old traditional types. We shall mention only those which are most frequently seen.

The percussion instruments used in *gagaku* are collectively called *sanko* (three drums) or *uchi-mono* (striking instruments).⁽³²⁷⁾ They include the *taïko* which gave to the early *geisha* one of their names, *taïko-joro*, drum-courtesan,⁽³⁴²⁾ the *kakko*, which is beaten with two sticks, and the *shôko*. The *kakko*, which marks the time, leads the other instruments.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Another percussion instrument, the *sasara*, consists of two blocks of wood, which are beaten one against the other.

The wind-instruments used in *gagaku* are collectively called *sankan* (three reeds). They include *the fuë* (a short flute with six holes), the *shô* (an instrument with seventeen bamboo tubes of various lengths placed upright in a circle) and the *hichiriki* (a nine-holed flageolet).^(327, 548)

As string-instrument, a special kind of *koto*, the *wagon* or *yamatokoto*, is also played to *gagaku*.⁽³²⁷⁾ ‘It is made of a piece of board about six feet long and five to seven inches wide, upon which are stretched six strings resting upon a bridge. It is played with a long plectrum held in the right hand.’⁽³⁴²⁾

In some great temples (*Ise-jingû*, *Kasuga-taïsha*, *Itsukushima-jinja*, &c.), they have for *gagaku* and *bugaku* some very great musicians called *reijin*.⁽³²⁷⁾

The dances performed on the occasion of *matsuri* can be classified into different styles.

The *ninjô-mai* is literally the dance of the *ninjô*. The *ninjô* was the title of the master of ceremonies, the conductor for the musicians performing *kagura* (during the Heian period those functions were entrusted to the *konoë-toneri*, the head of the Imperial body-guard). He caused the *niwa-bi* fire to be burned, ordered tuning and gathering. In present-day

temples, the dance of the *ninjô* has been preserved separately. It is performed by a man holding in his hand a branch of a sacred tree to which is attached a round rod.⁽³²⁷⁾

The *otome-mai* is 'the dance of a young maiden'. The oldest of the dances now performed by women is the *gosechi-no-mai*, the 'five-movement dance'. According to tradition, it was first performed by an angel who descended from Heaven and raised 'her' (*sic*) sleeves five times on a day when Emperor Temmu (seventh century) was playing the *koto*. At the Daijô-e festival and at the Toyo-no-akari-no-sechi-e festival, five and four young women respectively, of noble families, dance it, holding in their hand the formal *hiôgi* (cf. p. 146 above). In temples, there is also a dance of *miko* clad in red skirts called *chi-haya-hi-bakama*. Today, the newly-composed dance *ura-yasu-no-mai*, which commemorates the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of the Imperial dynasty, is widely performed; it is danced by eight young women using both fans and bells.⁽³²⁷⁾

The *shishi-mai*, the 'lion's dance', is often seen at festivals. The lion is impersonated by two (sometimes one or three) men under a green and white cloth, the front one holding a wooden lion's head. At New Year, *shishi* dancers go from door to door to cast out all evils.⁽³²⁷⁾ In spite of its name, the animal was not always originally a lion; in some districts the *shishi* masks have horns, and in others the dance is called *shika-odori*, 'deer dance'.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Excellent performances of the *shishi-mai* can be seen on April 17th during the *Maï-age-sai* of the Aë-kuni-jinja,⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ on May 14th during the annual festival of the Izumo-ô-yashiro,⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ on July 7th to 9th, when it is performed by 350 dancers during the Natsu-matsuri of the Iku-tama-jinja,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ on August 26th in the Saïtama-ken Mitsumine-jinja,⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ and on many other occasions.

A dance somewhat akin to the *shishi-mai* is the 'dragon-dance', *tatsu-gashira-mai* (or *tatsu-no-kuchi-mai*, or *tatsu-ko-mai*), which is performed i.a. on April 1st during the Chan-chan-matsuri of the Ôyamato-jinja,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ and on May 5th during the annual festival of the Nangû-jinja.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

The *yamato-mai*, the 'dance of Yamato', is believed to embody the spirit of the land of Yamato, the area around present-day Nara prefecture. During the Yamato period, it was taken to the court and performed at festivals such as the Daijô-sai and the Chin-kôn-sai; it also entered into parts of the *kagura* songs. Various types of it are danced at festivals of the Ise-jingû and some other great temples.⁽³²⁷⁾

Since spectacles offered to the Kami include not only sacred choreography, but also no dramas (*shinji-nô*) and many other kinds of drama, pantomime, comedy, etc., the variety of costumes and masks worn by the performers is practically unlimited. A few words can be said, however, about masks, which are worn only in certain types of shows and which fall into a comparatively small number of categories. In alphabetical order, the main types are:

The *dai-akujô*, an elderly man of fierce character;

The *hannya*, a female demon, with horns;⁽³⁴²⁾

The *hyottoko*, a man with one eye smaller than the other, pouting lips, sometimes a beard or a moustache; it is the symbol of a funny man, and comical acts in which that character plays a prominent part are sometimes called by the same name;⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The *kawazu*, a frog;

The *kenkwaï*, a fox which has taken the appearance of a Buddhist monk;⁽³⁴²⁾

The *kitsune*, a fox;

The *magojirô*, a young woman;

The *nyûdo*, a three-eyed goblin;⁽³⁴²⁾

The *okame*, often called *otafuku* (puffed-up face) (cf. p. 358f. below);

The *okina*, an old man with tufts of hair on the forehead and at the corners of his mouth;

The *oni*, devils, of which there are many types;

The *rôjo*, a smiling old woman;⁽³⁴²⁾

The *sanko*, an old man of lower middle-class;

The *saru*, a monkey, of which there are also many types;

The *shishi*, lion, of Indian Buddhist origin, which seems to have been introduced in Japan from China during the T'ang era;

The *shôjô*, a wine-bibber with red hair;⁽³⁴²⁾ often taken to be an alcoholic sea-monster;⁽³⁴⁷⁾

The *tengû*, a long-nosed, red-faced monster who abducts young women, kidnaps little children and does all sorts of other mischief,⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ but can also on occasion 'chastise the rascals'.⁽¹²²⁾

The *uba*, an old woman;

The *yama-uba*, an old woman from the mountains with a large wig;

The *yasha*, a ferocious woman;⁽³⁴²⁾

The *zô*, a young woman.

Among the various sports and games which are often offered to the Kami on the occasion of matsuri, special mention must be made of *sumô*, the Japanese wrestling, amateur or professional, which is extremely popular throughout Japan and always draws large crowds of fans. Its close association with Shintô is stressed by the fact that the matches are fought on a sort of ring enclosed in (or under) an architectural structure identical with that of a Shintô temple. Archery, both on foot (*kyûjutsu*) and on horseback (*yabusame*), is also a great favourite. Boat-races (*funa-kurabe*) are frequently held on the shores of Western Japan, also at Iki, Tsushima, Sakura-jima and Nagasaki.⁽³²⁷⁾ Horse-races (*keiba*) are intended mostly to divine the Kami's will concerning the harvest,⁽³²⁷⁾ but very probably they have a deeper meaning, since one is painted on a door of the *honden* in the Izumo-ô-yashiro.

The most spectacular part of the great matsuri, however, is the colourful pageant which accompanies them. It is by no means the least of the attractions for tourists and for the most devout worshippers alike. As stated by a highly competent *gûji*, the purpose of the pageant is twofold: (a) to preserve the ritual adopted when the cult of the Kami was first introduced; (b) to inspect the territory over which the Kami has authority and to confirm its limits.⁽²⁰¹⁾ For the latter purpose, the Kami is made to stop for one or several days in one or more smaller shrines, the *o-tabisho*, in a part of its territory other than that of the main temple. According to some authors,⁽⁷¹²⁾ the *o-tabisho* is no other than the place where the Kami is expected to descend from Takama-no-hara.

The procession often commemorates, and to a certain extent reproduces a local historic event, such as a journey of the feudal lord on a visit to the Shôgun. Such is the case, for instance, in the matsuri of the Shônai-jinja and the Yuzawa Atago-jinja.

In most cases, the participants in the pageant are dressed in the costumes of the period, or periods in which such events took place. Among the features found in a majority of cases, the pageant comprises a long procession in which one can admire: the priests of the

temple, in full dress, some of them on horseback, occasionally in palanquins, delegations of *ujiko* from the various wards of the parish, delegations of geisha, groups of musicians, groups of dancers, samurai in full armour with their attendants, lantern-bearers, floats and special palanquins (*mikoshi*) bearing the sacred objects in which the spirit of the Kami has taken temporary residence.

The most impressive part of the procession is the many enormous floats (*dashi*), huge structures which bear a striking resemblance to those of European carnivals, although they are far more ornate and artistic and luxurious than anything similar to be seen outside Japan. The *dashi* probably originated from *shimeshi-no-yama* ('Marking-mountains') which were used in ancient days at the Imperial Palace on the occasion of Daïjô-e, or harvest rites. The *shimeshi-no-yama* was a miniature artificial mountain, made of earth, on which was planted a pine or some other sacred tree, decorated with a miniature sun and moon, and banners. It was placed in front of two temporary shrines, the Yuki-den and the Suki-den, in which the newlyharvested rice was presented to the heavenly Kami; it was intended as a mark to show the Kami where to descend and to taste the offerings.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ The *dashi* now generally carries a large image of some historical or legendary person, or of real or imaginary animals. It is constructed on wheels and drawn by men or oxen; drummers and flutists ride on most of the bigger ones.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ A pole (*hoko*) is raised high in the centre, dolls are displayed, and paper lanterns are lit all over the car. Various types bear different names: *odori-guruma*, *yama-boko*, *hiki-yama*, *mai-guruma*, *yatdi*, etc. We shall describe later some of those used in the Kyoto Gion-matsuri (cf. p. 209–12 below).

More sacred than anything else is the palanquin (*mikoshi*) which bears the Kami enshrined in a holy object (*mitama-shiro*). It is generally extremely luxurious (one of them, in the Kumano Nachi-jinja, is made entirely of fans!) To carry it is the greatest honour that may befall a parishioner. Some of them, of a smaller size, are intended to be carried by children, but those of the standard size often require a large number of strong men to carry on their shoulders the poles on which they rest. In many cases, the *mikoshi* is handled rather roughly, strange as it may seem, and shaken in all directions in a most alarming fashion—but this evidently once had an esoteric meaning, although very few people seem to be aware of it, and for nearly everybody it is just fun. The *mikoshi* is not seldom followed by a horse in case the Kami should feel tired of it and want to ride; also by one or two huge umbrellas in case he should want to walk and he should have to be respectfully protected against sun or rain—but I never heard of any case in which he was understood to have expressed such a wish.

An interesting and peculiar technique of purification which is included in a large number of matsuri makes a symbolic use of arrows, quite unconnected with an archery performance. The object of the arrow is apparently to kill, or drive away, devils (*oni*), who bring in their train all sorts of evils, moral and material. (We saw on pages 26f. above that for the Japanese there is no very clear line of demarcation between the two.) In some matsuri, the devils are actually impersonated by priests or parishioners. Such is the case generally in the Setsubun, which we shall describe later (cf. p. 189ff. below). In some other matsuri, the names of the devils, or, more simply still, the word *Oni* is written on the back of a target, at which priests or selected laymen shoot arrows. Such is the case for instance in the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja and also during the Ho-sha-sai of the Shika-umi-jinja, when eight young *ujiko* each shoot two arrows simultaneously.⁽¹⁰⁾

In some temples the arrows are used in an entirely different way. The devotee buys an arrow (*hama-ya*) and gives it to a *miko*, who dances a special dance with a bunch of arrows in her hand, after which he takes it back. He then sticks the arrow behind his neck, inside the collar of his overcoat, from which it rises high above the top of his head, and walks away with it. The crowd coming out of those temples at that period is most picturesque to look at. The object of the arrow (*ya*) is to break up and chase away (*ma*) misfortunes, calamities, all obstacles to happiness (*ha*). People are very keen to get them, more particularly during the ‘unhappy periods’ (*yaku-doshi*), i.e. nineteen and thirty-three years for women, twenty-five and forty-two for men—and also at New Year at any age. The *hama-ya* is returned to the temple after one year’s service and solemnly burnt in a fire lit by the *gūji* according to old rites.⁽¹⁹²⁾ In Kyoto, the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gū, which sold more than 100,000 such arrows in 1960, and the Yoshida-jinja are famous for them. According to Mock Joya, ‘originally *hama-ya* signified merely an arrow and a target and no other meaning was attached. Somehow, however, the name came to be written out in Chinese characters meaning: devil-defeating arrow.’⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

An important part of many matsuri, big and small, is divination. It is called *bokusen*, or better *ura-nahi*. The word *ura* originally meant the back or hind part of anything, the inside, the reverse; hence the heart, the mind, divination of things unseen.⁽³⁴⁹⁾ Hirata calls it ‘respectfully inquiring into the heart (*ura*) of the Kami’.⁽⁵⁹⁸⁾ The main purpose is to find out whether the next crop will be good or bad, and also what kind of cultivation is likely to yield the best results.⁽³²⁷⁾

One of the best-known traditional methods consists in firing the shoulderblade of a deer and divining by the resulting cracks. This is *futo-mani*,⁽³²⁷⁾ a method still applied on January 3rd in the Mitake-jinja.

Another time-honoured process, *kiboku*, consists in firing the shell of a tortoise in the same way and reading from its cracks.⁽³²⁷⁾ The method was already in use in the first century B.C. (*Nihongi*, V, 4).

Divination is also often made by lots (*o-mikujī*), as we saw before (cf. p. 156 above).

Archery is also resorted to as a means of divining whether the harvest will be abundant. It is practised within the precincts of many temples during the New Year celebrations. In Chiba and Ibaragi prefectures it is called *o-bisha*, but in the rest of Japan *maio-i*.⁽³²⁷⁾ On January 14th of the lunar calendar, during the Hayatama-matsuri of the Kōgū-jinja, a *sessha* of the Miyazaki-jingū, the method used is archery on horseback (*yabusame*). The inclination which the arrow takes on the target gives the desired information about the next crops.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Mention must also be made of the Busha archery contest which takes place on January 15th of the lunar calendar in the Shika-umi-jinja, and which seems to serve the same purpose.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ This is probably also the case with the Momote-matsuri, performed at the Tajima-jinja, in the middle ten days of the lunar first month, when arrows are shot at a specially large target.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

In the Koshiō-jinja, during the festival of May 7th-8th, rice-paste is smeared on a pole about ten feet high; and according to the way it sticks, the state of the crops during the year can be foretold.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

During the Toka-sechi-e of the Atsuta-jingū, the sound obtained by a priest on a small drum (*tsuzumi*) indicates whether the harvest will be good or bad.⁽⁴⁰⁾

A special form of divination, *mi-kayu-ura*, by allowing rice to enter into hollow tubes while in boiling water is practised in various temples.

In the Awaji-shima Izanagi-jingû, during the Kayura (i.e. shells-to-receive-oracles)-nomatsuri, on January 15th, rice, to which eight times its weight of water has been added, is cooked in the empty space between the *honden* and the *heiden*, where the original *honden* probably stood; this is termed *yuniwa-cooking*, and takes place three times in succession, for two, four and six hours respectively. Three sections from one stem of bamboo measuring two *sun* (inches) each, and showing respectively one, two and three divisions are plunged into the water. The way in which the grains of rice penetrate into the hollow bamboos tell whether planting and harvesting will be early, or normal or late. The whole process is carried out by the farmers themselves and the priests only watch.⁽⁷³⁾

A similar, but much more elaborate operation takes place in the Haru-miya of the Suwa-taisha on January 14th. A small matsuri is held on the previous evening at eight. Then the cooking ceremony begins. In the Tsutsugayu-den, a small temple-shaped building which is otherwise empty, a fire is lit under a huge caldron containing rice, red beans, a large quantity of water and a bundle of forty-three stems of *yoshi*, a type of reed, tied up with hemp. Water is added when necessary, and the whole is kept boiling until 3 a.m. It has by then turned into a sort of paste, *gâyukayu*. At 4 a.m., the *yoshi* are offered to the Kami, the *gûji* chants a norito asking for an abundant harvest, the bundle of *yoshi* is untied and spread on a table. The *gûji* then splits open every one of the forty-three stems in succession and announces the amount of rice-paste which has been found in each one: much-much, middling-much, little-much, much-middling, middling-middling, little middling, much-little, middling-little and little-little. Standing behind the *gûji*, a *negi* has before him a list of forty-two kinds of plants cultivated in the region, and he writes down the results announced by the *gûji* opposite each one of the forty-two names, in the order in which they stand—an order which remains unknown to the *gûji*. The *negi* then reads out to the assembled farmers the information thus received, and they take due account of it in planning their sowing for the next campaign. The forty-third stem of *yoshi* gives an indication for the ‘general world-situation in the year that has just begun’.

In the Kasuga-taisha, *mi-kayu-ura* goes into even greater detail, since fifty-four tubes of bamboo are used, bearing the names of as many vege-tables.⁽⁵⁹⁸⁾

In the Udo-jingû, where the *hongû* is in a cave, the places at which stones detach themselves from the rock-wall were carefully observed ‘before Meiji’, as they were signs of what the future held in store.

In Ise, in periods of foreign or internecine wars, the time during which one of the sacred horses remained out of its stable after it had escaped afforded valuable indications about either the duration of the conflict or its ultimate outcome.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

One other method, generally used outside temples, is cross-road divination, *tsuji-ura*. A woman passes a finger along the teeth of a boxwood (*tsuge*, a word which also means ‘inform us!’) comb, and makes it sound three times, so as to invite the Kami, generally Funado-sahe, to speak.⁽⁵⁹⁸⁾

There used to be, at the Imperial Court, a Department of Divination which consisted of twenty-six persons from the provinces of Izu, Iki and Tsushima. Divination was resorted

to mostly to determine the deep causes of misfortunes which had happened, but also when an important ecclesiastical office had to be filled, when sacred rice-fields had to be chosen, etc.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Apart from those already mentioned, important matsuri mostly for divination purposes are:

On January 15th, the Tsutsugayu-matsuri at the Nukisaki-jinja, to determine whether the harvest of the year will be abundant.

On the same day, in the Kanasana-jinja, where also rice, beans and reeds are used to divine whether twenty-four types of grain will be successful or not.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

Also on the same day, the Okayu-ura-go-shinji (formerly called Taūra-sai) at the Ôsaka-fu Hiraoka-jinja, which goes back beyond the thirteenth century. The divining bamboos number fifty-three and are tied in a bundle with wistaria-vine; they are boiled together with gruel (three-eighths of small red beans and five-eighths of rice) for two hours.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

On the same day also, a similar ceremony, the Yone-ura-sai, which dates back to A.D. 709, is held at the Izumo-ô-yashiro.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

At the end of the matsuri, when it is held outside their usual dwelling place, a special rite, the *kami-okuri*, sends off the Kami who have been summoned. The *keihitsu* is repeated for this purpose.⁽³²⁷⁾

Matsuri are innumerable. Every temple, big or small, and every one of its subsidiary shrines has at least one, more often three to five. And every one is different from the others. It would therefore take hundreds of volumes to attempt a methodical description. Here we shall take a few instances only, among the most significant.

In order of decreasing importance, matsuri fall into three main categories: *taisai*, *chûsai* and *shôsai*. Each temple has one specific matsuri of its own, the *reisai*, which is generally the most important and falls into the category of *taisai*; it takes place once, in some cases twice a year. In very exceptional cases, it takes place once in a number of years. Matsuri celebrated only in one particular temple in which they have their origin are termed *tokushu-shinji*; outstanding instances are the Mi-are-matsuri of the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the Morota-bune of the Miho-jinja.⁽³²⁷⁾ They are generally the most archaic in character;⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ the *gûji* usually receives the Kami at midnight after strict abstinence and purification.⁽¹²²⁾

In addition to the groups we have already mentioned, it is possible to single out three great types: (a) those which have as their main purpose the success of agriculture and therefore take place in most temples about the same time of the year and have many points in common; this group may also be made to include those intended mostly for hunters and for seafarers (mariners, navigators, fishermen); (b) those the main object of which is purification of the parishioners and any other people attending; the most important of them also take place at definite periods of the year; the various Hi-matsuri, in honour of Fire (*hi*), also have many points in common with them; (c) those which do not fall into either of the previous groups, and which are essentially connected with the local traditions of the temple and the episodes of the life of the enshrined Kami. Of course, more often than not, they also include prayers for the success of the crops, the purity of the parishioners, etc., so that the above classification can only amount to a very vague approximation.

Since a very large part of the population of Japan has lived, and still lives by agriculture, it is normal that one of the main objects of prayer to the Kami should be protection against whatever may endanger the crops. I believe it may be said that, with very few exceptions, matsuri all contain something to that effect. There are, however, a number of special 'agricultural' matsuri, most of which fall into one or other of the following main categories:

The Ta-asobi, at the very beginning of the year, which covers the whole process of rice-cultivation;

The Haru-matsuri, in the spring;

The Ta-uë-matsuri and the Natsu-matsuri in the summer;

The Kanname and other matsuri for the offering of first fruits;

The Aki-matsuri in the autumn as thanksgiving for the harvest.

Of course, the pattern varies with the regions. A Japanese author who made an exhaustive study of agricultural matsuri in the province of Mikawa (Aichi-ken) distinguishes three kinds: the Hana-matsuri, celebrated between December 2nd (solar calendar) and January 16th (lunar calendar), of which he counted twenty-three; the Mikagura, celebrated between January 1st (solar) and December 15th (lunar), of which he counted twenty-one; and the Dengaku, celebrated between November 1st (lunar) and April 12th (solar), of which he counted ten.⁽⁵²⁵⁾

For the Hana-matsuri, which may also be celebrated by farmers individually (in which case it is called *ichirikibana*), five rooms have to be made available: the *kamibeya* (room of the Kami), the *kanza* (to which the Kami comes to receive the worship), the *maïto* (the stage, where the dances are performed and in the middle of which stands a caldron of boiling water surmounted by a square umbrella, *biyakke*, connected by straw ropes, *kami-michi*, to four bamboos in the four corners of the room as a symbol that the dances take place 'where Heaven and Earth meet'), the *kdïsho* (where the participants meet) and the *senji* (kitchen). In addition to which there is a *seïto*, garden for onlookers.⁽⁵²⁵⁾

In the same province, dances for the agricultural matsuri are performed in the following order: calendar calculations, examination of the water, selection of the seeds, hiring of labourers, ploughing of the rice-field, weeding, burying of the weeds for manure, sowing, dance of Yanadô by the chief, driving away of harmful birds, cutting of the grass, hiring of women for re-planting, midday-meal and replanting.⁽⁵²⁵⁾

Generally speaking, the Ta (rice-field)-asobi (play)-matsuri is a sort of pantomime played around the full moon of the New Year, in which the whole process of rice-cultivation is enacted from beginning to end, in order to obtain a beautiful harvest. It is celebrated with great pomp:

On January 7th in the Mishima-taïsha;

On January 14th in the Gero-machi Hachiman-jinja, where men and women dance with umbrellas carrying paper cocoons and mulberry leaves;

On January 16th in the Niïyama-jinja;

On February 10th in the Tokyo Akazuka-suwa-jinja;⁽³²⁷⁾

On April 5th in the Yamagata-ken Kimbu-jinja, where it bears the name of Ta-nari-shiki.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

Haru (spring)-matsuri are held everywhere in the spring to pray for an abundant harvest. One variant of it is the Toshi-goï-no-matsuri or Kinensaï.⁽³²⁷⁾ In which category the following fall:

On January 11th, the Tôka-saï in the Atsuta-jingû;

On February 17th, the Toshi-goï-no-matsuri in both shrines of the Isejingû. The Emperor's envoy is present and makes an offering of clothes;

On May 12th, a rather special festival, the Mi-are-matsuri, is held in the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja 'for the selection of seeds'.

The [O]-ta-uë-matsuri is a special festival held in summer, during which rice is planted in a special paddy-field. Its date varies considerably with the different temples. We find it:

On April 3rd in the Hiromine-jinja, before the shrine;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

At the beginning of May, for two days, in the Katori-jingû;

On June 1st in the Mië-ken Saruda-hiko-jinja;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On June 10th in the Kasama-inari-jinja;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On June 14th in the Sumiyoshi-taïsha, where twelve carefully selected girls carry the rice-seedlings from the temple buildings to the temple paddyfields;

On June 16th in the Fushimi-inari-taïsha, where the work is entrusted to four girls dressed in costumes of the Heian era;

On June 24th in the Izô-nomiya, where eight youths and as many maidens form into a procession to the paddy-fields;

Some time in June in the Nitta-jinja;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

Some time in June also in the Takase-jinja, where a fire is lit according to the ancient rites;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On July 7th in the Fujisan-hongû-sengen-jinja;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On July 14th in the Kumano Nachi-jinja, with performance of *dengaku*;

On July 28th in the Aso-jinja, where it is called Mita-uë-shinko-shiki, and follows immediately upon the reïsaï;⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

On August 2nd and 3rd in the Kibitsu-hiko-jinja, where it is accompanied by an impressive procession of great banners;⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On August 15th, a special festival of thanksgiving for the water-supply is held in the Shirayama-hime-jinja.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

Rice-planting ceremonies are often enlivened by a special musical performance called *dengaku*. To the accompaniment of flutes, drums and *sasara*, the 'rice-planting maidens' (*sa-otome*) sing songs while they do their work. Towards the middle of the Heian period, the inhabitants of Kyoto also came to enjoy this performance, which was taken into the temple festivals. Later, professional musicians, the *dengaku-hôshi*, appeared, and *dengaku* became somewhat commercialized. In the Muromachi period, however, it became far less popular under competition from the Sarugaku-nô; today it is beautifully performed⁽³²⁷⁾ on May 17th during the Sanja-matsuri of the Tokyo Asakusa-jinja.

The object of the next series of agricultural festivals is to guard the ripening crops against plant diseases, insect pests, storms, floods, etc. They are given the generic name of Natsu-matsuri.⁽³²⁷⁾ Let us mention among the most remarkable:

On 17th-24th July that of the Yasaka-jinja;

On 4th August that of the Kitano-ten-man-gu;

On 15th September that of the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû.

The Kazahinomi-saï (festival of praying for mild weather) is held in the Ise-jingû on May 14th. It is repeated on August 14th and takes place in both shrines. Offerings of sacred cloth are made, with a request that the graincrops may ripen without harm from wind and rain. In May a pair of sedge raincoats and hats are added to the offerings. Some time in summer, the Tennô-matsuri, held in honour of Susano-wo throughout Japan, has the same purpose.⁽³²⁷⁾

After that come other festivals during which the first fruits of the year's harvest, and in particular the first ripened rice-shoots (*hatsu-ho*)⁽³²⁷⁾ are offered to the Kami. They often bear the name of Nii-name-saï or Kanname-saï.⁽³²⁷⁾ Among them are the following:

On August 1st, during the *taï-saï* of the Suwa-taïsha, the first ears of rice, complete with roots, are offered in wooden pots, on which all relevant information has been carefully inscribed. This offering is made to both shrines of the Shimo-sha, including the one from which the Kami is absent.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

On August 25th a festival for the same purpose is held in the Tosa-jinja.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

On September 9th and 10th, the Akasaki-jinja has been celebrating for three centuries its annual festival 'to soothe the anger of a Kami' who was credited with sending harmful insects and damaging the crops.

On September 10th, the Harvest-festival of the Ô-harano-jinja, which started in 1717, is marked by wrestling-matches.

On October 15th and 17th, both shrines of the Ise-jingû hold the Kanname-saï, a festival which has been celebrated with the utmost solemnity since ancient times. The first grains of ripened rice from the sacred rice-fields (*shin-den*) of the temple are offered to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who then partakes of them in company with Toyo-uke-bime. An Imperial envoy is present and makes offerings of clothing (*heihaku*).⁽⁷⁰³⁾

On October 29th, the Fushimi-inari-taïsha holds its Harvest-festival, with a harvesting ceremony and special dances.

The Aki-matsuri is the Autumn festival in the course of which the Kami are thanked for the harvest reaped. It used to be preceded by one month of strict taboo, which coincided with the *kannazuki*, the 'month without Kami' (cf. p. 232f. below).⁽³²⁷⁾ It is normally enlivened by the dance called *hōnenodori*, of which Lafcadio Hearn has given a beautiful description.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

On November 23rd, both shrines of the Ise-jingû perform the Niiname-saï, which is based on a similar ceremony carried on in the Shinka-den of the Imperial Palace, and which we shall describe later (cf. p. 399 below). An Imperial envoy is also present to make an offering of sacred clothing.⁽⁷⁰³⁾

A special case is found in the Kôchi area, particularly in the Tosa-jinja and some other temples. That region is specially favoured by having two crops of rice a year. Therefore there are two thanksgiving matsuri for the harvest, one after the end of July, and one on October 8th.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

There are also some matsuri which are aimed at silviculture. One of the most remarkable is held on February 12th at the Hirose-jinja, where the Kami is Waka-uka-no-me, 'a young or vigorous spirit of the Kami of food'.⁽¹²²⁾ During the festival, which originated in the

seventh century, pinetree saplings are planted. A peculiarity is that the participants throw sand at each other, the sand 'symbolizing rain'.

A typically Japanese group of festivals which, although not related to the production of foodstuffs, is definitely connected with vegetation, centres upon the blossoming of cherry-trees (*sakura*)—the cherry tree incidentally, is a symbol of purity.⁽³⁸⁷⁾ There are more than fifty different varieties famous for their beauty. Among them, in chronological order of blossoming, are the *higan-zakura* (spring equinox-cherry), the *yama-zakura* (mountain-cherry), the *hitoë-zakura* (single-petalled cherry), and the *yaë-zakura* (many-petalled cherry). According to species and regions, the season lasts from the latter part of March till the middle of May.⁽³⁴²⁾

Witnessing this pageant of nature (*hana-mi*) has not only been one of the richest sources of inspiration to poets and painters, but also one of the most cherished delights of the whole population. The poet Motoôri wrote the famous poem: 'If one should enquire of you concerning the spirit of a true Japanese, point to the wild cherry-blossom shining in the sun.'⁽³⁴⁷⁾

Originally at least, the meaning was probably not merely aesthetic. According to Professor Orikuchi, farmers used to look upon cherry-blossom as symbolical of the flowers of rice, and they watched them anxiously, fearing that they should flutter down too soon.⁽⁷¹²⁾ In the eighth century, the Emperor Kônin made it a Court festival 'on the Metal positive day of the Ox', on the 12th of the second month of the lunar calendar.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

In April, for ten days, the famous Hana-kaë-matsuri, performed at the Kanegasaki-gû (Fukui-ken) centres upon cherry-blossoms.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

April 7th is the date on which the Chinkwa-saï of the Mishima-taïsha was intentionally placed, during the full season of the cherry-blossom, although its main purpose is protection against pestilence.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

On April 10th, the Kyoto Hirano-jinja holds a festival for cherry-blossom which originated in 985 and is believed to be the oldest festival in Kyoto. On the same day the Kotohira-gû holds a similar matsuri.

Let us also mention the fact that *sakura-yu*, a salted cherry-blossom infusion, is served at weddings instead of tea 'for the happiness of the newlywed'.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Great festivals are also held in honour of peach-blossoms. Many are regularly celebrated in the numerous Ten-man-gû because the Kami, Michizane Sugawara (cf. p. 446ff. below), loved them. There is a beautiful story of the love which flourished between Michizane and a plum-tree, and which was so strong that the tree followed its master into exile; for that reason plum-trees are always to be found in the many temples to the famous nobleman. And in the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, there is even a subsidiary shrine, the Ôi-matsu (old pine)-kôbaï (red plum-blossom) where the Kami is 'the soul of Michizane's favourite trees'. Outside the Ten-man-gû, one of the most spectacular matsuri in honour of peach-blossom takes place in the Masumida-jinja; it is the Tôka-saï, held on April 3rd; among its features are contests of horse-back archery (*yabusame*) and the participation of fifty horses decked in gold and silver thread.

Next to agriculture comes fishing, which is the other main source of food for the Japanese. It is only natural therefore that a large number of matsuri should be addressed to the Kami who protect life at sea, and who ensure good catches to their devotees. As

maritime navigation developed, those same Kami came to extend their protection to all seafarers, whatever their purpose.

Practically all temples situated near the shore—which in Japan is never very far off—take an interest in mariners, whichever Kami they may enshrine. Moreover, all Kami in the mythology of which there are episodes connected with the sea—and that probably means a large majority of them—are also looked upon as protectors of seamen, in all their temples wherever situated.

The *kaijin-matsuri*, i.e. the matsuri held in honour of the ‘sea-gods’, are therefore extremely numerous. Among them we may mention more particularly:

(a) Those addressed to the Munakata Goddesses: Tagori-hime, Tagitsu-hime and Ichikishima-hime, worshipped in the Munakata-taisha, the Itsukushima-jinja and the tens of thousands of temples and shrines to which they have given their *bun-rei*. We shall deal with them in Chapter XXI.

(b) those addressed to the Kami who were born from the purification of Izanagi—in the sea after he had visited his deceased wife—more particularly to Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto and Wa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, who are worshipped in the Sumiyoshi-taisha and in the innumerable Sumiyoshi-jinja all over the country. We shall describe them also in Chapter XXI.

(c) those of the Kotohira-gû (formerly called Kompira-dai-gongen,) the main Kami of which is Ô-mono-nushi. One reason alleged for this is that the Kami was ‘a master of construction and transportation, and *perhaps* he was also experienced in shipbuilding and navigation’. A more plausible and less mythological explanation is that, since the Ashikaga period, the Inland Sea has been used as a base for the navy and for merchant shipping, and that the temple is conveniently located for sailors to come and implore protection. However that may be, it became a custom for seamen in danger to throw into the sea a *nagashi-no-taru*, a diminutive barrel containing offerings to the Kami; whoever found it was expected to bring it to the Kotohira-gû. Nowadays, all the great shipping companies of Japan are its *ujiko*, all Japanese ships and fishing craft carry an amulet from the temple, and most fishermen carry such a charm next to their skin, The *rei-tai-sai* of the temple is on October 10th to 12th.

A peculiar type of matsuri, also connected with products from the sea, has as one of its main features the gathering of sea-weed, also an essential element in the Japanese diet. Among them:

On the first day of the year according to the lunar calendar is probably the most important of them, the Mekari-matsuri, held in the Fukuoka-ken Mekari-jinja.⁽¹²²⁾

On the last day of the year, according also to the lunar calendar, is the Mekari-sai held in the Ara-mitama-jinja of the Sumiyoshi-taisha in honour of the Sumiyoshi-no-kami, when one of the three officiating priests carries the ‘Divine spear’; sea-weed is gathered and offered to the Kami, and then distributed to the participants—by whom it is regarded as ensuring safety at sea, and also an easy and safe child-bearing.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

A similar ceremony, under the same name of Mekari-sai, is celebrated on January 5th of the lunar calendar in the Hi-no-misaki-jinja for the first gathering of *wakame* sea-weed. The *wakame* thus collected is offered to the Kami.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

Another similar ceremony, under a similar name, Mogari-no-shinji, takes place on July 4th in the Shiogama-jinja. Two priests in full ecclesiastical garb walk into the water to cut the weeds, while four or five others sit in a rowing-boat to collect what they have cut.

* * *

One main purpose of most matsuri is protection against evil, in whatever form it may come: acts contrary to proper behaviour (both what Christians would call sin and offences against etiquette), ritual impurity, diseases and calamities of all sorts.

The methods resorted to vary with almost every temple, but they may be grouped into a few large categories:

(a) The scapegoat method, in which all accumulated evil and bad luck is passed on to another animate being, or to an inanimate object, which is then either purified or destroyed. Some Western authors have alleged that originally such matsuri included human sacrifices, but this theory was successfully disproved, in particular by Tokitsuna Mano in his *Shinka-Jōdan*.⁽⁴⁶⁵⁾

(b) A mimic fight against devils (*oni*), who are responsible for having brought to us, from outside, all evil.

(c) Other magical processes for purification.

Closely connected with purification are of course also the agricultural Natsu-matsuri, which we have already seen (cf. p. 185) and many of the fire-matsuri, with which we shall deal later (cf. p. 486ff.).

We shall list here, in chronological order, some of the most important matsuri which are specifically intended for purification, and give a few details about some of the most typical in every group.

On January 7th is the Oni-sube, a rite of exorcism performed in the Dazaifu u-Tenman-gū.⁽⁷⁵⁴⁾

Perhaps the most interesting matsuri for purification is one celebrated throughout Japan, called the Setsubun ('change of seasons'), which falls some time early in February. As its name indicates, it marks the end of the Shōkan ('minor cold') season according to the lunar calendar, and spring begins on the following day, which is called *risshun* ('birth of spring') although now it really heralds the coldest weather.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ No authority for it has been found in the sacred Scriptures. Some historians allege that it originated in the seventh century, after a terrible plague and famine had laid the land waste. But popular belief takes it as a commemoration of victory won over a devil who long, long ago, lived in a cave near Lake Misoro, in the province of Kumano; the monster came out at night, kidnapped young girls and committed all sorts of crimes. Warriors and saintly men failed in their efforts to kill it or to exorcise it. Finally, seven wise men, sent by the Emperor, threw parched beans into the cave and blocked the entrance with the heads of sardines and leaves of a certain Japanese holly-tree (*hiiragi*). And the devil was never seen again.

On the day of Setsubun, the Japanese hang over the door of their houses a branch of *hiiragi* and the head of a sardine, and throw handfuls of beans twice in the direction which has been designated as the lucky quarter for the year, and twice in the opposite direction, shouting *Fuku wa uchi! fuku wa uchi! oni wa soto!* 'Come in, good fortune; come in, good fortune; out with all devils!' A specially effective procedure requires each person to wrap in a piece of white paper beans equal in number to the years of his age plus one, possibly also

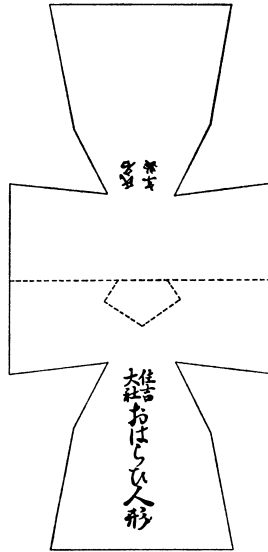
a few coins. If the parcel, when left at a crossroads, is stepped upon by somebody else, the person who made it is thereby rid of all accumulated evil.

In temples, the ceremony is often most elaborate and is attended by large crowds. In addition to the usual *norito* and *shinsen*, it has two very special features: (1) in a rite called *tsuina* or *oni-yarai*, a few persons impersonating devils (*oni*) and dressed and made up accordingly come from outside the temple and attempt to enter it; priests also dressed in special costumes and wearing masks stop them and chase them away by a magical dance which ends in shooting at them with bow and arrows; (2) one person, the *toshi-otoko*, who is generally a highly-respected parishioner, sometimes a noted public figure (politician, actor, sumô-wrestler, &c.), and who preferably should be someone born under the Japanese Zodiacal sign of the New Year, then proceeds to *mame-maki*, or *tsuina*, i.e. he scatters parched beans over the crowd. Sometimes several others help him. Often candies, medicines, small toys, &c., are thrown with the beans. People scramble for them among shouts of joy; it is believed that they will keep away harm during the coming year. It is also a common belief that if one eats three *setsubim-beans* during a thunderstorm, one cannot be hit by lightning.

We shall describe two Setsubun ceremonies, one carried out in an exceptionally conservative school, the Yamakage-shintô-kyô and the other in a new sect, the Ômoto-kyô.

The Yamakage-shintô-kyô celebrates the Setsubun in the Misogi-no-miya, a very esoteric temple in Ise, which is independent of the Ise-jingû and is not affiliated to the Jinja-honchô; it was set up in 1925 to take the place of the former Harai-no-miya, suppressed during the Meiji reformation. This Setsubun is understood by those who celebrate it to be only a reflection of the Divine Setsubun which the Kami celebrate themselves at the same time in the Plain of High Heaven, Takama-no-hara. On the previous evening, beginning at sunset, the souls of the ancestors are 'purified': A square pile of wood with a large empty space in the middle, is lit according to ancient rites; into the centre of it are then thrown wooden tablets, about ten inches in length, one for each ancestor; they bear the name of the ancestor, the wish expressed by the donor, and a magical sign of which the meaning is believed to have been lost. Priests read out the inscription on the tablet before consigning it to the flames. This lasts until about 11 p.m.

At midnight begins the Hô-hei-shiki, which is the actual Setsubun. Each person attending the ceremony has been given a small 'doll' (*hito-gata*), about eight inches high, made from the fibre of the hinoki-tree. In the chest of the doll has been stuck a red leaf taken from the very end of a twig of *nanten* (a *nandin*, a sort of sacred bamboo) which pointed exactly towards the South (a compass is used to avoid any possible mistake or inaccuracy). On that leaf are inscribed the name and wishes of the person who offers the *hito-gata*, and the 'soul' of the person is summoned to enter the doll. *Shinsen* and *hito-gata* are then offered to the Kami. Music (orchestral and vocal) follows, and then *kagura*. A *norito* is chanted by the gûji of the Misogi-no-miya, then the Ô-harai-norito by the President of the Yamakage-shintô-kyô. A sword-dance, the *tachi-barai* (*harai* of the sword), is performed according to the style used in the Kashima-shintô school.



Hito-gata

Then, in front of the *honden*, a fire is lit with sixty-four sticks, three feet below the purifying *gohei*, and the *hito-gata* are thrown into it, one by one, by the President of the Yamakage-shintô-kyô. He begins with one representing the Emperor, which he has made himself. Before he burns any doll, inspiration comes to him and he knows from what the person concerned suffers. It is understood that the ceremony affords total protection to those who take part in it.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

The Ômoto-kyô was inaugurated in 1892, on the occasion of Setsubun, and therefore attaches considerable importance to it. On that occasion every year about a million devotees sent to Headquarters in Ayabe small sheets of paper (*hito-gata*) about five by eight inches, which have been distributed to them, and on which they have written down the required particulars (name, date of birth and postal address). At 7.30 p.m. on Setsubunday, the names are read out, and the *hito-gata* tied together in bundles of 200 each (this number is definitely stated to have no special significance). Each bundle is then put into a round porcelain ball (ceramics is one of the main industries of Ayabe). This operation occupies about 200 people for several hours. A virgin girl then dances before the altar with an *o-fuda* and *suzu*, 'to purify the universe'. A priest recites the Japanese syllabary of seventy-five syllables, and then the names of all the countries in the world; after which he prays for those who sent *hito-gata*. Eighty women then take the porcelain balls to a bridge on the river, about two-thirds of a mile distant, break them and throw the *hito-gata* into the river. The whole ceremony ends at about midnight. One peculiarity of the Ômoto-kyô in Setsubun is that, instead of roasted beans, they use fresh ones—which in their eyes is very important.⁽¹⁶⁾

One very popular Setsubun in Tokyo is that held in the Gojô-tenjin-sha, the chief Kami of which is Ô-namuchi-no-mikoto, considered here as a protector against diseases. This

temple is specially concerned with physical health, and the word *oni* (devil) is taken to be synonymous with illness. Eighty-eight different kinds of medicinal herbs are artistically painted on the panelled ceiling of the *haïden*, and during Setsubun, *ukera*, one of the eighty-eight, is kept burning in the *haïden* in a huge jar, giving a foul smell; it is supposed to offer good protection against dampness, ‘which is at the origin of all diseases’. There are a large number of *toshi-otoko*, heads of families responsible for their family worship, ‘men who want to enter the New Year after having driven away all the evils of the previous years’. They are dressed in European clothes, but with blue *kata-ginu*, an arrow stuck in the collar of their coats, and a large wooden spoon (*shamoji*) stuck in their belts. The main part in the pantomime is acted by a priest, masked, dressed as Hôsoshi, who remains sitting throughout the ceremony after he has performed a very hieratic dance. The two *oni*, dressed in tights, one green and one red, with furs on their back, are met by two priests (one of whom is the *gûji*) armed with bows and arrows made of peachwood. After long discussions, actual wrestling and shooting of arrows, the *oni* are made to confess their names, and are then put to flight. No *shinsen* is offered.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

Another very spectacular Setsubun celebration in Tokyo is that held on the same night in the Kameïdo-tenjin-sha.

Among other individual temple matsuri which are of the nature of Setsubun, we may mention:

On January 13th of the lunar calendar, the Naoï-matsuri in the Owari Ô-kuni-tama-jinja when participants, in order to rid themselves of bad luck, jostle one another in an attempt to touch the *naoï-bito* (scapegoat) and rub off their bad luck on him.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On April 10th, the Yasurai-matsuri of the Kyoto Imamiya-jinja is famous for its devil-driving dances by two children and four adults. On the day of the equinox ‘according to the lunar calendar’ (*sic*), the Nagata-jinja has the *tsuïna* celebration. One peculiarity of it is that the torches carrying the purifying fire are waved by *oni* wearing terrifying masks, but ‘good *oni*’ (*sic*).⁽⁹⁹⁾

In the Yoshida-jinja, on the day following Setsubun, they proceed to the Daigen-kyû, the exorcization of Uji-kata-yagi-no-yamai-gami. This important person is the Kami of all evil: evil thoughts, evil intentions (*tsumi*), external dirt, illnesses, accidents, etc. The *gûji* claims that success in this operation is obtained ‘through the power of the Gods’, but he seems to resort just as much to what he calls ‘the other method’, that of ‘soft words’, since worship is offered to the malignant Kami, with a respectful request that he (or they?) remain in the mountains, where streams are pure, and offerings are made of rice and sake. On that occasion, bags of soya-beans containing as many beans as the *ujiko* has already counted years plus one (*yaku-mame*)—and of course the name inscribed—are cast upon the ‘misery-mound’ (*yaku-zuka*) in front of the *honden*.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ The purpose of the Rokkon-shôjo-no-o-haraï is to drive away the crimes of the six senses (eyes, ears, nose, mouth, skin and heart).

Among other matsuri held essentially for purification purposes, let us mention:

On April 24th, the sword-waving ceremony in the Kono-jinja, when young men and boys march towards the temple, waving swords to drive off pollution and evil thoughts.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On June 14th and 15th of the lunar calendar, the Tsushima-jinja holds its remarkable *rei-tai-sai*. One prominent figure in it is the *chigo-san*, a boy of six or slightly more, chosen from one of two families (Hattori and Usami) in one of the wards, the *ichi-e*. He is most

carefully watched over and cared for by male members of his family for a period of six weeks, so that at the time of the matsuri he should be perfectly pure; five or six other *chigo-san*, coming from the other wards, attend on him during the festival, during which he is not allowed to set foot on the ground, but is always carried on men's shoulders. The purification rite is carried out long before dawn on the first day by a few priests, who, in great secrecy, take to the neighbouring lake nine large bundles of *miyoshi-grass*, to which all the sins of the community have been transferred, and sink them into the water, in a place which should be made known to no other person. Later in the same day, five or six boats, gorgeously decorated, file past the *o-tabisho*. And then a dozen sturdy and handsome-looking young men, carrying on their shoulders huge crosses from each of which a white banner hangs, plunge one by one into the lake and swim to the *o-tabisho*, and finally offer their crosses and banners to the main temple. All people present crowd around them to catch one drop of the water which drips from the banners. At the end of the ceremony, two concerts are offered to the Kami by child-musicians, first in the presence of the main *chigo-san*, and then in the presence of the minor *chigo-san*.⁽³⁴⁾

On June 30th, the Ô-haraë festival is intended to drive off the sins and impurities of the whole population. It is repeated on December 31st and may also be held on other days, at times of pestilence and disaster, or before the beginning of other great festivals.⁽³²⁷⁾ In many temples, devotees are invited to walk through a 'large-size sacred ring (*chi-no-wa*) made of loosely twisted miscanthus reeds',⁽³²⁷⁾ *chi* (or *kaya*, or *chigaya*) being 'the herb with which Izanagi purified himself when coming back from the land of Yomi'. In the Hikawa-jinja (Saitama-ken), the *chi-no-wa* is set up between two bamboos, on the highest point of the last bridge before the sanctuary, and people go through it three times, walking each time so as to draw on the bridge the figure eight. They write their names and age on a piece of paper in the shape of a human figure (*hito-gata*) and those papers are then burnt. Formerly they used to be thrown into the nearby river Arakawa.⁽¹³⁴⁾ In the Tamaë-gû-tôshô-gû the festival is called Misogi-saï or Chiwa-kuguri; an enormous ring of *chi-no-wa* is placed under the monumental gate to the temple. Each *ujiko* receives a piece of paper folded in the shape also of a human figure, very similar to that used in the Hikawa-jinja; he writes on it his name and age, sleeps over it for one whole night, blows on it three times and then brings it to the temple, taking great care to walk through the *chi-no-wa*. When the latter is taken down, the herb with which it was made is distributed to the *ujiko*.⁽⁸⁵⁾ A somewhat similar procedure is followed on the same day in the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha and in the Torigoë-jinja.

On July 1st, the *rei-saï* of the Take-isao-jinja or Kenkun-jinja starts and continues for one whole week.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On June 17th of the lunar calendar is the Kangen-saï of the Itsukushima-jinja.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On July 30th and 31st, the Nago-shi-saï of the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja is held to pray for purity of mind and body and removal of disasters.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On November 30th, the Katori-jingû holds the Daï-kyô-saï, a very special and very old style purification ceremony.

On December 31st, as already stated, temples repeat the Ô-haraë festival of June 30th.

CHAPTER VIII

COLLECTIVE WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS

(continued)

IN addition to the matsuri which fall into one of the categories described in other chapters of this book (agricultural matsuri, pp. 183–7; fire festivals, pp. 486ff.; matsuri in honour of the stars, pp. 467ff., festivals in honour of Ebisu, pp. 512f.; etc.), there are innumerable others which are found only in one temple or in temples consecrated to one particular Kami. The following list comprises an important part of those which, for some reason or other, are famous in Japan or in one particular area. They are listed in chronological order, those which have dates fixed according to the lunar calendar coming on the same day of the following month of the solar calendar, which is a fairly good approximation.

January 3rd: the Hakozaki-gû celebrates the Tamatori-matsuri, during which half-naked young men scramble for sacred ‘male’ and ‘female’ wooden balls.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

January 7th: during the Wakana-matsuri, seven sorts of herbs and a young pine-tree are offered to the Kami to welcome the spring.⁽¹³¹⁾ This is the Nana-kusa (seven herbs) day⁽³⁴⁷⁾ when everybody eats rice-gruel boiled with seven species of edible herbs.^(342, 368) It is particularly colourful in the Iku-kuni-tama-jinja for the Iku-shima-no-kami and the Taru-shima-no kami.

On the same day in the same temple is also held the unique Uzuë-matsuri. Each participant, priest, *miko* or layman, offers a branch of plum-tree (formerly peach-tree) on which he (or she) has tagged a slip of paper with his name and age (or date of birth). After the ceremony, every person takes his own offering back, as ‘a souvenir from Izanagi and Izanami’, for protection throughout the year. In the Heian era, a similar branch was offered to the Emperor for protection.⁽¹³¹⁾

January 8th: the *ujiko* of most jinja bring all the New Year decorations to the temple on the occasion of the Dondoyaki, or Tondoyaki, or Dontoyaki (to burn vigorously)⁽¹²²⁾ and consign them to the flames. The matsuri is particularly colourful in the Torigoë-jinja.

On the same day, the Katsube-jinja repeats a festival which has now been held for seven and a half centuries. The origin is said to be that Tsuchi-mikado-tennô was informed by a process of divination that he was under a curse from a big serpent living in a near-by pond. After the courtiers had practised abstinence for fifty days to secure the Emperor’s recovery, the serpent came out and was killed. To commemorate the event, twenty-five torches, each made in the shape of a big serpent, are lighted and carried about by scantily clad young men to the accompaniment of drums.

January 9th and 10th: the Kami-kyô-ku Awata-jinja participates in a joint festival held with seven Buddhist temples (Enzan Benzaiten, Choraku-ji, Soriu-ji, Akiba-gongen, Yasui Kompira-gû, Entoku-in and Reizan-kannon). On the same day, the Kotohira-gû celebrates the Hatsu-kompira.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

January 11th: during the Chôna-hajime-saï, in the Oguni-jinja, carpenters assemble and perform a ceremony for the first use in the new year of the adze (*chôna*).⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

January 13th: in the Usa-hachiman-gû, the matsuri of one of its *massha*, the Shin-gyô-e, marks the end of the New Year festivities.⁽⁸¹⁾

January 14th: during the Dondo-matsuri of the OÔsaki-hachiman-gû, the *shimenawa* and the branches of pine-tree used during the New Year celebrations are burnt in a huge bonfire.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

January 14th and 15th: the Izu-jinja celebrates the Yuki-matsuri, or Snow-festival, during which a number of different dances, including some rather unusual ones (*ronmaï, manzaïraku, kami-oroshi, zun, modoki, shimodaki, kyoma, ushi, okina, matsukage, shojikkiri, negimaï, kanba, oni-maï, shishi-maï*) are performed, most of them with masks (*omotegata*). The main characters are Saiho, the god of happiness, and three friendly earth-spirits (Onibu). Spectators report that snow (*yuki*) never fails to fall at the precise moment when the appropriate incantation is heard.⁽⁷¹⁸⁾

January 15th: the Ho-sha-saï of the Shika-umi-jinja commemorates the victory of its three Kami who, about one thousand years ago, rid the region of ‘bad races’ of men.⁽¹⁰⁾

January 16th: the Akita-ken Niiyama-jinja celebrates the Hadaka-matsuri, which has now been observed for 270 years to pray for a rich harvest and protection from bad luck. After proper *misogi*, young men run up a nearby hill singing a special song.

December 17th according to the lunar calendar: in the Fuyu-matsuri or Hadaka-matsuri of the Aoshima-jinja, the priests and parishioners celebrate the date on which Hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto came out of the Ocean Palace (cf. p. 380–4), and the people of the village walked naked into the sea to meet him.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

January 17th: display of horse-back archery (*yabusame*) and a costume-parade are features of the festival held in the Mishima-taïsha.

January 20th: Kan-maïri is the nightly pilgrimage during the winter to the shrine or temple. This is for the apprentices in the harder trades. Every night for from two to six weeks, they go thinly clad in the white kimono of the pilgrim, with jingling bells tied to their girdles, and carrying paper lanterns. They mutter, as they run, a prayer of purification, *Zange, zange, rokkon shôjô*, which can be translated as ‘Penitence, penitence, purification, purification’. The pilgrimage takes place at midnight and is done to harden the youth against the elements, and to cultivate the spirit of perseverance and faithfulness to their patron deity. The deity is often a new one for them since it is now their duty to be faithful to their master’s deity and seek its help as they strive to become skilful in their trades. As is usual, they drop a few small coins in the collection box, and offer some prayers, after ringing the temple bell like a Buddhist or clapping their hands like a Shintôist. Then, they go to the laver of the place and, stripping themselves, pour many dippers of cold water over their heads and bodies. After putting on their white kimonos again, they offer another prayer and start home. At the gate of the enclosure, they are served warm sweet sake, and, thus refreshed, they start on the run home with their bells dingling and their lips murmuring the prayer *Zange, zange*, purification, purification. The ceremony is repeated every night during the winter or the Kan season of six weeks, which is usually from the middle of January to the middle of February.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

January 25th: the various Tenjin temples hold the Uso-gaë ceremony, during which worshippers buy artificial bullfinches (*uso*) and exchange them for others which have been sanctified.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

January 30th: various temples commemorate the death of Kômei-tennô.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

February 1st: the Kami of the Suwa-taïsha are taken from the Aki-miya to the Harumiya, in a great festival which reproduces most of what we describe under the similar festival of August 1st.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

February 2nd: the Iyahiko-jinja commemorates the death of its Kami, Ame-no-kagoyama-no-mikoto; the pageant, which used to be important, has now been discontinued.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

February 7th: The Ômiya Hikawa-jinja holds an important matsuri.⁽¹²²⁾

Usually on *February 8th*, many girls' schools celebrate a Hari (needle)-kuyo-matsuri in honour of broken needles, a ceremony reported to have been inaugurated about the third century of our era. It is also the occasion of a matsuri in various temples, particularly in the Wakayama Kata-jinja.⁽³⁴²⁾

February 10th: at the festival of the Sugô-isobe-jinja, which was inaugurated in A.D. 638, green bamboo-trees presented by the parishioners are cut into sticks six feet long, which young men clad in white bring into the temple and with which they exchange blows. In the meantime, a large rope made to look like a snake is carried to the nearby river; it is believed that any fisherman who picks it up will have a big catch.

February 11th: the Kashiwara-jingû holds its annual festival, on the anniversary of the accession of Jimmu-tennô to the throne in 660 B.C. This is the Kigen-setsu, which used to be a national holiday. On that day also, Emperor Meiji promulgated the Constitution in 1889.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

February 13th is now the date of the Chin-eki-saï, which used to be celebrated in the Usa-hachiman-gû, and which lost most of its splendour after the Buddhist element was eliminated from the temple. Up to the year twenty of the Meiji era, it was held on the first day of the lunar year, to 'attenuate' diseases throughout Japan.⁽⁸¹⁾

February 15th: the festival of the Akumi-kambe-shinmei-jinja re-acts a legend according to which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and the other Kami once had to fight demons, but finally made peace with them and danced with them. A man dressed as a Tengû fights one dressed as a red demon and defeats him, after which the demon runs around the streets where the *ujiko* live.

February 17th: In the Mano-gû, the Kinen-saï celebrates the anniversary of the death of Hi-no-Suketomo, a vassal of Godaïgo-tennô who is an Aïdono-no-kami in the temple.⁽²⁵³⁾

February 26th: The Minato-guchi-jinja holds a matsuri in honour of Haya-aki-tsu-hiko and Haya-aki-tsu-hime.⁽²⁸⁵⁾ (Cf. p. 480 below).

February 28th: the No-ide-no-shinji, celebrated in the Maë-miya of the Suwa-taïsha, commemorates the day on which the hunting season opened for the Suwa family; the *gûji* sits on a stag's skin.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

March 3rd: most Shintô temples participate actively in the Hina-matsuri, or Momono-sekku, or Jômi-no-sekku, the famous 'doll-festival'. Its origin seems to be twofold. Essentially it apparently started as a display of toys in the Imperial Court in 1628 in Kyoto and soon spread to aristocratic circles in Edo. The luxurious customs among rich merchants who took it up were such that a strict law had to be promulgated in 1721 restricting the size of dolls, the use of precious metals, etc. After the Meiji restoration, it became quite

popular. It has been affirmed by competent students of folk-lore, however, that the dolls used in the matsuri may also be closely related to the crude paper-dolls (*hito-gata*) to which farmers and others used to transfer their sicknesses or ill-luck before they threw them into running water, a practice which, as we have seen (cf. p. 190ff. above) is still continued by many old and new sects. Nevertheless the Hina-matsuri has now become a festivity for girls. There are mainly three types of dolls, the *hina*, or *tachi-bina*, in paper, probably the oldest, and also wooden dolls, clay-dolls and dressed dolls. The regular set (Daïri-bina) consists of fifteen dolls: the lord and the lady (Daïri-sama), three ladies-in-waiting (*kanjô*), five musicians, two retainers and three guards; but many modern *hina* have now appeared, representing actors, actresses, base-ball-players, etc.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Placed beneath the main dolls are various tiny household utensils and furniture, including trays with food bowls, mirrors, musical instruments, boxes, smoking units and many other things. Some of the utensils are beautifully made in lacquer with gold designs. The dolls are offered *mochi* (rice cakes) dyed in three colours, red, green and white, as well as *shirozake*, a sweet mild rice wine. Children enjoy drinking *shirozake* on the occasion. Many *hina* dolls are family treasures handed down from mothers to daughters for generations. Fine dolls are very expensive. New furnitures are often added every year. There is a tradition that this festival commemorates the birth of the three Munakata-no-kami (cf. pp. 293–7 below).⁽³⁷⁸⁾ It is a favourite day for marriages.

March 9th: during the Saïto-saï, about one thousand *ujiko* of the Kashima-jingû, clad in armour, repeat the homage which samurai used to pay to the temple before they started on an expedition.

March 13th: in the Kasuga-taïsha the Kasuga-matsuri is held, which was inaugurated about the thirteenth century and has preserved intact many ancient rituals. It is one of the three most important festivals in Japan. It is considered as a typical example of a matsuri for the Uji-gami.⁽³²⁷⁾

March 15th: The Ômiya Hikawa-jinja holds an important matsuri.⁽¹²²⁾

February 15th of the lunar calendar: the Yama-home-tanemaki-sunadori-no-matsuri of the Shika-umi-jinja has also remained very archaic. A description of it which is found in an *uta* (poem) of the Muromachi period still holds good.⁽¹⁰⁾

March 18th is the present date of the *tai-saï* of the Usa-hachiman-gû. It was formerly called U-matsuri or Unoshi-matsuri because it used to be held on a day of the Hare, since according to tradition the soul of Ôjin-tennô (Hachiman) appeared to Ôga-no-higi on the first day of the Hare in the second lunar month.⁽⁸¹⁾ (Cf. p. 433 below).

Some time during the lunar month of March was the Hanashizume-no-matsuri, ‘which had its origin in the reign of Emperor Sujin and was held on a “fortunate day”... The manifestations of the *ara-mitama* and *nigi-mitama* of Ô-kuni-nushi were evoked against pestilence.’⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

April 1st: the great procession of the Ô-yamato-jinja in honour of Saruda-hiko-no-mikoto. It is popularly known as Chan-chan-matsuri, a name which is said to have arisen from the jangling of the *kanabô* (metal-rods), etc., which surrounded the chief-priest.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

April 1st: is also the date of the big Tsukuma-no-matsuri, or Nabe-matsuri of the Tsukuma-jinja. Formerly, the women of the district followed the mikoshi with as many earthen pots on their heads as they had had lovers, and offered them to the Kami, Miketsu-nokami. Originally,

they made small earthen pots and carried these, placed upon a board, on their heads; later they put a big pot on their head and placed the small pots inside it.⁽⁶⁴⁷⁾

On the same day in the Ichinomiya-cho Iwagami-jinja, a temple where stones are still worshipped extensively, a matsuri is held in honour of Futsu-no-mitama. (Cf. p. 315 below).

April 1st to 5th: the Hatsuka-e-saï in three neighbouring temples: the Kambe-jinja, Sengen-jinja and Ôtoshi-mi-oya-jinja.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

April 2nd: is the annual festival of the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha with traditional tea-ceremony.

April 2nd and 3rd: the matsuri of the Fukura Hachiman-gû is marked by a curious rite. There are among the *ujiko* five groups (*tô-za*), the members of which are designated by the Mayor of the town. A large wooden tub is provided for each one of them, and the names of all the members are written on as many small pieces of wood which are put into the tub. A lance is then dropped into each tub and the person whose name has thus been chosen by the lance becomes head (*tô-nin*) of his *tô-za* and has to entertain all the other members to a meal.

April 3rd: a messenger from the Emperor attends a funeral service (Jimmu-tennô-saï) held in the Kashiwara-jingû over the tomb of Jimmu-tennô,⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ for the anniversary of his death.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

On the third day of the third month of the lunar calendar, in the island of Awaji, the Shihoï festival in honour of the Sumiyoshi-no-kami is one of the most popular; the shore, from the neighbourhood of the shrine to the sea, becomes a white strand.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

April 3rd and 4th: the annual festival in the Kashida-hachiman-gû, a beautiful ancient structure. The Shintô music and dancing then performed was designated as Intangible cultural property in 1952.

April 4th: the wild boar procession of the Go-ô-jinja⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ in honour of Wake-no-kiyomaro (cf. p. 445 below).

April 4th and 5th: the Inaba-jinja has a festival (*rei-saï*) with an important procession of floats.

April 7th and 8th: a similar festival takes place at the Harizuna-jinja.

On the same days, the Toyokawa Hachiman-sha (also called Ushikubo-hachiman-gû) holds the Unakoji-matsuri when a lion's head is brought from the Kumano-jinja and spends one day in the shrine. *Sasa-odori* (bamboo-grass dance) is performed.

On the same days, the spring festival is held at the Matsubara-jinja, with dances which are supposed to have been introduced by the Koreans whom Hideyoshi Toyotomi brought back from his expedition in 1592.

From April 7th to 16th: on every Horse-year, i.e. every thirteenth year, the Katori-jingû celebrates the pacification of the country in the Shikinen-shinkô-saï (also called Miikusa-matsuri).⁽⁷⁴⁶⁾

April 11th: the Meiji-jingû celebrates the demise of Empress Shôken in the Shôken-kotaïgô-saï.

On the same day, the Utari-jinja holds the Wind festival (Kaze-matsuri), with five floats and a planting ceremony.

April 12th: in the Takeda-jinja, the pageant of the annual matsuri (*rei-saï*) comprises twenty-four horsemen who represent, in their original armour, the generals who served

under the feudal lord Harunobu Shingen Takeda (sixteenth century), the Kami of the shrine.

Marth 12th according to the lunar calendar: the famous Ôkagura-sai (or U-kagura-matsuri) of the Ôasa-hikojinja, with sword dances.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

April 12th to 14th: the Sannô-matsuri of the Hië-taïsha, which deserves a detailed description. One of the two main Kami of the temple, Ô-yama-kui-no-kami, has two aspects, one masculine, which bears the same name, and one feminine, which figures as his wife, Kamo-tama-yori-hime. And each of them has two shrines, one for his (or her) entirety, and one for his (or her) *ara-mitama*—which amounts to four shrines in all. (It is interesting to note that the oldest shrine in the whole compound is the Ushijima-jinja, where the Kami is Ô-yama-kui's *ara-mitama*).

On the first day of the matsuri, the two *ara-mitama*, whose shrines are side by side, on the mountain, are brought down in two *mikoshi*, and left in the *haïden* of the main shrine consecrated to the *nigi-mitama* of the God. There, at 9 p.m., they are 'married', i.e. the two *mikoshi* are joined, back to back, and they are left there all night. The next morning, the two *nigi-mitama* are taken from the *honden* of the two main shrines—although they have no *go-shintai* of their own, but are included in the *go-shintai* of the 'whole' Kami—and installed in two other *mikoshi*. The four *mikoshi* are then brought into the *haïden* of another shrine, the Ubuya-jinja, and they are placed in separate compartments on a platform about thirty inches above ground. They are decorated with flowers, fruit, mirrors, paint-brushes, and 'anything that may amuse a child'. Children come to offer them artificial flowers. And at 4 p.m. they are served tea, 'because tea used to be considered as a powerful tonic'. At 9 p.m., about a hundred men come to shake the four *mikoshi* violently for one and a half hours (that is the duration of the pains of child-birth), while a *shishi-mai* is performed for their benefit. Then they are thrown from the platform (that is the actual child-birth) and each *mikoshi* is taken back to its own shrine. The child-kami that was born of their union, Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-no-kami, is worshipped in the *honden* of the Ubuya-jinja.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

The Sannô-matsuri is also celebrated on approximately the same dates by the many other Hië-jinja throughout the country. One of the most famous is that of Takayama (Gifu-ken) on *April 14th and 15th*, when the pageant includes a number of floats made during the Genroku-era.

On the second day of the Horse in April begins the twenty-one-day Inari-matsuri of the Fushimi-inari-taïsha, which is attended by large crowds.

April 14th: Court music from the Heian era is performed during the spring festival in the Shiramine-gû.

April 14th: the Ikuta-matsuri of Ikuta-jinja commemorates a big flood during which the Nunobiki cascade, in the middle of the eighth century, washed away all the pine-trees around the shrine; the conclusion was drawn that the Kami, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's *nigi-mitama*, did not like pine-trees. The temple was therefore moved down the hill, the pines were not replanted and ever since then, parishioners have carefully refrained from adorning their houses with pine-branches on New Year's day, as is customary elsewhere throughout Japan.⁽⁶⁸⁾

April 14th: the City of Yokosuka celebrates the Anjin festival in honour of a British pilot, William Adams, who drifted ashore there in 1600 and played an important part in the technical development of Japan at that time; he took the Japanese name of Miura Anjin.

April 14th and 15th: the Himure-hachiman-gû celebrates the famous Sagi-chô-matsuri, with a great display of purificatory torches, large and small. A huge drum weighing 800 kg is carried by a group of helmeted young men.⁽¹²²⁾

April 15th: during the *rei-sai* of the Kami-sha in the Suwa-taisha, the *mikoshi* is laid on the skin of a stag, where the high priest formerly used to sit. A stag's head and other game are offered to the Kami, Take-mi-nakata-no-kami.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ (Cf. p. 344ff. below).

April 15th also: the Yamanashi-ken Asama-jinja holds a flood-control festival (*rei-sai*), during which a procession of young men take the *mikoshi* to the bank of a river twenty miles away.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

April 15th also: the Nagahama Hachiman-gû follows a tradition which was started by Hideyoshi Toyotomi to celebrate the birth of his son; the Hikiyama-matsuri with a number of floats is different from many others in that children of from five to ten years of age play an important part.

On the same day, the Ômiya Hikawa-jinja celebrates a matsuri in honour of Ô-kushinada-hime. (Cf. p. 313ff. below).

The Mino Hachiman-jinja, also on the same day, holds its annual festival with forty-eight floats which were made by famous artisans during the Edo era.

April 15th and 16th: The Ehime-ken Kashima-jinja holds a matsuri which started in 1189 when three sailors from the district returned from an expedition to China and Korea with shiploads of booty.

April 15th to 24th: the Shun-ki-sai, popularly called Haru-matsuri, held in the Afuri-jinja, attracts a large number of pilgrims dressed in white tunics.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

April 16th: *Rei-tai-sai* of the Akaï-jinja in honour of Susano-wo.⁽²⁴⁸⁾

On the same day the matsuri of the Tsu-no-mine-jinja is famous for its 'offerings' of *sumô* (*hō-no-sumô*).⁽²³²⁾

April 17th: the annual festival of the Tokyo (Ueno) Tōkyō-gû.

On the same date is also held the Yayoi-matsuri of the Futara-san-jinja, with great floats made by the *ujiko* and the performance of plays.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same date, again, occurs one of the *tai-sai* of the Tatsuki-jinja, to commemorate the death of Ieyasu Tokugawa.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

April 18th: the annual festival of the Yoshida-jinja.

On the same day, during the Hana-shizume-matsuri or Chinka-sai of Ô-miwa-taisha, medicinal herbs, including lily bulbs and honeysuckle, are distributed to those present, and prayers are offered for protection against diseases.⁽¹²⁹⁾

April 19th: the Fuji-matsuri, or wisteria festival of the Kagoshima-jingû.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

April 20th: the annual festival of the Ô-mi-jingû during which a procession proceeds as far as the Shiga-no-ura.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

April 21st to 2 25th: the annual festival of the Tokyo Yasukuni-jinja, during which the Emperor comes in person to worship the souls of the soldiers who gave their lives for their country.⁽⁷¹⁸⁾

April 22nd: the Taga-matsuri, formerly called Uma-matsuri, of the Taga-taisha. During this *rei-sai* a play is performed in which the two main characters are a samurai[?] (formerly Otsukai-den, now Saishī) and a peasant (formerly Bajoō-yaku, now Batōnin). The parts used to be taken respectively by the son of the Shintô priest and a peasant, to offer the required contrast, but now they are both entrusted to representative *ujiko*. For this matsuri,

separate *shinsen* is offered to Izanagi and Izanami, whereas on other days one *shinsen* only is offered to both.⁽¹³²⁾

April 22nd: Two successive matsuri take place in the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja: during the Yamaguchi-saï three branches of sakaki are cut on the Mikushi-yama; during the Mitobiraki-saï they are installed in the main temple and its two *sessha*, where they become the *himorogi*.⁽²⁵⁷⁾

April 23rd to 2 5th: the Akama-jingû celebrates the Sentei-saï in honour of Emperor Antoku.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ The festival was originated by his successor Gotoba-tennô.

April 24th: in the Kono-jinja, a colourful Aoi-matsuri is marked by lion-dances. Young *ujiko* swing swords attached to four-foot poles.

On the same day, the Isurugi Atago-jinja holds its Hikiyama-matsuri, featured with day and night parades.

April 24th and 25th: the Ôtsu-jinja holds its Kamioka-matsuri with successive parades of geïsha and of warriors, and also lion dances.

April 25th: the annual festival of the Unoshima-jinja is marked by dances performed by children in ‘celestial costumes’; the dances are offered to the Kami, Tama-yori-hime, who is credited with ensuring safe deliveries. The *gûji* in person leads a day-long procession of boats on Lake Kawaguchi.

On the same day, during the Tenjin-matsuri of the Yanai Ten-man-gû, the *mikoshi* containing the *mitama-shiro* of Michizane Sugawara is drawn by oxen. *Miko* perform various dances.

On the same day also, a special prayer meeting, accompanied by music and dancing of the Heian era, is held in the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja.

April 29th: the Ko-mikado-jinja holds its annual festival, with a fine performance of *sato-kagura*.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

From a day of the Hare in April to a day of the Cock in May, the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha holds a festival which lasts for nineteen days. The seven *mikoshi* cross the river Katsura and stay in different *o-tabisho*.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

April 29th to May 5th: the city of Yonezawa enjoys its greatest festival, in which the Uëtsugi-jinja and the Matsugasaki-jinja participate. Warrior and costume parades are among the features. One of the *mikoshi* is drawn by children⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

May 3rd: the day of several important matsuri: (1) During the Sannô-matsuri of the Miyashiro Hië-jinja one can see demonstrations of *yabusame*. (2) The annual matsuri of the Mizu-wakasu-jinja, with an impressive procession.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ (3) The great festival of Shimonoseki with fencing and judo matches, parades of men clad in the costumes of the Heike and Genji warriors, the former sailing from Dan-no-ura and the latter coming from Hiko-jima to re-enact the 1653 battle of Dan-no-ura in the middle of the harbour. (4) The night festival of the thirteen Fukuno-muchi Shinmeï-sha which celebrates the arrival in 1653 of a *bun-reï* of the Ise-jingû.

May 4th and 5th: the Tado-jinja holds the Age-uma ceremony, during which six horsemen, after appropriate *misogi* in the river, run their horses up a steep cliff more than three metres high.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same two days, the annual festival of various Gokoku-jinja also occurs.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same dates, matsuri of the Hachiman-akita-jinja.⁽²⁴²⁾

May 5th: in the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the Keiiba-e-no-shinji is held. It includes a very peculiar horse-race (*keiiba*), to commemorate a gift of horses made to the temple in A.D. 1093 by the Emperor.⁽¹⁵²⁾

On the same day occurs the Kurayami (darkness) -matsuri of the Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, to which we have already referred (cf. p. 124 above).

Early on the same day, thirty-six *shake* of the Ohme-shi Mitake-jinja circumambulate the temple with the beautifully decorated *mikoshi*.

Also on that day, the Shinyo-watari-go-shinji of the Atsuta-jingû commemorates in solemn silence 'the compact entered into by the Emperor Temmu and the Kami when the Emperor returned the sword to the jingû.'⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Apart from individual matsuri, *May 5th* is also the day of the boys' festival, Tango-no-sekku, in which all Shintô temples participate and private homes as well. Originally, it was an agricultural event. The beginning of May is the time when insect pests make their appearance; farmers used to drive them away by frightening them with bright banners and grotesque figures, which played a part similar to that of the scarecrows. Later, those figures were taken to represent warriors famed for their fighting power, so they gradually came to be displayed indoors, not to scare away insects, but to teach young boys manliness, to keep them from evil and to impress upon them the spirit of the samurai'. One feature of the festival used to be the *shôbu* (myrtle-flag), of which, in the early seventeenth century, boys made thick bundles which they noisily stuck into the ground. The word *shôbu* is also taken to be identical with the *bu* from *bushidô*, chivalrous spirit, and the homophony in this as in so many cases, is evidently not meaningless. The present outstanding feature is the paper carp streamer (*koi-nobori*), which was adopted about the end of the eighteenth century.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ The idea is that, as the carp swims up the river against the current, so will the sturdy boy, overcoming all obstacles, make his way in the world and rise to fame and fortune.⁽³⁴⁷⁾ Two important characters figure among the dolls generally displayed for the boys' festival: Shôki-san, a ferocious-looking character imported from China, and who is represented crushing a little devil under his foot, and Kintarô, an originally Japanese character, the model of the devoted son, represented as a boy of about four or five, robust and healthy; he is always naked, fairly fat, with pink skin, leads a bear on a leash and carries a big hatchet over his shoulder.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ There is a tradition that this festival commemorates the birth of the five princes born from Amaterasu-Ô-mi-kami's necklace after it had been chewed by Susano-wo.⁽³⁷⁸⁾ (Cf. p. 293-7 below).

May 5th to 7th: During the spring matsuri of the Fukuoka-ken Suiten-gû the procession crosses the river Chikugo.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

May 8th: The *rei-sai* of the Taihei-zan-miyoshi-jinja is held only in honour of its first two Kami, Ô-namuchi and Sukuna-hikona, because the third Kami, Miyoshi-no-ô-kami, formerly had a temple of his own and was only brought in at a later stage.⁽²⁸⁸⁾

May 8th and 9th: the festival of the Tamura-jinja is marked by lion-dances, and a parade with temple horses and children in white costumes. The festival is called O-kachô-matsuri because a mosquito-net (*kachô*) is then offered to the Kami; it is taken back from them however during the other O-kachô-matsuri on October 8th. The *ujiko* are not allowed to use mosquito-nets for themselves except between those two dates. The Tamura-no-kami are Yamato-to-tohi-momoso-hime, Isaseri-hiko, Saruda-hiko, Ame-no kagu-yama and Ame-no-itane.

May 10th: the Ôasahiko-jinja has its horse festival Nana-kawa-matsuri with *yabusame* in honour of Toyoki-yahiko-no-mikoto and Ôarata-wake-no mikoto.

May 12th: the Kami of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja is summoned down from Mount Mikage on the occasion of the Mikage-matsuri.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ A parade in ancient costumes takes place on this occasion.

May 12th and 13th: the Kibitsu-jinja holds a special festival, the Shichigo-zen-suë-no-shinji.

May 12th to 14th: the Ima-hië-jinja has its annual matsuri with a parade of warriors accompanying the *mikoshi*.

May 13th: the Matsu-no-wo-taisha celebrates the return to the temple of the six *mikoshi* which had left it on April 22nd. The *mikoshi* are taken round the parish, spend a few hours at Asahigamori (Karabashi) and visit a few more districts before they bring the *mitama-shiro* back to the *honden*.

May 14th: on the same day as the Kazahinomi-saï (cf. p. 185 above), the Ise-jingû also celebrates the Kanmiso-saï (festival of offering divine garments), which is repeated on *October 14th*. It takes place only in the Naïkû and in the Ara-matsuri-no-miya, a *bekkû* of the Naïkû. The garments (*kanmiso*), made of silk and hemp, are offered to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. The silk-cloth (*nigi-tahe*) is woven according to an ancient method on a loom in a special mill attached to the Kan-hatori-hatadono-jinja, fifteen miles away; the hempen-cloth (*ara-tahe*) is woven by the same method at the Kan-omi-hatadono-jinja, nearly as far from the Jingû.⁽⁷⁰³⁾

May 14th and 15th: the Ôgaki (Miya-machi) Hachiman-jinja has its great matsuri with a parade comprising thirteen floats.

May 15th: the Kanda-matsuri is now celebrated every year at the Tokyo Kanda-jinja. During the Edo period, it alternated every other year with the Sannô festival of the Hië-jinja.⁽³²⁷⁾ Tea ceremony is held under the guidance of the headmaster of the Omote-senke school.

May 15th: also one of 'the three biggest festivals' in Japan, the Aoï-matsuri, which is celebrated by the two Kamo temples in Kyoto, the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja and the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja. Its name comes from the abundant use of hollyhocks (*aoï*) in the pageant, which comprises about five hundred people in various court dresses of the Heian period and lasts for about nine hours. It starts from the Kyoto Imperial Palace and goes through the main thoroughfares of the city before it reaches the temples. Ox-drawn carts, one of which leads the procession, are one of the distinguishing features. It is believed to have originated in the fourth century,⁽³²⁷⁾ during the reign of Emperor Kimmei. According to tradition there had been torrential rains which wrought havoc in the rice-fields. The priests of the two Kamo temples in Kyoto explained that it was due to a curse (*tatari*) of the two Kami. In order to pacify them, 'men wore the masks of wild boars and mounted horses to which tiny bells were attached, and rode up and down the holy premises. Strangely enough, this appeased the Kami and a surprisingly rich harvest ensued'.

May 17th and 18th: the Asakusa-jinja celebrates the Sansha-matsuri (formerly called Sansha-dai-gongen-sha, or Sansha-myôjin-sha). It is famous for its performance of old-style *dengaku*.⁽³²⁷⁾

On the same two days (until 1951 on June 1st and 2nd) is held the great Spring festival of the Nikkô Tôkyô-gû. The pageant comprises about one thousand participants, all of

them attired in costumes of the Tokugawa period. It is known by the name of Sennin-gyôretsu.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

On the same day also various other Tôkyô-gû hold their annual festivals. One of the most interesting is that in Gunma-ken.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

May 19th: the Hijiri-jinja has a big parade with some 20 floats, warriors and lion's dances.

May 20th: the Mikumi-jinja holds its festival (*rei-sai*) and parade featuring huge dolls dressed as warriors.

On the same day, in Sakata, the Hië-jinja, during the Sannô-matsuri, also parades huge dolls, but they represent Jimmu-tennô and Jingû-kôgô.

On the same day also—if the weather is fair—the Kurumazaki-jinja has a great and colourful boat festival down the Oï river.

May 21st: during the Uba-matsuri, mothers come to the Aomi-jinja, carrying on their backs the babies born during the year, in order to thank the Kami, Shiinetsu-hiko-no-mikoto and Ô-kuni-tama-no-mikoto, who are credited with ensuring easy deliveries. For some unexplained reason, all participants are expected to carry umbrellas.

May 24th: the Toyama-ken (Isurugi-machi) Atago-jinja has a big lion festival with a lion dance of about thirty-five dancers.

May 24th to 26th: In Tsuruoka, during the matsuri of the local Ten-man-gû *ujiko* wearing coolie hats and fancy costumes, their faces covered with a cloth, walk about the town, carrying bottles of sake and offering a drink to everyone they meet.

May 25th: the Nankô-sai, held in the Minatogawa-jinja, commemorates the day on which the Kami, Masashige Kusunoki (known here under the name of Daï Nankô) committed suicide. There is an impressive procession of samurai in full attire; white cloth is offered at the main shrine, and also at the *sessha* in which the Kami's wife is enshrined.⁽²¹⁸⁾

June 1st to 3rd: during the *rei-tai-sai* of the Tokyo Kumano-jinja, all the tradesmen of the ward stick on a huge paper lantern slips of paper with their names and specialities.⁽²¹⁷⁾

June 5th and 6th: in honour of Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, the Kyôto-fu Uji Agata-jinja celebrates the Agata-yo-matsuri during which the participants used to be perfectly naked—now they wear a *yukata*. According to a Japanese witness in 1920, 'this was perhaps one of the most ferocious matsuri;... the savage excitement... is in a way a joyous dance of the furious spirit enshrined, this spirit also taking no small delight in the manifestation of his ancient animal vigour... A big ladder-like structure, some fifteen feet long and four feet wide, borne on the youthful shoulders of two dozen or more men... which was meant to be the chair for the guest-spirit' is taken to the near-by Buddhist temple Byôdô-in.⁽⁶⁴⁹⁾ All lights are turned off from midnight during the procession of the *mikoshi*.

On the same day, the Atsuta-jingû celebrates the Shôbu-sai, with archery, judo and fencing, but also tea-ceremony, *no* plays, fireworks and a night procession of boats on the sea. It is the *rei-sai* of the Atsuta-jingû which commemorates the date on which the Emperor Meiji for the first time sent a proclamation (*semmyô*) to the temple.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

June 8th and 10th: during the summer festival of the Torigoë-jinja, a *mikoshi* weighing three tons is carried around the streets of Asakusa (Tokyo) by 120 sturdy young men for about twelve hours each day. During the intermediate day, the *mikoshi* remains in the temple and religious services are held.

June 13th to 15th: the Sannô-matsuri of the Tokyo Hië-jinja is held; it was formerly called Sannô-gongen and was offered for the pleasure of the Shôgun, and therefore was also called Goyô-sai ('official festival').⁽³²⁷⁾ Men carrying the *mikoshi* are clad in white and wear very formal *kanmuri*.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ Flower arrangements and tea-ceremonies are featured.

During the same three days, the Oyama-jinja celebrates with the whole town of Kanazawa the memory of its sixteenth century feudal lord Toshiie Maëda, a friend of Hideyoshi's.⁽⁵⁸³⁾

May 14th according to the lunar calendar:⁽¹¹⁵⁾ In Himi the Hiyoshi-jinja and the Hi-no-miya-jinja jointly celebrate a Gion-matsuri which lasts for three days.

Another joint Gion-matsuri is held in Tobata by three temples—the Hachiman-jinja, the Sugawara-jinja and the Nakahara-hachiman-gu. Its most striking feature is a procession of twelve-storied floats decorated with 307 lanterns.

On the same day also begins the four-day Gion-matsuri of the Naetsu Yasaka-jinja. The *mikoshi* which on the previous day had been 'lent' to the Takada Gion-jinja returns by boat on the Arakawa river and is welcomed by a whole flotilla of lighted boats.

On the same day is also held the summer festival of the Enoshima-jinja which includes the *rei-sai* of one of its *massha*, the Yasaka-jinja.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ On the same day also the Ô-gami-yama-jinja starts its two-day Water-drawing matsuri, the Koshiki-sai. About one hundred devotees, dressed in white and carrying a bell which they ring on the way, climb the Kamiyama. At the top they draw water from a certain pond and gather herbs which, later in the day, in the temple precincts, they boil in the water, and then distribute as a preventive against diseases.

On the same day also, is the Fan-festival of the Kumano Nachi-jinja in which twelve *mikoshi*, each decorated with thirty fans, are greeted in the *o-tabisho* by priests carrying twelve torches. Planting and harvesting rites are then performed. The procession goes as far as the Hitaki-jinja near the famous Nachi waterfalls.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

May 14th and 15th of the lunar calendar⁽¹²²⁾: the Tsushima-jinja holds the Tsushima-matsuri, which used to be called Tennô-matsuri.⁽³²⁷⁾ A fleet of boats float down the Tennô river during the night.

May 15th according to the lunar calendar: in the Iso-nojinja the Natsukoshi-matsuri is held in honour of the Kamogawa river.⁽²⁷¹⁾

June 15th: on the occasion of the Chagu-chagu-umako, a horse-festival, a number of beautifully decorated horses pay a visit to the Sozen-jinja 'to pray for longevity'.

On the same day, the all-important Kyoto Yasaka-jinja holds its annual festival (*rei-sai*), the Natsu-matsuri.

June 15th: is also the date of the annual festival in the Hokkaido Sapporojinja with a great pageant in ancient costumes.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

June 15th to 17th: both shrines of the Ise-jingû celebrate the Tsukinamisai, the so-called 'monthly festival', although it is no longer held every month on such a big scale; it is the oldest and most important of their matsuri. Prayers are offered for the prosperity of the Imperial Household and the nation, good harvests, world peace and the happiness of mankind.⁽⁷⁰³⁾

June 17th: at the Saikusa-matsuri of the Izagawa-jinja, a *sessha* of the Ô-miwa-taisha, sake and *saigusa* (golden-banded lilies) are presented and prayers offered to Isukeyori-hime, Koto-shiro-nushi and Tama-kushi-hime for protection from pestilence.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

June 17th of the lunar calendar: the Miyajima Itsukushima-jinja celebrates the Kangen-sai, a festival of wind and string instruments.

June 22nd: in Himeji, a parade of geisha, children and young girls inaugurate the season for wearing *yukata* by a corresponding matsuri in the Osakabe-jinja.

June 25th: the Tenjin-sha holds a very unique *jindaï* dance to commemorate the settling down in the village of Nishi-ya of the defeated warriors of the Heike clan.

June 27th to 29th: during the Hot Spring Festival in the Aisen-in-jinja, lion dances, geisha processions and fireworks celebrate the spurting out of hot water when the fountain-head in Lake Shiba was reclaimed.

June 30th: in the Iku-kuni-tama-jinja, a Michi-ahe-no-matsuri is held under a great torii for the three Kami of the roads, Ô-yachi-mata-hiko, Ô-yachi mata-hime and Kunado-no-kami, who have no shrine of their own.⁽¹³¹⁾ (cf. p. 495ff. below).

On the same day the Katori-jingû holds an Ô-haraë.

During the first ten days of July, the Ishidzuchi-jinja celebrates the opening of the climbing season. Three *mikoshi* are taken to the top of Mt Ishidzuchi early in the morning of *June 30th* and return only ten days later. During the festival, many devotees climb the mountain. Before the war women were not allowed to do so; after the war they were permitted from the sixth day of the season, and since 1963 they have been allowed to start on the third day.

July 1st to 5th: During the matsuri of the Sakaki-jinja ox-drawn carts and Saruda-hiko play prominent parts.⁽²⁸⁴⁾

July 1st to 15th: the Gion-tai-sai of the Kushida-jinja, which tries to emulate the Gion-matsuri of the Yasaka-jinja, is held. Enormous 'dolls' (*yamagasa*) are perched on a number of floats, now 'only' about fifteen feet high. Women are not allowed to participate in the colourful pageant.⁽¹⁴⁾

July 4th: the Inafuku-jinja—a temple apparently not recognized by the Jinja-honchô—celebrates the biggest festival in the Prefecture of Miyazaki. The whole town of Nobeoka is decorated with lanterns, strips of paper and dolls.

July 7th and 8th: during the Iyasaka-matsuri in Noto-machi, the *mikoshi* of the Hakusan-jinja and the Sakataru-jinja are taken to the Yasaka-jinja; processions with lanterns hanging on high poles and bonfires on the beach are some of the features.

July 9th: the Natsu-matsuri of the Ôsaka Iku-kuni-tama-jinja is one of the great events of the year in that city. The *mikoshi* is borne by fifty-four men, and there is a smaller *mikoshi* carried by a hundred children.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

July 10th to 12th: the Kokura-taiko-matsuri of the Tamachi Yasaka-jinja is marked by a *daïmyô-gyôretsu*, a parade of a feudal lord with his followers. On the last day there is another parade of floats and umbrella-bearers.

On the same three days, during the Ishitori-matsuri of the Kuwana-jinja, devotees, after performing *misogi* in the Machiya river, gather pebbles from the bed of the river and offer them to the temple.

July 11th: during the Minato-matsuri of the Shiogama-jinja, the *mikoshi* is carried all round the Matsushima Bay,⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ among a procession of gaily decorated boats.

July 11th and 12th: the Sôma Ôta-jinja used to have a 'horse-chase', but it has now been replaced by *yabusame* and a warrior parade in the course of which two groups of young men vie with each other on the plain of Kumo-suzugahara to capture the temple flag.

July 13th and the two following days: the Yasukuni-jinja holds its great Mitama-matsuri in honour of the war-dead. Every evening, 5,000 lanterns are lighted and various kinds of religious dances are performed.

July 14th: an impressive number of matsuri—many of them connected with the Water-festival (*mizu-matsuri*) observed by the jinja of the Yasaka-line and the Tsushima-line are held.

On the same day, the Niigata-ken Iyahiko-jinja has its famous lantern-festival.

July 13th to 15th: In the Sado Island Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, gold is offered to the two Kami, Ô-yama-tsu-mi and Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, because the temple is expected to give protection to the neighbouring gold mine.⁽²⁶³⁾

July 14th to 17th: In Naoetsu, the Yasaka-jinja *mikoshi* which had been lent to the Takada Gion-jinja is returned by boat on the Arakawa river; it is welcomed by a whole fleet of brightly illuminated boats.

July 15th: the turn of the Koza-machi Nachi-jinja to celebrate the victory of the Genji (or Minamoto) clan over the Heike (or Taira) clan.

July 15th: is also the day of the annual festival of the Dewa-san-dzan.

Around July 15th: the Bon-matsuri is celebrated all over Japan to console the spirits of the dead. On the 13th a ‘welcoming fire’ (*mukaë-bi*) is lit at the entrance of each house to call the dead relatives, to whom offerings are made on the family altar. On the 15th, ‘sending-off fire’ (*okuri-bi*) speeds them on their way back to where they came from. In some places, instead of the *okuri-bi*, lanterns are floated down a river. The festival is commonly said to be of Buddhist origin, but it is clear that it is based on pre-buddhistic customs and beliefs, and that Buddhist practices were only added later.⁽³²⁷⁾

July 16th: The *rei-sai* of the Atami Kinomiya-jinja is marked by the famous *kashima-odori*.

July 17th to 19th: In a great matsuri, the Tada-jinja commemorates the gift made to it by Yoshinaka Minamoto of Sanemori Saïto’s helmet. The matsuri is the occasion of very unusual ‘helmet dances’.

July 17th to 24th: the Gion-matsuri of the Kyoto Yasaka-jinja, perhaps the most famous and impressive in all Japan. It dates back to A.D. 869, when a terrible plague ravaged the whole country. Kyoto was then the capital; the Emperor Seiwa requested the Yasaka-jinja to conduct services and commanded that sixty-six halberds should be erected there, each representing one of the sixty-six provinces. The high-priest of the temple, with the help of the population, formed a procession of beautifully decorated floats to invoke the protection of the Kami, and the pestilence subsided. In 970 it was decided to repeat the ceremony every year, as an expression of gratitude; since then, it has been omitted only for a period in the latter part of the fifteenth century but it was also forbidden by the U.S.A. army of occupation for a few years after the war. It was originally called Goryô-e, ‘ritual for the plague-gods’. Since it is the most popular matsuri in the whole of Japan, it deserves a fairly full description.

Not only does the whole population of Kyoto take a most active part in the celebrations (it is commonly said that everybody becomes then a *kannushi*, a priest), but more than a million visitors come from all parts of Japan to enjoy the festivities. Practically every house in the city keeps its outside door open and exhibits in its ante-room its most precious artistic treasures, so that the whole town is turned into a museum; among the objects thus

displayed are a great number of beautiful folding screens (*byôbu*), on account of which the festival is sometimes called *Byôbu-matsuri*.

The most spectacular part consists of two pageants which take place on *July 17th* and *24th*, and which, in outward appearance at least, are very similar. The floats, now world-famous, are of two different types, the *yama* and the *hoko*, both of which 'represent the highest developed arts of doll-making, weaving, dyeing, embroidering, metal working, carving and lacquering'.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Both carry the most wonderful works of art, Japanese and foreign, ancient and modern, the most precious treasures of the families which have the great honour of keeping the vehicles between festivals. Both types of floats are crowned by a tree, which is held to be a *himorogi* (cf. p. 93f. above). On the *yama*, which represent scenes from *Nô*-dramas, (formerly with live actors, now with 'dolls'), the tree is a pine, as on the *Nô*-stage. The *yama* is carried on the shoulders of a number of men by means of long poles. The *hoko* is a kind of ornamental tower placed on four massive wooden wheels;⁽⁴⁵²⁾ its *himorogi* is a sakaki-tree; the *hoko* weighs anything between four and a half and thirteen metric tons; its total height is twenty-four metres; its surface eighteen by fifteen feet. It is pulled by about fifty men; it presents *yoki-yoku*, old stories which are usually sung.

The most sacred part of the procession, however, is the three *mikoshi* in which have been enshrined the Kami of the *Yasaka-jinja*: *Susano-wo-no-mikoto*, *Yasaka-no-sume-no-kami* (popularly called *Gion-san*), and *Inada hime-no-mikoto*.

Actually, although not officially, the festival covers the whole of the month of July, from the 1st to the 29th. The main events are the following:

July 2nd: during the *Kujitori-shiki*, lots are drawn to decide the order of the floats in the processions of July 17th and 24th.

July 8th: the *Hoko-tate* marks the beginning of the preparation of the floats which will take part in the procession of July 17th.

July 10th: the *Mikoshi-araï*, the ceremony of purifying the *mikoshi*. The main one is taken undecorated to the *Shijô* bridge, where the *gûji* carries out the appropriate rites.

On the same day, in the evening, during the *O-mukaë-chochin* ('welcome by lanterns'), the parishioners go to the temple with festival lanterns (*chôchin*) hoisted on long bamboo-poles to pay their respects to the *mikoshi*.

July 11th: during the *Chigo-kuraï-moraï*, the *chigo-san*, a boy of about eight or nine years old, who acts as page to the Kami, is appointed. Formerly, there was a *chigo-san* on practically every float, but now 'dolls' replace them on every one except the halberd float. On this day he rides on horseback to the temple, where he goes through the *Shintô* rites used when the Emperor confers a high title. From then until he abandons the title at the end of the festival, he is treated with the greatest respect and is attended by male persons exclusively.

July 16th (*Yoi-yama*): the floats and also the streets of the city are decorated with festival lanterns. The *Gion* song is heard all over the town. The treasures which are to be fastened to the floats are displayed to the public.

July 17th: from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., the first procession takes place; this is the *Yama-hoko-junkô*, which consists of the following twenty floats:

- (1) The *Naginata* (a type of halberd which was used a great deal in the twelfth century, during the wars between the *Taira* and *Minamoto* clans and the use of

- which is still taught in girls' schools as an aid to physical fitness and deportment)⁽³⁴²⁾ -hoko, on which is the *chigo-san*.
- (2) The Hakuga-yama. Hakuga, a famous Chinese harp-player of the Tsin dynasty, is famous for having broken his harp when his friend Shoshiki died, 'because there was nobody left who could appreciate his music'.
 - (3) The Arare-tenjin-yama, which commemorates a terrific hailstorm (*arare*) about A.D. 1500, when the Kami Tenjin (Michizane Sugawara) appeared and gave protection.
 - (4) The Ashikari-yama, which presents a scene from the famous Nô of the same name: in the village of Naniwa, a very poor young couple were cutting reeds when a very rich elderly man happened to pass, and noticed the woman, who was very beautiful. He offered to take her with him to Kyoto. The husband, who knew that he could never give his wife a pleasant life, advised her to accept, and she went. Many years later, when she returned, she found that work and hardships had made a very old man of her former husband, who was on his death-bed. He only had time to give her a piece of cloth which he had woven for her during all those years. The statue on the *yama* which represents the hero dates from the sixteenth century.
 - (5) The Kanko-hoko. On the tip of the long pole are represented a crescent moon and a mountain, reminiscent of an old Chinese legend.
 - (6) The Hôshô-yama, on which an armour-clad figure holding a branch of plum-tree recalls Hôshô, who broke into the Emperor's garden, risking his life to pluck plum-flowers, in order to please his sweetheart, a courtlady.
 - (7) The Kakkyo-yama, which represents a Chinese story of a faithful son in the third century of our era. The front tapestry dates from 1758.
 - (8) The Taishi-yama, in honour of Crown-prince Shôtoku. His statue is the work of the famous sculptor Unkei (twelfth-thirteenth centuries). The usual pine-tree is here replaced by a cedar-tree.
 - (9) The Niwa-tori-hoko, inspired by a Chinese story in which a hen (*niwa-tori*) once nested in a war-drum, and people were thereby prevented from going to war.
 - (10) The Tokusa-yama represents a scene from a Nô play in which a Buddhist priest, holding in his hands a sickle and a bundle of rushes (*tokusa*), restores to an old man his son who has been kidnapped.
 - (11) The Moro-yama, inspired by one of the twenty-four classical Chinese stories of faithful sons.
 - (12) The Tsuki-hoko, which carries on its pole a crescent moon (*tsuki*) made in 1811. The inner decorations are the most gorgeous on any of the floats—the paintings by Ôkyo Maruyama and the carvings by Jingorô Hidari are unrivalled. The front and back tapestries were made in China in the Ming dynasty. Old Persian rugs are hanging both front and rear.
 - (13) The Yamabushi-yama recalls an ascete (*yamabushi*), in answer to whose prayers the gods straightened up the Yasaka pagoda which was dangerously leaning towards the Imperial Palace.
 - (14) The Urade-yama represents Jingû-kôgô carrying out divination (*urahe*) by fishing for trout in order to find out whether her expedition to Korea would be successful (cf. p. 430 below).

- (15) The Kikusui-hoko, a recently rebuilt float, tells of a Chinese belief according to which a man who drinks the water (*sui*) of a river in which chrysanthemums (*kiku*) grow, will live to a ripe old age.
- (16) The Hakurakuten-yama, representing Hakurakuten, an old Chinese poet, discussing Zen Buddhism with Dô-rin, a Chinese Zen-Buddhist priest.
- (17) The Abura-tenjin-yama, in honour of Michizane Sugawara (Tenjin).
- (18) The Hoka-hoko, or Suhama-hoko, indicating that the sun, moon and stars 'beam down' (*hōka*) upon this world. The emblem at the tip of the pole has the shape of a kind of Japanese cake (*suhama*).
- (19) The Iwato-yama, representing the three Kami Izanagi, (Ame-no) Tajikara-wo-nomikoto and Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami.
- (20) The Funa-hoko, in the shape of the ship (*funa*) which carried Jingû-kôgô on her expedition to Korea. The Empress stands on it clad in red armour.

While passing the Lord-mayor, the person in charge of each float has to exhibit the document establishing its right to a certain place in the procession; that is the Kuji-aratame. Before the procession starts out, a *shimenawa* which is stretched across the main street is cut with great solemnity: from the world of men, the floats can then pass into the world of Kami. During its progress, each *hoko* scatters *chimaki*, a kind of sweet—they chase off illness if kept in the house.

On the same day as the Yama-hokojunkô, i.e. July 17th, at 5 p.m., another procession takes place, the Shinkô-sai, during which the three *mikoshi* are taken from the temple to the *o-tabisho* in Shinjô-odori.

July 18th: the Ato-no-matsuri-yama-hoko-tate marks the beginning of the preparation of the floats for the second procession on July 24th.

July 23rd: the Ato-no-yoi-yama is more or less a repetition of what happened on July 16th.

July 24th: is the day of the Ato-no-matsuri. From 9 a.m. to 12 noon, the second procession of floats, the Yama-junko, consists of the nine following floats:

- (1) The Kita-kwannon-yama, in honour of the Buddhist Deity Yoryu Kwannon. Although called a *yama*, it now rests upon a chassis.
- (2) The Hashi-benkei-yama, derived from a Nô play. A boy, Ushiwaka, is represented punishing a notorious priest-warrior, Benkei, who used to attack pedestrians on the Gojô bridge (*hashi*).
- (3) The Kuronushi-yama, dedicated to the poet Ôtomo-no-kuronushi, a hero of an old Japanese legend.
- (4) The Hachiman-yama. The statue of the Kami of the Iwa-shimizuhachiman-gû is also from the hand of the great sculptor Unkei.
- (5) The Suzuka-yama, dedicated to the Goddess Suzuka, the heroine of an old Japanese legend.
- (6) The En-no-gyôya-yama recalls a tale in which an ascete, En-no-gyôya, wishing to build a bridge, made a demon, Hito-goto, carry the stones for him.
- (7) The Jômyô-yama shows a fight between the priest-warrior Jômyô and Ichirai Hoshi on the bank of the Uji river in A.D. 1180.

- (8) The Koï-yama recalls the story of a carp which was changed into a dragon when it swam up the Dragon-Gate Waterfall. To many spectators, however, it recalls a quite different favourite tale: a very poor old widow who had bought a carp found in it a fat wallet full of money. Discovering that it had been lost by a rich cotton merchant of the city, she returned it to him. But he declined to take it, and the two had a long and famous argument over the ownership of the money. The *hoko* bears a beautiful wooden carp, the work of the great sculptor Jingorô Hidari. The miniature shrine in it is dedicated to Susano-wo, the chief Kami of the Yasaka-jinja.
- (9) The Minami-kwannon-yama, a sister-float of the first one, also dedicated to Yoryu Kwannon. It has on its roof a pine-tree instead of a halberd.

On July 24th also: during the Kankô-sai, which starts at 5 p.m., the *mikoshi* are taken back from the *o-tabisho* to the main temple.

July 28th: they are again taken to the Shijô bridge for cleansing.

One of the esoteric meanings of the Gion-matsuri is that the *hoko* carry the souls of the *uji-gami*, i.e. the ancestors of the families, including those who have died since the previous matsuri. The music played has had the magic effect of collecting them into the *himorogi*, and they are taken to the *o-tabisho*, where they spend one week in the company of the *mitama* of the Kami. The priests in the Yasaka-jinja, however, see in the Gion-matsuri a much deeper cosmic significance. To them it confirms and in fact actually consolidates the union between Kami and man.

July 18th: the *rei-sai* of the Nagano-ken Ontake-jinja, the climax of the pilgrimage season to Mount Ontake, which in that season is climbed by up to one thousand pilgrims every day, with handbells attached to their obi.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

July 18th to 19th: During the Yanagi (willow)-matsuri of the Odai Suginori-jinja the *mikoshi* is taken to the *o-tabisho* on the other bank of the Enzan river and is escorted back on the next day by children clad in white. There are also fireworks.

July 18th to 20th: In the Shinyu-jinja, summer-matsuri with a great parade, floats and fireworks.

July 20th to 27th: The Yamaguchi Yasaka-jinja celebrates the Gion-matsuri, which was held for the first time in 1458. Heron (*sagi*) dances are performed.

July 22nd: During the Sono-maïri-sai of the Kehi-jinja, the *mikoshi* is carried on a boat. All fishing is prohibited on that day, but participants in the matsuri are sure to make good catches during the three years following.

July 22nd and 23rd: During the great festival of the Fushimi-inari-taïsha, all the stone lanterns (*ishi-dôrô*) are lit. Sweet sake is served to the participants.

July 23rd and 24th: In the Wareï-jinja, all the *mikoshi* are taken as far as the river Suga.

July 19th: the matsuri of the Sugo-ô-jinja, which has been famous ever since the Tokugawa period for its fireworks fired from boats.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

July 20th: during the Sumono-matsuri of the Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, participants receive medicines (a traditional production of the district) and a very special fan bearing the image of a crow.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

July 25th: the Ten-jin-matsuri of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, which has been one of the very great festivals of Japan ever since the sixteenth century. It includes a pageant on land and a pageant on the river with about 3,000 participants; the latter however was omitted in 1961 for lack of funds. A very special and unique *mikoshi*, the Moyoshi-daïko, carries an enormous drum which is played by twenty-four *ganji* in teams of six. Four groups of eight geisha each, the *otome* (Virgins'), preceded by *ma* (pure, true) -*sakaki* branches carried on palanquins, figure prominently in the procession. One child, the *shin-dô*, walking behind the *gûji*'s palanquin, carries a branch of plum-tree with which the soul (*mitama*) of the Kami, Michizane Sugawara, has been transferred from the *honden* to the *mikoshi*. Another unusual feature is a *chi-no-wa* (cf. p. 192 above) carried on a palanquin between two bamboos, and accompanied by a mirror. The thirteen boats (*dondoku-bune*)—there used to be 200 in the nineteenth century—each carry a 'doll' (*o-mukaëningyo*), more than six feet high,⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ representing a Jôruri character from some old legend.

Other Ten-man-gû also celebrate their matsuri on the same day throughout Japan. And since the Kami—who is no other than Michizane Sugawara—has also become the Patron of Letters, it is customary that on that occasion schoolboys should display the result of their best efforts at calligraphy—just as they do in Confucian temples on some other days.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ And there are even schools of Ikana-calligraphy which celebrate the Tenjin-kô, 'to cultivate the composure of mind which enables one to write freely and undisturbed before the eyes of an audience'.

On the same day, the Aga-jinja holds its Nagi-matsuri, also called Kenka (quarrel)—matsuri.⁽¹²²⁾

July 28th: the Aso-jinja performs the Aso-matsuri on Mount Aso.

July 30th: the Meiji-jingû commemorates the Virtues of the Emperor Meiji, whose demise was on that date' in the Meiji-tennô-sai.

July 31st: the great festival of the Usa-hachiman-gû begins; it lasts three days.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same day the gorgeous Sumiyoshi-matsuri is performed at the Sumiyoshi-taïsha.

July 31st: The matsuri of the Kyoto (Ukyô-ku) Atago-jinja is called 'the feast of the thousand days' because it is popularly believed that the people who visit the temple on that day will derive the same protection as if they visited it one thousand times on other days.

July 31st and August 1st: The Kanagawa-ken Hakone-jinja holds two successive matsuri, the Kosui-matsuri and the *rei-soi*. Large-sized boats form an important procession on the lake. Innumerable floating lanterns are offered to the nine-headed dragon who is the 'spirit' of the lake.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

Mention should also be made of the Nomaôï-matsuri (Wild-horse-festival), one of the most colourful festivals in Japan, which lasts for four days in July, although it can hardly be termed a Shintô matsuri. In Hibarigahara (the field of skylarks), near Harano-machi in Fukushima-ken, in the presence of some 200,000 spectators, a thousand men dressed as samurai' on horseback re-act a tournament probably initiated by Masakada Taïra in the tenth century. The participating temples are the Haramachi-shi Ôta-jinja, the Sôma-shi Sôma-jinja and the Sôma-nakamura-jinja.

August 1st: the very important O-fune-matsuri of the Suwa-taïsha occurs, when the Kami is transferred from the Haru-miya to the Aki-miya. A 'symbol' in the shape of a scarecrow, representing the Kami, is carried on a 'boat', really a raft, made of brushwood

(*shiba*) which is itself drawn on a sledge. The whole structure, which weighs eight tons, used to be carried by *ujiko* wearing only a very short slip. While being transported on the lake, the Kami ‘looks at the paddy-fields’.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

On the same day also occurs the festival of the Saïtama-ken Hikawa-jinja, which is honoured by the presence of an Imperial messenger.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same day, the Nakayama-jinja celebrates the drag-net festival. A temporary shrine is built on the seaside at the back of the temple and all the fish caught are offered to the Kami.

During the month of August: the ten sections of *ujiko* attached to the Kawarada-suwa-jinja each have their own matsuri, on ten different days.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

August 3rd: the Ohata-no-matsuri or flag festival (*rei-sai*) of the Kibitsu-hiko-jinja, preceded by an O-ta-uë-matsuri.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

August 6th and 7th: the Kyoto Ura-jinja holds its summer festival with sword and flower dances.

August 7th to 13th: in the Suhote-matsuri, the Shimonoseki Imi-no-miya-jinja celebrates the victory won in A.D. 204 by Chûai-tennô over Korean invaders. The head of the Korean chief—which according to tradition was very much like that of an Oni—is buried in front of the temple, and a most lively dance takes place over it, with drums and bells, waving of flags on gigantic poles, and the same lanterns with which local people welcomed Jingû-kôgô on her return from Korea (cf. p. 431 below).

August 8th: a big festival in the Ôagata-jinja, with eighty-eight bonfires has its origin in the custom of lighting a huge fire on the top of Mount Atago to attract harmful insects; now it is lighted on a rock behind the temple.

August 12th and 13th: the Ara (rough) -matsuri in the Yaïzu-jinja is marked by sacred music played at night in the unlighted *heiden*, a most impressive performance.

August 14th: the Fire-matsuri of the Amebiki-jinja is intended to obtain rainfalls. Small torches lit at a sacred fire are thrown into a basket tied to the end of an eight-foot pole.

August 14th and 15th: the Tomioka-hachiman-gû holds its summer festival which is remarkable for various types of dances performed by some of the best troupes of Japan.

August 14th to 16th: the Togakushi-jinja celebrates the Togakushi-matsuri at the foot of Mount Togakushi.

August 15th is marked by at least four important festivals:

The Hodosan-jinja holds a boat festival, the Funadama-matsuri, which originated during the Edo era, when transportation from Chichibu to Edo was effected by rafts floated on the Arakawa-river, and prayers to the Water-kami were offered in winter for safe navigation. The procession goes as far as Nagatoro.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ This is remarkable on account of the fact that no Waterkami is enshrined in the temple.

On the same day, during the Tsumamagi-sai of the Izumo-ô-yashiro, after the Kami has paid a visit to neighbouring temples (cf. p. 102 above), he is offered a peculiar *shinsen*, which includes water in a half-lemon emptied of its pulp, and to which a twig of willow has been attached as a handle.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ The *shinsen* includes no meat, no eggs, no sake or *miki*.

On the same day, the Kasuga-taïsha proceeds to an impressive illumination, with 1,800 stone lanterns and 1,000 hanging lanterns—and of course dances and music.

On the same day, the Hakodate-hachiman-gu includes in its matsuri a parade of men clad in the costumes of the early Meiji era.

August 15th and 16th: the Yamaga Ômiya-jinja holds a big festival at the close of which parishioners take home lanterns (*chôchin*) supplied by the temple.

August 16th: the Mishima-taisha celebrates the Mishima-matsuri with a procession representing an army of samurai in memory of Yoritomo Minamoto.

August 17th: the summer festival of the Takebe-jinja is marked by a procession of boats, including a *mikoshi*, on the Seta river.

On the same day, the pageant of the matsuri held in the Tsurugaoka Shônai-jinja represents the procession of the feudal lord going on an official visit to the Shôgun.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

August 17th and 18th: during the picturesque Tatemono-matsuri of the Uozo Suwa-jinja, a long pole is set up on a float and horizontal bars of different lengths nailed to the pole. The bars are then decked with lanterns, each bar bearing 80 to 150 lanterns.

July 18th of the lunar calendar: the Miyajima Itsukushima-jinja celebrates the Tamatori-sai, festival of ball-casting.

August 20th to 23rd: the biggest festival of the City of Hachinohe is celebrated jointly by the three main temples: the Ogami-jinja, the Shinrajinja and the Shin-meï-gû, with various ball-games played on horseback.

August 21st to 23rd: the big festival of the City of Niigata, the chief port of the Japan Sea, is celebrated at its Hakusan-jinja. In 1615, after the Ôsaka Castle, citadel of the Toyotomi clan, had been taken by Ieyasu, Denemon Kawamura fled and stopped at Niigata harbour one night, when he dreamt that Niigata would become a prosperous harbour. Several years later he sighted a fleet of vessels and beckoned them to come into the port. The festival commemorates the event.

August 24th: the festival of the Shikobuchi-jinja, famous for its flower-umbrella dances, performed by young men in women's costumes.

August 25th: the Shinno Ten-man-gû commemorates by a matsuri the famine which ravaged the city in 1755. Historic events are reproduced on the various floats.

On the same day, the Suïten Ten-man-gû holds a colourful Thousand-lantern-festival.

On the same day also, the Kôchi Tosa-jinja has its annual matsuri.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

July 28th to August 1st of the lunar calendar: during the festival of the Iwaki-yama-jinja, worshippers climb to the *oku-miya* on the summit of Mount Iwaki, waving large bunches of reeds on huge poles.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

August 31 31st and September 1st: a joint festival is held in Hakui-gun by the Togi-hachiman-sha and the Sumiyoshi-gu. During the night, the *mikoshi* from the former pays a visit to the latter followed by a great number of lanterns, to the sound of flutes and drums. One tall pole carries about 100 lanterns.

September 1st: the festival of the Dankyo-jinja is marked by fights between bulls which have been gradually selected through preliminary fights on the first and fifteenth days of every one of the preceding twelve months. The winning bulls are decorated with coloured cloths and paraded round the arena.

September 1st and 2nd: the Kakinomoto-jinja celebrates the Hakko-matsuri with remarkable horseback archery (*yabusame*).

September 1st, 2nd and 3rd: the very holy Shikinen-mi-fune-sai, which takes place only every fifteen years in the Kashima-jingû. During the first half-day, *misogi* and *mitama-shizume* are effected in the old Koshin-dô style.

September 2nd: in the Kehi-jingû, begins the Tsugaru-matsuri, which lasts for eighteen days; but only the first three days are sponsored by the temple.

August 8th of the lunar calendar: a special matsuri in the Atsuta-jingû is believed to commemorate Prince Yamato-takeru's victorious expedition against the Yemishi (cf. p. 414 below), although popular tradition gives it a different origin.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

September 11th: the Tôkyô (Shiba) Dai-jingû celebrates the Shôga-matsuri, or Ginger-festival, during which ginger and dried beans are sold, preferably by men with one defective eye.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

September 11th to 13th: large crowds witness the matsuri of the Sannohe-dai-jingû.

September 13th: the temples dedicated to General Nogi celebrate his memorial day, the Nogi-kinenbi.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

On the same day, the Kasugayama-jinja holds its Kenshin-matsuri in gratitude to Kenshin Uêsugi, who supplied the city of Takada with salt at a time when other feudal lords refused to do so.

September 14th and 15th are favourite days for matsuri in temples dedicated to Hachiman.

On those two days, the Hachiman-gû in Sakura-yama, Takayama holds a great festival with twenty high-wheeled floats, some of which were constructed in 1688–1703 by prominent artisans and are gorgeously embellished with gold and with elaborate carvings.

On the same two days, in Kishiwada (Ôsaka), the Danjiri-matsuri is celebrated jointly by the Kishiki-jinja, the Sugawara-jinja and another temple dedicated to Hachiman. Some of the floats weigh more than 1,000 kilogrammes and have to be pulled by some hundred young men.

September 14th to 16th: the Miyake-hachiman-gû holds its autumn festival.

September 15th is the date of the five-yearly festival of the Ushijima-jinja, the Ushijima-jinja ujiko-sôchô mikoshi rengô togyo. Fifty-two *mikoshi*, one from each of the fifty-two sections (*machi*) of its parish are carried in procession.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same day, the Tokyo (Nakano) Hikawa-jinja celebrates its autumn festival.

September 15th is also the date of many Hachiman festivals, among which are:

The Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû's Minami-matsuri, which started in A.D. 863 under specific instructions from Gosanjô-tennô. Fish and birds are set free and a special *mikokagura* is danced to 'solace' the souls of the fish which have died during the preceding twelve months. Two white horses which have never served take part in the matsuri; they are supposed to have been presented to the Kami by the Emperor, but in fact they are loaned by *ujiko*. In the evening, the Kami, who had been summoned for the occasion, return to their mountain abode.⁽¹⁹²⁾

The Fujisaki Hachiman-gû's Boshita-matsuri which originated in 1598 when Kiyomasa Katô, a feudal lord, returned from his successful expedition to Korea. The festival is noted for its gaily decorated horses (*kazari-uma*).⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

The Chikuri-hachiman-gu's annual festival.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

September 16th: has been chosen in Kamakura by the very popular Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gû. It continues a tradition of horseback archery (*yabusame*) which was started in the twelfth century by Yoritomo Minamoto.

September 19th: is the date of both the Kirishima-matsuri in the Kirishimajingû and the Komagata-matsuri in the Komagata-jinja.

September 20th: in the Kumakabuto-arakashi-hiko-jinja, nineteen *mikoshi* from branch temples assemble for the Okuma-kabuto-matsuri and parade behind giant red flags.

September 20th and 21st: The *rei-tai-sai* of the Nezu-jinja features *sanzakagura*.⁽²⁹²⁾

September 21st: the Shiramine-gû celebrate the birthday of Sutokutennô.⁽⁵⁸⁹⁾

August 22nd of the lunar calendar: the Ubusuna-matsuri of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, with a procession which winds round the whole district.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

September 23rd and 24th: is the famous Ohitsu-osame-matsuri (holy ricetub festival) at the Ike-no-miya-jinja, dedicated to Se-ori-tsu-hime. According to Shintô traditions, the nearby Sakura-ga-ike pond 'was greatly renowned from ancient days as a place to pray for rain' and prayers were addressed to a serpent believed to dwell in the pond. A later Buddhist tradition tells of the *ajari* Koën, high-priest of Mount Hiei, who was the master of Honen Shonin, himself the master of the famous Shinran Shônin: the *ajari* had come to the conclusion that salvation could not possibly be attained in a normal human lifetime, and that the only way was to survive until the second coming of the Buddha, more than five and a half million years later. And he took the form of the Sakura-ga-ike serpent, which is believed to have the required life-span. In the eyes of the Buddhists therefore, the purpose of the festival is to console the faithful soul of the *ajari*. Nevertheless, the whole ritual remains purely Shintô. Towards the dusk of autumn eve, the palanquin is carried from the *honden* to the *o-tabisho* at the eastern end of the pond in a solemn procession...it is placed there facing the water, so as to supervise the ceremony about to take place...then appear...twenty naked lads, called "Holy Swimmers"...they depart from the *mikoshi* at the back of the shrine to descend to the pond; and one by one they slip into the water and swim toward the opposite side, forming a splendid straight line at intervals of about ten metres.... They are selected from the village youths...from seventeen to twenty-eight.... For seven days and nights preceding the festival day, those chosen lads are removed to a detached house to effect their purification. Strict abstinence from flesh and cold-water ablutions, twenty-one times per day and night, constitute their devotional performance. Every night, they go to the nearby sea and there perform a sea ablution, the most severe of all the purifications, bathing themselves in the rough sea waves seventy-five times. In the course of the period, they hull rice which has been specially reserved from the previous year's crop. On the eve of the festival, they wash the rice with water drawn from the sacred well and boil it with purified fire kindled by rubbing together pieces of *hinoki*. At the dawn of the holy day, they put the boiled rice into rice-tubs made of *hinoki*...[On the festival day] when the swimmers are away on the water, a tiny sacred ship, carrying two naked veteran swimmers...guards them. The ship is purely Japanese style and hoists a variegated banner called *tako-bata* (Octopus flag)...which is the most primitive form of Japan's flag. [The swimmers then reach the opposite side of the pond]...they disappear behind the trees only to reappear promptly holding aloft each a holy rice-tub in his right hand. Again they swim in a straight line toward the heart of the pond, holding the rice-tub with one hand, the sacred guideship directing them all the time;...as they approach the fathomless heart, they begin to spin the tubs round and round with their hands like a top. At the very centre of the pond, their naked bodies, which could hardly be seen above the water until then, suddenly spring upon the surface, with the upper half in full view. The rice-tubs are no more: they have been pushed into the mystic bottom with all available force. This is done one after another in order, and the swimmers return to the shore to take more rice-tubs...About seventy to eighty rice-tubs are thus dedicated to the god of the pond on the first day, and the

same number on the second day. The performances ended, the *mikoshi* calmly retires to the sanctuary.⁽⁷⁰⁸⁾

September 25th to 27th: the Suwa-jinja in Yokka-ichi holds a festival in which a huge monster, warriors of the feudal age and whaling vessels parade through the streets of the city. The festival has been held every year since 1202.

September 29th: the Gunma-ken Wakamiya-hachiman-gû has its Yassa-matsuri, during which a group of young men and a group of old men wrestle together, shouting *yassa mossa*; hence the name of the festival.

October 1st sees the great lantern festival of the Hôjôzu-hachiman-gû.

October 1st is also the date of the O-hake-matsuri in the Tokyo Kotohira-gû.

October 1st to 3rd: the procession (Saseho-Okunchi) of the Kameyama-hachiman-gû winds for three days.

October 1st to 4th: during the Kankô-sai, or Zuiki-matsuri, the Kitano-ten-man-gû honours the guardian spirits of the temple. This is an occasion for quaint displays of green vegetables throughout Kyôto⁽³⁶⁸⁾. A *mikoshi* with a roof made of *zuiki* (stems of *taro*) and decorated with fruits, flowers and marine products is a feature of the parade.

October 2nd is the colourful annual festival of the Haya-osa-hachiman-gû.

October 4th: the Miya-maë Hachiman-jinja has its picturesque *rei-sai*.

October 4th to 6th: the matsuri of the Fukushima-ken (Adachi-gun) Hachiman-jinja is one of the three big lantern festivals in the north of Japan.

October 7th to 9th: the Okunchi-matsuri, or O-suwa-matsuri of the Nagasaki Suwa-jinja takes place, which seems to have started in the seventeenth century. It was one of the first to be known and described by foreign visitors, particularly from Holland and from China, and was largely influenced by those visitors. Dances, music and even musical instruments were partly of foreign origin; those elements gradually diminished however after the Meiji restoration; the *ja-odori*, a dragon-dance from China, has nevertheless been retained. Dances begin in front of the Suwa-jinja on the morning of the 7th, after which the *mikoshi* of the Suwa-jinja, Kôtaï-jingû, Sumiyoshi-jinja and Matsunomori-jinja descend precipitously the flight of seventy-three stone steps down to the big torii below; the dances are repeated in front of the Yasaka-jinja and the Kôtaï-jingû, and finally at the official residence of the governor of Nagasaki. The *mikoshi* remain in the *o-tabisho*, at Ohato, for one day. The dances are arranged by the inhabitants of eleven streets each year, in rotation between the seventy-seven streets which have that privilege.⁽⁶⁴⁸⁾

October 8th: the second O-kachô-matsuri of the Tamura-jinja (cf. p. 203 above).

October 9th: at the Toyohake Shin-meï-sha (alsocalled Owaki-jimmyo-jinja), highly acrobatic lion-dances are performed in a festival which has been held regularly for four centuries.

On the same day are the autumn festivals of the Sendai Awoba-jinja and of the Saga Matsubara-jinja. The latter is marked by the same interesting masked dances of Korean origin which are also performed on April 10th in the same temple.

September 9th of the lunar calendar: the Kuni-chi-sai of the Shika-umi-jinja, marked by a quaint ceremony. Nine days before the date fixed, the *gûji* has to ask the Kami whether they are willing to take part in the procession. For that purpose, he takes two very long strips of paper, writes 'yes' on the one and 'no' on the other, prays to the Kami that they should express their wish, and then winds the two papers together and agitates them above

a sort of *harai-gushi* until one of them unfurls and gives the answer. It happens once in every four or five years that the Kami decline the invitation—in which case the *mikoshi* are not taken to the *o-tabisho*.⁽¹⁰⁾

October 10th: the Kompira-matsuri is held in the Sanuki Kotohira-gû, the Tokyo Kotohira-gû, etc.

On the same day, the Tenson-jinja celebrates the Ôtsu-matsuri with an impressive historic parade.

October 11th: in the *rei-tai-sai* (or Aki-matsuri) of the Nishinomiya Okada-jinja two very complicated articles, supposed to be one male and one female, are offered to the chief Kami, Ame-no-minaka-nushi, and also chestnuts (*kuri*), a very unusual type of food to be included in the *shinsen*.⁽¹¹³⁾

October 11th to 18th: all Hachiman temples on Shôdo Island hold a big drum festival. Large drums weighing two tons and smaller ones weighing 280 kilogrammes are taken to the shrines, between ten and twenty-five drums at each shrine.

October 12th: the Akô Ôsake-jinja sends a large boat procession, with *mikoshi*, lion-dancers and musicians to the sacred island of Ikushima.

On the same day, during the great procession of the Wadatsumi (Kaï)-jinja, the *mikoshi* sail over the sea.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

October 14th: the Susa-jinja holds a Kenka-matsuri (fighting festival). On this occasion six large sea-breams are set free into the sea, and local fishermen vie to catch them again. Those who succeed are sure to make good catches throughout the year.

October 14th and 15th: the Ishi-kiyowo-hachiman-gû holds a big festival.

October 15th: during the annual festival of the Kôsô-hachiman-gû an enormous ‘worm’ is carried by four men in the procession.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same day comes the great procession of the Iso-no-kami-jingû.

Also on the same day, the Shinjû Hachiman-jingû, one of the oldest Shintô temples in Japan, commemorates the landing of the court sage Jûfuku with his hundred pure maidens and youths in search of the fountain of youth and the land of everlasting life. A boat race (*funa-kurabe*) is one of the features of the festival.

October 15th and 16th: the Saïjô-matsuri of the Isono-jinja features beautiful floats (*danjiri*) and a short sea-crossing (*toyo*) by the *mikoshi*.⁽²⁷¹⁾

On the same day the Taihei-zan-miyoshi-jinja holds its special *rei-sai* in honour of Miyoshi-no-kami.

October 16th and 17th: during the Tawara-momi festival of the Hiroshi-ken Kameyama-jinja, the *ujiko* offer bags of rice (*tawara*).⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same two days is the main matsuri of the Himuka-jinja, with interesting dances.

October 17th: every Shintô temple in Japan joins in the celebration in the Ise-jingû of the Kanname-sai (cf. p. 185 above).

On October 17th also falls the autumn festival of the Nikkô Tôkyô-gû, when the *mikoshi* is taken through the famous stone-gate and a pageant of about 500 participants attracts a large crowd.

October 18th: the Tatsuki-jinja commemorates the death of Tadakatsu Honda, the faithful vassal of Ieyasu Tokugawa.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

October 18th to 21st: the Shûki-kôrei-sai, the great autumn festival of the Yasukuni-jinja, for solacing the souls of soldiers, sailors and airmen who sacrificed their lives for their country.⁽³⁶⁸⁾

October 18th: during the Shinkô-sai (also called Ô-atari), the Kami of the Nagata-jinja, Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, visits various wards of his parish covering all of them in successive years.⁽⁹⁹⁾

On the same date is the annual festival of the Kibitsu-jinja.

October 19th: the famous Funaoka-tai-sai of the Take-isao-jinja.

October 22nd: the Kyoto Heian-jingû celebrates the Jidai-matsuri. The pageant covers the whole period (eighth to nineteenth centuries) during which Kyoto was the capital of the Empire.⁽³²⁷⁾ Only since the Second World War have women been allowed to take part in it.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

October 25th: the annual festival of the Karasawa-yama-jinja.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

October 28th to 30th: the Okunchi-matsuri of the Karatsu-jinja is famous for its fourteen gigantic floats, five metres high, surmounted respectively by a red lion, the legendary figure of Urashima Tarô, Yoshitsune Minamoto's helmet, a bream, a phoenix, a flying dragon, a green dragon, a golden lion, three with other helmets, a dragon's head, a whale's head and another lion.

October 29th: the autumn festival of the Uwatsu-hiko-jinja features a very ancient dance, the participants in which are a man wearing a demon's head and wrapped up in a red blanket, a boy wearing a stag's head and seven other boys wearing deer's heads.

For the birthday of the Emperor Meiji (*November 3rd*), the Meiji-jingû holds its *rei-sai*, its most important festival, which lasts for five days. It is attended by large crowds, with the presentation of *nô*, *bugaku*, *kagura*, *sumô*, archery on horseback (*yabusame*) and on foot, singing tournaments, classical horsemanship tournaments, cinema, exhibitions of various types of art, classical samurai arts, Japanese music and dances, wind-instrument concerts in the European style, folk-dances also in the European style, fairy-tales for children, poetry contests, tea-ceremonies, torch-light processions, displays of flower-arrangements, chrysanthemum displays, cake-festivals, firecrackers and fireworks, etc. This festival follows closely on the Great Autumn Festival on November 1st, which is also the anniversary of the foundation of the temple.

November 5th: the Hachiman-jinja in Ôsumi-machi holds its annual festival. A bigger-than-life doll called 'Yagorô-den', made in the replica of Takeshi-uchi-no-sukune, 4.9 metres high and carrying a 5.4 metre long halberd precedes the shrine palanquin in a parade.

November 6th: the Kitano-ten-man-gu dedicates tea-cups to commemorate the day, in 1587, when Hideyoshi Toyotomi himself dedicated one. Men representing six tea-producing areas gather at the prefectural office and parade through the streets to the shrine. They are followed by 150 tea girls, dancers, horsemen and clowns, re-enacting a custom of ancient days. In case of rain, the parade is postponed.

November 10th: the *rei-tai-sai* of the Asakura-jinja, which is enlivened by a dance with a primitive sort of club.⁽³⁰⁾

About the same time, more exactly on the second Sunday in November, the Momiji-matsuri is held under the auspices of the Ranzan-hoshô-kaï. Although not connected with any particular jinja, it may well be considered a Shintô festival.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

November 13th: during the Natsu-matsuri, which is the *rei-tai-sai* of the Todoroki-jinja, the *mikoshi* is first immersed in water, as near as possible to the Todoroki waterfall which is so heavy that no man can stand under it. After having been thus cleansed by 'pure and virgin' water, it is pulled out by eight young men taken from the oldest families of *ujiko*,

and who must be morally and ritually pure; carrying it on their shoulders, they run down the 150 steps between the *honden* and the *haïden*, and then take it on a long journey around the countryside.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

October 15th of the lunar calendar: the festival of the Bôfu-ten-man-gû, which is attended by thousands of believers clad in white.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

Some time about the middle of November, on the ‘cock-days’ of the month, all the Ôtori-jinja in Tôkyô and the suburbs, particularly those in Ryusenji-machi (Asakusa) and Hanazono (Shiujuku), observe with much gaiety and colour the *Tori-no-ichi*, or ‘fair of the fowl’. Gay *kuma-de* of bamboo rakes are on sale in the stalls lining the approaches to the shrines. These rakes, decorated with symbols of happiness and good-luck charms, are supposed to attract money and good fortune for the buyer. (cf. p. 104 above).

November 17th: The matsuri of the Tsu-no-mine-jinja is famous for its ‘offerings’ of *sumô* (*hō-no-sumô*).⁽²³²⁾

November 20th to 25th: the Kami of the Sada-jinja celebrates the Kami-ari (existence)-matsuri (or Shin-zaï-saï) during which it is host to the eight myriads of Kami (*yao-yorozu-no-kami*); they stay in an empty space respectfully enclosed by *shimenawa* and bamboos, between the *haïden* and the *honden*.⁽⁸⁾

November 22nd: The Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja repeats the same matsuri as on the 22nd April.⁽²⁵⁷⁾

November 26th: the Mankusen-noyashiro in its turn holds a big festival in honour of the eight myriads of Kami (*yao-yorozu-no-kami*) who come to hold a conclave on the adjoining platform.

On *November 26th* also, the Izumo-ô-yashiro holds two extremely interesting ceremonies, which hardly any people except the priests ever attend. In the morning, during the *Kenkoku-sai*, small bags of rice marked *Izumotaïsha-kenkoku-saï-kemma* are piled up by farmers as offerings to the Kami, Ô-kuni-nushi; the *shinsen* comprises, among other dishes, fish from the sea and fish from the river, birds from the fields and birds from the water, vegetables from the fields and vegetables (sea-weeds) from the sea. At the end of the ceremony, a lottery is drawn under the supervision of a priest, the *tengi*, between the farmers, the prizes of which are one gold Kami, one silver Kami and one wooden Kami (*kin-go-zô*, *gin-go-zô*, *on-zô*).

On the same evening in the same Izumo-ô-yashiro occurs the *Koden-shinjô-saï* or *Obago-shinji*, a matsuri conducted for the *gûji* (*kokuzô*) which used to be celebrated in the Kumano-jinja and was transferred to the Kamosu-jinja, in Oba in the sixteenth century, and then to the Izumo-ô-yashiro after the Meiji restoration. Since it is not held in honour of the Kami of the temple, it does not take place in the *heïden*, but in the *haïden*. The *gûji* of the Izumo-ô-yashiro, a member of the Senge family, is particularly competent to conduct the worship, because he is a direct descendant of Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto, the second son of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, whom the Sun-Goddess instructed to take charge of all matsuri for Ô-kuni-nushi and for all the Kami whom the said Ô-kuni-nushi would wish to worship. The *gûji*, who sits part of the time on a *michi* hide, proceeds to a solemn lighting of the fire by ancient rites, with a wooden board (*hi-kiri-usu*) and a wooden stick (*hi-kiri-gine*) of the same length, and to the no less solemn cooking of rice and of three stones coming from the village of Manai and into which he pretends to bite (*hagatame*). Two hundred branches of sakaki (*tagusa*), coming from the nearby Uga-yama, each with three end-leaves, are then

offered three priests (*tagusa-shidori*), among which the *gūji*, according to a very special ceremonial. Meanwhile, seven priests, sitting around an antique *koto-ita*, beat it with twigs of willow, chanting fifty times the Aun-no-kokyu, which bears a striking resemblance to the Hindu AUM. After that, one of the seven priests chants fifty times *Sume-kami-omatsurishi Asuyoyiwa*, and the other six reply *Asuyoyiwa akeno-koromo-okegoromo sen*, which means ‘In this auspicious day, O Gods, we have celebrated the matsuri. Let us from now on [and for some time to come] wear every day fine (red) clothes [because the harvest was good].’ At the end of the ceremony, a *negi*, carrying on a pole two sheafs of rice and a red jar (*heishi*) walks three times round a huge caldron (*ô-kama-sama*) which has figured prominently on the floor of the *haïden* during the ceremony, chanting continuously *anatanushi*, ‘how joyful!’

November 30th to December 9th: the Saïtama-ken Hikawa-jinja holds the Daitô-matsuri, a highly popular festival during which one hundred kinds of food are supposed to be offered to the Kami 0-kuni-nushi.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

December 1st: the Kitsuki Wakamiya-hachiman-gû holds a festival which is followed by a horse and cattle market lasting one week. The market has been held for the past 750 years.

December 2nd to 4th, the Wakamatsu Ebisu-jinja has its annual matsuri marked by a great lottery. The people who wish to purchase tickets gather at the temple before dawn, carrying with them lighted torches.

December 3rd: the annual matsuri, Chichibu-yo-matsuri, of the Chichibu-jinja, with a most impressive procession of magnificent floats, grand fireworks and liberal distributions of sake to all present.

On the same day occurs the Morota-bune festival at the Miho-jinja, which is famous for its boat-race (*funa-kurabe*) based on the *kuni-yuzuri* (‘landpulling’) episode, during which the Kami drew to the mainland some islands which were formerly at a certain distance from it (cf. p. 326 below).

December 5th: the great matsuri of the Tokyo Suiten-gû, where Antoku-tennô and his mother Kôreïmon-in are associated with the first Kami mentioned in the Kojiki, Ame-minaka-nushi.⁽¹²²⁾

December 7th: the Katori-jingû holds the Dango-matsuri.

December 8th: the Yûtoku-inari-jinja holds a fire-matsuri to celebrate the results of the harvest, with a huge bonfire surrounded by green bamboo sticks.

December 10th, during the matsuri of the Katsurakake-jinja, two to three hundred young men dive together in the Nagara river, at three different times of the day, to purify themselves of all pollutions accumulated during the year.

December 11th: the Shimotsuke-matsuri of the Iga-gun Hachiman-gû includes a weird dance of three masked men around two big caldrons where water is kept boiling.

December 15th: the Ogano-machi Hachiman-jinja holds a ‘Gun-festival’ in which two temple-horses, decked with strips of paper of the type used for purificatory rites appear on the avenue leading to the temple. Hunters posted on both sides of the avenue then fire blank shots, after which the horses take part in a procession, the participants of which are dressed in ancient warriors’ costumes.

December 15th to 17th: both shrines of the Ise-jingû repeat the Tsukinami-saï, which we have described on June 15th to 17th.

December 16th to 18th: in the Kasuga-taisha occurs the Kasuga-wakamiya-matsuri, one of the most impressive festivals to be witnessed in Japan. The Kami of the Wakamiya-jinja, Ame-no-oshi-kumo-ne-no-mikoto, a son of one of the main Kami, Ame-no-koyane, is brought down from his shrine on the hill to a temporary shrine (*o-tabisho*) near the town. The procession takes place at midnight, with all lights extinguished within a large radius, and it is followed by a colourful pageant, in which two very young children represent the samurai 'because they are pure'. Nô, sumô and all sorts of artistic and sportive events accompany the matsuri, which is attended by the *hinotsukcti*, the 'messenger from the sun', a representative of the Fujiwara family.

December 27th: during the Susu-haraï of the Suwa-taisha, a sheaf of rice complete with ears, is used instead of the *ô-nusa* in honour of Ô-toshi-no-kami, and the spider-webs, the soot left by the fires, etc., are cleaned away.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

December 28th: during the Susu-haraï-matsuri, the floors of the Kibitsu-jinja are swept with feathers of a mountain-bird and flowers (*kaya-no-ho*).⁽¹⁹⁾ The same ceremony is held, on a smaller scale, in every temple and every household, near the end of the year.

December 31 31st: the Ôsaka Iku-kuni-tama-jinja repeats the Michi-ahe-no-matsuri of the 30th June in honour of the Kami of the road.

On December 31st also the Katori-jingû and every other jinja hold a second O-haraë.

PART TWO
MYTHOLOGY

CHAPTER IX

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MYTHOLOGY OF SHINTÔ

As is the case in all religions of remote antiquity which did not originate in the teachings of an ethically or socially-minded founder, mythology holds a considerable place in Shintô. Myths offered indeed the most efficient means of expressing deep truths as 'seen' by sages in actual direct contact with nature and its laws. In the normal course of things, rituals come later to ensure lasting conformity of the visible world with those eternal laws, prayers arise when man feels incapable of harmoniously planning his earthly or future existence without the help and protection of higher Powers, and philosophy intervenes when mental faculties have developed to such an extent that they more or less obliterate or at least cloud his capacity to remain in direct contact with the truths of the world.

In Shintô myths are basic. As one of the most influential thinkers in the Jinja-honchô puts it: 'Japanese are generally fond of expressing themselves in the form of myth, history or literature, not of abstract reasoning.'⁽²²²⁾

One authoritative contemporary author⁽²⁴¹⁾ wrote to me: 'It is necessary fully to understand that the "myths" recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* are not merely an expression of the ancient minds, but are still actually living in Japan as a historical fact.' Another⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ stressed that 'the thinking method of the Japanese is to perceive the significance through the actual phenomena'.

In Shintô intellectual disquisitions started remarkably late, as compared for instance with Judaism or Hinduism, and until the impact of Christianity and Western materialism made itself felt, they were regarded with serious misgivings. Even now, devout Shintôists persistently underline the fact that their admittedly greatest theologian, Motoôri, was a layman and did not have the priestly formation which alone could have enabled him to grasp the fundamental elements of Shintô.

The fact that myths are the expression of primordial truth or laws perceived on the highest possible level accessible to man, and that laws as we usually formulate them are only transpositions of them in their application to the various branches of knowledge and activity makes myths capable of a number of different interpretations, which are equally valid, although of varying interest and importance. The Bible and the Koran are known to have several meanings which correspond to as many degrees of esotericism or of interiorization; it is said that the verses of the Rig-Veda may be interpreted in thirty-two different ways, each of them applicable to one of the thirty-two traditional sciences. I believe that the Shintô myths prove no exception. We shall see that in fact for many of them a variety of interpretations have been offered, some by western scholars, some by Japanese priests or theologians.

Among them we find the favourite ones which western orientalist and their Asian disciples apply uniformly to all cosmogonies: descriptions of the solar system or of

meteorological phenomena, reminiscences of protohistoric events, etc.* And of course, since authentic myths are by nature polyvalent, it is quite possible that such hypotheses should correspond to an aspect of the true meaning.

Naturally, they do not all deserve either the same attention or the same credit. Since it should hardly be doubted that sayings which have been taken as sacred over an impressive number of centuries by many millions of highly religious people do embody at least a certain wisdom, it is my submission that a good criterion for appreciating the respective merits of interpretations is the measure in which they make sense, they are consistent and they carry a message.

After prolonged study, I have come to believe that the cosmogony outlined in the Shintō scriptures is the product neither of the fanciful imagination of poets, nor of the intellectual fumbings of a primitive people, as has been almost uniformly alleged by western scholars. Like those found in other authentic scriptures of different religions, it is a faithful description of truths which great sages, in close touch with the laws of nature, have seen and understood. The mythical language in which it is couched is probably the one which was most appropriate, and it is far from certain that the most modern terminology in the fields of physical and mental sciences could offer a more satisfactory means of expression.

Most commentators have been very keen to point out both the unbelievable character of some episodes and the inconsistencies and contradictions between various accounts offered by the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi* and other texts. But the same could be predicated of all descriptions given by different observers of phenomena which nobody else has ever seen, and the reality of which is doubted by many. In my opinion, those accounts should in the same way be considered as mutually complementary, and the total information collected from them should be interpreted in the light of common sense, and on the basis of an *a priori* supposition that it *does* make sense. When at first sight it looks absurd or childish, it is more often than not because the student—for lack of personal experience or because of a western-bred superiority complex—is not capable of understanding some aspect of the truth it reveals. Just as a book on higher mathematics or on Chinese grammar will make no sense for the uninitiated.

Like the scriptures of most other religions, the Shintō texts and traditions do not draw any clear line of demarcation between mythology and history. From entities and episodes which clearly do not belong to the world of matter as we know it, they move by gradual and insensible steps to men and facts which are undoubtedly historical. In the following chapters, we shall take the whole story in ‘chronological’ order from the creation of the world right up to the twentieth century, after which we shall consider separately various categories of Divine beings.

Of course, the most important and interesting part of it is that which deals with cosmogony.

The interpretation which I beg to offer has never been presented before, at least in its entirety. It was arrived at after many years of study and prolonged consultations with the highest ecclesiastical and academic authorities of the Shintō world, each and every one of

* Cf. Jean Herbert: *L'objet et la méthode des études mythologiques* (Derain, Lyon, 1955).

whom gave me something unique and irreplaceable. More special thanks are due to Gûji Wada Yôzô, who, during two long interviews in the Kôbe Wada-jinja, probably supplied me with the central key to Shintô theogony.

Briefly, the interpretation may be summed up as follows: the Shintô account of the creation of the world, what the scriptures call the Age of the Kami, Kami-yo, may be taken to fall into seven successive stages:

(1) *The appearance of differentiated non-material principles.* From an undefined and probably monistic pre-existence proceed in perfectly logical order the successive constituent principles which will permit the creation of the world. They are represented by the first seventeen Kami listed in the *Kojiki*.

(2) *The emergence of solid matter.* The original pair of actual Creators gradually brings the Earth out of the primeval Ocean, and gives birth to the individual Kami representing the forces required to support the material world.

(3) *The beginnings of mortal life.* Death, which is an essential feature of earthly life, makes its appearance, and since it is a basic imperfection and requires a purifying process, there also appears the possibility of purification, represented by a number of Kami.

(4) *The establishment of separate rulers for heaven and earth.* The three parts of the universe are organized and a distribution of duties is effected between their respective rulers. But since earth cannot subsist or prosper without the protection, blessing and co-operation of the heavenly forces, the latter are made to exercise the required influence.

(5) *The consolidation of the earth.* The Kami who are specifically in charge of the earth make and consolidate the land.

(6) *The conquest of the earth by the heavenly powers.* The heavenly Kami feel that the earth being now organized but not yet divinized, the time has come for them to take charge of it. They make a number of successive unconvincing attempts and finally succeed. The heavenly Kami now entrusted with the ruling of the earth takes charge of it.

(7) *The final union between the powers of heaven and earth.* The heavenly Kami effect complete intimate union with the powers of the land and of the sea, and finally with the earthly Kami themselves.

A more detailed explanation of each of the stages will be found at the beginning of each relevant chapter.

As mentioned in the Introduction, this interpretation was published in 1962 in the *Kôdô-ishin*, the journal of the Shintô clergy, and comments were invited. They came in large numbers and complemented those which I had received previously. Those which dealt with specific points will be mentioned in full in the sections of this book which deal with the episode concerned. Those of a more general character fall into several categories.

Traditional Japanese courtesy was of course responsible for their being all highly complimentary, but with very few exceptions they all expressed a large degree of concurrence and endorsement. Other correspondents were either gratified or disappointed that my interpretation confirmed or seemed to contradict their own theories. One *gûji* wrote: 'Being quite rational and succinct, this interpretation proves that Shintô cosmogony does not contradict the modern sciences. That is what Shintôists have always believed.'⁽²³⁶⁾ On the other hand, a professor in the Kokugakuin University refused to attach any importance to such a confrontation and very wisely remarked: 'Shintô cosmogony...will not be

contradicted by the science of today, but it may happen to be contradicted by the science of tomorrow. The myth is essentially beyond science.⁷⁽⁴⁾

Another critic, considered to be 'now the most influential thinker in the Jinja-honchô',⁽¹²²⁾ stressed the historical authenticity of myths and disapproved of my attributing to them any symbolic or esoteric meaning: 'Myths were not composed for abstract reasons, they were concrete images from the beginning. I dare call them "mythical facts".'⁽²²²⁾ Taking a diametrically opposite view, another correspondent, who is a lecturer both in the Kokugakuin University and in the Jinja-honchô, wrote vehemently:

'I have perused Professor Herbert's article at your request. It may be rational for the outline of Japanese myth to pursue its plots. But, as you know, Japanese myths were composed by the Imperial House from the data of myths which then existed in the myths of the various clans, and their purpose was the consolidation of the community viewed in a spiritual sense. The fundamental principle of the Imperial House is that it reigns through the spiritual light of the heavenly descendant from the heaven, in order to keep order and ensure the welfare of the whole society. Thus, the myth of the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto will be an image thrown by the enthronement of Jimmu-tennô. So, the genealogical myth before the Sun-Goddess will be an upper structure erected to adorn the principles above-mentioned. To discuss the cosmogony through it may be "like beating the air" (i.e. will serve no purpose). This will be a rather cruel criticism, but I express my opinion frankly.'⁽²³⁷⁾

Some distinguished Shintôists object to the idea that their myths may be the recording of visions by a select few, by 'great sages', and they prefer to see in them 'the natural expression of the deep experiences by the purely naïve and penetrating souls' of their ancestors,⁽²³⁵⁾ or even of 'the Japanese racial spirit in a collective sense'.⁽⁴⁾

Special appreciation was shown for the fact that I had acknowledged the essential part which the Emperor (Tennô) plays in Shintô,⁽²⁴⁹⁾ although regret was expressed in some quarters⁽²⁴¹⁾ that I had not stressed it more.

As already hinted in some of the letters previously quoted, the main objection levelled against my interpretation was that it is too intellectual. One of the mildest criticisms read as follows: 'Broadly speaking, his main opinion is very excellent... If minutely discussed, it might become troublesome, but that is all right as a whole.'⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

A very distinguished theologian wrote: 'Professor Herbert's interpretation is too rationalistic... Though there are some Japanese who endeavour to construct a rational cosmogony or theology, I doubt that their theories can convince everybody that they represent the absolute truth. I fear it will become a kind of metaphysics which will be confronted with modern sciences and philosophies.'⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ One other stated: 'Your explanation of the Kami is too abstract.'⁽¹²²⁾ One of my eminent correspondents was still more categorical: To analyse the myth logically can be likened to an anatomical dissection, which will supply us with knowledge about the structure of the human being, but not about the life of the human being. And to understand the living human being is more vital.⁽²⁴¹⁾ Another one remarked that 'the living wave of Shintô' should not be interpreted by analytical judgements, but should be 'mainly perceived by synthetic intuition' or else 'the life of the myth would be dried up'.^(230a)

In a reply printed in the *Sonnô Ishin*, a specialist on research in spiritual science wrote: 'After I had earnestly read Professor Herbert's essay, I was first impressed by the fact that it

is thoroughly penetrated with spiritual purity. I admire that so many important elements of Shintô are woven in its contents. But I cannot help feeling that it is a product of the West-European intelligence,^{'(230a)}—which should not be understood as a compliment!

Nevertheless, in the words of a distinguished theologian, 'it is universally admitted by Shintôists that the ancient mythology of Japan implies a kind of reasonable cosmology.'⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

One high-priest criticized my 'long interpretation of heavenly and earthly Kami' as 'too dualistic', although my conclusion on their ultimate union he welcomed as showing 'very excellent farsightedness'.⁽⁷⁵⁾

One professor went into greater detail and explained:

'Since Shintô is the way of the Kami, or the stream of life from the gods, its myths should be understood as they stand or "live", without any ideological resolution. They should be construed through the logic of *musubi*, i.e. the growing, nourishing and creative life. It is absolutely necessary to adopt this living and synthetic standpoint. Thus the idea of "the forces", "resistance" or "heavenly conquest of the earth" have been stressed too much. It should be realized that true love actually obtained between the heavenly world (*Takama-ga-hara*) and the actual world (*Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni*), as shown in the birth of Susano-wo, the tasks undertaken by Ô-kuni-nushi, the preliminary inspection of Take-mika-dzuchi, etc.'⁽²³⁵⁾

A western student, however, is practically unable to appreciate a cosmology unless it is presented according to our western mode of thinking and explaining, i.e. more or less intellectually. I hope therefore that my Japanese friends and advisers will forgive me for having complied with this requirement.

In the following chapters, I have endeavoured to tell the Shintô story of the creation of the world in the very words used by the most sacred texts, ordering the quotations, however, in what seems clearly—with a few exceptions—an imperative logical or chronological order.

A few words must first be said, however, about the collective worship of *all* the Kami, the eighty myriads of Kami. They are found enshrined collectively in the *honden* of the Aso-jinja, in the Asahi-no-yashiro (a *massha* of the Kotohira-gû), etc. In the Daigen-kyû, a *massha* of the Yoshida-jinja, we are told that all the Kami of all the temples listed in the *Engi-shiki* were enshrined separately (!) by the priest Kanetomo Yoshida, and it is possible that the octagonal building of the shrine should contain an impressive number of *mitama-shiro* (perhaps *nusa*, according to the custom of the Yoshida school), but it is also said that the central pillar (*shin-no-mi-hashira*) which stands in the centre of the *honden* represents the eighty myriads of Kami.

In the Oku-no-miya of the Saïtama-ken Mitsumine-jinja, it is said that one finds Izanagi, Izanami, all the Heavenly Kami (Ama-tsu-kami), all the Earthly Kami (Kuni-tsu-kami), and in addition all the eighty myriads of Kami!

A special case is that of the Higashi-yaoyorozu-jinja and the Nishiyaoyorozu-jinja, two subsidiary shrines of the Atsuta-jingû, in which are enshrined all the Kami in the East and all the Kami in the West respectively.

We know that during the month which begins on October 11th, all the Kami—with the exception of those who are deaf—leave their usual temples of residence and undertake a

round trip which takes them successively to the Izumo-ô-yashiro (where they stay until October 17th), the Sada-no-yashiro and the Mankusen-no-yashiro. In the Izumo-ô-yashiro, where they stay in the two long buildings of the Jyuku-sha, the month elsewhere known as the ‘month without Kami’ (*kami-na-zuki*), is called the ‘month full of Kami’ (*kami-arizuki*).

Many traditions and legends have grown around this Kami-less month. To quote Mock Joya:

The origin of this belief is not known. But the name came from *kamina*, which means to make new sake with newly-harvested rice. Thus it was called *kamina-zuki*, or the month to make new sake. But somehow it was changed to mean the absence of Kami. All over the country rites are held to send the Kami off to Izumo. In some localities, the sending-off rite is regarded as an occasion for selecting marriage partners. Young men and girls worship at the shrine to have their future mates picked before the Kami leaves for Izumo. While all Kami are given quite a send-off, no ceremony is held to welcome them back because the time of their return varies. Most of them come back in one month, but some stay away until February of the following year. It is now explained that this belief in the Kami’s departure from the shrines in October is related to the harvesting of rice. With the gathering of the crops the duty of the Kami of farms to protect rice-plants from evil spirits and insects is completed. Thus their departure is marked with rites to show the farmers’ appreciation of their service. This is said to have started the belief that all Kami leave local shrines in October.⁷⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Some selections of representative Kami are made occasionally. The most important one is of course that of the eight Kami of the Imperial House, who are again found in various other temples, such as the Hatsumiya-jinja of the Kasuga-taisha. Another is that of thirty Kami (*sanjû-ban-shin*), to whom are allocated the thirty days of the month, but this is really a relic of Tendai Buddhism.

CHAPTER X

GENESIS OF THE UNIVERSE-THE PRE-MATERIAL STAGES

THE two main sacred books, *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, give slightly different versions of the genesis of the universe. In the following pages, we shall take as a basis that which—at least in its substance⁽²¹⁸⁾—is most authentically Shintô and least influenced by later concepts of Chinese philosophy, i.e. the first sections of the *Kojiki*. We shall complement and interpret them in the light of what has been added by the author of the *Kojiki* in his preface, and also by the various alternative versions offered in the *Nihongi*. Although at first sight those different records may appear somewhat conflicting, closer examination will show that essentially they are mutually complementary accounts of one and the same vision, just like the first three Gospels of the New Testament.

Like all other traditional accounts of the processes which led to the formation of the world as we know it, Shintô scriptures describe a series of successive stages leading gradually from original immaterial oneness to present material multiplicity.

Since from their very nature the pre-material stages cannot be explained in terms of the reason and philosophy which we have evolved for establishing relations with the material universe, the descriptions are couched in terms of mythology, in which every word is fraught with meaning, and a considerable part of the sense is to be found in the very names of the deities listed.

If we follow Chamberlain's translation, the first two sections of the *Kojiki* read as follows:

‘The names of the Deities (Kami) that were born (or “became”, *are-maseru*) in the Plain of High Heaven (Takama-no-hara) when the Heaven and the Earth began were Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami (The Deity Master of the August Centre of Heaven), next (*tsugi*) Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami (The High August Producing Wondrous Deity), next Kami-musubi-no-kami (The Divine Producing Wondrous Deity). These three Kami were all Kami born alone, and hid their persons (*mimio-kakushi-tamaïnu*).

The names of the Kami that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the Earth (*kuni*), young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami (The Pleasant Reed Shoot Prince Elder Deity), next Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami (The Deity Standing Eternally in Heaven). These two Kami were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Kami in the above list are separate Heavenly Kami (*koto-ama-tsu-kami-itsubashira*).

The names of the Kami that were born next were Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami (The Deity Standing Eternally on Earth), next Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami (The Luxuriant Integrating Master Deity). These two Kami were likewise Kami born alone, and hid their persons. The

names of the Kami that were born next were U-hiji-ni-no-kami (Deity Mud Earth Lord), next his younger sister Su-hiji-ni-no-kami (Deity Mud Earth Lady); next Tsunu-guhi-no-kami (Germ Integrating Deity), next his younger sister Iku-guhi-no-kami (Life Integrating Deity); next Ô-to-no-ji-no-kami (Deity Elder of the Great Place), next his younger sister Ô-to-no-be-no-kami (Deity Elder Lady of the Great Place); next Omo-daru-no-kami (Deity Perfect Exterior), next his younger sister Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami (Deity Oh Awful (or Venerable) Lady); next Izanagi-no-kami (Deity the Male who Invites), next his younger sister Izanami-no-kami (Deity the Female who invites).

‘From Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami to Izanami-no-kami in the previous list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations (*tenjin schichidai*).

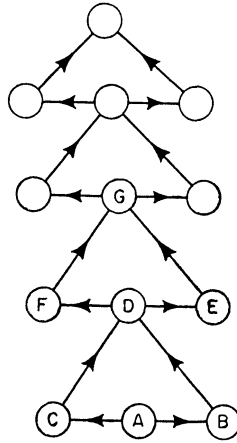
‘[Explanatory note in the original text]: The two solitary Kami above [mentioned] are each called one generation. Of the succeeding ten Kami each pair of Kami is called a generation.’

As was aptly said by one of the senior *gûji*, himself responsible for a complete translation of the *Kojiki* into a European language,⁽⁷⁵⁾ those two chapters provide the very basis for Shintô. It is therefore essential to consider them in some detail.

Whatever other—and possibly partly justified—interpretations may be given it, the most interesting and certainly justified one is that it describes the various stages of the process which led to the appearance of the universe in which we live, and the successive names of the Kami correspond to those stages.⁽⁵²⁹⁾ As a matter of fact, the very circumspect Hirata does not hesitate to write: The names of all these Kami were given to them according to the gradual process of the creation.’

Let us just dismiss in passing the Sun-myth explanation, which has been offered by western scholars for the first Shintô Kami, just as it has been for all other cosmogonies. Let us quote also N.G.Munro’s suggestion: ‘the first five gods mentioned in the *Kojiki*...might possibly be stellar deities. The last two...might have been a comet or a meteor, and the other, the Heaven-Eternally-Standing-Deity, the pole star, or possibly the sun.’⁽⁵⁵⁷⁾

One thing that strikes the student of Japanese cosmogony is that events described in different chapters occasionally seem to correspond to stages of genesis remarkably similar to each other. This, however, should never be taken to indicate superfluous or careless repetition. As the original nonmaterial Divine gradually descends into more and more concrete and material forms, each stage of progressive materialization necessarily requires operations of the same nature as those at the previous or ulterior stages—although the operations take place on a different level each time, and are therefore far from identical. This very valid concept of cosmogony was expressed in the form of a diagram by a very old *gûji*⁽²⁰⁶⁾ who has for many decades been responsible for one of the temples devoted to Ame-no-minaka-nushi. According to his description, in Japanese mythology one Kami (represented on the figure by A) branches out, so to speak, into two other Kami (represented by B and C). From those two, and through their concerted action, appears another single Kami (or a pair of inseparable Kami) (represented by D). This last Kami in his turn branches into two others (E and F) which again unite to form another single Kami (G), etc. Such schematic representation should of course not be taken literally, but it greatly helps to understand the mechanism of Japanese cosmogony. One may for instance take A



to be Ame-no-minaka-nushi, B and C to be respectively Taka-mi-musubi and Kamimusubi, whose joint action produces the 'thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot'. (D) At a later stage, it may be the indivisible pair, Omo-daru and Aya-kashiko-ne, which branches out into the sexual opposition of Izanagi and Izanami, the joint action of whom in its turn leads to the 'birth' of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. And so on.

The sphere or plane of consciousness in which the process of creation begins is called Takama-no-hara (or Takama-ga-hara, or Takama-hara, or Takahama-hara, or Takama-no-hara). There the Kami had their abode before the material universe appeared, and there they still normally reside when their work does not necessitate their coming into our world of men (cf. p. 65 above).

Just as was the case for the Biblical 'earthly paradise', however, many people liked to believe that it could be found somewhere on this earth, and it is reported that about forty different locations were suggested as likely. The most popular seems to be a very sacred tract of land in Shikoku, south of Mount Tsurugi and east of the Mononobe River.⁽²⁵⁴⁾

It was pointed out by E. Satow that in one section of the *Nihongi*, the Chinese characters *kiyo-chiyun*, meaning 'emptiness', occur instead of the usual expression Takama-no-hara. This may be taken as an indication that the 'Plain (*hara*) of High (*taka*) Heaven (*ama*) corresponds to the great Original Void, or to the absence of any individualized entity.' Hirata expressed a similar view when he explained that at the beginning there was 'infinite space', *ô-sora*, in which the first three Kami were. Although in the course of creation this void will be peopled with Kami, its denizens will never have the type of gross materiality which is that of our world; their substance, for evidently they must have one, will be of a much subtler nature. And therefore it may well retain its name, but with slightly different implications.

The Japanese word *are-maseru*, which Chamberlain translates 'were born', means literally 'became'.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Since in Shintô there is no indication that the original deity or deities were without beginning, as implied in the Jewish Genesis or in some of the Hindu scriptures (particularly *vaishnavite*), it is fairly safe to interpret the word as meaning: 'began to exist'.

‘When the heaven and the earth began’ evidently refers to the apparition of the first duality. The wording, and therefore possibly the general sense, is strikingly similar to that used in the Jewish Genesis, which describes the same first stage of creation by the verse: ‘In the beginning, God created the Heaven and the Earth’. The primordial duality may of course be interpreted in many different ways, according to the philosophy of the commentator. As a matter of fact the author of the *Nihongi*, who was greatly influenced by Chinese concepts, elaborates the division by saying: ‘Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In (*yin*) and the Yô (*yang*) not yet divided.’ As it appears from later developments in the cosmogony of the *Kojiki* itself, which often refers to heavenly Kami (Ama-tsu-kami) and earthly Kami (Kuni-tsu-kami), the two names certainly have a meaning, which, although difficult to describe in terms of philosophy, must have been very clear and fundamental to the mind of the original seer whose vision was later recorded. We cannot be very far wrong if we take heaven and earth to designate here the two principles which permitted the evolution of creation along two different lines: on the one hand the subtle universe, of which the chief manifestations were the Kami, and on the other the grosser material universe, of which the chief manifestations were men and nature.

One peculiar feature of Shintô mythology is that those two aspects of creation develop almost simultaneously, and that we find them both at several successive stages of the cosmogony. To take the beginnings only, whereas the first three Kami evidently belong to the heavenly manifestation, we find elements of the earthly manifestation immediately afterwards, before any later Kami (heavenly manifestation) are reported to have been born. Let us just note in passing that a similar parallel progression is found in the Hindu concept according to which the three inseparable and mutually dependant principles of *ishvara* (the personal deity), *jagat* (the material universe) and *jîva* (the human soul) develop simultaneously when the One (Brahman) begins to turn to the stage of manifestation.*

* * *

The first—and probably therefore top-ranking—Kami in the *Kojiki* is, as we have seen, Ame-no-minaka-nushi. A remarkable thing is that he is never again mentioned in the *Kojiki*, and that his name never even appears in the *Nihongi*. It is only natural that he should have been the centre of considerable controversy. Aston⁽³²²⁾ suggests that the name might mean ‘the deity by whom heaven stands for ever’.

According to one eminent *gûji*, this ‘centre of all Kami, more universal and more eternal than all Kami’, may have been ‘invented’ at a fairly late date, ‘when human thinking had become deeper and clearer’.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ A variant of this view is that while the other Kami were ‘discovered’ through religious practices, this one was discovered by intellectual research.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Another *gûji* does not consider Ame-no-minaka-nushi as a Kami, but as ‘the central pillar of the world, who appeared in the chaos, nobody knows where-from’.⁽¹²⁶⁾

One of the keenest students of Shintô among western scholars, Mr J.W.T. Mason, sees in him a personification of ‘the unified wholeness of divine spirit’.⁽⁵²⁴⁾

An interesting detailed description of the Kami was given by Mr Katsuhiko Kakehi, as follows: ‘(1). Ame-no-minaka-nushi exists both in and above the empirical universe. He is both immanent and transcendent. He surrounds the visible world and partakes of its nature

* Cf. Jean Herbert: *La Mythologie hindoue, son message* (Albin Michel, Paris, 1953), pp. 95 ff.

just as an outer enveloping circle or sphere includes but transcends a smaller concentric one. Thus dwelling above the phenomenal universe of human experience, he is yet a most intimate and inseparable part thereof. He possesses the attributes of *naka-ima* (or *dôji-dôsho*), “same time, same place”, yet, although existing in all times and in all places, he is nevertheless superior to temporal and spatial limitations. (2) The designation *naka* (centre, or middle) in the name of this Kami is not to be taken as indicating localization in a central place in heaven (*ama*), considered as part of the existing universe. Centrality is referable to him not in a physical spatial sense, but in the sense that all depends on him. (3) He is both *sôsetsu* and *hisôsetsu*, i.e. with reference to the phenomenal world, he is both creator and creation. In the work of creation he exhibits both an active and passive function. Life is not simply a force that creates, but also something created. (4) He is *fushô-fumetsu-fuzô-fugen*, without beginning, end, increase or decrease. He is the unaltering basis and background of flux in the phenomenal world, transcending all change.⁷⁽⁴⁶⁰⁾

Expressing himself in more biological terms, a modern Shintôist writes: ‘The first deity refers metaphysically to the cosmic centre, in which the all-germinating energy remains potentialized.’⁷⁽³⁷⁸⁾

It must be noted also that in the name of the Kami, the word *nushi*, generally translated by ‘master’, does not imply control by heaven over earthly existence, and that it is only a way of emphasizing that the concept of unity is itself masterful or dominant as well as original. Mr Ikarimaru Watanabe expresses it in more colourful language when he says: that it means ‘jewel-like master, or rather owner, in other words precious, or noble-superior’.⁷⁽⁶⁷⁵⁾

However that may be, ‘it is natural and safest to say’, as aptly explained by G. Katô, ‘that Ame-no-minaka-nushi is a manifestation of primitive monotheism.’⁷⁽⁴⁶³⁾ His place in the Shintô pantheon is not without some similarity with that of Brahman in Hinduism, with the consequence that his very loftiness entails some aloofness and results in some estrangement of the ordinary devotee, as we shall see later.

The philosophical remoteness of this Kami did not prevent some ancient theoreticians of Shintô from endeavouring to work still further back towards original truth—just as in India devotees of Krishna believe in an entity, the Purushottama, which is before and above Brahman itself.

The idea is found as early as the *Jindai-hongi* of the *Kuji-hongi*, presumably one of the very oldest scriptures, which brings in at first a Kami called Ame-yuzuru-hi-ame-no-sagiri-kuni-yuzuru-tsuki-kumino-sagiri-no-mikoto. Some modern authorities solve the problem by taking him to be identical with Ame-no-minaka-nushi himself.⁽²⁾ One author sees in him nothing but the Persian deity Zervanem Akaranem, imported into Japan.⁽⁴⁶³⁾ Others hold that in unadulterated Shintô there must have been other Kami prior to those of the *Kojiki* because the latter had to resort, collectively, to a process of divination, which implies necessarily that they knew of some entity above or before them.⁽⁷⁵⁾ One original view, held by a senior *giji* is that Ame-no-minaka-nushi, notwithstanding the text of the *Kojiki*, must have been born *after* the separation of *musubi*, i.e. after the two Kami mentioned after him.⁽¹⁵²⁾ And another one puts it in more philosophical form by saying that at the beginning was the Word (*kotoba*), from which emanated the first duality, *hi* and *ki* (which would more or less correspond to the original principles of fire and water, or male and female), and that Ame-no-minaka-nushi appeared only at the next stage.⁽²⁾

Various attempts have also been made to identify this first Kami with some others. According to T. Suzuki, he is the same as the one known in the *Nihongi* as Ama-mi-musubi-no-kami, the fore-ancestor deity, the heavenly-producer, the heaven-producing deity⁽⁴⁶³⁾ According to others, he is identical with Ame-no-toko-tachi, the fifth Kojiki Kami.⁽²⁾ But the most frequent assimilation, and that which is of the greatest theological importance, is with Toyouke-bime-no-kami, the Goddess worshipped in the Gekû at Ise. This theory, which is of course defended most energetically by the Gekû-ho Shintôists, is considered by Mr G. Katô as a sheer fraud, ‘halfpious and half-political’.⁽⁴⁶³⁾ It has nevertheless eloquent advocates even outside the Gekû. A great specialist of the Shintô cosmogony sees in Toyouke-bime ‘the personified aspect’ of Ame-no-minaka-nushi, or even, at least as she is present in the Manaï-jinja, a *sessha* of the Kono-jinja, ‘the totality of Ame-no-minaka-nushi’.⁽²⁾ We shall have occasion to see later (cf. p. 502ff. below) that the problem of the identity of Toyouke-bime is one of the most difficult in Shintô mythology.

Strange as it may seem, there is also fundamental disagreement as to the extent of the cult to Ame-no-minaka-nushi, both in the past and in our time. A highly authoritative member of the Jinja-honchô told me that there is at present no worship offered directly to him.⁽¹²²⁾ An eminent *gûji* added the information that no cult had been offered to him before the Meiji reform.⁽¹⁵²⁾ Another one, on the other hand, insisted that since Ame-no-minaka-nushi is the one creator of the universe, he should be worshipped more than any other Kami.⁽¹¹³⁾ As a matter of fact, my own research led me to discover quite a respectable number of jinja where Ame-no-minaka-nushi figures in the *honden*, either as the only Kami (e.g. the Ten-ichi-jinja, the Ôta-jinja, the Reifu-sha of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, the Hiraïten-jinja of the Kasuga-taïsha) or with some other Kami, which are often Taka-mi-musubi and Kami-musubi (we shall discuss those temples later; cf. p. 243 below), but sometimes others also (e.g. the Wada-jinja, the Miyazu Wakamiya-jinja, the Okada-jinja, the Gekû of the Kyoto Himuka-jinja, the Tokyo Suiten-gû, one Ama-tsu-jinja in Okayama). And it has been suggested by a responsible Japanese author that he was formerly worshipped in the Ise Gekû.⁽⁴⁶⁰⁾

It is a fact, however, that Ame-no-minaka-nushi is not worshipped alone in the *honden* of practically any officially recognized jinja of importance. This may be very simply explained by the remote and abstract nature of the Kami, which hardly appeals to the Shintô devotee desirous of familiar and practical relations with the deity. This seems to have been clearly understood by the first westerner who ever made an impartial study of Shintô—in the beginning of the eighteenth century—Engelbert Kaempfer. In his remarkable account he writes: ‘When they [the Shintôists] come to the last article [of their system of divinity], which relates to the beginning of all things, they take special care not to reveal the same to their disciple, till he hath obliged himself with an oath, sign’d with his own hand and seal, not to profane such sacred and sublime mysteries by discovering them to the ignorant and incredulous.’⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾

As we may therefore expect, the attitude towards the first Kami is completely different when we turn to the esoteric and mystic groups, which in their spiritual exercises endeavour to work back to a stage as remote as possible in their search for the original truth of things. Those groups attach considerable importance to Ame-no-minaka-nushi, but they are looked upon with some amount of suspicion by the more officialized temples, and—as in Kaempfer’s time—they are still not prone to disclosing to outsiders whatever ideas or

experiences they may have attained. The Mitake-kyô, the Kawazura Shintô (or Mitsu-kaï, which gives the Kami the alternative name of Ô-Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami),⁽¹²²⁾ the Shûsei-ha and the Yamakage-shintô-aïshinkai are only some of the Shintô sects which worship Ame-no-minaka-nushi above all other Kami. The last named gives as an alternative name for the Kami: Ama-tsu (meaning Ame-no, i.e. cosmic) -udzu (a clockwise spiral) -udzu (an anti-clockwise spiral) -shi (meaning *de*, a conjunction) -yatsu (eight, i.e. the cardinal points and the intermediate points, i.e. totality) -nagi (to join together into one unity) -no-ô-kami (the great Kami of).⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

One remarkable peculiarity of the temples to Ame-no-minaka-nushi is that none of them seems able to trace the origin of its cult to any other ‘mother’-temple, as is customary for practically all other Kami. In one of them, the Kasuga-taïsha, I was even told categorically that the Kami had been summoned straight from heaven into the *go-shintai*.⁽⁴²⁾

It should be noted that some definitely historical people, like Mite-shiro-no-obito and Hattori-no-muraji, claim direct descent from Ame-no-minaka-nushi.⁽⁴⁶³⁾

* * *

Immediately before the name of the second Kami comes the word ‘next’ (*tsugi*), which is repeated before the name of every one of the other Kami in the passage under consideration. The word has given rise to considerable speculation. I think we may accept the view expressed by Motoôri⁽⁵⁵⁴⁾ and Hirata,⁽⁴¹⁸⁾ according to whom it should not be taken to imply a time-succession, but rather a spatial relation, a juxtaposition.⁽⁴⁶³⁾ This, however, should not be taken too literally either—not because time and space had not yet appeared, as is stated in some other cosmogonies, but because the action of those various Kami seems to continue uninterruptedly and simultaneously.

The next two deities, Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami and Kami-musubi-no-kami, also raise problems which are just as essential, just as difficult, and just as controversial. We have already seen the importance of the *musubi* concept (cf. p. 67f. above).

Of course, in this first *musubi* duality, the temptation to see the male principle and the female principle is great. And a very ancient and authoritative text, the Congratulatory Address of the Chieftains of Izumo, seems to offer conclusive support for that assumption; in it the two Kami are called Kami-ro-gi and Kami-ro-mi, Divine-dear-male and Divine-dear-female. Probably relying on that basis, Masaharu Anesaki, whose vast scholarship was unfortunately affected by a strong Buddhist bias, went much further and described them as husband and wife!⁽³¹⁰⁾ A modern Shintôist, Professor Fujisawa, showed much greater subtlety when he wrote that the two Kami were respectively deifications of the ‘male, expansive and differentiating potency’, or the ‘male, diversifying, dilating consciousness’ for the one, and the ‘female, contractive and re-integrating potency’ or the ‘female, unifying, absorbing consciousness’ for the other.⁽³⁸⁴⁾ An eminent *gûji* sees in Taka-mi-musubi the positive factor, or the sun, and in Kami-musubi the negative factor, or the moon.⁽⁵⁴⁾

A study of the later passages in which either or both of the two Kami again appear, led Mason to make a most interesting suggestion: ‘Taka-mi-musubi apparently personalizes self-creativity as an intellectual and human process. He is associated with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami as a consort in governing affairs, in which connection the *Kojiki* (I, xxxi) gives him the alternative title of Taka-gi-no-kami, “High-integrating-kami”, as though to unite selfcreativity of individualism with co-ordinating activities. Also the *Kojiki* says that

he was the father of Omoikane-no-kami, ‘Thought-includer’, who appears a number of times at the deliberations of Heavenly Kami to include within one integrated policy the acceptable views expressed at the Kami meetings. It is within the apparent intent of the mythology, therefore, to interpret Taka-mi-musubi as representing primarily the conception of selfconsciousness in terms of mental growth of mankind. At the same time, life takes animal and vegetable forms; Kami-musubi may be considered to personify these ways of the evolution of Divine Spirit. The *Kojiki* makes this Kami responsible for cockles and clams in one of the traditions, while he causes seed to be distributed, and is described as the father of Sukuna-hikona, ‘little-prince-renowned-Kami’, who appears to represent both birds and seed.... Enumeration of the two Musubi-kami appears to show that the principal differences of emphasis of the creative impetus exhibits are in intellectual and non-intellectual forms.⁽⁵²⁴⁾

A Japanese author who is a disciple of western scholars, suggests (1) that Taka-mi-musubi is both bellicose and terrible, while Kami-musubi is gentle and peace-loving; (2) that the former is mostly interested in Heavenly Kami and in their obtaining possession of the Earth, while the latter is mostly interested in Earthly Kami; (3) that the former nearly always co-operates with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, while the latter often acts quite independently; (4) that the former is rich in children and the latter in material wealth. Which is true to a large extent.^(776a)

Another theory, which found credit with W.G. Aston⁽³²⁴⁾ and which is still accepted by at least one high-ranking *gûji*⁽¹⁵²⁾ with some qualification, is that Taka-mi-musubi and Kami-musubi are really one Kami. For the *gûji*, they collectively represent sexuality; for Mr Aston, Musubi, the god of growth, is sometimes one god, sometimes two, while at a later period he became split up into five or more deities.

If the parting of Heaven and Earth is accepted to mean, as we have suggested, the appearance of principles which permitted the development of matter, gross and subtle, it would be consistent to see in the two Kami under consideration principles which permitted the development of life (for Kami-musubi) and of mind (for Taka-mi-musubi). The first few lines of the *Kojiki* would thus describe the first stage of creation as consisting of the apparition of potentialities for the existence of matter (gross and subtle), life and mind—which, let us note in passing, is exactly what the great modern Asian philosopher Shri Aurobindo holds to be true.

One argument which may be adduced in favour of this theory is that in some writings Taka-mi-musubi is also called Kisaki-kimi-no-mikoto, the ‘tree-splitting-tree-body-deity’, which would not be a bad description for a principle of Life which comes to animate (‘split’) the body of various mani-festations of the principle of matter. If Mr Mason did not mention this passage in this connection, it is probably because he thought it would militate against his thesis, whereas it confirms and complements it.

However that may be, the two Musubi-kami ‘were the basis for the birth and growth of all things’, according to the best official Shintô opinion of the present time.⁽³²⁷⁾ A high-ranking priest⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ expressed the same idea in somewhat greater detail by saying that they represent ‘an elemental force which, directly or indirectly, brings into being’, and that they are ‘the centre of the twelve following Kami’.

According to Motoôri, ‘the birth of all humankind in all ages and the existence of all things and all matter have been the result of that creative spirit [of Kami-musubi and Taka-mi-musubi].’⁽⁵⁵⁴⁾

It was said by one of the most orthodox authorities on Shintô, Baron Sonpuku Senge, that it is the first three Kami who should be considered as the creator deities: ‘there is nothing in all the world which does not come forth from the creative merits of those three Kami.’⁽⁶³¹⁾

One interesting remark was offered by one of the earliest French Japanologists who said that, ‘reasoning exclusively from the characters with which their names are written and ignoring entirely their Japanese pronunciation, all the first three Kami were solitary godheads (*génies*) and had occult bodies.’⁽⁶¹²⁾

Although authoritative sources⁽¹²²⁾ affirm that until modern times there was no regular shrine for the three ‘fundamental’ kami, except in the Hasshin-den, ‘because they are the “concealed” or unspecified Kami’, a number of temples can be found where they are enshrined, together or singly, alone or with other Kami. (As a matter of fact, Aston holds the opposite view, that the worship of *musubi* ‘is now almost extinct’⁽³²³⁾—which implies that formerly it was more widespread!) We have already mentioned some in which Ame-no-minaka-nushi is the chief or only Kami.

Kami-musubi and Taka-mi-musubi are, for instance, together and without any other Kami in the Hadzukashi-ni-masu-takami-musubi-jinja and in the Yudonosan-jinja (a subsidiary shrine on the Dewa-san-dzan). Taka-mi-musubi is found alone in the Takagi-jinja, the Taka-hoko-jinja, the Iguri-jinja (a subsidiary shrine of the Kasuga-Taïsha). Curiously enough, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Tsuki-yomi demand that he be worshipped (*Nihongi*, XV, 23). He is associated with Ame-no-minaka-nushi and various other Kami, but without Kami-musubi, in the Okata-jinja. Kami-musubi, on the other hand, is alone in the Noi-jinja, the Kami-musubi-inochi-no-kami-yashiro (also called Inochi-nushi-no-yashiro) in Izumo.⁽⁶³¹⁾ Exceptionally, the two Kami are worshipped under the names of Kami-ro-gi and Kami-ro-mi in the Yagara-jinja.

Worship is offered to the first three Kami (*zôka-sanjin*) collectively in quite a number of cases. In the Prefecture of Kôchi alone, I was able to obtain a list of 216 shrines dedicated to them—of which eighty-two are officially recognized and the other 134, although ‘unrated’, are definitely active. Of the eighty-two, however, it must be admitted that seventy-five were originally Myôken-sha, i.e. Shintô-Buddhist temples dedicated to the Myôken, and now re-named Hoshi (star) -jinja or Ômoto (fundamental) -jinja. The Kami enshrined in them ‘came to be called’ Ame-no-minaka-nushi, Taka-mi-musubi and Kami-musubi.⁽¹²²⁾ As regards the 134 ‘unrated’ shrines, it was stated with authority that they were all so ancient that no date could be given, even approximately, for their foundation; the most recent one already existed in the fifteenth century, and they are all *honsha*.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ Although Kôchi-ken may be exceptional in this respect, many similar temples can be found in other prefectures. To take only those listed in the 1962 Jinja-Meïkan as ranking above the *gôsha*, we find:

in Aomori-ken, the Aomori-shi Ôboshi-jinja, formerly a Myôken;

in Iwate-ken, the Mizusawa-shi Hitaka-jinja and the Kunohe-mura Kunohe-jinja, both of them formerly Myôken;

in Miyagi-ken, the Matsushima-machi Murasaki-jinja, formerly a Myôjin;

in Fukushima-ken, the Haramachi-shi Ôta-jinja, the Kotaka-machi Sôma-kotaka-jinja and the Nakamura Sôma-nakamura-jinja, all of them formerly Myôken;
in Kyôto-fu, the Ayabe-shi Asusuki-jinja, already mentioned in the *Engi-shiki*;
in Tokushima-ken, the Naruto-shi Myôken-jinja which retained its former name;
In Ehime-ken, the Hachiman-shi Taïgen-jinja, whose former designation is uncertain, and the Oda-machi Hirose-jinja, formerly a Myôken.⁽¹²²⁾

The reason why most of those are officially more or less ignored is probably that they are used to a preponderant extent, if not exclusively, by Shintôist mystical sects which the Jinja-honchô regards with some amount of diffidence. It is reported that most of those temples are situated on mountain-tops;⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ they are generally supported entirely by the *ujiko*, which means that they are comparatively poor,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ and they do not give *bun-rei*⁽²⁵⁵⁾. A very interesting small shrine to the first three Kami is to be seen in the Hayatama-taïsha, between the two main shrines.

* * *

The next twelve Kami which appear in the process of Creation, or rather Pre-creation, are hardly ever mentioned in later passages of the Scriptures, and are found enshrined in very few temples. It would seem that they correspond to transitional—although essential—stages between the initial creative impulse given by Kami-musubi and Taka-mi-musubi and the actual manifestation of that universe of which we are partly conscious. According to a modern Shintôist, their ‘names refer metaphorically to the successive stages of the evolution of the Earth (and by that of course he means the entire Universe) from its chaotic condition.’⁽³⁷⁸⁾

Between the first triad and the next two Kami, the Scriptures tell us about something else, ‘a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the Earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about, medusa-like’ (*Kojiki*, I, i). The main version of the *Nihongi* (I, 1) words it somewhat differently: ‘It is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water. At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot.’ The *Kujiki* uses almost similar language.

Alternative versions offered by the *Nihongi* read:

‘When Heaven and Earth began, a thing existed in the midst of the Void (*sora*). Its shape may not be described.’ (1, 2).

‘Of old, when the land was young and the Earth young, it floated about, as if it were floating oil. At this time, a thing was produced within the land, in shape like a reed-shoot when it sprouts forth.’ (1, 2).

‘Before Heaven and Earth were produced, there was something which might be compared to a cloud floating over the sea. It had no place of attachment for its root. In the midst of this a thing was generated which resembled a reed-shoot when it is first produced in the mud.’ (1, 3).

‘When Heaven and Earth began, a thing was produced in the midst of the Void, which resembled a reed-shoot.’ (1, 3).

There was a thing produced in the midst of the Void like floatingoil.’ (1,3).

Hirata gives a very original interpretation of the *Kojiki* reed-shoot episode. According to him, from the miraculous ‘thing’ (*ichi-motsu*) which the two Musubi-kami produce, there come: (1) one thing resembling a horn or a rush (*kaya*)-shoot, which seems to be the light—and later becomes the sun—and rises like a cloud; and that is Ama-tsu-kuni (The Country of Heaven) or Takama-no-hara (The Plain of High Heaven), and (2) one other thing which descends, and later is separated from its origin and becomes the moon. Meanwhile, fourteen other Kami are born, the last of which are Izanagi and Izanami. They are the parents of the Kami of the Sun and of the Moon and the progenitors of all the other Kami.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

The first two Kami to follow after the apparition of the ‘thing like unto a reed-shoot’ were Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami and Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami—according to the *Kojiki* (I, i).

The *Nihongi*, however, offers us no less than seven versions. Umashi-ashi holds first place in two of them, second place in another and is entirely ignored in all the others. Ame-no-toko-tachi is found in only one. Other Kami which figure prominently are Kuni-(no-)toko (or soko)-tachi-no-mikoto, Kuni-no-sa-dzuchi (or tachi) -no-mikoto and Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto (also called Toyo-kumo-nu-no-mikoto, Toyo-ka-fushi-no-no-mikoto, Uki-fu-nu-no-toyo-kahi-no-mikoto, Toyo-kuni-no-no-mikoto Toyo-kuī-no-no-mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-nu-no-mikoto or Kuni-mi-nu-no-mikoto). Space does not allow us to consider all those possibilities. We shall follow the *Kojiki*.

An interesting explanation is offered by a modern esoterist.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ According to him, Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji would be ‘Energy, which comes from what burns’, and Ame-notoko-tachi ‘Eternal Law, which is formless, but acts upon existing matter’.

J.W.T.Mason gives an analogous interpretation of the latter Kami, in whom he sees the ‘eternal continuity of Divine Spirit’.⁽⁵²⁴⁾

One important *gūji* takes Ame-no-toko-tachi to be identical with Ame-no-minaka-nushi himself.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

About him, Chamberlain writes: The translation of the name here given (Deity standing eternally in Heaven) follows the natural meaning of the characters, and has the sanction of Tanigaha Shisei. Motoōri and Hirata take *toko* to stand for *soko*, bottom, and interpret accordingly.’ The remark naturally also applies to the name of the next Kami, Kuni-no-toko-tachi.

Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji and Ame-no-toko-tachi are found among the *aidono-no-kamiin* the main sanctuary of the Izumo-ō-yashiro. The latter also has a *massha* of his own, the Tenjin-sha, in the Kasuga-taisha.

The first five Kami are described collectively as ‘separate Heavenly Kami’ (*koto-amatsu-kami-iisubashira*) in what Chamberlain explains is an indented note in the original text. He himself adds: The author’s obscure phrase is explained by Motoōri to mean that these Heavenly Deities were separate from those who came into existence afterwards, and especially from the Earthly-eternally-standing Deity (Kuni-no-toko-tachi) who is the first Divine being mentioned in the *Nihongi*. These five were, he says, “separate” and had nothing to do with the creation of the world. It should be stated that the sentence also bears the interpretation ‘The five Kami in the above list are Kami who divided Heaven’ (i.e.

presumably from Earth); but this rendering has against it the authority of all the Japanese editors.⁷⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Mason interprets the phrase to mean that ‘each of these first principles exists in its own right as an initial element of Divine Spirit’.⁽⁵²⁴⁾

Since the last one of the series is the Kami standing eternally in Heaven, and the first one of the next series is the Kami standing eternally on Earth, it would be justifiable to consider the first five as standing for principles the action of which did not specifically refer to the formation of the gross matter composing the Earth, but was of a more general application, principles which are basic for the existence of life in Heaven and also for the influence which Heaven exercises on the existence of—and life on—Earth.

The fact that the sixth *Kojiki* Kami, Kuni-no-toko-tachi, bears a striking resemblance to the first *Nihongi* Kami, Kuni-toko-tachi, definitely suggests that the stage represented in the *Kojiki* by the first five Kami is the same as that described by the opening passage of the *Nihongi*, before any mention is made of any Kami. The passage reads as follows:

‘Of old, the Heaven and the Earth were not separated, and the In and Yō not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth. The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty. Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently. Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them.’ (I, 1).

After which comes the passage about the reed-shoot which we have already quoted.

Aston rightly points out that ‘these opening sentences... have been justly condemned by modern Shintō scholars such as Motoōri and Hirata as an essay of the Chinese rationalistic type, which has been awkwardly prefaced to the genuine Japanese tradition.’⁽³²²⁾ Personally I feel inclined to believe that this passage does not ‘preface’ the genuine Japanese tradition, but expresses in terms of Chinese philosophy that part of the genuine Japanese tradition which in the *Kojiki* is expressed in terms of Shintō mythology, in the description of the first five Kami, the *koto-ama-tsu-kami-itubashira*. It is only a different way of describing what must have happened before Creation had proceeded sufficiently far for the specific Earthly principles to make their appearance. And there need be no incompatibility between what is actually described in two different styles.

The only really substantial difference is that in the *Nihongi* the reed-shoot episode comes immediately before the first Kami, Kuni-toko-tachi, whereas in the *Kojiki* two other Kami are interposed between them. The conclusion might be drawn that the authors of the main version of the *Nihongi* did not deem it necessary to make a separate mention of what corresponds to Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji because they thought it was already in the reedshoot (*ashi-kabi*) account, and they thought that Ame-no-toko-tachi did not introduce any new element.

Kuni-no-toko-tachi is the first Kami in the name of whom we find the word *kuni* (Earth, land). Chikao Fujisawa suggests in an unpublished text that *kuni* might etymologically be derived from *kine*, in the sense of: root of a tree; I do not think that this opinion is widely shared. One translation of his name given by Shintō authorities is ‘Eternal Spirit of the Land’. It is quite natural therefore that in this capacity, and as the first Kami of the *Nihongi*, he should be the object of widespread worship. He assumes considerable importance in the

Ise-shintô; he is the main Kami in most Ontake (or Mitake)-jinja, mountain temples which are often of an esoteric character. He is also the Kami of the Komura-jinja, the Futami-jinja. He is occasionally associated with other Kami, as for instance in the O-kuno-miya, the Tokyo (Nagata-chô) Hië-jinja, etc. Under the name of Futamoto-no-mikoto, he may also be one of the *aidono-no-kami* in the Asano-jinja.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Between Kuni-no-toko-tachi and the next one in the *Kojiki* (Toyo-kumo-nu), the *Nihongi* (I, 2–3) inserts Kuni-no-sa-dzuchi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Land of right soil, i.e., says Aston, His Augustness the true Soil of the Land), ‘also called Kuni-no-sa-tachi (stand)-no-mikoto’ in one of the traditions recorded by the *Nihongi*, about whom little is known. He is the only Kami in the Nishimura-machi Hachi-ôji-jinja, although the name of the jinja means ‘temple of the eight princes’, i.e. of the eight Kami engendered by Amaterasu-ô-mikami and Susano-wo. He is also associated with four other Kami in the Ymanoüchi-jinja, and with eighteen other Kami in the Nakiri-jinja.

Toyo-kumo-nu has been described by a modern esoterist as ‘a pattern of combination of materials’.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ A western scholar calls him ‘the principle of impetus of integration as existing in its own immaterial right’.⁽⁵²⁴⁾ About his name, Chamberlain writes:

There is much doubt about its interpretation. The characters cloud-moor, with which the syllables read *kumo-nu* are written, are almost certainly phonetic, and the translator (Chamberlain) has followed Motoöri’s view as corrected by Hirata, according to which *kumo* is taken to stand for *kumu*, integrating, and *nu* is considered to be an apocopated form of *nushi*, master (or more vaguely: the person who presides at or does a thing). Mabuchi... argues that the syllables in question should be interpreted in the sense of “coagulated mud”; but this is less satisfactory.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

A striking similarity must again be noted between the name of this Kami and that of the Kami who in the *Nihongi* follows immediately upon Kuni-no-toko-tachi, i.e. Toyo-kumo-nu-no-mikoto, which Aston translates His Augustness Rich-form-plain.

Toyo-kumo-nu is one of the Kami worshipped in the Kumano Hayatama-taïsha and Nachi-jinja.

According to the same esoterist to whom we have just referred, the differences between the Kami from Umashi-ashi-kabi-ji and Toyo-kumo-nu inclusively are only ‘functional’, but not ‘essential’.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

The first seven Kami are stated by the *Kojiki* to have been ‘born alone’ and to have ‘hid their persons’ (*mi-kakushi*) (I, i). I think that Mason interpreted ‘born alone’ correctly when he commented: ‘Each Kami represents its own principle, impetus, tendency.’⁽⁵²⁴⁾ Motoöri suggests that ‘hid their persons’, sometimes translated ‘concealed their bodies’, signifies that they are incorporeal. To which Hirata makes an objection which no other author seems to have found convincing.⁽⁶²⁵⁾ About them all, M. Rosny also states that the expression means that they had an ‘occult body’.⁽⁶¹⁴⁾ And G. Katô seems to hold a similar opinion when he interprets the phrase to mean that they were ‘imperceptible to man’s naked eye’.⁽⁴⁶³⁾ Mason concludes that they are ‘subjective, immaterial’.⁽⁵²⁴⁾

The next ten Kami come in pairs, each of which forms ‘one divine generation’ (*Kojiki*, I, ii). According to Hirata, the first four of those five pairs of Kami should not be considered as distinct deities, but merely as names descriptive of the various stages through which the last pair, Izanagi and Izanami, passed before arriving at the perfection of existence. And

the fact that they do not seem to have been worshipped to any extent at any known period of history has led modern writers on Shintô to accept this theory.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

Although it may be perfectly justifiable to see in those four pairs stages which had to come in succession before the actual creators of the material universe (gross and subtle) could fulfill their function, the principles represented by those Kami seem to be mutually complementary, and creation was probably conditional on their joint and simultaneous presence. It would therefore be wrong to see in them successive ‘incarnations’, each of which excluded the previous ones, of what was ultimately to become Izanagi and Izanami, something like the Jataka of Gautama Buddha. The interpretation accepted by Hirata himself for the word ‘next’—which we have recorded—is sufficient proof that he entertained no such idea.

In each pair the second member is described as ‘the younger sister’ of the first one, a phrase which may just as well mean ‘wife’.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Apart from the last pair, however, which consists definitely of husband and wife (in a divine sense, of course), the two members do not seem to have had any relation at all comparable to it, nor do they have any offspring.

Let us now take each individual couple.

For the names of the first two Kami in this series Chamberlain adopted the interpretation given by Motoôri. According to Hirata, however, they are so called because they contain the germs from which the earth itself was to spring:⁽⁵⁹⁷⁾ U-hiji-ni and Su-hiji-ni, or rather Uhi-ji-ni and Suhi-ji-ni mean respectively ‘first mud’ and ‘sand and mud’⁽⁶²⁵⁾—which already makes more sense. Mabuchi goes much further; he interprets the two names to mean respectively ‘floating mud-earth’ and ‘sinking mud-earth’. As Chamberlain points out, ‘the only thing therefore that is granted by all is that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made.’⁽³⁴⁸⁾ We might remark further that ‘mud’ is less solid than ‘sand’, and that therefore Uhi-ji-ni probably represents a less advanced stage in the process of ‘solidification’ or ‘materialization’ than Suhi-ji-ni; the same might be said of ‘floating mud-earth’, which is less stable, less capable of supplying a firm basis for islands and mountains than ‘sinking mud-earth’.

We should nevertheless not be led to believe that what appeared at this stage was actually mud, sand or earth as we know it. What was ‘born’ was the Kami, i.e. the specific principles, as Schwaller de Lubicz calls them, of earth, that which supplied both the possibility and the basis for the creation of the earth, a creation to which later Kami were to proceed. But it is quite within the normal concept of most cosmogomies that the apparition of half-solid and half-liquid matter (mud) should precede that of actual solid matter (sand), which comes ‘next’.

Uhi-ji-ni is worshipped in the Kumano Hayatama-taisha and Nachi-jinja.

Of the names of the next pair, Tsunu-guhi and Iku-guhi, Chamberlain stresses himself that the translations he offers, although agreed upon by the commentators, should ‘only be accepted with reservation’.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ According to Hirata, *guhi* is identical with *kamu* (to integrate), *tsumu* means ‘a germ in which hands and feet, head and tail are yet indistinguishable’, and *iku* (from *ikiru*, to breathe) means ‘commencement of life’.

It may therefore be supposed that Tsunu-guhi corresponds to the integration into what was to become matter of a potentiality of life, what might be called a pre-embryonic stage of life, and Iku-guhi the subsequent integration of the beginnings of actual life.

No such distinction is apparent between Ô-tono-ji the ‘Kami-elder of the great place’ and Ô-to-no-be the ‘Kami-elder lady of the great place’. Their almost identical names, which differ only in the syllables *ji* and *be*, respectively indicating masculine and feminine genders, rather suggests that they jointly represent the apparition in the process of creation of the principle of bi-sexuality, which follows quite logically upon that of the principle of life.

Both Kami are enshrined, with others, including the next two, in the Sanno-miya-jinja, a *massha* of the Taga-taisha. Ô-to-no-ji is found also in the Kumano Hayatama-taisha and Nachi-jinja.

In the next couple Omo-daru-no-kami, the Kami Perfect-exterior (or Perfect-face, or Perfectly beautiful) and Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami, the Kami Oh-awful (or venerable)-lady, are so called, according to Hirata, from the completion of the august persons of the Kami—which does not tell us much about the part which they play; he explains *omo-daru* as meaning ‘complete perfection’. Omo-daru is also worshipped in the Kumano Hayatama-taisha and Nachi-jinja. Both are the Kami of the Sakaki-jinja, founded in A.D. 110.

According to one authoritative opinion—but there is also another—the first twelve Kami occupy the main sanctuary of the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha.

The twelve Kami from Kuni-no-toko-tachi to Izanami are the main Kami of the Nagi-jinja. U-hiji-ni, Su-hiji-ni, Ô-to-no-ji, Ô-to-nobe, Ômo-daru, (Aya-) Kashiko-ne, Izanagi and Izanami, without the other four, are the main Kami in the Hassho-jinja.

* * *

If we surmise, as I believe students of any sacred Scripture should, that the people whose understanding or vision of things beyond our ken recorded in it were holy wise men and not fools, it is incumbent upon us to seek for interpretations which would not only make sense, but also be consistent.

In this case, the task seems fairly easy so long as we admit that the world as we know it did not come into being all of a sudden, out of nothing, through the waving of a magic wand by some creator, but that it evolved gradually out of a state to which the concept of existence as we understand and use it does not apply.

Within such a framework it seems quite logical to think that there must have been an extraordinarily long evolutionary process before our present state of consciousness and what it is partly able to distinguish could be attained. Both form, so far as we know, the ultimate point as yet reached by that evolution, and we can only make wild guesses as to what will follow.

But as regards the developments which preceded what is now before us to study, all religions, and also science after it became separated from religion, have suggested descriptive explanations, which often indulge in great detail. A superficial consideration of them will give the impression that they differ widely. But if we make allowance for the fact that what ‘was’ and ‘happened’ before material substances came into being can only be explained figuratively, in terms of mythology, if we realize also that such a vast, complex and *continuous* process can only be described by dividing it arbitrarily into a number of successive sections, we find an amazing degree of agreement among the various accounts.

That offered by the Kojiki seems to me one of the most plausible and consistent, even from the most rationalistic point of view. The first section, which we have discussed in this chapter, deals with preparatory developments which had to take place before actual matter could be brought into existence. It may be summarized as follows:

(1) Originally, there was a stage before ‘the heaven and the earth began’, when, as the Hindu scriptures put it, there was neither existence nor nonexistence—what in Hinduism corresponds to the *nirguna* Brahman. This may be what the Nihongi refers to as the ‘void’.

(2) ‘When the heaven and the earth began’, the first entity to appear was Ame-no-minaka-nushi, the ‘Master of the August Centre of Heaven’, i.e. of the centre around which heaven evolved. It is what Hinduism calls the *saguna* Brahman.

(3) ‘Next’ appeared the primordial duality, the High-August producing Kami and the Divine August Producing Kami, Taka-mi-musubi and Kami-musubi, which together form the germ of all dualities—and therefore of all multiplicities—in the universe. This naturally implies a potentiality of growth and development.

(4) That potentiality first becomes manifest in the ‘thing’, the shape of which ‘may not be described’, because it is not material, which ‘sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot’.

(5) This first manifestation—as yet immaterial—could only proceed if guided by a will, a force, an energy, or, in terms of Shintô, a Kami. That is the task of Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko, the Prince-elder of the Pleasant Reed-shoot, who appears immediately afterwards.

(6) This possibility of guided growth then leads to a sort of division of labour, one Kami (Ame-no-toko-tachi, the Kami standing eternally in heaven) taking charge of the developments which will concern only heaven, and one other (Kuni-no-toko-tachi, the Kami standing eternally on earth) of those which will culminate in the apparition of the earth. At this juncture only do the heavenly sphere and the earthly sphere become distinct from each other.

(7) Before further developments can take place, (7) however, and in order to ensure their orderly cohesion, there must come into being a force of integration. That is Toyo-kumo-nu, the Master Kami who integrates the luxuriant [growth].

Thus far, with the Kami who were ‘born alone’ and ‘hid their persons’, the Shintô Genesis has apparently dealt with both the heaven and the earth. The former, which is not formed of gross matter, seems to need no further formative action and may be considered to have reached its final stage. But much remains to be done for the material actualization of the earth. That task, which has already been started by the two last-named Kami, is continued by the next ten. Together they form the Seven Divine Generations [of creators, or ancestors, of the earthly world], *kamiyo-nanayo* or *tenjin shichidai*.

(8) The first specific principle to be brought into being is that of matter. It is shown in two successive stages: still viscous (U-hiji-ni, first mud) and half-liquid, half-solid (Su-hiji-ni, mud and sand).

(9) The second specific principle is that of life, also shown in two successive stages, germ (Tsunu-guhi) and actual embryonic life (Iku-guhi).

(10) The third specific principle is that of bi-sexuality (Ô-to-noji and Ô-to-nobe, the Kami elder and elder-lady of the Great Place).

(11) The next two Kami may be taken to represent sensorial perception and relations, which are the last requisite before the world as we know it can come into existence. In that interpretation, Omo-daru (Perfect-exterior) would correspond to the object of perception and Aya-kashiko-ne (Oh! awful, in the sense of filled with religious awe, lady) the perceiving subject.

(12) Finally comes the creation by Izanagi and Izanami of the actual material world, for which all conditions are now fulfilled. We shall deal with it in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI THE BIRTH OF THE LAND

WHATEVER suspicions maybe entertained by some scholars as to a possible Chinese influence in the myths of the first fifteen *Kojiki* Kami, the next two, Izanagi-no-kami (or -no-mikoto) and Izanami-nokami (or -no-mikoto) are beyond any possible doubt ‘original Japanese deities’.⁽⁴²⁷⁾ They have most distinct personalities, whose long and eventful story is familiar to every Japanese.

Let us just mention in passing that, according to one version of the *Nihongi* (I, 4), they are both children of Awo-kashiki-ne-no-mikoto (His green awful Augustness), and according to another (I, 4), Izanagi was produced by Awa-nagi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Foam-calm)—both of which ancestries are very probably full of meaning, but I could obtain no information on them.

Their names are translated usually as ‘His Augustness the Male who invites’ and ‘Her Augustness the Female who invites’, although Motoōri would prefer The Prince who invites thee’ and The Princess who invites thee’, taking the syllable *na* as a personal pronoun.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Some authors associate *-nagi* with the idea of calmness, calm, lull and *-nami* with the idea of wave, billow, surge, ripple.

As soon as they had been born, all the other Heavenly Kami, i.e. probably the first fifteen, collectively commanded them to ‘make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land’ (*Kojiki* I, iii). One of the *Nihongi* alternative versions (1, 7–8) specifies: The Kami of Heaven addressed Izanagi and Izanami, saying: ‘There is the country of the Luxuriant Reed-plain of Fair Ears of Thousand-five-hundred Harvests (or Autumns) (Toyo-ashi-harachi-i-wo-aki-no-midzu-ho). Do ye proceed and bring it into order (*shirasu*).’”

The reference to an apparently already existing ‘drifting land’ and the elaboration given by the *Nihongi* would seem to suggest that the two Creator-kami had some sort of raw material at their disposal. On the other hand, the order of the three verbs describing the action in the *Kojiki* is definitely not that of creation as the Bible understands it, but that of procreation: (1) conception, (2) formation and growth of the embryo, and (3) birth; this may be taken as the original scriptural authority for the basic Shintō dogma that both land and mankind, not to mention the other Kami, are the direct descendants of Izanagi and Izanami. The two notions are not incompatible if we remember that what had become manifested before were the Kami, i.e. the ‘specific principles’ of matter and life, but not their actual concrete materialization. And the long detailed name given by the *Nihongi* may be taken either to prophesy what was to become materialized or else to be an addition made later under the influence of Chinese philosophy. As a matter of fact, in several *Nihongi* versions of the next episode, we shall see Izanagi and Izanami themselves express strong doubts about the existence of any land, and that, trying to find it, in all versions except one, they fail to discover any.

The Heavenly Kami then ‘granted’ to Izanagi and Izanami a ‘heavenly (*ame-no*) jewelled spear (*nu-hoko* or *tama-hoko* in the *Mannyôshû*). So the two Kami standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ame (or Ama)-no-ukihashi), pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle-curdle (*koworo-koworo*), and drew [the spear] up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the island of Onogoro.’ (*Kojiki*, I, iii).

The original *Nihongi* version (1, 5), which voices doubts about the prior existence of solid matter, reads:

‘Izanagi and Izanami stood on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying: “Is there not a country beneath?” Thereupon, they thrust down the jewelled spear of Heaven, and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine (*shiô*) which dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island, which received the name of Onogoro-jima.’

Alternative *Nihongi* versions read as follows:

They (the Heavenly Kami) then gave them the jewelled spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Kami stood on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and plunging down the spear sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again, the brine which dripped from the spear-point coagulated and became an island, which was called Onogoro-jima.’ (1, 8).

‘Izanagi and Izanami stood in the midst of the mist of Heaven, and said: “We wish to find a country”. So they thrust down the jewelled spear of Heaven, and groped about till they found the island of Onogoro. Then they drew back the spear and rejoiced, saying: “Good! there is a country!”’ (1, 9).

‘Izanagi and Izanami sat in the Plain of High Heaven, and said: “There must surely be a country.” So with the jewelled spear of Heaven they scraped together (*kaki-saguri-nasu*) the island of Onogoro.’ (1, 9).

‘Izanagi and Izanami spoke to one another, saying: “There is something resembling floating oil (*ukaberu-abura*). In the midst of this there is perhaps a country.” So they took the jewelled spear of Heaven and groping about formed with it an island which was called Onogoro.’ (1, 9–10).

The ‘Floating Bridge of Heaven’ evidently represents a possibility of communication between Heaven and Earth. Hirata and even Satow⁽⁶²⁵⁾ think that it is identical with Ame-no-iwa-fune, the heavenly Rock-boat, which, as we shall see, also enabled heavenly Kami to descend upon the earth. According to Motoôri on the other hand, it was ‘a real bridge’, traces of which, as well as of other similar bridges, are to be found in the so-called Heavenly Stairs, Ame-no-hashida. The latter, on several points of the coast, form a kind of natural breakwater just above water-level—again a connecting-link between ‘water’ and solid land.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ If we believe the *Tango-fudoki*, quoted in the *Shaku-nihongi*, the floating bridge fell on the earth while Izanagi was asleep, and it can now be seen in the form of a long and narrow strip of land which stretches across the Bay of Miyazu; this is considered one of the three most beautiful sights of Japan, the Ame-no-hashida. In the middle of it stands a

lovely miniature temple, now dedicated to Izanagi and Izanami, although its original Kami was perhaps Saruda-hiko.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

The jewelled spear has given rise to a considerable literature, and sex-obsessed western scholars have eagerly seized the opportunity for dilating upon this ‘proof of the existence in Japan of a phallic cult—of which it is no more difficult to find traces there than in any other country in the world. And at least one of the most distinguished Japanese Shintô scholars. Mr Genshi Katô, has elaborated that theory at great length, as well as the theory that Shintô devotees formerly practiced human sacrifice. Even if proof should be found for the latter assertion—which is more than doubtful—it is highly regrettable that such insistence should be placed upon it in the study of one of the most respectable religions in the world. It may well be compared to the belief held by many Indians that the Christian sacrament of communion is a remnant of cannibalism.

To a casual observer it may seem quite natural to see in the action of the spear upon the sea a prefiguration of bi-sexual procreation—all the more so as, according to Hirata (in his *Tama-no-mi-hashira*), the spear is supposed to have been of iron and in the form of a phallus. But Hirata adds the most important qualification that if this view were adopted, the word *tama* (in *tama-hoko*) would have a ‘deep’—and by that he evidently means esoteric—significance.⁽⁶²⁵⁾ And we should not forget that the word *tama* does not only mean jewel, but also soul, i.e. that which brings into visible life what was previously inert, inanimate matter. The comparison should therefore rather be with the Biblical story of Jehovah, the Creator, breathing life into clay to produce man.

As a matter of fact, the *principle* of bi-sexual procreation had already been brought down by the divine pair Ô-to-no-ji and Ô-to-no-be. But, as regards its actual *practice*, Izanagi and Izanami, who were the first to try it—with little success at first—attempt it only later. That would not preclude the possibility of the spear episode—and what follows immediately upon it—corresponding to an intermediate stage between principle and practice, to a tentative experiment which resulted in partial failure, such as is found in practically all cosmogonies. However, as we shall see, actual phallic symbolism comes later.

It should be noted that in none of the versions is the spear associated with Izanagi alone or the ocean with Izanami alone. Both Kami together use the spear, and the ocean is outside them both. It seems therefore legitimate to offer quite a different explanation. In a vast majority of all mythologies—for which no common origin has yet been traced—the boundless homo-geneous undifferentiated mass of water which makes up the ocean has been taken as a symbol of that from which matter eventually emerges, what might be called proto-matter.*

The spear is evidently a symbol of force, of energy, at least as much as of a phallus. Hence, its action upon the waters of the ocean should therefore rather be taken to mean the action of energy—or proto-energy—upon matter—or proto-matter—a decisive ultimate phase in the formation of the universe as we know it. In terms of philosophy, this would correspond to the Hindu concept of *prâna* and *âkâsha*;† in terms of mythology it would bear a striking resemblance to the churning of the ocean of milk (*samudra-mathana*), which has the same meaning.

* Cf. Jean Herbert: *An Introduction to Asia*, p. 105.

† Cf. Swâmi Vivekânanda: *Râja-Yoga* (Mayavati, 1930), chapter III.

One modern esoterist takes the spear to be the Divine Word, logos.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

Let us mention in passing that, according to tradition, the actual jewelled-spear of Heaven, which was kamified under the name of Ô-guchi-ma-gami-no-mikoto, is now enshrined in the *honsha* of the Mitsumine-jinja, where the two main Kami are Izanagi and Izanami.⁽¹²²⁾ The name *ô-guchi* (big mouth)—*ma-gami* (to bite uprightly?) has come to be understood to mean: the Deity of the Wolf.⁽¹²²⁾

Many diverging views have been expressed as to the actual location of the island of Onogoro, the first land to have been created. The main possibilities which have been seriously considered may be summed as follows:

(1) Onogoro is the whole large island of Awaji,^(322, 348) which would make the latter still more sacred. It is difficult however to reconcile this with the later creation of Awaji itself. Needless to say, this opinion is held, for sentimental reasons, by many inhabitants of Awaji. Among the authorities, we may mention Mr Tamei Nishimura, *gûji* of the Taga-taisha, and Mr Suehiro Hamaguchi, *gûji* of the Take-no-kuchi-hachiman-gu.

(2) Onogoro is a small hillock, which now rises about fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the surrounding fields, near Enami (Mihara-gun) in the south-western part of Awaji. On this hillock stands a small temple called Onogoro-jima-jinja, in which Izanagi and Izanami are enshrined. A few yards away from it, a small heap of stones may indicate the exact place where the two creators first set foot on earth. One evidence offered in favour of this theory is that the soil of this hillock contains an important proportion of salt, which would indicate that it was formerly surrounded by the sea, and as a matter of fact that soil is commonly used as a medicine in childbirth. This theory is favoured in particular by Mr Miyoshi Takashima, *gûji* of the Minato-guchi-jinja. It should be added that according to some esoterists, the temple itself was formed by the drop which fell from the heavenly spear.

(3) Onogoro may be either E-shima, or Nu-shima, or both. E-shima is a large rock which stands on the shore near Iwaya, at the northern end of Awaji, and on which can be seen a small torii. Nu-shima, on the other hand, is a fairly large island, about eight or ten square miles, near the Southern coast of Awaji. On it we find in particular a very old temple, also called Onogoro-jima (or shima)-jinja, of which the Kami are Izanagi and Izanami. Some of the most competent authorities and in particular Mr Masanori Miyazaki, *gûji* of the Fukura Hachiman-gû support the hypothesis of Nu-shima on the basis of a book written in the first half of the ninth century by a disciple of Kôbô-daishi, of a book, the *Onogoro-jima-sanchoki*, written at the end of the eighteenth century by Yasuo Nakano and of the declared opinion of Mr Ariyoshi Saeki, a former professor of the Kokugakuin University, who made a special study of the subject.

(4) Onogoro may be the Nanbeiji, a range of mountains found in the western part of Awaji, and more particularly the place where the village of Anagaïra now stands. This view was held notably by Mr Yasuo Oka, who was the *gûji* of the Awaji Izanagi-jingû eight generations ago.

(5) According to a text of the twelfth century, Onogoro is really the small islet of Okinokarumo (also called Ozono), near the western coast of Awaji.

Whatever the identification, it is the one object in creation which has not been born of the union of Izanagi and Izanami. The fact is stressed by its very name, which is generally

translated self (ono)-condensed (*goro* from *koru*, to coagulate, to become hard of form,⁽³⁴⁹⁾ or self-curdling,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ or spontaneously congealed).⁽³³²⁾

It would seem that before they could actually give birth to their own off-spring, i.e. the whole creation with that one exception, Izanagi and Izanami had to proceed to a sort of experiment, to find out whether the action of proto-energy on protomatter could bring forth what was to make the universe. The operation proved successful, and they used its outcome as a basis on which to proceed further in the task with which they had been entrusted.

* * *

The *Kojiki* (I, iv) gives the following account of what happened next:

‘Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection of a heavenly august pillar (*hashira*), they saw to the erection of a hall (or palace, *tono*) of eight fathoms (*hiro*). Then [Izanagi] asked his younger sister Izanami: “How is your body made?” She replied: “My body grew growing, but there is one part of it which has not grown continuous.” Izanagi then said: “My body grew growing, but there is one part of it which grew super-fluous. Would it not be good that I should insert the part of this my body which grew superfluous in the part of your body which did not grow continuous, and that we should procreate regions?” In reply, Izanami said: “It would be good.” Then Izanagi said: “In order that it should be so, let you and me walk round this august heavenly pillar, and, meeting, proceed to an august coitus with [our] august [private] parts.” (Motoöri suggests a different reading, which does not substantially affect the meaning). This being agreed, [Izanagi] said: “You walk around it from the right [side]; I shall walk around it from the left [side].” Having completed the circumambulation as agreed, Izanami first exclaimed: “O beautiful and amiable youth!” After which Izanagi exclaimed: “O beautiful and amiable maid!” After they had finished uttering those words, [Izanagi] spoke to his sister, saying: “It is not proper that the woman should speak the first.” Nevertheless they started [the operation of procreation], and they gave birth to a child called Hiru-ko. This child they placed in a boat (*fune*) of reeds (*ashi*), and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the island of Aha. This likewise is not counted among their children.’

The *Nihongi* offers no less than seven different versions, which are worth quoting in full: One of them is very similar to the *Kojiki* account:

The two Kami descended, dwelt in this island, and erected there an eight-fathom palace. They also set up the Pillar of Heaven (Ame-no-mihashira). Then the male Kami asked the female Kami: “Is there anything formed in thy body?” She answered and said: “My body has a place completely formed, and called the source of femininity.” The male Kami said: “My body again has a place completely formed, and called the source of masculinity. I desire to unite my source of masculinity to thy source of femininity.” Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the Pillar of Heaven, and made a promise, saying: “Do thou, my younger sister (*iroto*), go round from the left, while I will go round from the right.” Having done so, they went round separately and met, when the female Kami spoke first, and said: “How pretty! a lovely youth!” the male Kami then answered and said: “How pretty! a lovely maiden!” Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was Hiru-ko, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift (*hanachi yaru*). Their next was the island of Ahaji. This also was not included in the number of their children (*ko*).’ (I, 8).

Another is considerably shorter:

The female Kami spoke first and said: “How pretty! a lovely youth!” She forthwith took the hand of the male Kami, and they at length became husband and wife. There was born to them the island of Ahaji, and next Hiru-ko.’ (I, 10).

The other five versions make no mention of Hiru-ko, and explain that the first island to be born was in reality the placenta (*ye*, or *yena*):

The female Kami spoke first and said: “How pretty! a handsome youth!” Now it was considered unlucky (*saga nashi*) that the female Kami should have spoken first. Accordingly they went round again, when the male Kami spoke first and said: “How pretty! a lovely maiden!” After which they wanted to have coitus, but they did not know how to proceed. There were however wagtails (*niwakundburi*) which came flying and wagged their heads and their tails. When the two Kami saw this, they imitated it and in that way they were capable of having coitus.’ (I, 10).

Another version, to which the *Nihongi* gives first place, is fairly detailed:

The two Kami thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries. So they made Onogorojima the Pillar of the Centre of the Land (Kuni-no-naka-no-mi-hashira). Now the male Kami turning by the left, and the female Kami by the right, they went round the pillar of the land (Kuni-no mi-hashira) separately. When they met together on one side, the female Kami spoke first and said: “How delightful! I have met with a lovely youth (*wotoko*)!” The male Kami was displeased, and said: “I am a man (*wotoko*), and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a delicate woman (*tawoyame*), shouldst have been the first to speak? This was unlucky (*saga nashi*). Let us go round again.” Upon this the two Kami went back, and having met anew, this time the male Kami spoke first, and said: “How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden (*wotome*)!” Then he enquired of the female Kami, saying: “In thy body (*mi*), is there aught formed?” She answered and said: “In my body there is a place which is the source (*hajime*) of femininity (*me*).” The male Kami said: “In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity (*wo*). I wish to unite this source-place (*hajime-no-tokoro*) of my body to the source-place of thy body.” Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and wife (*me-wo*). Now when the time of birth arrived, first of all the island of Ahaji was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it. Therefore it received the name of Ahaji-no-shima.’ (I, 5–6).

Apparently both Motoōri and Hirata are highly indignant that in this text the words for male and female should correspond to the Chinese philosophical terms *yō* and *yin*.⁽³²²⁾

Another version (I, 10) confirms that the island of Ahaji was ‘considered the placenta’, while another (I, 10) states: The two Kami were united and became husband and wife. First of all the islands of Ahaji and Aha being considered the placenta...’ Still another (I, 10) reports: ‘The island of Onogoro being considered the placenta, there was born the island of Ahaji, next the island of...’

According to the *Kojiki*, the ‘pillar’ was a heavenly pillar, but according to one *Nihongi* version, it was *the* pillar of heaven, and according to another *Nihongi* version, the island of

Onogoro itself became the pillar of the land. The *Kojiki* mentions a tradition according to which the two Kami made the jewelled spear the central pillar of their house.⁽³²²⁾ Nothing more is said about it, apart from the very essential fact that in Izanagi's opinion—later confirmed by all the Heavenly Kami—the two creator-kami had to circumambulate it before they could procreate.

As a general rule, a stout pillar is erected in the centre of the traditional Japanese dwelling, and it has a very definite religious meaning. It is called Daikoku-bashira and is symbolically identified with the head of the family.⁽³⁸³⁾ Some competent authors hold that it originated from the above myth.

Some light may be shed on the actual meaning of the heavenly pillar if we note that at a later stage of development, when the Sun-Goddess is born, her parents (Izanagi and Izanami themselves) send her to heaven by the same heavenly pillar, Ame-no-mi-hashira, which is then translated 'the ladder of heaven' (*Nihongi*, I, 11). It would seem therefore that this pillar is also a means of communication between heaven and earth, just as the Floating Bridge of Heaven, just as the Heavenly Rock-boat which comes up many times, perhaps also as the temple-palace (*miya*), the pillars of which are made stout on the nethermost rock-bottom, and the cross-beams of which are made high to the Plain of High Heaven. Those four channels of communication evidently do not play identical roles, and in no case could any one of them be substituted for another, but they all centre round the basic Shintô preoccupation that heavenly influence should constantly be brought to bear on earth, at every successive stage not only of creation but also of history.

The erection of the eight-fathom (i.e. complete and perfect) hall has been considered by various authors as prefiguring the parturition-house (*ubu-ya*) in which, according to age-long tradition, childbirths should normally take place. The birth makes the *ubu-ya* impure and it is therefore burnt down immediately after it has served its purpose.

A clue to another meaning of the pillar and the hall may be given by the fact that, according to both the *Kojiki* (I, iv) and one *Nihongi* version (I, 8), after the Kami have erected the pillar, but before they walk around it, they proceed to a discovery of each other's sexual anatomy. It is true that, according to another *Nihongi* version (I, 6), they first walk once around the pillar before they make the discovery, but they do not procreate before they have again walked around the pillar. One might conclude therefrom that the pillar and the hall are necessary prerequisites to the physical manifestations of bi-sexuality. And if there is phallic symbolism in the Shintô account of creation—as there should normally be in every cosmogony—it should be sought there and not in the jewelled spear with which the ocean was stirred.

The first two beings actually to be born of the two Kami in bi-sexual relations were, according to the *Kojiki*, first a son called Hiru-ko, and second an island called Aha—which was to be followed at a later stage by the island of Ahaji. The two *Nihongi* versions which admit of two children born at this stage call them Hiru-ko and Ahaji, but do not agree on the order in which they came. Only one version mentions the island of Aha, which is there coupled with Ahaji. Three versions mention only Ahaji, which is then followed without any break by a number of other islands.

Aha is generally identified with an islet near the island of Ahaji. Its name is usually translated 'foam',⁽³⁴⁸⁾ which would imply that it was not yet perfectly solid matter, as the later islands were to be. According to a local tradition, the island gradually slipped over to

what is the present coast of Wakamiya-ken and became the country of Awa—in which an Awa-shima-jinja now stands.

A mass of literature has grown around Hiru-ko. His name is generally translated ‘leech-child’, an interpretation which does not seem to be supported by anything in his mythology. Aston, however, points out another possible meaning, which is sun-male, the masculine counterpart of *hiru-me*, sun-female,^(324, 325) which is part of one of the names given to the Sun-Goddess in the *Nihongi* (I, II). This would already be a considerable improvement over the leech-child theory, but I think it is not yet quite satisfactory. Since the suffix *-ko* is very often used in the sense of young, it might be justified to translate his name by Young Sun. He could then be taken as a sort of prefiguration of what was later to be the Sun. The predominant position given by Shintô mythology to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, the Sun-Goddess, would be quite consistent with the idea that after having created the first spot of material earth (Onogoro), Izanagi and Izanami should immediately create a sort of proto-sun. Their rejection of him as ‘inadequate’ would be explained by the fact that he had not yet reached a fully developed stage, and his being sent adrift in the waters would be quite natural since in the Land of the Rising Sun, the fully-developed sun can be seen to rise out of the ocean.

As a matter of fact, in two alternative versions given in the *Nihongi* for a later episode, we read that ‘after the sun and the moon, the next child which was born was Hiru-ko. When this child had completed his third year, he was nevertheless unable to stand upright.... They therefore placed him in the Rock-camphor-wood Boat of Heaven (Tori-no-iha-kusu-bune), and abandoned him to the wind’ (I, 13 and 12; cf. also I, 15). Those texts establish at least some sort of connection between Hiru-ko and the Sun.

Some authors have recognized Hiru-ko in the mysterious Kami ‘dressed in skins of geese’ who later ‘came riding on the crest of the waves in a boat of Heavenly *kagami*... who, when asked his name, replied not’, but was ultimately identified as Sukuna-hikona-no-kami, a son of Kami-musibi (*Kojiki*, I, xxvii) We shall consider him later (cf. p. 328ff. below).

Whether such an assimilation is justified or not, Hiru-ko has gained a most important place in Shintô worship, where he is generally recognized as the God Ebisu, to whom a great number of temples are consecrated (cf. p. 511ff. below). But he is also found under his original name of Hiru-ko in quite a few temples, among which the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja (along with other Kami), the Hiru-ko-sha (a subsidiary shrine of the Miyachitake-jinja), the Umi-be-no-yashiro (a *massha* of the Kashima-jingû), the Sarake-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha) the Hiruko-jinja, the Ube-no-yashiro (a subsidiary shrine of the Ikisu-jinja).

The reason why the first three children were not, and could not be satisfactory is explained as follows in the next chapter of the *Kojiki* (I, v):

The two Kami took counsel, saying: ‘The children to whom we have now given birth are not adequate (*fusa-wazu*). It will be best to announce this in the august place of the Heavenly Kami.’ They ascended forthwith to Heaven and enquired of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Kami. Then the Heavenly Kami commanded and found out by grand divination (*futo-mani*), and ordered them, saying: ‘They were not adequate, because the woman spoke first. Descend back again and amend your words.’”

The explanation is mentioned—briefly—in one of the *Nihongi* versions (I, 13): The reason why Hiru-ko was born was that in the beginning, when Izanagi and Izanami went round the pillar, the female Kami was the first to utter an exclamation of pleasure, and the law (*kotowari*) of male and female was therefore broken.⁷

Although the scriptures represent this attitude of the Heavenly Kami collectively as the correction of a mistake made by the two creators, it is rather in the nature of a further constructive step in creation. Before Izanagi and Izanami could bring forth entirely adequate land, men and Kami, a law had to be found which would govern the life of that human society that was to play such an important part in the world to be created. The highest Heavenly Kami discovered it by divination (Hindu scriptures would have said by *tapas*, i.e. by the heat engendered by meditation, which would have very much the same meaning), and, when they had discovered it, they gave it to Izanagi and Izanami (just as the Hindu Vedas were given as instructions to the Creator Brahmâ.)*

Until that law had been supplied to them, the divine couple could only make the three preliminary, and, in a way, abortive attempts at creation which we have seen: a first nucleus of land, a prefiguration of the sun, and an island which, according to its very name, was not fully solidified.

* * *

Everything was now ready for the creation of the actual physical world, gross and subtle. Izanagi and Izanami repeated the circumambulation of the pillar, spoke in the order fixed by the Heavenly Kami, and in rapid succession gave birth to fourteen islands (*Kojiki*, I, v), which, it must be noted, are *not* Kami, although at later stages we see Kami of islands. After that come ten Kami (*Kojiki*, I, vi).

The names of the islands almost certainly have an esoteric meaning—which has apparently been lost—in addition to, and probably consonant with geographical identifications which are generally admitted. In the present state of knowledge, only a few tentative remarks may be ventured.

According to the *Kojiki*, the islands are divided into two groups, one of eight, the Ô-yashima-kuni (the Land of the Great Eight Islands), and then one of six, to which no collective name is given.

Still according to the *Kojiki*, the first eight are, in order:

(1) Ahaji (translated ‘foam-way’ but which Aston⁽⁶⁹²⁾ suggests might also mean ‘millet country’), with the explanatory epithet of Hono-sa-wake (according to Motoôri: Rice-ear-true-youth). The island also has first or second place in three of the six lists of eight islands given in the *Nihongi*; we have already seen that in some *Nihongi* accounts it is considered as the placenta or part of it. Although the name Ahaji is generally understood to mean ‘way to foam’, it would be more consistent with the process of gradual creation to understand it as ‘[what the] way [of] foam [has led to]’. The etymology of Ho-no-sa-wake is disputed.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Ahaji is now identified with the island of Awaji, between Honshû and Shikoku. It is considered very sacred. Until a very recent date, water was brought from it for the use of the imperial household.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ The exact well from which the water

* Cf. Jean Herbert: *Spiritualité hindoue*, p. 283.

was taken does not seem to be known. Several locations were suggested to me, among which a place in the Oï section of the town of Sado, about three hundred yards from the main road, a source called Shimizu in the town of Fukura, the Kanzen well in Ôno-mura (Sumotoshi) and the Oï-no-shimizu well.

(2) Futa-na [-no-shima] (Isle-of-two-names), which is in Iyo and has one body (*mi*) and four faces (*omo*), each of which is a ‘land’ and has a name: (a) Iyo (meaning uncertain) or Ye-hime (Lovely Princess); (b) Sanuki (from *saho-ki*, pole-trees?) or Ihi-yori-hiko (Prince of good boiled rice); (c) Aha (millet?) or Ô-ge-tsu-hime (Princess of great food), for which the corresponding Kami, Ô-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami, comes later in the genealogy; (d) Tosa (for which Chamberlain remarks that ‘only fanciful derivations’ have been proposed) or Take-yori-wake (Brave good youth).

Iyo-no-futa-na (Futa-na of Iyo) appears in the third place, after Ahaji and Ô-yamato, in all *Nihongi* lists except one, where we find Iyo without any specifications. It is generally taken to designate the whole of the island of Shikoku, which is very much in the shape of a rectangle. Esoterically, stress is evidently laid upon the provision of food.

(3) Isle of Mitsu-go (triplets) of Oki, also called Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake (Heavenly great-heart[ed] youth). No island of that name is to be found in any of the *Nihongi* lists, but they all mention Oki—which is not in the *Kojiki* list—and two of them specify that Oki consists of ‘triplet’ islands. Mitsu-go is identified with the three islets Ama-no-shima, Mukafu-no-shima and Chiburi-no-shima. The number three almost certainly has here some esoteric meaning, but no satisfactory explanation for it seems to have been offered.

(4) Like Futa-na, the Isle of Tsukushi (for the name of which Chamberlain also says that ‘only fanciful derivations’ have been proposed) has one body and four faces, each of which is a land and has a name: (a) Tsukushi (the same name as the whole island) or Shirahi-wake (White-sun-youth); (b) Toyo (luxuriant, fertile) or Toyo-hi-wake (Luxuriant-sun-youth); (c) Hi (fire, or sun), or Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuji-hine-wake (Brave-sun-confronting-luxuriant-wondrous-lord-youth); (d) Kumaso (Bear-district) or Take-hi-wake (Brave-sun-youth). This island also appears in all *Nihongi* lists. According to Chamberlain, ‘a note in the 1687 edition [of the *Kojiki*] says: “Should the word four be changed to five?” For most texts enumerate five countries in this passage with slight variations in the names, Himuka (Hiuga), which it certainly seems strange to omit, being the fourth on the list with the alternative name of Toyo-kuji-hine-wake, while the alternative name of Hi is Hayahi-wake. Motoôri argues that an enumeration of four agrees better with the context, while Moribe...decides in favour of the five.’⁽³⁴⁸⁾

It is remarkable that the names of each of the four faces, and also of the fifth, Himuka, refer definitely to the sun. And with the exception of Himuka they all stress the idea of youth. It is therefore likely that the esoteric meaning has something to do with an incipient sun, whether a prefigurative or an immature stage of the material sun, or a rising sun—a stage between that represented by Hiru-ko and that represented by the full-grown Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami.

(5) The Isle of Iki (etymology uncertain) or Ame-hito-tsu-bashira (Heaven’s one pillar). This island is not to be found in any of the *Nihongi* lists.

(6) The Isle of Tsu (port, anchorage), Tsu-shima, or Ame-no-sade-yori-hime (Heavenly hand-net good Princess). Tsu-shima is found in only one of the *Nihongi* lists.

(7) The Isle of Sado (etymology uncertain) is included in all *Nihongi* lists.

(8) Ô-yamato-toyo-aki-tsu-shima (Great Yamato, luxuriant island of the dragon-fly) or Ama-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake (Heavenly august sky-luxuriant-dragon-fly-lord-youth). This island tops four of the six *Nihongi* lists and in the other two comes second, after Ahaji. This is clearly Honshû.

The lists of the first eight islands given in the *Nihongi* contain four other names, some of which might of course possibly refer to the same islands, and esoterically to the same symbols, as the *Kojiki* names of which they take the place. Except for one case in which one such name takes fifth place, they all come at the end of the list. They are: Ô-shima (in three lists) and Kojima (in one list), both of which however are found in the six islands composing the second *Kojiki* list, and Koshi and Kibi-no-ko, both of which come in four different *Nihongi* lists.

After the first eight islands, the *Kojiki* gives a second list, of six islands, which were the next children to be born to Izanagi and Izanami, ‘when they had returned [to Onogoro]’, according to Motoôri, Aston⁽⁶⁹²⁾ adding that ‘the idea plainly is that the God and Goddess went on a circuit, depositing islands on their way.’ They are:

(9) Kojima (Infant Island) in Kibi (etymology uncertain), or Take-hikata-wake (Brave-sun-direction-youth), which is found in one of the lists given by the *Nihongi* for the first eight islands.

(10) Isle of Azuki (Red beans) or Ô-nu-de-hime (Great moor-clapper-bell Princess?).

(11) Ô-shima (Great island) or Ô-tamaru-wake (etymology uncertain), which is found in three of the lists given by the *Nihongi*.

(12) Isle of Hime (Princess) or Ame-hito-tsu-ne (Heaven’s one root).

(13) Isle of Chika (etymology uncertain) or Ame-no-oshi-wo (Heavenly great male) which might represent the islands now called Hirado and Go-tô.

(14) Isle of Futa-go (twins) or Ame-futa-ya (Heaven’s two houses).

As can be seen from the two lists of islands, the land created by the creator-kami is exclusively what constitutes the Japanese archipelago. No reference is made to anything outside it. Although not always quite so clearly delimited, the ‘earth’ created in all cosmogonies naturally cannot extend further than what the authors of the texts knew or suspected to exist. Some Japanese theologians nevertheless have tried to offer supplementary accounts. According to Hirata,⁽⁶²⁵⁾ all other countries were formed at a much later period [than Japan] by the spontaneous consolidation of the foam of the sea and the collection of mud in various places. Foreign countries were of course produced by the power of the creator-kami, but they were not begotten by Izanagi and Izanami, nor did they give birth to the Sun-Goddess.

* * *

After having thus ‘finished giving birth to’ islands, or countries, Izanagi and Izanami ‘began afresh giving birth to Kami’. In the sixth chapter of the *Kojiki* we find five successive lists totalling thirty-three names. Some of them do not seem ever to be mentioned again in the scriptures, or ever to have enjoyed individual worship, whereas others were called upon to play important parts in later episodes and have temples dedicated to them individually.

The first list comprises ten Kami. They are:

(1) Ô-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami (Kami great male of the great thing, or the Male enduring great things), whom Motoôri identifies with Koto-toke-no wo mentioned in the *Nihongi*.

⁽³⁴⁸⁾ He is worshipped in the Takasaki-jinja.

(2) Iha-tsuchi-biko-no-kami (Kami rock-earth prince, or Upper lord prince), whom Motoöri identifies with Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Great Male of the Surface), one of the fourteen Kami who were later to be born ‘from the bathing of Izanagi.

(3) Iha-su-hime-no-kami (Kami Rock-nest Princess).

(4) Ô-to-hi-wake-no-kami (Kami Great door-sun-youth), whom Motoöri identifies, mainly for etymological reasons, with Ô-naho-bi-no-kami (Great rectifying wondrous Kami), also one of the fourteen Kami who were later to be born ‘from the bathing of’ Izanagi.

(5) Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-kami (Kami heavenly blowing, or wiping, or covering⁽¹²²⁾ Male), whom Motoöri identifies with I-buki-do-nushi, mentioned in the ‘Ritual of the Great Purification’ (Nakatomi-baraï-no-kotoba).

(6) Ô-ya-biko-no-kami (Kami Great-house Prince), whom Motoöri identifies with Ô-aya-tsu-bi mentioned in the *Nihongi*.

(7) Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami (Kami Youth of the windbreath, the great Male), whom Motoöri identifies with both Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Elder Male of the Bottom), one of the fourteen Kami who were later to be born ‘from the bathing of’ Izanagi, and with the female Kami Haya (quick)-sasura (from *sasurafu*, to wash away, to make disappear)⁽¹²²⁾ -hime, mentioned in the ‘Ritual of the Great Purification’.

(8) Ô-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami Great Ocean-possessor), whom the text specifies to be a Sea-kami. He plays a considerable part in later episodes, when he receives in his sea-palace the grandfather of the first human Emperor of Japan. Among the temples consecrated to him, we may mention the Kiyotaki-jinja, the Taki-no-miya (a *masha* of the Tosa-jinja) and the Saïden of the Nibukawakami-jinja (along with other Kami). (Cf. pp. 379–83 below).

(9 and 10) Minato-no-kami (Kami of the Water-gates, i.e. of the river-mouths, estuaries or ports), ‘whose name is’ Haya-aki-tsu-hiko (Prince of Swift Autumn, or Rapidly-clarifying Prince),⁽¹²²⁾ who lives ‘where the eight hundred tides meet’,⁽⁵²⁹⁾ and Minato-no-kami’s ‘younger sister’, Haya-aki-tsu-hime-no-kami (Kami Princess of Swift Autumn). We shall deal with their worship later (cf. p. 480 below).

‘From their separate dominions (*mochi-wake-ru*) of river (*kawa*) and sea (*umi*),’ they in their turn gave birth to eight other Kami:

(11 and 12) Awa-nagi-no-kami (Kami foam-calm) and Awa-nami-no-kami (Kami foam-waves). The former, as we have seen, is sometimes considered at the father of Izanagi.

(13 and 14) Tsura-nagi-no-kami (Kami bubble-calm) and Tsura-nami-no-kami (Kami bubble-waves).

(15 and 16) Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami (Heavenly Kami water-divider) and Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami (Earthly Kami water-divider). The two jointly have a *massha*, the Komori-jinja, in the Dewa-san-dzan. The former is the chief Kami in the Yoshinomikumari-jinja, and also has a *massha*, the Naru-ikazuchi-jinja, in the Kasuga-taïsha, where she is regarded as a Kami of water.

(17 and 18) Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami (Heavenly Kami water-drawing-gourd-possessor) and Kuni-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami (Earthly Kami water-drawing-gourd-possessor).

The eight last-mentioned Kami are enshrined together in the Kawachi-hatsusho-jinja. The last two are enshrined with twenty-one other Kami, among which Uga-no-mitama, in the Jûgosho-daï-jinja.

In later chapters, we shall deal with the worship of the sea, the rivers, etc. (cf. p. 479–83 below). The value of water and salt for purification purposes has already been stressed (cf. p. 80ff. above).

The next four appear to have been born from Izanagi and Izanami themselves, although the text is not very clear. They are:

(19) The Kami of wind, ‘whose name is’ Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami (Kami prince of Long-wind, or of Long-breath). This Kami is given by the *Nihongi*, under the name of Shina-tobe (chief)-no-mikoto, as the first one to whom Izanagi and Izanami gave birth after the islands. He is often divided in two persons: Shina-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto and Shina-tsu-hime-no-mikoto. We shall deal with his worship in a later chapter (cf. p. 49off. below).

(20) The Kami of trees, ‘whose name is’ Kuku-no-chi-no-kami (Kami stem-elder). In the *Nihongi* (I, 11), he is called the ‘ancestor of trees’, Ki-no-oya. (Cf. p. 492 below.)

(21) The Kami of mountains, ‘whose name is’ Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami great-mountain-possessor.) We shall see later that he is the father (or grandfather, as would appear from *Nihongi*, II, 30) of Kamu-ô-ichi-hime (Divine Princess of Great Majesty), one of the wives of Susano-wo, and the mother of Uga-no-mitama (*Kojiki*, I, xx). He is also the father of Kono-hana-chiru-hime (Princess falling like the flowers of the trees), who married Ya-shima-ji-nu-mi (Ruler of the Eight Islands), one of Susano-wo’s children (*Kojiki*, I, xx). But above all he is the father of Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, who married Prince Ninigi, and of her sister Iha-naga-hime. We shall discuss his worship in a later chapter (cf. p. 469 below).

(22) The Kami of moors, ‘whose name is’ Kaya-nu (or -no)-hime-no-kami (Kami Princess of the thatch-moor), and ‘another name for whom is’ Nu-dzu-chi-nokami (Kami moor-elder?). We shall discuss her worship in a later chapter (cf. p. 494 below).

The last two Kami, ‘from their separate dominions of mountain and moor’ in their turn begot eight other Kami:

(23 and 24) Ame-no-sa-dzuchi-no-kami (Kami Elder of the Heavenly Passes) and Kuni-no-sa-dzuchi-no-kami (Kami Elder of the Earthly Passes). The latter is one of the Kami in the Kumano Hayatama-taïsha and Nachi-jinja; he is also guest-kami (*aidono-no-kami*) in the Todoroki-jinja. According to Chamberlain, the word *sa* (for *saka*) ‘must be understood to include lesser ascents than those very arduous ones which are alone denoted by the word “pass” in ordinary English parlance.’⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Aston⁽⁶⁹²⁾ translates it by the Scotch word *brae*.

(25 and 26) Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami (Kami of the Heavenly pass boundaries) and Kuni-no-sa-giri-no-kami (Kami of the Earthly pass-boundaries). The word translated ‘boundary’ may also be translated ‘mist’. The former Kami is the father of Tohotsu (remote)-machi (to wait, a divination)-ne (root, mighty being)-nokami, who became the wife of Ame-no-hibara-ô-shina-do-mi-no-kami, a remote descendant of Susano-wo (*Kojiki*, I, xxvi), and the meaning of whose name is rather obscure; it is explained as Ame-no (heavenly)—hibara (a sunny field or a spiritual abode) -ô (great) -shina-do (long breath or wind) -mi (suffix of admiration).⁽¹²²⁾

(27 and 28) Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami (Kami of the Heavenly dark door, or valley, or place) and Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami (Kami of the Earthly dark door, or valley, or place).

(29 and 30) Ô-tomato-hiko-no-kami (Kami Prince of the Great Vale) and Ô-tomato-hime-no-kami (Kami Princess of the Great Vale). Chamberlain explains that *tomato* represents a gentler fold in the mountain than the narrower and steeper hollow which in English is denoted by the word ‘valley’.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

The worship of the above Kami will also be dealt with in a later chapter (cf. p. 469ff. below).

The last series in the chapter of the *Kojiki* comprises only three Kami who were begotten by Izanagi and Izanami. They are:

(31) Tori-no-iha-kusu-bune-no-kami (Kami Bird’s Rock-camphor-tree Boat), another name for whom is Ame-no-tori-bune (Heavenly Bird-boat), with no *-kami* attached to it. In one of the *Nihongi* versions, this ‘boat’ is given as born at a much later stage, after Susano-wo, and as being the boat in which Hiru-ko was placed and abandoned to the current (I, 13). We have already referred to it (cf. p. 253f. above). Ame-no-tori-bune is enshrined with Funado-no-kami in the Ikisu-jinja. He is also found in a *sessha* of the Sumiyoshi-taisha.

(32) Ô-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami (Kami Princess of Great Food), whose name recalls that of one of the ‘faces’ of the island Futa-na. She is one of the Kami in the Nishidake-jinja, in the Mannaka-shimo-no-yashiro (a shrine of the Fushimi-inari-jinja) and in the Hi-no-tenjin-sha (a subsidiary shrine in the Shika-umi-jinja).

(33) Hi-no-yagi-haya-wo-no-kami (Kami Fire-burning-swift-male), other names for whom are Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami (Kami Fire-shining Prince) and Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami (Kami Fire-shining Elder). He is also called Ho-musubi (Fire-producer) in the *Nihongi* and the *Norito*. We shall henceforth call him Kagu-tsuchi. He plays an extremely important role in the rest of the myth relating to Izanagi and Izanami.

With the very few exceptions mentioned above, the various *Nihongi* versions do not name any of those Kami individually. One of them however (I, 15) gives a rather original account:

‘Izanagi and Izanami having together procreated the Great Land of Eight Islands, Izanagi said: “Over the country which we have produced, there is naught but morning mists which shed a perfume everywhere!” So he puffed them away with a breath, which became changed into a Kami, named Shina-tobe-no-mikoto. He is also called Shina-tsu-hiko-no-mikoto. This is the Kami of the Wind. Moreover, the child which they procreated when they were hungry was called Uga-no-mitama-no-mikoto. Again they produced the Sea-kami, who were called Ô-wata-tsu-mi-no-mikoto, and the Mountain-kami, who were called Yama-tsu-mi, the Kami of the river-mouths, who were called Haya-aki-tsu-bi-no-mikoto, the Tree-kami, who were called Kuku-no-chi, and the Earth female Kami, who was called Hani-yasu-no-kami. Thereafter they produced all manner of things whatsoever.’

After which comes the birth of the Fire-kami, Kagu-tsuchi.

Even if some doubt could be entertained about the names of the islands having some esoteric meaning, the same doubt can evidently not apply to the names of the Kami. In the present state of knowledge, however, it is extremely risky to suggest any detailed interpretation. Only a few general remarks may be offered.

First of all, it should be noted that, in the *Kojiki*, all of them are actual Kami, i.e. specific principles out of which the corresponding material objects may emerge, or else which may

give those objects their full reality. So far, only the 'islands' as such have been created, and in later chapters of the scriptures we shall come across many myths about the actual creation of mountains, trees, plants, animals, etc., which came to exist on those islands.

The *Nihongi*, on the other hand, which does not supply the long list of Kami, says in one version (I, II) that immediately after the birth of Ahaji and Hiru-ko, Izanagi and Izanami 'next produced the sea, then the rivers, and then the mountains. They then produced Kuku-no-chi, the ancestor of the trees, and next the ancestor of the herbs, Kaya-no-hime. After this, they consulted together, saying: "We have now produced the Country of the Great Eight Islands, with the mountains, rivers, herbs and trees." 'Which substantially is not inconsistent with the *Kojiki*.

Second, the order in which those Kami appear might tentatively be taken to be:

(1) A principle of masculinity.

(2 and 3) The most solid form of matter, that in which later the Sun-Goddess will retire.

(4) A possibility for the sun to shine, perhaps related to the previous two.

(5 to 7) The heavenly breath, the house in which men shall dwell and the young (or new?) earthly breath which will animate the inmates of the house.

(8 to 18) the various forms which the liquid element may take on the earth.

(19) Wind.

(20) Trees.

(21 to 30) The various forms which the solid element may take on this earth.

(31) The main use of the sea (?)

(32) Food.

(33) Fire.

* * *

The birth of the Fire-kami, Kagu-tsuchi, marks a break in the process of Creation and inaugurates quite a different chapter in the list of Kami for the birth of whom Izanagi and Izanami were responsible. The *Kojiki* states (I, vii):

Through giving birth to this child (the Fire-kami), her (Izanami's) private parts (*hoto*) were burnt, and she sickened and lay down.

The names of the Kami born from her vomit (*taguri*) were Kana-yama-biko-no-kami (Kami metal-mountain Prince) and Kana-yama-bime-no-kami (Kami metal-mountain Princess).

The names of the Kami who were born from her faeces (*kuso*) were Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami (Kami clay-viscid Prince) and Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami (Kami clay-viscid Princess).

The names of the Kami that were next born from her urine (*yumari*) were Mizu-ha-no-me-no-kami (a female Kami of water) and next Waku-musubi-no-kami (Young Wondrous Producing Kami). The child of this latter Kami was called Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami (Kami Luxuriant-food Princess).

'So, Izanami, through giving birth to the Fire-kami, at length divinely retired (*kamu-saru*, generally understood to mean "died").'

Waku-musubi-no-kami is enshrined in the Kumano Hongû-taisha. The worship of the other Kami will be discussed in Chapter XXII for Toyo-uke and XXI for the rest.

The *Kojiki* makes it quite clear that in spite of the unusual manner in which the above Kami made their appearance, they were ‘given birth to jointly (*tomo-ni*) by the two Kami Izanagi and Izanami’. (I, vii).

Of the four *Nihongi* versions of the birth of the Fire-kami and of the subsequent ‘death’ of his mother, three mention that other Kami were born before the mother passed away.

One of them (I, 14) says: ‘When Izanami gave birth to Ho-no-musubi, she was burnt by the child, and “retired”. When she was about to die, she brought forth the water female Kami, Mizu-ha-no-me, and the earth female Kami (or Clay-mountain Lady) Hani-yama-hime. She also brought forth the gourd of heaven (Ame-no-fukube).’

One other (I, 14) reads: ‘When about to give birth to the Fire-kami, Kagu-tsuchi, Izanami became feverish and ill. In consequence she vomited, and the vomit (*taguri*) became changed into a Kami, who was called Kana-yama-biko. Next her urine (*yumari*) became changed into a female Kami who was called Mizu-ha-no-me. Next her faeces (*kuso*) was changed into a female Kami, who was called Hani-yama-hime.’

The third one (I, 14) reads: ‘Now Izanami was burnt by Kagu-tsuchi, so that she died. When she was lying down to die, she gave birth to the earth female Kami, Hani-yama-hime, and the water female Kami, Mizu-ha-no-me. Upon this Kagu-tsuchi took to wife Hani-yama-hime, and they had a child called Waka-musubi,’ (probably the same as Waku-musubi, although the meaning of the name is different).⁽¹²²⁾

The other two *Nihongi* versions merely state: ‘When Izanami gave birth to the Fire-kami, she was burnt and died’ (I, 14), and ‘When the time came for Kagu-tsuchi to be born, his mother Izanami was burnt, and suffered change, and departed.’ (I, 15–16).

In a later chapter (cf. p. 483–8 below) we shall study the cult of fire, and seek in it some explanation for the fact that the birth of the Fire-kami ‘killed’ one of the two creators.

About the other Kami listed in this section, it is worth noting that the first four of them refer to metal-ore and clay, two essential raw materials which can only be used when fire is applied to them—and that can hardly be a coincidence. If we follow this fairly evident line of thought, it might also perhaps be suggested that the combined action of fire (Kagu-tsuchi) and water (Mizu-ha-no-me) opens up new possibilities of production (Waku-musubi), which result in making luxuriant food (Toyoyuke-bime) available to man. One curious suggestion has been made by no less an authority than Hirata, according to whom the name Kana-yama might be an abbreviation of *kare-nayamashi*, to cause to wither and feel pain.

The *Kojiki* (I, vii) reports that Izanagi then ‘buried the divinely-retired Izanami on Mount Hiba at the boundary of the Land of Izumo and the Land of Hahaki.’ According to the *Nihongi* (I, 14), ‘she was buried at the village of Arima in Kumano, in the Land of Kii (Wakayama-ken). In the time of flowers, the inhabitants worship the spirit of this Goddess by offerings of flowers. They also worship her with drums, flutes, flags, singing and dancing.’

The Oba-no-ô-miya (or Kamoshi-jinja), near Yaëgaki, in the vicinity of Matsuë claims to have been built over her grave—and also claims to have been the former site of the Izumo-ô-yashiro.⁽⁶³¹⁾

According to the Buddhist scholar Anesaki, the death of Izanami should be considered as ‘the beginning of the antithesis between life and death, and of other cycles of similar contrasts, like that of light and darkness, of order and atrocity, etc.’⁽³¹⁰⁾ Although, as we shall see later, Izanami continues to be very active, in the Land of Yomi, after she has died on this Earth (cf. 273–7 below), this first mention of sickness, death and burial, evidently refers to the apparition in earthly creation of an important new factor. It should nevertheless not be taken to be, as Anesaki seems to suggest, the initial apparition of dualities, since many others have already been mentioned. And as regards life and death, they should certainly not be understood here, in the case of Kami, as identical to what they are for men. For Izanami, as well as for other Kami who undergo a similar process, it is rather, as we noted previously (cf. p. 31 above), a change in the field or the base of their activity. The introduction of human death into the world takes place in the later episode when Izanagi and [dead] Izanami engage in a lively controversy (cf. p. 276f. below).

As a matter of fact, after she had been buried, Izanami went—apparently with some sort of physical body capable of decomposition—to the Land of Yomi, the Nether-world (*Kojiki*, I, ix; *Nihongi*, I, 18). One *Nihongi* version (I, 24) states explicitly that when in the nether-world she ‘came forth to meet Izanagi’, she was ‘still as she was when alive’. And there is no indication elsewhere that she later underwent a further stage of death. As we shall see later, in the mind of Izanami herself there was even a possibility that she might return to the land of the living.

If the last-mentioned group of seven Kami were born from Izanami’s fatal illness, the birth of the next fifty-one was directly or indirectly the consequence of her death. One was born of Izanagi’s sorrow, sixteen were an outcome of the revenge he took of Kagu-tsuchi’s deadly apparition in the world, eight were born of Izanami’s corpse, and twenty-six during Izanagi’s purification after he had visited Izanami in the nether-world.

The *Kojiki* account (I, vii) of the manner in which the first of those was born runs as follows:

‘Izanagi said: “Oh! Thine Augustness my lovely young sister! Oh! that I should have exchanged (*kaheru*) thee for this one child!” And as he crept round her august pillow (*makura*), and wept, there was born from his august tears (*namida*) the Kami that dwells at Konomoto near Unewo on Mount Kagu (or: at the foot of the trees on the slope of the spur of Mount Kagu), and whose name is Naki-saha-me-no-kami (Crying-weeping-female Kami. Chamberlain suggests for the first two words: march, or stream,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ and Aston: abundant).⁽³²²⁾

Only one *Nihongi* version (I, 16) has a corresponding episode, which is couched in almost identical terms. Naki-saha-me is worshipped with Michizane Sugawara, Mizu-hano-me and Mikumari in the Fujinami-jinja.

This is the first reference to the very holy Mount Kagu, which is often mentioned throughout the scriptures (cf. p. 403 below).

After having thus expressed his sorrow, Izanagi gave vent to his anger. The *Kojiki* (I, viii) informs us that, ‘drawing the ten-grasp sword (*tsurugi*) that was augustly girded on him, he cut off the head (literally: sectioned the neck, *kubi*) of his child Kagu-tsuchi’. The only *Nihongi* version (I, 16) which reports the matter goes somewhat further: ‘At length he drew the ten-span sword with which he was girt, and cut Kagu-tsuchi into three pieces.’ It is stated

lower down in the same chapter of the *Kojiki* that ‘the name of the sword with which [Izanagi] cut off [Kagu-tsuchi’s head] was Ame-no-wo-ha-bari (Heavenly point-blade-extended), and another name was Itsu-no-wo ha-bari (Majestic point-blade-extended)’.

The reason why the Fire-kami had to be beheaded before Creation could proceed further is not at all clear. It may mean simply that fire is to be kept under control, especially in a country as densely wooded as Japan, where most structures are made of timber and straw. The names of the Kami whose birth was the direct result of his being slain do not offer any clear indication on this point either.

First of all, eight were born of his blood as it dripped from Izanagi’s sword. They were, according to the *Kojiki* (I, viii):

(1 to 3) three ‘that were born from the blood (*chi*) that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous (*yutsu*, literally five hundred) rock-masses’: Iha-saku-no-kami (Kami rock-splitter), Ne-saku-no-kami (Kami root-splitter) and Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami (Rock-possessing male Kami, or Rock elder male kami, or the Male Kami the Elder of the Rocks). The first two are worshipped in two *massha* of the Dewa-sanzan, the Iha-saku-jinja and the Ne-saku-jinja respectively. The third one, divided into two Kami, Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto and Iha-tsutsu-no-me-no-mikoto, is worshipped in the Samsa-jinja, a *massha* of the Katori-jingû.

(4 to 6) three ‘that were born from the blood that stuck to the upper part of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses’: Mika-haya-hi-nokami (Kami of terrible swift sun), Hi-haya-hi-no-kami (Fire-swift Kami) and Take-mika-dzuchi-no-wo-no-kami (Brave awful possessing male Kami), ‘another name for whom is’ Take-futsu-no-kami (Brave snapping Kami), ‘and another name is’ Toyo-futsu-no-kami (Luxuriant snapping Kami). The last mentioned Kami plays a decisive part in later episodes. Hi-haya-hi and Mika-haya-hi are the Kami of the Hachisaki-jinja.

(7 and 8) two ‘that were born next from the blood that collected on the hilt of the august sword and leaked out between his (Izanagi’s) fingers’: Kura-okami and Kura-mitsuha. The etymology of both names is obscure; *kura* means: dark. Kura-mizu-ha is one of the Kami in the Kakuru-jinja. We shall return to Kura-okami later. (Cf. p. 481 below.)

For the number and names of the Kami in this group, the *Nihongi* (I, 16–17) gives us various alternatives:

The blood which dripped from the edge of the sword became the multitudinous (*yutsu*) rocks which are in the bed (*kawara*) of the Divine River of Heaven (Ame-no-yasu-kawa). This Kami (*sic*) was the father of Futsu-nushi-no-kami. Moreover, the blood that dripped from the hilt-ring of the sword spurted out and became Kami, whose names were Mika-no-haya-hi-no-kami (Jar—or mighty, or very—swift sun), and next Hi-nohaya-hi-no-kami (Fire-swift sun). This Mika-no-haya-hi was the parent of Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami.

‘Another version is: Mika-haya-hi-no-mikoto, next Hi-haya-hi-no-mikoto, and next Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami.

‘Moreover, the blood which dripped from the point of the sword spurted out and became Kami, who were called Iha-saku-no-kami, after him Ne-saku-no-kami, and next Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto. This Iha-saku-nokami was the father of Futsu-nushi-no-kami.

‘One account says: Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, and next Iha-tsutsu-no-me-no-mikoto.

‘Moreover, the blood which dripped from the head of the sword spurted out and became Kami, who were called Kura-okami-no-kami, next Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Dark-mountain-body Kami), and next Kura-mizu-ha-no-kami (Dark water female Kami).’

Let us note here that a Russian author, Vanovsky, gives a ‘volcanic interpretation’ of the Kami born from Izanagi’s sword.⁽³⁷⁸⁾

In later chapters, we find still further alternatives:

‘When he (Izanagi) slew Kagu-tsuchi, the blood gushed out and stained the multitudinous (*ihotsu*) rocks which are in the midst of the Divine River of Heaven (Aston translates: eighty instead of Divine), forming thereby Kami who were called Iha-saku-no-kami, next Ne-saku-no-kami’s child, Iha-tsutsumi-no-wo-no-kami, and next Iha-tsutsumi-no-me-no-kami’s child, Futsu-nushi-no-kami.’ (I, 23).

Or, in a section not included in the authorized Japanese version of the *Nihongi* (I, 24): The blood from the wounds spurted out and stained the rocks, trees and herbage. This is the reason that herbs, trees and pebbles (*isago*) naturally contain the element of fire (*hi*).’

In addition to the above Kami, born of Kagu-tsuchi’s blood, eight more, according to the *Kojiki* (I, viii), were born of his corpse:

(1) From his head (*kashira*) Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the true pass-mountains, or of the steepnesses).⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾

(2) From his chest (*mune*) Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of descent-mountains).

(3) From his belly (*hara*), Oku-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the innermost mountains).

(4) From his private parts (*hoto*) Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the dark mountains).

(5 and 6) From his left and right hands (or arms, *te*) respectively, Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the dense[ly]-wooded mountains) and Hayama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the outlying mountains). Chamberlain explains *hayama* as ‘denoting the lesser hills or first visibly rising ground forming the approach to an actual mountain range’,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Revon as ‘first slopes’.⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾

(7 and 8) From his left and right feet (or legs, *ashi*) respectively, Hara-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the moorland mountains) and To-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the outer—or gate, or with folds—mountains). Revon translates *hara* by high-meadows, and *to-yama* by mountain-gates.⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾

The *Nihongi* offers us a choice between three different versions:

One of them (I, 16) is brief: Each of the three pieces into which Kagu-tsuchi was cut ‘became changed into a Kami’.

One other (I, 23) explains that out of the three pieces, ‘one became Ika-zuchi-no-kami (Thunder Kami), one became Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (Great mountain Kami), and one became Taka-okami (High male Kami, or High dragon which governs the rain?).’⁽¹²²⁾

The other (I, 24, not included in the authorized version) says that the five pieces into which Kagu-tsuchi was cut ‘were each changed, and became the five Mountain-kami. The

first piece, viz. the head (*kashira*) became Ô-yama-tsu-mi (Great mountain-kami); the second, viz. the trunk (*mukuro*) became Naka-yama-tsu-mi (Middle mountain Kami); the third, viz. the hands (*te*) became Hayama-tsu-mi (Mountain-spur Kami); the fourth, viz. the loins (*koshi*) became Masa-katsu-yama-tsu-mi (True conquer—or excel—mountain Kami); and the fifth, viz. the feet (*ashi*) became Shiki-yama-tsu-mi (Mountain-foundation Kami)'.⁷

* * *

Izanagi, evidently fully aware that his 'younger sister', although she had 'died', was nevertheless still in a state which made it possible for him at least to talk with her, wished 'to meet and see her', and 'followed after her to the Land of Yomi (Yomo-tsu-kuni)', without needing to discard for that purpose the physical body with which he had been acting in the Land of the living (*Kojiki*, I, ix). According to two *Nihongi* passages not included in the authorized version, however, he only 'went to the temporary burial-place (*mogari-no-tokoro*)' (I, 24), or just 'followed after her', and arrived 'at the place where she was' (I, 25).

'When from the raised door (*agedo*) of the palace she (Izanami) came out to meet him', reports the *Kojiki* (I, ix), 'Izanagi spoke, saying: "Thine Augustness my lovely younger sister! the lands that I and thou made are not yet finished making; so come back!" Then Izanami answered, saying: "Lamentable indeed that thou camest not sooner! I have eaten of the furnace of Yomi (*yomo-tsu-he-gui*, i.e. eaten the food from the Land of the dead). Nevertheless, as I reverence the entry here of Thine Augustness my lovely elder brother, I wish to return (*kaheru*) [with thee to the Land of the living], Moreover, I will discuss (*agetsurafu*) it particularly with the Kami of Yomi (Yomo-tsu-kami). Look not at me!" Having thus spoken, she went back into the palace (*tono*).'⁸

One *Nihongi* version (I, 18) tells us that 'they conversed together, and Izanami said: "My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the furnace of Yomi. Nevertheless, I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look at me!"'

Another—unauthorized—version (I, 24) is just as short: She 'came forth to meet him, and they talked together. She spoke to Izanagi and said: "My august lord and husband, I beseech thee not to look at me." When she had done speaking, she suddenly became invisible.'

Throughout the above passages, and more particularly the one last quoted, there should be noted what seems to be an inconsistency. While the two Kami thus converse, Izanagi apparently *sees* Izanami. And yet:

This forceful reluctance of Izanami's to be seen by Izanagi was evidently motivated by the very condition in which her physical body now was. But 'Izanagi did not bow to her wish'. Since 'she tarried very long [in the palace of the Yomi Kami], he could not wait (*matsu*). So, having taken and broken off one of the end-teeth (literally: male pillars, *wo-bashira*) of the multitudinous and close-toothed comb stuck in the august left bunch (*mizura*) [of his hair], he lit one light (*hi*), and went in and looked.' (*Kojiki*, I, ix). One *Nihongi* version (I, 18) remarks: This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night.' We have already discussed the symbolism of the comb (cf. p. 150ff. above).

The spectacle which Izanagi saw was indeed an ugly one: ‘Maggots (*uji*) were swarming, and [she was] rotting (*tororogu*).’ (*Kojiki*, I, ix) ‘Putrefying matter had gushed up and maggots swarmed.’ (*Nihongi*, I, 18).

But even her putrefaction was not unproductive. ‘In her head (*kashira*)’, says the *Kojiki* (I, ix), ‘dwelt Ô-ikazuchi (Great Thunder), in her breast (*mune*) dwelt Ho-no-ikazuchi (Fire Thunder), in her belly (*hara*) dwelt Kuro-ikazuchi (Black Thunder), in her private parts (*hoto*) dwelt Saku-ikazuchi (Cleaving Thunder), in her left hand (*te*) dwelt Waki-ikazuchi (Young Thunder), in her right hand dwelt Tsuchi-ikazuchi (Earth Thunder), in her left foot (*ashi*) dwelt Naru-ikazuchi (Rumbling Thunder), in her right foot dwelt Fushi-ikazuchi (Couchant Thunder).’

In a section of the *Nihongi* not included in the authorized version (I, 25), the list of the eight Thunders is slightly different: ‘Of the so-called Eight Thunders, that which was on her head (*kashira*) was called Ô-ikazuchi (Great Thunder), that which was on her breast (*mune*) was called Ho-no-ikazuchi (Fire Thunder), that which was on her belly (*hara*) was called Tsuchi-ikazuchi (Earth Thunder), that which was on her back (*sobira*) was called Waki-ikazuchi (Young Thunder), that which was on her buttocks (*shiri*) was called Kuro-ikazuchi (Black Thunder), that which was on her hands (*te*) was called Yama-ikazuchi (Mountain Thunder), that which was on her feet (*ashi*) was called Nu-ikazuchi (Moor Thunder), that which was on her private parts (*hoto*) was called Saku-ikazuchi (Cleaving Thunder).’

We shall consider later the worship offered to the Thunder-kami (cf. p. 488ff. below), who, it should be noted, are not given the title of *kami* or *mikoto*.

‘Hereupon Izanagi, overawed at the sight, fled back’ (*Kojiki*, I, ix). ‘He was greatly shocked’, reports the *Nihongi* (I, 18), ‘and said: “Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous (*shikome*) and polluted (*kitanaki*) land!”’—a phrase which we also find in the *Kojiki* (I, x)—‘So he speedily ran away back again’.

His escape, however, from the Land of Yomi, was by no means unhampered and a number of infernal beings came in hot pursuit. Here the accounts differ considerably.

According to the *Kojiki* (I, ix):

‘His younger sister Izanami said: “Thou hast put me to shame”, and at once sent Yomo-tsu-shiko-me (The Ugly Females of Yomi) to pursue him. So Izanagi took his black august head-dress (or wreath, *kazura*), and cast it down, and it instantly turned into grapes (*ebi-kazura-no-mi*). While they picked them up and ate them, he fled on; but as they still pursued him, he took and broke the multitudinous and close-toothed comb in the right bunch (*mizura*) [of his hair] and cast it down, and it instantly turned into bamboo-sprouts (*taka-mura*). While they pulled them up and ate them, he fled on. Again later [his younger sister] sent the eight Thunder-kami with fifteen hundred warriors (*ikusa*) of Yomi to pursue him. So he, drawing the ten-grasp sword that was augustly girded on him, fled forward brandishing it in his back-hand (i.e. behind him); and as they still pursued, he took, on reaching the base of Yomo-tsu-hira-saka (The Even-Pass—or Flat-Hill—of Yomi), three peaches that were growing at its base, and waited and smote [his pursuers therewith], so that they all fled back.... Last of all his younger sister Izanami came out herself in pursuit.’

One *Nihongi* version (I, 18–19) reads:

‘Izanami was very angry, and said: “Why didst thou not observe that with which I charged thee? Now I am put to shame.” So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi, called by some Hisa-me (instead of Shiko-me) to pursue and stay him. Izanagi therefore drew his sword, and, flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress (*kazura*) and flung it down. It became changed into grapes, which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when they had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards Izanami came herself and pursued him.’

One other *Nihongi* version (I, 24), not included in the authorized edition, runs as follows:

The Thunders all arose and pursued him. Now by the road-side there grew a large peach-tree, at the foot of which Izanagi concealed himself. He accordingly took its fruit and flung it to the Thunders, upon which the Thunders all ran away.... Then Izanagi flung down his staff (*tsuë*), saying: ‘The Thunders may not come beyond this.’ It (the staff) was called Funado (cross-roads)-no-kami, and was originally called Kunado-no-sahe-no-kami (Come-not-place-great-elder—or ancestor).’

The peaches which thus served as a powerful weapon became famous. The same *Nihongi* version notes that the episode ‘was the origin of the practice of keeping off evil spirits by means of peaches’. And the *Kojiki* (I, ix) elaborates on this: ‘Izanagi announced to the peaches: “Like as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living (literally: present, visible) people in the Central Land of Reed-plains (Ashi-hara-no-naka-tsu-kuni) when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!”—and he gave to the peaches the designation of Ô-kamu-dzu-mi-no-mikoto (Their Augustnesses the Great Divine Fruit).’ It can hardly be a mere coincidence that in China the peach should be the fruit of immortality and give strength against death.

Kunado, Izanagi’s staff, has become the object of considerable worship, as one of the Kami of the cross-roads (cf. p. 495ff. below).

When Izanagi eventually reached Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, he was caught by Izanami herself. Then, according to the *Kojiki* (I, ix), ‘he drew a thousand-draught rock (i.e. a rock that it would take a thousand men to lift) and [with it] blocked up Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, and placed the rock in the middle.’

According to one account mentioned in the *Nihongi* (I, 19), ‘Izanagi [when he reached Yomo-tsu-hira-saka], made water (*yumari-su*) against a large tree (*ki*), and that at once turned into a great river (*kawa*). While the Ugly Females of Yomi were [still] preparing to cross the river, Izanagi had already reached Yomo-tsu-hira-saka. So he took a thousand draught rock and... blocked up the path with it.’

The *Kojiki* (I, ix) gives Yomo-tsu-hira-saka a very definite geographical location: it ‘is now called the Ifuya-pass in the Land of Izumo’. Moribe, in his *Idzu-no-chi-waki*, conjectures that the name Ifuya may be derived from *yufu-yami*, evening darkness, an etymology which, according to Chamberlain,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ ‘has at least the merit of suiting the legend’. On the other hand, a passage incorporated by Aston in the *Nihongi*, but which is not found in the original text (*Shinten*), notes explicitly that Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, ‘according

to some, is not any place in particular, but means only the space of time when the breath fails on the approach of death' (I, 20), a suggestion which Motoōri rejects 'with supreme contempt'.⁽³²²⁾

The *Nihongi* also notes that 'the rock with which Yomo-tsu-hira-saka was blocked is called Yomi-do-ni-sayari-masu-ō-kami (Great Kami that blocked the gate of Yomi). Another name for it is Chi-gayeshi-no-ō-kami (Road-turn-back Kami).' (I, 20). To the latter name, the *Kojiki* (I, ix) adds that of Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-ō-kami (great Kami blocking the door of Yomi).

When Izanagi and Izanami were then face to face on Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, a fairly nasty exchange of words took place between them.

In the *Kojiki* (I, ix):

'Izanami said: 'My lovely elder brother, Thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land.' Then Izanagi replied: "My lovely young sister, Thine Augustness! If thou do this, I will in one day set up fifteen hundred parturition houses (*ubu-ya*, i.e. I will cause fifteen hundred women to bear children). In this manner each day one thousand people would surely die, and each day fifteen hundred people would surely be born." So Izanami is called Yomo-tsu-ō-kami (Great Kami of Yomi). Again it is said that owing to her having pursued and reached [Izanagi], she is called Chi-shiki-no-ō-kami (Road-reaching Great Kami).'

In one *Nihongi* version (I, 19–20), Izanagi

'stood face to face with Izanami, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. Upon this, Izanami said: "My dear lord and husband, if thou sayest so, I will strangle to death the people of the country which thou dost govern, a thousand in one day." Then Izanagi replied, saying: "My beloved young sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said: "Come no further!" and threw down his staff (*tsuē*), which was called Funado-nokami. Moreover, he threw down his belt (*obi*), which was called Naga-chi-ha-no-kami (Long-road-rock Kami). Moreover, he threw down his upper garment (*so*), which was called Wadzura-hi-no-kami (Disease Kami). Moreover, he threw down his trousers (*hakama*), which were called Aki-guhi-no-kami (Open-bite Kami?). Moreover, he threw down his shoes (*kutsu*), which were called Chi-shiki-no-kami (Road-reaching Kami).'

Another *Nihongi* passage (I, 25), not included in the authorized version, gives a very different account:

'Arriving at the place where she (Izanami) was, [Izanagi] spoke to her and said: "I have come because I sorrowed for thee." She answered and said: "We are relations (*ukara*, of the same house). Do not thou look upon me!" Izanagi would not obey, but continued to look on her. Wherefore Izanagi was ashamed and angry, and said: "Thou hast seen my nakedness (*kokoro*). Now I will in turn see thine." Then Izanagi was ashamed, and prepared to depart. He did not, however, merely go away in silence, but said solemnly: "Our relationship (*ukara*) is severed." Again he said: "I will not submit to be beaten by a relation." And the Kami of the spittle (*tsubaki*) which he there-upon spat out was called Hayatama-no-wo (Quick-jewel Male). Next the Kami of his purification was called Yomo-tsu-koto-saka-no-

wo (Yomi-of-thing-divide Male); two Kami in all. And when he came to contend with his sister at Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, Izanagi said: “It was weak of me at first to sorrow and mourn on account of a relation.” Then said the Road-wardens of Yomi: “We have a message for thee [from Izanami], as follows: “I and thou have produced countries. Why should we seek to produce more? I shall stay in this land, and will not depart along with thee.” At this time Kukuri-hime-no-kami (Meditation Princess Kami, or Fastening Princess)⁽³⁸³⁾ said something which Izanagi heard and approved, and she then vanished away (*arake-ru*).[?]

The above text evidently does not sound very authentic, but it is interesting inasmuch as it brings in a rather unique Kami, Kikuri-hime. She is probably the Kami of the Shirayama-hime-jinja, on Mount Hakusan,⁽³⁸³⁾ a temple which has given an impressive number of *bun-rei*. In many of the temples which have them, she shares the sanctuary (*honden*) with Izanagi and Izanami. She is also worshipped in the Suhara-jinja, along with other Kami. It has been held that Kukuri comes from *kiku-ri*, hearing (*kiku*) of truth (*ri*), and that in that context the word *kiku* is closely related to the other word *kiku*, chrysanthemum. That would give an esoteric explanation of the role which the sixteen-petal chrysanthemum plays as an emblem of the Imperial family, since the Emperor ‘acting as a mediator between Heaven and Earth is giving ear to what the august spirit of his ancestors dimly whisper’.⁽³⁸³⁾

Hayatama-no-wo and Yomo-tsu-koto-saka-no-wo are enshrined with Izanagi as the main Kami in numerous jinjas of the Kumano line, such as the Hinokuchi-machi Kumano-gû, the Isachisa-jinja, the Hata-jinja, the Nami-no-uë-gû.

The Norito to the Fire-kami, which is—or used to be—recited by members of the Urabe clan, at a festival performed in the sixth and the twelfth months in order to prevent fires in the Imperial Palace, gives us still a different account:

‘As their final child [Izanami] gave birth to Ho-musubi-no-kami, thereby burning her genitals, concealed herself within the rock and said: “For seven nights and seven days do not look upon me, my beloved husband.” Before the expiration of those seven days, he thought her concealment strange and looked upon her: He found that she was burnt in her genitals from giving birth to fire. At that time, she said: “Although I told my beloved husband not to look upon me, he has rashly looked upon me. My beloved husband shall rule the Upper Lands, and I will rule the Lower Lands.” Thus saying, she concealed herself in the rock. Arriving at the pass of Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, she remembered: “I have born a child of evil disposition in the Upper Lands to be ruled by my beloved husband.” Thus saying, she returned and gave birth to further children of four kinds: the Water-deity, the gourd (dipper), the river greens, and the earth deity Hani-yama-hime, and instructed and advised: “If this child of evil disposition become wildly disposed, let the Water-kami take the gourd, and Hani-yama-hime the river-greens, and pacify him!”⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾

The above text explains the view taken by some Japanologists and according to which the four last-mentioned Kami were intended for the express purpose of ‘pacifying’ the Fire-kami.

* * *

Having come out of that ‘hideous (*shikomeki*) and polluted (*kitanaki*) land’ (*Kojiki*, I, x), and being ‘seized with regret’ (*Nihongi*, I, 20), feeling that he ‘had brought on himself

ill-luck’, Izanagi decided ‘to wash away the defilement’ (*Nihongi*, 1,26), ‘to cleanse his body from its pollutions’ (*Nihongi*, I, 20) or ‘impurities (*kegare*)’ (*Nihongi*, I, 21), and to ‘perform the purification of his august person’ (*Kojiki*, I, x).

We have already seen (cf. p. 76f. above) that it is in Japan a deeply ingrained tradition to consider any contact with death or the dead as bringing very serious ritual impurity, which requires elaborate purification.

For that purpose, Izanagi ‘went out to the plain of Ahagi—or to a plain covered with *ahagi* (bushclovers, *aucuba japonica*) at Wodo (Little-Gate, or at a small river-mouth) near Tachibana in Himuka in [the island] of Tsukushi.’ (*Kojiki*, I, x). One *Nihongi* version (I, 21) is slightly different and refers to ‘the plain of Ahagi at Tachibana in Wodo in Hiuga or Tsukushi’, while the other version (I, 26) does not make him go straight there: ‘He visited the Aha gate (now the Naruto passage, a strait famous for its rapid tides) and the Haya-suhi-nado (Quick-suck-name) gate (in the Bungo Channel). But the tide in those two gates was exceeding strong. So he returned and took his way towards Wodo in Tachibana.’

The process of purification to which Izanagi submitted resulted in the birth of a number of new Kami, which are of considerable importance in present-day worship, the Kami of purification. According to the *Kojiki* (I, x), and if we exclude the last triad which falls into a totally different category, there are twenty-three Kami connected with purification.

The first twelve were born from the various parts of his attire, of which he divests himself before entering the water; and in the list we find most of those which are mentioned in the *Nihongi* version where he is made to throw down the same garments when he leaves Izanami. They are:

(1) From his staff (*tsuë*) Tsuki-tatsu-funa (or kuna)-do-no-kami (Kami thrust-erect-come-not-place).

(2) From his belt (*obi*) Michi-no-naga-chi-ha-no-kami (Kami long-roadspace).

(3) From his skirt (*mo*) Toki-okashi-no-kami (Kami loosen-put).

(4) From his upper garment (*keshi*) Wadzurahi-no-ushi-no-kami (Kami master of trouble).

(5) From his trousers (*hakamd*) Chimata-nokami (Road-fork Kami).

(6) From his hat (*kagafuri*) Aki-guhi-no-ushi-no-kami (Kami master of the open mouth). He is believed to be the same as the *Kojiki* Aki-guhi-no-kami.⁽¹²²⁾

(7 to 9) From the bracelet (*tamahi*) on his left arm Oki-zakaru-no-kami (Kami offering-distant), Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami (Kami wash-prince of the offering) and Oki-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami (Kami intermediate direction of the offering).

(10 to 12) From the bracelet on his right arm He-zakaru-no-kami (Kami shore-distant), He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami (Kami wash-prince of the shore) and He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami (Kami intermediate direction of the shore).

Chimata-no-kami is associated with Funado in a few regular jinja. The names of the others are seldom found, but all of them are chanted in incantations by some esoterist sects.

The next Kami were ‘born from the bathing of Izanagi. The *Kojiki* text reads as follows: Thereupon, saying: ‘The water in the upper reaches is [too] rapid; the water in the lower reaches is [too] sluggish’, he went down and plunged in the middle reach; and as he washed, there was first born:

(13 and 14) Ya-so-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami (Wondrous Kami of Eighty Evils or Countless Kami of Evil)⁽³²⁷⁾—who may be identical with Se-ori-tsu-hime—and Ô-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami (Wondrous Kami of Great Evils). These two Kami are the Kami who were born from the filth (*kegare*) [he contracted] when he went to that polluted (*kitanaki*) hideous (*shiki*) land.⁷ They belong to the land of Yomi. *Maga* means confusion, complication, distortion⁽³²⁷⁾ (cf. p. 78 above). They are worshipped in the Magatsuhi-no-yashiro, a *massha* of the Chichibu-jinja.

(15 to 17) The names of the Kami that were born next to rectify those evils were: Kamunaho-bi-no-kami (Divine rectifying wondrous Kami), next Ô-nahobi-no-kami (Great rectifying wondrous Kami), next Idzu-no-me-no-kami (Female Kami Idzu, whom, as we shall see, Motoôri identifies with Haya-aki-tsu-hiko and Haya-aki-tsu-hime) (cf. p. 480 below). The first two are worshipped in the Kego-jinja, where they are curiously enough associated with Ya-so-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami! Ô-naho-bi-no-kami is worshipped alone in the Ô-naho-bi-jinja, a *massha* on the Dewa-san-dzan.

(18 and 19) The names of the Kami that were born as he bathed at the bottom of the water were: Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the ocean-bottom), and next Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Elder Male of the Bottom).

(20 and 21) The names of the Kami that were born as he bathed in the middle of the water were: Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the ocean-middle) and next Naka-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Elder Male of the Middle).

(22 and 23) The names of the Kami that were born as he bathed in the top of the surface were: Wa-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami (Kami possessor of the ocean-surface), and next Wa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Elder Male of the surface).

As regards this section, the version in the first *Nihongi* Text (I, 21) is practically identical, both for the opening sentence and for the list of Kami, the only substantial difference being that Ô-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami and Idzu-no-me-no-kami are both omitted.

The second *Nihongi* version (I, 26) is rather different:

‘Entering the water, he (Izanagi) blew forth (*fuki-nasu*) and produced Iha-tsuchi-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Elder of Rocks); coming out of the water, he blew forth and produced Ô-naho-bi-no-kami. Entering a second time, he blew forth and produced Soko-tsuchi-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Elder of the Bottom); coming out, he blew forth and produced Ô-aya-tsu-bi-no-kami (Kami person of great pattern). Entering again, he blew forth and produced Aka-tsuchi-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Red Elder), and coming out he blew forth and produced the various Kami of the Ocean-plain (Una-bara).’

We have therefore in all eight Kami of purification, who fall into three groups:

(1) Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto and Wa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, collectively known as the Sumiyoshi-no-kami, or Sumiyoshi-no-ô-kami, or according to an earlier name the Suminoë-no-kami.

(2) Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami and Wa-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami.

(3) and Kamunaho-bi-no-kami, Ô-naho-bi-no-kami, to whom, curiously enough, is often added one of the ‘evil’ Kami whose action they are intended to offset but ‘who is their pre-requisite’⁽¹²²⁾, without whom they would not exist, Ya-so-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami.

The result of the last-mentioned addition is that it is generally held that there are nine Kami of purification,⁽²¹⁵⁾ the Misogi-harai-no-kami, instead of eight. But there are sometimes seven, as in the Saïden of the Nibukawakami-jinja, or six, as in a shrine near a cascade on Mount Mitake.

Sometimes, the Misogi-harai-no-kami (or Harai-no-kami) are worshipped more or less anonymously and without any specified—or known—number. Thus, nobody seems to know who or how many they are in the Kasuga-taïsha, where they are enshrined in two mountain *massha*, the Ko-zen-jinja (with the Kasuga-no-kami themselves, the Wakamiya-no-kami and Mizu-ya-no-kami) and the Kami-no-mizu-ya-jinja (with the same, to whom is added Saruda-hiko).

It was stressed by an authoritative *gûji*⁽²¹⁵⁾ that the intervention of the Misogi-harai-no-kami was a prerequisite for the appearance of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. Specialists are not unanimous as to the place where they first manifested themselves. Formerly, on the basis of a map, it was believed that it was at the mouth of the Nakagawa; now, some people think that it was on a diminutive islet which is in a pond in front of the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja. On that islet is a small shrine, formerly called Ama-tsu-jinja, where the Kami is designated by the name of Izanagi-no-ô-kami.

The Misogi-harai-no-kami are often worshipped collectively in small subsidiary shrines at the entrance of great temples. When that is the case, visitors are expected to salute them and obtain their blessing and protection before they proceed further.

The Sumiyoshi-no-kami seem to have been the object of very special worship by Jingû-kôgô, whom they escorted to Korea (cf. p. 430f. below), and that probably explains why in addition to their purificatory functions, they are considered as great protectors of seafarers, fishermen and travellers generally. They are also occasionally taken to be the patron deities of poets.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Their main temple is the Ôsaka Sumiyoshi-taïsha, where they are associated with Jingû-kôgô. In its precincts we also find two subsidiary shrines to them, the Shiga-no-yashiro (a *sessha*) and the Mikoshi-ko (where Jingû-kôgô, under her name of Oki-naga-tarashi-hime-no-mikoto, was added to them later). In the Sumiyoshi-taïsha, it is stressed that the three Kami are ‘brothers’. Its main matsuri, on July 31st, is one of the most important and the most colourful of all Japan.

Among the many Sumiyoshi-jinja, special mention should be made of:

(1) The Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja, the most ancient temple in Kyûshû, where Jingû-kôgô came to worship them, and where both she and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami were added later as *aïdono-no-kami*, or *haishi*, as they are generally termed in the region. It is believed that in this temple Jingû-kôgô had the revelation that she was going to bear a son, and was also informed of the month in which he would be born.⁽²¹⁵⁾ The Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja does not give *bun-rei* to other temples, but gives them to ships when launched, to shipping companies and also to private families. It has on the bank of the Nakagawa a small space reserved for *misogi-harai*, where a special ceremony, the Nago-shi-saï, is celebrated on June 30th according to the lunar calendar.

(2) The Shimonoseki Sumiyoshi-jinja, which originally had as its only Kami the *aramitama* of the three Sumiyoshi-no-kami. According to the traditions of this temple, the Sumiyoshi-taïsha has only their *nigi-mitama*, a theory which the clergy and devotees of

the latter definitely repudiate, although some old texts clearly state that on her return from Korea, jingû-kôgô founded one temple to their *ara-mitama* and one to their *nigi-mitama*. Later, the three *ara-mitama* seem to have merged into one, or perhaps to have been concentrated in one *mitama-shiro*, and several other Kami were added: Ôjin-tennô, Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, Jingû-kôgô and Take-mi-nakata. It is pointed out that the temple is facing Korea, ‘where attacks might come from’.⁽⁸⁴⁾

In addition to the temples which bear the name Sumiyoshi-jinja, the three Kami are also enshrined in the Fujisaki-hachiman-gû (between Ôjin-tennô and Jingû-kôgô), the Noshiro-shi Hachiman-jinja (after Hachiman-ô-kami), the Karatsu-jinja, etc.

Many large temples have subsidiary shrines dedicated to them: the Sumiyoshi-jinja in the Kasuga-taisha, the Ômiya Hikawa-jinja, the Izanagi-jingû, etc.; the Sumiyoshi-sha in the Shiogama-jinja; the Hatsu-miya-jinja in the Kasuga-taisha (with fourteen other Kami); the Iwa-moto-no-yashiro in the Kamo-mi-o-ya-jinja, the Kasuga-taisha, etc. In a *sessha* of the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû, they are accompanied by their ‘messenger’, Isora-no-mikoto.

Wa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto is worshipped alone, without the other two, in the Saïden of the Nibukawakami-jinja.

Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami and Wa-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami are not so well-known or so widely worshipped as the Sumiyoshi-no-kami. The Shika-umi-jinja, which was erected and served by the Chiefs of Azumi, who claim them as their ancestral Kami, is their chief temple. The temple was already in existence in A.D. 82; it is the original temple of the three Kami; it gave a large number of *bun-rei*. Utsushi-hi-gana-saku, a child of those three Kami and the direct ancestor of the chiefs of Azumi is worshipped in the Imamiya-sha, a subsidiary shrine. The three Kami are also worshipped in the Wata-tsu-mi-jinja and in many subsidiary shrines, such as the Wata-tsu-mi-jinja in the Kumano Hongû-taisha.

In the Wakamiya-jinja, Wa-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami is worshipped with Hiko-ho-ho-demi; the two are collectively known under the name of Tango-ichi-no-miya-no-kami.

The main temple to the other three, Kami-naho-bi-no-kami, Ô-naho-bi-no-kami and Ya-so-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami, is the Kego-jinja, which, since 1640, has been situated less than one and a half miles from the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja; it is intended ‘to protect the castle of Fukuoka’.⁽²¹⁵⁾

As a ‘purification’ Kami, Ya-so-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami is often identified with Se-ori-tsu-hime-no-kami, who is the Kami of the Ike-no-miya-jinja, the Inoie-no-yashiro (a *massha* of the Kamo-mi-o-ya-jinja), the Haraë-do-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha), etc.

Apart from the nine whom we have already described, there are other individual ‘purification’ Kami:

One instance is Haya-aki-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, mentioned in the Ô-harai-norito, who is worshipped in the Kawaguchi-jinja, also called Shirakamijinja. It has been stated⁽⁹⁴⁾ that her *otsukai*, or perhaps her *mitama-shiro*, is a tortoise, which has been worshipped as a Kami of fishing.

One other, I-buki (breath, or outgoing breath)-do-nushi-no-kami, is believed in the Iso-no-kami-jingû to enter a devotee who practices the appropriate *tama-furi*, and is credited with healing powers.⁽⁵⁾

The two above-mentioned Kami, with Se-oritsu-hime and Haya-sasurahime-no-kami, are the four Haraï-no-kami enshrined in the Haraï-do-no-yashiro, a *massha* of the Kotohira-gû, and in the Haraï-no-yashiro, a *massha* of the Izumo-ô-yashiro.

Three more Kami were born to Izanagi while he was washing his body: The name of the Kami that was born as he thereupon washed his left august eye (*me*) was Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami (Heaven-shining Great August Kami). The name of the Kami that was next born as he washed his right august eye was Tsuki-yomi-no-kami (Kami Moon Night-possessor). The name of the Kami that was born as he washed his august nose (*hana*) was Take-haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto (His brave swift impetuous male Augustness).⁷ (*Kojiki*, I, x).

It was pointed out by various authors that there is a close similarity between the birth of the first two of those Kami and the Chinese myth of P'an Ku.⁽⁴³⁸⁾ But the connection between the Sun and Moon on the one hand and the two eyes on the other is recognised by most occult traditions throughout the world.

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo (as we shall henceforth call Take-haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto), the two most important Kami in the Shintô Pantheon, will be discussed at length in the next chapter. What little worship is offered to Tsuki-yomi will be described later (cf. pp. 466f.).

The end of Izanagi's earthly career is variously reported. After he had tried to arbitrate in the long quarrel between two of his last three children, he apparently retired. The *Kojiki* (I, xii), only says that he 'dwells at Taga in Afumi' near Lake Biwa, i.e. probably in the Taga-taïsha. According to the *Nihongi* (I, 28-29), 'Izanagi, his divine task having been accomplished, and his spirit-career (*kamu-agari*) about to suffer a change, built himself an abode of gloom (*kakuri-no-miya*) in the island of Ahaji, where he dwelt for ever in silence and concealment. Another account says: Izanagi, his task having been accomplished, and his power great, ascended to Heaven and made report of his mission. There he dwelt in the young palace (*waka-miya*) of the Sun.'

The Izanagi-jinja, in the island of Ahaji (or Awaji) is traditionally believed to have been erected over Izanagi's 'tomb'. And even very conservative Shintôists admit that 'there is certainly a sacred trace under the sanctuary (*honden*)'.⁽¹²²⁾

A great number of temples, large and small, have been erected to the two Creator-kami. In most cases they are worshipped jointly, for instance in the Taga-taïsha (where they are considered as great healers and Izanagi, curiously enough, a guardian of female chastity)⁽³⁰⁸⁾, and perhaps in 230 other temples which have its *bun-rei*.⁽¹³²⁾

Izanagi, however, is without his divine 'younger sister' in many temples, such as the Hayatama-taïsha, the Namesa-jinja (where he is in the company of Ô-kuni-nushi and Suseri-hime), the Kumano-jinja (a *massha* of the Kashima-jingû), the Tago-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taïsha), the Ô-shiö-jinja (a *massha* of the Katori-jingû).

However, strange as it may seem, the cases where Izanami is worshipped without her divine consort are much more numerous. She is thus found in the Kumano Nachi-jinja, the Tokyo (Nagata-chô) Hië-jinja, the Atago-jinja of the Taga-taïsha (where she is in the company of Ho-no-hiko-musubi-no-kami), in the Izanami-jinja (a *massha* of the Dewa-san-dzan Yudonosan-jinja) and in two different *massha* of the Dewa-san-dzan Gassan-jinja.

She was added to Izanagi in the Ahaji-shima Izanagi-jingû.

CHAPTER XII

THE TWO JOINT RULERS OF THE UNIVERSE

WE now come to the two Kami who occupy the undisputed first place in the Shintô Pantheon, the Sun-Goddess and her brother. As we saw in the preceding chapter, the *Kojiki* records that they were born respectively from the left eye and the nose of Izanagi, while the Moon-Goddess, a much less important deity, was born from the right eye.

Appearing after Kami-musubi and Taka-mi-musubi, after Izanagi and Izanami, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo represent the third essential stage in that succession of Shintô cosmogonic myths, each of which consists essentially of two operations: one entity bringing forth two new entities, which then come together in order to produce a fourth entity (cf. p. 236 above).

Since the stage in creation represented by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo corresponds to the final differentiation into the infinite multiplicity of material objects, gross and subtle, it is natural that their myth should go into greater details than the previous episodes.

The determining part of it is, of course, their joint begetting of children. For that purpose, the polarity between them is brought out so forcefully that they are described as actual opponents, whose obstinate and ruthless rivalry gradually develops until it reaches a climax, where each one reduces to almost immaterial powder the hard material objects which symbolize the other's specific power (jewels for the one, and sword for the other). And directly out of that quasi-destruction are born the 'children' whose task it will be to carry the process of edification of the world some steps further.

This final act of co-operation between the two antagonistic forces can be achieved only after a number of successive preparatory steps have been taken. They come in a perfectly logical order.

The material physical world or trend (earth) represented by Susano-wo naturally first of all grieves at the overwhelming difficulties it will have to surmount. And its first temptation is self-destruction: it is attracted by the world of death—which at the same time corresponds to the deepest material physicality—and Susano-wo wants to go to the infernal regions to obtain contact with its material matrix Izanami.

That wish has of course to be refused, since its fulfilment would entail an end to creation—a possibility which Shintô does not contemplate.

The swing of the pendulum—which is one of the basic laws of nature—then makes Susano-wo realise that if he is to survive he must join the divine solar (heavenly) forces and trends represented by his sister Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami.

Permission having been obtained, confrontation takes place between the two Kami, who incarnate the two trends whose joint action is necessary for the material-spiritual (both earthly and heavenly) world to be and to become.

Whereas the earthly trend (Susano-wo), fully aware of the absolute need of co-operation (union) with the heavenly trend (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), comes begging, imploring her and, when disdainfully rejected, turns aggressive, she seeks to retain her untarnished purity and obstinately declines anything which might sully it.

The heavenly power, however, finally yields to the entreaties of her earthly counterpart, and the children are born in the manner we have indicated. And it is of course difficult to tell whose child each of them is, whether of that Kami who supplied the 'raw material' (jewel or sword) or of the other Kami who crunched—and breathed—it into life and action.

As was to be expected, this union of earth with heaven definitely defiles the heavenly immaculateness. The climax of the drama happens when, in the company of her virgin girl-attendants, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami locks herself up in her room, where she weaves garments for the heavenly Kami, and Susano-wo has to break into it like a burglar. He does not come to steal, however, but to inject into that closed and barricaded heavenly abode a material force of life (of which the horse is the symbol) which has been stripped of all its external appearances (i.e. flayed) in order to appear in all its naked reality.

The effect of this irruption is that the subsidiary heavenly forces (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's attendants) lose their exclusively heavenly nature: they themselves get rid of their own virginity by sticking into their private parts the very implements which they had been using for weaving the heavenly garments.

The main original heavenly force, i.e. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, offers a more stubborn resistance. She hides herself in the hardest, grossest, most inert matter, rock, in order to show that in matter as such, spirit cannot shine.

Other and higher aspects of matter have then to be produced in order to entice the Sun-Goddess out of her retirement: vegetable life (a tree), animal life (birds), capacity for reproduction (Ame-no-uzume exhibiting her breasts and her private parts), human capacity for producing material wealth and beauty (jewels), and, above all, the perfect mirror, which we have already described (cf. p. 152f. above).

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami finally yields and resumes her duties, but Susano-wo is ruthlessly expelled from heaven—which he has soiled—and made to take up residence in the realm which had originally been assigned to him.

* * *

Let us now consider the myth in detail.

According to the *Kojiki* (I, xi), after the three children (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, Susano-wo and Tsuki-yomi) had been born,

‘Izanagi greatly rejoiced, saying: “I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting got three illustrious children,” [with which words], at once jingly taking off and shaking the string of jewels forming his august necklace, he bestowed it on Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, saying: “Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain of High Heaven.” With this charge he bestowed it on her. Now the name of this august necklace was Mi-kura-tana-nokami (Kami of the august store-house shelf). Next he said to Tsuki-yomi: “Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the Night (Yoru-no-wosu-kuni).” Thus he charged him. Next he said to Susano-wo: “Do Thine Augustness rule the Ocean-plain (Una-bara).”’

One of the three children, however, was not satisfied.

‘While [the other two] each [assumed his or her] role with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, Susano-wo did not rule the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-span beard hung before his heart. The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains, and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas. For this reason the sound of bad Kami was like unto “the flies in the fifth moon” (*sa-bahe*), as they all swarmed, and in all things every portent of woe arose. So Izanagi said to Susano-wo: “How is it that instead of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou doest wail and weep?” He replied, saying: ‘Thy servant wails because he wishes to depart to his deceased mother’s land, the Nether-distant Land (Ne-no-katasu-kuni).’ Then Izanagi was very angry and said: “If that be so, thou shalt not dwell in this land (i.e. the realm of Ocean which I granted thee as thy domain)”, and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xii).

It should be noted that the main *Nihongi* version (1, 11–12) is quite different: After they had ‘produced the Great Eight Island Country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs and trees’, Izanagi and Izanami:

‘...consulted together saying:... “Why should we not [now] produce someone who shall be lord of the universe (*ame-no-shita* or *ten-ka*, that which is under Heaven)?”

They then produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Ô-hiru-me-no-muchi (Female possessor of great noon or grand-lighting female-divine person),⁽¹²²⁾ called in one writing Amaterasu-no-ô-kami (Great Kami of Heavenly Illumination). In one writing she is called Amaterasu-ô-hiru-me-no-mikoto (Her female Augustness great noon Heavenly Illumination). The resplendent light of this child shone throughout all the six quarters (North, South, East, West, Zenith and Nadir). Therefore the two Kami rejoiced, saying: “We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven.” At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated, and therefore they sent her up to Heaven by the Pillar or Bridge of Heaven (*Ame-no-hashira*).

They next produced the Moon-God, called in one writing Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto, or Tsuki-yumi-no-mikoto. His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendour. This Kami was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

‘Next they produced Hiru-ko... (cf. p. 259f. above).

Their next child was Susano-wo-no-mikoto, called in one writing Kami-susano-wo-no-mikoto or Haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto. This Kami had a fierce temper and was given to cruel deeds. Moreover, he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Kami, his parents, addressed Susano-wo, saying: “Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart to the Nether-Land (Ne-no-kuni).” So they at length expelled him.’

Other *Nihongi* versions also vary: One of them (1, 12–13) reads:

‘Izanagi said: “I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.” He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror, whereupon a Kami was produced from it called [Amaterasu-]ô-hiru-me-no-mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there came from it a Kami who was named Tsuki-yumi-no-mikoto. Again, while turning his head and looking askance, a Kami was produced who was named Susano-wo-no-mikoto. Now Ô-hiru-me-no-mikoto and Tsuki-yumi-no-mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine upon Heaven and Earth. But it was Susano-wo’s nature to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether-Land.’

Another version (I, 13) reads as follows:

‘After the sun and the moon, the next child which was born was Hiru-ko... (cf. p. 259f. above). They next procreated Susano-wo-no-mikoto. This Kami was of a wicked nature, and was always fond of wailing and wrath. Many of the people of the land died, and the green mountains withered. Therefore his parents addressed him, saying: “Supposing that thou wert to rule this country, much destruction of life would surely ensue. Thou must govern the far-distant Nether-Land.”’

But the *Nihongi* version which commands the greatest respect and is most often quoted is the following (1, 21–22):

‘A Kami was produced by his (Izanagi) washing his left eye, who was called Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. Then he washed his right eye, producing thereby a Kami who was called Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto. Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a Kami who was called Susano-wo-no-mikoto. In all there were three Kami. Then Izanagi charged his three children, saying: ‘Do thou, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, rule the Plain of High Heaven; do thou, Tsuki-yomi, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the Ocean-plain; do thou, Susano-wo, rule the [Earthly] world.’ At this time Susano-wo was already of full age. He had, moreover, grown a beard eight spans long. Nevertheless he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing and fuming with rage. Therefore Izanagi inquired of him, saying: “Why dost thou continually weep in this way?” He answered and said: “I wish to follow my mother to the Nether-Land, and it is simply for this reason that I weep.” Then Izanagi was filled with detestation of him, and said: “Go, even as thy heart bids thee.” So he forthwith drove him away.’

One variant of the *Nihongi* (1, 28) is rather puzzling in its abruptness:

‘Susano-wo made petition, saying to Izanagi who had instructed him to govern the Ocean-plain: “I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether-Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven (Takama-no-hara) and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever.” Permission was granted him, and he therefore ascended to Heaven.’

And, according to still another version (1, 26), ‘Izanagi charged his three children, saying: “Do thou, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, rule over the Plain of High Heaven; do thou,

Tsuki-yomi, be associated with her in the charge of Heavenly matters; do thou, Susano-wo, govern the Ocean-plain.”

The *Nihongi*, however, contains one more version (1, 47–48), aberrant in many important respects, in which the order of events seems to have been entirely confused: It is *after* the retirement of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami into the Rock-dwelling and her emergence from it, and even after Susano-wo had been severely punished that the previous episodes are reported to take place: ‘After this, all the Kami upbraided Susano-wo, saying: ‘Thy conduct has been in the highest degree improper. Thou must therefore not dwell in Heaven (Ame). Nor must thou dwell in the Central Land of Reed-plains (Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni). Thou must speedily go to the Lowest Nether-Land (Sokotsu-ne-no-kuni).’ So together they drove him away downwards.... After this, Susano-wo said: “All the Kami have banished (*yarafu*) me, and I am now about to depart for ever. Why should I not see my elder sister face to face (*ai-mami-eru*)? and why take it on me of my own accord to depart without more ado?” So he again ascended to Heaven (Ame).’ And only afterwards comes the interview between Susano-wo and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and the begetting of children. However illogical, and therefore in all probability faulty, this presentation of the story, this particular account nevertheless contains a number of interesting details which complement the other versions; we shall mention them in the appropriate places in the following pages. For the sake of clarity, we shall refer to this text as the ‘aberrant’ version.

We find in it one short episode which is not reported elsewhere and which has given rise to traditions still cherished in some temples and observed by quite a number of country-people. When Susano-wo was thus driven ‘away downwards’ by all the Kami,

‘...this was at the time of continuous rains. Susano-wo bound together green grass, and made of it a broad hat and raincoat, and in this garb asked a lodging (*yadori*) of the assembled Kami. They said: ‘Thy behaviour has been filthy and wicked (*kegarahashi*), and therefore thou hast been banished. How canst thou ask of us a lodging?’ In the end they unanimously repulsed him. Therefore, although the wind and rain were very violent, he was unable to find a resting-place (*todomari yasumu*) and went downwards, suffering bitterly. Ever since that time, everybody has avoided entering the house of another wearing a broad hat and a grass raincoat, or bearing a bundle of grass on the back. For a breach of these rules an expiatory fine (*harahe*) is certainly imposed. This is an institution which has come down to us from remote antiquity.’

What is evidently only a variant of this episode is found in the Bingo-fudoki, and is widely believed by many Shintôists as authentic. According to it, Susano-wo applied successively for lodging to two brothers in Tsushima, Kotan-Shôrai and Somin-Shôrai. The former refused, while the latter let Susano-wo spend the night under his roof and fed him. Later Susano-wo came again and destroyed all mankind except Somin, his wife and his daughter.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ According to traditions preserved in the Tsushima-jinja, he also taught his host various agricultural techniques.

* * *

At this juncture takes place the all-important and dramatic meeting between Susano-wo and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. Says the *Kojiki* (I, xiii): ‘So thereupon Susano-wo said: “If that be so (i.e. since Izanagi has expelled me), I will take leave of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and depart.” He forthwith went up to Heaven (Ame), whereupon all the mountains and rivers

shook (*toyo-mu*), and every land and country quaked.’ Says the *Nihongi* (I, 29): ‘Now at first when Susano-wo went up to Heaven, by reason of the fierceness of his divine nature, there was a commotion in the sea, and the hills and mountains groaned aloud.’

At the news of her brother’s arrival, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami—who in the aberrant version is given warning by Ame-no-uzume (1, 48)—was deeply perturbed and stood warily on the defensive.

According to the *Kojiki* (I, xiii):

‘Alarmed at the noise, [Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami] said: ‘The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother (a courtesy title which she gave to Susano-wo, who was really her younger brother) is certainly not [the manifestation of] a good heart. It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me.’” And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches (*mizura*)’, and both into the left and into the right august bunches, as likewise into her august head-dress (*kazura*), and likewise on to her left and her right august arms (or hands), she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long], of five hundred jewels, and slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad (or wristpad⁽⁶⁹²⁾ *taka-tomo*), and brandished and stuck her bow upright so that the top (*yu-hara*) shook, and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs, kicking away the earth like bubble-snow (*awa-yuki*), and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and, waiting, asked: “Wherefore ascendedst thou hither?””

The three *Nihongi* versions (I, 29–30, 33 and 35) do not differ substantially, except that among the weapons with which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami equipped herself/ they also mention one, or even three swords.

The *Kojiki* continues:

‘Susano-wo replied, saying: “I have no evil intent. It is only that when Izanagi spoke, deigning to inquire the cause of my wailing and weeping, I said: ‘I wail because I wish to go to my deceased mother’s land’—whereupon he said: Thou shalt not dwell in this land’, and deigned to expel me with a divine expulsion (*yarahi*). It is therefore solely with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing that I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions.””

The main *Nihongi* version (1, 30–31) brings in a somewhat more emotional touch:

‘Susano-wo answered and said: “From the beginning my heart has not been black. But as in obedience to the stern behest of our parents I am about to proceed to the Nether-Land, how could I bear to depart without having seen thee face to face, my elder sister? It is for this reason that I have traversed on foot the clouds and mists (*kiri*) and have come hither from afar. I am surprised that my elder sister should, on the contrary, put on so stern a countenance.””

In one alternative version (1, 33), Susano-wo even specifies that he has come ‘only for a brief while (*shima-raku*)’.

One other alternative version of the *Nihongi* (1, 34) adds here another incident which is ignored by the *Kojiki*:

‘When Susano-wo was about to ascend to Heaven, there was a Kami whose name was Ha-akaru-tama (Feather-bright gem). This Kami came to meet him and presented to him beautiful curved jewels (*magatama*) of Yasaka gems.’ And this seems to Susano-wo to supply one further excuse for his uninvited visit: ‘Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gems. I dare not have any other purpose.’ The recurrence of the word *tama*, which, as we have seen, means not only jewel, but also soul, may indicate that Susano-wo’s soul had to be in some way purified or refined before he could attempt his expedition to Heaven. *Yasaka* may mean “ever more prosperous”, or “ever serene”, or “many lengths”.⁽¹²²⁾ It is the name of the most important temple in which Susano-wo is worshipped.

The *Kogoshûi* establishes a still more direct connection between the jewels thus received by Susano-wo and the birth of children which followed:

‘When Susano-wo was ascending to Heaven in order to bid farewell to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, Kushi (mysterious, penetrating) -akaru (brilliant)⁽¹²²⁾ -tama-no-mikoto met him on the way and offered him some sacred large curved jewels. Susano-wo accepted the gift, and presented the jewels to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, and thus established a covenant between those two Kami, and by virtue of those jewels, the child Akatsu-no-mikoto (i.e. Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto), one of the Heavenly Ancestors, was born. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami brought up this child, Akatsu-no-mikoto, with maternal affection and especial care, frequently carrying it under her protective arm; so the beloved child was called Wakigo, (child [*ko*] carried on the side [*waki*]).’

If we believe any of the other texts, however, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was not nearly convinced by her brother’s declaration of good intentions, and she decided to put him to the test. ‘If that be so’, she said, ‘whereby shall I know the sincerity of thy intentions?’ (*Kojiki*, I, xiii).

Susano-wo’s retort shows that he really expected from this encounter far more than he had admitted. He wanted it to be fruitful in the fullest sense of the word. He replied, saying: ‘Let us, I pray thee, make an oath (*ukefu*) together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely beget (*umu*) children. If the children which I produce are females then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure.’ (*Nihongi*, I, 31).

According to two *Nihongi* versions (I, 33 and 35–36), it was Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who first spoke of their begetting children, and suggested that the sex of those born by Susano-wo should prove his intentions; the fuller of the two states: ‘Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami... established a covenant with him (Susano-wo), saying: “If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I shall consider them my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven (Ama-no-hara)”’.

The aberrant *Nihongi* version (I, 48–49) reads as follows:

Thereupon Susano-wo swore (*ukefu*) to her and said: “If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce (*nasu*) by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must certainly be sent down to the Central Land

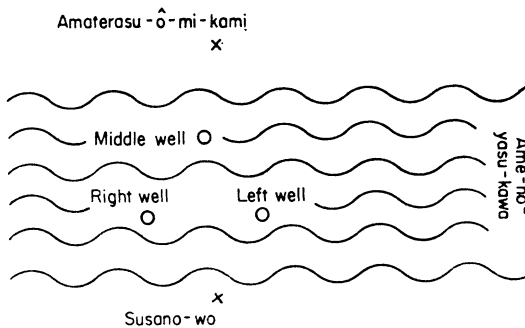
of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in that case they must be made to rule the Heavens (Ame). The same oath (*ukefu*) shall also hold good as to the children produced by my elder sister.” In this way, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami first of all chewed her ten-span sword....’ And Susano-wo repeated his assurances after the children had been born. Then Susano-wo spoke to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, saying: “The reason why I came up a second time was that, having been condemned by the assembled Kami to banishment to the Nether-Land (Ne-no-kuni ni oku), and being about to take my departure thither, I could never bear to become separated from my elder sister without having seen her face to face. Therefore it is truly with a pure heart, and not otherwise, that I come up again. Now that our interview is over, I must return hence forever to the Nether-Land, in obedience to the divine behest of the assembled Kami. I pray that my elder sister may illuminate the Land of Heaven (Ama-tsu-kuni) and that it may spontaneously enjoy tranquility. Moreover, I deliver to my elder sister the children which, with a pure heart, I have produced (*nasu*).” Having done so, he returned downwards.’

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami agreed to the proposed test. They then took up position on either side of the Divine River of Heaven (Ame-no-yasu-kawa) (*Kojiki*, I, xiii; *Nihongi*, I, 35). One *Nihongi* version notes that the two Kami then ‘dug three true wells of Heaven’ (Ame-no-mana-wi).

The way in which the children were born is described in different ways by the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, but the divergences do not seem to affect the general meaning substantially.

According to the *Kojiki* (I, xiii) and the main version of the *Nihongi* (I, 31–32), Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami asked Susano-wo to hand to her the sword which was girded on him, and, having ‘broken it into three fragments, and—with the jewels making a jingling sound—having brandished and washed (*furi*) them in the True well of Heaven (Ame-no-mana-wi), and having crunchingly crunched them, she blew them away (*fuki-utsu-ru*).’

Susano-wo did likewise. Having asked Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami to hand to him ‘the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long], of five hundred jewels (*yasakani-no-ihotsu-misumaru-no-tama*) that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and—with the jewels making a jingling sound—having brandished and washed them in the true wells of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away.’



According to some esoterists,(150) the three wells are situated as indicated in the sketch shown on this page. The middle-well stands for Naho-bi (in this case the controlling spirit

of the four souls), Ichikishima-hime, and Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, the right well for the *nigi-mitama*, the *saki-mitama*, Ama-tsu-hiko-ne and Iku-tsu-hiko-ne, and the left well for the *ara-mitama*, Tagiri-hime, Ame-no-hohi and Kumanu-musubi. In the same symbolism, Susano-wo's sword stands for *ara-mitama* and *kushi-mitama*, and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's jewels for *nigi-mitama* and *saki-mitama*.

Susano-wo repeated the operation with the jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch of her hair, those that were twisted in her august head-dress, those that were twisted on her left august arm, and finally those that were twisted on her right august arm.

From the mist (*sa-giri*) of their breath when they 'blew away' what they had 'crunchingly crunched', a number of Kami were born. They were:

From Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's breath: (1) Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto (Her Augustness the Princess of the torrent-mist), also called Oki-tsu-shima-hime-no-mikoto (Her Augustness the Princess of the island of the offing); (2) Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mikoto (Her Augustness the Princess of the lovely island), also called Sa-yori-hime-no-mikoto (Her Augustness the good Princess); (3) Tagitsu-hime-no-mikoto (Her Augustness the Princess of the torrent).

Those three Kami form together the Munakata-no-kami, whom we shall discuss at length in a later chapter (cf. p. 438ff. below).

From Susano-wo's breath: (4) Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Truly-conqueror-I-conquer-conquering-swift-heavenly-great-great-ears), who was born from the jewels in the left bunch of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's hair. We shall later refer to him under the shorter name of Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi. He was Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's first choice when one of her descendants was to be sent down to Earth, and he was the father of Prince Ninigi. We shall discuss him later (cf. p. 336f. below). (5) Ame-no-hohi (etymology unknown), who was born from the jewels in the right bunch of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's hair. He was the first of her descendants actually to reach the Earth, but he failed in his mission (cf. p. 337f. below); (6) Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Prince-lord of Heaven, but *ne* here may also mean 'root'),⁽¹²²⁾ who was born from the jewels in Amaterasu-ô-mi-Kami's head-dress, and is one of the Kami in the Kuwana-jinja; (7) Iku-tsu (living, vigorous) -hiko-ne-no-mikoto (His Augustness the Prince-lord of Life), who was born from the jewels on Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's left arm; (8) Kumanu-kusu-bi (etymology unknown), who was born from the jewels on Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's right arm. Hirata conjectures him to be identical with Ame-no-hohi.

Three alternative versions of the *Nihongi* present us with very different accounts.

In one of them (I, 35) it is Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who supplies the sword to Susano-wo, while the latter gives his sister the jewels he had obtained on the way to Heaven. But the result is substantially the same. It runs as follows:

'Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami spoke to Susano-wo and said: "I am now about to give thee the sword which is in my girdle; do thou give me the curved jewels of Yasaka gems which thou hast". Having thus covenanted, they made a mutual exchange.

Then Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami took the...jewels...and, having made them float on the True Well of Heaven, bit off the heads (*hashi*) of the jewels and blew them away. The Kami which was produced from amidst her breath (*ibuki*) was called Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto; this is the Kami who dwells in Oki-tsu-miya. Again a Kami was produced from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the middle part of the jewels; this

Kami was called Tagori-hime-no-mikoto; it is she who dwells in Naka-tsumiya. Again a Kami was produced from amidst her breath when she bit through and blew away the tails of her jewels; this Kami was called Tagitsu-hime-no-mikoto; it is she who dwells in He-tsu-miya. In all there were three female Kami.

‘Upon this, Susano-wo, taking the sword which he held, and having made it float on the surface of the True Well of Heaven, bit off the end of the sword and blew it away. The Kami which were produced from amidst his breath were called Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto, next Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-haya-hiame-no-oshi-ho-ne-no-mikoto, next Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, next Ikutsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, and next Kumanu-no-kusu-hi-no-mikoto. In all there were five male Kami.’

The other two *Nihongi* versions begin exactly in the same way: Amaterasuô-mi-kami bites, one after the other, the three swords which were girded on her and they become Ichikishima-hime, Tagitsu-hime and Tagori-hime. After which five male Kami are produced by Susano-wo from the jewels which he himself wore. But the process is not the same in the two accounts.

In one of them (I, 36):

‘Susano-wo took in his mouth the string of five hundred jewels which were entwined in the left knot of his hair (*mi-mizura*), and placed it on the palm of his left hand, whereupon it became converted into a male child. He then said: ‘Truly I have won.’ And the child was therefore called Kachi-haya-hiame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels of the right knot of his hair, and placed them on the palm of his right hand, whereupon they changed and produced the Kami Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto. After that he took in his mouth the jewels which hung round his neck and laid them on his left fore-arm, whereupon they changed and produced the Kami Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto. Moreover, from his right fore-arm there was produced the Kami Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto. Again, from his left foot was produced the Kami Hi-no-haya-hi-no-mikoto. Again from his right leg was produced Kumanu (either the country Kumano, or dense (*kuma*) fields (*nu*))⁽¹²²⁾ -no-oshi (stout, perseverant)⁽¹²²⁾ -homu (to stamp, to tread on)⁽¹²²⁾ -no-mikoto, also called Kumano-no-oshi-sumi (corners)⁽¹²²⁾ -no-mikoto. The children produced by Susano-wo were all male children.’

In the other (I, 33–34):

‘Susano-wo took the august five hundred string of jewels which hung upon his neck, and having rinsed them in the True Well (Nuna-wi) of Heaven, another name for which is the True Well of Isa (Isa-no-mana-wi) ate (*wo-su*) them; so he produced (*nasu*) a child, which was called Masa-ya-a-katsu-kachi-haya-bi-ame-no-oshi-ho-ne-no-mikoto. Next he produced Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, next Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, next Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto, and next Kumanu-no-oshi-homu-no-mikoto—in all five male Kami.’

The ‘aberrant’ version of the *Nihongi* tells a very similar story, but gives somewhat different names for the children which Susano-wo chewed into life. They are: Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-haya-hi-ame-no-oshi-ho-ne-no-mikoto, Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto, Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto and Kumanu-no-ô-sumi-no-mikoto (I, 48–49).

The eight Kami thus born are sometimes given the collective name of Hachi-ôji (eight princes).⁽³²⁴⁾ Under the slightly different name of Hachi-dagi-ôji (eight great princes), they are worshipped in the Awata-guchi Awata-jinja, along with some other Kami.⁽¹²²⁾ They are also enshrined without any other Kami in the Yahashira (eight pillars)-jinja, the Akechi-machi Hachi-ôji- (eight princes)-jinja, the Yatsu-shima (eight islands)-jinja, etc. The five Kami chewed by Susano-wo are enshrined without the other three in the Yoshikawa-machi Amatsu-jinja. Ama-tsu-hiko-ne is the main Kami in the Araki-jinja.

The divergences between the different accounts of the way in which the three female and the five male Kami were born may of course be due to faulty memory of those who transmitted the tradition orally over an impressive number of centuries. They may also be due to the existence, at some remote and uncertain period, of different schools of mystical teaching which did not describe the origin of the world in exactly the same way. The latter explanation would not be inconsistent with the fact that after the children had been born, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, according to the Scriptures, had to decide which were hers, and which were Susano-wo's.

In Shintô, the act of spitting has evidently a great variety of connotations. Here, and also when the Food-Goddess (cf. p. 500f. below) produces various articles of nourishment, it is very clearly a constructive part of creation. When Ô-kuni-nushi spits out red earth (cf. p. 322 below), it can only be a means of deception, and any additional significance is more than doubtful. When Hiko-ho-ho-demi spits at his brother (cf. p. 382 below), the context shows beyond any doubt that it is an accompaniment to a curse. There is even a Kami of Spittle, Hayatama-no-wo (*Nihongi*, I, 25; cf. p. 79 above).

In the words of the *Kojiki*, the division of the children had then to be declared:

‘Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami said to Susano-wo “As for the seed (*mono-zane*) of the five male Kami (*hiko-miko*) born last, their birth was from things of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the seed of the three female Kami (*hime-miko*) born first, their birth was from a thing of thine.” Thus did she declare and divide (*nori-wake-ru*).’ (I, xiv).

She came to the same conclusion in the *Nihongi* version (I, 32) which describes the male children as born from her necklace and the female from Susano-wo's sword:

Then Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami said: “Their seed was in the beginning the august necklace of five hundred Yasaka jewels which belonged to me. Therefore, these five male Kami are all my children.” So she took these children and brought them up. Moreover she said: ‘The ten-span sword belonged to thee, Susano-wo. Therefore these three female Kami are all thy children.’ So she delivered them to Susano-wo.’

In the versions in which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami eats her own sword and produces the three female Kami, and Susano-wo handles his own jewels to produce the male Kami (who in this case are six, and not five), the division of the children cannot follow so logically. But the ultimate result is the same. In one of them (I, 36) it is said: ‘So these six male children were taken and made the children of the Sun-Goddess, and were caused to govern the Plain of Heaven. The three female Kami born of the Sun-Goddess were made to descend and dwell at Usa-shima in the Central Land of Reed-plains.’

The other (I, 34) is far less explicit: The three female Kami which the Sun-Goddess had produced were accordingly sent to the land of Tsukushi.’ Nothing is said about the male

Kami, and the text does not specify to which parent each group of children belongs. But we read that ‘therefore, as Susano-wo had thus acquired proof of his victory, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami learnt exactly that his intentions were wholly free from guilt.’ And since the test was that he should produce male children, we may conclude that the ultimate result was the same.

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami comes to the same satisfying conclusion in still another version (I, 36): Therefore the Sun-Goddess knew exactly that Susano-wo’s intentions had been honest from the first.’

This ‘division’ of the children should not, however, be understood as confirming—and still less as increasing—the separation between heaven and earth. In both the *Kojiki* and the main version of the *Nihongi*, neither of the two Kami could produce children out of his or her own ‘seed’ unless it had first been ‘crunchingly crunched’ by the other. So that the result of the operation must be really a closer tie between the two realms which had already been separated. On the one hand there was an irruption of heavenly forces (the Munakata-no-kami) on earth, and on the other an admission into heaven of earthly forces, to whom, as we shall see later (cf. p. 337ff. below), recourse must be had when the pure original Heavenly Kami (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi) want their offspring to ‘pacify and govern’ the earth.

In the two versions (I, 33 and 35) where each of the two parents produces children out of his or her own ‘seed’, it has nevertheless been a prerequisite that they should face each other and ‘swear an oath’, which is another way of establishing between them a close and solemn link.

At first sight, an important pronouncement by Susano-wo immediately after the ‘division’ of the children would seem to indicate that he did not accept Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s verdict: Then Susano-wo said to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami: “I have, in begetting (*umu*) children, gotten (*uru*) delicate females. Judging from this, I have undoubtedly gained the victory (*kachi nu*).” (*Kojiki*, I, xv). More careful consideration will easily show, however, that Susano-wo in no way disputed Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s award, or was in any way illogical or inconsistent. It had been formally agreed that Susano-wo’s intentions would be acknowledged as pure if the children born to him were males (*Nihongi*, I, 31, 33 and 35). And Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami formally acknowledged that the five (or six) male children born during the operation were Susano-wo’s since they had come of something that was his (*Kojiki*, I, xiv; *Nihongi*, I, 32 and 36). Therefore there can be no doubt whatever that Susano-wo had ‘gained the victory’ because he had been ‘begetting’ male children. But, as a result of the division, he had ‘gotten’ delicate females, i.e. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had sent to his domain, the Earth, three Heavenly female Kami whom she had herself ‘begotten’.

Thus Susano-wo had reached what must from the first have been his main objective: he had brought Heavenly Powers down to Earth.

On the strength of this, ‘impetuous with victory (*kachi sabi ni*)’ (*Kojiki*, I, xv), he naturally tried to establish still closer connections between heaven and earth. As described in the myth, his efforts were anything but gentlemanly. But we must remember both that myths are not belles-lettres, and that Susano-wo represents the earthly trend as yet devoid of any heavenly influence. So it is no wonder that the Scriptures should describe his action as ‘august ravages’.

The *Kojiki* is remarkably discreet about the first offences: First Susano-wo ‘broke down the divisions (*a*) of the rice-fields laid out by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, [and] filled up the ditches (*mizo*).’ (I, xv). The *Nihongi* goes into considerably greater detail. According to the main version (I, 37):

‘After this (i.e. after each of them had given birth to children), Susano-wo’s behaviour was extremely rude. In what way? Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had made august rice-fields in Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Susano-wo, when the seed was sown in the spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the heavenly piebald (*fuchi*, dappled grey) colts (*koma*), and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields.’

Another version (I, 42) reads:

‘Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami took an enclosed rice-field (*kaki-ta*), and made it her Imperial rice-field. Now Susano-wo in spring filled up the channels and broke down the divisions, and in autumn, when the grain was formed, he forthwith stretched round them division-ropes (*aze-nawa*).’

One other version (I, 45) supplies still more details:

‘After this (after the birth of the children), Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had three rice-fields, which were called the Easy (*yasu*) [-to-cultivate], rice-field of Heaven, the Level (*hira*) rice-field of Heaven, and the Village-adjointing (*mura-ahase*) rice-field of Heaven. All these were good rice-fields, and never suffered even after continuous rain or drought. Now Susano-wo had also three rice-fields, which were called the Pile (*kuhi*, obstructed with stumps of trees?) field of Heaven, the River-border (*kawa-yori*, exposed to inundations) field of Heaven, and the Mouth-sharp (*kuchi-to*, exposed to drought?) field of Heaven. All these were barren (*yase*) places. In the rains, the soil was swept away, and in droughts it was parched up. Therefore Susano-wo was jealous and destroyed his elder sister’s rice-fields. In spring he knocked away the pipes and troughs, filled up the channels and broke down the divisions. He also sowed seed over again. In autumn, he set up *kushi* (combs?) and made horses lie down in the rice-fields.’

The *Kogoshûi* also elaborates at considerable length:

‘Susano-wo... often resorted to one or another form of violence, such as breaking down the divisions of the rice-fields, filling up the irrigating channels, opening the flood-gates of the sluices, sowing seed over again, erecting rods in the rice-fields... (Commentary in the text: When Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was toiling in her rice-fields, Susano-wo would stealthily creep there and erect rods in order to demonstrate his right of ownership over the fields, sowing seeds again in the fields which had already been sown by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, so as to injure her first-sown seed, thereby causing the quality of the rice to deteriorate, breaking down the low, narrow dikes which divide rice-fields from each other, filling up the channels of ditches through which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami made the stream of water flow in order to irrigate the rice-plants, mischievously leaving open the flood-gates of the sluices when unnecessary).’

There can be little doubt about the meaning of the episode. Earth, without Heaven's cooperation, could only be barren, hard to live in, exposed to all extremes, etc. Since Susano-wo had contracted a sort of alliance with his sister, he felt he had a right to part-ownership in what wealth Heaven could provide. It was therefore only natural that he should destroy what enclosed that wealth, that he should divert or obstruct the channels which reserved to Heaven all that could make wealth fructify, and that he should affirm his rights on it by stretching ropes around it and by sowing his own Earthly seed beside his sister's Heavenly seed. The symbolism of the horse we have already discussed (cf. pp. 101f. above).

Some very matter of fact and unwittingly amusing explanations have been offered by Western scholars in connection with this myth. K.A. Florenz, oddly enough followed here by Katô and Hoshino,⁽⁴⁷⁰⁾ gravely 'interprets the action of erecting rods in the deep mud of the rice-fields to be simply a mischievous design to injure the bare-footed Japanese peasantry labouring in the paddy-fields.'

On the other hand, what is probably a highly relevant comment was offered, namely, that combs were stuck up in the rice-fields with words of incantation, so that if any one claimed the fields he might be destroyed; this recalls the still existant custom of setting-up combs in rice-fields whose ownership is in dispute.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

But Susano-wo did not stop there. He 'strewed excrement or urine (*kuso-mari*) in the palace where' Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami celebrated the religious festival held on the occasion of 'tasting' the first new rice of the season (*Kojiki*, I, xv; *Nihongi*, I, 37). One alternative *Nihongi* version (I, 43) dramatizes the incident: 'When the time came for Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami to celebrate the feast of first-fruits (Nii-nahe-kikoshimesu), Susano-wo secretly voided excrement or urine, under her august seat in the New Palace. The Sun-Goddess, not knowing this, went straight there and took her seat. Accordingly she drew herself up, and was sickened.'

This further aggressive action of Susano-wo's is very evidently the continuation of what he had been doing in the rice-fields. After claiming Earth's share of Heavenly wealth at the source of production, he refused to let Heaven enjoy the wealth produced while ignoring the needs and the problems of the Earth and all that needed to be eliminated there.

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami apparently appreciated her brother's plight and excused the blunt way in which he had presented his plea. 'So, though he did thus, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami upbraided him not (*togamezu*), but said: "What looks like excrement must be something that His Augustness my elder brother has vomited (*kaki-chirasu*) through drunkenness. Again, as to his breaking down the divisions of the rice-fields and filling up the ditches, it must be because he grudges the land that His Augustness my elder brother acts thus.'" (*Kojiki*, I, xv). Chamberlain feels called upon to explain that the land thus grudged is only that occupied by the divisions and ditches, because it is really wasted and all should be 'devoted to the production of food'.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Anybody even slightly acquainted with rice-cultivation will of course realize that this interpretation makes nonsense. What Susano-wo grudges is all the fertile 'land' which has been monopolized by the heavenly powers and to which the earthly powers have had no access. Two *Nihongi* versions (I, 42 and 45) confirm that Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was not indignant or resentful, but took everything calmly and with forbearance.

This forbearance, however, did not limit Susano-wo's ambition to bring a maximum of heavenly forces down to earth, nor his efforts to force them down: 'Notwithstanding these

(Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's) apologetic words, he still continued his evil acts, and was more and more [violent]'. (*Kojiki*, I, xv).

Susano-wo even went still further than his sister could readily accept: 'As she sat in her awful (*imi*) weaving-hall (*hata-ya*), seeing to the weaving of the august garments of the Kami, he broke a hole in the ridge (*mune*)-pole of the weaving-hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald colt (*fuchi-koma*), which he had flayed with a backward flaying (i.e. beginning at the tail), at the sight of which the women weaving the heavenly garments were so much alarmed that they stuck their shuttles (*hi*) into their private parts and died.' (*Kojiki*, I, xv).

Two versions of the *Nihongi* (I, 37 and 43) give an almost identical account, with the only difference that, in one of them, it is Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself who wounds herself with the shuttle.

One alternative version (I, 41) reads: 'After this, Waka-hiru-me-no-mikoto was in the sacred weaving-hall (*hata-dono*) weaving the garments of the Kami. Susano-wo saw this, and forthwith flaying a piebald colt with a backward flaying, flung it into the interior of the hall. Then Waka-hiru-me was startled, and fell down from the loom, wounding herself with the shuttle which she held in her hand, and divinely departed (*saru*).'

Waka-hiru-me is generally taken to be a younger sister of Amaterasu-ô-mi-Kami,⁽³²²⁾ but it should be noted that in the Ikuta-jinja, according to the *gûji*, it is Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's *nigi-mitama* which is worshipped under that name, a name which, it is held, she bore 'at the beginning of her life'. It may be taken therefore that Waka (young)-hiru(shining)-me represents an earlier stage in the action of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, a stage in which she devotes herself exclusively to the ruling of Heaven which has been entrusted to her by Izanagi, and has not yet begun to shower her blessings upon earth. The fact that she 'divinely departed' would then mean that the stage to which she corresponded was finished, in other words that Susano-wo's efforts had borne fruit, although their success was to become 'apparent' only later. Waka-hiru-me, without any special connotation, is also the main Kami in the Nibu-jinja, the Nibutsuhime-jinja, the Karasu-jinja, the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja and the Tama-tsushima-jinja.

* * *

This maiming of the Powers of Light by the attempt to force them into activity in the earthly world brought their resistance to a desperate climax. In sheer self-defence, in order to protect their unsullied purity, or rather to avoid any further contamination, they withdrew completely both from the world of earth and from the world of heaven. Their source, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, 'hid' herself.

Thereupon,' says the *Kojiki* (I, xvi), 'Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, terrified at the sight [of what had happened in the weaving-hall], closed [behind her] the door (*to*) of the Heavenly Rock-dwelling (Ame-noiwa-ya), made it fast (*sasu*), and retired.' 'Indignant at this', says the main *Nihongi* version (I, 37), 'she straightway entered the Heavenly Rock-dwelling, and, having fastened the rock-door (*iwa-to*), dwelt there in seclusion'. The other *Nihongi* versions (I, 41, 43 and 46) use almost identical terms. One of them (I, 41) adds that before retiring, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami said to Susano-wo: Thou hast still a black heart. I do not wish to see thee face to face.'

There are several localities in Japan which claim to contain the original rock-cave into which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami retired—just as in Jerusalem there are quite a few pillars which are claimed to be the one to which Jesus was tied for flagellation. One of the most famous is near Ise, opposite the two famous Fû-fu rocks (of which the ‘correct pronunciation’ is said to be Me-oto-iwa),⁽¹²²⁾ but hardly anything marks it.

The result was terrifying, both in heaven and on earth: Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscure, and the Central Land of Reed-plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal night (*toko-yo*) prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad (or: evil) Kami were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe arose.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xvi). ‘Constant darkness (*yami*) prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.’ (*Nihongi*, I, 37). The *Kogoshûi* adds the rather incongruous remark: ‘All the Kami were dismayed, and, to their great inconvenience, all business was transacted by artificial light,’ which of course might conceivably embody some esoteric meaning (?).

It is significant that the efforts to induce the Source of Light to shine again on heaven and earth were undertaken exclusively by the Heavenly Kami, those who evidently were closest to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and stood a better chance to tempt her back into action, while Earthly Kami completely abstained from interfering. On the other hand, the objects, forces and potentialities brought forward to prove to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami that after all the world was worth shining on, were all such as could be found on earth, although of course they had their counterpart in heaven. Most accounts give fairly detailed descriptions of the operation.

First of all the eight (or eighty) myriads of Kami assembled in a divine assembly on the bank (*kawara*) of the Divine River of Heaven (Katô and Hoshino⁽⁴⁷⁰⁾ prefer to translate: the dry bed of the eight sand-bank river in Heaven), or in the High Market-place of Heaven (Ame-no-take-[i]chi) according to the texts, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. As they will also do in later crises (cf. p. 337–42 below), they appealed to Omoikane, the Thought-includer, a son of Taka-mi-musubi, characterized by ‘profound device and far-reaching thought, who had a talent for devising plans’, and bid him think of a plan. (*Kojiki*, I, xvi; *Nihongi*, I, 38 and 42). We shall consider Omoikane in greater detail in a later chapter (cf. p. 360 below).

The plan adopted and accordingly applied was by no means simple—just what one might expect from purely intellectual speculation. Says the *Kojiki* (I, xv):

The Kami assembled the long-singing birds of eternal night (*yo*) (i.e. the barn-door fowl), and made them sing.

They took the hard rocks (*katashi-ha*) of Heaven from the head-waters (*kawa-kami*) of the Divine River of Heaven. They took the true metal (*ma-gane*) from the Heavenly metal-mountains (Ame-no-kana-yama), called in the smith Ama-tsu-mara (identified by Hirata with Ame-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-mikoto, His Augustness Heavenly One-eye), and charged Ishi-kori-dome (Stone-coagulating old woman, or Again-forging old woman) to make a mirror.

They charged Tama-no-ya-nomikoto (Jewel-ancestor) to make an august complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long]—of five hundred jewels.

They summoned Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto (Beckoning ancestor-lord) and Futo-tama-no-mikoto (Grand jewel), and caused them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder

[-blade] of a true stag (*ma-o-shika*) from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and take cherry-bark (*haha-ka*) from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and perform divination (*urahe*).

‘[Those two Kami] pulled up by pulling its roots a true *sakaki* tree with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, took and put upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long]—of five hundred jewels— took and tied to the middle branches the Divine Mirror (cf. p. 152f. above), took and hung upon its lower branches the white pacificatory (or soft) offerings (*shira-nigi-te*) and the blue pacificatory (or soft) offerings (*ao-nigi-te*). Futo-tama took these diverse things and held them together with the grand august offerings (*futo-mitegura*). Ame-no-koyane prayerfully recited (*negi-maosu*) grand liturgies (*futo-norito-goto*).

‘Ame-no-tajikara-wo-no-kami stood hidden beside the door (*to*) [of the Heavenly Rock-dwelling].

‘Ame-no-uzume (Heavenly alarming female, or strong, stout, tenacious,⁽¹²²⁾ may also be read *osushi*) hung [round her] the Heavenly club-moss from the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash (*tasuki*), made the Heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress (*kazura*), bound the leaves of the bamboo-grass (*sasa-ba*) of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, and laid a sounding-board (*ukefusete*) before the door of the Heavenly Rock-dwelling, and stamped till she made it resound and did as if possessed by a Kami, and pulled out the nipples of her breasts (*muna-ji*) and pushed down her skirt-strings to her private parts (*hoto*). Then the Plain of High Heaven shook (*usu-ru*) and the eight hundred myriad Kami laughed together.’

Each part of the concerted action is evidently worth considering separately.

Of the various accounts given in the main Scriptural texts, only one besides the *Kojiki* makes any mention of the singing of the birds. In the *Nihongi* (I, 38), we read: ‘Omoikane... at length gathered long-singing birds (*naga-naki-dori*) of the Eternal Land (Toko-yo), and made them utter their prolonged cry (*naki*) to one another.’

In memory of that intervention, cocks and hens are generally kept in temples consecrated to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and they are also often represented on paintings connected with her.

According to tradition, this is also the origin and explanation of the *tori-i* (bird-perch) which stands before the entrance of Shintô temples and other sacred places (cf. p. 95f. above).

The making of the mirror attracted hardly more attention from the *Nihongi*. The main version remains entirely silent about it. One alternative version (I, 43) reads: ‘The Kami... forthwith caused Ame-no-nuka-do-no kami, the ancestor of the guild (*be*) of mirror-makers, to make a mirror.’ Another (I, 46) merely refers to ‘a Divine Mirror (*yata-no-kagami*) made by the ancestor of the mirror-makers, Onokori- (automatically made concrete, cast, moulded)⁽¹²²⁾ do—(a place, or established)⁽¹²²⁾ -me (a spiritual female), a child of Ame-nonuka-do’. It is in the *Kogoshûi* only that details can be found: ‘Ishi-kori-dome-no-kami (from whom the Kagami-tsukuri or Mirror-making family is sprung, and who is the child of Ame-no-nuka-do, a Kami, the meaning of whose name is obscure: *nuka* may mean rice-bran or to draw out, while *do* (=to) means door, gate, site)⁽¹²²⁾ was to construct a mirror, “of the image of the sun” (*hi-no-mi-kata-no-kagami*), i.e. an image of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, out of copper brought from the Heavenly Mount Kagu.... As Omoikane had suggested,

they first tried to construct a mirror, as an image of the Sun-Goddess; but as the first mirror made by Ishi-kori-dome was slightly defective and therefore unfit for use (this mirror is the Kami at Hinokuma in the province of Kii), a second was moulded which was ideally beautiful (this mirror is the Kami in the Ise-jingū).⁷ The texts in parenthesis are in the original, in the form of intercalary explanatory notes.

This reference to the Mirror intended as an image of Amaterasu-ō-mi-Kami should be considered along with a rather obscure passage in one of the *Nihongi* alternative versions (I, 42): ‘Omoikane...spoke, saying: “Let there be made an image (*kata*) of this Kami, and let prayers (*wogi*) be addressed to it.” They therefore proceeded to appoint Ishi-kori-dome as artisan, who, taking metal (*kane*) from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, made therefrom a Sun-spear (*hi-hoko*). Moreover, he stripped off in one piece the hide of a true stag (*mana-ka*) and made of it heavenly bellows (*ha-buki*). The Kami which he fashioned by this means is the Goddess Hi-no-kuma (in front, *kuma*⁽¹²²⁾ of the sun, hi-no)-no-kami, who dwells in the province of Kii.’

As a matter of fact the mirror *and* the spear which Ishi-kori-dome supplied are now the main Kami in the Hi-no-kuma-kunikakasu-jingu, where their maker is *herself* (she is considered female) an *aïdono-no-kami*.⁽¹²²⁾

The Divine Mirror has already been discussed in detail in Chapter VI above.

Of the making of the jewels, the main *Nihongi* version says nothing either. One alternative version (I, 43) merely states that the Kami caused Toyo tama, the ancestor of the guild of jewel-makers, to make jewels’. One other (I, 46) tells us incidentally that the ‘curved jewels of Yasaka gems [were] made by the ancestor of the jewel-makers, Ama-no-akaru-dama, a child of Izanagi’. The Kogoshūi is *equally* laconic: The task allotted to Kushi-akaru-tama-no-kami was to link together five hundred large jewels on an august string.’

The maker of the string of jewels, under his *Kojiki* name of Tama-no-ya-no-mikoto, is now worshipped in the Tamanoya-jinja.

Apart from the reference to a stag’s hide in the obscure passage quoted above, which may be an allusion to it, the divination reported in the *Kojiki* is ignored by all the other scriptures.

Ame-no-koyane, who proceeded to that divination, was also to accompany Prince Ninigi, together with Futo-tama; both were to play a very important role. He is the main Kami in the Ōtori-jinja in Sakai-shi and in the Hara-edo ten-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Hongū-taisha, and an *aïdono-no-kami* in the Sumoto Hachiman-jinja. But above all he is considered to be the ancestor of the Fujiwara family, and as such he is one of the four chief Kami in the Kasuga-taisha. His posterity, the Ō-nakatomi, the ‘Great-middle-subjective’, serves as a sort of medium between the Heavenly Kami and the Emperor on one hand, and as a religious mediator between the Emperor and the people on the other.⁽³⁸⁴⁾ Under the name of Ōasa-hiko, Futo-tama is the Kami of the Ōasahiko-jinja.

As regards the preparation of the fateful sakaki-tree, the main *Nihongi* version (I, 39) tells us that ‘Ame-no-koyane...and Futo-tama...dug up a five-hundred branched true sakaki of the Heavenly Mount Kagu. On its upper branches, they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung the Divine Mirror. On its lower branches they hung blue pacificatory offerings and white pacificatory offerings.’

One other (I, 46) is less succinct: ‘Ame-no-koyane rooted up a true sakaki of the Heavenly Mount Kagu and hung upon its upper branches a mirror...made by...Ono-kori-dome...;

on the middle branches he hung curved jewels...made by...Ama-no-akaru-dama...; on the lower branches he hung tree-fibre (*yufu*) made by Ame-no-hi-washi.’

One alternative version (I, 43) reads: They (the Kami) also caused Yama-tsuchi to procure eighty precious *kushi* (combs?) of the five-hundred branched true sakaki, and Nuzuchi to procure eighty precious *kushi* of the fivehundred branched susuki-grass.’

But if we want further details, we must go to the *Kogoshûi*:

‘Futo-tama was appointed to make *nigi-te*, i.e. offerings of fine cloth, in aid of the Kami of different callings.’ Then comes the construction of the mirror. And the story proceeds: ‘Naga-shiraha-no-kami (*shiraha*, the ordinary name of the cloth at the present day, originated from the name of this Kami) was to plant hemp and make *ao-nigi-te*, i.e. offerings of fine blue-coloured hempen cloth. Ame-no-hiwashi-no-kami and Tsu-ku-himi-no-kami were bidden to make *shira-nigi-te*, i.e. offerings of fine white cloth woven from the paper-mulberry (tradition says that, at that time, both hemp and paper-mulberry grew luxuriantly in a night after being planted). Ame-no-hazuchi-wo-no-kami was to weave cloth of lovely variegated colours. The Goddess Ame-no-tanabata-hime was to weave the fine divine robes.’ Then comes the ‘linking’ of the jewels. And the story proceeds further: Taoki-ho-oi-no-kami and Hiko-sashiri-no-kami were to build according to the heavenly standard of measurement (i.e. measures of various sizes and some measuring tools) a beautiful sacred hall of choicest timber brought from different valleys, and also were to make hats, spears and shields. Lastly, Ame-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-kami was ordered to make various kinds of swords and axes, and to cast tinkling bells of iron. When all this was finished, they were to bring a fine sacred sakaki with five hundred branches from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and hang jewels on its upper branches, a mirror on its central branches, offerings of fine cloth, both blue and white in colour, on the lower branches.’

The Heavenly Mount Kagu will be discussed later (cf. p. 403 below).

Taoki-ho-oi-no-kami and Hiko-sashiri-no-mikoto are worshipped in the Amahabari-jinja.

The strips of white and blue cloth suspended to the sakaki-tree are believed to be the origin of the strips of folded white paper (*shide*) which figure so prominently in Shintô temples, particularly with the *shimenawa* and the *tamagushi*. (Cf. pp. 115 and 158 above.)

The reciting of liturgical praises was of course essential. The only variants are in the names of the Kami entrusted with it. They are: Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama in the main *Nihongi* version (I, 39) and the *Kogoshûi*, Ame-no-koyane alone in one of the alternative *Nihongi* versions (I, 43–44) and Futo-tama alone in another (I, 45).

According to the *Kogoshûi*, two Kami were set on guard to close the door immediately after Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had come out: Toyo-iwa-mado-no-mikoto (Powerful Kami of the strong gate) and Kushi-iwa-mado-no-mikoto (Wonderful Kami of the strong gate), both children of Futo-tama. The only *Nihongi* version (I, 46) to mention the incident agrees with the *Kojiki* in assigning that duty to Ame-no-tajikara-wo, who later escorted Prince Ninigi down to Earth. On I do not know what authority, Aston takes him to be ‘a human quality personified and raised to divine rank’.⁽³²³⁾ However that may be, he is popularly considered to be a God of war and of physical strength, but the priests who service his temples do not take him to be such; they hold that he was originally a god of agriculture. He is the chief Kami in the Ôse-jinja, the Iwato-wake-no-jinja, the Togakushi-jinja, the Mito-haraki-jinja,

a subsidiary shrine of the Hongû-taïsha, and often accompanies Michizane Sugawara in shrines to the latter.

His daughter, Ama-tsu-haha-kami, is the chief Kami of the important Asakura-jinja; she married Aji-suki-taka-hiko-ne-no-mikoto (according to some priests a son of Tagori-hime), the main Kami of the Tosa-jinja,⁽²⁵⁴⁾ and perhaps also, if we believe certain interpretations^(30,116) given of the Izumo-fudoki, of the Katsuragi Kamono-yashiro.

Ame-no-uzume's dance has perhaps been the subject of more discussions than any other episode in Shintô mythology. Western scholars' reaction has been at once indignant and naïve: the dance is erotic, shocking, vulgar, and reveals a terribly low and primitive level of development among the people who are at the origin of the myth. And in the otherwise praiseworthy translations they have provided, they have felt compelled by their own sense of decency to resort to Latin! Let us see the accounts other than that of the *Kojiki*.

The main version of the *Nihongi* (I, 39–40) states: 'Ame-no-uzume, ancestress of the Sarume-no-kimi (cf. p. 356 below), took in her hand a spear (*hoko*) wreathed with eulalia-grass, and, standing before the door (*to*) of the Heavenly Rock-dwelling, skilfully performed a mimic-dance (*waza-wogi*). She took, moreover, the true sakaki of the Heavenly Mount Kagu and made of it a head-dress (*kazura*), she took club-moss (or stag-horn moss according to Anesaki)⁽³¹⁰⁾ and made of it shoulder-straps (*tasuki*), she kindled fires, she placed a tub (*uke*) bottom upwards, and gave forth a divinely inspired utterance (*kamugakari*).'

Strangely enough, the two alternative versions of the *Nihongi* (I, 44 and 46), which go into details of the whole process, keep perfectly silent about the dance. According to the *Kogoshûi*:

'Ame-no-uzume was then to arrange a wreath of spindle-tree and throw a scarf of club-moss around her shoulders, and, holding bamboo-grass and leaves from the *oke* tree in one hand and a spear adorned with tinkling bells in the other, was to perform skilfully, in company with the other Kami, an inspired religious dance, placing a tub bottom upwards (signifying an oath), and kindling sacred bonfires, before the Heavenly Rock-dwelling.'

According to the *Gengenshû*, it was on this occasion that Ame-no-uzume invented two of the most popular musical instruments now in use in temples and elsewhere. She took bamboos from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, made holes between the joints and blew in them—and that was the flute. She arrayed side by side bows, also made from materials originating from the Heavenly Mount Kagu—and that was the origin of the koto.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

The 'divinely inspired utterance' given by Ame-no-uzume while she danced is traditionally believed to be the sacred formula taken to mean '1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10', which is used in the *chin-kôn* (cf. p. 83 above). It is normally pronounced—according to what is believed an archaic pronunciation—*Hit hu, mi, yo, i, mu, na, ya, ko, to*.⁽²⁰⁶⁾ Other authors extend the series by adding 'hundred, thousand and myriad', and pronounce the whole series *hito, futa, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari, momo, chi, yorozu*.⁽³⁸³⁾

The classical series of ten is supposed to be closely related to the Ten sacred treasures (cf. p. 334 below). An esoteric commentary given by a very old and traditional gûji⁽²⁰⁶⁾ runs as follows:

Hi, which has the same sound as the words meaning sun and fire, refers to the one original source, it is the great force of the universe, a natural force, which may appear as great or small.

Hu means *fuki-dasu*, welling out with force. The syllable *fu* comes from the verb *fukumu*, in the sense of: to contain. The *hi* force, which is Divine ether, divides itself and produces spurting, i.e. gives the first duality, such as right and left, positive and negative, sun and moon. So *hu* is really a separating force.

Mi has the same sound as the word meaning fruit, or the first syllable of *minoru*, to bear fruit. It means that the two elements which have been separated come together again to produce a complete fruit. It also means truth, faithfulness, contents. It may also be understood as coming from a combination of *mu* (six) and *i* (five), and in this case would mean uniting by the action of Divine will. It is really return to the centre.

Yo has the same sound as the word meaning a knot in a bamboo. It means the world, and therefore what adds to the fruit a spiritual force. Also daily life.

I is the second *i* from the word *mi-itsu*, which means virtue or glory, particularly when referring to the Emperor or the Absolute. It is what is added to the world's vital and spiritual forces. It is properly the Will of the Divine, and the action of that Will.

Mu comes from *musubi* or *musubu*, to bind together. It is this same syllable which is found in *koke-musu*, shortened to *koke*, which means moss, what grow out of the Earth, what adds an intimate link, a natural sacred spiritual force.

Na is the first syllable of the verbs *naru*, to become, and *nasu*, to do or to make, and carries the same implications as those two verbs.

Ya consists of *i+a*. It is closely related either to *ya masu-masu*, 'more and more', or to *iyô, iyo*, 'from now on', or 'at the end'. It indicates development.

Ko is the last syllable of *miyako*, and means: to form a block, to concentrate.

To is the first syllable of *tokoro*, a location, *togeru*, to accomplish, *tomaru*, to stop. It denotes what is perfect and complete, what is faultless, what connects the horizontal and the vertical, as indicated by the very shape of the character used to write it. +

If I may venture a purely personal suggestion, it is not impossible that those ten 'numbers', as interpreted above, should correspond in some way to the various stages of Creation listed in the Shintô Genesis, as we have analysed them (cf. p. 229 above). In this case:

Hi would correspond to the Absolute, Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi;

Hu to the two Musubi-kami who were the first duality;

Mi to a union of the forces represented by those two Kami into the Power of Creation represented by Izanagi and Izanami;

Yo to the creation of the world by Izanagi and Izanami;

I to the establishment of rulers over the world (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, Tsuki-yomi and Susano-wo);

Mu to the consolidation of the world by the Earthly Kami;

Na and *Ya* to two stages or aspects in the growth of the world;

Ko to the final union between the Powers of Earth and Heaven, through the successive marriages;

To to the accomplished universe.

Other esoteric interpretations have been given by various scholars, theologians and mystics. We shall only mention that offered by Sir Ernest Satow: ‘Look at the lid (i.e. the door of the cavern), Majesty appear; hurrah! Our hearts are quite satisfied. Behold my bosom and thighs.’⁽⁶²⁶⁾

However that may be, it is clear that the uncovering of the nipples and the pudenda is only one of many gestures in a dance which itself is only one of many elements in a highly complex magical process, and in all probability not the most important; and only a desire to criticize and blame can explain why Western scholars have singled out this particular gesture and give it such prominence. As a matter of fact, even considered alone, it could be shocking only in countries where nudity is considered improper—or rather was, before the introduction of nudist camps and American-born strip-tease performances.

This does not mean that the gesture has no sexual connotations, but they should be viewed from an entirely different angle from that of pornography to which Western scholars have confined themselves. The showing to the Sun-Goddess, who sheds life and light on the world and who is to give birth to the whole dynasty of Emperors for all time, of the parts of the female anatomy which relate to child-bearing and nursing, seems a very apt reminder to her of the fact that she should not neglect her duties to the world, as apparently she intended to do. I can only deplore that Japanese students and even priests should have been so deeply impressed by the criticisms of Westerners that they should now feel apologetic about one of the most beautiful episodes in their scriptures. And I earnestly hope that they will soon return to a more sensible appreciation of it.

Sex-minded critics have sought other sexual elements in the dance, beside the baring of parts of the body. It has been seriously suggested for instance that the tub turned upside down was symbolic of the female organ and the lance with which Ame-no-uzume strikes it of the male organ.⁽⁵²⁹⁾ This does not deserve serious consideration.

It is a striking fact that in the Shintô temples, which are certainly among the most dignified in the world, Ame-no-uzume’s dance should be considered as the prototype of all sacred dances which are offered to the Kami, and that in not one of those dances a single obscene gesture can be detected. It should be noted that the name given to the dance in the *Nihongi*, *waza-wogi*, is precisely the same which is used in the same book to designate the dance performed by Hiko-ho-ho-demi’s brother to manifest submission—a dance in which it would really be impossible to detect anything sexual. And also that Ame-no-uzume repeated identically the same gesture when she met Saruda-hiko.

The immediate effect of the dance was great ‘merriment’ among the Kami—a fact which only the *Kojiki* deems worth recording. But it was the very noise made by them which intrigued Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and made her wonder what was happening outside her cave.

According to the *Kojiki* (I, xvi), she ‘was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: “Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of High Heaven would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-plains would all be dark; how is it then that Ame-no-uzume makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred myriad Kami all laugh?” Then Ame-no-uzume spoke, saying: “We rejoice and are glad because there is a Kami more illustrious than Thy Augustness.” While she was thus speaking, Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama pushed forward the mirror

and respectfully showed it to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, whereupon Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it.’

In the *Nihongi* main version (I, 40), ‘Now, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami heard this, and said: “Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-dwelling, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of fertile Reed-plains. How then can Ame-no-uzume be so jolly?” So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the rock-door and peeped out.’ The *Kogoshûi* account is almost identical.

One alternative *Nihongi* version (I, 44) adds one interesting detail: Then Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami opened the rock-door and came out. At this time, when the mirror was put into the Rock-dwelling, it struck against the door and received a slight flaw (*kizu*), which remains unto this day. This is the great Kami worshipped in Ise.’

According to another alternative version (I, 46), it was the songs of praise which were most effective in enticing the Goddess out: ‘When Amaterasu-ô-mi-Kami heard this (the lavish and earnest words of praise), she said: “Though of late many prayers have been addressed to me, of none has the language been so beautiful as this.” So she opened a little the rock-door and peeped out.’

But the Kami took steps to ensure that the dramatic retirement had really come to an end. So, says the *Kojiki* (I, xvi), ‘Ame-no-tajikara-wo, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then Futo-tama drew the bottom-tied rope (*shiri-kume-nawa*, the present *shimenawa*) along at her august back, and spoke, saying: ‘Thou must not go back further than this!’” The main *Nihongi* version (I, 40–41) tells the same story. One alternative version (I, 46) credits Futo-tama with opening the door himself. Ame-no-tajikara-wo’s name is explained as follows: *ame-no* (Heavenly) *-ta* (hands, or muscular) *-jikara* (= *chikara*, strength, might) *-wo* (manly).⁽¹²²⁾

The *Kogoshûi* gives more details: ‘As pre-arranged, Ame-no-tajikara-wo opened the rock-door fully and induced the Goddess to remove to the new Palace they had constructed for her, and Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama encircled the new divine dwelling with an august sun-rope (now called *shiri-kume-nawa*, or bottom-tied rope to represent the shadow of the sun). Ômiya-no-me-no-kami waited upon Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami (Ômiya-no-me is a Goddess miraculously born of Futo-tama, and she waits upon Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, just as a maid of honour in the Imperial Court waits upon the Emperor to please His Majesty by soothing, cheerful and kindly words, and thus, serving as an intermediary between sovereign and subject, she thereby brings both into affectionate and harmonious relationship) and Toyo-iwa-mado together with Kushi-iwa-mado was on guard duty at the gates (these two Kami were born of Futo-tama).’

The divine illumination was thus restored both to earth and to heaven: ‘When Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central Land of Reeds-plains of course again became light.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xvi). The various *Nihongi* versions take it to be so self-evident that they do not even mention it. The *Kogoshûi* is more vocal:

‘Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami coming forth from the Rock-dwelling now illumined the sky and consequently the spectators were enabled to distinguish one another’s face once more. Overflowing with joy, they loudly cried: “*Aware! aware!* ((signifying that the sky is now illuminated), *ana omoshiroshi!* (O how delightful it is again clearly possible to see one another’s faces!), *ana tanoshi!* (What joy to dance with outstretched hands!), *ana*

sayake oke! (How refreshing and reviving! just like the rustling sound of breezes softly whispering in bamboo-grass, or through the leaves of the trees playing sweet melodies of natural music!)” Then Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama respectfully besought Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami never more to hide her face.’*

* * *

One cannot help concluding that Susano-wo’s efforts, however uncouth, had been fully successful. Not only had Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami in her retirement been thinking both of her own realm of the Plain of High Heaven, and of Susano-wo’s realm of the Central Land of Reed-plains, but she had come out with the intention of shining on both—which was exactly what Susano-wo wanted.

Nevertheless, precautions had to be taken against a recurrence of the terrible ordeal through which the whole world, heaven and earth, had gone. The only possible safeguard was to prevent the world of earth from again infringing upon the prerogatives of heaven and unduly drawing upon its forces. The initiative of a descent of those forces into the realm of earth was to remain the exclusive privilege of the Heavenly Kami—and in later chapters we shall see that actually such interventions were both forcible and persistent. Therefore Susano-wo had to be expelled once for all and made powerless to attempt further intrusions.

So, says the *Kojiki* (I, xvii), ‘the eight hundred myriad Kami took counsel together, and imposed on Susano-wo a fine (*ōse-ru*) of a thousand tables (*chikura-okido*), and likewise cut (*kiru*) his beard (*hige*), and even caused the nails of his fingers and his toes (*te ashi no tsume*) to be cut (*kiru*), and expelled him with a divine expulsion (*woshi-mono*).’

The various *Nihongi* versions substantially agree with the *Kojiki*:

‘After this, all the Kami put the blame on Susano-wo, and imposed on him a fine (*ōsu*) of one thousand tables, and so at length chastised (*seme-kataru*) him. They also had his hair (*kami*) plucked out (*nuku*), and made him therewith expiate his guilt—Another version is: They made him expiate it (his guilt) by plucking out (*nuku*) the nails of his hands and feet—When this was done, they at last banished him downwards.’ (I, 41).

‘After this Susano-wo was convicted, and fined (*ōsu*) in the articles required for the ceremony of purification (*harahe-tsu-mono*). Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck (*yoshi-kirahi-mono*) of the tips of his fingers (*ta-na-suwe*) and the things abhorrent of calamity (*ashi-kirahi-mono*) of the tips of his toes (*a-na-suwe*). Again, of his spittle (*tsubaki*) he made soft white offerings (*shira-nigi-te*), and of his nose-mucus he made blue soft offerings (*ao-nigi-te*), with which the purification service (*harai*) was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine punishment (*kamu-yarahi*).’ (I, 44).

‘All the Kami imposed on Susano-wo a fine (*ōse-ru*) of a thousand tables of [articles of] purification (*harahe*). Of the nails (*tsume*) of his hands (*te*) they made things abhorrent of luck and of the nails of his feet (*ashi*) they made things abhorrent of calamity. Then they caused Ame-no-koyane to take charge of the Great Purification Liturgy (*haraē-no-futo-norito-goto*), and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the world are careful in the disposal of their own nails.’ (I, 46–47).

Esoterists see a deep significance in the two expressions *yoshi-kirahi-mono* and *ashi-kirahi-mono*. The first seems to refer to what cannot be polluted by a sinful spirit and to

instruments used in religious services, while the second seems to refer to what is used ‘in the daily life of the sinner’.

The *Kogoshûi* states: ‘As a punishment for bringing about this catastrophe, the Kami inflicted on Susano-wo a heavy expiatory fine—the hair of his head, and his finger and toe nails being also cut off for his offence; and, thus satisfied, they banished’ Susano-wo from Heaven.

Let us just mention in passing that in one of the temples consecrated to Susano-wo, there is a tradition according to which he was not driven down from the Plain of High Heaven, but from the Floating Bridge of Heaven; this is, however, not accepted by most Shintô scholars.

In the remainder of the Shintô mythology, Susano-wo appears only twice more: once to plant trees, and once in a very strange capacity, when he submits his own son to a series of rather terrifying ordeals, before he gives him both his blessing and his daughter in marriage. We shall describe his present cult, as well as that of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, with which it bears important relations, in a later chapter (cf. p. 370–374 below).

One strange thing in Shintô is that in such a detailed Genesis there is no record whatsoever of the actual creation of man. And it is no less strange that Shintô theologians apparently never showed any concern about this and never tried to find an explanation. When pressed to explain how man was created, the greatest Shintô authorities are at a total loss to give a specific answer. They are quite content with saying that there is no difference between man and Kami, that the Kami—unspecified—are the ancestors of man, that man was born by the action of the principle of growth (*musubi*) or that every clan or tribe has its own ancestors. But neither the first man nor mankind as such can be found in the long genealogy which runs from the primeval Kami to present individual men and women. This was emphatically confirmed to me at a meeting with the Director and many professors of the Kokugakuin University.

CHAPTER XIII THE CONSOLIDATING OF THE LAND BY THE EARTHLY KAMI

AFTER Susano-wo had finally obtained the co-operation—however grudging—of his heavenly sister for the work he had to do on earth and before he actually started that work, he is reported by the *Kojiki* to have paid a visit to the Kami of Food, Ô-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami. According to the *Nihongi*, however, it was not Susano-wo but Tsuki-yomi who paid the visit. This very important episode being of still greater interest for the Kami of Food herself, we shall discuss it in Chapter XXVI. Let us just note here that, at least according to the *Kojiki*, the Kami who was to be largely considered as a Kami of agriculture showed very early in his career great concern in the problem of food.

The task entrusted to Susano-wo and his descendants, prominent among which Ô-kuni-nushi-no-kami, was ‘to make and consolidate the land’. The process may be divided in three successive stages:

(1) Susano-wo himself had to obtain mastery over and union with the powers which existed on the earth before his descent, and which endeavoured to prevent him. He thus slew a hellish monster ‘serpent’ who devoured the children of the Earthly Kami; after which he seized the forces which were lying in the monster and—this is characteristic of his attitude—presented them to his heavenly sister. He was then able to beget children on daughters of the Earthly Kami and secure the necessary union with them.

(2) His descendant, Ô-kuni-nushi, had then to submit to a thorough ‘initiation’, which necessitated his going through a series of ordeals. He was thenceforth able to receive the powers of Susano-wo himself and became the ‘master’ of the land.

(3) With the help of other Kami, Ô-kuni-nushi ‘consolidated’ the land.

* * *

After ‘having been expelled (*yara-haë-te*), Susano-wo descended to a place [called] Torikami, at the head-waters (*kami*) of the River Hi (Hi-kawa) in the Land of Izumo. At this time some chopsticks came floating down the stream. So Susano-wo, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, was going up it in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman—two of them—who had a young girl between them, and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: “Who are you?” So the old man replied: Thy servant is an earthly Kami, son of Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (one of the Kami born of Izanagi and Izanami; cf. p. 265 above). I am called by the name of Ashi-nazu-chi (Foot-stroking Elder), my wife is called by the name of Te-nazu-chi (Hand stroking Elder), and my daughter is called by the name of Kushi-[i]nada-hime (Wondrous Inada Princess, or Princess [used as] a comb [for] the head).” Again he asked: “What is the cause of your crying?” [The old man] answered, saying: “I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-forked (*ya-mata*) giant serpent (*orochi*) of Koshi has come every year and

devoured [one], and it is now its time to come; wherefore we weep.” Then he asked him: “What is its form like?” [The old man] answered: “Its eyes are like *akakagachi* (winter-cherries), it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover, on its body grows moss (*koke*), and also *hinoki* and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one looks at its belly, it is all constantly bloody and inflamed.” Then Susano-wo said to the old man: “If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?” He replied, saying: “With reverence, but I know not thine august name.” Then he replied, saying: “I am elder brother (*iro-se*) to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. So I have now descended from Heaven (Ame).” Then Ashi-nazu-chi and Te-nazu-chi said: “If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee].” (*Kojiki*, I, xviii).

The main version of the *Nihongi* (I, 50–51) is practically identical. Other versions call the father Susa-no-yatsu-mimi (Susa of eight august bodies), Master of the shrine of Inada (I, 53), and call the child of Susano-wo and Kushi-inada-hime Suga-no-kake-na-saka-karu-hiko-ya-shima-te-no-mikoto (Suga-of-attached-name-pass-light-eight-islands-Prince), or Suga—no—yu-yama-nushi Mitsu-na-saro-hiko-ya-shima-shinu (Master of the hot spring mountain of Suga, Three-name-monkey-prince-bamboo-grass) (I, 53). But three alternative versions give very different accounts:

‘At this time, Susano-wo went down and came to the head-waters of the river Ye, in the province of Aki (Hiroshima-ken). There was there a Kami whose name was Ashi-nazu-te-nazu (Foot-stroking-hand-stroking). His wife’s name was Inada-no-miya-nushi-suga-no-yatsu-mimi. This Kami was just pregnant, and the husband and wife sorrowed together. So they informed Susano-wo, saying: “Though we have had born to us many children, whenever one is born, an eight-forked giant serpent comes and devours it, and we have not been able to save one. We are now about to have another, and we fear that it also will be devoured. Therefore do we grieve.”’ (I, 54).

‘Susano-wo wished to favour (*mesu*, i.e. take to wife) Kushi-[i]nada-hime, and asked her of Ashi-nazu-chi and Te-nazu-chi, who replied, saying: “We pray thee first to slay the giant serpent, and thereafter it will be good that thou shouldst favour her. This serpent has rock-firs growing on each of its heads; on each of its sides there is a mountain; it is a very fearful beast.”’ (I, 55).

‘Susano-wo, accompanied by his son Iso-takeru-no-kami (Fifty-courageous Kami), descended to the land of Silla (in Korea), where he dwelt at Soshi-mori. There he lifted up his voice and said: “I will not dwell in this land.” He at length took clay (*hani-tsuchi*) and made of it a boat (*fune*), in which he embarked, and crossed over eastwards until he arrived at Mount Tori-kami-no-take, which is by the upper-waters of the river Hi in Izumo. Now there was in this place a serpent which devoured men.’ (I, 56).

Susano-wo then at once took the young girl and changed her ‘into a multitudinous (*yutsu*) and close (*tsuma*)-tooithed comb (*kushi*), which he stuck into his august hair-bunch (*mizura*)’, and said to her parents:

“Do you distil (Aston rightly prefers: brew) some eight-fold refined sake. Also make a fence (*kaki*) round about, in that fence make eight gates (*kado*), at each gate tie together eight platforms (*sazuki*), on each platform put a liquor-vat (*saka-bune*), and into each vat pour the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait.” So, as they waited after having thus prepared

everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked giant serpent came truly, as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon he was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then Susano-wo drew the ten-grasp sword (*tsurugi*) that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the river Hi flowed on, changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a sharp great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed (or: sent it up with a message to) Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. This is the Kusa-nagi-no-tachi (Herb[-fire]-quelling great sword),’ (*Kojiki*, I, xviii).

The main version of the *Nihongi* (I, 51–52) follows the *Kojiki* very closely. The version in which the child to be protected is not yet born reads somewhat differently:

‘Susano-wo instructed them (the parents), saying: “You must take fruits (*ko-no-mi*) of all kinds, and brew from them eight jars of sake, and I will kill the serpent for *you*.” The two Kami, in accordance with his instructions, prepared sake. When the time came for the child to be born, the giant serpent came indeed to the door (*to*), and was about to devour the child. But Susano-wo addressed the serpent, and said: ‘Thou art an awful (*kashikoki*) Kami. Can I dare to neglect to feast (*mi-ahe*) thee?’ So he took the eight jars of sake and poured one into each of its mouths (*kuchi*). The serpent drank it up and fell asleep (*neburu*).’ (I, 54).

According to still another version, when Susano-wo found the sword in the serpent’s tail, he said: “I must not take this for my private use.” So he sent Ama-no-fuki-ne-no-kami, his descendant in the fifth generation, to deliver it up (*tatematsuri-agu*) to heaven.’ (I, 57).

The whole story is of course replete with symbolism. We shall only mention a few points.

First of all, it is very strange indeed that two Japanese authors, Kotosuga Tanikawa in his *Nihonshoki Tsûshô* and Masahide Tamaki in his *Moshiogusa*, should have ‘recognized that the episode of Kushi-inada-hime had behind it the fact of human sacrifice.’⁽⁴⁶⁵⁾

Ashi (hand)-nazu (from *na-deru*, to pat, sometimes said to refer to his liking to pass his hands over those of his lovely daughter)⁽¹²²⁾ -chi (a creative being) and Te (foot)-nazu-chi are descendants of Izanagi and Izanami—like Prince Ninigi, who came at a later stage. They therefore correspond to a prior descent on this earth of the heavenly forces. The stress laid in their names on “hands” and “feet”, the organs with which the individual takes the most direct contact with material substances, might be construed to mean that the part they had to play was precisely to establish a first physical relation with earth. But as long as it remained unaided—i.e. purely physical—their effort was doomed to failure. The exclusively earthly forces checked them every time. And nothing could be more symbolic of what is purely earth than that crawling serpent, unable to rise above the soil, and on whose body could be seen mountains, trees and moss.

The constantly repeated reference to the number eight, which, as we have seen (cf. p. 147f. above), implies totality, completeness, evidently means that the totality of the earthly physical forces was bent to stop the progress of any higher influence, even if its

heavenly origin had already been largely obliterated by an earthly ‘naturalization’, as was the case for the grandson of Izanagi and Izanami, who introduced himself as an earthly Kami.

The comb into which Susano-wo turned Inada-hime for his fight with the serpent evidently alludes to his using what she represented to increase and organize his own strength for action (cf. p. 150ff. above).

Sake is the divine liquor *par excellence*, and it was quite natural that Susano-wo should resort to it in order to render impotent those forces which by their very nature had to oppose the descent of any higher influence.

The two swords, the one with which Susano-wo slew and cut up the monster, and the one which he found in its tail, require more detailed consideration.

Susano-wo’s sword is called Orochi-no-ara-masa (Rough [and] true [sword which killed] the serpent), or Ama-no-hahe-kiri (Fly-cutter of Heaven), or Orochi-no-kara-sabi (Serpent-blade of Kara, a province of Korea) (*Nihongi*, I, 56), or Ame-no-hahakiri-no-tsurugi, or Futsu-mitama-no-tsurugi,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ or Saji-futsu-no-kami, or Mika-futsu-no-kami, or Futsu-no-mitama.⁽⁵⁾ It is the sword which later was miraculously given to Jimmu-tennô (cf. p. 402f. below), and since then it is believed to have ‘inspired’ all Emperors. For many centuries it was kept in the Imperial Court, but in 93 B.C. Sujin-tennô had it deposited in the Iso-nokami-jingû (cf. p. 410 above), where it has remained ever since as the chief Kami. The priests of the temple lay considerable stress on the fact that although it is an actual material sword, it is ‘still more’ a *mitama*, the *mitama* of the whole country, over which it extends protection. They make one further and complementary suggestion, i.e. that the *mitama* represented by the sacred sword might well include those of which Jimmutennô was deprived by the death of his brothers—and still more.⁽⁵⁾ It should be noted nevertheless that the Kami enshrined in a *sessha* of the main temple is itself a *mitama* (unspecified, therefore probably a complete *mitama*) of the sword-kami.

As regards the sword which was found in the serpent’s tail, its transmission to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was only provisional. Even the *Nihongi* tells us, immediately after relating its discovery, that ‘it is now in the village of Ayuchi, in the province of Ohari; it is this Kami which is in charge of the *hafuri* (Shintô priests) of Atsuta’.

When Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami sent Ninigi to Earth, this sword was one of the three regalia given to him, and that is probably why it is called Ame-nomurakomo-no-tsurugi (heaven-clustering cloud-sword) (*Nihongi*, II, 15, cf. p. 361 below). Much later, Prince Yamato-take borrowed it from Ise, where it had apparently been enshrined, and used it to quell a moor-fire which threatened his life. And from that incident the sword got the name under which it is generally known, Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi (Herb[-fire]-quelling sword) (*Nihongi*, VII, 23–24). The prince, however, left it with his wife, Princess Miya (palace)-zu (nest ?),⁽¹²²⁾ whose mother, Otoyô-no-mikoto, is worshipped in the Kami-chikama-jinja, a *sessha* of the Atsuta-jingû (*Nihongi*, VII, 28). The sword finally landed in the Atsuta-jingû, but it was stolen from there in A.D. 668 by the Buddhist priest Dô-kyô (*Nihongi*, XXVII, 20), and only returned in A.D. 686 by Emperor Temmu (*Nihongi*, XXIX, 62).

As a matter of fact, in the very precincts of the weird Atsuta-jingû there is still a small isolated stone wall, in which can be seen a large gate, the Seï-setsu-môn (the gate of the pure snow), also called Akazu-no-môn (which never opens), so that the sword should never leave again.

In that temple, Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi is the chief Kami. It is considered by the priests to be Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself; when pressed, however, they grant that, ‘more strictly speaking’, it is rather Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s *mitama-shiro*; and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami as such is also one of the *aidono-no-kami* in the same *honden*, probably with another *mitama-shiro*.⁽²²⁾ However that may be, it is most strange that Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami should thus be more or less assimilated to the symbol of the lowest earthly power in the whole Shintô mythology. But that is not the only puzzling thing about the Atsuta-jingû, the only Shintô temple I ever saw where priests seem afraid that a stranger should understand what is going on inside.

Futsu-no-mitama is also the Kami of the Tsuna-gun Iwagami-jinja.

A replica of the divine sword was made for keeping in the palace when the original was removed from it, and it had a chequered career. It was lost during the war with the Taira and never recovered. A second replica was made, and a third, which was offered to the Emperor by the province of Ise, and now is in the Imperial Palace.⁽⁶⁹³⁾

It should be noted that among many authors there appears to be considerable confusion between the two swords.

To return to the myth, after thus disposing of the monster, Susano-wo ‘sought in the land of Izumo for a place where he might build a palace (*miya*). Then he arrived at a place [which came to be called] Suga, and said: “On coming to this place my august heart is pure (lit. I feel refreshed, *suga-sugashi*)”, and in that place he built a palace to dwell in... Clouds (*kumo*) rose up. Then he made an august song (*uta*):

Eight clouds arise.
The clouds which come forth are an eight-fold fence
For the husband and the wife to retire within.
Oh! that eight-fold fence! (*Kojiki*, I, xix).

Both Japanese and foreign commentators have discussed this song at great length, and it has even been suggested that the province of Izumo derived its name from it. Both the Izumo-ô-yashiro and the Yaëgaki-jinja⁽⁶³¹⁾ are claimed to have been built on the spot where that fence was raised. In any case, the eight clouds and the eight-fold fence have retained considerable ritual importance in the area. The ceiling of the *honden* in the Izumo-ô-yashiro is decorated with a painting representing seven instead of eight clouds ‘for an occult reason’.⁽⁶³¹⁾

To the above song should very largely be attributed the fact that Susano-wo is worshipped as a powerful protecting Kami for human marriages.

Then Susano-wo called Ashi-nazu-chi and said: ‘Thee do I appoint headman (*obito*) of my palace’, and moreover, he bestowed on him the name of Inada-no-miya-nushi-Sugano-yatsu-mimi-no-kami (Master of the temple of Inada—Eight-eared Kami of Suga)’ (*Kojiki*, I, xix). The episode of the palace of Suga is narrated in almost identical terms in the *Nihongi* main version (I, 52–53).

In the palace thus obtained, Susano-wo and Inada-hime (here called Mirâ-herâ-inada) his wife procreated one child, Ya-shima-ji-nu-mi (Eight-island ruler), who in his turn wedded Kono-hana-chiru-hime (Princess falling like the flowers of the trees), a daughter of Ô-yama-tsu-mi, and therefore a granddaughter of Izanagi and Izanami, and one of whose

sisters, Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, became the wife of Prince Ninigi and the Kami of Mount Fuji (cf. p. 474 below). From this marriage came a long list of successive generations:

Their son, Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu (meaning uncertain) married Hi (sun or spirit)-kaha (river)- hime, a daughter of Kura-okami (one of the Kami born from the blood of Kagu-tsuchi).

Their son, Fuka-fuchi-no-mizu-yare-hana (Water-spoilt blossom of the deep pool) married Ame-no-tsudohé-chi-ne (Heavenly assembling-town lady?), whose ancestry is not mentioned.

Their son, Ô-mizu-nu-no-kami (Great water-master Kami) married Fute-mimi-no-kami (Kami grand-ears), a daughter of Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami (meaning uncertain), a Kami not mentioned before.

Their son, Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami (Heavenly brandishing prince lord Kami) married Sasu (or Sashi)-kuni-waka-hime (Young Princess of the small country), a daughter of Sasu (or Sashi)-kuni-ô-no-kami (Great Kami of the small country), a Kami not mentioned before, but the first one in this genealogy in whose name we find the word *kuni*, which more often than not designates an Earthly Kami in contradistinction to a Heavenly Kami.

Their son was Ô-kuni-nushi-no-kami (Kami master of the great land, or: a Great administrator),⁽⁶³⁾ who plays a considerable part in the next section of the Shintô Genesis.

But Susano-wo himself also married another wife, Kamu-ô-ichi-hime, a daughter of Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, and therefore a sister of his own daughter-in-law. She gave him two sons: Ô-toshi-no-kami (Great harvest Kami), whom other traditions consider to be either a grandson of Ô-kuni-nushi or a great-grandson of Toyo-uke-bime,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ and who is an important agricultural Kami, and Uga-no-mitama (August spirit of food), who later became the main Kami worshipped under the name of Inari (cf. Chapter XXII) (*Kojiki*, I, xx). Kamu-ô-ichi-hime herself is one of the Kami in the Kaji-chô Awata-jinja.

The above genealogy is ignored by the *Nihongi*, except in one alternative version (1, 53), which we have already mentioned.

Still another version merely records that ‘the child who was born of Inada-no-miya-nushi Susa-no-yatsu-mimi, namely Ma-gami-furu-kushi-inada-hime (True-hair-touch wondrous Inada princess), was removed to the upper waters (*kami*) of the river Hi, in the province of Izumo, and brought up there. After this, Susano-wo made her his consort (*mime*) and had by her a child whose descendant in the sixth generation was Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi).’ (I, 55).

The main temple to Inada-hime and her parents seems to be the esoteric Ômiya Hikawa-jinja, near the river Hi, where Susano-wo killed the monster. According to tradition it is twenty-four or twenty-five centuries old, but it was rebuilt in 1881. The chief Kami is Susano-wo, and the *aidono-no-kami* are Ô-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto and Ô-kushi-inada-hime-no-mikoto. The caskets containing the three *go-shintai* are called respectively Nantaï-sha (Temple of the male body), Hi-no-ôji-sha (Temple of the fire-prince) and Jo-taï-sha (temple of the female body). In a *sessha*, the Monkakujin-jinja, Inada-hime’s parents, Te-nazu-chi-no-mikoto and Ashi-nazu-chi-no-mikoto, are enshrined. It may be noted that in that particular section of its course, the river Hi bears the name of Ara-kawa (the river of wrath), just as in connection with the killing of the serpent, Susano-wo often bears the name of Ara-kami (the Kami of wrath). Along with Ô-kuni-nushi, Inada-hime is invited to the Naoï-matsuri.⁽⁴⁶⁵⁾ She is also associated with Susano-wo in the worship of several other

temples, such as the Kyoto Yasaka-jinja, the Nakono-jinja, the Yaëgaki-jinja, the Kaji-chô Awata-jinja, etc., with Ô-namuchi and Koto-shiro-nushi in the Imamiya-jinja.

The *Nihongi* (I, 57–58) supplies us with some additional information about Susano-wo's and his son's activities in the field of afforestation:

‘Before this (i.e. before Susano-wo presented to the Heavenly Kami the sword which he had found in the monster's tail), when Iso-takeru-nokami (a son of Susano-wo's, who accompanied him from Korea, (cf. p. 314 above) descended from Heaven, he took down with him the seeds (*tane*) of trees (*ki*) in great quantity. However he did not plant them in the land of Han (Korea ?), but brought them all back again, and finally sowed them every one throughout the Great Eight-island-country (Ô-ya-shima-kuni), beginning with Tsukushi. Thus green mountains were produced. For this reason, Iso-takeru was styled Isaoshi-no-kami (meritorious Kami). He is the great Kami who dwells in the land of Kii.

‘In one writing it is stated: Susano-wo said: “In the region (*shima*) of the land of Han there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches (*uki-takara*). So he plucked out his beard (*hige*) and scattered it; thereupon cryptomerias were produced. Moreover he plucked out the hairs of his breast (*mune*), which became thuyas. The hairs of his buttocks (*kakure*) became podocarpi. The hairs of his eyebrows (*mayu*) became camphor-trees. Having done so, he determined their uses. The... cryptomerias and the camphor-trees were to be made into floating riches (*uki-takara*, i.e. ships); the thuya was to be used as timber for building fair palaces (or Shintô shrines); the podocarpus was to form receptacles in which the visible race of man (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) was to be laid in secluded burial-places. For their food he well sowed and made to grow all the eighty kinds of fruit....’

At first sight, this action of Susano-wo seems to be—to say the least—a reversal of what is reported of him when, complaining of his lot, weeping and wailing, ‘he caused green mountains to become withered’ (cf. p. 286 above). The only conclusion to be drawn is that before heavenly influences could be brought down, vegetation could not prosper on Earth, but after those influences had come, and after Susano-wo had prevailed over the lowest earthly powers and presented them to heaven as an offering, vegetation, even of the most sacred trees and plants, could flourish.

* * *

The great organizer and consolidator of the land, Ô-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto, has a great variety of names, as stressed by one of them, Ô-namuchi-no-kami, generally translated Great-name-possessor, although several other translations have been suggested, including great land-owner,⁽⁶³⁾ and great holepossessor, which would allude to the story of the mouse-hole in which he once had to take refuge (cf. p. 322 below).

The following names, taken from a variety of Scriptural sources (including the *Kojiki*, which gives five; the *Nihongi*, which gives seven; the *Kogoshûi*, the *Izumo-no-kokuzô kamu-yo-goto*; the *Ô-yamato-no-jinja-chushin-jo*) were considered authentic by Baron Sonpuku Senge, the famous nineteenth-century high-priest of the chief Ô-kuni-nushi temple in Izumo.⁽⁶³¹⁾

Ashi-hara-shiko-wo-no-kami, translated Kami of the reed-plains (i.e. Japan) by Chamberlain, Ugly male of the reed-plain by Aston, and Handsome (*chiko*) man of the reed-plain by Tamotsu Kaneseiki.

Ô-namuchi-no-kami, also translated Kami of great deeds.

Kushi-mika-tama-no-kami, Kami spirit of the wonderful beer-jars.

Ô-kuni-tama-no-kami, Great-country-jewel, or Kami-spirit of the great land.

Ô-mono-nushi-no-mikoto, translated Great-country-thing-master by Aston and Great-spirit-owner by Tamotsu Kaneseiki. Under that name more particularly, the Kami was often considered as a Buddhist deity, called Kompira, and worshipped as such in various temples (Kotohira-gû, etc.).

Ô-toko-nushi-no-kami, Kami master of the great Earth.

Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami, Kami spirit of the living land, or Apparent country jewel.

Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami, Deity of eight thousand spears, or Valiant one.⁽⁶³⁾

Among other names, we may also mention:

Ame-ga (or no)-shita-tsukurashishi-ô-kami, Great-Kami-maker of all under heaven.

Iwa-no-ô-kami, Great Kami of wine.

Kakurigoto-shiro-shimesu-ô-kami, Great-Kami-ruler of invisible things.

Kuni-tsukurashishi-ô-kami, Great-Kami-master of the land.

Kuni-tsukuri-ô-namuchi-no-mikoto, Kami-maker-of-the-land and Great-name-possessor.

Kushi-mika-dzuchi-no-kami, Kami spirit of wonderful water-jars.

All those names evidently refer to so many different aspects of the same Kami, and in each episode the suitable name is used. In order, however, to make things easier for the reader, we shall always use the name Ô-kuni-nushi, Kami master of the great land, which is one of the most commonly used and which refers to his essential task, i.e. his becoming actually 'master' of the land, and add in brackets the name actually used.

In order to become the master of the land, the 'spirit of the living land'—titles which as a matter of fact were bestowed upon him only at a later stage, when all the preliminary operations had been completed—Ô-kuni-nushi had to 'begin to make the land'. This did not in any way duplicate the process carried out by Izanagi and Izanami, but was its logical continuation. All the elements had been provided by the divine couple, but those elements still had to be fitted into one another and to be protected so as to become an architectural, permanent, living structure.

Before he could thus 'begin to make the land', which he was called upon to master and animate (by becoming its 'living spirit'), Ô-kuni-nushi had to undergo a long series of ordeals which are described in the *Kojiki* in a perfectly logical order of succession, and which constitute together a very full 'initiation', such as can be found in all traditional societies. In the course of those ordeals, he had to overcome the following:

In the first series, which were imposed on him by his brothers, he had to overcome:

(a) the destructive powers of nature herself, i.e. the sea and the wind, which through the frequent tidal-waves and typhoons are deadly to the unprotected living being (the white hare of Inaba).

(b) The inertia of lifeless matter (the big burning stone).

(c) The inertia of vegetable matter (the dead cleft tree).

(d) The deadly jealousy of man (his brothers' arrows).

The next series of ordeals were imposed by his own father, Susano-wo, when he came to claim as his wife Susano-wo's own daughter, i.e. both his power and his heritage:

(e) The hostility of inferior animals (snakes, centipedes, wasps).

(f) The devastating action of fire lit by the hostility of man—as distinct from natural disasters (the fire on the moor).

(g) The very complex forces incarnated by his own father, and which probably include the power over death, the opposition of senior generations to the triumph over them of the junior ones, etc.

Let us consider those ordeals in detail.

Although they are not mentioned among the children of Susano-wo, it is stated in a later passage that 'Ô-kuni-nushi had eighty Kami, his brethren, but they all left the land' to him (*Kojiki*, I, xxi).

In the course of his long career, Ô-kuni-nushi was to marry a number of wives, prominent among whom were Yakami-hime (Princess of Inaba), Suseri-hime (Forward Princess), who was herself a daughter of Susano-wo's and became Ô-kuni-nushi's chief 'Empress', and Nuna-kawa-hime (Princess of Nuna-kawa). His wooing of them was by no means plain sailing.

In his attempt to secure Yakami-hime as his wife, he met with stubborn opposition from his eighty brothers, who also wished to marry her: They went together to Inaba, putting their bag (*fukuro*) on [the back of] Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi), whom they took with them as an attendant (*tomobito*). On the way, they found a scorched (*akahada-m-nam*, i.e. deprived of his fur) hare (*usagi*) which had tried to play a trick on the *wani* (sea-monsters, sharks or crocodiles), but which one of them had stripped of its fur. The eighty brothers in their turn played a trick on the hare, advising him to bathe in sea-water (*ushiö*) and then expose himself to the wind (*kaze*). Ô-kuni-nushi, coming afterwards, told the hare: 'Go quickly now to the river-mouth (*minato*), wash thy body with the [fresh] water (*mizu*), then take the pollen of the sedges (*kama*), spread it about and roll upon it.' And the body of the hare was 'restored to its original state'. In gratitude for this, the hare told Ô-kuni-nushi that he would marry Yakami-hime. (*Kojiki*, I, xxi). The Inaba-fudoki gives a slightly different version. The hare of Inaba is now the Kami of the Hakuto-jinja.

And in fact the princess did select Ô-kuni-nushi. But the angry brothers made three successive attempts to get rid of him.

First of all they ordered him to stop a large stone (*ishi*) which they had made red-hot and sent rolling down from the top of Mount Tema in the land of Hahaki, telling him that the stone was a red (*aka*) boar (*i*). He was 'burnt by the stone, and died (*miuse-tama-hiki*).' His mother (Sasu-kuni-waka-hime) 'entreated Kami-musubi-no-kami, who at once sent Kisa-gahi-hime (Princess Cockle-shell) and Umugahi-hime (Princess Clam) to bring him back to life. Then Kisa-gahi-hime triturated (*kisage*, from *kisageru*, to share) and scorched (*atsume-te*, from *atsumeru*, to gather) [her shell], and Umugahi-hime carried water and smeared (*nurishi* from *nuru*, to paint) [him] as with mother's milk (*omo-no-chishiru*), whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off (*Kojiki*, I, xxii). The help thus given to Ô-kuni-nushi earned for the two princesses the collective name of Inochi-hime-no-mikoto (life-giving princesses ?),⁽⁶³¹⁾ under which they are worshipped in the Izumo Kami—musubi—inochi—hime—no-kami—yashiro, also called Amazaki-no

yashiro.⁽⁶³¹⁾ Under their individual names, they are also enshrined in the *honden* of the Oë-jinja (Tottori-ken). This episode might be construed to mean that the deadly inertia of lifeless matter can be overcome by the life that lies hidden in that same matter.

The brothers did not give up. ‘Taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree (*ki*) they inserted a wedge (*hime-ya*) in the tree, and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge, and tortured him to death.’ His mother again came to the rescue. ‘At once cleaving the tree, [she] took him out and brought him to life’. And she ‘sent him off swiftly to the august place of Ô-ya-biko-no-kami (Kami great-house prince), a Kami who is identified with I (or Iso)-takeru (cf. p. 318 above).

‘Then, when the eighty Kami searched and pursued him till they came up to him and fixed their arrows [in their bows], he escaped by dipping under the fork of a tree (*ki-no-mata*), and disappeared.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxii).

No explanation has come to my notice of the esoteric meaning which is certainly hidden in the ‘fork of a tree’ and the ‘wedge’.

Ô-ya-biko then instructed Ô-kuni-nushi to go to Ne-no-katasu-kuni (Nether-distant land) to consult Susano-wo in person. The latter’s daughter, Suseri (to move actively, to promote)-hime, came out and saw him, and they exchanged glances and were married. [She] went in again and told her father, saying: ‘A very beautiful Kami has come.’ Susano-wo (who is called throughout this episode The great Kami) went out and looked, and said: “This is the Ugly male Kami of the reed-plains (Kuni-tsukuri-ô-namuchi)”.

And Susano-wo tried his best to dispose of the unwelcome suitor, his descendant in the fifth generation. He successively made him sleep in the snake-house (*hemi-no-muroya*), and in the centipede- (*mukade*) and wasp- (*hachi*) house, but Suseri-hime in each case provided him with a magic scarf (*hire*), which protected him.

Susano-wo then sent a whizzing-arrow (*nari-kabura*) ‘into the middle of a large moor (*nu*) and sent him to fetch it, and, when he had entered the moor, at once set fire to the moor all round’. But a mouse (*nezumi*) showed him a hole in which he hid during the fire, after which the mouse and its children brought him the arrow and all its feathers (*ha*) in their mouths (*kuchi*). Suseri-hime and her father thought he was dead, but he came back with the arrow.

A very queer episode then took place. Susano-wo,

‘taking him into the house and calling him into a...large room, made him take the lice (*shirami*) off his head. On looking at the head, [Ô-kuni-nushi saw that] there were many centipedes (*mukade*) [there]...His wife gave him berries of the *muku* tree and red earth (*hani*); he chewed the berries to pieces and spat them out with the red earth which he held in his mouth, so that Susano-wo believed him to be chewing up and spitting out the centipedes, and, feeling fond [of him] in his heart, fell asleep. Then Ô-kuni-nushi, grasping Susano-wo’s hair (*kami*), tied it fast to the various rafters (*tariki*) of the house, and, blocking up the door (*to*) of the house with a five-hundred draught rock (i.e. a rock which it would require five hundred men to lift), and taking his wife Suseri-hime on his back, carried off Susano-wo’s great life-sword (*iku-tachi*) and life-bow and arrows (*iku-yumi-ya*), as also his heavenly speaking lute (*ame-no-nori-goto*), and ran out.

‘But the...lute brushed against a tree (*ki*), and the earth resounded. So Susano-wo... started at the sound, and pulled down the house. But while he was disentangling his hair

which was tied to the rafters, Ô-kuni-nushi fled a long way. So then, pursuing after him to Yomo-tsu-hira-saka (the even pass of Hades, the same place to which Izanami had pursued Izanagi), he called to him, saying: “With the great life-sword and the life-bow and arrows which thou carriest, pursue thy brethren (*ani-ototo-domo*) until they crouch (*oifuse*) on the august slopes (*o*) of the passes (*saka*, which may also mean hills), and pursue them till they are swept (*ohi-harahi*) into the reaches (*se*) of the rivers, and do thou, wretch (*ore*), become the Kami master of the great land (Ô-kuni-nushi); and, moreover, becoming the Kami spirit of the living land (Utsushi-kuni-tama), and making my daughter Suseri-hime thy chief-wife (*muka-hime*), do thou make stout the temple-pillars (*miya-bashira*) at the foot of Mount Uka (where the Izumo-ô-yashiro now stands) in the nethermost rock-bottom (*iwane*) and make high the cross-beams (*higi*) to the Plain of High Heaven (Takama-no-hara), and dwell there, thou villain!” (*Kojiki*, I, xxiii).

The encounter between Susano-wo and Ô-kuni-nushi evidently marks the great turning-point in the ‘making and consolidating of the land’ by the Earthly Kami.

Apparently, when Ô-kuni-nushi came to see him, Susano-wo had retired to the underworld, Ne-no-kuni, the ‘Nether-distant-land’, that very world to which he had first wanted to follow Izanami.* The similarity between his case and that of his mother is strikingly brought out by the fact that both ‘pursue’ their respective partners up to the ‘Even Pass of Hades’, beyond which they do not proceed, and at which they give up, with a mixture of curses and blessings, leaving the said partners in sole command of the ‘world of living men’.

When Ô-kuni-nushi escapes, however, instead of leaving behind him—as Izanagi had done—some of the most characteristic symbols of his strength and power (i.e. his comb, cf. p. 274f. above), he carries off with him the most characteristic symbols of Susano-wo’s strength and power: his weapons, his lute and his daughter. The difference, if we look at it more closely, may nevertheless not be so great as would appear at first sight, since it is as a direct result of his meeting with Izanami that Izanagi can give birth to a number of very important Kami during the process of his purification.

However this may be, there cannot be much doubt that the sword, bow and arrows represent various aspects of Susano-wo’s forceful mastery over his realm, the ‘heavenly-speaking’ lute, his capacity to make harmony obtain in that realm, and the daughter, his ability to prolong his sovereignty through successive generations. In connection with the weapons, it is interesting to note how insistently the word ‘life’ (*iku*) is repeated whenever they are mentioned; this may of course refer to the fact that Susano-wo has by this time retired to the Nether-distant land, and left the world of *living* men, the only sphere in which those weapons could be used, but it certainly also stresses that Ô-kuni-nushi will need them in that world of which he will be made Master, just as he will need the other two legacies unwillingly transferred to him, and of which the constructive nature is more self-evident.

In the course of the episode, after he has successfully undergone the various ordeals, and before he can secure Susano-wo’s powers for himself, Ô-kuni-nushi still has to triumph

* As a matter of fact Aston holds that Susano-wo became the Lord of Ne-no-kuni *because* he wanted to go to Izanami.⁽³²³⁾

over Susano-wo himself. Although the meaning of many details remains obscure, the general lines of the symbolism are fairly clear. Susano-wo feels that his strength and power (i.e. his hair, *kami*) are threatened and weakened by parasites, which suck it off (lice, which are later discovered to include centipedes). He asks Ô-kuni-nushi, whose capacities he has tested, to rid him of them, and when he believes that Ô-kuni-nushi is doing it well, he ‘feels fond of him in his heart’, and relies on him to the point of falling asleep—which may mean unwittingly retiring from the consciousness of life, of the living world. Ô-kuni-nushi however does not do as he was bidden; he not only leaves all the insects in Susano-wo’s hair, but he also ties that hair to the roof of the house and blocks the door, i.e. does everything he can to prevent Susano-wo’s power from exerting itself outside its present narrowest domain. Susano-wo is awakened by the sound of the heavenly-speaking lute brushing against a tree (symbolic of life), but too late. And his parting words are to instruct and empower Ô-kuni-nushi to reign over the world of living men, from its most solid material basis (the Nether-most rock-bottom) to its highest spiritual aspirations and inspirations (the Plain of High Heaven).

The *Nihongi* closes the story of Susano-wo’s life with the following words: Thereafter Susano-wo dwelt on the Peak of Kuma-nari, and eventually entered Ne-no-kuni (the Nether distant land)’. (I, 59). The *Kojiki* makes no mention of Susano-wo’s final departure. Kuma-nari is believed to be the present Kuma-no or Kuma-nu. But there are in Japan two places which bear the name, one in Shimane-ken and one in Wakayama-ken, and both claim to have the original Kuma-nari.⁽¹²²⁾

Masaharu Anesaki states that ‘there is a place on the Eastern coast of Kii, where the grave of Susano-wo is said to exist; the villagers celebrate his festival by covering his grave with flowers.’⁽³¹⁰⁾ The authorities of the Jinja-honchô, however, deny it, and explain that what is referred to is really the grave of Izanami in the Ubuta-jinja, also called Hana-iwaya-jinja.⁽¹²²⁾

Practically all Western scholars have repeatedly stated that Susano-wo is an *evil* Kami, who destroys men, brings plagues, etc., and that all worship offered to him is exclusively intended to placate his wrathful disposition. To my mind, this view arises from the Western concept—which is *not* applicable to Shintô—that mythology is a tale of a fight between Good and Evil. Since Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is good and beneficent, Susano-wo, who fought her, *must* be bad and malevolent. But most Asian mythologies, including Shintô, are quite different; they tell the story of a gradual growth and development, at each step of which a higher principle triumphs over the previous—and therefore comparatively lower—principle. Viewed in this light, Susano-wo played an absolutely essential part in the creation of the world, and without him the next steps could never have been taken. We stressed it in our relation of his myth, and we find it fully confirmed in the various temples consecrated to him.

The *gûji* of the Kyoto Yasaka-jinja, which is the most important Susano-wo temple, and one of the very greatest temples in Japan, offers the following etymology for Susano-wo: *su* stands for ‘gentility’ and *sa* for spirituality, the latter being the more important of the two. As a matter of fact, in common pronunciation, the first syllable is practically not sounded and the name generally spoken Sanoô. According to this eminent *gûji*, *sa* really designates all Kami in general, and every Kami is a partial expression of *sa*. *Sa* in

this context would be very closely related to *musubi*. From one part of *sa* arose the very concept of Ame-no-minaka-nushi, which in its turn brought out (1) the Earth, (2) Life, and (3) the concept of superhuman power. And it is from there that *musubi* finally came. When therefore people feel unhappy, they turn to *sa*, i.e. Susano-wo and seek his blessing. For that reason, Susano-wo has come to be the embodiment of human suffering, in contradistinction to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who represents the perfection of Deity worshipped, but the two are inseparable.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

The people who flock in millions to celebrate the great festival of the Yasaka-jinja, the Gion-matsuri (cf. pp. 208–12 above) certainly do not look upon Susano-wo as the Kami who brings misfortune to men, but as the Kami to whom they turn in times of misfortune. It is certainly not from fear of him that about three thousand temples have been built throughout Japan with *bun-rei* from the Yasaka-jinja.

Susano-wo is worshipped under a great variety of names, which correspond to his many-sided activities.

As we have seen, he was closely connected with afforestation. Under the name of Ketsumiko-no-kami (or Miketsu-no-kami), he is the central Kami in the Hongû-taisha (or Kumano-ni-masu-jinja), where the main matsuri is connected with planting of saplings.^(122, 591) In the Soshi-mori-no yashiro, a *massha* of the Atsuta-jingû—and nowhere else—he is worshipped under the name of Komori-ô-kami. Still other names are found in other temples which connect him most definitely with trees and forests.

More generally speaking, Susano-wo, the Kami who ‘made’ the land, is a great patron of agriculture. In the names of many of his descendants, we find the words *ho* (ear of rice), *toshi* (harvest), *uka* (rice), etc.

Many temples, such as the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, regularly commemorate his victory over the great monster, Yamata-no-orochi. But the most striking of all his names, if we remember his career, is undoubtedly Gozu-tennô, or simply Tennô, by which he is called in a great many shrines, and which means ‘King of heaven’. For this appellation I could obtain no mythological explanation. Under this name, he was made one of the judges of Buddhist hells!

The name Susano-wo itself is not very often used in the designation of the Kami in the name of the temple, and it is written with at least three different sorts of Chinese ideograms. According to the Jinja-honchô, there are only twelve Susano-wo-jinja, half of which use the characters meaning ‘energetic or progressive hero’. In the Tsushima-jinja (a very popular temple, which has many branch-temples throughout Japan, and in which he is associated with Ô-namuchi), in the Izumo-ino-heno-jinja (a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-o-ya-jinja), etc., he is given his full name, Take-haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto, by which he is designated in the *Kojiki*.

On the basis of *Nihongi*, I, 12, some comparatively recent texts, such as the *Shintô Miomoku*, make Susano-wo a trinity, composed of Kami-susa-no-wo, Haya-susano-wo and plain Susano-wo; he is then given the collective name of Sampô-kôjin.⁽³²⁴⁾ (Cf. p. 418 below.)

Among the various activities of Ô-kuni-mishi after he had obtained domination over the world of living men was what is generally termed ‘country-pulling’ (*kuni-biki*), although this

action is sometimes attributed, as in the Izumo-fudoki, to a Kami called Yatsuka-mizuomi-tsunu-no-mikoto. We cannot describe it better than by quoting the Izumo-fudoki:

‘Yatsuka-mizuomi-tsunu (a descendant in the fourth generation of Susano-wo, the pioneer of Izumo province), who performed the countrypulling, made an address augustly, saying: ‘The *kuni* of Izumo, where the eight clouds rise up, is a narrow strip of young *kuni*, made at first small [at the time of Izanagi and Izanami]. So it has to be made up by fastening.’ So saying, he further said augustly: “When I looked at the Cape of Shiragi, paper-mulberry-coverlet-like, to see if there was a land to spare, there was a land to spare.” So saying, he took the spade of the maiden’s breast (a unit of length, but quite possibly with another esoteric meaning), pushed it [into the cape] as into the gill of a large fish (as he would have done with a fishing hook), shook it round like the flag-shaped pampa grass-ears (*hata-suzuki*), and took off the land. Then, putting a three-ply rope upon the land, he pulled it slowly and slowly, like a river-boat, in the tackling-and-tackling manner of a frost wicker-basket, saying: “Land, come! Land, come!” The land thus joined is the Cape of Yahoni-Kizuki, which is separated from Koze. The mooring-post that was thus set up firmly is a mountain, Sahime-yama by name, situated on the boundary between Iwami-no-kuni and Izumo-no-kuni. And the rope used in the pulling is the long beach of Sono.’ The identical operation was then repeated for the *kuni* of Sada, the *kuni* of Kurami and the mountain of Ôkami-no-take. After which “Kuni-pulling is over”, he said augustly, and saying “Oë!” (it is over), set his cane in a grove which was named Oû after this.’⁽⁴⁵¹⁾

Ô-kuni-nushi had many wives and many children. After he had obtained at the cost of such great pains the paternal consent to his marriage with Suseri-hime, one would have expected him to procreate children with her. Instead of which he had sexual relations with Yakami-hime, the princess he had won in a long fight with his eighty brothers, and whom he ‘brought with him’(!) But, fearing Suseri-hime, who, as we shall see, was of a very jealous disposition, Yakami-hime ‘stuck in the fork of a tree (again a hiding place, as for Ô-kuni-nushi himself!) the child that she had borne, and went back (presumably to Inaba). So the child was named by the name of Ki-no-mata-no-kami (Kami of the tree-fork), and another name for him was Mi-wi-no-kami (Kami of august wells)’ (*Kojiki* I, xxiii), for he is credited with having benefited the country by digging wells in many places.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ya-chi-hoko) immediately afterwards proceeded to woo (*yobafu*) another princess, Nuna-kawa-hime, in the ‘barbarous northern country’⁽³⁴⁸⁾ of Koshi. They exchanged beautiful songs, but, in spite of the impatience shown by both, they were able to get married only the next night (*Kojiki*, I, xxiv). No children are reported.

Suseri-hime’s jealousy was of course not placated by the new amorous venture of her divine husband. And the latter came to resent his chief wife’s attitude to such an extent that he decided to leave her in Izumo and himself proceed to the land of Yamato. He informed her of his intention in a beautiful song which he sang to her ‘as he stood attired, with one august hand on the saddle of his august horse, and one august foot in the august stirrup’. Suseri-hime, however, did not accept her defeat.

‘Taking a great august liquor-cup, and drawing near and offering it to him, [she] sang, saying: “... Thou, ... indeed, being a man (o), probably hast on the various island-headlands (*saki*) that thou seest, and on every beach-headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the

young herbs (*waka-kusa*). But as for me, alas! being a woman, I have no man (o) except thee; I have no spouse (*tsumd*) except thee. Beneath the fluttering of the ornamental fence (*kaki*, a curtain around the sleeping place?), beneath the softness of the warm coverlet (*fusuma*), beneath the rustling of the cloth coverlet, [thine] arms white as rope of the paper-mulberry bark (*taku*), softly patting [my] breasts (*mune*) soft as the melting snow (*awa-yuki*), and patting [each other] interlaced (*managari*), stretching out and pillowing [ourselves] on [each other's arms] (*sashi-maki*), true jewel arms (*ma-tama-de*), and with outstretched legs (*momo-naga-ni*), will we sleep.” (*Kojiki*, I, xxv).

A remarkable thing is that the latter—and most poetic and sentimental—part of this song reproduces word for word a song which in the previous chapter was sung to the same Kami by his other wife the princess of Nunakawa.

Ô-kuni-nushi responded to the loving appeal, and ‘they at once pledged [each other] by the cup with [their hands] on [each other's] necks (*una*), and are at rest (*shizumari*) till the present time.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxv).

Suseri-hime does not seem to play any part in later episodes. Very little worship is offered to her. She used to have a temple of her own, the Wakasuseri-hime-jinja, in Shimane-ken, but that was later merged with another temple, the Namesa-jinja, where she is associated with Ô-kuni-nushi and Izanagi. She is still worshipped at Izumo as the only Kami in the Ô-kami-no-ô-kisaki-no-kami-yashiro (also called Mi-bikai-no-yashiro).⁽⁶³¹⁾

This peaceful and apparently final reconciliation with his chief Empress did not prevent Ô-kuni-nushi from seeking a few other wives. Which after all, whether historical or only symbolic, was only natural for the Kami who was to exercise control over the whole of the world of living men.

First, he wedded Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto (Torrent-mist Princess), the first Kami born of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's jewels after Susano-wo had ‘crunchingly crunched them’ (cf. p. 293 above), one of the Munakata-nokami, who is also worshipped in the Izumo Kami-musubi-no-miko-no-kami-yashiro (also called Tsukushi-no-yashiro). The connection established in Itsukushima, and to which we have just referred, between Suseri-hime and the Munakata-no-kami may therefore have originated in a variant of this episode. However that may be, Ta-kiri-bime gave her husband two children: Aji-shiki-taka-hikone (meaning uncertain) and Taka-hime-no-mikoto (High Princess), also called Shitateru-hime-no-mikoto (Under-shining Princess), who became Ame-waka-hiko's ‘earthly’ wife (cf. p. 338 below).

He next wedded Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto (Princess divine-house-shield), now worshipped in the Tsunaba-jinja. Their child, Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami (Sign-master Kami) plays a considerable part, both in later episodes and in present-day worship; we shall discuss him later (cf. p. 343ff. below).

Then he married Tori-mimi-no-kami (Kami bird-ears), a daughter of Ya-shima-muji-no-kami (Kami eight-islands-possessor). Their child, Tori-naru-mi-no-kami (Kami bird-growing-ears) is the starting point of a long genealogy comprising eight generations of Kami after him. The successive children and their respective wives do not seem to appear later in the scriptures, nor to be the object of any important worship. We should only mention that one of the brides, Hina-rashi-bime, was a daughter of Okami-no-kami, probably one

of the Kami born of the blood of Kagu-tsuchi (cf. p. 171 above), and that another, Tohotsu-machi-ne-no-kami, was a daughter of Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami, one of the children born of Izanagi and Izanami (cf. p. 266 above). (*Kojiki*, I, xxvi).

The Izumo-fudoki also reports that he tried to marry Ayato (designed gate)⁽¹²²⁾ -hime-no-mikoto, a daughter of Kami-musubi, who was living in Uka, but she turned him down and fled away.⁽⁶³¹⁾

A later passage in the *Nihongi* (II, 21) further informs us that for political reasons he had later to marry Miho (nice countenance, or splendid fire, etc.)⁽¹²²⁾ -tsu-hime (cf. p. 351 below), who is enshrined in a *massha* of the Kotohira-gû. Except for this single reference, the *Nihongi* remains silent about all the above marriages; it laconically states that Ô-kuni-nushi's 'children were in all one hundred and eighty-one Kami.' (I, 59).

* * *

The scriptures then begin to describe the fairly mysterious arrival of two more Kami, who apparently help Ô-kuni-nushi in his task of 'making the land'.

'When Ô-kuni-nushi dwelt at the august Cape of Miho in Izumo, there came riding on the crest (*ho*, literally ear [of rice]) of the waves (*nami*), in a boat (*fune*) of heavenly *kagami* (an unidentified plant), a Kami dressed in skins of geese (or wrens, or moths, or silk-worm moths, or fire-insects ?), flayed (*bagite*) with a complete flaying, who, when asked his name, replied not; moreover the Kami who accompanied him, though asked, all said that they knew not. Then the toad (or frog, *tani-guku*) spoke, saying: "As for this, Kuye-biko (Crumbling Prince) will surely know it." Thereupon Ô-kuni-nushi summoned and asked Kuye-biko, who replied, saying: "This is Sukuna-hikona-no-kami (the renowned-little-prince Kami), the august child of Kami-musubi." So, on their respectfully informing the august Ancestor, Kami-musubi, he replied, saying: "This is truly my child. He among my children is the child who dipped between the fork of my hand (*ta-na-mata*), i.e. between my fingers). So do he and thou become brethren, and make and consolidate this land.'" (*Kojiki*, I, xxvii).

The *Nihongi* (I, 62–63) gives us a somewhat fuller version:

'When Ô-kuni-nushi was pacifying (*kotomuke*) the land, he went to Wobama in Ihasa, in the province of Izumo. He was just having some food and drink, when of a sudden there was heard a human voice (*hito no koë*) from the surface of the sea (*wata*). He was astonished, but on seeking for it, there was nothing at all to be seen. After a while, a dwarf (*wo-guna*) appeared, who had made a boat (*fune*) of the rind of a *kagami* and clothing of the feathers (*ha*) of a wren. He came floating towards him on the tide (*shiö*), and Ô-kuni-nushi, taking him up, placed him on the palm of his hand (*ta-na-uchi*). He was playing with him when the dwarf leaped up and bit him on the cheek (*tsura*). He wondered at his appearance, and sent a messenger to report the matter to the Kami of Heaven. Now when Taka-mimusubi (not Kami-musubi as in the *Kojiki*) heard this, he said: "The children whom I have produced number in all one thousand and five hundred. Amongst them, one was very wicked (*nikuku-shite*), and would not yield compliance to my instructions. He slipped between my fingers and fell. This must be that child; let him be loved and nurtured." This was no other than Sukuna-hikona-no-mikoto.'

According to a tradition which has been kept at the Wada-jinja, but for which I could find no support in the scriptures, Sukuna-hikona had come several times to Japan, ‘from foreign countries’; this time he landed at the beach of Wada-mi-saki in Awaji, rested there and then proceeded to Nishinomiya, where he became the Ebisu (cf. p. 511f. below); he was the ‘opposite’ of Ô-kuni-nushi, or rather of Ô-namuchi, whose name may be interpreted to mean ‘great, much’, whereas *sukuna* means ‘very little’.⁽²⁰⁶⁾

The *Kojiki* then continues: ‘So from that time forward the two Kami, Ô-kuni-nushi and Sukuna-hikona, made and consolidated this land conjointly. But afterwards Sukuna-hikona crossed over to Toko-yo-no-kuni (the country of the eternal world).’ (I, xxvii).

Here again, the *Nihongi* goes into much greater detail:

‘Now Ô-kuni-nushi and Sukuna-hikona, with united strength and one heart, constructed (*tsukuri-tamofu*) this sub-celestial world (Ame-no-shita). Then, for the sake of the visible race of men (*utsushiki-aohitokusa*), as well as for beasts, they determined the method of healing diseases (*yamahi*). They also, in order to do away with the calamities (*wazawai*) of birds, [wild] beasts and creeping things (*hafu-mushi*, insects and reptiles), established means for their prevention and control (*majinaï*, which include appeals to the Kami for help). The people (*ômitakara*) enjoy the protection of these universally until the present day.

‘Before this, Ô-kuni-nushi spoke to Sukuna-hikona, and said: “May we not say that the country which we have made is well made (*yoku-nareri*)?” Sukuna-hikona answered and said: “In some parts it is complete (*nareru-tokoro*, completed spots), and in others it is incomplete (*narazaru-tokoro*).” This conversation has doubtless a mysterious import (*mune*).

Thereafter Sukuna-hikona went to Cape Kumano (in Izumo), and eventually proceeded to Tokoyo-nokuni. Another version is that he went to the island of Awa (cf. p. 259 above), where he climbed up a millet-stalk (*awa-gara*), and was thereupon jerked off (*hajikare*), and went to Toko-yo-nokuni.’ (I, 59–60).

Numberless temples, big and small, are consecrated to Sukuna-hikona throughout Japan. Most often he is associated with Ô-kuni-nushi as a god of medicine (cf. p. 349 below). The two are worshipped together as responsible for the development of the region in the Kimbu-jinja. In one Ama-tsu-jinja in Okayama, he is associated with Ame-no-minaka-nushi. Individually Sukuna-hikona is also considered as the patron of curative springs, to which he is believed to lead people,⁽³¹⁰⁾ more particularly in the prefectures of Tochigi, Fukushima and Hyôgo;⁽¹²²⁾ but he is also worshipped without any specification, as in the Yuki-noyashiro, a *massha* of the Kamo-mi-oja-jinja.

He is also worshipped as the great protector of trade, maritime and otherwise. And it is probably in his dual capacity of Kami of communications and of co-maker of the land that he has regularly been installed as one of the main Kami in the chief Shintô temples which were erected by the Japanese authorities in the countries which they had conquered: Formosa, Hokkai-do, Sakhalin, etc.

Buddhists worship him under the name of Yakushi-bosatsu-myôjin.⁽¹²²⁾

The story of Kuye-biko, the Kami who disclosed the identity of Sukuna-hikona, does not end there. According to the *Kojiki* (I, xxvii), ‘So, [the Kami here] called Kuye-biko, who revealed [the name of] Sukuna-hikona is what is now [called] the scarecrow (*sohodo*) in the mountain-fields (*yama-da*). This Kami, though his legs do not walk, is a Kami who

knows everything under Heaven (Ame-noshita).’ We shall discuss his worship later (cf. p. 500 below).

Sukuna-hikona’s doubts about the work being completed were apparently justified. And Ô-kuni-nushi soon realized it. According to the *Nihongi*,

‘...wherever there was in the land a part which was imperfect (*narazaru-tokoro*), Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi) visited it by himself and succeeded in repairing it (*tsukuri*). Coming at last to the province of Izumo (where apparently he had started), he spoke, and said: ‘This central land of reed-plains (Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni) has always been waste and wild (*arabi*). The very rocks, trees and herbs were all given to violence. But I have now reduced them to submission, and there is none that is not compliant.’ (It should be noted here that this is the very accusation brought forward later by the Heavenly Kami to justify their intervention!) Therefore he said finally: “It is I, and I alone, who now govern (*osameru*) this Land. Is there perchance any one who could join with me in governing (*osameru*) the world (Ame-no-shita)?” (I, 60).

The *Kojiki* does not picture him as quite so complacent about what he had actually achieved. The text reports him as saying: ‘How shall I alone be able to make this land (*kono kuni wo tsukuru*)? Together with what Kami can I make this land?’ (I, xxviii).

Both scriptures agree nevertheless .as to what happened next.

‘At this time’, continues the *Kojiki*, ‘there came a Kami illuminating the sea (*una-bara wo terashite*). This Kami said: “If thou wilt establish a temple to me (or lay me at rest, or worship before me, *osame-matsuru*, from *osameru*, to govern, and *matsuru*, to worship), I can make it together with thee. If not, the land cannot be made.” Then Ô-kuni-nushi said: “If that be so, what is the manner of reverently laying thee to rest?” He replied, saying: “Reverently worship me on Yamato’s green fence (*ao-kaki*), the Eastern mountain’s top.” This is the Kami who dwells on the top of Mount Mimoro.’ (I, xxviii).

According to Chamberlain,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ this mountain ‘stands as a protecting fence in the Eastern part of the province of Yamato’.

According to the *Nihongi*, ‘a divine radiance illuminated the sea (*unabara*), and of a sudden, there was something which floated towards him and said: “Were I not here, how couldst thou pacify (*kotomuke*) this land? It is because I am here that thou hast been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking.” Then Ô-kuni-nushi enquired, saying: “Then who art thou?” It replied and said: “I am thy *saki-mitama*, the *kushi-mitama*”—“Where dost thou now wish to dwell?” The spirit answered and said: “I wish to dwell on Mount Mimoro, in the province of Yamato.” Accordingly he built a shrine (*miya*) in that place and made the spirit to go and dwell there. This is the Kami of Ô-miwa.’ (I, 60–61).

A *gûji* deeply versed in esotericism teaches that this new unnamed Kami, Ô-kuni-nushi’s *saki-mitama* and *kushi-mitama*, was in reality a reappearance, or rather a duplication of Sukuna-hikona, who was therefore also Ô-kuni-nushi’s *saki-mitama* and *kushi-mitama*, and who, when departing, had told Ô-kuni-nushi: ‘Another [of thy] *mitama* will come to accomplish another task.’ Which would explain the past tense in the sentence: ‘It is because I am here that thou *hast been* enabled to...’⁽⁵⁾

In the temple of Ô-miwa, in Nara-ken, the Kami is worshipped under the name of Ô-mono-nushi-no-mikoto, by which he is more generally known. According to the traditions

of the temple, it marks the very centre of the country, the region where the cults centering around Ise and Izumo respectively separated, as evidenced or confirmed by the fact that when Jimmu-tennô reached it he had to marry a local princess. The temple is independent from the Jinja-honchô; it was one of the residences of the Ise Kami before the temple of Ise was built. And the Kami is believed to be even older than the Heavenly Kami.⁽¹²⁹⁾

* * *

The *Kojiki* then gives a list of the descendants of Ô-toshi-no-kami, a son of Susano-wo and Kamu-ô-ichi-hime (cf. p. 318 above). Many of them are extensively worshipped in Japan, and it is therefore worthwhile to mention them here. His first wife was Inu-hime, a daughter of Kamu-iku-subi (=musubi according to Motoôri)-no-kami, who gave him:

Ô-kuni-mitama-no-kami (August spirit of the great land);

Kara-no-kami, generally identified with the Kami called in the *Nihongi* by the name of Iso-takeru, who, along with Susano-wo and two of the latter's other children, Ô-ya-tsu-hime (Princess of the great house)⁽¹²²⁾ and Tsuma (stuffed, nailed?) -tsu-hime, helped their father to 'disperse the seeds of trees (*kodane*), and forthwith crossed over to the land of Kii (Korea).' (I, 58). Iso-takeru is the Kami of the Iso-takeru-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Dewa-san-dzan.

Sohori-no-kami, who, according to Chamberlain,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ might be just an alternative name for Iso-takeru. Sohori, according to Hirata, may be the name of a place in Korea.⁽¹²²⁾

Shira-hi-no-kami (the White-sun Kami), and

Hijiri-no-kami (the Sage Kami).

Ô-toshi is then reported to have married Kagayo-hime (Refulgent Princess), who gave him two children:

Ô-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami (Great refulgent-mountain-dwelling grandee Kami) and Mitoshi-no-kami (Kami of the august harvest). (Cf. p. 499 below.)

Finally he married Ame-shiru-karu-mizu-hime (Heavenly governing fresh princess of Karu), who gave him several children:

Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami and Oki-tsu-hime-no-kami, also called Ô-be-hime-no-kami (Great furnace Princess), who together are the 'Kami of the furnace (Kama-no-kami)', and whom we shall discuss later (cf. p. 497f. below).

Ô-yama-kuï-no-kami (Great mountain-integrator Kami), also called Yama-suë-no-ô-nushi-no-kami (Kami great master of the mountain-end), who dwells on Mount Hieï, in the land of Chika-tsu-afumi—where he is often called Sannô—and also at Matsu-no-wo-taïsha in Kyoto. It was he who was changed into a red arrow in order to gain access to his mistress Tama-yori-hime.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ We shall also consider him later (cf. p. 469 below).

Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami (Kami of the fire in the yard), who, according to Hirata and Motoôri, is only another name for the pair Oki-tsu-hiko and Oki-tsu-hime, already covered in this list.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

Asuha-no-kami (Kami of the foot-place?).

Hahigi-no-kami (Kami entering-prince?), the special protector of entrances to houses.

Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami (Refulgent-mountain-dwelling grandee Kami), whose name is almost identical with that of one of Kagayo-hime's children mentioned above.

Ha-yama-to-no-kami (Swift mountain-dwelling Kami).

Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami (High kami of the fire in the yard), whose name is also almost identical with that of one of the previously named, and

Ô-tsuchi-no-kami (Kami of the great earth), also named Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-no-kami (Kami august ancestor of Earth).

One of the above-mentioned children, Ha-yama-to-no-kami, is then reported to have married Ô-ge-tsu-hime, the Princess of great food, a name by which we should evidently not understand the island of Awa, which bears it, but Ô-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami, from the corpse of which items of food and also silk-worms appeared (cf. p. 500f. above). They had eight children:

Waka-yama-kui-no-kamī (Young mountain-integrator Kami);

Waka-toshi-no-kami (Kami of the young harvest);

Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami (Female Kami of the trans-planting of young rice);

Mizu-maki-no-kami (Kami of water-sprinkling);

Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami (Kami of the high sun of summer), also called Natsu-no-me-no-kami (Female Kami of summer);

Aki-bime-no-kami (Kami autumn-princess);

Kuku-toshi-no-kami (Kami of the stem-harvest, i.e. of the harvest of full-grown rice);

Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami (Kami lord of the stem-tree [and of the] young house-rope), a protector of houses, whose name, according to Motoōri, probably alludes to the beams with which the houses were built and to the ropes with which the house was tied together. (*Kojiki*, I, xxix).

The genealogy given by the *Nihongi* (I, 61–62) is considerably shorter, and hardly agrees with that of the *Kojiki*. It reads simply:

The children of this Kami (the Kami of Ô-miwa) were the Kimi (lords) of Kamo and of Ô-miwa, and also Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime-no-mikoto' (whose name is explained as follows: Hime (spiritual female)-tatara (to sound loudly, to be shaken, but which may be taken from the name of her mother Seya-tatara-hime)-isuzu (fifty small bells)), she became the wife of the first human Emperor of Japan, Jimmu-tennō.

'Another version is that Koto-shiro-nushi (the only child of Ô-kuni-nushi and Kamu-ya-tate-hime), having become transformed into an eight-fathom bear-sea-monster (*kuma-wani*), had intercourse with Mizo-kuī-hime (Princess water-channel pile?) of the island of Mishima—some call her Tama-kushi-hime (Princess jewel-comb)—and had by her a child named Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime-no-mikoto, who became the Empress (*kisaki*) of' Jimmu-tennō, the first earthly Emperor of Japan (cf. p. 404 below).

According to the traditions of the Mukahi-jinja, one of its chief Kami, Mukae-no-kami, is also a son of Ôtoshi-no-kami.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PACIFYING OF THE LAND BY THE HEAVENLY KAMI

INSOFAR as the process of ‘material’ creation (i.e. physical, vital and mental) had been completed by the Earthly Kami, Kuni-tsu-kami, the process of ‘psychic’ descent could now begin; and this was the task of the Heavenly Kami, Ama-tsu-kami.

The most famous and decisive turning from the one to the other culminates in the transfer of power from Ô-kuni-nushi, descendant of Susano-wo, to Prince Nmigi, a descendant of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. But the scriptures clearly state that it was not the only one.

We saw in a previous chapter (cf. p. 296 above) that the three Munakata-no-kami, children of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, were sent down to Earth during the fateful visit of Susano-wo to Heaven. In a much later chapter of the *Nihongi* (III, 25–27) we read that, as recently as the year 663 B.C., Jimmu-tennô acknowledged as ‘truly a child of the Heavenly Kami’ a certain Kushi (mysterious, penetrating)-dama (=tama)-nigi (gay, populous)-haya (quick)-hi (spirit)-no-mikoto, who claimed to have come ‘down from Heaven riding in a rock-boat of Heaven’.

According to the *Tenson-hongi* of the *Kujiki* (which dates from the Kamakura period, but incorporates very old traditions), this Nigi-haya-hi was sent down by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami to govern Yamato long before Prince Ninigi. According to that tradition, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami entrusted him with the ‘ten treasures’, *tokusa-no-kandakara*, referred to in the *Kojiki* (II, L), as *amatsu-mi-shirushi*, Heavenly symbols,⁽¹²²⁾ now preserved in the *honden* of the Iso-no-kami-jingû. Those ten treasures which are believed to heal the sick and to bring the dead back to life, had been handed over to Jimmu-tennô, not by Nigi-haya-hi himself, but by his son, Umashi-maji-no-mikoto.⁽⁵⁾

Many Shintôists believe that those ten treasures actually exist in the Iso-no-kami-jingû, although the *gûji* of the *jingû* feels the matter too sacred to be divulged. It is said that they were once seen by the Buddhist monk Kûkaï, the founder of the Kôyasan. Other Shintôists^(142, 150) are more inclined to think that they are only concepts of spiritual stages in Shintô exercises, which correspond to the ten ‘numbers’ used in *chin-kôn* (cf. p. 83 and 306f. above). In both cases, they are generally described as follows:

- (1) Okitsu-kagami, the distant mirror.
- (2) Hetsu-kagami, the nearby mirror. For both, the word *kagami* is interpreted as meaning spiritual sight⁽¹⁴²⁾ or spirit.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾
- (3) Yatsuka-no-tsurugi, the long sword. In this case, *tsurugi* is interpreted as meaning piercing or penetrating.^(142, 150) It may be a stage in the development of the exerciser’s soul in the course of which the Heavenly or original ancestral spirit penetrates his Earthly or own spirit.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾
- (4) Iku-tama, the living round gem or the round gem which gives life. In this case, *tama* may mean control⁽¹⁴²⁾ or soul.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

(5) Taru-tama, the fulfilling round gem or the round gem which gives fulfilment.

(6) Makaru-gaheshi-no-tama, the round gem which restores what has disappeared or revives the dead.

(7) Chi-gaheshi-no-tama, the round gem which corrects what is distorted.

(8) Orochi-no-hire, the fin against the serpents.

(9) Hachi-no-hire, the fin against the wasps.

(10) Kusagusa-no-mono-no-hire, the fin against miscellaneous specters.

In the last three cases, *hire*, the fin, may mean the rejecting power. The serpents may represent the prevailing earthly evils, the wasps the prevailing heavenly evils, and the specters the prevailing human evils.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ It is also believed by some esoterists⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ that the soul of the exerciser becomes living at the fourth stage, constructive at the fifth, and able to serve others at the sixth to tenth stages.

However that may be, the *Kojiki* reports that Nigi-haya-hi married Tomi-yama-bime, a sister of the Prince of Tomi, the same prince who wounded to death Jimmu-tennô's brother as we shall see later (cf. p. 401 below). His actions, and therefore his personality, are many-sided. He is worshipped in a number of temples, such as the Mononobe-jinja, the Katsube-jinja, etc.

About those early descents of Heavenly Kami, Mr Mason propounds an interesting theory which is worth recording: 'Kami who descended to earth before Ninigi personify either divine spirit self-creating itself as matter, as Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, who is mountain itself, or else disorganized Kami, personifying individualism undergoing co-ordination. When co-ordination had acquired sufficient impetus and there was readiness for progressive growth, the mythology shows the third creative movement taking place in human relationships by the story of Ninigi.'⁽⁵²³⁾

* * *

The successive steps which immediately preceded and prepared for the final descent of the Heavenly Kami and their taking over of the land largely parallel those which we noted in the descent and action of Susano-wo and Ô-kuni-nushi. They may be interpreted as follows:

(1) The power of illumination (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami) realizes that the time has come to bring the psychic plane down into the world.

(2) A high subsidiary power of illumination (Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi), which has been toned down so as to be well adapted to the material plane, enquires and finds out that the existing world is disharmonious, uproarious.

(3) The power of mental thought (Omoikane) thinks that a lower subsidiary power of illumination (Ame-nohohi) will suffice for the work. That lower power, owing to its very level, 'curries favour' with the earthly Kami; therefore he fails in his mission and does not return.

(4) Mental thought (Omoikane) then suggests that a power (Ame-waka-hiko) which is not divine, but born of the spirit of 'Heaven's Earth', should be sent. This power endeavours to get mastery of the land by uniting with the 'lower light' which emanates from the Master of the land, and therefore fails in his mission and does not return either. The self-same mental thought then suggests that an attempt should be made to remind Ame-waka-hiko of his real nature and mission. Ame-waka-hiko, who has settled down on the Earth and

likes it, rejects the call and suffers death as the direct consequence of his refusal. But earthly Kami, who have become his relatives and to whom he bears a striking resemblance, prevent his being finally buried.

(5) Then comes the decisive intervention of Futsu-nushi and Take-mika-dzuchi, the warriors of Heaven, who secure the conditional abdication of Ô-kuni-nushi after the concurrence of his son (or sons) has been obtained.

(6) The time has now come at last when Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi can take possession of his domain, but since the task assigned to him is part of the process of Creation, he must yield to his own son, who by his mother is also a grandson of Taka-mi-musubi: Prince Ninigi, the ‘Divine Grandson’.

It may not be unfair to assume that all the apparently unsuccessful Heavenly descents which prepared Prince Ninigi’s were in fact productive and constructive, inasmuch as they all injected some partial Heavenly influence into the earthly world and thereby actively prepared, or even made possible Prince Ninigi’s decisive intervention.

As might have been expected, it was Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who took the initiative. She

‘commanded, saying: ‘The Land-of-luxuriant-reed-plains-the-land-of-fresh-rice-ears-of-a-thousand-autumns-of-long-five-hundred-autumns (Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, which may be freely translated ‘Ever-fruitful Japan with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant rice-fields’,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ and which we shall hereafter call Toyo-ashi-hara for short) is the land which my august child Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi (the child who was born from the jewels twisted in the *left* bunch of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s hair, after Susano-wo had crunchingly crunched them) shall govern (*shirasu*)’’. Having [thus] deigned to charge him, she told him to descend from Heaven (Ame). Hereupon Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, standing on the Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ame-no-uki-hashii, the same on which Izanagi and Izanami had stood, cf. p. 253f. above), said: “Toyo-ashi-hara is painfully uproarious—it is (*ari-keri*).” With this announcement he immediately re-ascended, and informed Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami,’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxx).

At this juncture, Taka-mi-musubi, the Producing-wondrous Kami, one of the original triad (cf. p. 241f. above), had of course again to intervene, as he had done whenever a further important step was to be taken in the process of creation. In this phase, however, where the object was to bring down the psychic plane (i.e. illumination, the specific action of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), his intervention had to be more continuous and less intermittent than in the previous stages of Creation:

‘Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami commanded the eight hundred myriad Kami to assemble in a divine assembly in the bed (*kawara*) of the Divine River of Heaven (Ame-noyasu-kawa, the same one on either side of which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo had stood while producing each other’s children, cf. p. 292 above), and caused Omoïkane-no-kami (the same Kami who had been called upon, in the same place, with the same eight hundred myriad Kami, to devise a plan for enticing Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the cave, cf. p. 301 above) to think [of a plan], and said: ‘Toyo-ashi-hara is the land with which we have deigned to charge our august child as the land which he shall govern (*shirasu*). So, as he deems that violent (*chihaya-buru*) and savage (*araburu*) Earthly Kami are numerous in this land, which Kami shall we send to subdue them?’” Then Omoïkane

and likewise the eight hundred myriad Kami took counsel and said: “Ame-no-hohi (the child who was born from the jewels twisted in the *right*, i.e. inferior, bunch of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s hair after Susano-wo had crunchingly crunched them, cf. p. 293 above) is the one that should be sent.” So they sent Ame-no-hohi; but he at once carried favour with Ô-kuni-nushi, and for three years brought back no report.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxx).

The account given by the *Nihongi* of the first two unsuccessful attempts differs in many respects:

‘Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi (called here by his full name of Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu-haya-hi-ama-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto), the son of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, took to wife Taku-hata-chi-chi-hime (Princess paper-mulberry-loom), daughter of Taka-mi-musubi. A child was born to them, named Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto (whom we shall hereafter call Prince Ninigi). Therefore his august grandparent, Taka-mi-musubi, treated him with special affection, and nurtured him with great regard. Eventually, he desired to establish his august grandchild Prince Ninigi as the Lord of the Central land of reed-plains. But in that land there were numerous Kami which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil (*ayashiki*) Kami which buzzed like flies. There were also trees (*ki*) and herbs (*kusa*), all of which could speak. Therefore Taka-mi-musubi assembled all the eighty myriad Kami, and enquired of them, saying: “I desire to have the evil Kami of the Central land of reed-plains expelled and subdued (*muke-ru*). Whom is it meet that we should send for this purpose? I pray you, all ye Kami, conceal not your opinion.” They all said: “Ame-no-hohi is the most heroic among the Kami. Ought he not to be tried?” Taka-mi-musubi thereupon complied with the general advice, and made Ame-no-hohi to go and subdue them. This Kami however carried favour with Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi), and three years passed without his making any report. Therefore his son Ô-se-ihhi-no-mikuma-no-ushi, also called Take-mikuma-no-ushi, was sent. He, too, yielded compliance to his father, and never made any report.’ (II, 1–3).

In spite of his behaviour on earth, Ame-no-hohi is worshipped in a number of temples, mostly as an ancestor of the Sugawara clan, notably in the Fushimi Sugawara-jinja.⁽⁵⁸⁷⁾ One of his children, Take-hira-tori-no-mikoto (Brave rustic Illuminator), is given by the *Kojiki* (I, xiv) as the ancestor of several of the most noble families of Japan, including the Rulers of the Land of Izumo; he is worshipped in the Bôfu-ten-man-gû.

Therefore Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami again asked all the Kami and said: “Ame-no-hohi, whom we sent down to Toyo-ashi-hara, is long in bringing back a report. Which Kami were it best to send on a fresh mission?” Then Omoïkane replied, saying: “Ame-waka-hiko (The heavenly young prince), son of Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami (The Kami spirit of Heaven’s Earth) should be sent.” So they bestowed on Ame-waka-hiko the heavenly true deer-bow (*ame-no-kako-yumi*) and the heavenly feathered arrows (*ame-no-haha-ya*), and sent him. Thereupon Ame-waka-hiko, descending to that land, at once wedded Shitateru-hime, daughter of Ô-kuni-nushi, and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no report.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxi).

The main *Nihongi* version (II, 3) supplies us with no additional information. One alternative version (II, 12) states that ‘Ame-waka-hiko...married many daughters of the Earthly Kami.’

‘All the commentators agree’, says Chamberlain,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ ‘that it is in order to express disapprobation of this god’s wickedness that the title of Kami or Mikoto is never coupled with his name.’ Moreover, I have not been able to trace any temple where he is worshipped.

‘So Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami again asked all the Kami, [saying]: “Ame-waka-hiko is long in bringing back a report. Which Kami shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of Ame-waka-hiko’s long tarrying?” Thereupon all the Kami and likewise Omoikane replied, saying: “The pheasant (*kigishi*) Na-naki-me (Name-crying-female) should be sent”, upon which Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami charged [the pheasant] saying: “What thou shalt go and ask Ame-waka-hiko is this: ‘The reason for which thou wast sent to Toyo-ashi-hara was to subdue (*kotomuke-ru*) and pacify (*yawa-su*) the savage (*araburu*) Kami of that land. Why for eight years hast thou brought back no report?”’ So then Naki-me (the crying female), descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly branching] cassia-tree at Ame-waka-hiko’s gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Kami.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxi).

As regards the pheasant, Chamberlain remarks that the name Naki-me (crying female) may be connected with the tradition mentioned further down of the pheasant having been the mourner at Ame-waka-hiko’s funeral.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ If—as seems to be the view of both Motoôri and Hirata—the word *naki*, to cry, has to be understood as ‘to shout’, and not ‘to weep’, an explanation of the name which would be much more consistent with the whole myth would be ‘the female who cries out the name [of Ame-waka-hiko]’, i.e. who tries to bring him back to a realization of the heavenly mission implied by his very *name* of Heavenly-young-prince.

A valuable confirmation of the above interpretation can be found in one of the alternative versions offered by the *Nihongi* (II, 12–13):

‘Eight years passed, during which he (Ame-waka-hiko) made no report of his mission. Therefore Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami summoned Omoikane and enquired the reason why he did not come. Now Omoikane reflected and informed her, saying: “It will be well to send the pheasant (*kigishi*) to enquire into it.” Hereupon, in accordance with the Kami’s device, the pheasant was caused to go and spy out the reason. The pheasant flew down and perched on the top of a many-branched cassia-tree before Ame-waka-hiko’s gate, where it uttered a cry (*naku*), saying: “Ame-waka-hiko! wherefore, for the space of eight years hast thou still not made a report of thy mission?” Now a certain Earthly Kami, named Ame-no-sagu-me (the heavenly spying-woman), saw the pheasant, and said: “A bird of evil cry is sitting on the top of the tree. It will be well to shoot it and kill it.”’

It may not be superfluous to recall here that it was also (partly) to a ‘song of birds’ that Omoikane had suggested having recourse in order to remind Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself of her duties when she had forsaken them (cf. p. 302 above).

Being ‘married’ into the family of Ô-kuni-nushi, Ame-waka-hiko of course could not heed the call. And when he was informed of its purport, he took a drastic step to silence it. Then Ame-no-sagu-me, having heard the bird’s words, spoke to Ame-waka-hiko, saying:

‘The sound of this bird’s cry (*naku*) is very bad. So thou shouldst shoot him to death.’ On her thus urging him, Ame-waka-hiko at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Kami, and shot the pheasant to death.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxi). The *Nihongi* (II, 4 and 13) tells the same story.

It is certainly meaningful that in the *Kojiki* (although not in the *Nihongi*), for this particular usage, both the bow and the arrows were demoted in the scale of beings: the original true-deer (animal) bow became the vegetable wax-tree-bow, while the original feathered (bird) arrows became the deer (animal) arrows. After this passage, neither the bow nor the arrows any longer require any epithet.

Then the arrows, being shot up upside down through the pheasant’s breast, reached the august place where Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mimusubi (here called Taka-ginokami, High integrating Kami) were sitting in the bed (*kawara*) of the Divine River of Heaven... On taking the arrow and looking at it, Taka-mi-musubi saw that there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow. Thereupon Taka-mi-musubi, saying: ‘This arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on Ame-waka-hiko’, showed it to all the Kami and said: ‘If this be an arrow shot at the savage (*araburu*) Kami by Ame-waka-hiko, in obedience to our command, let it not hit him. If he has a foul heart, let Ame-waka-hiko perish (*magare*) by this arrow.’ With these words, he took the arrow and thrust it back through the hole [made by the] arrow [in the bottom of the sky], so that it hit Ame-waka-hiko on the top of his breast (*taka-muna-saka*) as he was sleeping on his couch (*agura*), so that he died. Moreover the pheasant returned not.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxi).

The two *Nihongi* versions (II, 4 and 13) tell the same story.

It is interesting to note that Ame-waka-hiko died on the day of Nii-name, the great harvest winter-matsuri, the self-same day on which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had retired into the cave.⁽⁵²⁹⁾ This also can hardly be a sheer coincidence.

In the funeral services for Ame-waka-hiko, birds again play a most conspicuous part:

‘So the sound of the wailing of Ame-waka-hiko’s wife, Princess Shitateru, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So Ame-waka-hiko’s father, Ama-tsu-kuni-tama, and his wife and children [who had been left behind him] in Heaven [when he went on his embassy to Earth], hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house (*mo-ya*) there, and made the river wild-goose (*kawa-kari*) the head-hanging bearer (*kisari-mochi*), the heron (*sagi*) the broom-bearer, the kingfisher (*soni*) the person of the august food, the sparrow (*suzume*) the pounding-woman, the pheasant (*kigishi*) the weeping-woman; and having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves (*asobu*, i.e. exalted the spirit of the dead) for eight days and eight nights.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxi).

All the above refers to various funeral rites which were mentioned in an earlier chapter (cf. p. 166f. above.)

Shitateru-hime-no-mikoto is worshipped in the Mezuki-jinja, the Tama-tsuoka-jinja and the Wakago-jinja.

According to both *Nihongi* versions, the body was brought back to Heaven, either by relatives (II, 13) or, at the latter’s request, by a swift wind (*haya-chi*) (II, 5). The duties entrusted to the different birds also vary; one version makes the wrens (*misosazai*) the mourners (II, 5), another brings in the barn-door fowl (*kake*) (II, 5).

A very untoward incident upset the funeral ceremonies:

‘At this time, Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami (a son of Ô-kuni-nushi and Ta-kiri-bime, and therefore a brother of Princess Shitateru, the wife of the deceased) came and condoled on the mourning for Ame-waka-hiko, whereupon Ame-waka-hiko’s father (The Kami Spirit of Heaven’s Earth) and [heavenly] wife (as opposed to his earthly wife Shitateru), who had come down from Heaven, bewailed themselves, saying: “My child is not dead, no! My lord is not dead, no!” and with these words clung to his hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Kami closely resembled each other in countenance; so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon, Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne was very angry and said: “It was only because he was my dear friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to an unclean [because] dead person?” and with these words he drew the ten-grasp sword that was augustly girded on him and cut down the mourning-house (*mo-ya*) and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mo-yama (Mount Mourning) at the source of the River Awimi (Knot-grass-seeing) in the land of Minu (afterwards called Mino). The great sword with which he cut [the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name of Ô-ha-kari (great blade mower), another name by which it was called being Kamu-do-tsurugi (divine keen sword). So when Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne flew away in his anger, his younger sister Princess Shitateru, in order to reveal his August name, sang, saying: “Oh! ‘tis the Kami Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne traversing two august valleys with the refulgence of august assembled hole-jewels (*ana-dama*, or *aka-dama*, which would mean red, i.e. resplendent jewels), of the august assembled jewels worn round her neck by the Weaving-maiden in Heaven!”’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxi).

The only variants supplied by the *Nihongi*’s two versions are that the mourning-house ‘became’ Mount Mo (II, 6) and that Aji-shiki (here *suki*)-taka-hiko-ne’s glory ‘was so effulgent (*yosohohi uruwashiku*) that it illuminated (*teri-kagayaku*) the space of two hills and two valleys.’ (II, 14).

Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne is the Kami of the Nikkô Futara-san-jinja and, under the name of Hito-koto-nushi-no-mikoto, of the Tosa-jinja,

* * *

‘Hereupon Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami said: “Which Kami were it best to send on a fresh mission?” Then Omoikane and likewise all the Kami said: “He who is named Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami (Kami majestic-point-blade-extended) and dwells in the Heavenly Rock-dwelling (Ame-no-iwa-ya, apparently the same cave into which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had retired) by the source of the Divine River of Heaven (Ame-no-yasu-no-kawa), is the one that should be sent; or if not this Kami, then this Kami’s child, Take-mikadzuchi-no-wo-no-kami (the brave awful possessing (or thunder) male Kami, whose name is written in three different ways)⁽⁷⁴⁶⁾ might be sent. Moreover, owing to Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari (or -bashiri)-no-kami (whose name is explained as *itsu-no* (rigorous, sharp)-wo (*mighty*)-*habari* (to be edged) or *bashiri* (=hashiru, to illumine, to pierce)⁽¹²²⁾ having blocked and turned back the waters of the Divine River of Heaven, and to his dwelling with the road (*michi*) blocked up (*seki-ageru*), other Kami cannot go [thither]. So Ame-no-kaku-no-kami (The heavenly deer Kami) should be sent specially to ask him.” So Ame-no-kaku was sent

to ask Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari, who replied, saying: “I will obey, and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless, on this errand ye should send my child Take-mika-dzuchi (creative being, mighty essence)” [and with these words] immediately offered [his son to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami].’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxii).

Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari is worshipped with Susano-wo and Kushi-nada-hime in the Hii-jinja.

The fact that resort had to be had to the Deer-kami is one of the reasons why in temples to Take-mika-dzuchi (cf. p. 104f. above) sacred deers are generally to be seen. There is even in the great museum of Nara an old picture representing Take-mika-dzuchi sitting on a deer, accompanied by a sakaki tree and five Buddhist deities.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

The *Kojiki* adds: ‘So Tori-bune-no-kami (the Heavenly bird-boat, a son of Izanagi and Izanami, the one who had been born immediately before the Princess of great-food and the Fire-kami) was attached to Take-mika-dzuchi, and they were sent off.’ (I, xxxii).

The main version given by the *Nihongi* varies considerably, and supplies a much better explanation of the worship offered in some of the most important temples of Japan. It runs as follows:

‘After this (i.e. after the Ame-waka-hiko episode), Taka-mi-musubi again assembled all the Kami, that they might select someone to send to the Central land of reed-plains. They all said: ‘It will be well to send Futsu-nushi-no-kami (who, curiously enough, is not mentioned in the *Kojiki*), son of Iha-tsutsu-no-wo and Iha-tsutsu-no-me, the children of Iha-saku-ne-saku-no-kami (Rock-split root-split Kami).’ Now there were certain Kami dwelling in the Rock-cave of Heaven (Ame-no-iwa-ya), viz. Mika-haya-bi-no-kami, son of Idzu-no-wo-bashiri-no-kami (Kami dread-of-male-run), Hi-no-haya-hi-no-kami, son of Mika-haya-bi, and Take-mika-dzuchi, son of Hi-no-haya-hi. The latter Kami came forward and said: “Is Futsu-nushi alone to be reckoned a hero (*masura-wo*)? And am I not a hero?” His words were animated by a spirit of indignation. He was therefore associated with Futsu-nushi and made to subdue (*muke-ru*) the Central land of reed-plains.’ (II, 7).

According to one alternative *Nihongi* version (II, 19), Futsu-nushi and Take-mika-dzuchi put in a certain request before they accepted the mission. They ‘said: “In Heaven there is a malignant (*ashiki*) Kami called Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi, or Ame-no-kagase-wo (the star-kami, cf. p. 467 below). We pray that this Kami may be executed (*tsumi-nafu*) before we go down to make clear (*hara-fu*) the Central land of reed-plains. At this time Iwai-nushi (Master of religious abstinence or worship)-no-kami received the designation of Iwahi-nushi. This is the Kami who now dwells in the land of Katori in Adzuma.’

According to another version (II, 9), it was not until the two Kami had accomplished their mission, and ‘at length put to death the malignant (*ashiki*) Kami, and the tribes of herbs, trees and rocks, when all had been subdued [that] the only one who refused submission was the star-kami (Hoshi-no-kami) Kagase-wo. Therefore they sent the Shidzuri-kami (Weaver-kami), Take-ha-dzuchi-no-mikoto (His Augustness brave leaf elder) also, upon which he rendered submission.’

Then the ‘two Kami, descending to the Little-shore (*o-bama*) of Inasa in the land of Izumo, drew their swords ten hand-breadths long, stuck them upside down (i.e. hilt downwards) on the crest of a wave (*nami-ho*), [and] seated themselves cross-legged (*agu-mu*) on the

point of their swords', says the *Kojiki* (I, xxxii). The only difference with the *Nihongi* main version (II, 7) is that in the latter the swords are stuck 'in the earth'. A Western student has noted that 'ceremonial swords found at the Shintō shrines are frequently inserted in a pedestal and given this inverted position.'⁽⁴²⁷⁾ Many other explanations could probably also be offered of this peculiarity which certainly has an esoteric meaning.

The two Kami then

'asked Ô-kuni-nushi, saying: "Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi (here called Taka-gi) have charged us and sent us to ask, [saying]: 'We have deigned to charge Our august child with thy dominion, the Central land of reed-plains, as the land which he should govern (*shirasu*). So how is thy heart?'"' (*Kojiki*, I, xxxii). In the *Nihongi* (II, 7), the two Kami 'questioned Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi), saying: "Taka-mi-musubi wishes to send down his august grand-child to preside over (*kimitosu-ru*) this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Kami to make clear (*hara-fu*) and pacify (*shizumeru*) it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?"' Ô-kuni-nushi: 'replied, saying: "I am unable to say. My child Yaë-koto-shiro-nushi (the Kami Eightfold-thing-sign-master, whom we shall hereafter call Koto-shiro-nushi) will be the one to tell you, but he is gone to Cape Miho (where Ô-kuni-nushi himself dwelt when Sukuna-hikona came to him, cf. p. 328f. above) to pursue birds (*tori*) and catch fish (*sunadori*), and has not yet returned.'" So then Tori-bune-no-kami was sent to summon Koto-shiro-nushi, who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the great Kami his father, saying: "I will obey. [Do thou] respectfully present this land to the august child of the Heavenly Kami." And thereupon he trod on [the edge of] his boat (*funé*) so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands [in token of departure] in the fence of green branches (*ao-fushi-gaki*) (which closed in a trap in shallow water for fishing, so that a single opening be left in it for the fish to enter) and disappeared (*kakuri-mashiki*).'^{(Kojiki, I, xxxii).}

The above translation follows the interpretation given by Hirata and adopted by Chamberlain. According to Motoōri, the text should rather be rendered as follows: 'He then trod upon the edge of his boat so as to overturn it, and with his hands crossed back to back (in token of consent), transformed his boat into a fence of green branches, and disappeared.'

According to the *Nihongi* (II, 7–8),

'Ô-kuni-nushi (here also called Ô-namuchi) answered and said: "I must ask my son before I reply to you". At this time his son Koto-shiro-nushi was absent on an excursion to Cape Miho in the land of Izumo, where he was amusing himself by angling for fish (or, according to another version, by catching birds). He (Ô-kuni-nushi) therefore took the many-handed boat (*morota-bune*) of Kumano (also called Ame-no-hato-bune, the heavenly pigeon-boat), and placing on board of it his messenger Inase-hagi (yes-or-no-shanks), he dispatched him, and announced to Koto-shiro-nushi the declaration of Taka-mi-musubi. He also enquired what language he should use in answer. Now Koto-shiro-nushi spoke to the messenger and said: "The Heavenly Kami has now addressed us this enquiry. My father ought respectfully to withdraw, nor will I make any opposition." So he made in the sea an eightfold fence (*kaki*) of green branches and, stepping on the bow of the boat, went off (*sari-nu*).'

It is stressed by the priests of Koto-shiro-nushi's temples that in his name *koto* is the same word which is also found in *kotoba*, the Word, and in *kotowari*, reason, truth, and that his nature was preponderantly spiritual, whereas his father's was preponderantly materialistic; Hirata calls him 'the Kami of truth',⁽⁶²⁵⁾ he is credited by them with more intelligence and imagination than his father had. Needless to say this view is not endorsed by the priests in his father's temples! His own priests consider him as the Kami who actually ensured peace [between the Earthly and the Heavenly Kami]. This may be why he is often resorted to as a God of Happiness, and also why he became identified with the very popular Ebisu (cf. p. 511 below).⁽⁹⁹⁾

Many temples in Japan are devoted to Koto-shiro-nushi. Curiously enough, in one of the most important of them, the Nagata-jinja, doubts are felt as to whether he is the son of Ô-kuni-nushi or his *saki-mitama*, i.e. Ô-mono-nushi; although the temple was set up about A.D. 290, it only gave four or five *bun-rei*.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Another one, in the Izumo area, is the Miho-jinja, where the Kami is associated with Miho-tsu-hime-no-mikoto.⁽¹²²⁾ We also find him in various other temples, such as the Saï-den of the Nibukawakami-jinja, the Tottori Hijiri-jinja, and he is one of the eight Kami worshipped in the Jingi-kwan.⁽⁶²⁵⁾ There has also been a tendency to assimilate to him some other Kami about whom little was known; such was the case for instance of the Kono-miya Ô-kuni-tama-no-kami.⁽⁴⁶⁵⁾ In most cases, the point is controversial.

The *Kojiki* adds a further consultation which is not recorded in the *Nihongi*:

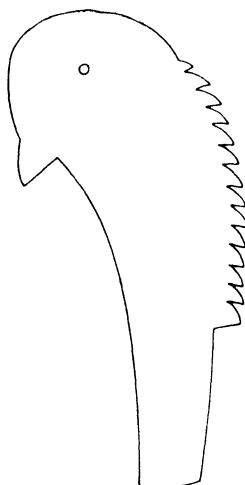
'So then they (Take-mika-dzuchi and Tori-bune) asked Ô-kuni-nushi, saying: 'Thy son Koto-shiro-nushi has now spoken thus. Hast thou other sons who should speak?' Hereupon he (Ô-kuni-nushi) spoke again, saying: "There is my other son, Take-mi-nakata-no-kami (Brave august-name firm Kami). There is none beside him." While he was thus speaking, Take-mi-nakata came up, bearing on the tips of his fingers a thousand-draught rock (i.e. a rock (*iwa*) which it would take a thousand men to lift), and said: "Who is it that has come to our land, and thus secretly talks? If that be so (or: Come on!), I should like to have a trial of strength. So I should like to begin by taking thy august hand." So when Take-mika-dzuchi let Take-mi-nakata take his august hand, Take-mi-nakata's touch at once turned it into an icicle (*tachi-bi*), and again his touch turned it into a sword-blade (*tsurugi-ba*). So then Take-mi-nakata was frightened and drew back. Then, on Take-mika-dzuchi wishing to take the hand of Take-mi-nakata, and asking permission to take it in return, he grasped and crushed (*hishigu*) it as if he were taking a young reed (*waka-ashi*), and cast it aside, upon which [Take-mi-nakata] fled away. So when [Take-mika-dzuchi], pursuing after him, came up with him at the Sea (lake) of Suwa, in the land of Shinanu (now called Shinano), and was about to slay him, Take-mi-nakata said: "I will obey. Slay me not. I will go to no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father, Ô-kuni-nushi. I will not go against the words of Koto-shiro-nushi. I will yield up this Central land of reed-plains according to the command of the august child of the Heavenly Kami." (I, xxxii).

It is probably meaningful that of those two sons who were consulted in succession, and who finally consented to the taking over of the world by the Heavenly Kami, the first one to submit should have been connected with living beings (birds and fishes) and the second one with inert matter (rocks). It is quite in the natural course of events that inert

matter should offer greater resistance to the descent of psychic forces than matter already animated with life.

Take-mi-nakata and his wife Yasaka-tome-no-mikoto are the chief Kami of the very important Suwa-taisha and of about ten thousand other temples which took its *bun-rei*. However, the reason why he is so extensively worshipped is perhaps not so much his submission to Take-mika-dzuchi as the fact that he protected Jingû-kôgô during her expedition to Korea (cf. p. 431 below); he is therefore considered a great patron of seafarers.

The Suwa-taisha actually consists of four shrines. The Kami-sha comprises the Hongû, with Take-mi-nakata as the sole Kami and the Maë-miya with Yasaka-tome; the Shimo-sha, where both of them are in the company of Koto-shiro-nushi, comprises the Haru-miya, where the Kami reside in summer, and the Ake-miya, where they dwell in winter (cf. p. 124 above). In the Waka-miya are worshipped the thirteen children of the Divine pair.



Suwa-taisha shintai

According to a popular tradition, which does not seem to be endorsed by the priests, the temple stands in the region where Take-mika-dzuchi caught up with Take-mi-nakata and the latter finally surrendered, but in order to prevent him from escaping, his victorious opponent erected four huge pillars, the famous *om-bashira* (cf. p. 100 above). However that may be, a square space, surrounded by large stones, within the small precincts of the Maë-miya, is believed to be Take-mi-nakata's grave, 'although the whole precincts may also be considered as his grave'.

The Kami is credited with having introduced the first metal agricultural implements, which may explain why his emblem, also used as *shintai* when *bun-rei* are given, was originally a sort of sickle; its shape has gradually changed and become that shown in the drawing. But women in the region still worship the sickle, and, during threatening thunderstorms, they put one on the roof to protect the house.

A lake, Lake Suwa, and a high mountain, the Yatsu-ga-take ('with eight summits') are held very sacred. It is reported that, during the Meiji era, an archaeologist opened a number of sepulchral mounds on Mount Yatsu-ga-take (2,899 m.)...and was stricken with madness!

According to tradition, the Kami had to cross Lake Suwa along a certain line, *miwa-tari*, to go from his own dwelling, the Hongû, to his wife's abode, the Haru-miya; and it is precisely this line along which the ice on the lake breaks when the thaw sets in.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Take-mi-nakata is also found alone in some temples, such as the Suko-no-yashiro, a *massha* of the Mitsui-no-yashiro, itself a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja.

If we now return to the scriptural accounts, 'So they (apparently the two Heavenly Kami, although only one of them is reported to have gone in pursuit) returned again, and asked Ô-kuni-nushi, [saying]: 'Thy children the two Kami Koto-shiro-nushi and Take-mi-nakata have said that they will follow and not go against the commands of the august child of the Heavenly Kami. So how is thy heart?'' (Kojiki, I, xxxii).

After he had thus received the consent of his child (or children), Ô-kuni-nushi 'replied, saying: "According as the two Kami my children have said, I too will not go against them. In accordance with the [heavenly] command, I will at once yield up this Central land of reed-plains." (Kojiki, I, xxxii).

According to the *Nihongi*, he 'said to the two Kami, in accordance with the words of his son: "My son, on whom I rely, has already departed. I, too, will depart (*saru*). If I were to make resistance, all the Kami of this land would certainly resist. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission?'" (II, 8).

As to what follows, versions differ. Two texts state emphatically that Ô-kuni-nushi's abdication was conditional upon his being granted adequate compensation.

Says the *Kojiki* (I, xxxii):

"But as to my place of residence, if ye will make stout the temple-pillars (*miya-bashira*) on the nethermost rock-bottom (*sokotsu-iwa-ne*), and make high the cross-beams (*higi*) to the Plain of High Heaven (identically the same words which had been used by Susano-wo when he bade farewell to the self-same Ô-kuni-nushi, cf. p. 323 above) like the rich and perfect august nest (*su*, which may also mean lattice) where the august child of the Heavenly Kami rules the succession of Heaven's Sun (*ama-tsu-hi-tsugi*), and will deign to establish me, I will hide in the eighty—less than a hundred—road-windings (*kuma-de*), and wait on him. Again as for my children, the hundred and eighty Kami, if the Kami Koto-shiro-nushi will be the [Heavenly] Kami's august rear and van and will respectfully serve them, there will be no disobedient (*tagafu*) Kami." Having thus spoken, [he hid himself. So in accordance with his word] they built a heavenly august abode (*ame-no-mi-araka*) on the Little shore (*o-bama*) of Tagishi in the land of Izumo. And Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami (Kami of wondrous increasing offerings), grandson of Minato-no-kami (himself a child of Izanagi and Izanami, cf. p. 264 above) was made butler (*kashi-wa-de*) to offer up the heavenly august banquet (*ame-no-mi-ahe*)."

An alternative *Nihongi* version (which makes no reference to the consultation of the two sons) goes even much further: When Futsu-nushi and Takemika-dzuchi

‘descended and arrived at the Little-shore of Inasa in Izumo, and asked Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-namuchi), saying: “Wilt thou deliver up this country to the Heavenly Kami, or no?” he answered and said: “I suspected that ye two Kami were coming to my place. Therefore I will not allow it.” Thereupon Futsu-nushi forthwith returned upwards and made his report. Now Taka-mi-musubi sent the two Kami back again, and commanded Ô-kuni-nushi, saying: “Having now heard what thou hast said, I find that there is profound reason in thy words. Therefore again I issue my commands to thee more circumstantially, that is to say: Let the public matters (*arahani-goto*) which thou hast charge of be conducted by my grand-child, and do thou rule divine affairs (*kami-goto*). Moreover, if thou wilt dwell in the palace of Ama-no-hi-sumi (Heaven-sun-corner), I will now build it for thee. I will take a thousand-fathom rope [of the bark] of the paper-mulberry, and tie it in 180 knots. As to the dimensions of the building of the shrine (or palace), its pillars shall be high and massy, and its planks broad and thick. I will also cultivate thy rice-fields for thee, and, for thy provision when thou goest to take pleasure on the sea, I will make for thee a high bridge (*taka-hash*i), a floating bridge (*uki-hash*i), and also a heavenly bird-boat (*ame-no-tori-bune*). Moreover, on the Divine River of Heaven I will make a flying bridge (*uchi-hash*i). I will also make for thee white shields of 180 seams, and Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto shall be the president of the festivals (*matsuri*) in thy honour.” Hereupon Ô-kuni-nushi answered and said: ‘The instructions of the Heavenly Kami are so courteous that I may not presume to disobey his commands. Let the August Grandchild direct the public affairs (*arahani-goto*) of which I have charge. I will retire and direct secret matters (*kakuri-goto*).’” (II, 19–20).

The same version adds: ‘So Ô-kuni-nushi introduced Kunado (crossroads)⁽¹²²⁾-no-kami to the two Kami, saying: “He will take my place and will yield respectful obedience. I will withdraw and depart from here.” He forthwith invested him with the pure Yasaka jewels, and then became concealed for ever.’ (II, 20).

The main *Nihongi* version (II, 8–9) makes no mention whatever of any promises of compensation for the abdication, but flatly states:

‘So he took the flat and broad spear (*hiro-hoko*) which he had used as a staff when he was pacifying the land and gave it to the two Kami, saying: “By means of this spear, I was at last successful. If the Heavenly Grandchild will use this spear to rule (*osameru*) the land, he will undoubtedly subdue it to tranquillity (*sakiku mashimasamu*, which may also be translated: will live in peace). I am now about to withdraw to the concealment of eighty—less than a hundred—road-windings (*momotarazu-yasokuma-de*).” Having said these words, he at length became concealed (*kakuri-mashinu*, which Aston erroneously explains to mean: died).’

According to the *Kogoshûi*, Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-mononushi) even received a definite mission: The Imperial edict (promulgated by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi) addressed to him ran as follows: “Henceforth thou shalt guard the Heavenly Grandson against danger by the aid of the eighty myriads of Kami under thy command”—which incidentally confirms his being put in charge of divine affairs (*kami-goto*).’

The *Kojiki* then reports a curious incident which took place at the ‘banquet’ offered when the temple to Ô-kuni-nushi was consecrated:

‘Having said prayers, Kushi-ya-tama (who was officiating as butler) turned into a cormorant (*u*), went down to the bottom of the sea, took in his mouth red-earth (*hani*) from the bottom, made eighty heavenly platters (*hiraka*), and, cutting seaweed (*me*) stalks, made a fire-drill mortar (*hi-kiri-usu*), and made a fire-drill pestle (*hi-kiri-gine*) out of stalks of *komo*, and drilled out fire, saying: ‘This fire which I have drilled will burn until in the Plain of High Heaven the soot (*susu*) on the heavenly new lattice of the gable (*to-daru ama-no-nihi-su*) of Kamu-musubi-mi-oya-no-kami (His Augustness the wondrous divine producer august ancestor) hangs down eight hand-breadths; and as for what is below the earth, I will bake down to the nethermost rock-bottom (*soko-tsu-iwa-ne*), and—the fishing sailors, who spread their thousand-fathom ropes of paper-mulberry and angle, having with many shouts drawn in and landed the large-mouth (*ō-kuchi*) smallfinned (*wo-hata*) perch (*suzuki*)—I will offer up the heavenly true fish-food (*na-guhi*), so that the split bamboos bend.’” (I, xxxii).

All commentators, i.a. Motoōri, Hirata, Satow, Chamberlain, have discussed the above passage at great length, and given different explanations of it, all however focused on the mode and duration of the ritual. Whatever that aspect may be, there is very probably another and more esoteric meaning in the whole mythical description. The essential point seems to be that for the religious service, red earth had to be fetched from the bottom of the sea to make platters, sea-weed to be cut, most probably for offering, and *komo* stalks to be obtained for drilling fire. The transformation of the priest into a cormorant may be intended only to explain how he could procure the whole equipment—although there is a further passage in the Scriptures in which cormorant feathers have a definite esoteric meaning (cf. p. 384 below.) The following passage may be taken to mean that the worship will continue until the heavens are blackened (i.e. until the sun, the illuminating power, ceases to shine) and the earth becomes fully consumed, i.e. until the end of time. The final reference to the fish being caught in huge quantities (with long ropes from which hang a great many strings, each one with a hook attached) and offered up also in large quantities (until the baskets woven of split bamboos bend under their weight) evidently alludes to the degree of devotion which is to be shown until the end of world.

Ô-kuni-nushi’s worship is second to that of very few other Kami throughout Japan, although it naturally centres in Izumo, where the Kami is reported to have lived during his stay in the world of men. One strange thing is that considerable credit was for long attached, even in Izumo, to a doctrine propounded at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Razan Hayashi (who was, it must be noted, more a Confucianist than a Shintōist) in his book *Honchō-jinja-ko*, according to which Ô-kuni-nushi was to be identified with Susano-wo himself.⁽⁶³¹⁾

According to one *gūji*, Ô-kuni-nushi, for the very reason that he had to suffer so much during his earthly life, became highly virtuous, and ‘therefore’ should be considered as the Kami of the progress.⁽⁹⁹⁾

As was very well summed up by a recent author, Ô-kuni-nushi’s ‘name stands for patience, benevolence and wisdom, and, above all, wealth and happiness for all. People’s approach to this god has always been one of friendly intimacy.’⁽⁷³⁶⁾

We have already noted his medical activity, generally in association with Sukuna-hikona, as for instance in the Gojō-tenjin-sha. But all that should not make us overlook the

more metaphysical and cosmic aspect of his action, to which we have already referred (cf. p. 330 above). According to one of the greatest authorities on Shintô, Hirata, he 'rules the Unseen (*kakuri-goto*),...every supernatural event which cannot be ascribed to a definite author', and he quotes a prayer which says: 'You will go to the Unseen Realm of Ô-kuni-nushi after death.'⁽⁶²⁵⁾

The temple which was built to him on his specific request is believed to be the present Izumo-ô-yashiro,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ which is perhaps a greater centre for the worship of the Kami of the Susano-wo 'line' than Susano-wo's own temple, the Yasaka-jinja. According to Minamoto-no-tamenori's *Kuchizusami*, it was in the eleventh century the largest Shintô temple in Japan.

Ame-no-hohi, the Kami born from Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's jewels, who was the first choice of the Heavenly Kami to establish their domination on Earth, but who 'curried favour with Ô-kuni-nushi', is believed to have been its first high-priest—as recorded in *Nihongi* II, 20—and an uninterrupted dynasty of governors and high-priests, right down to the present day, claims direct descent from him.⁽⁶²⁵⁾ This great *kuni-no-miya-tsu-ko* (Lord of province) family was however split during the second half of the fourteenth century into two branches, the Senge and the Kitajima, who long shared the *gûji*-ship, alternating every year until the Senge family practically assumed exclusive authority.

Not only did all the great historical figures of Japan, including more particularly Hideyori Toyotomi and Ietsuna Tokugawa, generously contribute to the upkeep, repair or re-building of the temple, but it is reported that in the year A.D. 1111, for the Yori-ki-no-zoëi, the Kami themselves provided the required timber, in the shape of one hundred logs, one of which was over 160 feet long and sixteen feet in diameter, which all came floating to the spot.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

Aston affirms that the *go-shintai* is a necklace of jewels.⁽³²³⁾ I could obtain no confirmation of the fact.

The place where Ô-kuni-nushi finally surrendered is marked by a small shrine, the Inasa-no-kami-no-yashiro, in which Take-mika-dzuchi is also enshrined.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

The Izumo-ô-yashiro was, and still is the centre of the important Izumo-ô-yashirokyô (cf. p. 517 below), the president (*kanchô*) of which, with the title of Chief Educator, and Reader on Doctrine (*kyôtô*), is practically allpowerful, and has even nominated the *gûji* ever since he himself renounced the office.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

A strange thing is that the centre of the coat of arms of the temple is made up of a combination of the three regalia which were entrusted by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami to Prince Ninigi!

In memory of the setting up by Susano-wo of the 'eight-fold fence for the husband and wife to retire within' (cf. p. 317 above), the Izumo-ô-yashiro is a favourite temple for *shinzen-kekkon*, 'marriages before the Kami'.

One very interesting tradition about Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-na-muchi) has been preserved in the Hië-taisha (sometimes read Hi-yoshi-taisha). According to it, in very ancient times, the Kami came by boat on Lake Biwa, and landed at the foot of Mount Hiëi. There seven Kami came and offered him cooked food. Thereupon, he stuck into the ground his staff, which grew into a great pine-tree, still worshipped in a fairly large fenced-in enclosure, the Karasahi; he himself is worshipped in the Western-shrine of the Hië-taisha. In very ancient times also, another Kami, Ô-yama-kuï-no-kami, who is 'the keeper of the mountain', and

who lived on Mount Hiëi, gradually came down to the lake-shore; he is now worshipped in the Eastern-shrine of the Hië-taïsha. Before the Heian era, Ô-kuni-nushi was called Ô-hië, the big Fire, and Ô-yama-kuï Ko-hië, the small Fire, but gradually Ô-yama-kuï took first place in the worship at the *taïsha*. As we have seen however (cf. p. 56 above), Ô-kuni-nushi is still deemed more important by the Buddhists, more particularly of the Tendai sect—although whenever a *bun-rei* of the temple was sought for a Shintô temple to ‘protect’ a neighbouring Buddhist temple, the Hië-taïsha regularly sent one of Ô-yama-kuï.

A rather unique case is that of the Kamo-mi-o-ya-jinja, where Ô-kuni-nushi is worshipped under seven different names in three different *massha*, each of which is divided into two or three shrines, so that each name has a shrine of its own: in the Hito-hoko-sha as Ô-kuni-mitama-no-kami (the spirit of the sacred world, of Heaven) and as Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami (the spirit of the visible world); in the Futa-koto-sha as Ô-mono-nushi-no-kami and Ô-kuni-nushi-no-kami; in the Mikoto-sha as Ashi-hara-shiko-no-ô-no-kami, as Ô-namuchi-no-kami and as Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami.

As we shall see later, Ô-kuni-nushi is also assimilated to Dïakoku (cf. p. 513f. below).

We have already noted the remarkable fact that, in territories newly conquered and annexed, such as Hokkaido, Taiwan (Formosa), Sakhalin (Jap.: Karafuto), one of the three main Kami enshrined in the main Shintô temple was Ô-kuni-nushi, together with Ô-kuni-tama-no-kami and Sukuna-hikona.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Ô-mono-nushi is worshipped in the very ancient Kagawa-ken Kotohira-gû, and, together with Koto-shiro-nushi, in the Shimotsuke Futara-san-jinja.

Several versions indicate that after Ô-kuni-nushi’s abdication, the heavenly warriors had to take strong action to enforce their authority. We have already seen the story (cf. p. 344ff above) about Take-mi-nakata. Another goes into much greater detail:

‘Futsu-nushi appointed Kunado as guide (*michi-biki*) and went on a circuit of pacification (*taira-ge*). Any who were rebellious (*shitagahanu*) to his authority he put to death, while those who rendered obedience were rewarded. The chiefs of those who at this time rendered obedience were Ô-kuni-nushi (here called Ô-mono-nushi) and Koto-shiro-nushi. So they (the Heavenly messengers) assembled the eighty myriads of Kami in the Highmarket-place of Heaven (Ame-no-take-chi), and taking them (the Earthly Kami who had surrendered) up to Heaven with them, they declared their loyal behaviour.’ (*Nihongi*, II, 20–21).

Sir Ernest Satow has explained, I do not know on what authority, that when the evil Kami were driven into Hitachi, and then ‘expelled... from Japanese soil’, they left their *wake-mitama* behind them, in temples which were built in their honour.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

According to a tradition kept in the Shiogama-jinja, Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi, in their tour of pacification around the country, took with them as a guide, not Funado, but Shiô-tsuchi-no-oji-no-kami, to whom a *bekkû* (locally pronounced *betsugû*) is consecrated—which has become more important even than the main shrine in the eyes of worshippers. (Cf. p. 81f. above). It is very striking that the ‘pacification’ of the country by the Heavenly Kami should be so closely associated with the concept of ritual purification.⁽⁷⁰⁾

It is believed in the Shiogama-jinja that the three Kami stopped at eighteen different places in Japan, and that the last one, where their journey ended, was precisely Shiogama.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ But no recognized scripture confirms the story.⁽¹²²⁾

A tradition preserved in the Aoshima-jinja tells us that the same Shio-tsuchi-no-oji later served as a witness at the marriage of Hiko-hohodemi and Toyo-tama-hime,⁽¹¹⁴⁾ which is a continued manifestation of the same concern.

Taka-mi-musubi, however, was not satisfied, and he insisted on securing further guarantees: He ‘commanded Ô-mononushi, saying: “If thou dost take to wife one of the Kami of the Earth, I shall still consider that thy heart is disaffected. I will therefore now give thee my daughter Princess Miho-tsu to be thy wife.”’ (*Nihongi*, II, 21).

The two Kami (in the *Kojiki* Take-mika-dzuchi alone) then ascended back to Heaven and reported that the Central land of reed-plains had been subdued and pacified.

It has been suggested by various commentators that Futsu-nushi is merely another title for Take-mika-dzuchi, or the name of the sword which he carried. This theory seems to have been entirely disposed of by Ponsonby-Fane.

Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi are widely worshipped throughout Japan. This is only natural since after all it was they who took the final decisive step in making peace with the earthly Kami and in pacifying the land—and thereby in making it possible for the heavenly Kami to take possession of it.

The centre of their cult is to be found in two large and famous temples ‘which enjoy the fame of being the oldest shrines in Japan’.⁽⁶⁴⁶⁾

They are situated close to each other in Chiba-ken and Ibaraki-ken: the Kashima-jingû, where Take-mika-dzuchi is enshrined, and the Katori-jingû, where Futsu-nushi is enshrined (under the name of Iwai-nushi-no-kami or Harai-no-kami). The stretch of country between the two temples, the Shin-shin-goetsu, including Lake Kasumigaura, is especially sacred. The two Kami are so closely associated with their respective temples that they are often called the Kashima-no-kami and the Katori-no-kami.

The temples dedicated to those two great victorious warriors have evidently always been held in great reverence by Japanese warriors, and even today groups of soldiers are frequently to be seen walking respectfully around their precincts and paying the customary homage before the sanctuaries. It is said that the *go-shintai* of both Kami were swords, and that Take-mika-dzuchi’s was five feet long; in former times, it was drawn from its sheath at the Kashima festival and worshipped by the priests; all the people present wore swords and drew them before the shrine.⁽³²⁴⁾

Fencing and horsemanship are considered to be under Futsu-nushi’s special protection, while Take-mika-dzuchi is the *uji-gami* of the arrow-makers; horses used to be offered to him.⁽³²⁴⁾

The Kashima-jingû is a famous place for *harai* and *misogi* exercises. A pond, the Mitarashi (which may also be read Ô-te-barai), in which there is a torii is held very sacred for that purpose, and it is said that the water in it never rises higher than the breast of the people who make their devotional ablutions in it, however small or tall they may be.⁽⁶⁴⁶⁾

One insignificant looking enclosure, the Kaname-ishi, with a diminutive tree (*himorogi*) and a small stone (*iwasaka*) marks the holy place where Take-mika-dzuchi is reported to have ‘sealed down’ the Earthquake-kami. There⁽³²⁴⁾ Jimmu-tennô came and prayed in person, some twenty-six centuries ago. In the sixteenth century a large shrine still existed above the stone, with a big pillar (*hashira*) standing on the stone itself. (See also p. 490 below).

According to tradition, the armour of Take-mika-dzuchi was worshipped in a small *massha*, the Mikasa-jinja, formerly called the Kabuto (helmet)-no-miya.⁽⁷⁴⁶⁾

Special subsidiary shrines are consecrated to the *ara-mitama* of Take-mika-dzuchi and to Ame-no-koyane. In the Jingû, the primary Kami are not forgotten: Izanagi, Hiru-ko, Toyouke-bime (here called Miketsu-no-kami), Taka-okami, Kura-okami, etc. Strangely enough, several shrines are dedicated to Earthly Kami, one to Susano-wo, and two to Ô-kuni-nushi.

Still more strange: although Iku-tsu-hiko-ne has a shrine of his own, his mother Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is strikingly absent; and, although Takakuraji, a companion of Jimmu-tennô, also has his shrine, no Emperor shares the same privilege. It would seem that, in both cases, worship has been directed to one of the assistants rather than to the chief actor, just as the main temple is dedicated to those who prepared the way for Ninigi, but Ninigi himself is nowhere to be found.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Practically the same remark also applies to the Katori-jingû, many other peculiarities of which have already been noted.

Many temples throughout Japan have *bun-rei* of both Kashima and Katori. Perhaps the most outstanding of them is the Nara Kasuga-taisha, which itself has given *bun-rei* to over 400 other temples. A book entitled *Kasuga-gongen-reikenki* tells us that the Kasuga-nokami, considered collectively agreed to become the protector of the Hosso sect of Buddhism.⁽²⁴²⁾

There are few temples, notable among which the Nukisaki-jinja, where Futsu-nushi alone is enshrined.⁽⁷⁴⁶⁾

More often, however, Take-mika-dzuchi is found without his companion. Such is the case in the Shirakawa Kashima-jinja, the forty-seven Koshiô-jinja scattered along the North-Western part of the Honshû, the Ariga-jinja, the Ozaki-jinja (a *massha* of the Dewasan-dzan), etc. It is also claimed that in the various Toyofutsu-jinja the Kami is no other than Take-mika-dzuchi.⁽⁷⁴⁶⁾

Ame-no-koyane is worshipped in various temples, such as the Imamura-gû.

CHAPTER XV

THE DESCENT OF THE HEAVENLY GRANDSON

THE time has come at last when Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi seems able to take possession of the domain which has been awarded to him, but of which he has so far only made a very cursory inspection; however, things do not develop as smoothly as might have been expected.

‘Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi (here called Taka-gi) then commanded and charged the Heir Apparent (who bears that title because he had originally been chosen by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami to govern the Central land of reed-plains) Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi (here called by his full name, cf. p. 337 above), [saying: ‘Take-mika-dzuchi] says that he has now finished pacifying (*kotomuke*) the Central land of reed-plains. So do thou, in accordance with our gracious charge, descend to it, dwell in it and rule (*shirasu*) over it’. Then Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi replied, saying: “While I have been getting ready to descend there has been born [to me] a child whose name is Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsuhi-daka-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Heaven-plenty Earth-plenty Heaven’s sun-height Prince Riceear ruddy plenty, who we shall hereafter call by his usual name of Prince Ninigi). This child should be sent down.”... Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on Prince Ninigi, deigning to charge him with these words: ‘This Luxuriant reed-plain land of fresh rice-ears (Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, i.e. Japan) is the land over which thou shalt rule (*shirasu*).’” So [he replied]: “I will descend from Heaven according to your commands.”” (*Kojiki*, I, xxxiii).

One of the *Nihongi* versions (II, 15) tells almost the same story. Eight other versions (II, 28 and 31) differ merely in giving slightly varying accounts of the relation between Prince Ninigi and his parents and grand-father. There is still another, however, which follows a rather different pattern (II, 22–23). According to it, Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi was given both the suite and the mirror which, as we shall see later, were according to the *Kojiki*, only bestowed on Prince Ninigi. And it was while Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi and his wife Yorodzu-hata-hime were on their way, in the ‘Void of Heaven’ (*ô-sora*, the space between Heaven and Earth) that Prince Ninigi was born. Ama-terasu-ô-mi-kami then appointed him in lieu of his father, and Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi ‘went back again to Heaven’.

Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi’s wife is variously called Honoto-hata-hime-ko-chi-chi-hime-no-mikoto (*Nihongi*, II, 28), Taku-hata-chi-chi-hime-yorodzu-hata-hime-no-mikoto (*Nihongi*, II, 28) under which name she is worshipped in the Okayama Ise-jinja, Yorodzu-hata-hime-ko-dama-yori-hime-no-mikoto (*Nihongi*, II, 31), Ame-yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata-hime (*Nihongi*, II, 31), Katsu-no-haya-hi-no-mikoto (*Nihongi*, II, 31) and Ata-tsu-hime (*Nihongi*, II, 31). She enjoys the amazing privilege of sharing the Naikû of the Ise-jingû with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself! The Scriptures are nevertheless silent about her later activities.

The fact that Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi declined to undertake the mission with which he had been entrusted may explain why no important temple (no *kampeï-taïsha*, no *kokuhei-taïsha*) was erected in his honour; he is however one of the Yahashira-no-kami in the Yasaka-jinja, dedicated to Susano-wo.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Prince Ninigi himself is very often referred to as the Divine Grandchild, or the Sublime Grandchild (Sume-mi-ma-no-mikoto),⁽⁶²⁵⁾ a phrase which is generally construed to stress his relation to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, but which I believe equally stresses his relation to Taka-mi-musubi.

Mention should be made of a tradition preserved in the Munakata-taïsha, according to which, in pursuance of a decree by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself, the three Hime-gami made their appearance in the island of Okino shima at the time when Ninigi was born.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The *Kojiki* reports that something unexpected happened before Prince Ninigi even started for the earth:

‘When he was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking (*yachi-mata*) road of Heaven a Kami whose refulgence (*terasû*, the same word which is found in the name of Ama-terasû) reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and down to the Central land of reed-plains. So then Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi commanded and charged Ame-no-uzume (the same Kami whose merry dancing had enticed Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the cave), [saying]: ‘Though thou art but a delicate female (*tawoyame*), thou art a Kami who conquers in facing Kami (Chamberlain explains it as meaning: who stares others out of countenance, and makes them uneasy). So be thou the one to go and ask thus: This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?’ “So to this gracious question, he (the mysterious Kami) replied: “I am an Earthly Kami named Saruda-hiko-no-kami (sometimes read Saruta-biko or Sada-biko, i.e. the Prince of Saruda). The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] descent of the august child of the Heavenly Kami, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as His Augustness’s guide (*saki*, or vanguard.)”’ (I, xxxiii).

The main *Nihongi* version (II, 16–17), which is closely followed by the *Kogoshûi*, supplies us with a much fuller description:

‘When he (Prince Ninigi) was about to descend, one, who had been sent in advance to clear the way, returned and said: ‘There is one Kami who dwells at the eight cross-roads (*yachi-mata*) of Heaven, the length of whose nose (*hana*) is seven hands, the length of whose back (*sobira*) is more than seven fathoms. Moreover a light shines from his *mouih*(*kuchi*) and from his buttocks (*shiri*). His eye-balls (*manako*) are like an eight-hand mirror and have a ruddy glow like the *akakagachi* (the same comparison which has been used for the eyes of the serpent slain by Susano-wo).” Thereupon [Taka-mi-musubi?] sent one of his attendant Kami to go and make inquiry. Now among all the eighty myriads of Kami, there was not one who could confront him and make inquiry. Therefore he specially commanded Ame-no-uzume, saying: ‘Thou art superior to others in the power of thy looks. Thou hadst better go and question him.’” So Ame-no-uzume bared her breasts and, pushing down the band of her garment below her navel, confronted him with a mocking laugh. Then the Kami of the cross-ways (*chimata-no-kami*) asked her, saying: “Ame-no-uzume! What

meanest thou by this behaviour?” She answered and said: “I venture to ask: who art thou that dost thus remain in the road by which the child of Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami is to make his progress?” The Kami of the cross-ways answered and said: “I have heard that the child of Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami is now about to descend, and therefore I have come respectfully to meet and attend upon him. My name is Saruda-hiko-no-ō-kami.”

Let us just record here a tradition preserved in the Futami-Hutami-okitama-jinja, according to which Saruda-hiko had ‘landed’ on the very spot where the temple now stands.

The services which it is recorded were rendered by Saruda-hiko to Prince Ninigi fall into two categories.

First he told Ame-no-uzume where Prince Ninigi should land on the Earth. According to the *Nihongi* (II, 17–18):

‘Ame-no-uzume again enquired of him, saying: “Wilt thou go before me, or shall I go before thee?” He answered and said: “I will go before thee and be his harbinger (*michi-biraki*).” Ame-no-uzume asked again, saying: “Where wilt thou go, and whither will the August Grandchild go?” He answered and said: “The child of the Heavenly Kami will proceed to the Peak of Takachiho in Hiuga in the land of Tsukushi, and I will go to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise.” He accordingly said: “Thou art the person who didst discover me. Thou must therefore escort me and complete thy task.” Ame-no-uzume returned and reported the circumstances. [And after Prince Ninigi had actually effected his landing] Saruda-hiko forthwith proceeded to the upper waters of the River Isuzu at Sanada in Ise. Ame-no-uzume, in accordance with his request, attended upon him. Now Prince Ninigi commanded Ame-no-uzume, saying: “Let the name of the Kami whom thou didst discover become thy title (*kabane*).” Therefore he conferred upon her the designation of Sarume-no-kimi.’ (Cf. *Kojiki*, I, xxxv).

Commentators have been greatly puzzled by the fact that what is a male title, generally translated ‘duke’ had thus been conferred on a female—and also on her female descendants.

The *Kojiki* (I, xxxvi) reports Saruda-hiko’s final disappearance in quite different circumstances, which occurred after he had been instrumental in getting the fishes of the sea to agree to serve Prince Ninigi—and that is the second service to Prince Ninigi with which he is credited. The story reads as follows:

‘Now when this Saruda-hiko dwelt at Azaka, he went out fishing, and had his hand caught by a *hirabu* shell-fish (probably *arca subcrenata*, now for that reason called *sarubogai*)⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ and was drowned in the brine of the sea (*ushio*). So the name by which he was called when he sank to the bottom was Soko-doku-mitama (Bottom-touching august spirit); the name by which he was called when the sea-water gurgled up was Tsubu-tatsu-mitama (Gurgling-up august spirit); the name by which he was called when the bubbles formed was Aha-saku-mitama (Bubble-bursting august spirit). Thereupon [Ame-no-uzume], having escorted Saruda-hiko, came back, and at once drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin (i.e. the fish, divided into two categories), and asked them, saying: “Will ye respectfully serve the august Son of the Heavenly Kami?” Upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him.’

A small incident is then noted about the *bêche-de-mer* (*ko*) which does not seem important.

It is reported that ‘even today, in the Kumano district, many monkeys (*saru*) come to the shore, and while attempting to catch fish, are often caught by crabs or shell-fish.’⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

It should be noted that this ‘brine of the sea’ is precisely the same which Izanagi and Izanami churned with the ‘jewelled spear’, and from which they produced the first land. Saruda-hiko’s is a rather unique type of disappearance, although some comparisons with Koto-shiro-nushi capsizing his boat while he had been catching fish (cf. p. 343f. above) might be relevant. In both cases the return to the primeval proto-matter certainly has a symbolic significance.

Both in the minds of the people and in actual worship, Saruda-hiko and Ame-no-uzume are very often associated. Paintings are found where they are represented together, and they are sometimes considered as husband and wife.⁽⁴¹⁸⁾ One Western author even stated that ‘Ame-no-uzume...to a certain extent lost status by her marriage to Saruda-hiko, who was frankly a terrestrial being.’⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ According to some esoterists—whose views are definitely heterodox—they should even be considered as the ‘mystic parents’ of Ninigi, whose *mitama* reached Earth through their bodies, and Saruda-hiko himself is the great ‘ancestor’ of the Imperial Dynasty!⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

The two Kami occasionally share the same *honden*, as in the Yûtoku-inari-jinja (where Ame-no-uzume bears the name of Ômiya-no-me-no-kami), the Fushimi-inari-taisha (in the company of Uga-tama-no-mikoto), and the Saruda-hiko-jinja (a *massha* of the Mitsumine-jinja).

Saruda-hiko himself is undoubtedly one of the most popular Kami in Japan, both officially and still more so in popular belief. A number of temples, big and small, count him among the deities enshrined. A modern author explains it very plausibly by saying that since he was the first to offer himself as a guide to the Heavenly Kami and to serve him loyally, he supplies a perfect example of the way in which the Japanese should fear, respect and follow the Emperor.⁽⁴²⁰⁾ In the Enomoto-jinja, a *sessha* of the Kasugataisha, he is expressly termed ‘the Kami of this Earth’.⁽²⁴³⁾ For Mr Deguchi he is the ‘Kami of ethics, who leads men along the path of virtue’.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ According to one contemporary authority, ‘he has the affirmative *person*, with the corresponding countenance, behaviour and character’.⁽¹²²⁾

However, worshippers see in him mostly a ‘Kami of the road’, a capacity in which we shall consider him later (cf. p. 495ff. below). Here we shall deal with him only in his higher divine aspect. It is probably as such that we find him enshrined in the Ise Saruda-hiko-jinja, the Tsubaki-jinja, the Okazaki Rokusho-jinja and the Matsuë Sada-jinja, as well as in many subsidiary shrines, such as the Misaki-jinja (a *massha* of the Dewa-san-dzan), the Saruda-hiko-jinja (a *massha* of the Himuka-jinja), the Shirahige-sha (or White beard shrine, a *massha* of the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, where he is a Kami of longevity), the Saruda-hiko-jinja (a *massha* of the Kono-jinja), the Yamada-jinja (a *sessha* of the Tagataisha), the Shirahige-no-yashiro (a *massha* of the Mitsui-no-yashiro, itself a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oja-jinja), etc.

We also find him associated with Izanagi and Izanami in the Shira-hige-jinja, with Ame-no-tori-bune-no-kami in the Funatama-sha (a *sessha* of the Sumiyoshi-taisha), with Komagadake-no-kami in a *massha* of the Toyokawa Susano-wo-jinja, and with several different Kami in the Takahara-jinja, the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, the Miyazu Wakimiya-jinja

(where he ranks before Ame-no-minaka-nushi), the Omoikane-jinja (a *massha* of the Dewasan-dzan), the Kami-no-mizuya-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha), etc.

In the Fushimi-inari-taisha, he is called by a number of names, such as Ô-tsuchi-no-kami, Sada-hiko, Yachimata-no-kami, Sake-no-kami, and even Dôso-jin, which is definitely a Taoist appellation.

Ame-no-uzume, according to a tradition kept in the same Fushimi-inari-taisha, may also be called Ô-miya-hime, Miyabi-no-kami, Ô-yama-hime, Ô-ichi-hime. Hirata identifies her with Ômiya-no-me-no-mikoto.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ She has become the patron of dancers, as we shall see later (cf. p. 463 below). In her higher capacity as the one who enticed Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the cave and later revealed the identity of Saruda-hiko and worked with him, she is worshipped in comparatively few temples. In addition to those which we have already listed and in which she is associated with Saruda-hiko, I found her all by herself in the Reino-mimaë-sha (a *massha* of the Atsuta-jingû), and associated with several other Kami in the Ebisu-jinja (a *sessha* of the Himuka-jinja) and the Ichido-sha (a subsidiary shrine of the Kibitsu-jinja).

Apart from the solemn worship offered to Saruda-hiko and Ame-no-uzume in temples, both Kami have become highly popular figures, and small representations of them are to be found by the dozens in the smallest shops for toys or for souvenirs. Ame-no-uzume is incarnated in the white and brilliant *okame* or *otafuku-masks*, which ‘have full round cheeks that make the face wider at the bottom than at the top, and a small flat nose, the tip of which is less prominent than the cheeks and forehead. So the face is concave. The eyes are narrow and curved, and the mouth small. The whole face is not beautiful, but it has something charming and delightful, full of joy and good nature.’⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Saruda-hiko is more generally represented with a vermilion face (possibly symbolic of its ‘refulgence’), a huge protruding nose, large round eyes, long ears and occasionally a small hat; his body is more often than not made up of a section of a peeled branch. Both of them are believed to bring luck.

On his way to earth, Prince Ninigi was escorted by a number of important Kami, the Mitomo-no-kami (attendant Kami).⁽¹²²⁾ The *Kojiki* mentions: among those who had played leading parts in the efforts to bring Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the cave, Ame-no-koyane, Futo-tama, Ame-no-uzume herself, Ishi-kori-dome, Tama-noya, Omoikane (about whom the text contains a rather obscure statement: ‘Next did they (Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi) say: “Let Omoikane take in hand our affairs, and carry on the government”’) and Ame-notajikara-wo; and further two other Kami who came to be added to the group: Toyo-iwa-mado-no-kami (Luxuriant rock true gate Kami), and Ame-no-iwa-to-wake-no-kami (Heavenly rockdoor opener Kami), also called Kushi-iwa-mado-no-kami (Mysterious rock true gate Kami). It must be noted that in the *Nihongi* the last two names designate two different Kami.

The main version of the *Nihongi* lists only Ame-no-koyane, Futo-tama, Ame-no-uzume, Ishi-kori-dome and Tama-no-ya. According to the *Hitachi-fudoki*, Kamu-hata-hime (the Kami of the Divine Weaving) was also a member of the escort.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

The alternative version of the *Nihongi*, according to which Prince Ninigi was substituted for his father only at a later stage, lays special stress on the part to be played by Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama:

Taka-mi-musubi accordingly gave command, saying: "I will set up a Heavenly divine fence (or tree, *himorogi*) and a Heavenly rock-boundary (*iwasaka*) wherein to practice religious abstinence (*iwai*) on behalf of my descendants. Do ye, Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama, take with you the Heavenly divine fence, and go down to the Central land of reed-plains. Moreover, you will there practice abstinence (*iwai*) on behalf of my descendants." So he attached the two Kami to Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi and sent them down.⁷ And after Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had conferred the holy mirror on her descendant, she also "gave command to Ame-no-koyane and to Futo-tama, saying: "Attend to me, you two Kami! Do ye also remain together in attendance and guard it well." (II, 22–23).

According to the *Kogoshûi*:

The Heavenly Ancestors (i.e. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi) caused Ame-no-koyane, Futo-tama and Ame-no-uzume to descend from Heaven, in attendance upon the Heavenly Grandson, and then issued the following Imperial Edict: "We, on our own part, shall worship in the Sacred Precincts of Divine fences and Heavenly rock-boundaries on behalf of the Heavenly Grandson, and ye, Ame-no-koyane and Futo-tama, shall go down to the Central land of reed-plains with the Divine *himorogi* and reverently pray to the Kami for the welfare of the Heavenly Grandson, guarding him in your attendance under the same roof against all emergencies, and serving him with the rice of the consecrated paddy-fields of which we partook in Heaven above—the original rice-seeds brought thence here below—and Futo-tama shall perform his duties on the Earth with the Kami belonging to different hereditary corporations just as they were wont to do in Heaven." Thus those Kami were transferred from Heaven to the suite of the Heavenly Grandson when he descended to this Earth.⁷

The *Kujiki* gives a list of thirty-two attendant Kami. Curiously enough, even in this long list, Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi are not included.⁽⁷¹³⁾

This is the last episode in which several of the above Kami are mentioned, and it may be interesting to see what worship is offered to one which will not be dealt with in other sections of this book.

As we have seen (cf. p. 336 above), the case of Omoikane, a son of Taka-mi-musubi, is rather peculiar. This Thought-includer⁷ is in a way a personification of mental thought, whom the Kami ask for guidance when they are in doubt. According to Motoôri, he "includes in his single mind the thoughts and contrivances of many".⁽⁵²³⁾ His replies are always clear-cut and categorical, but in most cases not very wise and largely ineffective. Revon very aptly calls him 'le dieu de la ruse'.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

An interesting progression, which can hardly be purely accidental, should be noted between the five consultations to which Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami proceeded. In the first case, they only asked Omoikane; in the second they asked all the Kami, and Omoikane alone replies; in the third and fourth cases they also ask all the Kami, and the reply is given by all the Kami and Omoikane; in the fifth case, it is all the Kami who answer and no mention is made of Omoikane. It would therefore look as if the Heavenly Kami were gradually losing faith in him. Nevertheless, as we have just seen, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami seems to have instructed him, at a later stage, to 'carry on the government'! His fallibility may explain why, in spite of this high office, we find him enshrined only in

fairly few temples, such as the Tō-den of the Nibukawakami-jinja (which, under the name of Yagokoro-omoikane-no-mikoto, he shares with Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami and Ōjin-tennō), the Ogano-machi Hachiman-jinja (with some others), the Chichibu-jinja, the Hi-no-kumakunikakasu-jingu (as an *aïdono-no-kami*).

In his nature, his well-defined role and responsibilities, in his self-assurance and his mistakes, he bears a striking resemblance to the Hindu King of the lower Gods, Indra.

More important still than the attending Kami were the insignia conferred upon Prince Ninigi by Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami, which we have already described in a previous chapter (*Kojiki*, I, xxxiii; *Nihongi*, II, 15 and 23, cf. p. 152f. above). They were accompanied by the fateful command given by Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami, which is still *the* authority for the Japanese Emperors to rule over Japan. We mentioned the *Kojiki* version at the beginning of this chapter (cf. p. 354 above) because the land was given to Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi and only later transferred to his son. In the *Nihongi*, where it is reported to have been given originally to Prince Ninigi, the passage reads as follows: This land of Luxuriant Reed-plain-of-fair-rice-ears-of-fifteen-hundred-autumns (Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chiïhoaki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni) is the region which my descendants shall be lords (*kimi*) of. Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed thither and govern (*shirasu*) it. Go! and may prosperity attend thy dynasty (*amatsu-hitsugi*, literally: the succession of Heavenly Spirit), and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure for ever.' (II, 16).

According to the *Kogoshūi*:

‘Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi issued an Imperial edict, saying: ‘The Luxuriant land of reed-plains is a country which our descendants are to inherit. Go, therefore, Our Imperial Grandson, and rule over it! and may our Imperial lineage continue unbroken and prosperous, coeternal with Heaven and Earth.’ The Heavenly Ancestors (i.e. Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami and Taka-mi-musubi) presented Ninigi with the two Sacred Treasures: the *yata-no-kagami* (Divine mirror) and the *kusanagi-no-tsumgi* (Herb[fire]-quelling sword), i.e. the Divine Imperial Regalia, together with the jewels and the spear, and said: “Our child, whenever you gaze upon this Sacred Mirror, let it be as if you were gazing upon Us. So regarding it, you will find it holy, and must therefore reverently worship it, ever keeping it beside your couch (*mi-yuka*) and in the privacy of your own room.”’

There was also one other very important gift which is mentioned more casually: ‘She (Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami) gave command, saying: “I will give over to My child the rice-ears (*inaho*) of the sacred garden (*yu-niha*), of which I partake in the Plain of High Heaven.’ (*Nihongi*, II, 23). Evidently this is the same gift which in another version was entrusted to two attendant Kami.

The *Kujiki* mentions still another gift, the Ten Treasures, Tokusa-no kandakara, but since this is not mentioned at this stage either in the *Kojiki* or the *Nihongi*, we dealt with it in a previous chapter (cf. p. 334f. above) when we discussed the case of Nigi-haya-hi, a Heavenly Kami sent to Earth by Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami before Prince Ninigi.

* * *

Thus instructed, equipped and escorted, Prince Ninigi, ‘leaving the Heavenly Rock-seat (*ame-no-iwa-kura*), pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds (*kumo*) and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing”, says the *Kojiki* (I, xxxiv), ‘set off floating

shut up (*uki-jimari-soritatasu*) in the Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ame-no-uki-hashî), and descended from Heaven on to the Peak of Kushifuru which is Takachiho in Tsukushi.’

Alternative *Nihongi* versions give the following accounts:

‘Then Taka-mi-musubi took the coverlet (*fusuma*) which was on his true couch (*mado*), and casting it over Prince Ninigi, made him to descend. So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly rock-seat, and with an awful (*idzu*) path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of So in Hiuga.’ (II, 9–10).

‘Prince Ninigi descended to the Peak of Takachiho of Kushibi in Hiuga.’ (II, 23).

Taka-mi-musubi took the coverlet which was on the true couch and wrapped in it Prince Ninigi, who forthwith drew open the rock-door (*iwa-kura*) of Heaven, and thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven, descended.’ (II, 26). According to this version, Prince Ninigi ‘proceeded downwards as far as the Floating Bridge of Heaven, which is on the two peaks of Kushibi of Takachiho in So in Hiuga.’ (II, 27).

‘Taka-mi-musubi took the coverlet which was on the true couch, and having clothed therewith Prince Ninigi, sent him downwards thrusting asunder the eight-piled clouds of Heaven. Therefore this Kami was styled Ame-kuni-nigishi-hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto. Now the place at which he arrived is called the Peak of Sohori-yama of Takachiho in So in Hiuga.’ (II, 29).

It is certainly not without a deep meaning that the province which was chosen by Ninigi for his descent, Hiuga, should have been precisely the same which Izanagi had sanctified by his ablutions after he returned from his visit to the Nether-world.

At this stage, we find two more Kami actively escorting the Prince:

‘Ame-no-oshi-hi-no-mikoto (His Heavenly great wondrous Augustness) and Ama-tsume-no-mikoto (His Augustness Heaven’s round-eyes), both taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers (*ame-no-iwa-yugi*), taking at their side the large mallet-headed (or hard-tempered) swords (*kabu-tsuchi-no-tachi*), taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow (*ame-no-hashî-yumi*), and clasping under their arms the Heavenly true-deer arrows (*ame-no-kaku-ya*), stood in his august van (*saki*) in respectful attendance.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxiv).

According to the *Nihongi* (II, 26),

‘At this time, Ame-no-oshi-hi, ... taking with him Ama-kushi-tsu-Ô-kume, ... placed on his back the Heavenly rock-quiver, drew on his forearm a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad (*tomo*), and grasped in his hand a Heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow and a Heavenly feathered arrow (*ame-no-haha-ya*), to which he added an eight-eyed whizzing arrow (*nari-kabura*). Moreover, he girt on his mallet-headed sword (*kabu-tsuchi-no-tsuringi*), and, taking his place before the Heavenly Grandchild, proceeded, etc.’ (II, 26).

The *Kogoshûi* merely states that the two Kami, ‘heavily armed’, were ‘ordered to descend from Heaven, at the head of the Imperial body-guard’.

Various versions of the *Nihongi* then proceed to relate an episode which is ignored by the *Kojiki*:

‘After this (i.e. after he had landed), the manner of the progress of the August Grandchild was as follows: from the Floating Bridge of Heaven (Ame-no-uki-hashī) on the twin summits of Kushibi, he took his stand on a level part of the floating sand-bank (*uki-jimari*). Then he traversed the desert land (*muna-kuni*) of Sojishi from the hill of Hitawo in his search for a country (*kuni*), until he came to Cape Kasasa, in Ata-no-nagaya. A certain man of that land appeared and gave his name as Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa (Thing-excel-country-excel-long-narrow). Prince Ninigi inquired of him, saying: “Is there a country (*kuni*) or not?” He answered and said: “There is here a country. I pray thee roam through it at thy pleasure.” Prince Ninigi therefore went there and took up his abode.’ (II, 10–11).

Then (i.e. after he had landed), he passed through the land of Munasohi, in Sojishi, by way of the hill of Hitawo, in search of a country, and stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Thereupon he called to him Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa, the Lord of that country, and made inquiry of him. He answered and said: “There is a country here. I will in any case obey thy commands.” Accordingly Prince Ninigi erected a palace-hall and rested there.’ (II, 24).

Then he stood on a level part of the floating sand-bank and passed through the desert land of Sojishi by way of Hitawo in search of a country until he came to Cape Kasasa in Ata-no-nagaya. Now at this place there was a Kami named Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa. Therefore Prince Ninigi inquired of this Kami, saying: “Is there a country?” He answered and said: “There is.” Accordingly he said: “I will yield it up to thee in obedience to thy commands.” Therefore Ninigi abode in that place. This Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu-no-kami was the child of Izanagi, and his other name is Shiō-tsu-tsu-no-oji (old man of the sea).’ (II, 27) whom we shall have occasion to see later in the company of Prince Hiko-ho-ho-demi (cf. p. 377ff.).

‘When he proceeded on his way... he arrived at Cape Kasasa in Ata, and finally ascended the island of Takashima in Nagaya. He went round inspecting that land (*tokoro*), and found there a man whose name was Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa. Prince Ninigi accordingly inquired of him, saying: “Whose land (*kuni*) is this?” He answered and said: “This is the land where Nagasa dwells. I will, however, offer it to the Heavenly Grandchild.”’ (II, 29).

Some sort of reference to this episode might be construed from the following passage in the *Kojiki*—for which we shall follow Motoōri’s interpretation, although Chamberlain angrily rejects it: ‘He (Ninigi), passing searchingly through a bare-backed empty country, arrived at the august Cape Kasasa, and said: “It is a land whereon the morning sun (*asa-hi*) shines straight, a land which the evening sun (*yufu-hi*)’s sunlight illuminates. So this place is an exceedingly good place.” Having thus spoken, he made stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven, and dwelt there.’ (I, xxxiv).

As presented in the *Nihongi*—and not contradicted by the *Kojiki*—this episode would mark the first contact which Ninigi had with the human inhabitants of the earth, who were to become his subjects. Until then, only the Earthly Kami had surrendered their power over

the land, and now the land itself and its human indwellers came under the domination of the Heavenly Grandchild. Which evidently marks an extremely important stage.

* * *

However decisive the transfer of sovereignty obtained from Ô-kuni-nushi and its implementation by Prince Ninigi's descent, even with the additional surrender of the human inhabitants, all this was not sufficient to establish the intimate union which was necessary between the Heavenly Kami's lineage and their earthly realm—a union which had never been completely effected by the Earthly Kami when they were in possession of the earth.

That 'union' was achieved in two successive stages, by Prince Ninigi marrying the land and one of his sons (born of that marriage) in his turn marrying the sea. Both operations have this in common that they were of a highly selective character, the Heavenly Kami in each case rejecting or bringing into abject submission what was deemed undesirable.

In the first stage, Prince Ninigi was offered in marriage the two different aspects of the land, represented by the two daughters of the Kami of the mountain: the sterile rock and the blossoming tree. He disdainfully declined the former and eagerly sought the latter. Their union however fructified faster than could have been credible, and a fire-ordeal was resorted to by the lady concerned in order to establish its genuineness, and possibly also to sanctify it.

As soon as he had built himself a palace, Ninigi's first concern was of course to obtain a wife and to procreate children. The *Kojiki* account reads as follows:

'Hereupon he met a beautiful maiden (*otome*) at the august Cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (one of the children of Izanagi and Izanami) and my name is Kamu-ata-tsu-hime (Divine princess of Ata); another name by which I am called being Kono-hana-sakuya-hime" (generally translated Princess blossoming brilliantly like the flowers of the trees, but for which Lafcadio Hearn offers the following alternative: Princess causing the flowers to blossom brightly).⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ Again he asked: "Hast thou any brothers or sisters (*hara-kara*)?" She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister Iha-naga-hime" (generally translated Princess long as the rocks, but better interpreted by Anesaki to mean The lady of rock-perpetuity).⁽³¹⁰⁾ Then he charged her, saying: "I wish to have sexual relations with thee. What are thy feelings?" She replied, saying: "I am not able to say. My father Ô-yama-tsu-mi will say." So he sent a request [for her] to her father Ô-yama-tsu-mi, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her elder sister Princess Iha-naga, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables (*tsukue*) holding a hundred (i.e. every kind of goods as a dowry for his daughters.)' (I, xxxvii).

The *Nihongi* main version (II, II) adds no further information. One alternative version (II, 24) gives the fuller name of Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime. The other alternative version (II, 30) is slightly different:

The Heavenly Grandchild again inquired of him (Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa), saying: "And the maidens who have built an eight-fathom palace on the highest crest of the waves (*nami-ho*) and tend the loom with jingling wrist-jewels, whose daughters are they?" He answered and said: "They are the daughters of Ô-yama-tsu-mi. The elder is named Iha-naga, and the younger is named Konohana-sakuya-hime, also called Toyo-ata-tsu-hime."

But things did not work out smoothly.

‘Owing to the elder sister being very hideous (*minikuki*), [Prince Ninigi] was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister...whom he wedded for one night. Then Ô-yama-tsu-mi was covered with shame at Iha-naga being sent back, and sent a message [to Prince Ninigi], saying: “My reason for respectfully presenting both my daughters together was that, by sending Iha-naga, the august offspring of the Heavenly Kami, though the snow fall and the wind blow, might live eternally (*tokoshie*), enduring and immovable like unto the rock (*iwa no gotoku, tokiha ni kakiha ni*), and again by sending Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, [they] might live flourishing like unto the flowering of the blossoms of the trees; to insure this I offered them. But owing to thy thus sending back Princess Iha-naga and keeping only Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, the august offspring of the Heavenly Kami shall be but as frail as the flowers of the trees (*a-ma-hi-no-mi*).” So it is for this reason that down to the present day the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns (i.e. the Emperors of Japan) are not long.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxxvii).

One *Nihongi* version makes Iha-naga herself responsible for the curse:

‘The August Grandchild thought the elder sister ugly (*miniku-shi*), and would not take her. So she went away. But the younger sister was a noted beauty. So he took her with him and in one night she became pregnant (*hara-mu*). Therefore Iha-naga was greatly ashamed, and cursed him, saying: “If the August Grandchild had taken me and not rejected me, the children born of him would have been long-lived (*inochi-nagaki*), and would have endured for ever like the massy rocks (*iwa*). But seeing that he has not done so, but has married my younger sister only, the children born to him will surely be decadent like the flowers of the trees.” One version is: Iha-naga, in her shame and resentment, spat (*tsubaku*) and wept. She said: ‘The race of visible mankind (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) shall change swiftly like the flowers of the trees, and shall decay and pass away.’ This is the reason why the life of man is so short.’ (II, 24).

Temples were nevertheless erected to Iha-naga-hime, one on Ô-yama in Sagami (where both she and the mountain are popularly known under the name of Sekison-san),⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ and one in the Konuma Asama-jinja. She is also found in the Anaba-jinja (a *sessha* of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, along with other Kami) in the Naka-sha-musubi-no-yashiro (a *massha* of the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha) and in the Yakushin-jinja (a *massha* of the Mitsumine-jinja). Her main temple, however, seems to be the Tsu-no-mine-jinja (Tokushima-ken), where she is worshipped under the name of Kashiwa-hime-no-mikoto. There her *shintoku* is prolongation of life, and the tradition is that she saves one life every day. Pilgrims crowd her temple and many miracles are reported. There is also one branch temple, the Tsu-mine-sha, in the island of Awaji.

Nor was the birth of Prince Ninigi’s children without many dramatic episodes. The *Kojiki* says:

‘Later on Kono-hana-sakuya-hime waited on [Prince Ninigi], and said: “I am pregnant (*hara-mu*), and now the time for my delivery (*ko-umu*) approaches. It is not fit for me to be delivered of the august offspring of Heaven privately (*watakushi-ni*) (i.e. without telling thee); so I tell thee.” Then [he] said: “Princess Kono-hana!” (Motoôri understands this unusual abbreviation as implying scorn) “What! pregnant after one sojourn (*hito-yo*): It cannot be my child. It must surely be the child of an Earthly Kami.”’ (I, xxxviii).

The *Nihongi* reports Prince Ninigi's surprise in the following words: 'Heavenly Kami though I am, how could I cause any one to become pregnant in the space of one night? That which thou hast in thy bosom is assuredly not my child.' (II, 11 and 25).

To prove her faithfulness, the Princess decided to submit herself and her children to a sort of fire-ordeal. 'She replied, saying: "If the child with which I am pregnant be the child of an Earthly Kami, it will not be fortunate. If it be the child of the Heavenly Kami, it will be fortunate." And thereupon she built a hall eight fathom [long] (*yahiro-dono*) without doors, went inside the hall and plastered up [the entrance] with earth; and when the time came for her delivery, she set fire to the hall and was delivered. And she gave birth to three sons: Ho-deri (fire-shine)-no-mikoto, when the fire was burning most fiercely, next Ho-(no-)suseri (fire-climax)-no-mikoto, next Ho-(no-)wori (fire-subside)-no-mikoto, also called Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Heaven's sun-height prince great rice-ears lord ears (?) whom we shall hereafter call Hiko-ho-ho-demi for short).' (*Kojiki*, I, xxxviii).

According to the main *Nihongi* version (II, 11), the three children were: Ho-no-susori, 'born from the extremity of the smoke (*kemuri*) which first arose', Hiko-ho-ho-demi, 'when she drew back and remained away from the heat', and, 'next' Ho (fire, or ears of rice)-akari (to be bright or fully ripe)-no-mikoto.

One alternative version gives them as Ho-no-akari-no-mikoto 'when the flames first became bright', Ho-no-susumi (flame-advance), also called Ho-no-suseri, 'when the blaze was at its height', and Hiko-ho-ho-demi 'when she recoiled from the blaze.' (II, 25). Another gives Ho-no-suseri and Ho-wori, 'also called' Hiko-ho-ho-demi, i.e. only two children in all. (II, 30).

On the other hand, still another version mentions four children: Ho-no-suseri 'when the flames first broke out', Ho-akari 'when the flame reached its height', and 'next' Hiko-ho-ho-demi and Ho-wori. (II, 25).

Still another, and rather aberrant *Nihongi* version gives a much more detailed account:

The Heavenly Grandchild favoured Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, daughter of Ô-yama-tsu-mi. In one night she became pregnant, and eventually gave birth to four children. Therefore she took the children in her arms, and, coming forward, said: "Ought the children of the Heavenly Grandchild to be privately nurtured? Therefore do I announce to thee the fact for thine information." At this time, the Heavenly Grandchild looked upon the children, and, with a mocking laugh, said: "Excellent, these princes of mine! Their birth is a delightful piece of news!" Therefore Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was wroth, and said: "Why dost thou mock thy handmaiden?" The Heavenly Grandchild said: 'There is surely some doubt of this, and therefore did I mock. How is it possible for me, Heavenly Kami though I am, in the space of one night, to cause any one to become pregnant? Truly they are not my children.' On this account Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime was more and more resentful. She made a doorless *muro* (possibly a sort of pit with a thatch-roof?), into which she entered, and made a vow, saying: "If the children which I have conceived are not the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, then let them surely perish. But if they are the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild, let them suffer no hurt." So she set fire to the *muro* and burnt it. When the fire first became bright, a child sprang forth and announced himself, saying: "Here I am, the child of the Heavenly Kami, and my name is Ho-no-akari. Where is my father?" Next, the child who

sprang forth when the fire was at its height also announced himself, saying: “Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Kami, and my name is Ho-no-susumi. Where are my father and my elder brother?” Next, the child who sprang forth when the flames were being extinguished, also announced himself, saying: “Here I am, the child of the Heavenly Kami, and my name is Ho-no-wori. Where are my father and my elder brothers?” Next, when she recoiled from the heat, a child sprang forth, and also announced himself: “Here am I, the child of the Heavenly Kami, and my name is Hiko-ho-ho-demi. Where are my father and my elder brothers?” (II, 27–28).

The *Kojiki* apparently takes it for granted that Prince Ninigi was satisfied with the result of the ordeal, so that it does not deem it worth recording. *Nihongi* versions are not so reticent. The one last quoted says:

‘After that, their mother Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime came forth from amidst the embers, and, approaching, told him, saying: “The children which thy handmaiden has brought forth and thy handmaiden herself, have, of our own accord, undergone the danger of fire, and yet have suffered not the smallest hurt. Will the Heavenly Grandchild not look on them?” He answered and said: “I knew from the first that they were my children, only as they were conceived in one night, I thought that there might be suspicions, and I wished to let everybody know that they are my children, and also that a Heavenly Kami can cause pregnancy in one night. Moreover, I wished to make it evident that thou dost possess a wonderful and extraordinary dignity, and also that our children have surpassing spirit. Therefore it was that on a former day I used terms of mockery.” (II, 28).

In one other version, Prince Ninigi does not make such an explicit admission:

‘Proof having been given by the mother’s vow, it was known exactly that they were truly the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild. Toyo-ata-tsu-hime, however, was incensed at the Heavenly Grandchild and would not speak to him. Grieved at this, he made a song, saying:

The sea-weed of the offering—
Though it may reach the shore:
The true couch
Is, alas! impossible.
Ah! ye dotterels of the beach. (II, 30).

(which Aston takes to mean: The weeds of the deep sea may drift to the shore, but between thy couch and mine an impassable gulf is fixed. I appeal to you, ye dotterels of the beach! Is it not so?).

The *Nihongi* also provides further details about the birth of Prince Ninigi’s sons:

‘With a bamboo-knife (*awo-hiye*) [the mother] cut their navel-string. From the bamboo-knife which she threw away, there eventually sprung up a bamboo-grove. Therefore that place was called Taka-ya (bamboo-house).

‘Now Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime by divination (*urahe*) fixed upon a ricefield to which she gave the name Sanada, and from the rice grown there brewed Heavenly sweet sake,

with which she entertained him. Moreover, with the rice from the Nunada rice-field she made boiled rice (*ihi*) and entertained him therewith.’ (*Nihongi*, II, 25–26).

This is the ‘mythical counterpart’⁽³²²⁾ of the Nii-name festival (cf. p. 185 above and 399 below).

The text then relates that Prince Ninigi was married to Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto (Her Augustness Myriad looms-luxuriant dragon-fly island Princess), daughter of Taka-mi-musubi (here called Taka-gi) and begat children: Ame-no-ho-akari-no-mikoto (His Augustness heavenly rice-ear-ruddy), and next Hiko-ho-no-ninigi, who is apparently Prince Ninigi himself. Commentators are rather shocked by this inconsistency; but myths are occasionally met with in which the meaning can only be given by making a God his own son, or grandson, or brother.*

From the above texts—and some others—various authors have drawn the conclusion that the three stages in the expedition of Prince Ninigi covered three different parts of Japan: Kirishima, the Southern part of Kyûshû, and Izumo.

‘A long time after, Prince Ninigi died, and was buried in the *misasagi* of Himuka-no-ye in Tsukushi’ (*Nihongi*, II, 12). In the Nitta-hachiman-gu, which on the basis of both oral tradition and the *Dazaikandaishi* (History of Kyûshû) claims to have been built on the site of Ninigi’s palace—but which, paradoxically enough, does not count Ninigi among the Kami enshrined in it!—it is stated that the mausoleum (Tsukushi-no-himuka-no-ye-no-misasagi) is behind the Nitta-hachiman mountain.⁽¹³³⁾

Prince Ninigi has not been enshrined in many temples, probably far fewer than his faithful guide Saruda-hiko, and very seldom alone. One very responsible Shintô priest even went so far as to state that Ninigi probably had no temples at all, or that, if he had any, they could not be old.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ And one other definitely suggested that the Kirishima-jingû was very likely the only one.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

Nevertheless, Prince Ninigi can be found in the *honden* of the Ise Gekû, in the Hijiri-jinja (with two other Kami), in the Nitta-jinja, in the Fuji-sengen-jinja near Mount Tanigawa, in the Yoshino-mikumari-jinja (with six other Kami, himself ranking only fourth), in the Hokuden of the Sada-jinja (along with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), in the Udo-jingû (with five other Kami), in the Izu-jinja, in the Hiuga-jinja (now a *sessha* of the Taga-taisha where he is believed to have been enshrined by Jimmu-tennô himself),⁽¹²²⁾ in the Gekû of the Kyoto Himuka-jinja (with Ame-no-minaka-nushi), and probably also in the Egara-jinja, although official sources are inclined to believe that the Kami in that temple is Michizane Sugawara, the confusion arising from the fact that the latter is called Ten-shin (Kami of curse), while Ninigi is termed Ten-jin (i.e. *ama-tsu-kami*, Heavenly Kami), both names being written with the same ideogram.⁽²⁰³⁾ This is controversial.⁽¹²²⁾

Ninigi’s main temple is however the Kirishima-jingû, also called Taka-chi-hono-mine-jinja. Its history is rather unique. Not far from it one can see Ama-no-saka-hoko, the ‘spear of heavenly iron’, although probably made of bronze, which the Prince brought down with him and planted on the peak where, according to tradition, he first landed. It is about four feet high, and its top is ornamented with a very archaic design which seems to represent two—or, seen under a certain angle, four—human faces.

* Cf. Jean Herbert, *Agni, Puissance-conscience de la volonté divine*, Lyon, Derain, 1949

The original temple was erected between the peak and the crater of the volcano, at a height of about 4,300 feet, under Kimmei-tenno (sixth century), but it was destroyed by an eruption. Then the temple itself ‘exploded’ in the shape of a star, into six temples situated all around the crater: the Kiri-shima-jingu itself, the Kirishima-higashi-jinja (which became possessed of the heavenly spear), the Higashi-kirishima-jinja, the Kirishima-mine-jinja, the Samo-jinja, and the Shiratori-jinja, all of which became independent temples in 1875.

For the Kirishima-jingū proper, a second temple was built under Kammu-tenno (end of seventh century), about 1,000 feet lower down, on a straight line with the crater and the original summit; a monumental *iwasaka* marks the site. But it was also destroyed by an eruption. Then for about four centuries, the Kami had to be content with a provisional structure, much lower down. And it was only in the middle of the fifteenth century that the present site was adopted, at an altitude of approximately 1,650 feet. The temple again had to be rebuilt a number of times, and one of the peculiarities of the present structure is that it was oriented WSW, facing the house of the local lords, the Shimazu family, who financed the building operations, so that they could worship the Kami from their own home, without taking the trouble of walking up to the sanctuary!

The importance of Ninigi’s role as an Imperial ancestor is stressed by the fact that he shares the *honden* with six other Kami, all close relatives: his wife (Kono-hana-sakuya-hime), his son (Hiko-ho-ho-demi), his son’s wife (Toya-tama-hime), his grandson (Ugaya-fuki-aezu), his grandson’s wife (Tama-yori-hime) and his great-grandson (Emperor Jimmu). In a *sessha*, the Nogami-jinja, are enshrined his own parents, Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi and Taku-hata-chi-chi-hime.

It is said that people who go into deep meditation in Kifune sometimes have a vision of a ship loaded with riches, and that such a vision brings luck. It might be the ‘ship’ on which Prince Ninigi descended to earth.... And there is behind the temple a sepulchral mound in the shape of a ship.

On January 3rd, the three temples of the Imperial house celebrate the Genshi-sai to commemorate Ninigi’s arrival on Earth.

Kono-hana-sakuya-hime is now better known and more widely worshipped as the Deity of Mount Fuji, and we shall consider her later (cf. p. 474 below).

* * *

After the descent of Prince Ninigi, Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami does not play such a visibly active part in the affairs of the earth. She appears occasionally in the scriptures to give inspiration and guidance when required, but she has delegated her powers to her representatives and descendants on earth, the divine grandson and his offspring. This may then be the proper place to discuss the position she holds in present-day Shintō—although her cult as it is today was only organized at a much later period (cf. p. 410 below).

Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami (also called Shinmei) is now beyond all doubt the central figure in Shintō, and thousands of books have been written about her worship. The *Basic Terms of Shintō*, the most recent authoritative publication, describes her as follows:

The ancestral deity of the Imperial House. A goddess endowed with the virtues of the sun’s rays. The one of his offspring most beloved by Izanagi-nomikoto; a goddess of a most refined and gentle disposition. The goddess embodying the unity of Takama-no-hara (the

Upper World in a religious sense), who also showed man the way of making food, clothing and dwellings; the goddess who is the basis of peace.’

We shall consider separately the main traits of her nature insofar as they concern the present-day worshipper; it is not our purpose to discuss here the various theories which have been propounded about the origin and growth of her cult.

There can be no doubt that in the minds of worshippers, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is largely associated with the Sun. The night which obtained in the whole world when she retired into the cave seems sufficient evidence to support the belief. Considerable discussion has even taken place between theologians as to whether she is the Sun itself, or the spirit (*mitama*) of the Sun, or a Being outside the Sun which rules the Sun.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

One all-important part of her worship is that addressed to her as the Ancestress *par excellence* of the Imperial Dynasty, and in that capacity she is especially worshipped in the Imperial Palace by the Emperor in person. It is also largely as such that she occupies the place of honour on practically every family shrine.

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is designated by a variety of other names as well. One of the most generally accepted is Ô-hiru-me-no-muchi, under which she is worshipped in a few temples, such as the Hirakiki-jinja.

In a number of temples, such as the Onogoro-jinja, the Akuni-kambe-shinmei-jinja, the Iwagami-jinja, the Wakamatsu Ebisu-jinja, the Tenshō-kōtai-sha (a *massha* of the Kono-jinja), she is called Amaterasu-sume (imperial)-ô-mi-kami. In the Sannohe-daï-jingû, she bears the fuller name of Amaterashimasu-sume-ô-mi-kami.

During the period when Shintô was fairly inextricably mixed with Buddhism, she received the names of Tenshō-kō-daijin, Damichi-nyōrai, etc., and was more or less identified with Mahā-vairōcana. According to Anesaki, ‘the identity of the Sun-goddess with the Buddha Lochana was formerly proclaimed in connection with the foundation of the Central [Buddhist] Cathedral, when an oracle was secured from her to that effect, giving sanction to the building of the Cathedral.’⁽³⁰⁸⁾

One particularly interesting concept is that found in the Kono-jinja (a Moto-miya, i.e. ‘original temple’ of the Ise-jingû), in the main sanctuary of which are enshrined:

(1) Amateru -kuniteru -hiko-ho—akari-no -mikoto, Amateru -mitama-no-mikoto, Ame-no-ho-akari-no-mikoto and Hiko-ho-akari-no-mikoto, who are ‘different names for one single Kami, the chief Kami of the jinja. It is Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s *mitama* when viewed impersonally and her grandson when viewed personally.’

(2 and 3) Toyo-uke-no-ô-kami and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, who are taken to be two manifestations of Ame-no-minaka-nushi—whereas in a *sessha* of the same temple, the Manawi-jinja, Toyo-uke-bime is taken to represent the totality of Ame-no-minaka-nushi.

(4) Wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, a child of Izanagi and Izanami, connected with the sea.

(5) Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, a child of the previous one, connected with water.

We have already seen that in the Atsuta-jingû, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is sometimes identified with Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi. It has been suggested that the Hime-gami worshipped in the Hirano-jinja may also be Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami.

Esoteric speculations about Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami have naturally been endless. Some authorities⁽²⁾ even go so far as to hold that, within a certain concept, she came before Izanagi and Izanami, and even before Kami-musubi and Taka-mi-musubi. As a quite evident result

of her close association with Taka-mi-musubi in the sending down of Heavenly Kami to pacify and govern the earth, the two Kami may in a sense be considered responsible for the present status of the earth, and they may be viewed as the actual creators of it.

That probably explains to a large degree why it has often been stressed that the cult of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is monotheistic,⁽⁶⁸⁾ all the other Kami falling into a subsidiary category.

Although she is the chief Kami of the Shintô Pantheon, it should be noted that she is not all-powerful, any more than the chief Gods in the Greek or Hindu pantheons. In her clash with Susano-wo, in her being forcibly drawn out of the Heavenly Rock-dwelling, she is evidently subjected to attacks which she cannot prevent and from which she does not always emerge victorious.

The number of shrines, big and small, consecrated to her, is enormous. In a small region of the Shikoku, about fifteen miles by ten, south of Tsurugi-san and west of the Mononobe River alone, one finds about a hundred temples called Hijiri-jinja, in all of which she is enshrined. In the single locality of Fukuno-machi, with about 15,000 inhabitants, in Toyama-ken, she is the Kami of thirteen Shinmei-sha, all erected before the eighteenth century.⁽¹²²⁾

In her chief temple, the great national Shintô centre, the Ise Naikû, which is visited by about five million pilgrims every year, strangely enough Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is not the only Kami. She shares the main sanctuary with two *aidono-no-kami*: Ame-no-tajikara-wo, who took her by the hand to draw her out of the cave, and Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shihime, Prince Ninigi's mother, who is not one of her descendants—although it has been held that the *aidono-no-kami* is really Omoikane. At a certain distance from the Naikû are two *bekkû*, the Idzô-nomiya and the Takihara-no-miya, which originated independently from it, and in which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, on the other hand, is alone. And one other *bekkû* of the Naikû, also called Takihara-no-miya, has for its sole Kami Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's *nigi-mitama*; close to it, still another *bekkû*, the Ara-matsuri-no-miya, has for its Kami Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's *ara-mitama*—as 'perhaps' also the Takihara-narabi-no-miya.

As was pointed out previously, separate worship is also offered to the two *mitama* of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami in some independent temples: her *nigi-mitama* in the Kôbe Ikuta-jinja, her *ara-mitama* in the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja (where, according to some authors,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ it is called by the name of Tsuki-sakaki-izu-no-mitama).

Many other episodes not recorded in the main scriptures are remembered and celebrated. To give only one instance, it is said that Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami once took her midday meal in Sugizaka (Shiga-ken) and afterwards planted her chopsticks in the ground, where they grew into the giant cryptomeria-trees which can still be seen there.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The officials of the Naikû claim that the temple has never given *bun-rei*, but it distributes *ofuda*, which are found in about 90,000 'small' temples. The *ofuda*, more officially termed *taïma*, bears the name of the Kami, and is therefore a 'seat' (*za*) of the Kami. The Kami, or rather her 'activity' *mitama-no-fuyu*, resides in it and it may therefore be worshipped. As a matter of fact, men can only communicate with the Kami 'with respect, knowledge and dignity' through her *mitama-no-fuyu*, and, according both to their state of mind and to the way they receive it, it comes to them either as *ara-mitama* or as *nigi-mitama*. The *ofuda* may be viewed either as a sort of *himorogi* or as a 'sign', *mi-shirushi*, of the Kami.

In the eyes of the Ise clergy, the granting of *ofuda* is a purely ‘private’ operation, but the temples which receive it definitely take it as fully official. (158, 182) There is even a ‘great *ofuda*’, either permanent or renewable, which in 1938 was in the possession of no less than 18,500 privileged shrines, the *shin-meï-sha*.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ And during the Meiji era, the Ise-jingû gave actual *bun-rei* to the Tokyo Daï-jingû, the Tenshō-kyō-sha, etc.⁽¹²²⁾

The Naïkû also gives smaller sacred objects, which are intended to be carried by the devotee on their person; they are called *o-mamori* or *ô-harai*, and, according to some sources, their power does not extend beyond six months. Until a fairly recent period, there were professional peddler-priests, the *oshi*, who sold them throughout Japan, (cf. p. 134 above).

We have already described the pilgrimages to Ise (cf. p. 161 above). Of course, individual visits for the purpose of reporting and thanksgiving are numberless. One recent striking instance is that of Admiral Tôgō who, after his victory over the Russians, took his whole fleet to the Bay of Ise to pay homage.⁽⁶⁹³⁾

Special mention should be made of the relations between the cult of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and that of Susano-wo. However necessary and effective Susano-wo’s action to bring the forces of Heaven to operate on Earth, he and his sister nevertheless represent more or less opposite principles. The various groups of temples, priests and worshippers therefore are rather inclined to lean toward one principle more than towards the other. But opinions differ widely, even among the priests of the Ise-jingû.^(158, 193)

It is very exceptional for instance that a Shintô priest should be transferred from a temple belonging to the Susano-wo ‘line’ to a temple of the Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami ‘line’ or vice-versa. One of the main reasons why Baron Sonpuku Senge, gûji of the Izumo-ô-yashiro, seceded from State Shintô was that the competent authorities, the Daïkyō-in, refused to add Susano-wo’s son, Ô-kuni-nushi, to the four Kami selected for main worship, who were Ame-no-minaka-nushi, Kami-musubi, Taka-mi-musubi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Nevertheless, there are temples where Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo are worshipped side by side. We may mention the Kanasana-jinja, the Tensha-yamakage-jinja, the Sugo-ô-jinja, the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja, and a small *massha* at the entrance of the Enoshima caves. They can also be found together, but in the company of other Kami, in the Kumano Nachi-jinja (with Izanagi and Izanami), in the Katami-jinja (with seven other Kami), the Suhara-jinja (with Toyo-uke-bime and others), in the Atsuta-jingû (where they are *aidono-no-kami* to Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi), in the Kana-ga-saki-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Mitsumine-jinja (with Yamato-takeru), in the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja (with Tsuki-yomi, Koto-shiro-nushi and Waka-hime-no-mikoto), etc. In the Hi-no-misaki-jinja, where Susano-wo is the main Kami, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was added later as an *aidono-no-kami*.

In some temples, they each have a subsidiary shrine. Such is the case in the Taga-taisha, where one *massha* outside the precincts, the Takamatsu-jinja, is consecrated to Susano-wo, while another within the precincts, the Himme-ryo-jinja, is consecrated to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. In the Shika-umi-jinja, they have two *massha* side by side, the Daï-jingû and the Gion. In the Ideha-jinja of the Dewa-san-dzan, there are two *massha* to the children of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and two to the children of Susano-wo.

We have already reported the understanding which one *gūji* has of the relation between Susano-wo and Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami (cf. p. 325 above). Let us finally quote a modern-minded Japanese, deeply influenced by Western ethnographic theories, who explains that the hostility between Susano-wo and Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami is that which normally develops between the king (or chief) and his sister (or wife) on whom devolve the duties and responsibilities of chief priestess.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

CHAPTER XVI

HIKO-HO-HO-DEMI AND HIS ELDER BROTHER

THE multiplicity of sons born from the marriage between the Heavenly Kami and the Kami of the earth was not compatible with the desired unity of the empire. Of those mentioned by the different accounts, only two appear later in the scriptures; the others apparently corresponded to abortive or ultimately sterile stages or attempts and are silently discarded.

The two remaining ones shared the dominion, one of them having received the ‘gift’ of the mountain (*yama-sachi*) and the other the ‘gift’ of the sea (*umi-sachi*). They both found the arrangement unsatisfactory and tried to exchange their gifts, but that only made things worse.

Then the one who originally had the gift of the mountain was led by circumstances to marry the daughter of the Kami of the Sea. And this gave him power to triumph over his brother and bring him into servitude. He was then left in sole possession of the land and the sea.

His only son, who inherited the full dominion, became the single descendant of and heir to the Heavenly Kami, the land and the sea, a position probably unique in the cosmogonies of the world.

His subjects, nevertheless, were to be of the human race, and his reluctance to having a mixed breed of beings, half of the land and half of the sea, led to a definite separation between the two parts of the sub-solar universe.

A very long and detailed myth—which occupies nearly one sixth of the texts relating to the Age of the Kami—relates the quarrels between the two brothers. Just as the various versions do not agree on the number, order of seniority and names of the children, so do they differ as to the names of the two heroes of this myth. In the *Kojiki*, they are Ho-deri (the elder) and Ho-wori (the younger). In three *Nihongi* versions (beginning respectively II, 31, 36 and 42) they are Ho-no-susori (the elder) and Hiko-hohodemi (the younger). In one *Nihongi* version (beginning II, 45), they are Ho-no-susori (the elder) and Ho-wori (the younger).

Since both the *Kojiki* (I, xxxviii) and one *Nihongi* version (II, 30) tell us, however, that Ho-wori and Hikoho-ho-demi are the same person, and he is the most important one in the myth, we shall always call him by the latter name—under which he is more generally known—whatever appellation the actual text uses. As regards his elder brother, since there is no authority to adjudicate between the various versions, and the use of different names would only confuse the reader in what is evidently one and the same myth, we shall simply call him ‘the elder brother’—as most Japanese authors do.

Says the *Kojiki* (I, xxxix):

The elder brother was a prince who got his luck (*sachi*) on the sea, and caught things broad of fin and things narrow of fin. Hiko-ho-ho-demi was a prince who got his luck on the mountains, and caught preys of fur and feather. Then Hiko-ho-ho-demi said to his elder brother: “Let us mutually exchange, and use each other’s luck”. Though he thrice made the request, [his elder brother] would not agree; but at last with difficulty the mutual exchange was obtained. Then Hiko-ho-ho-demi, undertaking the sea-luck, angled for fish, but never got a single fish.’

One *Nihongi* version (II, 31) adds that neither of the two princes ‘gained aught’ by the exchange. One other (II, 36) explains that the elder brother took Hiko-ho-ho-demi’s bow, ‘and went to the mountain in quest of wild animals. But never a trace of game did he see. Hiko-ho-ho-demi took his elder brother’s fish-hook, and with it went a-fishing on the sea, but caught none at all.’

Another (II, 41–42) elaborates the incident further and makes the elder brother responsible for the initiative:

‘The elder brother was endowed with a sea-gift, and was therefore called Umi-no-sachi-hiko (Sea-gift prince); Hiko-ho-ho-demi was endowed with a mountain-gift and was therefore called Yama-no-sachi-hiko. Whenever the wind blew and the rain fell, the elder brother lost his gain, but in spite of wind and rain Hiko-ho-ho-demi’s gain did not fail him. Now the elder brother spoke to Hiko-ho-ho-demi, saying: “I wish to make trial of an exchange of gifts with thee.” Hiko-ho-ho-demi consented, and the exchange was accordingly made. Thereupon the elder brother took Hiko-ho-ho-demi’s bow and arrows and went a-hunting to the mountain; Hiko-ho-ho-demi took the elder brother’s fish-hook, and went to the sea a-fishing. But neither of them got anything, and they came back empty-handed.’

They therefore agreed to return to each other what they had borrowed, and quite naturally the elder brother asked Hiko-ho-ho-demi to return his fishhook: “A mountain-luck is a luck of its own”, he said, “and a sea-luck is a luck of its own. Let each of us now restore [to the other] his luck.” “But ‘Hiko-ho-ho-demi replied, saying: “As for thy fish-hook (*tsuri-bari*), I did not get a single fish by angling with it; and at last I lost it in the sea.” But the elder brother required it of him [the more] urgently. So Hiko-ho-ho-demi, breaking the ten-grasp sword (*tsurugi*) that was augustly girded on him, made [of the fragments] five hundred fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not take them. Again he made a thousand fish-hooks as compensation; but he would not receive them, saying: “I still want the real original fishhook.”” (*Kojiki*, I, xxxix).

Two *Nihongi* versions (II, 32 and 36) add the information that Hiko-ho-ho-demi offered the substitute fish-hooks ‘heaped up in a winnowing tray (*mi*)’

‘Hereupon, as Hikoho-hodemi was weeping and lamenting by the seashore (*umibata*), Shiō-tsuchi-no-kami (generally translated Salt-possessor, but derived by Motoōri from Shiri-ō-tsu-mochi, Great possessor of knowledge) came and asked him why.’ On hearing the explanation, Shiō-tsuchi ‘built a stout little boat (*fune*) without interstices (*ma-nashi*), and set him in the boat, and instructed him, saying: “When I shall have pushed the boat off, go on for some time. There will be a savoury (*umashi*) august road (*michi*); and if thou goest in the boat along that road, there will appear a palace built like fishes’ scales (*iroko*)—which is the

palace of Ô-wata-tsu-mi (Great ocean-posessor, a son of Izanagi and Izanami). When thou reachest the august gate (*kado*) of that Kami, there will be a multitudinous [-ly branching] cassia-tree (*katsura-no-ki*, similar to the one on which the pheasant sent by Taka-mi-musubi had perched) above the well (*wi*) at its side. So if thou sit on the top of that tree, the Sea-kami's daughter will see thee, and counsel thee.” (*Kojiki*, I, xl).

In one *Nihongi* version (II, 32), the old man by the sea-shore is called Shiö-tsuchi-no-oji (sea-salt elder grandfather), places Hiko-ho-ho-demi in a basket (*katama*) without interstices (*ma*) and sinks it into the sea.

In one other, Shiö-tsuchi-no-oji ‘took from his bag a black comb (*kushi*) which he flung upon the ground. It straightway became changed into a clump of five hundred bamboos (*taka-mura*, just as had happened when Izanagi was fleeing from Hades). Accordingly he took those bamboos and made of them a coarse basket with wide meshes (*ô-ma*), in which he placed Hiko-ho-ho-demi, and cast him into the sea.’ (II, 36).

In still another (II, 36), ‘he took a bamboo-basket (*katama*) without interstices and made of it a float (*uke-ki*), to which he attached Hiko-ho-ho-demi by a cord, and sunk him.’

In still another (II, 42), ‘there was [on the sea-shore] a river wild-goose (*kawa-kari*) which had become entangled in a snare, and was in distress. Hiko-ho-ho-demi took pity on it and, loosing it, let it go. Shortly after there appeared Shiö-tsu-tsu-no-oji.’

One aberrant version (II, 46) runs as follows: Shiö-tsuchi-no-oji said to Hiko-ho-ho-demi:

“Grieve no longer. I will devise a plan.” So he unfolded his plan, saying: “The courser on which the Sea-kami rides is a *wani* eight fathoms in length, who with fins erect (*hatawo-tatete*) stays in the small orange-tree house (*tachibana-no-wo-do*). I will consult with him.” So he took Hiko-ho-ho-demi with him, and went to see the *wani*. The *wani* then suggested a plan, saying: “I could bring the Heavenly Grandchild to the Sea-palace after a journey of eight days, but my King has a courser, a *wani* of one fathom, who will without doubt bring him thither in one day. I will therefore return and make him come to thee. Thou shouldst mount him, and enter the sea. When thou enterest the sea, thou wilt in due course find there ‘the Little shore of delight’ (*umashi o-bama*). Proceed along this shore and thou wilt surely arrive at the palace of my King. Over the well at the palace-gate, there is a multitudinous [-ly branching] cassia-tree. Do thou climb up on this tree and stay there.” Having so said, he entered the sea, and departed.’ (II, 46).

* * *

The *Kojiki* continues (I, xl):

‘Following [these] instructions, [Hiko-ho-ho-demi] went a little [way], and everything happened as [Shiö-tsuchi] had said; and he forthwith climbed the cassia-tree, and sat [there]. Then when the handmaidens of the Sea-kami's daughter Toyo-tama-hime (Princess luxuriant jewel), bearing jewelled vessels (*tama-mohi*), were about to draw water, there was a light (*kage*) in the well. On looking up, there was a beautiful young man. They thought it very strange. Then Hiko-ho-ho-demi saw the handmaidens, and begged to be given some water. The handmaidens at once drew some water, put it in a jewelled vessel, and respectfully presented it to him. Then, without drinking the water, he loosened the jewel (*tama*) at his august neck, took it in his mouth, and spat it into the jewelled vessel.

Thereupon the jewel adhered to the vessel, and the handmaidens could not separate the jewel [from it]. So they took it with the jewel adhering to it and presented it to Toyo-tama-hime. Then, seeing the jewel, she asked her handmaidens, saying: "Is there perhaps someone outside the gate?" They replied saying: "There is someone sitting on the top of the cassia-tree above our well. It is a very beautiful young man. He is more illustrious (*tafutoshi*) even than our King. So, as he begged for water, we respectfully gave him water; but, without drinking the water, he spat this jewel into [the vessel]. As we were not able to separate [one from the other], we have brought [the vessel] with [the jewel] in it to present it to thee." Then Toyo-tama-hime, thinking it strange, went out to look, and was forthwith delighted at the sight. They exchanged glances.'

If we remember that the word *tama* means not only jewel, but also soul, spirit, we have very evidently here a symbolic prefiguration of the marriage between Hiko-ho-ho-demi and Toyo-tama-hime.

According to two versions of the *Nihongi*, it is also an attendant of the princess who discovers the visitor:

'Accordingly the Heavenly Grandchild, in compliance with the *wani*'s words, remained there, and waited for eight days, when there did indeed appear to him a *wani* of one fathom. He mounted on it, and entered the sea, where he followed in every particular the former *wani*'s advice. Now there appeared an attendant of Toyo-tama-hime, carrying a jewel-bowl (*tama-mari*), with which she was about to draw water from the well, when she espied in the bottom of the water the shadow of a man. She could not draw water, and, looking up, saw the Heavenly Grandchild.' (II, 46).

'An attendant of Toyo-tama-hime was drawing water in a jewel-pitcher (*tama-no-tsuru*), but she could not manage to fill it. She looked down into the well, when there shone inverted there the smiling face of a man. She looked up and there was a beautiful Kami leaning against a cassia-tree. She accordingly returned within, and informed her mistress. Hereupon Toyo-tama-hiko (Prince luxuriant jewel, the father) sent a man to inquire, saying: "Who art thou, O stranger, and why hast thou come here?" Hiko-ho-ho-demi answered and said: "I am the Grandchild of the Heavenly Kami", and ultimately gave the reason of his coming.' (II, 37).

Toyo-tama-hiko is worshipped under this name in the Kusamadu-machi Kagoshima-jinja.

In two other *Nihongi* versions (II, 33 and 39), it is the princess herself who alone discovers the Heavenly visitor; in the latter, she is so 'startled...that she let fall the jewel-bowl (*tama-mari*) which was broken to pieces'.

In one other she is accompanied by attendants:

'Now there is in the bottom of the sea a natural "Little shore of delight" (*umashi-obama*). Proceeding onwards, along this shore, he (Hiko-ho-ho-demi) arrived of a sudden at the palace of Toyo-tama-hiko, the Kami of the Sea. This palace had magnificent gates and towers of exceeding beauty. Outside the gate there was a well, and beside the well was a cassia-tree. He approached the foot of this tree and stood there. After a while a beautiful woman, whose countenance was such as is not anywhere to be seen, came out from within,

followed by a bevy of attendant maidens. She was drawing water in a jewelled vessel (*tama-mohi*) when she looked up and saw Hiko-ho-hodemi. She was startled.’ (II, 36–37).

One version (II, 42) does not bring in the princess at all. It is the Sea-kami himself who first meets Hikoho-ho-demi. In all the other cases, Toyo-tama-hime immediately reports to her father the startling arrival.

‘She spoke to her father, saying: ‘There is a beautiful person at our gate.’ Then the Sea-kami himself went out to look, and saying: ‘This person is Sora-tsu-hi-daka (the same name by which Shiô-tsuchi had addressed him), the August Child of Ama-tsu-hi-daka (Heaven’s sun-height)’’, led him into the interior [of the palace], and spreading eight layers of rugs of *michi* (sealion?)’s skins, and spreading on the top other eight layers of silk-rugs, and setting him on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding one hundred (as Ô-yama-tsu-mi had done for Prince Ninigi, cf. p. 364 above), made an august banquet (*ahé*), and forthwith gave him his daughter Toyo-tama-hime in marriage.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xl).

Four *Nihongi* versions (II, 33, 37, 39 and 43) do not differ substantially, with the only exception that in one of them (II, 33) the marriage takes place only after the lost fish-hook has been recovered.

One other version (II, 37) includes a very interesting remark:

Toyo-tama-hime, returning, told the Kami her father: ‘‘At the foot of the cassia-tree without the gate, there is a noble stranger of no ordinary build. If he had come down from Heaven, he would have had on him the filth (*kaho*) of Heaven; if he had come from Earth, he would have had on him the filth of Earth. Could he be really the beautiful prince of the Sky (Sora-tsu-hiko)?’’

The ‘aberrant’ version reads as follows: Toyo-tama-hime,

‘went in and informed the King, saying: ‘‘I had thought that my Lord alone was supremely handsome, but now a stranger has appeared who far excels him in beauty.’’ When the Sea-kami heard this, he said: ‘‘I will try him and see.’’ So he prepared a threefold dais (*yuka*). Thereupon the Heavenly Grandchild wiped both his feet at the first step of the dais. At the middle one, he placed both his hands to the ground. At the inner one, he sat down at his ease (i.e., says Aston, ‘‘with legs crossed, which is less respectful than the usual squatting posture’’) upon the cushion covering the true couch (*ma-doko*). When the Sea-kami saw this, he knew that this was the Grandchild of the Heavenly Kami, and treated him with more and more respect.’ (II, 46).

So Hiko-ho-ho-demi ‘dwelt in that land for three years’, says the *Kojiki* (I, xl). For three years, says the *Nihongi* (II, 33), he ‘dwelt in the sea-palace (Wata-tsu-mi-no-miya) . . . [and] enjoyed peace and pleasure’. Three years passed in close and deep affection’, says another *Nihongi* version (II, 42), after which, the prince

‘thought of the first things (i.e. of what had gone before) and heaved one deep sigh. So Toyo-tama-hime, hearing the sigh, informed her father, saying: ‘‘Though he has dwelt three years [with us] he had never sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh. What may be the cause of it?’’ The great Kami her father asked his son-in-law, saying: ‘‘This morning I heard my daughter speak, saying: Though he has dwelt three years [with us], he had never

sighed; but this night he heaved one deep sigh.’ What may the cause be? Moreover, what was the cause of thy coming here?’ Then [Hiko-ho-ho-demi] told the great Kami exactly how his elder brother had pressed him for the lost fish-hook.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xl).

One *Nihongi* version says that Hiko-ho-ho-demi

‘still had a longing for his own country, and therefore sighed deeply from time to time. Toyo-tama-hime heard this and told her father, saying: “The Heavenly Grandchild often sighs as if in grief. It may be that it is the sorrow of longing for his country.” The Kami of the Sea thereupon drew to him Hiko-ho-ho-demi, and, addressing him in an easy, familiar way, said: “If the Heavenly Grandchild desires to return to his country, I will send him back.”’ (II, 33–34).

Another version (II, 37) tells the same story, except that it is Toyo-tama-hime who herself questions the prince.

One other bluntly says: The time came for him to depart.’ (II, 42).

Thereupon’, continues the *Kojiki* (I, xl), ‘the Sea-kami summoned together all the fishes of the sea, great and small, and asked them, saying: “Is there perchance any fish that has taken this fish-hook?” So all the fishes replied: “Lately the *tdi* (*serranus marginalis*) has complained of something sticking in its throat, preventing it from eating; so it doubtless has taken [the hook].” On the throat of the *tai* being thereupon examined, there was the fish-hook [in it]. Being forthwith taken, it was washed and respectfully presented to Hiko-ho-ho-demi.’

Three *Nihongi* versions (II, 33, 38 and 43) tell the same story, except that two of them call the *tai* by its other name of *aka-me* (red woman).

The ‘aberrant’ *Nihongi* version (II, 47) reads as follows: The Sea-kami summoned the *aka-me* and the *kuchi-me* (mullet, literally mouth-woman) and made inquiry of them. Then the *kuchi-me* drew a fish-hook from its mouth and respectfully delivered it to him. The Sea-kami then gave the fish-hook to Hiko-ho-ho-demi.’

In still another *Nihongi* version (II, 39), ‘the Kami of the Sea chid her (the *kuchi-me*), saying: ‘Thou *kuchi-me*! Henceforth thou shalt not be able to swallow a bait, nor shalt thou be allowed to have a place at the table of the Heavenly Grandchild.” This is the reason why the fish *kuchi-me* is not among the articles of food set before the Emperor.’

The time for the return had come:

‘Ô-wata-tsu-mi then instructed Hiko-ho-ho-demi’, says the *Kojiki* (I, xl), ‘saying: “What thou shalt say when thou grantest this fish-hook to thy elder brother [is]: This fish-hook is a big (*obo*) hook, an eager (*susu*) hook, a poor (*maji*) hook, a silly (*uru*) hook.’ Having [thus] spoken, bestow it with thy back-hand (i.e. with thy hand behind thy back). Having done this, if thine elder brother make high-fields (*age-ta*), do thou make low fields (*kubo-ta*); and if thine elder brother make low fields, do thou make high-fields. If thou do thus, thine elder brother will certainly be impoverished in the space of three years, owing to my ruling the water. If thine elder brother, incensed at thy doing thus, should attack thee, put forth the tide-flowing jewel (*shiô-mitsu-tama*) to drown him. If he express grief, put forth the tide-ebbing jewel (*shiô-hiru-tama*) to let him live. Thus shalt thou harass him.” With these words [he] gave [him] the tide-flowing-jewel and the tide-ebbing-jewel—two in all—and

forthwith summoned together all the *wani*, and asked them, saying: “Hiko-ho-ho-demi (here called Sora-tsu-hi-daka again), august child of Ama-tsu-hi-daka, is now about to proceed out to the Upper Land (*Wa-tsu-kuni*). Who will in how many days respectfully escort him and bring back a report?” So each according to the length of his body in fathoms spoke, fixing [a certain number of] days—one of them, a *wani* one fathom [long], saying: “I will escort him and come back in one day.” So then [the Sea-kami] said to the *wani* one fathom [long]: “If that be so, do thou respectfully escort him. While crossing the middle of the sea (*wata-naka*), do not alarm him.” Forthwith he seated himself on the *wani*’s head, and [the Sea-kami] saw him off. So [the *wani*] respectfully escorted him home in one day, as he had promised. When the *wani* was about to return, [Hiko-ho-ho-demi] untied the stiletto (*himo-gatana*) which was girded on him, and, setting it on the *wani*’s neck, sent [the latter] back. So the *wani* one fathom [long] is now called Saï-mochi-no-kami (Kami blade-possessor).’

Three *Nihongi* versions (II, 38, 39–40 and 43) tell very much the same tale. Two others are somewhat different:

‘[The Sea-kami gave] to Hiko-ho-ho-demi...these instructions: “When thou givest the fish-hook to thy elder brother, thou must use this imprecation: The origin of poverty (*maji-no-moto*); the beginning of starvation (*uë-no-hajime*); the root of wretchedness (*kurushimi-no-moto*)’ Give it not to him until thou hast said this. Again, if thy brother cross the sea, I will assuredly stir up the blasts and billows, and make them overwhelm and vex him.” Thereupon he placed Hiko-ho-ho-demi on the back of a great *wani*, and so sent him back to his own country.’ (II, 38).

‘When the time came for Hiko-ho-ho-demi to take his departure, the Kami of the Sea spoke to him, saying: “I am rejoiced in my inmost heart that the Heavenly Grandchild has now been graciously pleased to visit me. When shall I ever forget it?” So he took the jewel which, when thought of, makes the tide to flow (*omoheba sunahachi shiö-mitsu-no-tama*), and the jewel which, when thought of, makes the tide to ebb (*omoheba sunahachi shiö-hiru-no-tama*), and, joining them to the fish-hook, presented them, saying: “Though the Heavenly Grandchild may be divided from me by eight-fold (*yaë-no*) windings of road (*kumaji*), I hope that we shall think of each other from time to time. Do not therefore throw them away.” And he taught him, saying: “When thou givest this fish-hook to thy elder brother, call it thus: ‘a hook of poverty (*maji*), a hook of ruin (*horobi*), a hook of downfall (*otorohe*)’. When thou hast said all this, fling it away to him with thy back turned, and deliver it not to him face to face. If thy elder brother is angry, and has a mind to do thee hurt, then produce the tide-flowing jewel and drown him therewith. As soon as he is in peril and appeals for mercy, bring forth the tide-ebbing jewel and therewith save him. If thou dost vex him in this way, he will of his own accord become thy submissive vassal.”’ (II, 39–40).

And the ‘aberrant’ version:

The Sea-kami...instructed him, saying: “When thy elder brother’s fish-hook is returned to him, let the Heavenly Grandchild say: ‘Let it be to all thy descendants, of whatever degree of relationship, a poor (*maji*) hook, a paltry poor (*sasa-maji*) hook.’ When thou

hast thus spoken, spit (*tsuba*) thrice, and give it to him. Moreover, when thy elder brother goes to sea a-fishing, let the Heavenly Grandchild stand on the sea-shore and do that which raises the wind (*kaze*). Now that which raises the wind is whistling (*usobuki*). If thou dost so, I will forthwith stir up the wind of the offing and the wind of the shore, and will overwhelm and vex him with the scurrying waves.” (II, 47).

The two ‘jewels’ referred to here—or others very like them—were later lent by the same Kami to Jingū-kōgō (cf. p. 430 below). Under the names of Manju and Kanju, when the time came to return them, the Empress caused them ‘to be thrown into the sea so that they would reach the hands of the Sea-kami. As the jewels dropped into the sea, there suddenly arose two new islands, as though the jewels had grown into islands’, off the shore of Chofu (Yamaguchi-ken), which were therefore called Manju and Kanju.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

* * *

‘Hereupon [Hiko-ho-ho-demi] gave the fish-hook [to his elder brother] exactly according to the Sea-kami’s words of instruction. So thenceforward [the elder brother] became poorer and poorer, and, with renewed savage (*araki*) intentions, came to attack him. When he was about to attack, [Hiko-ho-ho-demi] put forth the tide-flowing jewel to drown him; on his expressing grief, he put forth the tide-ebbing jewel to save him. When he had thus been harassed, he bowed his head, saying: “I henceforward will be thy guard by day and by night, and respectfully serve thee.” So down to the present day his various posturings (*waza*) when drowning are ceaselessly served up.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xli).

Two *Nihongi* versions (II, 34–35 and 43) tell very much the same story, but two others go into much greater and more picturesque detail:

‘Hiko-ho-ho-demi, having received the jewels and the fish-hook, came back to his original palace, and followed implicitly the teachings of the Sea-kami. First of all he offered his elder brother the fish-hook. His elder brother was angry and would not receive it. Accordingly the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, upon which the tide rose with a mighty overflow, and the elder brother was drowning. Therefore he besought his younger brother, saying: “I will serve thee as thy slave. I beseech thee, spare my life.” The younger brother then produced the tide-ebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ebbed of its own accord, and the elder brother was restored to tranquility. After this the elder brother changed his former words, and said: “I am thy elder brother. How can an elder brother serve a younger brother?” Then the younger brother produced the tide-flowing jewel, seeing which his elder brother fled up to a high mountain. Thereupon the tide also submerged the mountain. The elder brother climbed a lofty tree, and thereupon the tide also submerged the tree. The elder brother was now at an extremity, and had nowhere to flee to. So he acknowledged his offence, saying: “I have been in fault. In future my descendants for eighty generations shall serve thee as thy mimes (*waza-bitō*, or dog-men, according to another version) in ordinary. I pray thee, have pity on me.” Then the younger brother produced the tideebbing jewel, whereupon the tide ceased of its own accord. Hereupon the elder brother saw that the younger brother was possessed of marvellous powers, and at length submitted to serve him.’ (II, 40–41).

‘Hiko-ho-ho-demi returned, and obeyed implicitly the instructions of the Kami. When a day came on which the elder brother went a-fishing, the younger brother stood on the

shore of the sea, and whistled. Then there arose a sudden tempest, and the elder brother was forthwith overwhelmed and harassed. Seeing no means of saving his life, he besought his younger brother from afar, saying: “Thou hast dwelt in the ocean-plain (*una-bara*), and must possess some excellent art. I pray thee, teach it to me. If thou save my life, my descendants of all degrees of relationship shall not leave the neighbourhood of thy precincts, but shall act as thy mime-vassals.” Thereupon the younger brother left off whistling, and the wind again returned to rest. So the elder brother recognized the younger brother’s power, and freely admitted his fault. But the younger brother was wroth and would hold no converse with him. Hereupon the elder brother, with nothing but his waistcloth on, and smearing the palms of his hands with red-earth (*sohoni*), said to his younger brother: ‘Thus do I defile my body, and make myself thy mime (*waza-wogi-bitô*) for ever.’ So, kicking up his feet, he danced along and practiced the manner of his drowning struggles. First of all, when the tide reached his feet, he did the foot-divination (*ashi-ura*); when it reached his knees, he raised up his feet; when it reached his thighs, he ran round in a circle; when it reached his loins, he rubbed his loins; when it reached his sides, he placed his hands upon his breast; when it reached his neck, he threw up his hands, waving his palms.’ (II, 47–48).

* * *

The obstacle resulting from the very existence of the elder brother being now removed, the scriptures proceed to a description of the way in which Hiko-ho-ho-demi’s child was born.

‘The Sea-kami’s daughter, Toyotama-hime, herself waited on [Hiko-ho-ho-demi], and said: “I am already pregnant (*hara-meru*), and the time for my delivery (*ko-umu*) now approaches. But methought that the august child of a Heavenly Kami ought not to be born in the ocean plain (*una-bara*). So I have come out and arrived.” Then forthwith on the limit of the waves upon the sea-shore, she built a parturition-house (*ubu-ya*), using cormorant’s (*u*) feathers for thatch. Hereupon, before the thatch was completed, she was unable to restrain the urgency of her august womb. So she entered the parturition-house.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xlii).

According to the main *Nihongi* version:

‘When the Heavenly Grandchild was about to set out on his return journey, Toyo-tama-hime addressed him, saying: ‘Thy handmaiden is already pregnant, and the time of her delivery is not far off. On a day when the winds and the waves are raging, I will surely come forth to the sea-shore (*umibata*), and I pray thee that thou wilt make for me a parturition-house (*ubu-ya*), and await me there.’...After this, Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise, and, bringing with her her younger sister Tama-yori-hime (Spirit-possessed Princess,⁽⁵²⁹⁾ *yori* coming from *yoroshi*, to be fully equipped, to be magnificent), bravely confronted the winds and waves, and came to the sea-shore’ (II, 34 sq.).

Two other *Nihongi* versions (II, 38 and 48) add nothing. Another one tells us that ‘Before the tiling (*iraka*) of the [parturition-] house was completed, Toyo-tama-hime herself arrived, riding on a great tortoise (*kame*), with her younger sister Tama-yori-hime, and throwing a splendour (*terasu*) over the sea.’ (II, 44).

‘Then, when she was about to be delivered, she spoke to her husband (*hikoji*), [saying]: “Whenever a foreigner is about to be delivered, she takes the form (*katachi*) corresponding

to her native land. So now I will take my native shape (*mi*) to be delivered. Pray look not upon me.” Hereupon, thinking these words strange, he stealthily peeped at the very moment of delivery, when she turned into a *wani* eight fathoms [long], and crawled and writhed about; and he forthwith, terrified at the sight, fled away.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xlii).

One *Nihongi* version (II, 38) specifies that Hiko-ho-ho-demi, in order to see his wife, made a light with a comb (*kushi*). One other (II, 35) tells us that Toyo-tama-hime turned, not into a *wani*, but into a dragon (*tatsu*).

The result of the indiscretion proved disastrous:

‘Toyo-tama-hime knew that he had peeped; and she felt ashamed, and, straightway leaving the august child which she had borne, she said: “I had wished always to come and go (or to let people come and go) across the seapath (*wani-tsu-ji*). But thy having peeped at my [real] shape [makes me] very shame-faced.” And she forthwith closed the sea-boundary (*una-saka*) and went down again.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xlii).

Two *Nihongi* versions (II, 38 and 44) add nothing, but four others present things very differently:

‘She was greatly ashamed, and said: “Hadst thou not disgraced me, I would have made the sea and land communicate with each other and forever prevented them from being sundered (*hedate-ru*). But now that thou hast disgraced me, wherewithal shall friendly feelings (*mutsumajiki kokoro*) be knit together?” So she wrapped the infant in rushes (*kaya*), and abandoned it on the sea-shore. Then she barred the sea-path (*umi-no-michi*) and passed away.’ (II, 35).

‘The Heavenly Grandchild did not comply with her request, and Toyo-tama-hime resented it greatly, saying: “Thou didst not attend to my words, but put me to shame. Therefore from this time forward, do not send back again any of the female servants of thy handmaiden who may go to thy place, and I will not send back any of thy servants who may come to my place.” At length she took the coverlet (*fusuma*) of the true couch (*ma-doko*) and rushes (*kaya*), and, wrapping her child in them, laid him on the beach (*nagisa*). She then entered the sea and went away. This is the reason why there is [now] no communication (*kayohazaru*) between land and sea.’ (II, 48).

Another version however rejects the above statement:

‘The statement that she placed the child on the beach (*nagisa*) is wrong. Toyo-tama-hime departed with the child in her own arms. Many days after, she said: “It is not right that the offspring of the Heavenly Grandchild should be left in the sea.” So she made Tama-yori-hime to take him, and sent him away. At first, when Toyo-tama-hime left, her resentment was extreme, and Hiko-ho-ho-demi therefore knew that they would never meet again, so he sent her the verse of poetry which is already given above’ (II, 49)—which we have not reproduced here.

The *Kogoshūi* supplies the additional information that Ame-no-oshi-hito-no-mikoto ‘waited upon the divine Son, clearing away the crabs (*kani*) with a broom, and laying mats around for his mother’s comfort.’

Other versions confirm that Toyo-tama-hime entrusted to her sister the child which she had to abandon:

‘Nevertheless afterwards, although angry at his having wished to peep, she could not restrain her loving heart, and she entrusted to her younger sister Tama-yori-hime, on the occasion of her nursing the august child, a song to be presented to Hikoho-ho-demi’, who replied with another song (*Kojiki*, I, xlii).

‘Hiko-ho-ho-demi took other women and made them wet-nurses (*chi-omo*), bathing-women (*yu-omo*), chewers of boiled rice (*ihi-kami*), and washer-women (*yu-ye*). All these various corporations (*be*) were provided for the respectful nurture of the infant. The provision at this time, by means of other women, of milk (*chi*) for the nurture of the august child, was the origin of the present practice of engaging temporary wet-nurses to bring up infants.

‘After this, when Toyo-tama-hime heard what a fine boy her child was, her heart was greatly moved with affection, and she wished to come back and bring him up herself. But she could not rightly do so, and therefore she sent her younger sister Tama-yori-hime to nurture him.’ (*Nihongi*, II, 45).

The child whom Toyo-tama-hime had borne was, on account of the circumstances, called also Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-fuki-aezu-no-mikoto (His Augustness heaven’s sun-height prince wave-limit brave cormorant-thatch-meeting-incompletely) (*Kojiki*, I, xlii; *Nihongi*, II, 35, 39 and 44). Two *Nihongi* versions state that the name was chosen by the mother before she left. We shall hereafter call him Ugaya-fuki-aëzu.

We do not know the circumstances of Hiko-ho-ho-demi’s demise. ‘Hiko-ho-ho-demi dwelt in the palace of Takachiho for five hundred and eighty years. His august mausoleum is likewise on the West of Mount Takachiho.’ (*Kojiki*, I, xlii). ‘A long time after,’ says the *Nihongi* (II, 35), ‘Hiko-hoho demi died, and was buried in the *misasagi* on the summit of Mount Takaya in Hiuga.’

He is worshipped in a number of temples, either alone, as in the Kagoshima-jingû (under the name of Ama-tsu-hidaka-hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto), or in the company of Toyo-tama-hime, as in the Kusamuda-machi Kagoshima-jinja, the Wakasa-hiko-jinja (where they are known under the names of Wakasa-hiko-no-ô-kami and Wakasa-hime-no-ô-kami), the Aoshima-jinja (on the island of Aoshima, where he is reported to have lived and to have met his wife for the first time!),⁽¹¹⁴⁾ or in the company of Jimmu-tennô and others, as in the Mekari-jinja and the Tottori Hijiri-jinja.

This alliance by marriage between the Heavenly Kami and the Sea-kami is completed by another link: Ugaya-fuki-aëzu wedded his aunt Tama-yori-hime, also a daughter of Ô-wata-tsu-mi, and who had nursed him. They ‘begot august children named:

Itsu-se-no-mikoto (His Augustness five reaches [of a river], or, according to Motoôri, powerful rice).

Ina-hi-no-mikoto (His Augustness boiled-rice).

Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto (His Augustness the august food-master).

Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto (His Augustness young august food-master, another name for whom is Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto (His Augustness Luxuriant august food-master), and another name is Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko-no-mikoto (His Augustness divine Yamato ihare-prince).

So Mi-ke-nu, treading on the crest of the waves, crossed over to the country of the Eternal Land (Toko-yo-no-kuni). Ina-hi went into the sea-plain, it being his deceased (sic) mother's land.' (*Kojiki*, I, xliii).

The five *Nihongi* versions also state that Ugaya-fuki-aëzu and Tama-yori-hime had four sons, but the names vary somewhat.

The first is always Itsu-se. Ina-hi (or Ina-ihhi) comes second in three versions and third in one. Mi-ke-nu (or Mi-ke-iri-no, Three hairs-enter-moor) comes second in one, third in two, fourth in one, and does not appear at all in the other, where he is replaced by Waka-mi-ke-nu, given as distinct from Kamu-yamato-ihare-hiko, who comes third on the list.

In the other four lists, Kamu-yamato-ihare-hiko comes last in three lists, second in one (*Nihongi*, II, 49–50). He is the one who became the first 'human' Emperor of Japan, and who is known under his posthumous name of Jimmu-tennô.

According to traditions embodied in the Take-no-uchi (Mononobe, Fuji, Abe, Uëtsubumi and Kuki) archives, the authenticity of which is a matter of controversy, there were seventy-two Emperors of the Ugaya-fuki-aëzu Dynasty between Ninigi and Jimmu. It is recorded there that the thirty-eighth, Ama-tsu-futo-norito-goto-sumera-mikoto, composed the Ama-tsu-futo-norito, which a priest recites twice a year on June 30th and December 31st at the Ceremony of Grand Purification,⁽³⁷⁸⁾ (cf. p. 192f. above).

'Long after [the birth of his four children], Ugaya-fuki-aëzu died, in the palace of the Western country, and was buried in the *misasagi* on the top of Mount Ahira in Hiuga.' (*Nihongi*, II, 49).

Tama-yori-hime is found enshrined, generally with her sister, in a number of temples. But the chief one is the Kamado-jinja, on the Hô-man-dzan, in Dazaifu. It is reported that she came to the mountain on which the temple stands 'in order to train her mind and body for the preparation of planning to establish the Empire.' Her mausoleum is there also. Jimmu-tennô came to pray there before he started on the expedition to Yamato, but it was only in the seventh century that Emperor Temmu ordered a building to be erected.

Tama-yori-hime is also worshipped, as the Goddess of childbirth, in the Miyaura-jinja, which already existed at the time of Kammu-tennô, who rebuilt it; near the temple is her tomb, on a small hill where there is neither shrine nor worship. A very special cult, on the other hand, is apparently offered to her in the Kamo-mi-o-ya-jinja, where we find her all by herself in three different *sessha*: the Mitsui-no-yashiro, the Mikage-jinja (where she occupies the Eastern shrine), and the Kawai-no-yashiro-jinja (which used to be an independent temple, but in the Meiji era also became a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-o-ya-jinja). In the same temple, she also occupies two *massha*, both called In-no-yashiro, of the last-named *sessha*—in which it is said that there is only a *shinji* (or *kata-shiro*) of the Kami in the original *sessha*.

She is also found: alone in the Ima-hië-jinja (under the name of Kamo tama-yori-hime) and the Unoshima-jinja, with Mitoshi-no-kami in the Ta-agata-jinja, and in the company of other Kami in the Yoshino-mikumari-jinja, the Okayama Tamaï-gû-tôshô-gû.

Ugaya-fuki-aëzu's chief temple is the Udo-jingû, where his remains are reported to have been laid to rest. His main matsuri is the Goryô-saï. In the same temple, we also find, but in the lower rank of *aidono-no kami*: Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, Prince Ninigi, Hiko-hoho-demi and Jimmu-tennô. The temple, a comparatively small structure, is built inside a large cave by the sea-side, which is reached after climbing up and down an

impressive number of steps. The final stage of the journey is effected by crossing the big bridge to which we have already referred (cf. p. 96 above). According to tradition, it was in this cave that Toyo-tama-hime (who is *not* enshrined in the temple) gave birth to Ugaya-fuki-aëzu, and since she would not nurse him, she left her two breasts, which can still be seen as protuberances in the rock-wall, and from which trickles a certain liquid.⁽¹¹⁾ But what has remained very famous and popular in the locality is the *ame* which Tama-yori-hime brought to feed the child with. Lafcadio Hearn describes it as ‘a nutritive gelatinous extract obtained from wheat and other substances; it is sold in many forms—as candy, as a syrupy liquid resembling molasses, as a sweet hot drink, as a solid jelly. Children are very fond of it. Its principal element is starch-sugar.’⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

Ugaya-fuki-aëzu is also worshipped, together with other Kami, in the Mekari-jinja, the Katami-jinja, etc. He is considered a great protector of navigation, fishing, childbearing and breast-nursing.⁽¹¹⁾

Some authors have used the expression ‘Five generations of terrestrial Kami’ to designate the succession of Kami beginning with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and ending with Ugaya-fuki-aëzu. Hirata calls this a ‘huge error’.⁽⁶²⁵⁾

It should be noted also that four generations intermediate between Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Jimmu-tennô are among the Kami enshrined in the *honden* of each one of the three great Kumano temples—which may have some meaning.

CHAPTER XVII

EMPERORS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES

THE best summing-up of the position held by the Emperor in Japan is perhaps that which was worded as follows fifty years ago by Etsujirô Uyehara: 'He [the Japanese Emperor] is to the Japanese mind the Supreme Being in the cosmos of Japan, as God is in the universe of the pantheistic philosopher. From him everything emanates, in him everything subsists.... He is supreme in all temporal affairs of the state as well as in all spiritual matters.' The fact that the American authorities of occupation made him sign a declaration that he is not divine can furnish an argument to extreme left-wing revolutionists (thus supported, strange to say, by the anti-communist government of the U.S.A.), but it can no more influence the Shintôist than could a declaration made under duress that his mother is not his mother.

First and foremost, the Emperor is the lineal descendant of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. To a Westerner who normally traces his genealogy as far back as he possibly can, the reason why Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was selected from the long list of Kami in which she is only one of the links is not self-evident. There are families in Japan who claim descent from Prince Ninigi, the 'Divine grandson' of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami but refrain from going further back. And there are families who trace their ancestry much further back than Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, to Ame-no-minaka-nushi, which of course the Imperial dynasty could also do. Extremely seldom is any reference made to the fact that the Emperors descend even from Izanagi, or that they count Susano-wo among their ancestors, as we shall see further down (cf. p. 404). This arbitrary although perfectly legitimate choice naturally results from the fact that Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami instructed her 'grand-son', Prince Ninigi, to rule over the 'Luxuriant-reed-plain-land-of-fresh-rice-ears' (*Kojihî*, I, xxxiii), which is the scriptural authority for the Imperial power.

To be a direct descendant of Prince Ninigi, however, would not be a sufficient justification for occupying the exalted position which is that of the Emperor. Not only are there in Japan hundreds of families who claim as their first ancestor a historical or mythological personage (the difference is immaterial) coming from the same lineage, and whose claim has never been disputed; but, in the course of history, the choice of a particular individual as Crown-Prince from among the offspring or other relatives of the reigning Emperor has not followed any definite rule, and the choices made have actually been challenged on numerous occasions. In most other countries, this would have given rise to a number of 'pretendants to the throne' trying to push forward their respective claims to legitimacy. Such is not the case in Japan. What makes the position of the Emperor unique and unchallengeable is that the divine blood of the Sun-Goddess has come down to him through an uninterrupted and absolutely exclusive line of Emperors, all of whom have been enthroned and invested with the three divine regalia. At no time in the history of Japan has

its sovereign been any person who did not belong to the dynastic family. So much so that neither the Emperor nor the dynasty have ever had any family name like Tudor, Bourbon or Hapsburg.⁽⁷⁰¹⁾

The Emperor is therefore the one living representative of that line of sovereigns, *amatsu-hitsugi*, which had power bestowed upon it by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, and which became human—instead of divine, as it was originally—with Jimmu-tennô, i.e. the family which has reigned for a period of over 2,600 years if we count only the human sovereigns, and 1,792,470 years more if we include the heavenly emperors beginning with Prince Ninigi (*Nihongi*, III, 2). As an important Cabinet official explained in 1916, ‘the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors continue to rule through’ the present Emperor.

Out of all the direct descendants of Jimmu-tennô, the Emperor is therefore considered as the ‘extension in time’⁽⁶⁶⁶⁾ of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. He is Tenshin (Son of Heaven), Aki-tsu-mi-kami (Deity in human shape), both human and divine. But this quality and dignity he assumes only when he ascends the throne. Until then, he is only an ordinary man of very high extraction, like his uncles, brothers or sons.

As such, he ‘incarnates the Eternal Now (*naka-ima*), since heaven (Kami) and earth (man) concur in attempting to strengthen his life and body’.⁽³⁸⁴⁾

The name by which his subjects prefer to designate him is Sumera-mikoto, a title which gives rise to considerable esoteric speculation. The word *mikoto* is the same which we have found in the names of a great many Kami, and needs no further explanation, although many specific interpretations of it are offered in this particular context. Let us just mention here that since *koto* also means ‘word’, the expression may be interpreted ‘the-sacred-Word-capable-of-bringing-about-spiritual-union’.⁽³⁷⁸⁾

The word *sumera* on the other hand is worth considering. Modern exponents of Shintô have ‘translated’ it ‘divine-transparent-clarity (unity)-recuperative’,⁽³⁸⁴⁾ ‘dynamic-unification-and-all-settling-transparency’,⁽³⁸⁴⁾ ‘recuperative of original unity and clarity’,⁽³⁸³⁾ ‘integrating, co-ordinating, synthesizing, harmonizing, becoming lucid’.⁽³⁸¹⁾ Japan itself is also called Sumera-mikuni, the *sumera-divine* country. The Emperor is therefore the highest personification of that capacity of making clear and transparent what was turbid and muddy. Which is indeed one of the very highest functions which may devolve upon any individual on this Earth.

As Sumera-mikoto, the Emperor is ‘the nation’s binding-power, superior to changing political conditions’.⁽⁵²³⁾ ‘Sumera-mikoto implies that the Sovereign unites as a whole the Japanese people as mikoto, not only in their material characters as the inhabitants of the Japanese nation, but also in their spiritual relationship with Heaven.’⁽⁵²³⁾

In a rescript dated 1881, the Emperor Meiji wrote: ‘Our ancestors in Heaven watch Our acts, and We recognize Our responsibility for the faithful discharge of Our high duties, in accordance with the principles and the perpetual increase of the glory they have bequeathed to Us.’

Some neo-Shintôists have coined the word *sumeracracy* to indicate the political regime of a country which has Sumera-mikoto at its head. One of them pointed out that it ‘can rise above the low dimension of antinomy between monarchy and democracy as set at variance in the West’.⁽³⁸⁴⁾

Another perhaps even more poetical way of expressing the relations between the Emperor and the people is to call the former Ki-mi (tree-body), the Empress Ki-saki (tree-

flowering) and the people generally Sô-sei (green-living grasses) or ‘a multitude of leaves clustering around twigs and branches which symbolize Japanese families’.⁽³⁸³⁾

We have already seen (cf. p. 168 above) that in the minds of Shintôists, there is a considerable degree of assimilation between service to the gods (*matsuri*) and to the government of the country (*matsuri-goto*); and we have also referred to *sai-sei-ichi*, ‘Religious observances [and] public affairs [are] one [and the same thing]’.

As early as 1868, i.e. in the very first year of his reign, the Emperor Meiji, in an edict promulgated on the occasion of a visit to the Hikawa-jinja, said: The worship of the gods and regard for [Shintô] ceremonies are the great proprieties of the Empire and the fundamental principles of national polity and education...*Saisei-itchi* shall be revived.’ The same phrase is again found in two Imperial edicts of 1870, in one of which the Emperor Meiji stresses: The origin of *saisei-itchi* is very long ago.’ In 1939, the Premier of Japan, Mr Kiichirô Hiranuma, wrote: The carrying-out of the will of the gods is true politics, and to enshrine the gods and pray to them is to establish communion with the will of the gods.’

In 1937, the Department of Education published a book in which we read: The worship of the gods on the part of the Emperor and His administration of government are in their fundamental aspect one and the same thing. Although religious ceremonies and government and education have each their own separate operations, yet in the last analysis they are one and the same.⁽⁴⁸⁷⁾ In 1960, one of the very highest ranking priests⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ expressed to me the meaning and purpose of *saisei-itchi* most emphatically by claiming that it ‘has almost the same meaning as the Lord’s Prayer in the Bible: Thy Kingdom come’.

But, as was pointed out by a modern theologian,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ national life is not the only ‘area of activity’ for *saisei-itchi*; it should also apply to individual life.

One of the duties, or rather one aspect of the duties which devolve upon the Emperor, is frequently described by the phrase: *iku-kuni, taru-kuni*, sometimes worded *iku-shima, taru-shima, kuni* (country) and *shima* (island) being often, as in this case, more or less interchangeable. Literally, the expression may be taken to mean ‘To make the narrow countries wide, and the hill countries plane’. In the Norito for the Toshigoï-no-matsuri (or Kinen-sai), a *chû-sai* of the Imperial family, it is said: ‘Respectfully declared in the presence of the Sovran deities whose praises the Iku-shima-no-mikanko (the “female medium” serving at subsidiary shrines attached to the Hasshin-den) fulfils. We fulfil your praises declaring your names Iku-kuni, Taru-kuni thus. Because the Sovran deities entrust the *shima-no-yasoshima* (literally the eighty islands, i.e. the Empire of Japan) which the Sovran deities rule, the *shima-no-yasoshima*, without falling short, to the narrow limits of the frogs crossing, to the bounds when the salt foam stops, making the narrow countries wide and the hill countries plane, I fulfil your praises.’

According to the interpretation given by the top-ranking *gûji* of the Kansai who were meeting in 1960 in the Ô-mi-jingû under a beautiful calligraphy of ‘*iku-kuni, taru-kuni*’, *iku* should be understood to mean ‘to vivify, to develop and increase life and vitality’, and *taru* ‘to make complete, to make sufficient’. The *gûji* of the Ôsaka Ikutama-jinja gives a somewhat more esoteric interpretation; for him, *iku* means ‘to increase [the size of?] the country’ and *taru* ‘to make it replete with internal wealth, both material and spiritual.’⁽¹³¹⁾

The two concepts are personified in corresponding Kami: Iku-shima-no-kami and Taru-shima-no-kami, sometimes known (although this seems to be a matter of controversy)⁽¹²²⁾ under the collective name of Iku-kuni-tama-no-kami.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ According to Sir Ernest Satow,⁽⁶²⁴⁾

they might even be only one Kami. Another collective designation which seems to meet with more general agreement is Ôyashima (Japan)-no-rei.⁽¹²²⁾ According to the *Kogoshûi*, this double Kami is considered to be the Kami of the country's very soul, its *kuni-mitama*.⁽¹³¹⁾ Some authorities make a more detailed assimilation to Iku-kuni-tama and Saki-kuni-tama, or even to Iku-musubi-no-kami and Taru-musubi-no-kami, who are worshipped in the Hasshin-den.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

The two Kami may be considered on a national or on a local level. As extending their protection to the whole of Japan, they are worshipped in the Ôsaka Ikutama (or Iku-kuni-tama)-jinja, which has never given any *bun-rei*.⁽¹³¹⁾ As called upon to protect only one province or area, they are worshipped in numerous other temples, prominent among which the Ikushima-tarushima-jinja of Nagano-ken. But 'in essence the majority of Shintô temples are Kuni-tama-jinja or Ubusuna-jinja'.⁽¹²²⁾

The story of the Ôsaka central temple is well worth recounting. According to tradition, when Jimmu-tennô landed in Ôsaka, thus setting foot for the first time in Yamato (cf. p. 404 below), he worshipped those two Kami where the castle now stands, so that peace should obtain in the country. And in due time a temple was erected, in which worship was continued—as well as in the Imperial court—for more than two milleniums. It is recorded that Jingû-kôgô, before starting on her expedition to Korea, came to worship there, presented a mirror and a sword, and prayed that the three Korean kingdoms might be brought to submission; for the entertainment of the deities, a demonstration of shooting was given—an event commemorated every year in the temple by the Sôma-sai.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ In 1590 however, Hideyoshi Toyotomi built his castle on the site of the temple; for that purpose he removed the temple to another location, on a steep hill, where it now stands, and the old site was desecrated. The Kami apparently bear no ill-will to Hideyoshi for that ruthless eviction, and since the great Taikô had a passion for the tea-ceremony, solemn offerings of tea are made to the Kami once a week! There is even, every second year, a real tea-matsuri, the Daï-cha-kaï, in front of the *honden*.⁽¹³¹⁾

It is interesting to note that, among the *massha* of the Ôsaka Iku-tama-jinja, one, the Fuigo (bellows) -jinja, enshrines the god of fire (Hi-no-kami), the god of the stone-cutters (Ishi-kori-dome-no-kami) and the blacksmith-god (Ama-tsu-mara-no-kami), all three of which are in close relation with what man extracts from the soil. Another *massha*, the Ya (house) -zukuri (architecture) -mi-oya-jinja, houses the two Kami of architecture, Taoki-ho-oï-no-kami and Hiko-sajiri-no-kami, 'because dwellings are built with trees provided by the same soil'. It is stressed that the Kami of both *massha* are closely related to those of the main shrine.⁽¹³¹⁾

Whatever the position of the Ôsaka Ikutama-jinja, it should be noted nevertheless that 'the Kuni-tama of the whole of Japan is enshrined at the Ô-yamato-jinja. The Kami of the latter are Yamato-no-ô-kunitama-no-kami (the Great Soul of Japan), Ya-chi-hoko-no-ô-kami (Ô-kuni-nushi) and Mitoshi-no-ô-kami. Its *mitama-shiro* were originally in the Imperial Palace, but were removed from there in 92 B.C. by Sujin-tennô'.⁽¹²²⁾

In relation with the concept of *iku-kuni*, *taru-kuni* should be brought the less-known one of *sei* (holiness) -*bi* (beauty) -*daï* (greatness), the three factors necessary to develop the country, *daï* meaning also 'all-embracing tolerance'. The strength arising from those three qualities is a central component in the spirit of the Japanese people, and 'it should become world-embracing, like the strength obtained through concentration'.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

To his subjects, the Emperor is Tennô, the Heavenly (*ten*) King (*nô*). Some esoterists explain the logogram corresponding to *no* as meaning a ‘spontaneously born sage-king’, i.e. not elected.⁽³⁷⁹⁾ To take just a few representative statements among the tens of thousands which might aptly be quoted:

In his Commentaries on the Meiji Constitution, Prince Hirobumi Itô, who was largely responsible for drafting it, wrote: The Sacred Throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated. The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred; He is pre-eminent above all his subjects. He must be revered and is inviolable.⁽⁴⁴⁸⁾

General Sadao Araki, Minister of Education, wrote: ‘We...are proud to look upon our Emperor as the fountain-head of our national life. In this respect, our Empire rests upon the foundation of blood-relationship.’⁽³¹⁶⁾

Professor Kunitake Kume expressed himself as follows: ‘He [the Emperor] is regarded as a living Kami, loved and revered by the nation above all things on earth, and himself loving and protecting the nation, who are deemed sons of *kami-nagara* (the gods themselves) and are entrusted to his care by the Kami. Thus Shintô is *kôndô* (doctrine of the Emperor), for Shintôism is Mikadoism.’⁽⁴⁹⁸⁾

Dr Genchi Katô, a ‘famous Japanese student of comparative religion’,⁽¹²²⁾ wrote that Emperor worship is ‘the lofty, self-denying, enthusiastic sentiment of the Japanese people toward their august Ruler, believed to be of something divine, rendering them capable of offering up anything and everything, all dearest to them, willingly, i.e. of their own free will; of sacrificing not only their wealth or property, but their own life itself, for the sake of their divinely gracious Sovereign.’⁽⁴⁶⁸⁾

Devotion to the Emperor is after all the highest form of filial duty, a virtue extolled by the Japanese above every other. Mr Yutaka Hibino explains very clearly: ‘A parent must be sacrificed to the highest type of duty, such is a saying eminently fitted to our national institutions... This great virtue of loyalty is in a unique and peculiar sense the fundamental basis of the Japanese state, something which the subject should never wish to forget, even in his dreams.’⁽⁴¹³⁾

And it is to the advantage of the subjects to exercise religious obedience to the Tennô. ‘If they (the subjects)’, writes Mr Shinkichi Uë sugi, ‘act according to the mind of the Emperor, they can realize their true nature and attain the moral ideal.’⁽⁶⁶⁶⁾

A distinguished historian, Mr Hideo Kishimoto, defines *sonnô-ron* as ‘the theory of respect for the Emperor’ and points out that it proved to be ‘the rationale for revolt which the Imperial forces used at the time of the [Meiji] restoration’.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

If we may here make a short digression, it is a strange thing for us that under such conditions the Imperial mausolea should have been almost entirely neglected over a very long period. The last-named author points out that ‘for over 600 years, not even one [of them]...received proper respect’.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾ Things went so far that a road was built right through the *misasagi* of Yûryaku-tennô.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ Japan had to wait until 1868, when one of the tasks allotted to the new ‘Department of Shintô’ was to locate those tombs, ‘some of which had been long forgotten’. In October of the same year, a special Caretaker was appointed for the Imperial mausolea.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾ But even now very few of them seem to be honoured with religious services of any kind. This striking neglect may be explained by the fact that the Japanese ‘are not interested in graves’⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ generally and prefer to worship the *mitama* of the dead.

Since the Emperor is the highest-ranking descendant of the Kami, it is only natural that he should also be their chief-priest, spiritually responsible for the spiritual and consequently also the material welfare of his people.

This sacred duty necessarily puts him under an obligation to follow very strict rules in his daily life. He is expected to live ‘without any desire’, so as to symbolize vacuity, nothingness.⁽¹⁶³⁾ He must keep his mind like a pure mirror, so as to reflect only divine Life,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ and esoterically every one can see God through the mirror, i.e. through the Emperor’s love and grace; every one has in himself a small mirror in which to receive radiations from the mirror.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ As was pointedly said: ‘Tennô, being a descendant of the Sun-Goddess... that is a living God, therefore practices the way of Tennô, or the way of the Sun-Goddess.’⁽⁷⁰¹⁾

The Emperor traditionally accepts full responsibility for whatever ills may befall his people. In A.D. 704, Mommu-tennô solemnly declared: ‘We, with insufficient qualifications, are nevertheless at the head of princes and high dignitaries. Our conduct is not approved of by Heaven, our benevolence does not reach the people. For this reason the seasonal changes are out of order, rain and drought do not come when due, the crops do not ripen, the people are suffering. Each time we think of it, we feel compassion’. And he took all steps in his power to alleviate the sufferings for which he felt himself responsible: ‘We order the *Konkô-myôkyô* (a Buddhist scripture) to be read at the five great temples, the interest on loans from the government is not to be collected, *the yô* (a tax) is reduced to half.’⁽⁶⁴⁰⁾ At the end of the Second World War, the present Emperor remained fully consistent with the traditions of his ancestors. This may explain why many Japanese authors read as meaning ‘benevolence’ the Chinese character which is pronounced *hito* and which has been the last character in the names of Emperors since the eleventh century (with a few exceptions: the 82nd, 85th, 94th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th and 109th. It also ended the names of the 56th, 60th, 66th and 70th Emperors. From the 1st to the 55th, the names ended in *-mikoto*).⁽¹²²⁾

* * *

The Emperor has at his disposal three temples for his personal use; they were built within the precincts of the Imperial Palace under the Emperor Meiji:

The Shin-den is dedicated to the myriads of heavenly and earthly Kami, although only the eight Musubi-kami are actually enshrined in it. It is generally believed that they have been enshrined since the very beginning of the Imperial House (Prince Ninigi or Emperor Jimmu). During the civil wars in the fifteenth century their shrine, the Hasshin-den, and its services were entrusted to the Yoshida family which held the office of Jingi-kwan, Commissioner for Shintô Kami. The shrine was returned to the Imperial Palace in the fourth year of Meiji (1871). The ritual was after that gradually amended and reached its present form in the thirty-fourth year of Meiji, when it was made to include the eighty myriads of Kami. The eight Musubi-kami are arranged as indicated in the illustration; the numbers preceding their names indicate the order in which they are listed in the *Engi-shiki*; the first five were termed the Shôichi. The place in the centre is the subject of considerable speculation. Many priests believe that it is occupied by Ame-no-minaka-nushi.

3 Iku-musubi	5 Tama-tsu-me-musubi	4 Taru-musubi
2 Taka-mi-musubi		1 Kami-musubi
8 Koto-shiro-nushi	7 Miketsu-kami	6 Ōmiya-no-me

Kami of the shin-den

The Kashiko-dokoro, or 'Awe-inspiring' reliquary (an innovation of Sūjin-tennō)⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾ was placed in the Unmei-den, or Mirror-hall in Kyoto and is now in a shrine called Kashiko-dokoro in Tokyo. In it is revered the replica of the sacred Mirror, the original of which is now in the Ise-jingū.

The Kōrei-den is the Holy Pantheon in which the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors are enshrined.

In addition to sending representatives (*chokushi*) and presents to various temples on solemn occasions (cf. p. 128f. above), the Emperor must himself play an active part in a number of ceremonies, some of them when he assumes power, some others annually and others again more frequently.

In the Imperial succession ceremonies, several separate and important stages may be noted:

(a) the Senso or accession. Immediately on the demise of the Emperor, the three Divine regalia (*shinki*) (cf. p. 390 above) are given into the custody of his successor. This is probably the most decisive of all the rites, for it is through the *shinki* that the Sovereign receives the Divine Grace, and without them he is not Emperor.

Actual preparations for the next ceremonies, which still take place in Kyoto, the former capital, are delayed until after the year of mourning for the late Emperor has elapsed.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾ A few days before, the Kashiko-dokoro is taken out of the Tōkyō Unmei-den and carried with more than Imperial pomp, 'in a railway-coach, glittering externally, but plain white wood within'⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾ to the Shunkyo-den, a hall in the Kyoto Palace which was specially built to receive it. The jewels and the replica of the sacred sword are also taken to Kyoto, and are put beside the Emperor during several parts of the enthronement ceremonies.

The ceremonies are:

(b) the Sokuī-rei, or ascending the throne, which takes place in the Shishin-den. The palanquin-like throne, Takamikura (August High Seat), is of black lacquer, decorated with representations of the phoenix and the mythological *kirin* (somewhat resembling a giraffe), eight-petalled flowers and the five-coloured lucky clouds. In the hexagonal roof are set seven mirrors, of which the central one, facing downwards above the Emperor's head,

has a 'mystic significance which is said to be understood by His Majesty alone'.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾ As a reminder of a divination carried out by Jimmu-tennô (*Nihongi*, III, 18), a jar of sake and five trouts are represented on banners of red brocade bordered with striped red silk.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾

(c) the Daijô-saï, formerly Ônihe-no-matsuri, or 'Great Tasting Festival', is an intimate communion in the course of which the Emperor 'tastes rice' with his divine ancestress, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. It takes place a few days after the Sokuï-reï. It is the most important festival in Japan. Through it the Emperor 'embodies the spirit' of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and attains the state of Amatsu-hi-tsugi, i.e. the spiritual light (*mi-itsu*) of Tennô, and of Amatsu-ho-tsugi, heavenly successor to Toyo-uke-no-kami. He becomes Akitsu-mi-kami in human shape. Chûkyô-tennô, the eighty-fifth Emperor, was called half-emperor, *han-teï*, because the civil war prevented him from attending the Daijô-saï. There were also some Emperors who abdicated before the ceremony could be performed.

The 'Great Purification' ceremony called Chinkon-saï or (Mi) tama-shizume-no-matsuri, to which considerable importance is attached, is held on the eve of the Daijô-saï and as a preparation for it. The purpose is to 'pacify the soul' of the sovereign, and ensure his longevity and his bodily health'.⁽⁶²⁴⁾ According to the *Kujiki*, this ceremony was first performed for Jimmu-tennô and his Empress by Umashi-maji on the day *kô-in* of the eleventh lunar month during the first year of his reign.⁽⁵²⁹⁾ The Emperor seats himself in the Shin-den in front of the altars dedicated to the Musubi-kami, whom court-priests have by *norito* called to come down into the *himorogi*. The chief priest then knots ten times a sacred thread. Meanwhile a virgin-priestess, standing outside on an overturned tub, repeats the dance which Ame-no-uzume performed to entice Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the rock-cave of Heaven (cf. pp. 305-8 above), at the same time chanting the sacred list of ten numerals which are in relation with the ten sacred treasures (cf. p. 334 above). After this, the priest (*mikanko*) takes ritualistic robes (*saïmotsu*) worn by the Emperor out of a sealed box made of willow-wood and shakes them ten times. As explained by a modern Shintô writer, 'this religious act purports to stir up the spirit of the Emperor which was restored to the centre of his body by the previous rites'.⁽³⁸³⁾

For the Daijô-saï proper, in the Ômiya Palace enclosure, a detached residence of the Kyoto Palace, two sacred pavilions, the Yuki-den and the Suki-den, have been built in pine-wood with the bark on, and thatched with miscanthus; they are screened by fences of rushes. About 8 p.m., the Emperor, clad in his ritualistic robes of raw silk, enters the inner chamber of the Yuki-den, which contains the Divine Couch, *shinza*, on which his ancestor had been instructed to keep the Divine Mirror, and carries out certain secret rites, which last until midnight. He afterwards repeats them in the Suki-den from 2 a.m. until sunrise.

Among the various articles of food which are offered by the Emperor to the divine ancestors during the Daijô-saï, and of which he partakes, the most important is of course rice. The rice used on this occasion has been prepared according to extremely elaborate rites. If we believe Aston, '*Yuki* means "ceremonially pure", and *suki* means "next". These terms are applied to two qualities of rice used for this festival. Various explanations are given. One is that the *yuki* was for sacrifice to the gods of heaven, the *suki* for the gods of earth. *Yuki* is etymologically connected with *imi*, religious abstinence'.⁽³²²⁾

Two paddy-fields, traditionally called Yuki and Suki, one to the east and one to the west of the Imperial Palace, are selected, first through tortoiseshell divination to determine the provinces in which they are to be located, and then through careful examination of the

topographical conditions and the moral status of the inhabitants to determine the localities and the specific fields. The young men and women on whom the high honour of cultivating them devolves are carefully chosen. The plowing of the fields, the sowing, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, hulling, storing, selecting, packing and transporting of the rice are each preceded and accompanied by complicated ceremonial rites of purification in the presence of both priests and personal representatives of the Emperor. The food is cooked in two specially constructed kitchens, with fire obtained by drilling with selected pieces of *hinoki* wood brought from the Imperial forest of Kiso.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾

(d) After this, the Go-shimpō, or sending of special offerings to the Ise-jingū takes place.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

(e) A fifth ceremony, which seems to have been discontinued for a few centuries, was the Yasoshima-no-matsuri, which is generally understood to have been a cult to the Sumiyoshi-no-kami or to Ikushima-no-kami and Tarushima-no-kami.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

According to a very controversial text preserved in the family of Take-no-uchi-no-sukune (Jingū-kōgō's minister) during the Enthronement ceremonies, the Emperor is, so to speak, 'wrapped up' in the personalities of all his predecessors, and finally in that of Ameno-minaka-nushi, to whose name in this case are added the words *-sumera-mikoto*.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

By tradition, at the end of the enthronement ceremonies, comes the Kun-min-kyoshoku-no-yen, during which the Emperor and the people share the same meal.⁽³⁸¹⁾

The official list of annual matsuri held in the shrines of the Imperial Palace contains no less than eighteen different ceremonies, of varying degrees of solemnity.

On January 1st, at 5.30 a.m., the Emperor, clad in *kōrozen*, the yellow robe worn at the time of enthronement, enters a temporary shrine erected in the palace gardens, for the Shihōhai, or 'worship of the four points of the compass'. In reality he turns successively towards Ise (to worship Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami, Toyo-uke-hime and all the Kami of heaven and earth), the tomb of Jimmu-tennō in Nara, the tomb of Meiji-tennō in Kyoto, the tomb of Taishō-tennō in Tokyo, the Hikawa-jinja in Ōmiya (to worship the Kami protecting the Imperial family), the two Kamo temples in Kyoto (to worship the protecting spirits of the ancient capital), Iwa-shimizu (to worship Hachiman), Atsuta (to worship the Divine Sword), and Kashima and Katori (to worship Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi). After which he attends the Saïtan-saï, or New-Year ceremony, carried out successively before the three shrines of the Imperial Palace by priests and *naïshōten*.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾

On January 3rd, the anniversary of Prince Ninigi's descent, from 8 to 11 a.m. and from noon to 2 p.m., in the Genshi-saï, the Emperor takes an active part in the day's events, reading a *norito* in the presence of the Empress, members of the Imperial family, and, later, of some high-ranking officials.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾

Although listed as a matsuri, the Sōji-hajime, on January 4th, is more of a lay ceremony which takes place in the Emperor's audience-chamber.

On January 30th, a matsuri is held in the Kōrei-den in honour of Kōmei-tennō.

On February 11th, the Kigen-setsu celebrates the anniversary both of Jimmu-tennō's enthronement and of the promulgation of Emperor Meiji's constitution. In the evening the Mikagura takes place in the Kagura-sha, an open pavilion fronting the three shrines; it is danced by the Ninjō, in a yellow robe with a long train, according to very ancient traditions, from 8.30 to midnight.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾

On February 17th, the Kinen-sai is celebrated in all three shrines; it is an agricultural matsuri for a good crop.

On February 21st a matsuri is held in the Kôrei-den in honour of Ninkô-tennô.

On 21st March, two matsuri are celebrated, the Kôrei-sai in the Kôrei-den and the Shinden-sai in the Shin-den. In the former a kind of *kagura* called Azuma-asobi-no-gi is also performed.

The same *kagura* is again performed on April 3rd in the Kôrei-den during the matsuri in honour of Jimmu-tennô.

April 29th is celebrated as the Emperor's birthday in a ceremony called Tenchô-sai which takes place in all three temples.

May 17th is the date of a matsuri in honour of Empress Teimeï, in the Kôrei-den.

June 30h witnesses two purification ceremonies, the Yoôri in the Emperor's audience chamber, and the Ô-baraï in front of the Shinka-den (the hall where the Kami 'accepts' or 'approves').⁽¹²²⁾

On July 30th a matsuri is held in the Kôrei-den in honour of Meiji-tennô.

On September 23rd, the matsuri of March 21st are repeated in similar conditions.

On October 10th a matsuri is held in honour of Montoku-tennô in the Kôrei-den.

October 17th is the date of the great Kanname-sai held in the Kashiko-dokoro. The first ears of the new rice are offered to the Kami. The Emperor worships the Ise-jingû from his Palace.

The most important annual matsuri is, however, the Niiname-sai, an annual repetition of the Daijô-sai, which takes place on November 23rd, in the evening. It is believed that this matsuri was first celebrated by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself and that the tradition was established by Jimmu-tennô. On this occasion, the Emperor, acting in his capacity of highest Shintô priest, is on the same couch as Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, without the presence of any human being. He wears a white sacerdotal robe and carries the *shaku*. He partakes of the new rice-ears and of white and black sake with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, on behalf of the whole Japanese people. The Niiname-sai is preceded by a Chinkôn-sai very much on the same lines as on the occasion of the ceremonies of accession. An additional ceremony, the Sanden-sai, is celebrated in the three shrines on the same day.

During the second decade of December a special *kagura* is performed in the Kashiko-dokoro.

On December 25th a matsuri is celebrated in the Kôrei-den in honour of Taishô-tennô.

And finally, on December 31st, the Yoôri and Ô-baraï are repetitions of the ceremonies held on June 30th.

In addition to those annual functions, let us mention one which is held at more frequent intervals, the Jireï-haï, the 'self-purifying ritual' which takes place in the Kashiko-dokoro, its purpose being to intensify the Emperor's 'spiritual power of bringing all physical and mental turbulence into clarity and transparency'.⁽³⁸³⁾

It is also interesting to note that the Emperor is reported to cultivate in person a miniature rice-field in memory of the sacred rice-ears which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami conferred upon Ninigi with the injunction that *ao-hito-gusa*, the visible-human-beings-growing-like-green-grass, should live by partaking of the sacred rice which she cultivated herself in the heavenly paddy-fields.⁽³⁷⁸⁾

In this chapter, as in the rest of the book, we shall designate the Emperors by the posthumous names under which they are generally known, but which differ from those used in the sacred books. The first Emperors received those posthumous names only in A.D. 784; they were chosen by the great scholar Ômi-no-Mifune.⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾

According to official sources,⁽¹²²⁾ the Kôrei-den of the Imperial Palace is the only temple where ‘all Emperors’ are worshipped collectively. There are however some shrines, such as the Tokiwa-kakiwa-sha, a *massha* of the Okutama-machi Mitake-jinja, which are claimed by the local clergy to have them as Kami.

On the place where the first Emperor, Jimmu-tennô (*Kojiki*, II, xlv-li; *Nihongi*, III), was born, is a small temple, the Sanu-no-jinja; it was formerly one of the six Kirishima temples, but in 1915 it was demoted to the rank of a *betsu-gû* attached to the Miyazaki-jingû. The Emperor is worshipped there under the name he bore as a child, Sanu-no-mikoto. In the sanctuary are also his wife and six other persons.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Under his later name of Hiko-ho-ho-demi, the prince, who was ‘of clear intelligence and resolute will’, was made heir to the throne at the age of fifteen. He first married the Princess Ahira-tsu-hime, who bore him two children. (*Kojiki*, II, li; *Nihongi*, III, 2).

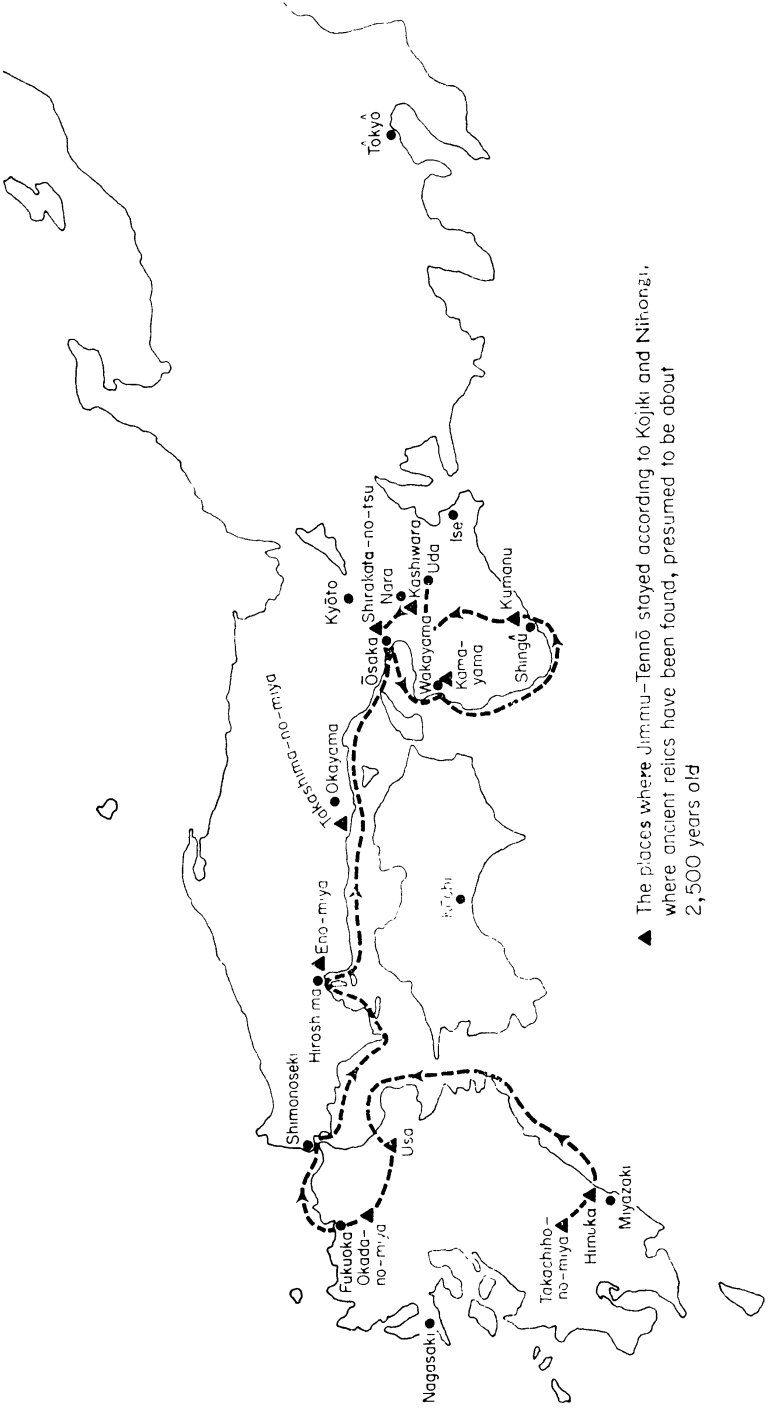
On the site where he then had his palace the Kôgû-jinja of the Miyazaki-jingû was later erected; there he is worshipped under his posthumous name of Kan-yamato-iware-hiko-no-mikoto, together with his first wife and two of his sons.⁽⁴⁹⁾

When he reached the age of forty-five, he called his elder brothers and his sons, and imparted to them information received from Shiô-tsuchi-no-oji, probably the same Kami who had earlier directed Hiko-ho-ho-demi (cf. p. 377 above): In the East, there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains, and there lives one Nigi-haya-hi (the same who had been sent down by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, as we saw on page 334), who flew down from Heaven on a Heavenly Rock-boat. Why not proceed thither and make that place the capital of the State?

In that very same year, the Emperor in person led a naval expedition to carry out the plan—although a very odd tradition insists that a tumulus, the Funatsuka-yama, just behind the *honden* of the Miyazaki-jingû, i.e. where he started from, contains the ship, the Okiyomaru, on which he sailed. The ship is believed to have received its name (*okiyo*=get up!) because it sailed before the scheduled time.⁽⁴⁹⁾

In the Hayasuhi (quick-sucking) Channel, a fisherman—who was really an *uji-gami* in disguise—Uzu-hiko, appeared riding a tortoise and flapping his wings. A long pole (*sawo*) was let down for him; he climbed it and was taken on board as a pilot. Guided by him, the fleet reached Usa, where the local princes built for Jimmu-tennô a palace raised on one pillar. (Aston believes this sentence to be a ‘later addition’ because ‘Usa is not on the direct route from Hiuga to Yamato’).⁽³²⁴⁾ The Emperor moved successively to Oka, then to Aki, then to the land of Kibi, (Aki and Kibi are old names for the provinces of Bingo, Bichû and Bizen),⁽³⁵⁶⁾ where he built the temporary palace of Takashima; he remained there for three (or eight) years, preparing the great invasion of Honshû.

On the third day of the tenth month of the year 663 B.C., the army landed in Kusaka, but it met with very strong resistance and had to retreat (*Kojiki*, II, xlv; *Nihongi*, III, 1–7). In the course of the fighting, one of Jimmu’s brothers, Itsu-se-no-rnikoto, was hit on the elbow by an arrow which the Prince of Tomi had shot; he died from the wound a couple of months later. (According to another version, he only received the wound during the second battle of Kusaka (*Kojiki*, II, xlv).)⁽⁵⁹¹⁾



▲ The places where Jimmu-Tennō stayed according to Kojiki and Nihongi, where ancient relics have been found, presumed to be about 2,500 years old

Jimmu-tennô understood that he, the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, had acted contrary to the way of Heaven by proceeding against the Sun to attack the enemy. He therefore again took to sea, and landed further East, in Chinu, where the local ruler was easily defeated. Finally, the army reached Kumano.

After that, they sailed again, this time on the Heavenly Rock-boat, which apparently they had captured, but they were tossed about by violent winds (*Kojiki*, II, xlv; *Nihongi*, III, 7–9). The other two brothers of the Emperor, Ina-hi-no-mikoto, and Mi-ke-iri-nu-nomikoto, were indignant that they should be so ill-treated by their mother and their aunt, both Sea-Goddesses, and in their spite, they jumped into the sea and drowned. The former became the Kami Sabi-mochi, the ‘blade-holder’, because he had plunged with his drawn sword (*Nihongi*, III, 9–10).

One *gûji* who can speak with considerable authority, but whose views on this point are received with equally considerable scepticism in most circles,⁽⁵⁾ holds that Jimmu-tennô’s three brothers really stand for three *mitama*, i.e. three personalities of the Emperor, which he had to shed before he could actually conquer the land. In this context, the names of the three princes would carry the following meanings:

Itsuse, or Itsuse (from *mi-itsu*, virtue and glory of the Imperial Throne): glory, power, vitality.

Inahi (from *ina*, or *ine*, ear of rice, and *hi*, fire or soul): spiritual sacred energy, producing power.

Mike, or Mike-nu (from *mike*, sacred food, and *nu*, field): about the same meaning as Inahi.

According to this interpretation, the *mitama* thus abandoned had to be replaced by those of the Sword, in order that Jimmu should become master of the country.⁽⁵⁾

The three brothers are enshrined in the San-no-miya. Itsuse is the only Kami of the Kamayama-jinja (where his mausoleum stands) and the main Kami of the O-no-jinja; he also has a *massha*, the Oji-jinja, in the Udo-jingû. Mike-nu is the main Kami of the Kumage-jinja.

The next landing was at Arasaka—or perhaps at Nishiki on the coast of Kumano. After an initial success, the army was made powerless, either by poisonous vapours that the local Kami themselves had belched up, or by a large bear who came out of the mountain and forthwith disappeared into it.

At that time, fortunately, a man called Takakuraji (who is now the Kami of the Takakura-jinja, which in 1907 became a *sessha* of the Kumano Hayatama-taisha, and the Kami of the Takakura-musubi-miko-jinja, a *sessha* of the Atsuta-jingû) had a dream in which he overheard a conversation between Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Take-mika-dzuchi, one of those who had prepared the way for Prince Ninigi: ‘I still hear a sound of disturbance from the Central Land of Reed-Plains,’ said the Goddess, ‘Do thou again go and chastise it.’—‘Even if I go not,’ answered the God, ‘I can send down my sword, with which I subdued the land, upon which the country of its own accord will become peaceful.’ And he gave instructions to Takakuraji, who accordingly went to his storehouse in the morning and found in it the sword standing point upward. He presented it to the Emperor (*Kojiki*, II, xlv; *Nihongi*, III, 10–11), (cf. p. 314 above and p. 414 below). The troops forthwith recovered their senses and endeavoured to advance into the interior, but there was no road by which they could travel. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami in person then appeared in a dream to the

Emperor and announced that she was sending him as a guide the three-legged Yatagarasu, the Heavenly Crow. And Yatagarasu did indeed appear, flying down from the Void. He guided the army as far as Uda (*Kojiki*, II, xlvi; *Nihongi*, III, 1–12), although the tradition of the Kumano temples prefers a theory according to which he ended his mission on the present site of the Kumano Nachi-jinja.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Later, the Emperor used him as an ambassador to the enemies (*Kojiki*, II, xlvii; *Nihongi*, III, 22), and heaped honours upon him. We shall see later what he became in the eyes of later generations (cf. p. 443f. below).

The scriptures go into many long details of the conquest, but most of them appear to have no religious implications, and we shall therefore mention only a few.

On two occasions, Jimmu-tennô encountered men with tails, one of them, a son of Iwa-oshi-waku, bursting open a rock and coming out of it, the other, Ihika, coming out of a well; they never seem to have been heard of again (*Kojiki*, II, xlvi; *Nihongi*, III, 15). They might conceivably be the spirits of solid and liquid matter respectively, who acknowledged Jimmu-tennô's rule, but I have found no texts in support of this hypothesis.

Another day, when the Imperial army was unable to gain the victory, a wondrous kite (*tobi*), of a golden colour, came flying and perched on the Emperor's bow. The enemy was routed (*Nihongi*, III, 24). In memory of this episode, an image of a golden-coloured kite can be seen near the Emperor during the Coronation ceremonies.

In several instances, reference is made to the earth from Mount Kagu, which will be mentioned repeatedly in later chapters. Once, when his army was encircled, the Emperor sent for some of that earth, with which to offer a sacrifice (*Nihongi*, III, 175.); and he did likewise on another day after a victory (*Nihongi*, III, 28). It would seem that that earth is a mystic symbol for the whole of Japan. Later, Take-hani-yasu-hiko's wife, Ata-bime, needed some for her magical operations when her husband planned to kill the Emperor Sujin (*Nihongi*, V, 10f.).

A distinguished esotericist⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ has supplied the following explanation: In general, the name Kagu-yama literally means 'the scented hill'. In this case, its earth is scented as a result of the fires which have been burnt on its top in the course of matsuri, according to the local tradition. Kagu-yama is therefore one of the Kami-nabi, i.e. a sacred natural place where the Kami normally resides or descends. It follows that any clay, plant or animal taken from the Kagu-yama is considered a suitable object for influencing the Kami. During the battles which Jimmu-tennô waged on this occasion, his head-quarters, Sumisaka, were about ten kilometres from Mount Kagu, which was the sacred mountain of the enemy. By obtaining a clod of earth from the mountain, and making from it several dishes for the offerings to his own Kami in the course of a 'rigid' matsuri, to the accompaniment of 'sacred curses', he actually overpowered the enemy.

Among the enemies encountered were a curious 'race', that of the *tsuchi-gumo*, the 'earth-spiders' (or 'earth hidens' if abbreviated from *tsuchi-gomori*,⁽³²²⁾ perhaps pigmy outlaws who lived as troglodytes (*Kojiki*, II, xlvi; *Nihongi*, III, 27f.). Several later Emperors were again to meet and destroy individual *tsuchi-gumo*, one curious point about them being that in most cases, they are complained of by women, who want them removed.

It was during the latter part of his campaigns that Jimmu-tennô met Nigi-haya-hi, whose story is related in a previous chapter (cf. p. 334 above).

On his way 'from Kyûshû to Nara', it is said that the Emperor founded the Hyûga-jinja, now a *sessha* of the Taga-taïsha, in honour of his ancestor Prince Ninigi.⁽¹²²⁾ Let us mention

also that, according to tradition, the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû is believed to have been built on what was formerly the beach where Jimmu-tennô landed.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾

Within six years, with the exception of some areas near the frontiers, the country was 'pacified'. This word is probably to be understood in the same sense in which it was later used by colonialists and other conquerors. We should, however, note here the remarkable fact that in spite of what to a Western reader seems fairly conclusive evidence, Japanese authorities stress that the unity with other races was *not* achieved by the Yamato group through military conquest.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

Having brought his expedition to an end, Jimmu-tennô was able to build the Imperial residence in the plain of Kashiha-bara (now Kashiwara) near Mount Unebi (*Nihongi*, III, 29f.).

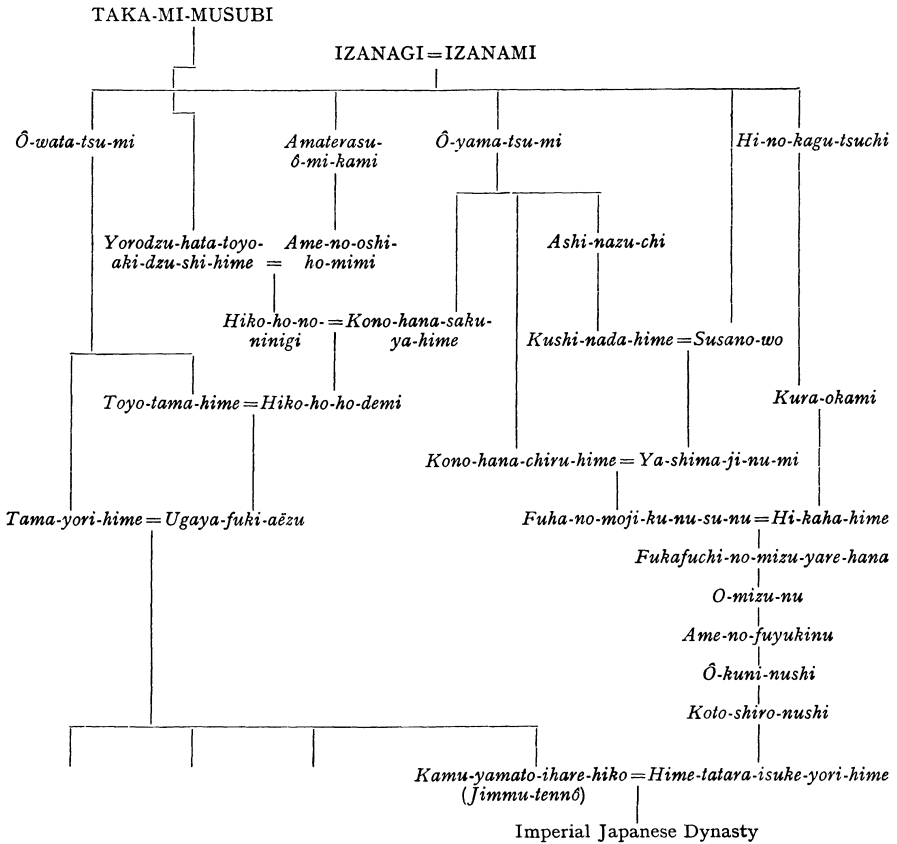
On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of the year 661 B.C., Jimmu-tennô married Hime-tatara-i-suzu (or suke-yori)-hime-no-mikoto, a daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi (*Kojiki*, II, li; *Nihongi*, III, 30f.), and therefore a direct descendant of Susano-wo. As we indicated before, it is a strange thing that although the relationship of the Imperial dynasty with Susano-wo is explicitly mentioned by some authors,⁽⁶⁴⁸⁾ it is most often ignored. A standard 'Japanese history for middle schools'⁽⁴²⁷⁾ makes no reference to it whatsoever. According to some traditions, the Empress of the next two reigns were also descendants of Ô-kuni-nushi, and therefore of Susano-wo.

Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime's birth had been rather unusual. Her father had fallen in love with the beautiful princess Seya-dataro and, in order to possess her, had transformed himself into an arrow 'painted red' (*ni-nuri-ya*), and attached himself to her private parts. The girl, unable to pull out the arrow, ran terrified to the sea-shore, where the awkward weapon took back its original form, that of a beautiful youth. From their union, the future Empress was born. On the place where she met her husband-to-be for the first time, now rises the Ô-miwa-taisha;⁽¹²⁹⁾ on the site of the house where she lived (Izumo-yashiki), various objects were discovered which are now in the temple.⁽¹²⁹⁾

The Imperial marriage forms the last synthesis in the history of Japan. The two great lines of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo, of Yamato and Izumo, had joined. The Imperial couple were heirs to all the Kami; their genealogy may be represented by the following table (In order to make the table clearer, the relevant children of Izanagi and Izanami have not been shown in the order of their birth).

This merging of the two main lines in the Imperial wedding is considered to be the starting-point of the Empire. The official date is 660 B.C.—although some Western scholars prefer to place Jimmu-tennô circa 40–10 B.C.^{!(674)}

Jimmu-tennô sacrificed to the Kami and established in what is now Naraken the temples of Kami-tsu-wonu-no-hari-hara and Shimo-tsu-wonu-no-hari-hara (*Nihongi*, III, 33f.). It is possible that he only held festivals under those two names without building any permanent shrine. In any case, no temple is now to be seen at the place, but it is said that the present Sumisaka-jinja, where the Kami is Sumisaka-no-ô-kami was removed from that very spot in 1449.⁽¹²²⁾



From a remark which he made when standing on the top of a hill, comparing the country below him to 'a dragon-fly licking its hinder-parts', Japan is supposed to have derived the name of Akitsu (dragon-fly)-shima (island); another name for the same insect, *tombo*, is also sometimes used as a synonym for Nippon.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Some Western Japanologists, however, less prone to romance and poetry than the Japanese themselves, prefer to interpret the name as meaning 'region of harvests',⁽³²²⁾ but it would be a great pity if they were ever proved right. (Cf. p. no above).

The Emperor died in 585 B.C., at the age of 127 (or 137?), and was buried in a tumulus (*misasagi*) on the opposite side of Mount Unebi.

As regards actual temples consecrated to that first of all emperors, who created the Empire, and who was the first 'human' ancestor of the dynasty which has occupied the throne of Japan uninterruptedly unto this day, their history is most disappointing.

If we believe the tradition, one grandson of Jimmu-tennô, Take-iwa-tatsu-no-mikoto,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ established his cult on the present location of the Miyazaki-jingû, near the place where he prayed to Ô-kuni-nushi (in the Tsu-nojinja) before sailing from Minitzu harbour.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The temple was first called Jimmu-tennô-no-miya, then Jimmu-tennô-sha, and is still popularly known as Jimmu-sama. His mother and father were also enshrined there, probably much

later.⁽⁴⁹⁾ One other temple, the Sami-no-jinja, has already been mentioned. It is also ‘possible’ that Jimmu-tennô, under the name of Iware-no-mikoto, should be the Kami of the Irô-jinja.

Apart from that act of filial devotion, which remains in the field of mythology, and the minor shrines in Kyûshû which commemorate events in his early life, the cult of Jimmu-tennô started only in the Taika era, in the middle of the seventh century, i.e. fourteen centuries after him! The first altar to have been erected on his tomb is probably not older than the ninth century, but it was never made a temple, and it was destroyed about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The tomb was not officially identified until 1863; at that time, excavations were made and various objects were found which were accepted as conclusive evidence, then respectfully buried again; a kakemono on which they are pictured was discovered quite accidentally a few years ago and is now in the possession of the *gûji* of the Kashiwara-jingû. It was only on April 22, 1869, that prayers were said over the tomb on behalf of the reigning Emperor. It is true that pilgrimages to the *misasagi* had started long before the nineteenth century, but they had always been ignored by the authorities.

It would seem that about 400 small shrines were built spontaneously by the people, in various places, but official recognition was withheld until the end of the nineteenth century.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It was only on March 7, 1873, that the official Kigensetsu was inaugurated to commemorate every year the accession of Jimmu-tennô to the throne,⁽⁴²⁷⁾ and only in the year 1890, i.e. twenty-seven years after the tomb had been identified, did the Emperor Meiji erect the first government temple ever to be built in honour of Jimmu-tennô, the Kashiwara-jingû!

Both the Emperor and Empress I-suzu-hime are worshipped there, but neither their children nor Jimmu’s brothers have any place in it. A great distinction was granted to the temple, insofar as two buildings from the Kyoto Imperial Palace were transferred to it: the *kashiko-dokoro*, which became the *honden*, and the *shinka-den*, which became the *kagura-den*. One peculiarity of the temple is that the *chigi* and *katsuogi*, instead of being on the *honden* (the sanctuary), are on the *heiden* (the offering-hall), as if to imply that the worshippers are more important than the worshipped.

But there are other and more conclusive signs that the cult of Jimmu-tennô in the Kashiwara-jingû is perhaps not quite so whole-hearted as might be expected. Only about fifteen localities in the whole of Japan have so far applied for its *bun-rei*,⁽⁴⁴⁾ a really surprisingly small number. And within the temple itself, priests seem to be gradually turning to an esotericism which would give Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami considerable precedence over the Emperor, who is after all the temple’s own Kami.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ The *gon-gûji*, who is the son of the present *gûji*, told me in the presence of his father—and apparently with the latter’s silent approval—that after serving Jimmu-tennô for fifteen years, he felt he understood Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami better and better. For him, Jimmu-tennô is ‘an eternal power of birth and rebirth’; thanks to the religious experience he had actually lived—which, he stressed, had nothing to do with the intellect—Jimmu had come to a perfect understanding of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and had made men understand her light; internally he had ‘invented’ (*sic*), which is ‘exclusively religious and not at all psychological’. Formerly, the people worshipped the Emperor and the Emperor worshipped Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami; it was only after the Meiji reformation that, for political reasons, the Emperor came to be regarded as

an Avatar of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami (*sic*), and therefore the relation between Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Jimmu is ‘the greatest problem of Shintô’.

This most extraordinary de-kamification of Jimmu-tennô by his own priests might be explained by the fact that the *gon-gûji* whom I quote had spent some time in the U.S.A. and had either lost his faith or become over-anxious not to be accused of idolatry by his American friends. Another explanation of the neglect of Jimmu-tennô by his Imperial descendants was given me by the *gûji* himself: There was no need for the people to think of the generations between Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and the reigning Emperor.’ The excuse would evidently be much more convincing if in the intervening centuries many temples had not been built to other Emperors.

According to the tradition of the jinja, Jimmu-tennô’s first son, Haya-mika-tama-no-mikoto, and two of his grandsons, Take-iwa-tatsu-no-mikoto and Hiko-miko-no-kami, the latter with their wives, Asotsu-hime-no-mikoto and Waka-hime-no-kami respectively, are among the Kami of the Aso-jinja.

Let us mention here that the honorific title of *shinbetsu* (descendants from Kami) is sometimes given to those who claim descent from Jimmu-tennô’s comrades in arms.

According to the *Kogoshûi*, the following Kami were worshipped by the Imperial Court at the end of Jimmu’s reign: ‘Taka-mi-musubi, or the Divine Male Producer, Kamu-mi-musubi, or the Divine Female Producer, Tama-tsu-me-musubi, or the “fulfilled and generating” Producer, Iku-musubi, or the Vivifying or Progressive Producer, Tarumusubi, or the Co-ordinating Producer, Ômiya-no-me-no-kami, Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami and Miketsu-kami (homage is now paid to these eight Kami by the Court Priestesses of Shintô), and, in addition, Kushi-iwa-mado-no-kami, Toyoiwa-mado-no-kami (homage is now tendered to these Kami by the Shintô Priestesses of the August Gates), the Kami of Ikushima (the Guardian Spirits of the Great-eight-island-country, whose worship is in charge of the Shintô priests of Ikushima), and the Kami of Ikasuri (the Guardian Spirits of the Imperial Court grounds, whose worship is entrusted to the Shintô priestesses of Ikasuri).’

* * *

Of the six immediate successors of Jimmu-tennô, texts and oral traditions do not tell us much of interest for our purpose. The second emperor, Suizei-tennô, was enshrined in the Kanakori-jinja as early as the eighteenth century. He is also believed to be one of the many Kami in the *honden* of the Aso-jinja, under the name of Kana-kori-no-kami, but that supposition has not been sufficiently strong to obtain for the jinja the title of *jingû*, generally granted to temples where a former emperor is worshipped. His immediate successor, Annei-tennô, also married a descendant of Koto-shiro-nushi, Nuna-soko-naka-tsu-hime (*Nihongi*, IV, 5 and 7), as Jimmu had done. Annei-tennô is worshipped in the Annei-tennô-sha.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Mention should be made of one of the sons of Kôrei-tennô (the seventh emperor), prince Kibitsu-hiko-no-mikoto or Isaseri-hiko-no-mikoto, who is credited with having defeated Korean invaders in the region of Kibitsu and with having greatly contributed to the development of the area; he showed great love for both dogs and birds, and in the fairly important, although local, temple erected to him in Kibitsu, two shrines are devoted to their ‘guardians’. He is also worshipped in the Tamura-jinja. His son, Momotarô, is the hero of one of the most popular tales for children.⁽¹⁹⁾

Kôgen-tennô, the eighth emperor, is enshrined in the Imatsu-machi Tsuno-jinja. One of his sons, Waka-yamato-no-ko-hiko-futo-ô-hibi no-miko-to, is worshipped in the Saïden of the Nibukawakami-jinja; another one, Ôhiko-no-mikoto, is the Kami of the Koshiô-jinja and the Ôtsu-jinja; one of his grandsons, Take-no-uchi-no-sukune-no-mikoto,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ was Prime Minister to several emperors.

The tenth emperor, Sujin-tennô, on the contrary, left a very deep mark on his country; a Western scholar called him ‘the Meiji of his time’.⁽⁵²³⁾ He became heir to the throne when he was nineteen, and emperor when he was fifty-two. His reign lasted from 97 to 30 B.C. His decision to shift the capital of the Empire to Shiki in Yamato, where he built his palace, the Shiki-no-mizugaki-no-miya, near the present Ô-miwa-taïsha, was a clear indication that he wanted to set the country on a new path.

Three years after he had been invested with the Imperial dignity, he issued the following proclamation:

‘When Our Imperial Ancestors gloriously assumed the Supreme Rank, was it for the benefit of themselves alone? It was doubtless in order that they might thereby shepherd men and spirits, and regulate the Empire. Therefore it was that from generation to generation they were able to extend their unfathomable merit, and in their day to spread abroad their perfect virtue.

‘We, having now received at their hands the mighty inheritance, lovingly nourish Our good subjects. In so doing, let Us follow obediently in the footsteps of Our imperial ancestors, and long preserve the unbounded felicity. And ye too, Our ministers and functionaries, should you not co-operate with all loyalty in giving peace to the Empire?’ (*Nihongi*, V, 2).

In the social and economic field, he had a census made of the population, organized a system of taxes (*Kojiki*, II, lxvii), and established compulsory labour; he built a number of ships (*Nihongi*, V, 15f.), and dug tanks for irrigation purposes (*Kojiki*, II, lxvii; *Nihongi*, V, 19). He went so far as to announce that a prince could not be made Heir to the Throne unless he showed a certain amount of knowledge of agricultural economics!

But, as his name indicates (Sujin means ‘who honours the Kami’), the field of religion is the one in which he carried the most revolutionary changes. Not only did he establish the first Shintô temple outside the Imperial Palace,⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾ but he actually reversed the trend which had been established by Prince Ninigi and his successors in favour of the Kami whose cult had been imported by his dynasty, and reverted to the worship of Kami of the Susano-wo line, the local Kami, the Kuni-tsu-kami, the Kami of Izumo, to whom he gave first place in religion.

During the fifth year of his reign, ‘there was much pestilence throughout the country, and more than one half of the people died’. (*Nihongi*, V, 3). In full conformity with the traditions of all Eastern rulers, he accepted full responsibilities for the calamities. He decreed:

‘Of old Our imperial ancestors greatly extended the vast foundation, and under the later emperors the institution became more and more exalted. The royal influence spread and flourished. But now that it has devolved upon Us, numerous calamities have unexpectedly

befallen it. It is to be feared that from the absence of good government in the Court, We have incurred the blame of the Kami of Heaven and Earth.' (*Nihongi*, V, 4).

Divination was carried out in the plain of Asaji-hara with the shell of a tortoise. The Kunitu-kami answered through the voice of Ô-kuni-nushi, the very Kami whom Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's and Taka-mi-musubi's emissaries had forced to abdicate. Speaking under the name of Ô-mono-nushi, he declared most emphatically to Yamato-to-tohi-momoso-hime-no-mikoto, a daughter of Emperor Kôgen, and to three other persons that the Kami of the Land had been greatly irritated by their displacement by the Kami of the Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami line, and that they wanted to be reinstated in their legitimate rights and position. The princess is worshipped in the Tamura-jinja and the Okayama-jinja.

As a matter of fact, the same Yamato-to-tohi-momoso-hime was married to Ô-kuni-nushi (also under the name of Ô-mono-nushi), who visited her only in the dead of night, so that she had never been able to behold him. At her insistent request, however, the Kami agreed to appear to her once, but he did so in the shape of 'a beautiful little snake, of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment', coiled up in her toilet-case. Shocked by the fright she manifested, Ô-kuni-nushi, 'treading the Great Void', ascended Mount Mimoro and never came again. In her despair, the princess 'flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda, so that she died,'—in the same way in which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's assistants had committed suicide when Susano-wo had frightened them. The tomb of that lady, who had had relations with the Gods, but had ignored the esotericism of those relations, was 'made by men in the day-time, and by Kami at night'. (*Nihongi*, V, 13f.) Yamato-to-tohi-momoso-hime is also the sole Kami in the Mizushi-jinja and one of the main Kami in the Tamura-jinja.

In order to satisfy the claims of the Kami of the Izumo line, Sujin-tennô took a number of steps, which may be considered in three main groups.

First of all, he removed from his own palace the more intensely alive and active aspects of the Kami from the Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami line. Two instances are particularly striking: (1) in the sixth year of his reign, he sent to the Iso-no-kami-jingû, near Tenri, the famous Divine sword, Futsu-no-mitama, which had been used by Take-mika-dzuchi in his expedition against Ô-kuni-nushi's father and by Jimmu-tennô in his conquest of Yamato—a sword which until then had always remained in the Imperial Palace as one of the main insignia of Imperial power; (2) during the same year, he also sent away from the Palace the living presence of the revered Sun-Goddess, the Divine Mirror, Yata-no-kagami, which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had entrusted to Prince Ninigi with such unparalleled solemnity, and with the unequivocal injunction that he and his successors should always keep it on their couch. The excuse offered is traditionally believed to be that it was disrespectful for the Emperor to have his bed on the same level with the pedestal which supported the mirror. Apart from the fact that Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami in her instructions had evidently seen no objection to that situation, the pretext does not explain why the Emperor did not erect within the Palace a temple where the mirror could have had the newly-required precedence in level.

Breaking with the holiest traditions of his predecessors Sujin-tennô instructed one of his daughters, Toyo-suki-iri-hime-no-mikoto—who thus became the first *itsuki-no-miya*⁽¹²²⁾—to take the mirror away and seek another place for it, far away from the palace.

If we believe the *Kogoshûi*, ‘On the evening when the solemn religious ceremonies were conducted at the removal of the Divine Imperial Emblem, all the courtiers were present and entertained through the whole night at a consecrated repast, singing:

‘Let us courtiers make merry the whole night through!

Oh, how fine for us courtiers is the sacred sake drink!’

We shall see later (cf. p. 412 below) what happened to the mirror after it had been thus removed.

In the same way, the Emperor got rid of Yamato-no-kuni-tama-no-ô-kami (also called Yamato-ô-kuni-tama), who also ‘lived’ in the Imperial Palace. Since that Kami is believed by some authorities,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ although the point is controversial,⁽¹²²⁾ to be no other than the *aramilama* of Ô-kuni-nushi, this banishment may at first sight appear somewhat inconsistent with Sujintennô’s general policy; the explanation is probably that the Emperor, struck with awe by the punishment which the Kami had inflicted on him and his people, felt it safer to remove the Kami’s threatening aspect (his *ara-mitama*) and to keep only his more benign aspects near him. As a matter of fact, the operation did not proceed very smoothly. Sujintennô entrusted the Kami to a princess, Nunaki-iri-hime-no-mikoto, whom her age and physical condition (she was bald and lean!) made unfit for such a sacred mission, and she apparently had to be replaced by another more suitable priestess.

Possibly as a compensation, or rather as a counterpart, the Emperor ordered to be brought into the Imperial Palace the Divine treasures which until then had been preserved in Izumo: the true-kind-beautiful-august Mirror, the pinion-flapping-beautiful-august Kami, the bottom-treasure-august Treasure-master, the peacefully-wearing (jewels?)-august Kami, the bottom-treasure-august Treasure-master, making in all, according to the various texts, either two or five Kami. This high-handed appropriation gave rise to dramatic internal quarrels in the Ômi family, which had been entrusted with them until then. A revelation received by a ‘young infant’ confirmed Sujin-tennô in his decision to have those Kami, as well as the other Izumo Kami, properly worshipped (*Nihongi*, V, 19).

A second series of steps was therefore taken, complementary to the first. The Emperor founded the Kumano-ni-masu-jinja (now Hongû-taisha), where Susano-wo in person was enshrined,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ and he launched the worship of Ô-kuni-nushi (still under the name of Ô-mono-nushi) in Ô-miwa, appointing as chief-priest the Kami’s own son, Ô-tata-neko (*Kojiki*, II, lxiv; *Nihongi*, V, 4–8). Let us mention in passing that, according to another tradition, Ô-taka-neko was only the great-grandson of the Kami, his father being Take-mika-dzuchi, who used to visit his wife at night, in secret, by creeping through the key-hole. Further, under the Emperor’s instructions, his eldest son, Prince Toyoki-iri-hiko founded the Akagi-jingû in honour again of Ô-kuni-nushi, this time under the name of Ô-namuchi.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

Finally, and probably in order to ensure against any future encroachment by the Kami of the Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami line over the prerogatives of those of the Susano-wo line, the Emperor decided which temples should be devoted to the worship of the Terrestrial Kami and which to that of the Celestial Kami (*Kojiki*, II, lxiv; *Nihongi*, V, 7).

All those events may partially explain the extreme care which the Japanese always take not to offend the local Kami whenever they erect a temple—Shintô or Buddhist—consecrated to the worship of another Deity; in most cases they even build a smaller shrine for the local Kami; we shall see numerous instances.

In order to pacify the souls of the soldiers who had lost their lives in the wars against Eshiki and Otoshiki, the Emperor ordered two temples, Sumi-saka and Ô-saka to be built on the places where the battles had been fought (*Kojiki*, II, lxiv; *Nihongi*, V, 8). In all probability, this is the first instance of temples to war-heroes, a cult which in the course of time took in Shintô ever-increasing proportions. Present Shintô authorities doubt that a temple-building was actually erected, but there is now on the spot the Ôsaka-yamaguchi-jinja, of which the Kami is Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami.⁽¹²²⁾

He also founded the Udo-jingû, to the memory of Ugaya-fuki-aëzu, Jimmu-tennô's father.

After his death, Sujin-tennô was given the title of Hatsu-kuni-shirasu-mimaki-no-sumera-mikoto (the first three words sometimes interpreted as meaning 'the first who governed the country'),⁽⁵²⁹⁾ a name which very much resembles that given to Jimmu-tennô: Hatsu-kuni-shirasu-sumera-mikoto. Some modern-minded Japanese scholars have drawn from this similarity the rather daring conclusion that Jimmu-tennô and Sujin-tennô were one and the same person. It does not seem possible to take that view very seriously.

Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's Sacred Mirror, the Yata-no-kagami, which Sujin-tennô had ordered to be removed from the Imperial Palace, took a very long time before it reached its final destination. It was first installed in the village of Kasanui, in Yamato, where it remained for a period of thirty-three years, but afterwards it was decided to remove it still further and it started on a long and tedious peregrination, in the course of which it stayed successively—to quote only the more important stopping-places, those which are accepted by all sources—for four years in the temple of Yosa (in Tamba), then eight years in the Moto-no-miya of Itsukashi (again in Yamato), then three years in the temple of Nagusa (in Kinokuni), then four years in the temple of Nakata (in Kibi) which has now become the Okayama Ise-jinja, then two years in a temple on the summit of Mount Mimoro (again in Yamato). Then the high-priestess died without having found the permanent resting-place. She was succeeded by another Imperial princess, Yamato hime-no-mikoto, with whom it stayed four years in the temple of Uda (in Yamato), two years in the Ichimori temple of Oshi (in Iga), then four years in the nearby temple of Anaho. While it was there, Sujin-tennô died, and the journey continued under the reign of Suinin-tennô. The mirror remained for two years in the nearby temple of Aë, then four years in the Higumo temple of Kôga (in Ômi), then two years in the nearby temple of Sakata. Sixteen more places were tried, unsuccessfully, during the following fifteen years. According to some traditions, Mount Miwa was one of the stopping-places. The Ise-fudoki informs us that when Yamato-hime settled down in the Takaoka Palace in Ihinu, she had clothes woven for Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, and that when she moved over to the Palace of Taka, she erected the Kamu-hatori-no-yashiro, the Temple of the Divine Weaving.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

It was only in the twenty-ninth place which was experimented that, in the year 5 B.C., the Goddess declared herself satisfied. In Ise, she told Yamato-hime: The province of Ise, of the divine wind (Aston explains that this is a "stock-epithet" of the province), is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this place I wish to dwell.' (*Nihongi*, VI, 16). A site was selected and dedicated by Ôta-no-mikoto (a direct descendant of Saruda-hiko), who is now worshipped in the Ise Saruda-hiko-jinja. A temple was built, in which the Goddess, residing in the Divine Mirror, has remained until now.

All those successive stopping-places are called Moto-Ise, i.e. original Ise temples; they are the subject of intensive historical research.

Yamato-hime's sermons, compiled in the *Yamato-hime-seiki* and in other books, are highly esteemed by Shintôists, especially the Ise-shintô school.⁽¹⁴²⁾

The replica made of the mirror for use in the Imperial Palace also had a chequered career. On three occasions, in 960, 1005 and 1040, it was gravely damaged by fire, so much so that it was ultimately reduced to fragments and it is those fragments which are now in the Kashiko-dokoro. At the battle of Dan-no-ura, in 1185, when the young Emperor Antoku lost his life, they were in a casket with the jewels (Yasakani-no-magatama), and the enemy, the Genji, secured them, but when they opened the casket, the flashing of the mirror was so brilliant that they were blinded and driven mad.⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾ And the Mirror was ultimately restored to the Imperial Palace.

Sûjin-tennô's son, Toyoki-iri-hiko-no-mikoto, is credited with spreading agriculture in the region of Shimotsuke and for that reason worshipped in the Futara-san-jinja.

During the reign of Suinin-tennô (29 B.C.–A.D. 70), whose name means 'dispenser of benevolence', (356) a dramatic plot, reported at great length in the scriptures, was hatched by the Empress's brother, Saho-biko. Although one of its episodes (*Kojiki*, II, lxxii; *Nihongi*, VI, 2 and 14) was the birth of a prince, Homu-chi-wake (or Homotsu-wake), who 'could not speak' until at the age of twenty-one, he learned to do so 'from a swan' (*tazu*), the story does not seem to carry any religious implications.

During the same reign, it was decided, on the authority of a divination, that bows, arrows and cross-swords should be deposited in the shrines of all Kami (*Nihongi*, VI, 18). The Emperor also put an end to the practice (*jun-shi*), after the death of a member of the Imperial family, of burying personal attendants alive; he decided to substitute for them 'things of clay' (*Nihongi*, VI, 19f.). Aston suggests that some at least of the many clayring (*hani-wa*) cylinders still found embedded in the earth around the most important *misasagi* may have served as pedestals for them.⁽³²²⁾

Suinin-tennô did much for agriculture; he had more than 800 ponds and channels excavated for irrigation (*Nihongi*, VI, 22). He had 1,000 naked swords (*kahakami*) forged and deposited in the Isono-kami-jingû (*Nihongi*, VI, 22f.). On this occasion, ten corporations (*be*) presented the temple with as many treasures, which were entrusted to Inishiki-no-mikoto, to his sister Ô-naka-tsu-hime-no-mikoto and to Mononobe-no-tachine-no-ô-muraji successively (*Nihongi*, VI, 23). They are now the Kami of the Izushi-jinja, under the name of Tokusa-no-kandakara.

During the same period also there took place the curious episode of the short sword which had been part of the Divine treasures brought from Silla (Korea) and afterwards kept in Tajima. Kiyo-hiko, a grandson of the Korean prince (Ame-no-hi-boko) who had brought them to Japan, tried to keep that sword when the Emperor ordered him to hand over all those treasures. He had however to give it up, but the sword escaped of its own accord and returned to the prince's house, from which it went to the island of Ahaji. There it became a Kami and a temple was erected to it (*Nihongi*, VI, 25f.).

Suinin-tennô is reported to have died at the age of 140 or 153 (*Kojiki*, II, lxxv; *Nihongi*, VI, 26).

His son Inishiki-irihiko-no-mikoto travelled all over his father's empire, teaching agriculture and irrigation. He is the Kami of the Inaba-jinja.

The next Emperor, Keïko-tennô (A.D. 70–130), who founded the Kumano Hayatama-taïsha,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ is far less famous than his son, Wo-ôusu-no-mikoto, probably the greatest hero in Japanese legend and history. His first exploit, which Westerners are not likely to appreciate, was to kill, tear to pieces and fling away his elder brother, who had been disrespectful to their father (*Kojiki*, II, lxxix). After which he was on various occasions sent by the Emperor with an army to subdue rebels and conquer enemies.

The first task entrusted to him, when he was sixteen years of age, was to attack the Kumaso rebels. He started by paying a visit to his aunt, Princess Yamato-hime, the Grand-priestess of Ise. She gave him not only her blessing, but also women's clothes, with which he disguised himself as an attractive wench. He then managed to be included among the women who served at a banquet given by the enemy chief, the Bravo of Kahakami, who fell to his charms. When the chief was intoxicated, the young prince stabbed him and revealed his identity. The dying warrior, full of admiration for the feat, offered him a title, that of Yamato-takeru (or -take), 'the champion of Japan', by which he has been known ever since. After this the prince 'pierced his breast through and killed him' (*Nihongi*, VII, 17 ff.). According to another version, he had to kill two brothers, and it was the last to die who conferred upon him the title (*Kojiki*, II, lxxx). In any case, he finally slew all the enemies and on his way back also killed a couple of malignant Deities, the Kami of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi, and the Kami of the Ferry of Kashiha at Maniha, both of whom, 'with mischievous intent, sent forth a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued' (*Nihongi*, VII, 20). Motoôri suggests that those two 'ferries' may have been where the Straits of Shimonoseki are now to be found, the islands of Honshû and Kyûshû being then continuous at this point.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

By another treacherous device, by exchanging his enemy's sword for a wooden one, he afterwards slew a 'bravo of the Land of Izumo' (*Kojiki*, II, lxxxi).

Encouraged by those successes, a few years later, the Emperor sent him—this time against his will—against the Yemishi, 'a people of fierce temper', in which 'both men and women tie up their hair in the form of a mallet, and tatoo their bodies' (*Nihongi*, VII, 18), who 'in winter dwell in holes and in summer live in nests' (*Nihongi*, VII, 21). Yamato-takeru, full of apprehension, and who even suspected his father of desiring his death, again called on his aunt Yamato-hime. This time she gave him the famous sword Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi, which had been found by Susano-wo in the dragon's tail, and various other implements (*Kojiki*, II, lxxxii). It was probably then that he founded the temple of Mitsumine,⁽¹²²⁾ where he has a subsidiary shrine, bearing his name. He conquered the Yemishi and many other tribes, and slew a number of malignant Kami in the course of an eventful campaign, which the scriptures relate in great detail (*Kojiki*, II, lxxxiii-lxxxix; *Nihongi*, VII, 23–30).

One of its most famous episodes is the crossing of the 'sea' of Hashirimizu, where the local Kami (or Ryûjin)⁽⁵⁶⁹⁾ raised a threatening tempest. The prince's wife (or concubine), Oto-tachibana-hime-no-mikoto—whom he was apparently desirous of replacing by the beautiful Princess Mizu⁽³⁶⁵⁾—sacrificed herself and was drowned, after which the waves at once subsided and the fleet was able to proceed. Seven days afterwards, her 'august comb drifted onto the sea-beach' and was forthwith 'placed in an august mausoleum which was made'. (*Kojiki*, II, lxxxiv; *Nihongi*, VII, 24). According to some local traditions, her body was also washed ashore on a beach in Kisarazu, in the Bôsô Peninsula.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ She is worshipped in the Hashirimizu-jinja.

A huge cherry-tree (*higan-zakura*), more than 70 feet high, and covering an area of 800 square feet, which is still to be seen in Hinosharu, near Suwa, is traditionally believed to have been planted by Yamato-takeru during his return journey.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

Yamato-takeru fell ill during that same journey and died in the moor of Nobo, at the early age of thirty (*Kojiki*, II, lxxxix; *Nihongi*, VII, 30). While preparations were being made to bury him in a large mausoleum, his body was changed into a white plover, *shiro-chidori*, and flew away; only his clothes remained in the sarcophagus. People followed the bird and built another mausoleum in every one of the places where it rested, but finally it disappeared into the sky and never returned (*Kojiki*, II, xc; *Nihongi*, VII, 31 sq.).

The prince is worshipped in a remarkably large number of temples. He is the only Kami in the Takebe-jinja (erected by his own son in 116), the Nobono-jinja (founded in 1884 on the place where he died), the Ô-kuno-miya on Mount Mitake (where he is known under the name of Ô-guna), the many Shiratori-jinja, the Gundari-jinja, the many Furumine-jinja, the many Yatsurugi-jinja, the Ôtaka-jinja, the Owuru-wake-ishi-jinja, the Sakawori-no-miya, the Yamashina-jinja, etc. In the Sakaï-shi Ôtori-jinja, which is believed to have been erected on the spot where the *shiro-chidori* last rested, he is associated with the ancestor-kami of the Ôtori-no-muraji. He is also one of the three Kami in the Iwateyama-jinja, the Kehi-jinja and the Torigoë-jinja. According to some authorities, Imaki-no-kami, one of the Kami in the Hirano-jinja, is no other than Yamato-takeru. He and three of his vassals, Kibi-ô-notake-hiko, Ôtomo-no-takehi-no-muraji and Nana-tsuka-hagi, are the Kami of the Yaizu-jinja. He is also the Kami of the Ôtori-jinja, a *massha* of the Fujisawa Shirahata-jinja. He is *aidono-no-kami* in the Tokyo Ôtori-jinja (where he is believed to have prayed on his return from his victorious campaign in the East), in the Tokyo Atago-jinja, in the Atsuta-jingû, etc.

Keïko-tennô himself, who travelled extensively throughout the country ridding it of 'bandits' (*Nihongi*, VII, 2-32), is the Kami of the Anaho-jinja, the Keïko-tennô-sha, the Negi-no-jinja, etc.

Another of his sons, Take-kuni-kore-wake-no-mikoto, is worshipped in the Saijô Iso-no-jinja.

Whereas the reign of Keïko-tennô was an almost uninterrupted succession of expeditions against hostile peoples, his successor, Seïmu-tennô, was apparently able to devote all his attention to an administrative reorganization of the State. (*Kojiki*, II, xciv; *Nihongi*, VII, 37-40).

The three following reigns, those of Chûai-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and Ôjin-tennô, have such great importance from a religious point of view that we shall devote a special chapter (XIX) to them.

The annals of the next Sovereign, good Nintoku-tennô, are replete with love-affairs in the development of which the Emperor frequently met with great difficulties. His Empress, Iha-no-hime (the 'Rock-princess'), who had borne him four children, was 'exceedingly jealous. So the concubines...could not even peep inside the Palace; if anything happened (such as the birth of a son), she stamped with jealousy.' Nevertheless, he also married three other wives, of which two were his half-sisters, and he often fell in love with other princesses. When one of them, Kuro-hime, afraid of the Empress's jealousy, escaped and fled to her native land, the Emperor sang a very sad song which had the effect of arousing terrible anger in the Empress's heart. She sent people after the fugitive, to compel her to

walk all the way back to her country instead of proceeding by boat. Nintoku however pretended he had to go on a pilgrimage to the islands of Ahaji, Aha and Onogoro and, while he was there, quietly passed to the Land of Kibi, where he again enjoyed the company of his beloved Kuro-hime. After spending some time happily with her, he had nevertheless to return to his capital and his spouse. (*Kojiki*, II, cxxii).

On another occasion, taking advantage of an absence of the Empress who had gone to the Land of Ki 'to pluck aralia (or mitsuna)-leaves for a copious feast', Nintoku-tennô married another Princess, Yata-nowaki-iratsume. But owing to the indiscretion of a coolie, the Empress heard of it. 'Greatly vexed and angry, she threw away all the aralia-leaves into the sea.... Forthwith, without entering the Palace, but taking her august vessel away from it,...she made a progress up into Yamashiro by the River Yodo' on her way back to her parental house in Takamiya. But she did not proceed quite so far. She stopped at Tsutsuki in the house of a person named Nurinomi. The Emperor started sending to his 'beloved spouse' envoys with love-songs, one of which is commonly interpreted to mean: 'If thou and I had not so long been spouses, then indeed mightest thou break with me, and declare that thou knowest me not. But how canst thou so far forget our wedded life as to desert me now?' The Empress was not moved, but pitilessly let the envoys repeat their message outside, in a heavy rain, going to one side of the house while they were serenading on the other. Nurinomi, who happened to be rearing 'strange insects changing in three ways, once becoming creeping insects, once bearing cocoons, and once becoming flying insects', sent a message to the Emperor explaining that the Empress had only come to his house to look at those insects and that she had 'no strange intentions'. Nintoku immediately came to look also at those Heaven-sent insects and, according to the *Kojiki*, became reconciled with his wife, which, however, did not prevent him from lamenting in song over the fact that he had to leave Yata-nowaki-iratsume before she had borne children to him. (*Kojiki*, II, cxxiii ff.; *Nihongi*, XI, 16–21).

The latter lady's fate evidently discouraged Queen Medori when her half-brother, the Emperor, also wanted to wed her. The imperial envoy to her, King Haya-busa-wake (or Imperial Prince Hayabusa), soon realized it and married her himself, as a consequence of which both were slain by an Imperial army sent after them. But the Commander-in-chief of that army, Chief Ôtate of Yamabe (or Wofuna) was so unwise as to steal the unfortunate Queen's armllet and present it to his wife—and he was himself sentenced to death when the Empress discovered the fact. (*Kojiki*, II, cxxvi f.; *Nihongi*, XI, 23–26).

For a student of mythology it is difficult to believe that so many chapters in the life of one of the first Emperors should have been devoted to his loveaffairs, and especially to those which did not result in the birth of children and which therefore would not even justify the claims of one or more noble families to an exalted ancestry, if they meant nothing more. There is a strong temptation to suppose that such gossip of history, *petite histoire*, however truthful it may perhaps be in its more obvious meaning, must have another meaning as well; possibly it is an indication that the 'Sage Emperor', as he was called by the people (*Nihongi*, XI, 11), made various attempts to extend his domains, by marriage or otherwise, to provinces as yet unconquered by his armies; in which case the absence of progeny might conceivably mean that each of these attempts finally proved unfruitful.

Two other episodes capable of some hidden and deeper meaning are also related about the same reign. One of them tells of Nintoku coming to the Princess-island, Hime (again a

Princess!), one of the first eight islands to which Izanagi and Izanami had given birth. He reached it just when a wild goose (*kari*) had laid an egg on that island. Surprised at what was apparently a very unusual occurrence, he enquired about it from the venerable Take-nouchi (the same who had been Prime Minister under Jingû-kôgô; cf. p. 429ff. below); the reply was that it was an auspicious omen, and that the Emperor's reign would be very long. (*Kojiki*, II, cxxviii).

The other story is about a tree which was somewhere between the island of Ahaji (the first of the eight islands to which Izanagi and Izanami gave birth) and Mount Takayasu in the province of Kahachi; it was so tall that its shade reached the former in the morning and the latter in the evening. And 'so' the tree was cut down and made into a vessel—'and a very swift-going vessel it was'—which was used to carry water from Ahaji to the Imperial household morning and evening. But apparently a time came when the vessel was scrapped, and most of the timber was used to 'burn' salt. The pieces of wood that remained over from the burning 'were made into a lute, whose sound re-echoed seven miles off. This supplied the occasion for a beautiful song (*Kojiki*, III, cxxix). When it is remembered that the island of Ahaji must needs be one of the most sacred, so much so that its water was highly prized by the Emperor, that salt is the purifying element *par excellence*, and that the playing of the lute is a frequently-used simile for harmonious government of the Empire, it is difficult to accept this story at its face-value and not to suspect a deeper and probably symbolic meaning.

Nintoku-tennô's reign was also marked by many achievements of a less (apparently) frivolous nature. To begin with, when he was Prince Ô-sazaki-no-mikoto, he long declined the throne, which he pressed his younger brother, the Prince Imperial Uji-no-waki-iratsuko to accept, but the latter tirelessly returned the courtesy. He even saved him from assassination by another Prince, Ô-yama-mori, 'who was full of resentment that he was passed over by the late Emperor and not established as Prince Imperial' (*Nihongi*, XI, 4).

Not finding any other device by which to make Ô-sazaki the Emperor, Uji-no-waki-iratsuko simply committed suicide. There followed a queer and moving incident:

'Ô-sazaki, hearing of the Prince Imperial's death, was greatly shocked, and hastening from Naniha arrived at the Palace of Uji. Now three days had passed since the Prince Imperial's death. Ô-sazaki beat his breast, wept aloud and knew not what to do. He loosed out his hair, and, bestriding the corpse, called upon him thrice, saying: "Ô, my younger brother, the Prince Imperial!" In course of time, he came to life, raised himself up and remained in a sitting posture. Hereupon, Ô-sazaki addressed the Heir Apparent, saying: "Oh, what grief! Oh, what regret! Why didst thou pass away of thine own accord? If the dead had any knowledge, what would the late Emperor think of me?" So the Prince Imperial addressed the Prince his elder brother, saying: "It is the command of Heaven. Who may stay it? If I should go to the place where the Emperor is, I will tell him of all the Prince, my elder brother's wisdom, and also of my abdication. But the sage Prince must surely be fatigued after the long and hurried journey which he undertook on hearing of my death." So he presented to him the Imperial Princess Yata, his younger sister by the same mother, saying: "Though she is unworthy of thy nuptials, she may in some small measure serve to be entered in the number of the side Courts." So he lay down again in his coffin and died.' (*Nihongi*, XI, 5 sq.).

Nintoku-tennô took his responsibilities most seriously. He declared: ‘When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves.’ (*Nihongi*, XI, 10). Out of love and pity for his people, he abolished forced labour and even let the Palace ‘fall to ruin’. So, ‘for the space of three autumns the people had plenty, the praises of his virtue filled the land, and the smoke of cooking was also thick.’ (*Nihongi*, XI, 9). It went so far that the people themselves petitioned as follows: ‘We now have abundance, and remnants are not picked up. Therefore in the villages there are no men without wives or women without husbands, in the houses there is store of spare provisions. If at such a time there was no payment of taxes with which to repair the Palace buildings, we fear that we should incur guilt in the sight of Heaven.’ But the Emperor ‘continued to be patient, and would not grant their petition’. (*Nihongi*, XI, 10–11).

He had channels and embankments built as a protection against floods; he brought 470 square miles of land under cultivation; he established official granaries, constructed highways (*Nihongi*, XI, 11–14), ‘distinguished the boundaries between provinces and districts and committed to writing in detail the productions of the soil in each locality’ (*Nihongi*, XI, 26), an agricultural census which incidentally indicates that by that time (A.D. 353) there was already some way of ‘committing to writing’.

Nintoku-tennô is the only Kami in the Kôzu-no-miya (or Takatsu-no-miya) and the main Kami in the Tsugata-jinja, the Wakayagi-chô Hirano-jinja, the Hata-no-jinja and many Wakamiya-hachiman-sha. He is also frequently found enshrined in Hachiman temples of which the main Kami is his father Ôjin-tennô. Thus he is one of the Kami in the Toyokawa Hachiman-sha, the Himuro-jinja, etc. Under the name of Ô-sazaki-no-mikoto, he is one of the Kami in the Ushikubo-machi Hachiman-sha; he is also worshipped in the Wakamiya-jinja of the Imi-no-miya-jinja. He may be identical with Furuaki-no-kami, one of the Kami in the Kyoto Hiranojinja.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ There is also a tradition in the Kagoshima-jingu that he was added to the other Kami in A.D. 544, at the same time as Chûai-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and Ôjin-tennô. He is the sole Kami in the Fukushi-jinja, a *massha* of the Udo-jingû.

The sister-in-law of Ingyô-tennô (the nineteenth Emperor), Sotoôri-hime, is enshrined in a number of temples, among which the Tamatsu-shima-jinja and the Jigen-jinja.⁽¹²²⁾

Of the later Emperors, we shall mention only those who took epoch-making decisions affecting Shintô, or to whom, or whose descendants, worship is now offered in Shintô temples.

During the reign of Yû-ryaku-tennô, the twenty-first Emperor—who earned the name of Dai-aku-tennô, the very wicked Emperor⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾—the great Kami of Katsuragi, Hito-koto-nushi, ‘Lord of One Word...who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good’, revealed himself to the Emperor on Mount Katsuragi, but it is not reported that any temple was built to him (*Kojiki*, III, clviii; *Nihongi*, XIV, 13). Hito-koto-nushi, on the other hand, is enshrined in the Tosa-jinja (where he is identified by local tradition with Ajisuki-takahiko-ne-no-kami), and Hito-koto-nushi-no-ô-kami, who is very probably the same Deity, is the Kami of the Izumi-oka-hito-koto-jinja.

Kensô-tennô, the twenty-third Emperor, is worshipped in the Oke-no miko-no-jinja.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ great-grandson of Nintoku-tennô, he reigned from 485 to 487; the only thing really noteworthy

about him is that in his youth he had to hide as a farm-hand in Harima, where he was discovered by Wodate (*Kojiki*, III, clxiv; *Nihongi*, XV, 7–25).

Buretsu (or Muretsu)-tenno, the twenty-fifth Emperor, who reigned from 499 to 506, was only eighteen years old at the time of his death.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ The *Kojiki* (III, clxxii) is remarkably laconic about him, but the *Nihongi* describes him both as an able and conscientious lawyer and magistrate and as a sadist, of whom ‘the people of the whole land were all in terror’ (*Nihongi*, XVI, 1): he ‘ripped up the belly of a pregnant woman and inspected the pregnant womb. He plucked out men’s nails and made them dig up yams’. He made men climb up trees and then shot them down with a bow, upon which he laughed. He gave women to stallions, etc. (*Nihongi*, XVI, 7 and 9). He is nevertheless the Kami of the O-hatsune-waka-sasagi-no-jinja.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

The reign of Keitai-tennô, the twenty-sixth Emperor, a descendant in the fifth generation from Emperor Ôjin, was largely occupied by relations, alternately friendly and warlike, with Korea. The Emperor is worshipped in the Mikumi-jinja, the Osada-jinja (where he resided in his youth), the Asuha-jinja and the Yokoyama-jinja.

Ankan-tenno, the twenty-seventh Emperor, whose reign was not marked by any important event, and who died childless, is the Kami of the Katayama-jinja and the Hishi-jinja.

The last two Emperors and their immediate successor, Senkwa-tennô, the twenty-eighth Emperor, are jointly enshrined in the Hino-jinja, which was founded in 718 by a Buddhist monk, Tai-chô.

Sushun-tennô, the thirty-second Emperor, who reigned from 587 to 592, does not seem to be the object of any special worship, but his son Hachiko-no-ôji-nokami, who had to take to flight after his father had been murdered, is the Kami of the very important Hachiko-jinja, the *sessha* of the Ideha-jinja on the Dewa-san-dzan. He is worshipped both because he taught cultivation to the population and because, through one hundred days of ascetic practices, he was able to ‘burn’ the demon who attacked and killed people. The Shô-rei-sai (cf. p. 140 above) is celebrated in commemoration of his feat.

The reign of Empress Suïko (592–628), the thirty-third Sovereign, is taken by some authors, and not without reason, to have probably marked ‘the lowest ebb ever reached by Shintô’,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ as all her influence was exercised in favour of Buddhism. The Crown-Prince and Regent, Shôtoku-taïshi, is the man who more than any other, was responsible for the wide and rapid spread of the foreign religion. Like all Buddhist heroes in all countries, he is credited with a miraculous birth and superhuman faculties: ‘He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error. He knew beforehand what was going to happen.’ (*Nihongi*, XXII, 2). He was nevertheless very strict in the observance of Shintô rites and worship (cf. *Nihongi*, XXII, 17, quoted above, p. 47). Apart from his religious preferences—and perhaps to a large extent on account of them—he was a very wise ruler, who granted the first ‘Constitution’ (*Nihongi*, XXII, 10–14) and enacted a number of other laws, ordered a history of the country to be drawn up (*Nihongi*, XXII, 32), etc. He is enshrined as the only *aidono-no-kami* in the Kotohira-gû, because he was a great devotee of the main Kami, Ô-mono-nushi.

Another Empress, Ame-toyo-takara-ikashi-hi-tarashi-hime, was married twice and twice mounted the Throne. The first time, as Kôgyoku (or Kwôg-yoku)-tenno, she reigned

from 642 to 645; the second time, as Saimeï-tennô, she reigned from 654 to 661. She was thus both the thirty-fifth and the thirty-seventh Sovereign of Japan, the intervening reign being that of Kôtoke-tennô, her younger brother. A great-granddaughter of Bidatsu-tennô, she was a staunch Buddhist, but had deep faith in many Kami;⁽⁵⁰⁾ she planned an expedition to Korea, but died before she could start. Under the name she bore during her life, she is worshipped as an *aïdono-no-kami* in the Asakura-jinja, to which she had come to offer worship in the seventh year of her reign.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Tenji (or Tenchi)-tennô, the thirty-eighth Emperor, reigned from 661 to 671, but under the name of Naka-no-ôe-no-ôji, as Prince Imperial, he had ‘really watched over the destinies of the nation from the time of the abdication of his august mother (in favour of whom, although heir apparent, he had stood aside), in 645, i.e. a period of twenty-seven years’. Even after his mother’s death, he waited six more years before ascending the throne. He ‘was probably more impressed by the philosophical teachings of Confucius than by the religious doctrines of either Shintô or Buddhism’. His object seems to have been ‘nothing less than the wholesale adoption of the civilization’ of the reigning Chinese Dynasty and the establishment of a strong central government.⁽⁵¹⁾ He is judged by one Western historian as ‘perhaps the ablest and certainly one of the most enlightened Sovereigns that ever sat on the throne of Japan’.⁽⁵²⁾ He was a great scholar and invented the clepsydra; this discovery is commemorated every year on June 10th in the Ô-mi-jingû by the Toki-no-ki-nembi, the day ‘in memory of time’. Tenji-tennô was largely responsible for the epoch-making Taikwa Reform, which covered questions of administrative organization, local administration, agrarian reform, census, taxation, etc.⁽⁵²⁾ He is the Kami of the Ô-mi-jingû (founded only about 1940) and of the Irië-jinja.

Kôbun-tennô, the thirty-ninth Emperor, reigned only eight months, in 671, before he was dispossessed by his uncle, Temmu-tennô, and lost his life. He is the Kami of the Ishiyama Goryô-jinja;⁽⁵¹⁾ the important Miidera Buddhist Temple was also founded in memory of him in 686. His wife, Toôchi-no-hime-miko, a daughter of Temmu-tennô, is the Kami of the Daïri-jinja.

Temmu-tennô, the fortieth Emperor, who reigned from 673 to 686, showed considerable activity in the field of religion. He filled the vacant post of Ise High-Priestess by appointing to it his daughter Ôku-naishinno, he rebuilt the temples of Ise and decreed that they should be rebuilt on alternative sites every twenty years, and regulated the Ônahe-no-matsuri (often erroneously called Ôname-saï) and later renamed Daïjô-saï, which became an essential part of the coronation ceremonies. He is credited with having erected the first permanent buildings of the two Kamo temples, of the Tatsuta-hiko-tatsuta-hime-jinja and others. He made enormous presents to the Sumiyoshi-taïsha, returned the Kusanagi-no-tsurugi to the Atsuta-jingû, etc.⁽⁵¹⁾

In the course of a difficult campaign, the armies of Temmu-tennô were favoured with Divine revelations:

‘When the army was at Kanatsunawi, Tome, Takechi-no-agata-nushi (Governor of the district of Takechi), suddenly had his mouth closed so that he could not speak. After three days, a divine inspiration came over him, and he said: “I am the Kami who dwells in the Temple of Takechi, and my name is Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami”. Again, “I am the Kami who dwells in the Temple of Musa, and my name is Iku-ikazuchi-no-kami”. This was their

revelation: “Let offerings of horses and weapons of all kinds be made at the *misasagi* of the Emperor Jimmu.” Further they said: “We stood in front and rear of the Imperial descendant and escorted him to Fuha, whence we re-turned. We have now again taken our stand in the midst of the Imperial army for its protection”. Further they said: “An army is about to arrive by the Western road. Be on your guard.”...Moreover, the Kami of Muraya (Mifutohime) said by the mouth of a priest: “An army is now about to arrive by the middle road of my temple. Therefore let the middle road of my temple be blocked.” “The prophecies all proved true, so the Emperor ‘commanded that the three Kami should be raised in rank and worshipped accordingly’.” (*Nihongi*, XXVIII, 21 f.).

In between two sets of the usual Imperial worship addressed to the Windkami of Tatsuta and to Waka-uka-no-me in Hirose, Temmu-tennô ordered ‘that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist Scriptures placed there. Worship was to be paid and offerings of food made at these shrines.’ (*Nihongi*, XXIX, 54). A new script was invented by command of the Emperor. (*Nihongi*, XXIX, 36). It was he also who ordered the *Kojiki* to be compiled under the presidency of his son Toneri-shinnô, as well as the famous code *Ômi-ryô*.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ He also had the courage and merit of making a clean sweep of all plebian indebtedness.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Temmu-tennô is the Kami of the Misu-no-jinja,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ the Temmu-tennô-sha and the Ogoto-jinja.

Empress Genshō, the forty-fourth Sovereign, occupied the throne from 715 to 723. She was a daughter of her predecessor, Empress Jitō. It was during her life that the *Nihongi* was completed. She is worshipped in the Yōrō-jinja, with Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami and Michizane Sugawara.

Junnin-tennô, the forty-seventh Emperor, who reigned from 758 to 765, was a grandson of Temmu-tennô. He was deposed by his predecessor, Empress Kōken, who had formerly abdicated on his behalf! He was exiled to the island of Awaji and strangled there in the following year.⁽³⁵⁰⁾ During his reign, an expedition to Korea was prepared, but later abandoned. His *misasagi*, about 370 metres in length and 145 in breadth, surrounded by a moat and covered with a dense grove full of singing birds, is a prominent feature of the island.⁽³⁵⁰⁾ He is the Kami of the Suga-jinja. His *ara-mitama* is the sole Kami of the Tennō-jinja on the island of Ahaji.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ In 1874, his *nigi-mitama* was added to Sutoku-tennô’s as a Kami in the Kyoto Shiramine-gû.

A son of Kōnin-tennô (the forty-ninth Emperor), Prince Sawara (757–785) was exiled for murder and committed suicide by starvation on the way to his place of exile. Although he never ascended the throne, he is worshipped under the name of Sudō-tennô in two different Sudō-jinja. Another of Kōnin-tennô’s sons, Prince Osakabe, is worshipped together with his daughter Tomi-hime in the Osakabe-jinja.

Kammu (or Kwammu)-tenno, the fiftieth Emperor, a son of his predecessor, reigned from 781 to 806. A highly cultured person, he had been a very efficient Principal of the University before he ascended the throne. In 794, with the main purpose of escaping from the excessive influence of the Buddhist monks in Nara, he moved the capital to Heian-kyō (or -jō), ‘the City of Peace’,⁽³⁵⁶⁾ which later came to be called Kyoto. He made the two Kamo temples the guardians of the capital.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ That was the beginning of the Heian period. He was responsible for introducing into Japan the cultivation of cotton;⁽⁵⁰²⁾ he abolished the

hereditary tenure of office by district governors,⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ and reorganized the financial and fiscal structure of the Empire. He had to wage a long and eventful war against the Aïnu.

The Heian-jingû was built in 1895 to commemorate the 1,100th anniversary of the foundation of Kyoto, with Kammu-tennô as its Kami. According to the *Jinja-kakuroku*, the four Kami of the Hirano-jinja are the ancestors of his mother, Takanu-no-niikasa.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ One of his descendants, Kamakura-gongorô-kagemasa, is the Kami of various Goryô-jinja. A temple was also erected by Kammu-tennô in Awaji to his younger brother, whom he had exiled there and who 'died' there.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾

Seiwa-tennô, the fifty-sixth Emperor, who was only eight years old when he ascended the throne in 858, abdicated in 876 to become a Buddhist monk. He is the Kami of the Seiwa-tennô-sha.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ His seventh son, Prince Sadatoki, is one of the *aïdono-no-kami* of the Ushijima-jinja.

Daigo-tennô, the sixtieth Emperor, occupied the throne from 898 to 930. He was responsible for the composition of the valuable *Engi-shiki*, one of our main sources for the history of Shintô. His reign produced a great many scholars and was exceptionally rich in literary masterpieces; it is generally known as the Engi era of enlightenment.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ He founded the Nakono-jinja, with Susano-wo, Kushi-inada-hime and two others as Kami.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

Shirakawa-tennô, the seventy-second Emperor, followed the practice of *in-sei*, i.e. abdicated and became a Buddhist monk, but nevertheless continued to rule in fact. He reigned from 1072 to 1086 and remained the real ruler of the Empire until his death in 1129. He is reported to have practiced *mitama-shizume-no-matsuri* very frequently,⁽¹²²⁾ but he was above all a staunch Buddhist; he strictly enforced the injunction against the taking of all life, had thousands of fishing-nets burnt and proscribed hunting and hawking; he spent immense sums on temple-building and religious ceremonies of all kinds.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ He was recently added to the Kami of the Iso-no-kami-jingû,⁽⁵⁾ for which he had always shown deep respect, and to the buildings of which he had contributed the *heiden*.⁽¹²²⁾

Sutoku-tennô, the seventy-fifth Emperor, ascended the throne in 1123, at the age of five, and abdicated when he was twenty-two. He tried to repossess himself of the throne in 1156, but failed, was banished to Sanuki, and died there in 1164.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ His *misasagi* is on the summit of Mount Shiramine.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ He is the Kami of the Kagawa-ken Shiramine-gû, founded in the very year of his death and in the following year he replaced Ô-mono-nushi in the Kagawa-ken Kotohira-gû. He is also, under the name of Kennin-tennô, one of the Kami of the Tamachi Yasaka-jinja. His *nigi-mitama* was the first Kami to be enshrined in the Kyoto Shiramine-gû, erected in 1868. His *ara-mitama* is the sole Kami in the Sakaïde Shiramine-gû.

Go-shirakawa-tennô, the seventy-seventh Emperor, is enshrined in the Ima-hië-jinja; his mistress Eishi Takahashi is worshipped under the name of Tango-no-tsubone in two different Hanawo-jinja in Kagoshima-ken, in the company of Yoritomo Minamoto.

Antoku-tennô, the eighty-first Emperor, mounted the throne at the age of three, in 1177, and met an early and tragic death. During the great naval battle of Dan-no-ura against the Minamoto clan, the fleet of the Taira, of which one of the ships carried the young Emperor, was routed. Antoku's grandmother (*nii-no-ama*), Junkô-nihon, or according to some sources, a Lady-in-waiting, Azechi-no-tsubone, jumped into the sea, holding the child in her arms. In the latter version, the lady was rescued with boat-hooks, but in both the Emperor was drowned.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾

There are however, in various parts of Japan, widely-accepted traditions according to which the young Emperor was saved and lived to a ripe old age.⁽¹²²⁾ One of the best-grounded of those traditions holds that he once had a palace (of which remains were unearthed in 1924) on what is at present the islet of Itsukushima at the entrance to the Bay of Fukura in Awaji, and that he died in the islands of Tsushima, between Korea and Japan, aged seventy. It is even rumoured that many letters from him, dated from Tsushima, were discovered, also about 1924, in long neglected archives of the Jaku-in in Kyôto.⁽²⁵⁹⁾

Antoku-tennô is the Kami of the Akama-jingû, which was completely destroyed by American bombers. When it was reconstructed, the gate was built in the *ryû-gû* (dragon-palace) style, on account of the way the Emperor had died; the idea was taken from a poem by Shôken-kotaïgô, the Empress of Meiji-tennô.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ He shares with his mother (Koreïmon-in) and with Ameno-minaka-nushi the *honden* of the Kurume Suiten-gû, which gave *bun-rei* to many temples, including the Tokyo Suiten-gû, where he is worshipped as the ‘Kami governing water’.⁽¹²²⁾ He also shares the *honden* of the Tsurugi-jinja with Susano-wo and Ô-yama-tsu-mi.⁽¹²²⁾

Gotoba-tennô, the eighty-second Emperor, received the Imperial dignity in 1183 at the age of five, ‘assumed the supreme direction of affairs’ in 1192 and abdicated in 1198 at the age of twenty. He was a most remarkable character and, in spite of his tender years, proved a great statesman. To quote a Scottish historian, who makes full allowance for ‘the terrible and regrettable irregularities of his private life’, ‘his great claim to fame is his eagerness to *know*, and his cheerful willingness to undergo any toil or drudgery—no matter how menial or repulsive—necessary for the attainment of excellence in any of the multifarious arts, pastimes and occupations which successively attracted his attention and absorbed his energy. He was at once poet, musician, sword-smith, a great hunter and many other things besides. A great patron of cock-fighting, horse-racing, of the wrestling-ring, of archery with fugitive dogs as moving targets, he was also addicted to betting and gambling; in short he had all the vices and not a few of the virtues of what is known in the slang of certain modern circles as “a good sport”. In sport—or sports—as in almost any individual thing on which he chose to concentrate his attention for the time being, he quickly and readily achieved mastery and proficiency.’⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ He is the Kami of the Minase-jingû. His tomb is on the island of Oki, to which he was banished; it was set in the sixth year of Meiji in Nakanoshima, on the slope of a low hill, where it is marked by a dignified but very simple large slab of grey rock in a piece of ground shaded by pines and surrounded by a stockade of heavy wooden posts painted black.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

Juntoku-tennô (1197–1242), the eighty-fourth Emperor, was a son of Gotoba-tennô. He spent the last twenty-two years of his life in exile on the island of Sado, on which a column, in Koïga-ura, marks the place of his landing.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ He is the Kami of the Mano-gû, founded on the same island in 1874.⁽¹²²⁾ He is also reported to be worshipped, with Gotoba-tennô and Go-tsuchi-mikado-tennô, in the Minase-jingû.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Godai-go-tennô, the ninety-sixth Emperor, ascended the throne in 1318, at the age of thirty-one. In 1332, he was deposed and banished to the island of Oki, but soon escaped from it. During the following few years, he effected considerable reforms, which history knows as the Kemmu restoration, but in 1337 he had to take to flight, and died a few months later. He is often spoken of as one of the ‘three great Emperors of Japan’.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ It would seem that several original temples have him as their Kami. One of them is at the top

of a hill in Oki, where Lafcadio Hearn found it in a state of great neglect.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ In Nara now stands the Yoshino-jingû, which was transferred in 1889 from the Yoshimizu-jinja,⁽¹²²⁾ and in Tsuyama is the Sakura-jingû. A ‘handsome monument of stone’ was erected in Yonago to the memory of his daughter, Princess Hinako-naishinnô, who died while attempting to follow him.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

Various temples also stand to the memory and worship of several of his many faithful sons. The eldest, Morinaga-shinnô, who had been Prince-Abbot of the huge and warlike Hieï-san Buddhist monastery, was captured by his enemies, the Ashikaga, who imprisoned and later murdered him in a cave near Kamakura. His tomb is on a nearby hill. In front of the cave, Emperor Meiji erected the first temple built during his reign, the Kamakura-gû, to carry out a decision taken by his father; the Kami is of course Morinaga-shinnô; a *sessha* is dedicated to his wife Okata Minamino. The Emperor’s second son, Takanaga-shinnô, who, at the age of twenty-four had been appointed ‘Shôgun to subdue the East’, and his eighth son, Tsunenaga-shinnô, are the two Kami of the Kanegasaki-gû, founded in 1890. His fourth son, Munenaga-shinnô, is the Kami of the Inoya-gû, and still another son, Kanenaga-shinnô, is the Kami of the Yashiro-gû.

Chôkeï-tennô, the ninetyeth Emperor, reigned from 1368 to 1372, in very difficult times, and finally abdicated in favour of his brother. Some historians do not count him in the list of Emperors.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ That may be why the temple to him, the Shishô-jinja,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ does not bear the usual title of *-gû*.

Go-tsuchi-mikado-tennô, the 103rd Emperor, who reigned from 1464 to 1500, also lived in troubled times. After his death a period of forty days had to elapse before sufficient funds could be collected to perform his funeral! He is reported to be worshipped, with Gotoba-tennô and Juntoku-tennô, in the Minase-jingû.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Komeï-tennô, the 121st Emperor, who reigned from 1846 to 1866, is the one who, much against his will, had to ratify (in 1865) the treaties signed by the Shôgun with the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, Russia and the Netherlands between 1854 and 1857. As the last Emperor who retained the capital of the Empire in Kyoto, he was added as a Kami to Emperor Kammu (who had installed the capital in Kyoto) in the Heïan-jingû in 1940.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Nothing need be said here about the 122nd Emperor, Meiji-tennô, who reigned from 1867 to 1912. He was the founder of modern Japan and his activities form an important and well-known part of world-history. A magnificent temple, the Meiji-jingû, was erected to him between 1915 and 1920, but was destroyed by American bombers on April 1, 1945. One hundred and ten thousand volunteers took part in its reconstruction, which was finished recently. His Empress, Shôken-kotaigô, shares the *honden* with him. The celebration of the Emperor Meiji’s birthday, on November 3rd, draws millions of people into the temple’s vast precincts.

No temple has been erected to Taishô-tennô, the 123rd Emperor, who reigned from 1912 to 1926.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE HACHIMAN CYCLE*

IT seems probable that in a very remote past worship was offered to a Kami called Hachiman, although we find no mention of him in the Scriptures. More specifically, this Kami probably bore the name of Hime-gami, or Hime-ô-kami, and the cult seems to have had its centre in Usa (Kyûshû). I was never able to discover any jinja dedicated exclusively to that Hime-gami as such, and I was officially informed that at present there is none.

According to certain traditions, Hime-gami was a single Goddess,⁽⁷⁵⁾ but the more commonly admitted opinion is that the name designated three Goddesses collectively,⁽⁸¹⁾ those who are now worshipped in Munakata and whom we shall discuss later (cf. p. 438ff. below).

Some modern—and modern-minded—scholars hold that the original Hime-gami was really a priestess who gave oracles, and they are inclined to believe that in remote parts of Japan there may still be ancient shrines where she is worshipped.⁽¹⁴²⁾

In addition to the many jinja in which the Munakata-no-kami are the main or the only objects of worship, Hime-gami also occupies an important although comparatively secondary place in the almost innumerable shrines devoted to Ôjin-tennô, who for every Japanese is—and always was—the only real and true Hachiman. This opinion is so widespread that in some of those Hachiman-gû, as they are called, even the priests emphatically ignore the existence of any Hachiman prior to Ôjin-tennô⁽⁵⁶⁾ or, at least, say that they have no idea as to who he may have been.⁽¹⁷³⁾

* * *

Who was Emperor Ôjin?

His father Chûai-tennô (in his lifetime Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko), who was a son of the famous Yamato-take (*Nihongi*, VII, 34) and ascended the throne in A.D. 192, was apparently born under an unlucky star for he was left an orphan when still a child and, in the first year of his reign, he had to put to death his half-brother, prince Gama-mi-wake, etc. In his posthumous name was included the word *ai* which means to be sad, afflicted.⁽³²²⁾ In 197, he came to the present site of the Imi-no-miya-jinja, and lived there for seven years. According to the tradition of some Hachiman-gû, either in 197 or at the end of his reign, his realm was harassed by pirates from Korea, and in order to protect it against such attacks, he planned a punitive expedition against the kingdom of Silla from which the aggressors came.⁽⁵⁴⁾ According to another tradition, a Korean kingdom, called Mimana, applied for Japanese help to oppose an

* Where not otherwise specified, the substance of this chapter was drawn from Books VIII—X of the *Nihongi* and from two books which most Japanese consider as authoritative on this subject:⁽²¹⁵⁾ the *Hachiman-gu-dô-kun* (a series of talks for children which were written during the Kamakura era), and Professor Miyaji's recent learned book on Hachiman, *Hachiman-gû no Kenkyû*.

invasion from a more powerful neighbour.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Neither the *Kojiki* nor the *Nihongi*, however, make any reference to these justifications and they give entirely different versions of the reasons which prompted the Imperial Court to send a fleet to Korea.

Chûai-tennô's Empress, Jingû (merits)-kôgô (in her lifetime Okinaga-tarashi-hime-no-mikoto, also called sometimes, as in Mitsumine, Kehi-tarashi-hime-no-mikoto) was a great-granddaughter of Emperor Kaikwa, but probably had Korean ancestors.⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾ Chûai married her after first espousing an Imperial consort who was not raised to Imperial rank.

The ancestry of Jingû-kôgô is connected with a strange and probably meaningful string of events which is reported by the *Kojiki* (II, cxiv f.) to have taken place 'of old': In the land of Shiragi, apparently outside the borders of Japan, on the banks of the Aju lagoon, a poor girl was one day enjoying a midday siesta when the rays of the sun penetrated into her private parts and made her pregnant. In due time she gave birth to a 'red jewel'. A poor man who had watched her while she was thus being inseminated asked her for the jewel, which she readily gave him. He wrapped it up and kept it attached to his loins.

Some time later, as he was taking food, loaded on a cow's back, for his labourers on a rice field which he had planted at the foot of a mountain, he met Ame-no-hi-boko, a child of the ruler of the country, who blamed him for overloading the cow and wanted to put him into jail. The accused man pleaded for mercy and bought his freedom by surrendering the 'red jewel', which the ruler's son took home with him and placed beside his couch. Forthwith it was transformed into a beautiful maiden, whom he straightway wedded and made his chief wife. Then the maiden perpetually prepared all sorts of dainties, with which she constantly fed her husband. So the ruler's child grew proud in his heart and reviled his wife. But the woman said: 'I am not a woman who ought to be the wife of such as thou. I will go to the land of my ancestors.' And forthwith she secretly embarked in a boat and fled away to Japan, landing at Naniha, where she is worshipped under the name of Akaru-hime in the Hime-goso-jinja.

Ame-no-hi-boko pursued his wife, but the Kami presiding over the straits of Naniha prevented his entrance, and so he landed at Tajima, where he married a local princess. He is the Kami of the Izushi-jinja. Six or seven generations later, his descendant was Okinaga-tarashi-hime, who was to become Jingû-kôgô. Ame-no-hi-boko had also brought with him the 'eight precious treasures' which were preserved and worshipped as the Eight Kami of Izushi: two strings of beads, a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, a wind-cutting scarf, a mirror of the offspring and a mirror of the shore.

According to an interpretation given by Motoôri, those 'eight treasures' (or that eightfold treasure) took the form of a young man who became the father of another Kami, Idzushi-wotome-no-kami,⁽³⁴⁸⁾ to whom another interesting myth attaches (*Kojiki*, II, cxvi): The latter Kami, the 'Maiden of Idzushi', was sought in marriage by no less than eighty Kami, but none of them could win her. Among them were two brothers, Aki-yama-no-shita-biwotoko (Youth-of-the-glow-on-the-autumn-mountains) and Haru-yama-no-kasumi-wotoko (Youth-of-the-haze-on-the-spring-mountains). Aki-yama, the elder of the two, challenged his younger brother to win the maiden, and waged his 'upper and lower garments, a jar of liquor of his own height and all the things of the mountains and the rivers' that he would fail. In the space of one night, however, their mother prepared for Haru-yama a complete set of clothes and a bow and arrows, everything made from wistaria-fibre. And when the young Kami reached the girl's house, all his equipment turned into wistaria-blossom which

he hung in the toilet. When the maiden of Idzushi saw them, she wondered and took them into her room. Unnoticed, the Kami followed—and wedded the princess, who in due time was delivered of one child.

The elder brother, bitterly disappointed, declined to pay what he had wagered. Haru-yama complained to their mother who, with the help of various magical devices, pronounced a terrible curse on Aki-yama. The latter ‘dried up, withered, sickened and lay prostrate for the space of eight years’. But the mother finally yielded to her son’s supplications, and ‘his body became sound as it had been before’.

From the earliest part of her life about which we have reports, Jingû-kôgô appears to have shown a most independent personality. On one occasion, she undertook a long sea-voyage with a large retinue to meet her husband and, en route, she even worked miracles which are still commemorated every year, not only by mankind, but also by fish.

Very soon afterwards, she found on a beach in Toyora a ‘large-sized pearl, *nyoi*, which traditionally contains the *mani*, one of the seven Buddhist jewels.’⁽³²²⁾ Another curious legend attaches to this pearl. It is said that Ambassadors from China had offered the Queen a metal bell, a wooden bell and a crystal ball—which is the said ‘pearl’. The latter was seized through magic devices by the daughter of the Dragon-king. But the Empress’s Prime Minister managed to marry the daughter of a fisherman, a girl who was an exceptional swimmer. The girl tied herself to a cord, the other end of which was held by her husband, took a sword and dived. She managed to seize the gem, but all the dragons came in hot pursuit. She knew, however, that dragons cannot touch a corpse, so she ripped open her abdomen, hid the gem in it and pulled on the cord. The corpse was brought to the surface, with the gem. The Empress made her Tama-tori-hime, ‘the Princess of the recovered jewel’.

After being long preserved in the Nankû of Nishinomiya, that gem is now one of the treasures kept in the Hirota-jinja, also in Nishinomiya,⁽¹²⁷⁾ alongside with a large painting which represents Jingû-kôgô holding the pearl (*shen*) and another object (*ken*) which looks like a sword.

If we follow the first version offered by the *Nihongi*, Chûai-tennô was planning to conquer the country of the Kumaso, a people who had already given considerable trouble to his ancestor Keikô-tennô (*Nihongi*, VII, 6, 18), when ‘a certain Kami’ spoke to Jingû-kôgô and advised him against such an undertaking, as it could yield no valuable result. He insisted that the Emperor’s forces should instead attack the country of Silla, which had immense wealth in gold, silver and all sorts of treasures. But Chûai-tennô had never heard of that kingdom, and even refused to be convinced that it existed. In defiance of the Kami’s pressing injunctions, he went on with his plans, attacked the Kumaso and was defeated. He died shortly afterwards, at the early age of fifty-two (*Kojiki*, II, ciii), perhaps from wounds received on the battlefield, or perhaps on the very same day when he had impiously refused to obey the Kami. (*Kojiki*, II, xcvi). As might be expected, the temples in which Chûai-tennô is worshipped apparently know nothing either of the scepticism he showed or of the punishment meted out to him.

According to another version, four Kami had spoken jointly through Jingû-kôgô’s mouth: Wa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, and Mukahitsu-no-wo-kiki-so-ôfu (meaning uncertain)-itsu (five, or solemn, or illuminating)-no-mitama (divine soul)-hayasa-nobori (quickly steamed up, or fiercely

promoted)-no-mikoto. Practically nothing is known of the last-named Kami, but we are already familiar with the first three, who were born of Izanagi's purification, and whose worship is still carried on with great fervour in the many Sumiyoshi-jinja; they specifically instructed the Empress to set up a temple to their *ara-mitama* in the village of Yamada (Nagato, Yamaguchi-ken) and one to their *nigi-mitama* in the village of Nagawo (Settsu, Ôsaka-fu).

The imperative nature of the Kami's command to conquer Silla was fully confirmed to the Empress both by the sudden demise of her husband and by another oracle, given by the self-same Kami, according to which the child she was then bearing (she had already borne one, Prince Homuda-wake) was to achieve what his father had failed to do.

She decided to keep the Emperor's death secret, a plan in which she was supported by the Prime Minister, Take-no-uchi-no-sukune (sometimes pronounced Takeshi-uchi-no-sukune). That great statesman, who held the same office under several successive rulers, was a direct descendant of Takakuraji, who rendered most valuable assistance to Jimmu-tennô. He is credited with having lived for 300 years, or even, according to some, for 500 years.⁽²³⁴⁾ It was one of his direct descendants, Gyôkyô, a Buddhist priest in the Daian-ji, who was instrumental in founding the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû and, for that reason, a *sessha* dedicated to Take-no-uchi-no-sukune can always be found behind the *honden* of all jinja which have a *bun-rei* of the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû.

The Empress and the minister had the august remains removed to the palace of Toyura (Anato) where they were provisionally buried. For seven days and seven nights Jingû-kôgô then officiated in person at a religious function held in a specially-built worship-hall in Woyamada to cleanse herself and the country of whatever faults might have been committed.

The first Kami who had spoken to her then revealed herself as a Goddess: Tsuki-sakaki (established divine trees?)-itsu-no-mitama-ama-zakaru (remote in Heaven)-mukatsu (oriented)-hime-no-mikoto. This time she was in the company of many other Kami, prominent among whom was the 'majestic'⁽¹⁴²⁾ (some translators prefer to say 'awful') Koto-shiro-nushi, 'who rules in Heaven, who rules in the Void, the-gem-casket-entering-prince' (cf. p. 343f. above). Jingû-kôgô worshipped them with the appropriate rites.

She also climbed to the top of Mount Miyachitake—which may be the *goryô* (tumulus) of her mother—and there she prayed to the local Kami and to the Munakata-no-kami for a period of mourning which lasted twenty-one days, during which she heard another oracle.⁽¹³⁰⁾ That may also be the time when she became *kami-gakari* (possessed by the Kami) and danced as a *miko* before the shrine.⁽¹⁹²⁾ According to another source, the Empress went through several successive stages of supraconscience: She was first *kami-yori-tamaëriki* (approached by the Kami), then *kami-gakari-shite* (possessed by the Kami), and later, 'choosing a lucky day, she went into the purification shrine and became *kannushi-to-naritamô* (actually possessed), and the way of it was this: giving orders to her Prime Minister, Take-no-uchi, she called him to play upon the august harp'.⁽⁵⁰⁹⁾

As we have seen, it is also reported that Jingû-kôgô entertained the Kami of the Iku-kuni-tama-jinja by giving them a demonstration of shooting.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

After which she set to work. First of all she disposed of possible foes in and around her empire. A rapid military expedition ensured the submission of the troublesome Kumaso.

She vanquished and put to death both a rebel princess, Tabura-tsu-hime, and a giant winged robber, Hashiro-kuma-washi, who had been a dangerous neighbour.

Then she did what was required to ensure that, in her enterprise, she would be duly protected by the proper Kami, whoever they might be. The customary way was to resort to divination. She proceeded to it first of all in Matsura, where she fished a trout (*ayu*) with a line made from threads which she had pulled from her garment, a hook made with a bent needle, and with paddy for bait. (According to the *Kojiki*, this was done when she returned from Korea). Not very long ago, at that same place, during the first ten days of the fourth month, women could still catch trout in the same way, while men always failed.

In order to prepare for a solemn propitiatory sacrifice, she ploughed a rice-field and turned away a river; the Kami were so helpful that they blasted with lightning a big rock standing in the way of the canal she had dug for the waters of the river.

As a further means of divination, on the beach of Kashii, she plunged into the sea to find whether when she emerged her hair would be divided into two equal masses, like that of warriors (cf. p. 289 above). In this also she was successful.

It is reported that the Spirit of the Mountain gave Jingû-kôgô wood and iron, the Spirit of Fields and the Spirit of Grass grain and hemp, the Sea-kami magic jewels, and that the Wind-god promised to blow the ships.⁽³⁵⁶⁾

She then dressed in men's attire and started the actual military preparations. As she found it difficult to assemble a sufficient number of men, she founded in Tsukushi a *bunsha* (branch-temple) of the Ô-miwa-taïsha, whereupon the army was formed without further difficulty.

Fishing-boats were sent out to reconnoitre, and one of the chiefs of the 'tribes of mariners'⁽¹⁴²⁾ sighted across the Ocean a cloud-girt mountain. 'A certain Kami'—who may or may not have been the Sumiyoshi-no-kami or the Munakata-no-kami—then informed Jingû-kôgô that his *ara-mitama* would guide the fleet while his *nigi-mitama* would protect her personally. She took her battle-lance, gave her personal instructions to the three divisions of her army, and on the third day of the tenth month the fleet set sail.

But eight months had now elapsed since the death of Chûai-tennô, and the time for the birth of his posthumous child was drawing near; in order to put it off until her return to Japan, the Empress fixed a heavy stone on her abdomen.

The ships were in fact escorted by several Kami, prominent among whom were the three Sumiyoshi-no-kami and Take-mi-nakata-no-kami, the younger brother of Koto-shiro-nushi, who, as we saw, is the main Kami of the Suwa-taïsha. They were also accompanied by 'all the denizens of the sea', who, according to the *Kojiki*, went so far as to carry the flagship on their backs. In the Shika-umi-jinja, one can still see two stone tortoises which formed part of the team.^{(10)*} According to a slightly less miraculous version, strong winds blew, and the Kami of the sea raised great waves in which big fish helped the fleet to advance, so that the sailors did never need to resort to their oars.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The sea further obliged by flooding the coast so as to announce by a prodigy the arrival of the assailants.

Struck with awe, the Koreans did not offer the least resistance. The kings of Silla (or Shiragi), Koryô and Pëkché forthwith surrendered, handed to the Empress the geographical

* It may be interesting to note that, in an earlier age, the Emperor Suinin had changed a tortoise into stone by hitting it with his spear. (*Nihongi*, VI, 21).

maps and a complete cadastral survey of their respective countries and promised to pay a heavy yearly tribute.

Jingû-kôgô appointed the Sumiyoshi-no-kami's *ara-mitama* who had escorted her guardians of the country and, not many years ago, one could still see in the small harbour of Gensen a stone-slab which may have been set up by Jingû-kôgô herself and on which those Kami are designated as the Protectors of the Country.⁽²¹⁵⁾

The Empress returned to Japan two months (or, according to some⁽²¹⁵⁾ only one month) after setting forth. On the place, near Hyôgô, where she landed, a temple was erected, the Umi-jinja, of which she is the sole Kami, and to which a giant torii standing in the sea was recently added.

On the fourth day of the twelfth month of the year 200, i.e. ten months and ten days after the death of her husband, she gave birth to a son, who was to become Ôjin-tennô. The peculiar circumstances which preceded his birth earned for him the name of Hara-no-naka-no-sumera-mikoto, 'Emperor from the time when he was in his mother's womb'⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾ (cf. *Nihongi*, XVIII, 11).

On the place of his birth now stands the imposing Umi-hachiman-gû. One can still see the sacred well from which water was drawn for his first bath (*ubuyu*) and the camphor-tree which provided the leaves for that bath, the other camphor-tree on which the bath-towels were hung out to dry. On the big panel above the gate of the *haïden*, one may read: 'The Kami is worshipped everywhere, but he always resides in the place of his birth', and the local people have no doubt that the Emperor is still dwelling among them. The temple community has a custom according to which, in memory of Jingû-kôgô's parturition, women who are going to give birth to a child take a stone from a sacred heap and put another one there instead, repeating the rite after their child has been born.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

Another temple, one of the three largest Hachiman-gû in Japan, the Hakozaki-gû, was founded in the eleventh century near the spot where the umbilical cord of the young prince had been buried. The reasons why the Kami (Ôjin-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and Tama-yori-hime) came there and how they arrived is a highly controversial matter; some explanations are historical, others religious, and others spiritual.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

During the remainder of her long life, Jingû-kôgô had to fight various rebel princes, among them the two sons born to her husband by his first wife.

In the sphere of religion, she founded a number of temples, several of which have retained considerable importance to this day. In 199 she had already built the Kashii-gû in which to worship Chûai-tennô.⁽⁷⁵⁾ On her return from Korea, she founded four temples in the Kôbe-Ôsaka region: the Ikuta-jinja around the year 210,⁽⁶⁸⁾ the Nagata-jinja, the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja and the Sumiyoshi-taïsha. In Moji-shi (Fukuoka-ken) she also established the Mekari-jinja.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

The 'Great Empress'—a title which was given to her by her ministers in the year 201—died in 269, at the age of one hundred years.

It is a strange thing that her name is not found in the official list of the Emperors of Japan, where her son bears the serial number immediately following that of her husband.

Jingû-kôgô is worshipped in a very large number of temples; in most cases she is associated with her son (cf. p. 434ff. below). Very often she is enshrined under her name of Okinaga-tarashi-hime; such is the case in the Togi-hachiman-gû, the Kameyama-jinja, the Himure-hachiman-gû, the Shinzenchô Hachiman-gû, the Shikawa-mura Hachiman-gû,

etc. Two of her brothers (or vassals?), Katsumura-no-ô-kami and Katsuyori-no-ô-kami, are worshipped with her in the Miyachitake-jinja. The Itate-hyôzu-jinja has for one of its Kami Itate-no-kami who is believed to have guarded the front of Jingû-kôgô's ship.

* * *

On the first day of the first month of the year following her death, the posthumous son of Chûaï-tennô, then aged seventy, ascended the throne. While he was still heir-designate to the crown, he had exchanged names with the great Kami of Tsutsuhi (or Tsunaga),⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ Izasa (meaning uncertain)-wake (local governor)-no-mikoto. From then on he bore the name of Homuda-wake-no-mikoto, a name under which he is worshipped in a large proportion—possibly a majority—of his temples: the Shikawa-mura Hachiman-gû, the Kameyama-jinja, the Shinzen-chô Hachiman-gû, the Ushikubo-machi Hachiman-sha, the Tomozawa-machi Hachiman-jinja, the Kinomiya-hachiman-jinja, the Toden of the Nibukawakami-jinja, the Togi-hachiman-gû, the Hachiman-akita-jinja, the Ogano-machi Hachiman-jinja, the Katami-jinja, and many others. History and Shintô, however, know him under the name of Ôjin, which may be interpreted as meaning ‘answering the will of the Kami’.^(215,122) According to the Scriptures, he was from his very childhood remarkably intelligent, penetrating and far-sighted and he showed exceptional signs of wisdom in all his behaviour. Accepting the oracle to which we have already referred, they also give him credit for the conquest of ‘the three Han’, the three Korean kingdoms, in which he took part while in his mother’s womb.

Strangely enough, that Emperor who was later to be worshipped as the ‘god of war’ seems never to have embarked upon any military expedition after his birth. His wives and concubines bore to him twenty sons and daughters according to the *Nihongi*, twenty-six according to the *Kojiki*.

During the forty years of his reign, he consistently showed great kindness to all. He was never reported as having caused the death of a foe or chastised a rebel. His mother’s prime minister, Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, who was very old at the time, having been accused of high-treason by his own brother, Ôjin-tennô had recourse to the ordeal of boiling water, and the great statesman emerged guiltless. On another occasion he invited to the court a young lady, Kami-naga(long-hair)-hime, who was famous for her beauty, evidently with the intention of marrying her, but when he noticed the admiration with which the Crown-prince—who was to become the Emperor Nintoku—looked at her, he immediately withdrew and yielded her to his heir.

But Ôjin-tennô’s reign was mostly remarkable for what he did to raise the standard of living and the cultural level of his people. The scriptures tell us that he built roads and dug large tanks for irrigating the fields, that he built a fleet of five hundred ships of an entirely new type, as light and swift as steeds. He obtained from Korea twelve of the greatest Chinese classics (*Kojiki*, II, ex) and the greatest expert in Chinese culture, Wang-in, ‘who was able to read all books without an exception’; he made Wang-in the private tutor of the Crown-prince. He also obtained from Korea one smith, one weaver, one distiller of wine and, on various occasions, dressmakers expert in the art of making clothes. No wonder the Japanese still consider him as the greatest promoter of culture and progress whom they ever had before Emperor Meiji—and it is sad to note that an American historian of Japan,

H.M.Gowen, terms him “insignificant” and devotes to him only two lines out of 460 pages in which he only credits him with setting up a few corporations (*be*).

* * *

Several centuries after his death, something most extraordinary happened to Ôjin-tennô. On the present site of the Usa-hachiman-gû, on the mountain slope, are three wells, now respectfully fenced in, where the villagers used to fetch water for their daily needs. Now, they only draw from them in cases of famine when, after they have worshipped them, they spread the water on their fields. The reason why they have become so holy is closely connected with Hachiman.

In the sixth century, a time came when seven out of ten people who came there were struck down by disease and soon died. A holy man, Oga-no-higi, came to pray and purify the place with appropriate rites. Then a Kami, in the shape of a three-year-old child, appeared before him and said: ‘I am the soul of Honda-no-yawata-marô’. Now, during his life-time, Emperor Ôjin had been known under the name of Honda-no-sumera-mikoto. It was decided that the word Yawata (or Yahata)—which does not seem to have been known before that time—corresponded to the Chinese ideogram generally read as Hachiman, and of which it was said to be ‘the Japanese pronunciation’. That was taken as a conclusive proof that Ôjin-tennô was, and ever had been, Hachiman.

According to some sources, the revelation was really made to Himiko, queen of Yamato-ô-koku, i.e. Japan, after she had performed *kidô*,⁽⁸¹⁾ which is generally understood to mean occult practices in connection with demons,⁽¹²²⁾ but among the clergy of the Hachiman-gû, there is practically nobody who accepts that version.

The word Yawata is still to be found in the name of the Yahata-jinja, a Hachiman shrine in Yamagata-shi.⁽¹²²⁾ A number of different etymologies have been offered for it, each one of which is taken to give additional evidence in support of the identity discovered between Ôjin and Hachiman. Thus it has been stated that *-wata* is equivalent to *hata* which means both ‘field’ and ‘weaving’, and also ‘flag’, and that this proves that the agricultural Kami originally worshipped under the name of Hachiman is in fact Ôjin-tennô,⁽⁸¹⁾ we shall see later another etymology suggested for *-wata*.

The assimilation was finally confirmed by the fact that Ôjin-tennô clearly showed in his life-time that he had the very gifts or powers (*go-shintoku*) which specifically belonged to Hime-gami, the goddess most commonly worshipped originally under the name of Hachiman.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

It should be noted in passing that, according to some authors, Ôjin-tennô was admitted to be Hachiman only under the reign of Seiwa-tennô, in the ninth century⁽⁵⁹²⁾ or under Saga-tennô, a few decades later.⁽¹⁴²⁾

However that may be, the identification was accepted with surprising readiness and does not seem to have met with either opposition or scepticism. One reason may be that, according to some authorities, ‘it was an established fact that Hachiman was an Imperial Ancestor’⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ and that the only innovation was to specify which.

This Hachiman-Ôjin relationship is most remarkable, and perhaps unique in the combined histories of all great religions. It is neither the deification of a more or less historical person, nor the descent of a divine Being into a human body.

Another no less remarkable thing is that the worship offered to Hachiman in his extremely numerous temples is comparatively very seldom directed to Ôjin-tennô alone. We may mention the Kinomiya-hachiman-jinja (where he is nevertheless in the company of a local Kami, Iwakara-wake-no-mikoto), the Sakura-yama Hachiman-gû, the Minami-Bugeni Hachiman-jinja, the Mino-shi Hachiman-jinja, the Miya-maë Hachiman-jinja, the Nihonmatsu-chô Hachiman-jinja, the Tomazawa-machi Hachiman-jinja, the Hachiman-sha (a subsidiary shrine of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû), the Kuzu-hachiman-gu, the Takayama-shi Hachiman-jinja, the Bugi-gun Hachiman-jinja, the Hara Hachiman-jinja, the Nishi-ji-hachiman-gû.

Occasionally Ôjin-tennô is coupled with Jingû-kôgô (as in the Shinzen-chô Hachiman-gû), or with Chûai-tennô (as in the Kôzu-no-miya), or with Nintoku-tennô (as in the Ushikubo-machi Hachiman-sha).

But most Hachiman temples are dedicated to three Kami collectively, of which he is only one, the other two varying with the temples, but the three of them being considered *collectively* as Hachiman.

The triad is frequently composed of Ôjin-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and Chûai-tennô, as in the Togi-hachiman-gû, the Kameyama-jinja, etc. In some cases other Kami are added to the triad: Nintoku-tennô in the Hachiman-asami-jinja, Tama-yori-hime and Take-uchi-no-sukune in the Ôsumi-machi Hachi-man-jinja.

A still more frequent group of three, however, is composed of Ôjin-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and the Hime-gami. Such is the case in the Hakozaki-gû (where it is specified that Hime-gami is Tama-yori-hime), the Nakahara-hachiman-gû, the Sotogawa-machi Hachiman-jinja, the Himure-hachiman-gû, the Sakataru-jinja (where they are in the company of Ô-yama-tsu-mi and Kura-ina-tama), the Hachiman-akita-jinja (where three Lords of Satake were added to them recently), the Habu Hachiman-jinja. In this same group should probably also be included the Kohama-shi Hachiman-jinja, where Ôjin-tennô and Jingû-kôgô are in the company of Tagiri-hime, Takitsu-hime and Ichikisbima-hime listed independently from each other.

In some rare cases, the triad is composed of Ôjin-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and Take-uchi-no-sukune, as in the Shikawa-mura Hachiman-gû. In the Fukura Hachiman-gû, it is composed of Ôjin-tennô, Nintoku-tennô and Take-no-uchi-no-sukune. I even found one temple, the Sano Hachiman-jinja, where the three Kami are Ôjin-tennô, Chûai-tennô and Sujin-tennô.

The inseparability of the members of the triad is clearly shown by the fact that branch-temples which have the *bun-rei* of one of the main Hachiman-gû treat it in most cases as one Kami, and often have no precise idea as to whether the Kami is really one or three, and, in the latter case, who are the three. They just worship Hachiman and treat questions about his precise identity as more or less irrelevant. There are even main temples where the Kami is simply Hachiman-ô-kami without any further specification. Such is the case in the Hase Hachiman-sha (where he is associated with the 'local' Kami, Ubusuna-no-kami), the Noshiro-shi Hachiman-jinja (where he is in the company of the Sumiyoshi-ô-kami), etc. One peculiar case is that of the Yura-minatosha where it is specified that Hachiman-ô-kami is Homuda-wake-no-mikoto.

What are the current meaning and the purpose of the cult offered to Hachiman, now identified with the Emperor Ôjin?

It is customary to say that first and foremost he is the 'god of war', one of the evidences offered being that Japanese soldiers leaving for the battlefield often take with them a relic

from a Hachiman shrine. And such is undoubtedly his main character in temples like the Fujisaki Hachiman-gû.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In that capacity it is also likely he was formerly worshipped by generals and by the inhabitants of a ‘castle-town’ like Kumamoto.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The same applies also more or less to the Hakozaki-gû, probably because Hachiman was worshipped there with special fervour by the Genji,⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and by the families of generals.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Similarly the Hachiman-jinja in Nagahama was founded by a famous general, Yoshiie Minamoto.⁽¹²²⁾

It is also a fact that in various strategic points in Japan, successive Emperors founded Hachiman shrines with a view to protecting the country against possible attacks—although such protection of course was only and could only be of a spiritual nature. Such is the case in particular for the Shimonoseki Sumiyoshi-jinja, the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû,⁽¹⁹²⁾ the Hakozaki-gû itself,⁽¹⁹¹⁾ the Yahata-jinja which was founded in Yamagata-shi in A.D. 764 to help in the struggle against the Aïnu in Akita,⁽⁴⁵²⁾ the Hako-date-hachiman-gû,⁽⁷⁵⁴⁾ etc.

The case of the Iwa-shimizu is of particular interest. On its present site there was probably in the remote past a ‘divine’ well, to the Kami of which a temple, the Iwa-shimizu-sha, had been dedicated. When the capital of the Empire was transferred from Nara to Kyoto, measures had to be taken to protect the latter against possible aggression. Now the town happens to be situated in the centre of a circle of hills, to which the only normal access is along the valley of the river which flows through it. It was then decided to establish the temple of Hachiman where the Iwa-shimizu-sha had been, on the top of Otoko-yama, which is a most important strategic point, not only from a military, but also from a spiritual viewpoint, for the following reason: According to a Chinese tradition accepted throughout the Far-East, the South-East (*ura-kimon*) is ‘the gate of disaster’, through which all calamities pass. Protection must therefore be ensured against what goes in that direction, and such protection must be provided at the North West corner, the most vulnerable point of all. So much importance was attached to this that for many centuries, care was taken not to have a convex corner in the N.W. of Imperial Palaces, but, instead, a concave one. And of course the defence of the capital was not to be distinguished from the defence of the Empire.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Throughout the history of Japan from the time when Kyoto became the capital, whenever the country was in grave danger, the Emperor came to the Iwa-shimizu to pray. Such was the case during the Mongolian invasion in the fourteenth century and also when the United States warships first threatened the Japanese coasts in the nineteenth century.⁽¹⁹²⁾

Apart from and in addition to his contribution to the defence of the Empire, Hachiman remained what he very likely was before Ôjin-tennô, i.e. a God of peace. And that aspect of him probably became still more predominant after the wave of pacifism which swept over Japan after the 1945 defeat.⁽⁵⁶⁾ According to some authorities,⁽⁵⁶⁾ but contrary to the view of some others,⁽¹²²⁾ the fact that Hachiman temples are generally painted bright red should not be taken as a sign that the Kami is sanguinary, but rather that he is a God of agriculture, since red is a symbol for the sap which flows in plants. As a matter of fact, Ôjin-tennô imported from the continent quite a few new agricultural methods⁽⁵⁶⁾. And in every matsuri, he is asked to grant good crops. ⁽¹⁹¹⁾

It is true that there is no special ritual prayer for peace to be addressed to Hachiman, but his temples make constant use of the Norito which have that very purpose;⁽⁵⁶⁾ prayers are also offered to him for peace and happiness in Japan,⁽⁵⁶⁾ which is only natural since, as we pointed out earlier, Ôjin-tennô always pursued a peaceful policy.

Generally speaking, and quite apart from the fluctuating contingencies of war and peace, Hachiman is considered as ‘a very powerful protector of human life’,⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and more particularly as the protector of the region or locality where his particular temple is situated, i.e. as the *uji-gami*.⁽⁵⁶⁾ I have heard it said by authoritative informers that ‘Hachiman-gû’ should be taken as a synonym of *chinju-sama*, ‘guardian deity of the land’.⁽¹⁹²⁾ That Hachiman—who is so powerful that the Buddha himself had to put himself under his protection—should be worshipped as the guardian of the capital, of the state and of the people’.⁽¹⁹²⁾ This tradition is substantiated by the fact that women and children come to worship him.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ He is asked by his devotees to purify their hearts and those of their relatives, and also to bring back ‘the good old times’.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ The relation between Hachiman and purity is stressed very strikingly by the recent setting-up of a new organization, which aims at grouping all the Hachiman shrines and has as its declared purpose ‘to save the world through purity’.⁽¹⁹²⁾

In many temples, Hachiman is also a god of shipping and seafarers, which is only to be expected since he is in most cases associated with the Munakata-no-kami, more particularly Tagori-hime, and with the Sumiyoshi-no-kami. An additional reason for it is alleged to be found in the very name Yawata, where *-wata* may be the same word which is also found in *Ô-wata-tsu-mi-no-mikoto*, and therefore means the sea.⁽⁸¹⁾ There are however notable exceptions; in the Fujisaki Hachiman-gû for instance, in spite of the presence of the Sumiyoshi-no-kami, he does not seem to be at all concerned with navigation.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Very special mention should be made of the peculiar role played by the Hachiman temples before the Meiji era, and, to a lesser but still considerable extent after the Meiji reform, as protector of Buddhism in general, and of the neighbouring Buddhist temples in particular. It was even said that Hachiman, the ‘God of eight banners’ symbolized the Eightfold Path of Buddhist morality.⁽³⁰⁸⁾

It is even held that since it was the Emperor himself who gave the ‘cult’ of *kaigan-kuyô* (animating statues, giving them a soul) which was celebrated by the *shin-rei* (i.e. *tamashii*, or the complete set of *mitama*) of Usa-Hachiman, and later worshipped on Tamuke-yama, it is the actual soul (*tamashii*) of Hachiman which is in the great *Daï-butsumi*.⁽¹⁹²⁾

Thus the least that can be said is that every Hachiman temple has a strong individuality which distinguishes it from most of the others.⁽⁵⁶⁾

But whatever action or protection may be expected from that Kami in any particular place, his cult is now of paramount importance. Out of approximately 90,000 temples officially registered, about half are devoted to Hachiman. And out of those, about 30,000 have the *bun-rei* of the Iwashimizu and 15,000 that of the Usa-Hachiman-gû.⁽¹⁹²⁾

It should be mentioned in passing that *Ôjin-tennô* is not the only person who was, and still is, identified with Hachiman. To give only a few instances, the main Kami of the Nittahachiman-gu is generally considered to be Prince Ninigi, probably because the temple was built on the alleged site of his palace in Kawachi-shi. Similarly, the *Kokubu-hachiman-gû* of the Kagoshima-jingû is dedicated to Ninigi’s son, *Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto*. The Kami in the *honden* are nevertheless *Ôjin-tennô*, *Jingû-kôgô*, *Tama-yori-hime*, *Chûai-tennô* and *Nintoku-tennô*.⁽¹³³⁾

What is more serious, some authorities hold that the Hachiman worshipped in Kagoshima—one of the most important Hachiman-gû—is not at all *Ôjin-tennô*, in spite of the

currently admitted tradition, but Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi, Prince Ninigi's father. And the same people also express doubts as to the real identity of Hachiman in the Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gû.⁽²⁰³⁾

Hime-gami's identity has not always gone undisputed either. We have seen that in general she is taken to be the three Munakata-no-kami, in most cases without any individual names (e.g. Iwa-shimizu). In some temples, however, it is specifically stated that she is only one of them, Tagori-hime.

In the Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gû, Hime-gami is taken to be the elder sister of Ôjin-tennô, or perhaps his nurse. And the latter supposition would dispose of the difficulty of whether she is one Kami or three, because it is quite conceivable that the Imperial infant should have been cared for by three nurses.⁽¹⁷³⁾

Also, since Hime-gami may be taken as a title which could apply to an Empress or a Princess in general, Jingû-kôgô herself is occasionally designated by it.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In the particular context of the Hachiman temples, however, few people accept this identification because, in many of them, worship is offered both to Jingû-kôgô and to the Hime-gami as separate deities; such is the case for instance in the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû.

In the Kasuga-taisha, Hime-ô-kami is the name given to Ame-no-koyane-hime-no-mikoto; and in the Soôgun-jinja, a *massha* of the same temple, the Kami is Ise-Kasuga-hachiman-no-ô-kami, a fact which raises an even greater puzzle.⁽²⁴³⁾

As regards worship, the three Munakata-no-kami stand second to very few other Kami in Japan. And indeed they seem to be rather exacting in this matter. If we believe the *Nihongi* (XII, 8), in the year A.D. 404 they 'appeared within the Imperial Palace and said: "Why are we robbed of our people? We will now disgrace thee." Hereupon the Emperor (Richû-tennô) prayed, but he did not enshrine them [in his palace] (Aston translates: but his prayer was not answered).'

Their main temple is of course the Munakata-taisha, which consists of three main shrines, one on the mainland (sometimes called Ura-ise, a name which stresses both the close relations with the Ise-jingû and the subordinate position of the *taisha*), one on the island of Okinoshima, and one on the island of Ô-shima.

The three Kami are worshipped under the names of Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto, Tagori-hime (or Tagiri-hime, or O-kitsu-shima-hime)-no-mikoto, and Tagitsu-hime-no-mikoto. They are respectively the main Kami of the mainland shrine, the Okino-shima shrine and the Ô-shima shrine. According to the *Kojiki*, each of them was originally alone in her own temple, but in a very remote past each one was joined by the other two 'to meet the needs of the *ujiko*'. They are taken to be 'sisters', but it is stressed that they may also be taken to be three *shintoku* (manifestations of Divine power) of the same *shin-rei*. They are believed to have appeared for the first time on Okino-shima, according to instructions received from Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, but their first manifestation on the mainland is believed to have been on a small hill, the Munakata-yama, at the back of the main shrine; an *iwasaka*, the Shimo-taka-miya, was set up there in 1950. Slightly higher is the nearby site called Kami-take-miya, on which only officiating priests are allowed to set foot, and which is the *go-shintai* of the temple for the three Kami collectively.

According to the priests, the name Ichiki-shima is derived from *itsuku*, to serve, because Ichikishima-hime, although the main Kami, really 'ranks lowest' and serves the other two.

Okino-shima, a rocky island about two and a half miles in circumference and which rises about 720 feet above sea-level, is very difficult of access, which earned for it the name of Genkaïnada. From the fourth to the ninth centuries, most ships going from Japan to Korea or China used to sail from the small port of Ko-o-no-minato, about two and a half miles from Munakata, and proceeded by way of Okino-shima, where worship was offered to the Kami; and the same thing was done on the journey back to Japan. This explains why a large number of very old weapons, mirrors, ornaments, etc., were discovered there in 1954 in the course of archaeological research. The island now has only one small temple, the I-kitsu-gû, half-way up the hill, which is serviced by two priests; it ranks as a *kampeï-taïsha*. The only other inhabitants are three men who service the lighthouse.

The island of Ô-shima, on the other hand, can boast of a large temple, the Nakatsu-gû, with fairly impressive buildings.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The three Goddesses are also the Kami of another no less important temple, the Ichikishima-jinja, on the island of Miyajima, which is about twenty miles in circumference. It was founded in the year 593 B.C. and the present buildings date back to the middle of the twelfth century. The temple became world-famous for the gigantic vermilion-lacquered camphor-tree torii which stands in the sea and has proved an endless source of inspiration for painters, photographers, poster-designers, etc. According to the priests, no other temple can boast of a treasure which can compare with that contained in the treasure-house (*hômotsukan*) of the Ichikishima-jinja.

There is in the Ichikishima-jinja a curious tradition, which is obstinately ignored in the Munakata-taïsha, and according to which the three Goddesses are really three ‘aspects’ (*men*) or ‘ways of understanding’ (*mikata*) Suseri-hime-no-mikoto, one of the wives of Ô-kuni-nushi. It is stressed that this distinction is not one between different *mitama*, and as a matter of fact each one of the three Goddesses has two *go-shintai*, one for her *ara-mitama* and one for her *nigi-mitama* (They are statues, the expression of which ‘slightly differs’ according to the *mitama* enshrined).

According to this tradition, the three Goddesses once separated, Ichiki-shima-hime going to the Island of Miyajima, Tagitsu-hime to Usa, and Tagori-hime remaining in Munakata, although they always remained one in their *go-shintoku* (power, virtue), so that even at the time when the *Kojiki* was composed, people had already forgotten what differentiates them.

Ichikishima-hime had great difficulties in reaching Miyajima. She first stopped in two larger islands, Setoda-jima and Osaki-jima, islands on the shores of which can ‘probably’ still be found seven small shrines which correspond to the first six and the ninth stations of the great Ichi-kishima pilgrimage.

Ichikishima-hime finally landed on the place where the *honchû* of the present temple is located.

When the Goddess arrived, she was received by Saëki-no-kuramoto, who was a descendant of Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, or less probably, of Keïkô-tennô. As a matter of fact, there is in the island a temple to Ô-yama-tsu-mi, Kuni-toko-tachi-no-mikoto and Saëki-no-kuramoto. Saëki is the ancestor of the present *gûji*.

At the time, the island *was* a Kami, and nobody was allowed to live there, or to be born there, or to die there, or to till the soil. The first prohibition was cancelled in 1260, the others at the time of the Meïji Reformation.

When Ichikishima-hime agreed to be guided by Saëki, she told him that a crow would show her where she should be worshipped. In six places they landed without the crow appearing; on the next two landings, the crow appeared but immediately flew away. On the ninth landing, the crow flew back to Heaven, and the Goddess knew that it was the right place.

It is said that Tagori-hime and Tagitsu-hime were worshipped on the island only after Jimmu-tennô had come there to worship Ichikishima-hime. In the temple the three Goddesses bear also various names under which they are not known elsewhere. Ichikishima-hime is called Ô-miya, Tagori-hime Naka-no-gozen and Tagitsu-hime Wakamiya. And according to the personal experience of the present *gûji*, those names correspond to three successive stages of the growth of the virtue (*go-shintoku*) of the Kami, and the three hills on the island are also in close connection with those three stages.⁽¹³⁸⁾

According to some esoterists, Ichikishima carries out matsuri on the Earth level, thus representing Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who is working in Takama-nohara, Tagori-hime is responsible for agriculture and weaving and Tagitsu-hime for architecture and forestry.^(150, 251) It is probably for the same reason that Ichikishima is found alone in a number of temples, as representing the three Kami.⁽¹⁴²⁾

In the Sakata Hië-jinja, one of the Kami is called Munakata-nakatsuhime-no-mikoto.

In a *massha* of the Ômiya Hikawa-jinja, on a minute islet in the middle of a pond, the Munakata-no-kami are specially worshipped by the local geisha.

CHAPTER XIX OTHER HISTORICAL KAMI

IN addition to Emperors and their close relatives, many undoubtedly historical persons (*ningen-shin*) can be found enshrined in Shintô. Some of them are of nation-wide fame and dwell in large temples which have given an impressive number of *bun-rei*, while others enjoy only local reputation and are hardly known outside a province, a town or a village. The reasons and circumstances which have led to their kamification* vary considerably from one to the other. Some were thus honoured for the single reason that they were more or less remote ancestors of powerful families or clans. Some others—far fewer than is generally believed by Western observers—are worshipped because they received very unfair treatment during their life-time, and their souls had to be appeased. In many other instances, a simple incident in their life, or the way in which they died, struck people's imagination as very queer or unexplainable and this was found sufficient reason for erecting shrines to them.

In what is probably a majority of cases, however, they are worshipped on account of conspicuous services rendered to the country as a whole or to part of it, or because of some virtue, such as devotion or self-sacrifice, which they have manifested to an exceptional degree. It should be frankly admitted that the Kami in this last category were generally selected for political reasons, because their most outstanding qualities were precisely those which the authorities wanted to extol and promote among the people, and it was helpful to focus public attention, respect and worship on those men who had been the best exponents of those traits of character.

One phrase has come to cover them all, in certain circles at least: *kin-ô*, faithful service—and, in this context, self-dedication-(kin) [to the] Emperor (*ô*), i.e. to the country and the nation, with whose fate that of the Emperor is fully identified. The expression seems to have gained favour under Emperor Kômei, who, in order to set an example to his people, used to get up every morning at four and sit on the sand outside his Kyoto Palace, facing Ise and worshipping his ancestors. As the best models of *kin-ô* in the history of Japan he himself singled out Wake-no-kiyomaro from among the civilians and Masashige Kusunoki from among the warriors. It is reported that a poem by Komei-tennô: 'Japan is in danger; the people must arise to save the nation', greatly contributed to the growth of the *Kin-ô*

* The word 'kamification' which I coined for this purpose has aroused some misgivings among the Shintô scholars who read my manuscript, because they feared that it might be misunderstood by Western readers. One of them, Professor Nakanishi, has very aptly summed up their views as follows: 'As a rule, we Shintôists may respect but will not worship any historical person unless some miraculous event or deep revelation has awakened us to the fact that the original spirit of that person is really in a divine state of Kami. If he or she were "kamified" merely for human reasons or conveniences, there would be no justification for the Shintôists to offer worship.'

movement. Some of its episodes, such as that of Hikokurô Takayama in tears offering his services to the Emperor, have been widely exploited in poetry, drama, etc.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

One *gûji*, deeply concerned with what he believes to be the need for a philosophical or theological justification for the deification of human beings, offered the following theory, which is evidently influenced by Western—or perhaps Hindu—concepts: The existence (*areru*) of God can only be made apparent by his manifestation (*arawareru*) in a concrete object, fact or event. Generally speaking, we are not able to see the Kami as such, for instance *the* Mountain-kami, or *the* River-kami; and that is why in Shintô temples the Kami worshipped is generally that of one particular mountain or river. One appropriate simile would be that ‘country’ is an abstract concept which we cannot apprehend, while ‘France’ is a concrete manifestation of that same concept which we can see. The existence of the Kami implies that he does or can become apparent, and his becoming apparent proves that he exists. Similarly, God can manifest in individual man. Theoretically speaking, such men have, from their birth, more godliness (*shinsei*) in them than others. But that godliness only becomes ‘complete’ when it is revealed by an exceptionally brilliant deed, an *action d’éclat*. Only then may the man be ‘believed’ to be really divine. ‘That is why we cannot be attracted by Christianity’, the *gûji* concluded.⁽²¹⁸⁾

It should be noted however that in the minds of worshippers, many of the ‘historical’ Kami have come to be credited with powers (*shintoku*) which have little or nothing to do with what they were or what they did, or at least with the specific virtues for which they were originally selected.

We shall list the most important on the national level, and give a few instances of the others.

The most ancient are those ‘vassals’ who helped Jimmu-tennô in his conquest of Japan. Curiously enough, five Kami, some of whom are better known in a totally different and less ‘human’ capacity, are worshipped as such in the Miyazaki-jingû; they are Uke-mochi-no-kami (cf. p. 504 below), who is taken to have supplied food for the army, Shiô-tsuchi-no-oji (cf. p. 377 above), who is taken to have been a pilot on the sea, Michi-no-omi-no-mikoto, who is taken to have been a guide on land, Shinetsu-hiko-no-mikoto and Ô-kume-no-mikoto, who were generals in the army. They are the Kami of the Gôshô-jinja, one of the *massha* of the temple.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Michi-no-omi-no-mikoto is also the main Kami in the Sarudahiko-jinja, the Okazaki Ten-man-gû and the Hayashi-jinja. Shinetsu-hiko-no-mikoto is the main Kami in the Shinetsu-hiko-jinja, the Aomi-jinja and the Seikaï-jinja. One other Kami who is said to be worshipped on account of the support he gave to the first Emperor is Takakuraji-no-mikoto (cf. p. 402f. above), to whom a subsidiary shrine bearing his name is dedicated in the Kumano Hongû-taisha; he is credited with having been a ‘land-owner at the time of Jimmu’, and having supplied the army with food, particularly rice—and that explains why a rice-ear is to be seen on the crest (*mon*) of his descendants, of whom Take-no-uchi-no-sukune is the most illustrious.⁽²³⁴⁾

Although he is clearly not a human being and could hardly be termed ‘historical’ in our modern Western sense of the word, this is probably the most appropriate place to treat of the three-legged crow, Yatagarasu, who guided Jimmu-tennô during part of his eventful campaign. According to the *Y’amashiro-fudoki* and the *Shôjiroku*, he is no other than Taketsu-numi-no-mikoto (a grandson of Kami-musubi, and a companion of Jimmu-tennô), who is the Kami of the West *honden* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, a *honden* which has given

about 450 *bun* reï.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ An alternative genealogy gives Yatagarasu and Taketsu-numi as two distinct Kami, both of them offsprings of Ô-kuni-nushi.

However that may be, Yatagarasu is considered to be the ancestor of the Kamo, the first high-priests of the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, a family of which the great theologian Mabuchi was one of the recent members. Among his other human descendants, the *Nihongi* (III, 33) and the *Kogoshûi* also mention the Agata-nushi of Katsurano and the Tonomori Be.

The name Yatagarasu is generally understood to mean 'eight-span-crow', but the possibility should probably not be overlooked that the reference to eight might be taken in the same sense as in the case of the Sacred Mirror (cf. p. 147f. above), and imply the notion of 'perfect' or 'supreme'. In which case the name might be translated Supreme, or Divine Crow.

Various Western scholars have propounded the theory that Yatagarasu is merely a transposition of the Chinese three-legged crow, sometimes red, a symbol of the Sun. As a matter of fact there is a Chinese myth of ten crows perched on a mulberry-tree who flew from it in turn to bring daylight to the world, and in some Yatagarasu pictures one actually sees ten crows perched on a tree. During the reign of Kôtoku-tennô, in A.D. 650, envoys sent to China brought back a dead crow with three legs. (*Nihongi*, XXV, 47).

In a very few temples is Yatagarasu worshipped under his own name. We may mention the Tobe-sha, a *massha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja.

On the other hand, he is worshipped very extensively under the name of (Kamo-no) taketsu-numi-no-mikoto. To cite only a few temples: the Yatagarasu-jinja (a subsidiary shrine of the Kumano-Hongû-taïsha), the Kakehiko-jinja (a *massha* near the Nishi-go-honden of the Kumano Nachi-jinja, which was probably founded in the fourth century), three other Yatagarasu-jinja in Yamato, the central shrine of the Mitsui-no-yashiro (a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja) and (with Tama-yori-hime) the Mikage-jinja, another *sessha* of the same temple.

In the Kashiwara-jingû, as we have seen (cf. p. 104 above), he is the *otsukaï* of Jimmu-tennô.

Several important matsuri in honour of Yatagarasu are held in the Kumano temples:

In the Nachi-jinja, on January 1st, early in the morning, water is brought from the cascade by a priest wearing a *yatagarasu-bô*, a black cap representing a very schematized crow. One of the norito chanted during the ceremony before the shrine is 'strictly esoteric... intoned in a low voice, and is known only to the priests'. The *shimpu* made on this occasion are 'used as charms for safe delivery in childbirth, or stuck in the rice-fields to prevent damage to the crops by insects, but in the old days they were largely used for writing contracts, no witness being considered necessary for a contract written on the back of a *shimpu*.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

In the *haïden* of the Hongû-taïsha, on January 7th according to the lunar calendar, is the Hôinshinji. A picture of Yatagarasu, called *go-ô-no-shimpu* (popularly *gyu-o*), of which both sides have been purified by a pine torch lighted with pure fire and held over a tub of pure water, is presented to the shrine by a priest; subsequent impressions of that picture are distributed to the devotees all over the country.

It is widely believed that if a person burns a *gyu-o* and swallows the ashes, the statement he or she makes must be true, as otherwise they would vomit blood or even die.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In addition to the above-mentioned instances, there is little doubt that Yatagarasu is the centre of an important esoteric cult; some schools regard him as a 'great master in

esotericism',⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ who probably was able to take the appearance of a crow, although his real nature was quite different. Much has been written on the symbolism of his anatomy. It is held by some people that he has three legs 'because he is a messenger from the Sun', and that the central leg represents righteousness.

If we now return to historical heroes less singular in appearance, one of the most ancient is undoubtedly Urashima-no-ko (Urashima's child), also called Urashima-tarô, who is the chief Kami of the Ura-jinja. According to the *Nihongi* (XIV, 46), he 'went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise, which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima-no-ko fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went together into the sea and reached Hôrai-zan (a land where men do not die), where they saw the *genii*.'

The next one in chronological order is a seventh century poet, Hitomaro Kakinomoto, in whose memory the two famous Kakinomoto-jinja were built.

About the same period, we find Nakatomi-no-Kamako, the founder of the powerful Fujiwara family, and the first to bear its name, as Kamatari Fujiwara (614-669). He took a leading part in public affairs under four successive sovereigns, from Empress Kôgyoku to Emperor Tenji.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ The Danzan-jinja was erected to him in 701 by one of his sons. His grave, which is nearby, is credited 'with emitting rumbling sounds whenever a national calamity is imminent'⁽⁴⁵²⁾.

Quite a few other members of the same family were later kamified, most of them apparently because they met tragic ends:

Hirotsugu Fujiwara (715-741), who was both scholar and warrior and was beheaded,⁽⁵⁸³⁾ is one of the twelve Kami in the Jyûni-sha, a *massha* of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû.

Uona Fujiwara (721-783), his first cousin, served under four Emperors, from Shômu-tennô to Kônin-tennô. He was exiled, but later pardoned.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ Under the name of Nyaku-ôji, he is in the Go-za-aïden, a *massha* of the Fushimi-inari-taïsha, one of five Kami, the other four being no less Deities than Susano-wo, Koto-shiro-nushi, Ô-yama-tsu-mi and Emperor Ôjin.⁽³³⁶⁾ Sukemitsu Fujiwara, a comparatively obscure relative, seems to have been enshrined in the Kaïnan-jinja, together with his wife, mostly because in the ninth century, he happens to have been drowned. One unexpected trait of him as a Kami is that he is considered a patron of navigation! Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, Susano-wo, Toyo-uke-bime and the three Hime-gami are also to be found in the same *honden*.

Hidesato Fujiwara (died 991), who does not seem to have died a tragic death, is the Kami of the Karasawa-yama-jinja, founded in 1890.⁽⁴²⁷⁾

Morokata Fujiwara (1300-1332), better known under the name of Morokata Kwazan-in, was one of the most faithful followers of Emperor Go-daïgo. He died in exile and received the posthumous title of Dajô-daïjin.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ He is the Kami of the Ko-mikado-jinja, founded in 1877.

If we now take leave of the Fujiwara family, we find, at the end of the eighth century, Wake-no-kiyomaro (died 799). Empress Shôtoku had sent him to Usa to enquire from the God Hachiman whether it would be right to elevate the Buddhist monk Dô-kyô (of the Yuge clan) to the Imperial Throne, which he desired. In spite of the great pressure and threats to which he was subjected, Wake-no-kiyomaro brought back the Kami's answer: 'In our Empire, since the reign of the celestial Spirits, and under their descendants, no one not of their stock has ever been honoured with the Imperial dignity. Retrace your steps; you

have nothing to fear from Dô-kyô.' Dô-kyô took his revenge, and had Kiyomaro mutilated and exiled, but failed to have him assassinated (cf. p. 105 above). After Dô-kyô's death, the faithful subject was made Head of the Home Department.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ Although Wake-no-kiyomaro was a staunch Buddhist, founder of the Buddhist temple Daïryû-ji of the Shingon sect,⁽⁴⁵²⁾ a Shintô temple was erected to him, probably shortly after his death, within the precincts of the Buddhist temple Shingo-ji. Its name was changed to Go-ô-jinja in 1874, and in 1886 it was moved to its present site.⁽¹²²⁾ A further signal honour was paid to the temple in 1916, when it was presented with the great gate which had served for the Enthronement ceremonies. In 1851, Komei-tennô gave Wake-no-kiyomaro the title of Shôichii-go-ô-daïmyo-jin, Great-god-protector-of-the-Emperor.

Kiyomaro's elder sister, Hiromushi-hime, was added as an *aidono-no-kami* in his temple at the beginning of this century. She was one of the favourite ladies-in-waiting of the Empress, and the latter's original idea had been to send her to Usa. She was posthumously granted the title of Ko-so-date-myojin, Great-goddess-who-protects-and-brings-up (so)-children (*ko*); in her lifetime she had taken a very active interest in orphans, founded orphanages, and also had obtained a commutation for 375 rebels who had been sentenced to death. Two other *aidono-no-kami* are Michi-no-toyonaga, a great scholar who was Dô-kyô's teacher, but who warned and encouraged Kiyomaro, and Momokawa Fujiwara, a wealthy aristocrat who stood by Kiyomaro when the latter was in exile.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

In chronological order, the next Shintô Kami we find enshrined in a jinja is a little hawk (*kotaka*) which his master, Minister Yuriwaka (beginning of the ninth century), stranded on a desert island, sent to his wife with a message. On his return with the answer, the faithful bird, too heavily loaded, fell into the sea and died. Yuriwaka enshrined the hawk, under its own name as Midori-maru-mitama-no-ô-kami, in the Kotaka-jinja, on the island of Genkaï, where it is still worshipped in the company of Izanagi and Izanami.^(122, 548) Yurikawa himself is enshrined in the Susabaru-jinja.

About one century after Kiyomaro, we find another great hero, Michizane Sugawara (845–903), to whom we have already made numerous references in previous chapters (cf. pp. 70, 105f., 131, 186). An infant-prodigy (*shindô*, god-child), he early acquired the reputation of being one of the first scholars in the Empire, particularly in Chinese literature, one of the accomplishments most highly prized at that time. In 891, his daughter became one of the Imperial consorts. He directed the education of the young Emperor Daïgo, was successively Vice-minister of Rites, Home Minister and General of the Right, and Minister of the Right. He wielded considerable influence, and it was on his proposal that official intercourse with China was suspended. He was made head of the Sugawara clan, until then comparatively obscure, but 'which professed to be of Izumo origin, deducing its pedigree from Nomi-nosukune', with the title of *uji-no-kami*, an honour which had been bestowed on only two other families. His colleague Tokihira Fujiwara, whose sister had become the Empress, was naturally jealous, and when the young Emperor envisaged the possibility of putting the whole administration of the Empire into the hands of Michizane, he took advantage of an eclipse of the sun, which he represented as a sinister omen, to have Michizane exiled to Kyûshû, as acting Viceroy. The Emperor's father, the Ho-ô Uda-tennô, who had abdicated to become a Buddhist monk, made fruitless efforts to save him, and Michizane proceeded to Dazaifu, where he shut himself up in the Government House.

Instead of attending to his high duties and responsibilities, he spent most of his time writing poetry.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ He died two years later, on February 25, 903.

Soon after his death, strange things began to happen. The Imperial Palace was struck by lightning, and several of its occupants killed, and week after week the capital was drenched by rainstorms, followed by terrible drought and shaken by thunderbolts.⁽⁶²¹⁾ Several of Michizane's enemies, Sugane Fujiwara, Tokihira Fujiwara, Hikaru Minamoto, died in quick succession, and finally the young Prince Imperial also passed away. All this was ascribed to Michizane's angry spirit.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ One of the ministers, Kintada, also died, but resuscitated three days later, and informed the Emperor that he had seen Michizane, ten feet high, petitioning the Lord of Hades for an inquiry into the crime committed, i.e. his banishment. Though the Emperor repented bitterly, and restored Michizane, posthumously, to his former position, tragedies continued to happen and the dead statesman, on several occasions, spoke by revelations. In 947, through the mouth of a child, he announced that 168,000 demons were in his service.⁽³²⁴⁾ More and more honours were heaped on Michizane to appease him, and he finally was made Ten-jin, 'celestial Kami', a title not given even to Emperors,⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ by which he is often called.

Michizane is considered to be the most perfect exponent of unflinching loyalty and devotion to the Emperor, and also the patron of learning, particularly of calligraphy. He is sometimes said to be an incarnation of the spirit of *bun* (culture, literature, humanities), in contradistinction to the spirit of *bu* (military spirit, incarnated in Hachiman).⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Numberless temples and shrines, generally called Ten-man-gû, have been built in his memory. They are often surrounded by plum-trees (*ume*), Michizane's favourite tree, and they generally have a display of calligraphy at the beginning of the year. The most famous are:

The Kitano Ten-man-gû, in Kyoto, founded as early as 942. Its present buildings were erected in 1607 by Hideyori Toyotomi. Among the treasures of the temple are several sets of scrolls (*e-maki-mono*), dating from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, illustrated by the greatest painters of their times and describing the history of the temple; the most beautiful is admittedly the Kitano Tenjin Engi, painted in 1219. The three main festivals of the temple are on February 25th, August 4th (Miya-matsuri) and October 4th (Zuiki-matsuri).⁽⁴⁵²⁾

The Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, founded in 951 by order of Murakami-tenno, after he had seen a 'miraculous light' on a spot where Michizane had halted on his way to Kyûshû; he had stayed there with faithful friends of whom the present *gûji* is the direct descendant in the fifty-fifth generation. The place was already famous for the fact that Jimmu's army had landed there, thus earning for the woods on the sea-shore the name of Tai-shôgun-nomori, 'the woods of the great general'; they were later re-named Tenjin-no-mori, 'Tenjin's woods'. In the *honden*, Michizane is in the company of five other Kami: Saruda-hiko, Ame-no-tajikara-wo, Hiru-ko (as Ebisu) and Nomi-nosukune (Michizane's ancestor). The temple has one *massha*, the Bôjô-sha, to Shinenaga Sugawara, and another, the Shiradayû-sha, to Michizane's faithful companion, Watahari-Haruo-hiko-tayu. The temple possesses a biography of Michizane in three beautiful scrolls written and illustrated with many large-size paintings by Tosa-no-mitsukuni. We have already described the famous Tenjin-matsuri, which takes place on July 25th (cf. p. 213 above).

The beautiful and wealthy Dazaifu Ten-man-gû is generally believed ⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ to have been erected on the place in which Michizane had first been buried. It was founded at

the beginning of the tenth century, and has several *sessha* to Michizane's relatives and friends: the Kaède-sha to his wife Kwan-kô Kita-no-kata, the Kwan-kô-sha to his four sons (Takami, Kage-yuki, Kaneshige and Fukashige) and his later descendants to the sixth generation, the Oimatsu-sha to Shimada Ason and the Tayû-sha to Watahari-haruohiko-tayû, two of his faithful followers. Near the temple is a building housing a long series of diorama which illustrate Michizane's life. Near it can also be seen the 'jumping plum-tree' (*tobi-ume*) which according to tradition decided to follow Michizane into exile.

In the Matsunomori-jinja, Michizane and his father Koreyoshi Sugawara share the *honden* with no less a Kami than his ancestor Ame-no-hohi-nomikoto.⁽¹²²⁾ He has the same exalted companions, as well as Nomi-no-sukune, in the Fushimi Sugawara-jinja.⁽⁵⁸⁷⁾ He is worshipped with his father and Kiyokimi Sugawara in the Sugawara-in Ten-man-gû. In the Aga-jinja, he is in the company of four other Kami, in the Bôfu Ten-man-gû with Ameno-hohi and two others. He was added later to the Kami of the Gojô-ten-jin-sha. In the Yôrô-jinja, he is in the distinguished company of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Genshō-tennô, in the Yushima-jinja with Ame-no-tajikara-wo, in the Katami-jinja with eight other Kami. A dozen regular Sugawara-jinja, not affiliated to the Jinja-honchō, are found in the prefectures of Fukushima, Ishikawa, Kagoshima, Mië, Miyazaki, Niigata, Ôita, Saitama, Shiga and Yamaguchi, that is in practically all parts of Japan.

Subsidiary shrines to Michizane are found in a large proportion of the most important temples: the Atsuta-jingû (Sugawara-sha), the Chichibu-jinja (Ten-man-gû), the Dewa-sanzan (Ukemochi-jinja, which he shares with Uke-mochi-no-kami), the Fujisawa Shirahata-jinja (Ten-man-gû), the Kibitsu-jinja (Ichido-sha, which he shares with nine other Kami), the Kotohira-gû (Sugawara-no-yashiro), the Minatogawa-jinja, the Yamanashi-ken Mitake-jinja (Ten-man-gû), the Tamaë-gû-tôshō-gû (Ten-man-gû), the Miyazu Wakimiya-jinja (Sakura-yama Ten-man-gû, which he shares with Mikumari-no-kami), etc.

Mention should be made here of Kiyohara-no-Yorinari-no-mikoto, a great scholar (1122–1189), who is the Kami of the Kurumazaki-jinja.

The important historical Kami who comes next in chronological order is Yoritomo Minamoto (1147–1199). The third son of Yoshitomo Minamoto, a rebel who had captured the ex-Emperor Go-shirakawa and for that deed been beheaded (1160), Yoritomo did not suffer the same penalty, but was exiled to Higurako-shima. His life was highly romantic; on two occasions he seduced the daughters of the noblemen who were his wardens. With his brother Yoshitsune, one of the greatest generals in Japanese history, he brought to an end the domination of the powerful Taira clan and thereby greatly strengthened the authority of the Kyôto government. He is described as of dauntless courage, a master of all the arts and accomplishments of the warrior, with a self-control, a mastery over his passions, an unflinching cheerfulness and an unvaried courtesy.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ Progressively endowed with most of the principal State functions, and finally that of Shōgun (1192), he proved one of the three greatest statesmen of Japan⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ and a remarkable administrator, who has many times been compared by Western historians to Emperor Augustus in Rome and Louis XIV in France.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ He founded the military administration (*bakufu*) and developed the principles which later became *bushidō*. The centralized regime which he organized in what is called the Kamakura Shōgunate remained practically unchanged until the Meiji restoration in 1868. One day, when riding across a bridge, he thought he saw the ghost of Yoshitsune, whose death he had brought about for fear of being supplanted by him; he fell from his horse and died a few months later.

Yoritomo was an extremely generous benefactor of many Buddhist and Shintô temples throughout the Empire. He is the Kami of the Kamakura Shirahata-jinja; his tomb stands on a nearby hillside. His grandfather, Tameyoshi, and his uncle, Tametomo, are enshrined in a *massha* of the Kyoto Shiramine-gû. In two Hanawo-jinja in Kagoshima-ken, he is in the company of Tango-no-tsubone, a mistress of Go-shirakawa-tennô.

Yoshitsune Minamoto (1159–1189), the youngest son of Yoshitomo, who started his career as a great general before he was twenty years old, was responsible for the fateful victory of Dan-na-ura; he was finally besieged in the fortress of Koromogawa by an army sent by his own brother Yoritomo. He killed his own wife and children before he committed suicide. Various traditions, however, give other versions. According to one he escaped to Hokkaido, then named Ezo, and is still worshipped there by the Aïnu under the name of Gikyô-daï-myôjin; according to another, he fled to Mongolia where he became no less a person than Gengis-khan.⁽⁵⁸³⁾

He is the Kami of at least five different temples: the Yoshitsune-sha (in Hokkaido!), the Yorohi-jinja, the Nonami-jinja, the Yamamoto-gun Kumano-jinja and the Fujisawa Shirahata-jinja, where it is reported that his head is buried.⁽¹²²⁾

Another prominent member of the Minamoto family, Yoshimitsu (1056–1127), is the Kami of the Shira-jinja.

The lives of the next six great historical Kami are so closely connected that they must be examined together: Masashige Kusunoki, Yoshisada Nitta, Munehiro Yûki, Chikafusa Kitabatake, Taketoki Kikuchi and Nagatoshi Nawa. They all lived during the period of Nam(South) boku(North) chô, when two Emperors were reigning simultaneously, one in the North and one in the South. They were the chief architects of what was called the Kemmu Restoration against the Ashikaga Shôgunate.

The first of them, ‘one of the greatest characters in the history of his country’,⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ more generally known under the name of Daï-nankô, was Masashige Kusunoki (1294–1336). He is considered a most perfect exponent of devotion to the Emperor. He it was who brought together the partisans of Emperor Go-daigo, and was later joined by Prince Morinaga, to whom we have already referred (cf. p. 425 above). To him more than to any other was due the restoration of the Imperial power. But when selfish ambition began to divide the Sovereign’s supporters, Masashige’s wise counsels were no longer followed.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ Wounded in battle at Minatogawa, he and his brother Masasuë died at each other’s hands.⁽³⁴²⁾

In 1871, the Minatogawa-jinja was built in Kôbe with Daï-nankô as its Kami, around a monument to him which had been erected in 1692. Another and very unique honour paid to him is that a bronze mounted statue of him was erected in 1897 near the south-east corner of the Imperial gardens in Tokyo. One *sessha* of the Minatogawa-jinja has for its Kami Daï-nankô’s wife, Nankô Fujin. The temple was destroyed by American bombs and rebuilt—in concrete!—in 1952. With Go-daigo-tennô, Daï-nankô is also one of the two Kami in the Yoshimizu-jinja. His son, Masatsura Kusunoki (1326–1348), who died in battle at the age of twenty-two at the head of his army,⁽⁵⁸³⁾ is the Kami of the Shijô-nawate-jinja, built in 1889.

Yoshisada Nitta, his contemporary (died 1338), of the Minamoto clan, was originally among the enemies of Go-daigo-tennô but was won over to him by Prince Morinaga.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ He made himself more particularly famous during the march on Kamakura, which was defended by a fleet of boats. ‘He threw his sword into the sea: ‘To Kompira, to the God of the Sea, to protect the Divine Emperor!’” On the following day, the ebbing sea carried away

the boats, and Yoshisada's army was able to cross on the sands and attack the city.⁽⁵³²⁾ He was killed at the battle of Fujishima by an arrow in the head.⁽³⁴²⁾ The Fujishima-jinja was built in 1876 near the place where Yoshisada died; its Kami are Yoshisada, his brother and three sons.

Munehiro Yûki (1301–1338) took part with Yoshisada in the march against Kamakura. He is the Kami of the Yûki-jinja, built in 1882.

Chikafusa Kitabatake (1292–1354) also served the same cause with his sword, but he is mostly famous for having written the *Jinnô-shôtôki*, a history of Japan which constitutes a learned treaty in defence of the legitimacy of the Southern Emperors and exerted an ever-increasing influence on Japanese political thought until the Meiji Reform. In 1879 was built the Ryôzen-jinja where the Kami are Chikafusa, his two sons Akiie (who died on the battlefield at the age of twenty-one after having proved a remarkable general and administrator!) and Akinobu, and his grandson Morichika. In 1882, another temple, the Abeno-jinja, was built to Chikafusa and Akiie. His third son, Akiyoshi, is the Kami of the Kitabatake-jinja.

One other great warrior of the same period, Taketoki Kikuchi (1293–1334) was enshrined in the Kikuchi-jinja in 1878.⁽⁴²⁷⁾

Still another is Nagatoshi Nawa (died 1336), 'one of the most faithful champions of the legitimate Emperor'.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ He is worshipped in the Nawa-jinja with forty-two of his followers.

More than two centuries after those great heroes came another group of first-rate statesmen who were later kamified, and whose history in this world must also be taken together. The most important are Motonari Môri, Nobunaga Oda, Harunobu Takeda, Hideyoshi Toyotomi, Kiyomaso Katô and Ieyasu Tokugawa.

Motonari Môri (or Ôe) (1497–1571) was a great warrior, but the reason why he is worshipped in the Toyosaka-jinja, founded in 1600 is perhaps rather to be sought in the fact that he supplied the funds for the coronation ceremonies of Ôgimachi-tennô.⁽⁵⁸³⁾

Coming at the end of the Muromachi period, at a time when the Ashikaga Shôgunate had considerably deteriorated and become more nominal than real, Nobunaga Oda (1534–1582), who came from a fairly obscure family, made strenuous efforts over a period of ten years to re-unify the country by force of arms, 'under one sword' (*tenka-fabu*).⁽⁶⁶⁵⁾ He was assassinated by one of his own generals before he could fully accomplish his task. Towards the Imperial Court he showed unvarying reverence. He devoted considerable sums to renovating the shrines (Shintô temples), particularly the Ise-jingû and the Atsuta-jingû. He took effective measures for the repair of roads and bridges. He facilitated travel by abolishing military barriers. But his character was austere, and his administrative measures were strict and uncompromising.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ He led a reckless fight against the powerful Buddhist clergy, killing and banishing many thousands of monks, purposely using materials and statues from Buddhist temples to build castles and fortresses. He allowed the Jesuits to establish themselves in Japan, playing them against the Buddhists.

At least two temples have Nobunaga as their Kami: the Take-isao-no-yashiro, the building of which had been authorized by Hideyoshi shortly after 1582, but which received its present name only in 1870, and the Takeisao-jinja, commonly called Kenkun-jinja, founded also in 1870, where he is with his son Nobutada.

One of Nobunaga's most formidable opponents was Terutora (Kenshin) Uēsugi (1530–1578), who had become a Buddhist monk at the age of eleven. Nevertheless, two years later he took in hand the administration of the family estates and soon started upon a career of war-lord which continued until his death. He is the Kami of the Kasugayama-jinja, founded in 1887, and of the Uēsugi-jinja, built in 1871 and made a *bekku-kampeï-taisha* in 1902. He received the posthumous Buddhist name of Shinkô.

One of Nobunaga's generals, Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1536–1598), who has sometimes been called the Napoleon of Japan, took up where his chief had left. The son of a woodcutter, he was of a still lower extraction than Nobunaga. Among the many successive names which he took, or which were given to him, the best remembered ones are Taikô (His Highness, Grand-duke), Toyotomi (abundant provider), and, posthumously, Hôkoku (wealth of the nation).⁽⁵⁰¹⁾ Exceptionally ugly to the point of having been nicknamed 'Monkey', he is described by a Western writer as having 'possessed a knowledge of human nature almost infallible'.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ He strengthened and centralized to a considerable extent the internal administration of the country without disturbing the traditional feudal organization of Japanese society, but rather by infusing new blood into it. Under the pretext of collecting metal for the construction of a great image of Buddha, he requisitioned all the 'swords, short swords, bows, spears, firearms, or other types of arms' in the hands of peasants and sailors.⁽⁵⁰¹⁾ The rigid class system which he evolved lasted until the nineteenth century. Under his instructions, from 1582 to 1595 an extensive land-survey was carried out, the main purpose of which was apparently not so much to apportion taxation by the State as to have a clear basis for the distribution of land to faithful retainers and for knowing the income which they would derive from it. He had a 'vision of a larger world in which Japan was to play a part, of a horizon that stretched beyond Asia, to Africa and Europe'.⁽⁶⁶⁵⁾ As he even took pains to inform the (Portuguese) Viceroy of the Indies in 1591⁽³⁰⁶⁾ and the Governor-general of the Philippines in 1597, he cherished the desire of conquering China—which had been Nobunaga's dream—and he actually sent two expeditions to Korea for that purpose in 1592 and 1597, even going so far as to appoint his own nephew as 'Civil Dictator of Great China' and to fix the exact date on which the Japanese Emperor would be 'transferred to the Chinese capital'.⁽³⁰⁶⁾ He died however before his great purpose could be accomplished. For many years he was a generous protector of the Christian communities, but the political activities undertaken by them, and more particularly by the Jesuits, made him change his attitude completely, and for a few years persecutions were fairly inexorable.

The Kyoto Hôkoku-jinja, built in 1700, has for its Kami Hideyoshi, under his full title of Zoô-sho-ichii-toyotomi-no-asomi-hideyoshi-ko. It used to stand where the mausoleum, Hôkoku-ryô, now is, but it was demolished a few years later, under the Tokugawa Shôgunate, and only rebuilt on its present site in 1880. The temple is adjacent to a beautiful Buddhist temple which was built by Hideyoshi; it prides itself on having the Karamon-gate, which comes from the Fushimi-jô castle, also built by him. One *sessha*, the Sadateru-jinja, has for its Kami Hideyoshi's wife, Kitano-mantokoro. Among the many other temples to Hideyoshi, we may mention the Chiba-ken Mitsumine-jinja, the Kanazawa Toyokuni-jinja, the Saga-ken Tenjin-jinja (on the place where Hideyoshi resided when launching his Korean expedition), the Kyoto and Tokyo Toyokuni-jinja (founded in 1599) and three temples built under the reign of the Emperor Meiji: one in Ôsaka (where he is in the company of Hideyori and Hidenaga Toyotomi), one in Nagoya (built in 1881) and one in

Nagahama (Shiga-ken). The stone lanterns in the Ôsaka Hôkoku-jinja are believed to have been brought over from Korea by Hideyoshi's generals.

At least four of Hideyoshi's generals became Kami in their own right:

Kiyomasa Katô (1562–1611), a staunch Buddhist of the Nichiren sect, the son of a blacksmith, was one of the generals in charge of the expedition to Korea,⁽⁵⁸³⁾ where he earned the name of Kishôkwan, demon-general. He is the Kami of the Katô-jinja, founded in 1871. He is also worshipped (or 'consoled')⁽¹²²⁾ under the name of Seishôkô in the Buddhist temple of Hommonji.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ The Meiji-jingû has been erected on an estate formerly owned by him.⁽⁶¹⁹⁾

Another was Naoshige Nabeshima (1537–1619), who was enshrined in 1817 in the Matsubara-jinja, together with his wife Hikozuru-hime and his grandfather Kiyohisa. His son Katsushige (1580–1657) was added in 1872.

A third was Toshiie Maëda (1538–1599), who first served with Nobunaga; he gained so much of Hideyoshi's confidence that the latter entrusted his son to him. He is the Kami of the Oyama-jinja, founded in the very year of his death.

Still another was Masamune Date (1566–1636), not only a great warrior, but also a keen diplomat and a patron of artists and scholars, who was very much attracted by the Christian faith.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ Under the name of Takeburi-hiko-no-mikoto, he is the Kami of the Awoba-jinja.

The age in which Nobunaga and Hideyoshi flourished is known as the Azuchi-Momoyama period, so called from the respective names of the castles which constituted the citadels of those two men. This age is characterized, among other things, by the great progress made in the realm of arts.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

Ieyasu Tokugawa (1542–1616) had been made by Hideyoshi a member of a council of five Elders (Gotaïro), which actually took up the reins of government.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ But he fairly soon eliminated his four colleagues. Next to Hide-yoshi, he was the most influential man in the country. It was he who transferred the seat of the Shôgunate to Edo, now Tokyo, and who founded and organized the feudal system which was to last for two and a half centuries. For the first time, he allowed Westerners, the Dutch and the English, to engage in trade with Japan, and sent ships and commercial representatives as far as Siam and Mexico. He established an era of peace and prosperity which lasted under the Shôgunate of his family until 1868. His 'secret motto', which he once revealed to his friends and immediate attendants, was 'Requite malice with kindness'.⁽³⁵⁵⁾ He laid considerable stress on Confucianism. His astuteness had won for him the nickname of 'old badger' (*furu-tanuki*).⁽⁴⁵⁴⁾ His final triumph marks the beginning of the Genwa era, Genwa-no-embu, 'Battle-ending era of Genwa'.⁽⁵⁰²⁾ After his death he was made Tôshô-dai-gongen, 'Light of the East and Great Incarnation'. He is believed to have left a 'Legacy' (Yuïgon) or political testament in 100 chapters,⁽³⁵⁶⁾ the authenticity of which is contested, but which 'substantially reproduces the spirit of his policy',⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ and which was to serve as a valuable guide for many of his successors. He rebuilt several temples, including the Mishima-taïsha.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

A number of temples, called Tôkyô-gû—which used to be independant from each other⁽¹⁷⁸⁾—have Ieyasu for their Kami. The most impressive is the one in Nikkô, where a mausoleum was erected by his son in 1616–1617, and extensive buildings added in 1624–1636 by his grandson. The temple, which claims to be 'the most gorgeous in Japan', remained half-Buddhist and half-Shintô until the Meiji Reform. It is said that Ieyasu's spirit was enshrined in Shintô style, while his ashes have been buried in Buddhist style in

the Tōkyō-gû; the Oku-sha, a *sessha*, is believed to have been built over his tomb. One of the many beauties for which the temple is famous is the giant cryptomeria trees (in 1925 there were nearly 18,000 of them!) which were planted by Masatsuna Matsudaïra, more than three hundred years ago.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The Taki-san Tōkyō-gû was built by Ieyasu's grandson adjacent to the more important Buddhist temple Taki-san-ji, which had been erected by Yoritomo Minamoto.

The Kunô-san Tōkyō-gû was built in 1617 on the hill where Ieyasu had been previously buried. He is enshrined there with Hideyoshi Toyotomi and Nobunaga Oda as *aidono-no-kami*.

In the impressive Ueno (Tokyo) Tōkyō-gû, founded in 1626, Ieyasu is in the company of Yoshimune Tokugawa (1677–1751), the eighth Tokugawa Shōgun.

The Nagoya Tōkyō-gû, built in 1619, was destroyed in 1945 by American bombers.

Mention should also be made of the Hirosaki Tōkyō-gû and the Shiba Park (Tokyo) Tōkyō-gû, both of them erected in 1617, of the Mito Tōkyō-gû, erected in 1621, of the Wakayama Tōkyō-gû, which dates from the same year and which he shares with Yorinobu Tokugawa, of the Maëbashi Tōkyō-gû, built in 1624, where he is accompanied by four *aidono-no-kami*, the Takayama Tōkyō-gû, built in 1629, where five *aidono-no-kami* are also enshrined, the Aikawa Tōkyō-gû, built in 1633, the Oshima Tōkyō-gû, built in 1644, where nineteen *aidono-no-kami* can also be worshipped, the Hōrai and the Hiro-shima Tōkyō-gû, both built in 1648, the Sendaï and the Hakodate Tōkyō-gû, built in 1650 and 1799 respectively. Ieyasu has also been sharing since 1881 the Tamaë-gû-tōshō-gû with Hiko-ho-ho-demi, Toyotama-hime and Tama-yori-hime.

Apart from Tōkyō-gû, Ieyasu shares with Ōjin-tennō, Chūai-tennō and Jingû-kōgō the *honden* of the Iga-hachiman-gû.

In the Tatsuki-jinja, erected about the same time as the Nikkō Tōkyō-gû, near the place where Ieyasu was born, he is in the company of one of his vassals, Tadakatsu Honda. The temple used to bear the title of Tōkyō-gû, but it was destroyed by government order, along with the castle in which it stood, in 1874; the families which owned it rebuilt it eleven years later.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

The same Tadakatsu Honda is the single Kami in the Eisei-jinja, which was also ordered destroyed at the beginning of the Meiji era.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

Subsidiary shrines to Ieyasu are found in a number of temples: the Chichibu-jinja, the Dewa-san-dzan, the Hië-taïsha, the Yamanashi-ken Mitake-jinja, the Mitsumine-jinja, etc. They are generally called Tōkyō-gû, although in kana the name is spelt Toūshiyō-gû.

One of Ieyasu's generals, who had long fought against him before he finally joined him, Kagekatsu Uēsugi (1555–1622), a nephew of Kenshin, became in 1923 one of the Kami of the Matsugasaki-jinja, together with the Kami of the Kasuga-taïsha. To them was added later a descendant of Kagekatsu, Harunori Uēsugi (1751–1822), popularly known as Yōzan, a daïmyō famous for his wise administration and for bringing into his domains the industry of silk-weaving.^(122, 452)

Several other members of the Tokugawa family were also kamified at various periods:

Naomasa (Matsudaïra) Tokugawa (1601–1666), whose pen-name was Rakuzan, was a grandson of Ieyasu. He is the Kami of the Matsuë-jinja, founded by the inhabitants of the city in 1877, and which has been beautifully described by Lafcadio Hearn.

Mitsukuni Tokugawa (1628–1700), popularly known as Mito-kômon, Seizan, or Gikô, was the second Lord of Mito. He is famous mostly for having started the 243-volume History of Japan (*Daï-nihon-shi*), which was only completed in the twentieth century. He was largely responsible for making Masashige and Masatsura Kusunoki popular national heroes. Although a great student of Chinese literature, he was a champion of Japanese literature. In the same spirit, he protected Shintô against the ever-increasing inroads of Buddhism, had about a thousand Buddhist temples demolished in his domains and one Shintô temple erected in each village.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ He received the posthumous name of Takayuzuru-umashi-no-mikoto. A statue of his, which had been honoured in the Buddhist Kyûshô-ji, a temple built by Gikô for his mother, serves as *go-shintai* in the Tokiwa-jinja, of which he is now one of the two Kami. The temple was one of those destroyed by American bombs a few days before the capitulation of Japan.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Nariaki Tokugawa (1800–1860), popularly known as Rekkô, was the 9th Lord of Mito, and the founder of the Kôdô-kan Institute, a great centre of Shintô studies, in which many famous theologians and other scholars worked. He organized the defence of Japan against the American warships, but his political opponents, who were in favour of conciliation, finally got the upper hand.⁽⁶⁵³⁾ He received the posthumous name of Oshi-take-ô-kuni-nomitate-no-mikoto. He is the other Kami in the Tokiwa-jinja. His faithful adviser, Tôko Fujita (1806–1855), is the Kami of one of the *massha*, the Tôko-jinja.

If we now return to an earlier period of the Tokugawa Shôgunate, we find Sôgorô Sakura, who was bold enough to complain to the Shôgun about the exactions of the daïmyô of his province, Masanobu Hotta. The latter had him crucified as well as his wife, and their four children beheaded in 1655. He is the Kami of the Sôgo-jinja.⁽⁵⁸³⁾

The greatest of the ministers who served the Tokugawa Shôgunate is generally acknowledged to be Sadanobu Matsudaira (1758–1829). Himself a son of Tokugawa, though he was adopted in another family, he is held largely responsible for the prosperity which marked the Kwansei era (1789–1801). He organized the defence of the Japanese coasts to prevent aggression from the Russians who were very keen to open relations. He was also a noted writer⁽⁸⁵³⁾ and a great patron of letters.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ He is the Kami of the Nankô-jinja, erected in 1923.

Nariakira Shimazu (1809–1858) also distinguished himself by organizing the defence of his country, this time against the British fleet which shelled the coasts of Japan in 1863. But he is also famous as a great benefactor and modernizer of his particular province, Satsuma.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ He is the Kami of the Terukuni-jinja, erected in 1864.

Another statesman who not only opposed the British fleet but actually opened fire on it was Motonari Môri (1839–1896). After an eventful career in the course of which the Shôgun sent three armies against him, he finally won the Emperor's favour and was made a duke.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ He is worshipped in the Noda-jinja with Takachika Môri (1817–1871) who had adopted him as a son.⁽¹²²⁾

Shintô worship is also offered to a number of men who helped the Emperor Meiji to carry out his far-reaching reform. Let us mention more particularly:

Takamori (or Nanshin) Saïgô (1827–1877), the 'great Saïgô, although later a rebel, now has his statue in the Tokyo park of Ueno. He is the Kami of the Nanshû-jinja, and his grave is in a nearby Buddhist temple, the Jôkômyô-ji.^(452, 583)

Noritaka (Torajirô, or Shôin) Yoshida (1831–1860) also turned rebel and was executed. A great partisan of the exclusion of foreigners, he tried to go first to Russia and then to America, to study Western life at first hand, but failed.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ He was enshrined in 1882 in the Setagaya-ku Shôin-jinja, in the precincts of which his tomb can be seen. He is also the Kami of the Hagi-shi Shôin-jinja, built in 1907. In the precincts is a building in which he taught for three years before his death.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

A peculiar case is that of Tomomi Iwakura (1825–1883), to whom it had been decided to erect a temple, thereby making him a Kami. But the large sums which had been collected for that purpose were finally used to build a school. So after all he is not a Kami!

Nor were the theologians forgotten. The ‘four great’ are the Kami of the Nagano-jinja and each of them has an individual temple of his own: the Motoôri-jinja for Motoôri, the Yataka-jinja for Hirata, the Agatai-jinja for Mabuchi, and the Azumamaro-jinja for Kadano-Azumamaro.

Sanetomi Sanjô (1837–1891) and his father Sanetsumo (died 1859) are often considered to have constituted the ‘spiritual centre’ of the Meiji Restoration.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The father had in his life-time been called Ima-tenjin, ‘Incarnation of Michizane’; he is the original Kami of the Nashinoki-jinja, founded in 1890. The son, who was Prime Minister in 1871,⁽⁵⁸³⁾ received, also in his life-time, the very high title of Shôichii; he was added as a Kami to the same temple in 1915.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The most important temple of this group, however, is the Sakura-yama-jinja, founded in 1874 for the best workers of the Meiji Reform collectively. They were enshrined in it one after the other when they died. There are now approximately 400 of them, and it may be supposed that the list is practically closed.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Soldiers, sailors and airmen killed in war-operations are also automatically entitled to kamification, and special temples, the Gokoku-jinja, are consecrated to them in every prefecture. In addition to which they have a central national temple, the Yasukuni (Nation-protecting)-jinja, which was called Shô(summon)-kôn(spirit)-sha until 1879.

The Kami of the Yasukuni-jinja ‘include some of the prime movers in the Restoration of 1868, but by far the larger number are the soldiers and sailors who died in the two civil wars of 1869 and 1877 and in the foreign wars of 1894–5, 1904–5, 1914–8, 1931–2 and 1937–45’.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ The temple is marked by two giant torii, one forty feet high in stone, and one fifty feet high in bronze. The two main matsuri of the temple take place on April 21st-25th and October 18th-21st.

To quote a modern exponent of Shintô: The Japanese don’t doubt that the spirits of the soldiers who died in the battlefields for the sake of their fatherland never fail to return to dwell in their home sanctuaries and holy shrine precincts. For this reason, they daily make food offerings to their ancestral spirits, talk to them affectionately, invite them to the annual family council and pray for their well-being. They died for their beloved country and continue to live in the spirit-world so as to become guardians of their bereaved families and the Japanese nation, instead of going to Heaven for ever. When the Russo-Japanese war was brought to an end in 1905, the Emperor Meiji wrote an *uta*, a short poem:—

The souls of heroes, whose bones lie
bleaching on foreign strands,
have now returned to their homeland.^{?(383)}

An American official who had been instructed to carry out investigations on the Yasukuni-jinja for the benefit of the troops of occupation and to suggest any appropriate action in 1945 wrote recently: 'I became more and more convinced that of all the shrines (Shintô temples) in the country, Yasukuni was one of the most noble and truly religious institutions in the entire shrine system.'⁽⁷²³⁾

In some of the Gokoku-jinja, such as the one in Aïchi-ken, are also enshrined the samurai who gave their lives for their lord.⁽⁴⁶⁹⁾

This may be the appropriate place to mention the Akaho-shi Ôishi-jinja, where the Kami are Yoshio Ôishi and the other forty-six *rônin* famous in Japanese history for having avenged their master Naganori (1667–1701), the Lord Asano of Akô. Wooden statues of them all are to be seen in the neighbouring Buddhist temple Kagaku-ji. Their tombs are in the Buddhist temple Sengaku-ji in Tôkyô.⁽⁴⁵²⁾ Yoshio Ôishi is also enshrined in the Kyôto-shi Ôishi-jinja.

Some of the great generals of the Russo-Japanese and the Chinese wars were singled out for special worship. Thus:

General Count Maresuke Nogi is the Kami of four Nogi-jinja erected between 1915 and 1919, one in Tokyo, one in Kyoto, where he is in the company of his wife Shizukono-mikoto, one in Chôfu (Shimonoseki) near the place where he spent the earlier part of his life (close by, the Shizutama-jinja has for its Kami Shizuko-no-mikoto) and one in Nishi-nasuno-machi, where he spent the last part of his life, and in which his wife is also enshrined. Many Nogi relics are kept in the Shimonoseki Imi-no-miya-jinja. It is interesting to note that General Nogi, before he committed *seppuku* with his wife, when the Emperor Meiji died, gave his body to the Faculty of Medicine, with the only qualification that his teeth, hair and nails should be buried.⁽⁶⁰³⁾

General Kodama is the Kami of the Kodama-jinja, built in 1920 in Enoshima, where he had expressed the desire to spend his last years on earth.

Prince Yoshihisa Kitashirakawa, who played a great part in the conquest of Taiwan and lost his life there, was enshrined in the—now destroyed—Tainan-jinja and Taiwan-jinja. In the latter he was with Ô-kuni-tama, Sukuna-hikona and Ô-namuchi.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Apart from great men of nation-wide fame, many regional or local heroes were made Kami, and some of them have large temples. From among those who do not seem to be more mythological or legendary than historical, we may mention a few instances:

Ohari-no-harinane-no-muraji-no-mikoto, who is believed to have introduced agriculture in the region of Aïchi, is the Kami of the Harizuna-jinja. Ame-no-kago-yama-no-mikoto, who performed the same service in the Northern part of the Niigata-ken and the Kagawa-ken, is the Kami of the important Iyahiko-jinja. He and his son Ame-no-hitane-no-mikoto are also *aidono-no-kami* in the Tamura-jinja; in the latter, Ame-no-kâgo-yama is considered to be a Kami of water and to reside in a well behind the *honden*. For similar protection, Mizu-wakasu-no-mikoto is worshipped in the Oki island in the Mizu-wakasu-jinja, Owari-ô-kuni-tama-no-kami in Aïchi-ken in the Owari-ô-kuni-tama-jinja, Samukawa-hiko-no-mikoto and Samukawa-hime-no-mikoto in the region of Sagami in the Samukawa-jinja.

Three members of the Satake family of daïmyô: Yoshinori (1395–1462), who was both a warrior and a painter and writer, Yoshikazu and Yoshitaka (1825–1884) have the great honour of sharing since 1878 with Ôjin-tennô, Jingû-kôgô and Hime-gami the *honden* of the Hachiman-akita-jinja, founded in 1431 by Yoshinori.

Harunobu Takeda (1521–1573), better known by the name of Shingen, was the great enemy of Kenshin Uesugi, and also had his head shaven as a Buddhist monk.⁽⁵⁸³⁾ He is the Kami of the Takeda-jinja.

Several members of the Ryûzôji family, Takanobu (1530–1585), his son Masaie (1556–1607) and Takafusa, daïmyô of Hizen, were kamified and enshrined in 1873 in the Matsubara-jinja, dedicated to the Nabeshima family.

Yoshitsugu (or Kenzan) Nonaka (1616–1664) more of a scholar, engineer and administrator than of a warrior, belonged to the Shushigaku school of Confucianism. He is the Kami of the Kenzan-jinja. Many of his relatives and vassals are enshrined in the Nonaka-jinja.

A very interesting case is that of the Kôchi Kunteki-jinja, called until about 1950 the Horagashima-jinja. Its Kami is a very romantic Buddhist monk, Kunteki-o-shô (1623–1670), who was also a student of Shushigaku. He reached *satori* (illumination) at the early age of twenty-two and worked many miracles. Of noble origin and imbued with *kokutai-seishin* (the spirit to serve ‘the backbone’ of the country),⁽¹²²⁾ he was bold enough to protest against the exactions made by the Lords of Yamauchi, who levied as taxes as much as seventy per cent of the rice production, imposed ruthless forced labour on the whole population from the age of three, etc. He was imprisoned and finally committed suicide in a posture of meditation (*zazen*) by biting off his tongue. For the following consecutive days a violent typhoon ravaged the country and eight of his persecutors died unnatural deaths. At the Meiji Restoration it was recognized that he had served his country well in a Shintô spirit and should be enshrined in the Shintô way. Efforts were made about 1942 to turn the jinja into a Buddhist temple, but they were defeated. One of the *massha* has for its Kami Ginteki-ô-sho, Kunteki’s teacher.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Many founders of castles were also made Kami locally for that particular reason. We shall mention only two:

A feudal lord who founded the castle of Kôchi is enshrined in a *massha* of the Kunteki-jinja under the name of Dodo-ichizen-no-kami.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

The founder of the castle of Miyazu, Munehiro Matsudaira, is enshrined in the Sakurayama-honjo-jinja, a *sessha* of the Wakimiya-jinja, with Hy ôsu-no-kami.

The identity of such local Kami has in some cases been forgotten by later generations, in which case worship is offered to Ubusuna-no-kami, a generic name, as in the Hase (Saeki-shi) Hachiman-gû.⁽¹²²⁾

Moreover, some people were enshrined, not because of what they had done during their lives, but for the circumstances of their deaths. Such is the case of a fairly inconspicuous *uneme* (palace-servant) who committed suicide and is now the Kami of the Uneme-jinja, a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha.

One very odd case is that of Yoki-hi, the most famous beauty in the history of China, who, under the name of Yang Kuei Fei, was one of the favourites of the Emperor Hoan Tsung of the Tang Dynasty. She was killed during a revolution, but there is in the Atsutajingû a tradition according to which her spirit came there to dwell in peace, and a burial-mound was built to it. A gate which bore the name of the gate in her Palace, Shunko-môn, existed in the precincts of the temple until it was destroyed by American bombers, but the tablet bearing the name of the gate was preserved.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In a category by themselves come the original or very ancient high-priests of temples, to whom a special subsidiary shrine is not seldom consecrated. We shall mention:

The Ise-jingû, where Yamato-hime is the Kami of the Yamato-hime-no-miya, a *bekkû*.

The Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja, where a number of former priests are enshrined in the Soreï-sha.

The Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, where Itakeshi-nomikoto, the first high-priest, is 'probably' the Kami of the O-tsu-bo-no-miya.

The Sumiyoshi-taïsha, where the first priest, Tamo-mi-no-sukune, and his wife, Ichi-hime-no-mikoto, are the Kami of the Ô-moto-yashiro, a *massha*.

The Kasuga-taïsha, where Nakatomi-no-sukefusa, the ancestor of the priests of the temple, is the Kami of the Tsugoö-jinja, a *massha* of the Wakamiya-jinja.

The Ô-miwa-taïsha, where the first priest from the Takamiya family is the Kami of the Wakamiya-sha.

The Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, where Tama-yori-hime-no-mikoto is worshipped in the Kataoka-no-yashiro, a *sessha*, as the first priestess (*miko*) of the Kamo family to have received the chief Kami.

The Izumo-ô-yashiro, where the seventeenth high-priest (*kokuzo*), Miyamoke-no-sukune (beginning of the fifth century) has a temple of his own, the Ujino-yashiro.

The Dewa-san-dzan, where the fiftieth high-priest (*bettô*), Tenyû, is the Kami of the Tenyû-sha, a *massha*.

CHAPTER XX

LOCAL KAMI, FAMILY KAMI AND GUILD KAMI

SINCE in Shintô every individual and every group are free to choose a particular Kami for special devotion and, in a sense, to appropriate him, every Kami, from the most famous to the most obscure, is treated in some places as the specific God of the locality or the community.

Nevertheless, some Kami are more specially connected with a particular place or group of people. They range all the way from the not very remote ancestors to the tutelary Kami of a vast region, and it is all the less possible to draw dividing lines between different classes because it frequently happened that the Kami of one family gradually extended his sway over a much larger group.

One very authoritative author, Dr Nitobe, wrote: ‘Ancestor-worship was the primeval religion of Japan from the earliest times of our history... and it is universally practiced by the people at the present moment. There are three kinds of ancestor-worship in vogue: the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor by all the people; the worship of the patron-god of the locality, which... is the remains of worship of clan-ancestors by clansmen; and the worship of the family-ancestors by the members of that household.’⁽⁷³⁷⁾

If we start from the narrowest level, we find of course ancestors (*sorei-shin*) who are worshipped as Kami for the simple fact that they are ancestors. The unity and solidarity of the family ignore the barriers of time and death.

Most Western authors have recognized that ancestor-worship was one of the essential elements of original Shintô, although the impact of Chinese and Korean forms of Buddhism, as well as of Confucianism, may have given it a fresh and vigorous impulse.

This may partly explain the strange fact that, while Buddhism, in its original form at least, attributes no reality to individuals, and therefore to relations between individuals, dead or alive, and while Shintô is essentially a family relation with one’s ancestors, human and divine, the cult of ancestors (*sozen-sûhai*) in the home was often concentrated on the Buddhist altar (*butsu-dan*), and not on the Shintô altar (*kami-dana*). One further explanation which has been offered is that Shintô, as we have seen, is not much concerned with the after-life, while Buddhism takes considerable interest in heavens, hells and nirvana.

Special worship is offered to each ancestor every month on the day on which he died; a more solemn service is celebrated on the anniversary of his death, particularly on the first, fifth, tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth and fiftieth anniversaries. At the end of the cult, a traditional prayer is: The relatives assembled partake of the sacred sake which has been offered to the ancestor, and talk about his meritorious deeds, while each person present gives voice to a resolve not to degrade in any way the name of the ancestor.)⁽⁷³⁷⁾

The Kami who is most similar to the pure and simple ancestor seems to be the Dôzoku-shin, or Kinship-kami, a Deity of a family-group unified in the consciousness of possessing a common paternal ancestry, i.e. a family group actually living together in the same village

and having a real genealogical relation. There are cases of worshipping the ancestor of the family group and cases of worshipping a Kami introduced from elsewhere, but, in both the worship of ancestral spirits seems to be in the background. Usually the *honke*, or original house (from which the other houses may have branched off) is entrusted with carrying out the worship and, at the festival, the entire kinship group assembles; by performing a festival in common, they strengthen the solidarity of the group and simultaneously pray for its prosperity. The belief in *Dōzoku-shin* presents many complex facets.⁽³²⁷⁾

The Uji-gami was formerly the ancestral Deity of a certain family—a family which of course may have reached the size of a clan. So much so that Western authors translated the name as ‘surname-deity’.⁽³²⁵⁾ The awareness of the fact that the Uji-gami is a common ancestor, and that there are, through him, ties of blood-kinship, gradually changed, however, into a feeling that the Kami had under his very special protection not only his direct descendants, but also those other people who were connected with them in one way or another, such as living together with them or even near them. Thus, since the Middle-Ages, he has been thought of more frequently as the tutelary Deity of one village, the Kami of all people living within a certain area.⁽³²⁷⁾

Therefore, the term *ujiko* which originally referred to the entire membership of a clan possessing common ancestral gods, came to designate all the parishioners of a given temple who were born and lived within the territorial boundaries of its parish.

The final stage of this evolutionary process is that the Uji-gami is now practically the Kami of the place where one has been born. In June 1870, it was decreed that everyone ‘registered in the census-books shall enrol in the shrine of the local Kami of his residence’. And the new-born babes within fifty days after their birth.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

A modern author wrote: ‘In almost every community life was organized around two Shintō shrines, one representing the ancestor of the most important family in each locality, and the other the creator or early owner of the land itself [before Meiji]... In fact the Shintō shrine, as the cynosure of each locality, was considered the measure of the community’s prosperity, both economic and cultural... Thus without any articulated doctrine or creed, Shintō shrines were symbols of communal pride.’⁽⁶⁶⁵⁾

It is probably through their worship of the Uji-gami that the Japanese give the strongest religious expression to their love of the native soil. When they cannot return to the place of their birth, even for the New Year celebrations, they have a small lump of the earth on which their Uji-gami’s temple stands sent to them.⁽¹³¹⁾

The transposition from Family-kami to Village-kami can still be observed, with its appropriate ceremonies, in such places as Haibara (Nara-ken) and Futa-i-j ima (Yamaguchi-ken).⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

No less an authority than Hirata has written that all the Uji-gami are under the orders of *Ô-kuni-nushi* and act as his agents,⁽⁶²⁵⁾ but one may wonder whether the remark does not rather apply to the *Ubusuna-no-kami*, whom we shall discuss later. As a matter of fact, in the Tokyo *Ô-kuni-tama-jinja*, which is more or less the higher authority above the *Sō-sha* or temples to the *Ubusuna-no-kami* of the region, ‘it is likely’, says the high-priest, that the Kami is *Ô-kuni-nushi*.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

Very similar to the original concept of Uji-gami is that of *Ketsuen-shin*, a Deity worshipped by a group of persons sharing the same genealogy. It is stated however that ‘since in Japan there did not exist from antiquity any group consisting entirely of purely

blood relations, the Ketsuen-shin, or “god of blood-relations” can really be said to be the god worshipped by a group possessing subjective consciousness of being one kinship group. However, among these groups, there are some kinship-groups where clear traces are visible of a family splitting into main and subordinate houses, there are cases where such a group worships a family god, but this is a recent form which has developed in recent ages.⁽³²⁷⁾

Of a different origin is the Chinju (region)-no-kami, ‘a tutelary god protecting a definite area’.⁽³²⁷⁾ His domain may be large or small, a few square yards or many square miles. He it is who had to be propitiated when an encroachment is made upon his territory, for instance building a house, digging a well, erecting a temple. (Cf. p. 160 above).

Of a nature which recalls both the Uji-gami and the Chinju-no-kami is the Ji-kami, a Deity worshipped, in regions West of the Kantô area, in a corner of the garden or on the border of fields. It is said that worship is paid to the spirit of the person who first started the village or first cultivated the particular field, also that worship is given to one’s family ancestors; and there are places where it is said that a person becomes a Ji-kami thirty-three years after his death. There is also a belief identifying the Ji-kami with the Ta-no-kami, the Field-kami.⁽³²⁷⁾

Both Uji-gami and Chinju-no-kami nevertheless gradually become what are more generally called Ubusuna-no-kami. The latter are not necessarily connected either with blood relationship or place of residence. They are rather the Kami of the localities where people have been born. The person ‘belonging to’ an Ubusuna-no-kami is called *ubu-ko*, it is to his temple that the newly-born child is taken on his first visit for presentation, and he becomes the god protecting the person, even after he or she reaches the age of maturity and may move to another locality.⁽³²⁷⁾

We have already noted that, in some shrines, the Ubusuna-no-kami is worshipped under that generic name without any further specification, and nobody knows who he is.

Another name used in the same connection is Chien-shin, which designates a deity worshipped by a natural group living in a definite area. In the broad sense, it can include part of the Uji-gami and part of the Ubusuna-no-kami, but it usually refers to the village-kami worshipped by a geographical group smaller than the other two. There are cases where a Ketsuen-shin or a Dôzoku-shin has become a Chien-shin, or where Kami of other localities have been introduced as Chien-shin of new localities. The Chien-shin is chiefly a Deity protecting the region in which he is worshipped, but since the Meiji period there are many cases of Chien-shin of small groups being incorporated in the Uji-gami.⁽³²⁷⁾

* * *

The various professions, whether organized in guilds or not, have in almost every case their own Kami, who plays a part very similar to that of a patron saint in the Roman Catholic Church. He may be a Kami celebrated in the *Kojiki*, possibly with a detailed mythology, but he may just as well be a very recent historical or legendary person. We shall give only a few instances.

The diving girls in Toba City worship as their Kami a woman of their profession, named On-be. While she was one day slicing dry abalone into very thin slices (*nashi*), an unknown nobleman passed by, admired her work, and said it was worthy of being presented to the

Dai-jingû in Ise. From that day on, On-be regularly presented *awabi-nashi* to the temple. Upon her death, she was kamified under the name of Kuguri-gami.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The makers of mirrors worship Ishi-kori-dome, the God—or Goddess, because her sex is the object of considerable controversy—who made the mirror by which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was seduced out of her cave.

The jewellers worship Tama-no-ya, the Jewel-ancestor, who made ‘an augustly complete string of curved jewels eight feet long—of five hundred jewels’, for the same purpose.

The dancers worship Ame-no-uzume, the Goddess who played a decisive part in this incident, and was later sent to interview Saruda-hiko.

The architects and carpenters worship Taoki-ho-oi-no-kami and Hiko-sashiri-no-kami, who built the ‘beautiful sacred hall’ to induce Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the cave.⁽¹²²⁾

The swordsmen and judoka of course worship Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami and Futsunushi-no-kami, the two great warriors who made the way clear for Prince Ninigi.⁽¹²²⁾

The potters worship Kama-gami, who is probably identical with Kamado-kami. On each kiln they have a small stone Kama-gami to whom they offer sake and salt before they light the fire.⁽²³³⁾

The miners worship Kana-yama-biko-no-kami and Kana-yama-hime-no-kami, the Kami of the ‘metal-mountains’.⁽¹²²⁾

Many merchants, as we shall see later (cf. p. 505ff. below), are devotees of Inari or Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami.

To take a much more recent instance, a temple, the Kutani-jinja, was erected to Shôzo Kutani (1816–1883), who was the originator of the now famous Kutani chinaware.⁽¹²²⁾

The sumô-wrestlers worship Nomi-no-sukune, who distinguished himself during the reign of Suinin-tennô. According to the *Nihongi* (VI, II sq.):

‘The courtiers represented to the Emperor as follows: “In the village of Taïma there is a valiant man called Kuyahaya of Taïma. He is of great bodily strength, so that he can break horns and straighten out hooks. He is always saying to the people: ‘You may search the four quarters, but where is there one to compare with me in strength? O that I could meet with a man of might, with whom to have a trial of strength, regardless of life or death!’”

‘The Emperor, hearing this, proclaimed to his ministers, saying: “We hear that Kuyahaya of Taïma is the champion of the Empire. Might there be any one to compare with him?”

‘One of the ministers came forward and said: ‘Thy servant hears that in the Land of Izumo there is a valiant man named Nomi-no-Sukune. It is desirable that thou shouldst send for him, by way of trial, and match him with Kuyahaya.’”

That same day the Emperor sent Nagaochi, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato, to summon Nomi-no-Sukune. Thereupon Nomi-no-Sukune came from Izumo, and straightway he and Taïma-no-Kuyahaya were made to wrestle together. The two men stood opposite one another. Each raised his foot and kicked at the other, when Nomi-no-Sukune broke Kuyahaya’s ribs with a kick and also kicked and broke his loins and thus killed him. Therefore the land of Taïma-no-Kuyahaya was seized and was all given to Nomi-no-Sukune. This was the cause why there is in that village a place called Koshi-ore-da, i.e. the field of the broken loins.

‘Nomi-no-Sukune remained and served the Emperor.

‘Later he was influential in having the human sacrifices at funerals replaced by the placing of clay objects’ (*Nihongi*, VI, 19 sq.).

Many temples have Nomi-no-Sukune as their Kami, although a number of them honour him mostly as the ancestor of the Sugawara family; such is the case of the Bôfu Ten-man-gû, the Dazaifu Ten-man-gû, the Sugawara-mura Sugawara-jinja, the Sumiyoshi-ku Ten-jinja, the Sakai-fu Sugawara-jinja, the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû. The main temple to him as the patron of wrestlers seems to be in Tokyo, near the Kokugi-kan, the national Sumô-hall; it was erected in the middle of the Meiji era.⁽⁴²⁷⁾ Others are the Ô-nomi-no-sukune-jinja (in Tottori), the two Nomi-jinja in Takatsuki-shi; the first two of this group are mentioned in the *Engi-shiki* and the third is believed to have been erected in the ninth century. But all places where sumô-wrestlers live or work are sure to have a small shrine to him.

CHAPTER XXI

BEAUTIES AND POWERS OF NATURE

SINCE every feature of Nature is either a child of the greatest Kami or at least under the special care of a Kami who is their child, it is not surprising to find that every beauty and power of Nature is the object of a respect which may amount to worship. This is true of practically every one of them, from celestial bodies to the very herbs and stones, from rivers and mountains to wind and thunder. It should be observed, however, that—with some important exceptions—their worship comes to a large extent from spontaneous individual or group initiative, and that sentimental or aesthetic motives are often prominent; temple cults in this connection are mostly secondary, occasionally insignificant or even non-existent.

Since Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is given absolute precedence in the Shintô Pantheon, we shall begin with the Sun. The cult of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was discussed already (cf. pp. 370–4 above). An English Japanologist has propounded the idea that the solar character of the Goddess ('Chinese' pronunciation: Tenshō-daijin) having become obscured, the people have personified the Sun afresh under the names of Nichi-rin (Sun-wheel)-sama or Ô-tento (O Heaven-path)-sama, sexless and mythless,⁽³²⁴⁾ but it does not seem that the Japanese devotee really makes such a distinction.

We have also mentioned Waka-hiru-me, who is sometimes taken to be the 'younger sister' of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, and sometimes to be herself in an early stage of manifestation, but who in both cases is connected with the rising sun or the morning sun (cf. pp. 299f. above).

Hiru-ko, as we have seen (cf. p. 259f. above), is in all probability also a solar Kami, although his identification with Ebisu (cf. p. 511ff. above) makes his worshippers view him generally in a different role.

In addition to the above three, we find some other Kami whose names at least suggest that they are also connected with the Sun. Among them, we may mention:

(Kushi-dama-)nigi-haya-hi, a 'soft and fast' sun, perhaps the morning sun, who was sent down by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami herself probably even before Prince Ninigi (cf. p. 334 above).

Mika-haya-hi (Terrible swift sun) and Hi-haya-hi, both born, directly or indirectly, from Kagu-tsuchi's blood, who are worshipped at a mountain shrine, the Kono-jinja, a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha.

Whatever names are given to the Sun-kami, the Sun itself is almost universally worshipped by the Shintôists, and there is even a phrase *kô-jitsu-sei*, which means 'a constant tendency towards the Sun'.⁽⁴³⁰⁾ As was stated recently by a Japanese author who is a keen observer of customs, 'Many Japanese are still Sun-worshippers. Particularly old folks, both in cities and in rural areas, are seen worshipping the sun every morning. Rising early, they step outside, and facing the eastern sky, they clap their hands and bow towards

the sun. To these people, the sun rules their lives. The sun gives them food, and so they must be thankful for it. When children waste food, mothers tell them that they will anger the sun and be punished.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In his book *Tama-no-mi-hashira*, Hirata himself addresses prayers to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami as the Sun. In every district some places are great favourites for such worship. For instance in Tokyo: Takanawa, Shinagawa, Susaki, Atago Hill in Shiba Park, the Tenjin temple in Kanda, Sannodaï in Ueno Park, Riumtaku Tower in Asakusa. Of nation-wide fame are of course the summit of Mount Fuji and the space between the two rocks Fû-fu, opposite the Futami-okitama-jinja, near Ise.

The *hi-machi*, ‘waiting for the sun [to rise]’, is ‘a popular religious custom by which a company of believers assemble at each other’s houses on set days, such as the fifteenth day of the first, fifth and ninth months of the old calendar, hold a religious ceremony, then spend the night talking and worship the rising sun.’⁽³²⁷⁾

The situation is quite different for the Moon. As we have seen, the Moon-kami, Tsuki-yomi, was born from Izanagi’s right eye immediately after Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had been born from the left. The word *otoko* (male) is sometimes added to his name to emphasize his sex. In spite of the dignity which might have been expected from the circumstances of his birth, very few other references to him are found in the Scriptures, apart from a *Nihongi* version (I, 27) ascribing to him the murder of the Food-kami, Uke-mochi. One very odd explanation for this surprising silence was suggested by a Japanese esoterist: Tsuki-yomi represents after-life on the Moon, while Susano-wo represents after-life on this earth; the former is therefore of no practical interest to us!⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Hirata goes so far as to say that to worship Tsuki-yomi might bring ill-luck.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ Apart from other doubtful reasons which he offers, it is clear that the word *yomi* in the name of the Kami is at least homophonous with that which designates Hades, although the Chinese characters used suggest the interpretation ‘to read the moon’—which sometimes makes of Tsuki-yomi a Kami of travelling.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ And *yomi* may refer to the darkness of the night as well as to that which obtains in the realm of the dead.

In the *Yamato-hime-seiki*, written in the twelfth century, Tsuki-yomi is described as a man riding a horse.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ During the period of Buddhist influence in Shintô temples, he was assimilated to Amida-nyorai.

Quite a few temples, nevertheless, are devoted to his cult. The two most important are probably the two very ancient Tsuki-yomi-no-miya, each of them a *bekkû* of one of the two main temples in the Ise-jingû. In both he is enshrined along with his own *ara-mitama*, which stresses his ‘severe’ aspect. In the one attached to the Naikû, Izanagi and Izanami also have their own shrines. His *shintai* is a mirror. It is insistently pointed out by the Ise clergy that there is no opposition between Tsuki-yomi and Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, and that since Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is worshipped daily in the Gekû Mikeden, Tsuki-yomi is ‘therefore’ also similarly worshipped.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

Tsuki-yomi is also the only or the main Kami in the Toda-mura Gassanjinja, the Dewasan-dzan Gassan-jinja, the Masuda-machi Gassan-jinja, the Tsuki-yomi-jinja in Kizukuri-machi, Kushira-machi and Nishi-sakura-jima-mura, the Tsuki-yomi-jinja, the Agetsu-jinja, the Asakusa-hachiman-sha, the Fukayama-hachiman-sha, the Ôsasa-jinja. He further shares the *honden* of the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja with Waka-hiru-me, Koto-shiro-nushi, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo, that of the Matsuë Rokusho-jinja with the last two, Tsuki-yomi,

Izanagi, Izanami and Ô-namuchi, and that of the Takahara-jinja with Ô-namuchi, Koto-shiro-nushi and Saruda-hiko. We find him also as the sole Kami in some subsidiary shrines called Tsuki-yomi-jinja in the Nagata-jinja, the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja, the Matsu-no-wo-taisha, etc. In the shrine of the same name in the Kumano Hongû-taisha, he is in the company of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami.

There is also a very ancient Tsuki-yomi-jinja on the island of Iki, but doubts are entertained as to whether its Kami is 'quite the same' as that mentioned in the *Kojiki*.⁽¹²²⁾

The main worship paid to the moon is however more aesthetic than religious. Not only does the moon recur with a frequency amounting almost to obsession in poems and paintings, but to admire it, more particularly at certain periods and in certain spots is considered one of the most refined pleasures which can ever be enjoyed. As was pointed out by a French Japanologist, those who indulge in it 'proceed from admiration to prayer'.⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾ Among the favourite places, we should mention Teppodzu, Susaki, Shibaûra, Takanawa, Shinagawa, Hakkeisaka, Haneda, Mount Atago and the plateau of Yushima.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

In Shintô, remarkably little official recognition is accorded to the stars. This may be due to the fact that the Star-kami *par excellence*, Ame-no kagase-wo, was definitely allergic to the 'pacification' effected by Futsu-nushi and Take-mika-dzuchi, and had to be 'executed' (*Nihongi*, II, 19. cf. p. 342 above).

He was nevertheless later identified with the Buddhist Myôken-bod-dhisattva, or Polestar, who 'is believed to guard the land and to prevent disasters, and more particularly to cure eye-diseases, and was as such worshipped in a large number of Myôken-sha'.⁽¹²²⁾ After the Meiji restoration, the names of both the temples and the Kami had to be shintôised,⁽¹²²⁾ and in many cases Kagase-wo was then identified with Ame-no-minaka-nushi.⁽⁴⁶³⁾ His name is explained as follows: *ka* (=ga, scents) -*se* (back), or *kagase* (from *kagasu*, to brighten, to illumine)-wo (a mighty being).⁽¹²²⁾

The Little Bear, Hokushin-ô-kami, is found enshrined in a few temples, such as the Hokushin-jinja, a *massha* of the Usa-hachiman-gû.

But the two stars which are most prominent in Shintô are Ame-no-tanabata-hime-nomikoto (Tanabata for short), also called Shokujo, the Weaver, and her male companion Hikoboshi or Kengyû-sei (Altair). According to their legend, which although highly reminiscent of Chinese folk-lore, is claimed to be specifically Japanese,⁽¹²²⁾ and to have existed before the advent of Buddhism,⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ the two stars, deeply in love with each other, are separated by the Ama-no-gawa, the Heavenly River (here identified with the Milky Way) and are allowed to meet only once a year. This is the date of the highly popular Tanabata-matsuri, on the seventh day of the seventh moon which became a national event in A.D. 755 and remained until the Meiji Reform one of the five chief festivals of the year.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

As stated in a bulletin recently circulated by Japanese embassies abroad:

'Since the festival's introduction to Japan, the Emperor and his family have celebrated the day by placing offerings to the two stars in their garden and composing poems for the occasion.

'The common people also started observing Tanabata in the Tokugawa era, and eventually it became a custom to hang strips of coloured paper on bamboo branches and float them down the rivers. Egg-plants, cucumbers and other vegetables of the season are also offered to the celestial lovers.

‘The festival is now observed with the people arising early in the morning of July 7th and gathering the dew formed on the grass in their gardens. The dew is used to make ‘sumi’ or India ink and poems expressing one’s wishes are written with brush on coloured strips of paper. These are then hung on the branches of a bamboo-tree in the garden. It is believed that a young lady who pens these poems will become adept not only in penmanship but also in weaving and sewing. In the case of a boy, he will become a brilliant scholar. Children throughout the country observe the festival both for its colourful decorations and for the opportunity to hope that their fondest dreams will come true.

‘In various large cities, especially Sendai in North-Eastern Japan and Hiratsuka near Yokohama, Tanabata has become a major annual festival. The cities are elaborately decorated with beautiful multi-coloured streamers hung from bamboo poles which line both sides of the streets in the centre of town. The colourful atmosphere, amidst the warmth of a midsummer day, attracts thousands of visitors from throughout the country.’

This festival was gradually merged with the Buddhist O-bon or Ullumbana, the great celebration in honour of the dead. It is now largely observed by children as a purification ceremony.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ What is probably a unique exception is the Shika-umi-jinja, where its purpose is to ask for rain, and it is apparently in honour of the dragon Ryû.⁽¹⁰⁾

One remarkable instance is the Hoshi-no-miya, officially called Hoshi-daïmyô-jinja, erected by the Ananai-kyô near one of its observatories. Although it is registered as dedicated to the cult of Nigi-haya-hi,⁽¹²²⁾ the owners and clergy claim that it has no Kami and is used for the worship of stars (*hoshi*) generally.⁽¹²³⁾

According to a highly authoritative high-priest⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ the Earth was probably the object of more worship than any other entity, but now very little devotion seems to be manifested to it as such and as a whole. On the other hand, many of its aspects and of its constituent elements figure prominently in Shintô cults: Japan as the national land, mountains and rivers as natural features, rice-fields as producers of the staple-food (cf. p. 499f. below), etc. In this chapter, we shall be concerned only with topographical features which arose without any human intervention.

* * *

Mountains (*san-gaku*) and also islands (*shima*), which are nothing else than mountains of which the foot is under water—are in Japan the object of worshipful reverence. A recent official publication states: The Yama-no-kami, literally Gods of the mountain, are of two kinds: first, the Kami who govern the mountain, and second the Kami of agriculture. The first type is worshipped by hunters, charcoal-burners and wood-cutters, and the Deities enshrined are Ô-yama-tsu-mi and Kono-hana-sakuya-hime. There are many highly varied traditions connected with this worship, but the practice of offering the salt-sea fish called *okoze* is widespread. The second type is the same as the Ta-no-kami (cf. p. 499f. below) worshipped by farmers and is thought to be a Kami different from the first type.⁽³²⁷⁾ We shall see, however, that this opinion is not unanimously accepted.

The ‘paramount’⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ Mountain-kami is Ô-yama-tsu-mi, one of the children procreated by Izanagi and Izanami. He is worshipped as the only or chief Kami in a number of temples, as for instance the Afuri-jinja, the Ô-mi-shima Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja (which is believed to have been founded even prior to the arrival of Jimmu-tennô), the Mihara-gun Hiyoshi-jinja and the Soya-yama Tsurugi-jinja, and also as one of several Kami in many temples, such as the

Mikumi-jinja, the Himi-shi Hiyoshi-jinja, the Kôtaï-jingû, the Waka-matsu Ebisu-jinja, the Ima-hië-jinja, the Sakataru-jinja, the Tobata Sugawara-jinja, the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, etc. He is *aidono-no-kami* in the Tokyo Atago-jinja, the Todoroki-jinja, etc. In the Shirayama-hime-jinja, he has a *sessha* of the Betzusan. Many of the most important temples devote a *massha* to him: the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja in the Dewa-san-dzan, the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-no-yashiro in the Kotohira-gû and the Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja, the Uba-jinja in the Taga-taïsha, the Kame-yama-jinja in the Usa-hachiman-gû, and the Ebisu-jinja in the Himuka-jinja, although in the last two he shares the worship with other Kami. The same applies also to the West shrine of the Suhara-jinja.

Side by side with Ô-yama-tsu-mi should be mentioned other Kami who are closely connected with the mountain. Most of them fall into two main groups, those who were born from the corpse of Kagu-tsuchi, and the descendants of Ô-toshi, who appear at a much later stage. It may probably be assumed that the two groups correspond to two successive stages of concretization of the mountain.

The names, and even the number, of the Kami in the first group (*yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*) vary considerably according to the texts. They do not seem to receive much worship in temples, but wood-cutters generally pray to them collectively before they fell trees on the mountain-slopes. The names found, which do not necessarily all correspond to different Kami, are:

Hara-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the woodland mountains.

Hayama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the outlying mountains. He is the Kami of the shrine bearing his name which was formerly an independent temple, but became a joint *sessha* of three temples: the Asama-jinja, the Kamubo-jinja and the Ôtoshi-mi-oya-jinja—which is a very remarkable instance. He also has a *massha*, the Hayama-tsu-mi-jinja, on the Dewa-san-dzan.

Kura-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the dark mountains.

Masa-katsu-yama-tsu-mi, True-conquer Mountain-kami.

Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the true-pass mountains, who is enshrined in the Saka-hogi-jinja.

Naka-yama-tsu-mi, Middle Mountain-kami.

Odo-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the descent mountains.

Oku-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the innermost mountains.

Saka-no-mi-wo-no-kami, the Kami of the august declivities of the hills, to whom the Emperor Sujin made offerings (*Kojiki*, II, lxiv). Perhaps it is rather a common name than the name of a specific Kami.

Shigi-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the densely-wooded mountains. He also has a *massha*, the Omoikane-jinja, on the Dewa-san-dzan.

Shiki-yama-tsu-mi, Mountain-foundation Kami.

To-yama-tsu-mi, Kami possessor of the outer mountains.

In the second group we find five Kami, descendants of Ô-toshi, whose names definitely imply that they are Mountain-dwelling kami. The first four are his sons:

Ô-kaga-yama-to-omi, Great refulgent mountain-dwelling Kami.

Ha-yama-to, Swift mountain-dwelling Kami.

Kaga-yama-to-omi, Refulgent mountain-dwelling Kami.

Yama-suë-no-ô-nushi, Kami great master of the mountain-end, also called Ô-yama-kuï, Great mountain integrator, the Kami of both the Hië-taïsha and the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha, as expressly specified in the *Kojiki* (I, xxix). His legend and his action vary considerably between the two temples. In the latter, where it is suggested that the word *kuï* in his name may mean ‘water’, and not ‘integrator’, he is in any case closely connected with a spring near which his shrine originally stood; the spring and the Kami were worshipped by the powerful Hata clan, which is believed by its present representatives to have lived there long before the race of Yamato conquered the region. And it happened that the clan took special interest in textiles and in the brewing of sake. That is very likely why the Kami of the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha has become for the whole of Japan *the* Kami of brewing, and more particularly of sake. The temple claims to have given *bun-reï* to 1,112 other temples,⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ and Matsu-ô-jinja or Matsu-ô-sha are to be found in the Nagata-jinja, the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja, the Shika-umi-jinja, the Tokyo Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, etc. As in the mother-temple, they are generally recognizable by large quantities of bottles of sake piled up before them.

In the Hië-taïsha (also called Hi-yoshi-sama) on the other hand, Ô-yama-kuï has remained more of a specific Mountain-kami, the ‘guardian of the mountain’. His parents, Ôtoshi-no-kami and Ame-shiru-karu-mizu-himeno-kami, each have a *sessha*, the Ô-mono-imi-jinja and the Mi-mono-imi-jinja. We have already described his bi-sexual nature, stressed in the *taïsha* by the separate worship of his two aspects, masculine and feminine (cf. p. 199 above). For that reason probably—and also because *kuï* may be taken to mean ‘to be born’—he is considered as the great protector of child-bearing, but he is also related to ancestor-worship and to the cult of Nature in general; he is specially worshipped by industrialists. The temple has issued about 3,800 *bun-reï* to other temples, prominent among which the Tokyo Hië-jinja and the Kyoto Ima-hië-jinja.

The last member of this group is Waka-yama-kuï, the Young mountain-integrator, a son of Ha-yama-to.

The *Nihongi* (IX, 17) also mentions a princess, Ha-yama-hime, who was appointed by Jingû-kôgô to worship Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s *ara-mitama*, but there is nothing else than the name to suggest that she was in any way connected with the mountains.

Mention should also be made of:

Ô-tomato-hiko and Ô-tomato-hime, Prince and Princess of the gentle folds in the mountains, children of Ô-yama-tsu-mi and the Kami of moors, Kaya-nu-hime or Nu-zuchi-no-kami.

Ame-no-sa-giri and Kuni-no-sa-giri, respectively Kami of the Heavenly and the Earthly pass-boundaries, children of the same parents.

One very remarkable fact about the place occupied by mountains in the Shintô cult is that a large number of temples, among which some of the most important, which were originally situated on or near the summit of mountains, have gradually come lower and lower down as they had to be rebuilt after successive destructions. We may mention as instances from various parts of Japan:

In Kyûshû, the Keko-jinja was originally on the mountain;⁽²¹⁵⁾ an *oku-miya* still marks the place on the mountain-side where the Usa-hachiman-gû used to stand, and from which it was brought down with the lame excuse that the mountain was ‘too sacred’.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

In Shikoku, the Todoroki-jinja was brought down to a lower site at about the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

In Kyoto, the Himuka-jinja came down as early as the fifteenth century;⁽¹²⁶⁾ the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja descended from the summit of Mount Koyama ‘in a very hoary antiquity’.⁽¹⁵²⁾

In Nishinomiya the Hirota-jinja, where Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami’s *ara-mitama* is worshipped, came down the slopes of the Kabuto-yama.⁽¹²⁷⁾

In the Hië-taïsha, the starting-point of the history of Ô-yama-kuï is that he ‘came down’ from the mountain,⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ and in the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha the same Kami was originally worshipped on the summit of the mountain, in a place now only marked by a large stone, and the temple came down to the plain as early as the middle of the eighth century.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

In Nara, the Kasuga-taïsha is now in the plain, but the Hongû-jinja, which was demoted to the rank of its *sessha*, and is older than the present main temple, is on the summit of Mount Mikasa; the descent of the Kami was effected in two successive stages.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

In the more northerly part of Japan, the Iyahiko-jinja was originally on the mountain, near the burial-place of the Kami, and had already come considerably lower down during the Nara era.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

Some *gûji* stress the idea that, because people no longer care to climb a mountain to worship the Kami, and temples (*sato miya*) have been erected nearer to the human dwellings, the conclusion should not be drawn that their faith has waned.⁽¹³⁶⁾ And a ‘sociological’ explanation has even been put forward.⁽³⁷⁾

Apart from the actual Kami of the types which we have described, mountains as such may exceptionally be worshipped as Kami. Such seems to be the case for Mount Akadake, which is the Kami of the Akadake-jinja, a *massha* of the Suwa-taïsha. What is more frequent is that the mountain acts as *go-shintai* for the Kami of the temple. We mentioned several cases in a previous chapter (cf. p. 121 above).

Apart from those extreme cases, some mountains are so sacred that it would be both sacrilegious and dangerous to tread them. Not even priests may go on Mount Miyachitake, and all the people who attempted to do so were struck with severe diseases.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The same applies to the hill behind the Himuka-jinja.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Until approximately A.D. 1800, no one was allowed to land on the island of Aoshima, except during the two weeks preceding the annual matsuri, because it is the place where Hiko-ho-ho-demi first met his wife; but after a typhoon had blown away the bridge connecting it with the mainland, one house was built on it for the *gûji* and his wife.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

The fact that a remarkably large number of temples are to be found around the foot of such mountains as Tsurumi and Yufu in Kyûshû⁽⁷⁹⁾ certainly proves that they are also held in great reverence. Another proof sometimes adduced that a mountain is sacred is that no ancient burial-place can be found on it.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Many other mountains are also personified to the extent that they are credited with feelings and even actions greatly resembling those of men. The *Mannyôshû* (1, 9, uta 1–13 sq.) already tells us about a struggle between two of them, Mount Kagu and Miminashi-yama, for the possession of another, the Unebi-yama, and the story certainly has an esoteric meaning.

The *Hitachi-fudoki*⁽³¹⁰⁾ tells us that Mi-oya-no-kami, the Ancestor kami, asked for lodging from Mount Fukuji (Fuji?) in Suruga, but that he was refused and therefore cursed it. Mount Tsukuba in Hitachi on the other hand received him warmly and was blessed by him. For which cause the latter has crowds of pilgrims and the former very few!

Mock Joya, in his usual humoristic style, tells us of another case:

‘Hikodake Gongen-yama at Shimomiya, Kumamoto Prefecture, and Fudo-iwa at Gamo in the same prefecture, were brother mountains. Their mother treated Fudo-iwa with affection, but mistreated Gongen-yama because the latter was her stepson. Daily she fed Fudo-iwa with *azuki* (red beans), which was a luxury food, but gave Gongen only soya beans which were very cheap. Her kindness to Fudo-iwa did harm to her favourite son, because *azuki* were not very nourishing and he became weak. On the other hand, Gongen grew big and strong, being raised on the nourishing soya beans. But the two brothers were very fond of each other. One day they played tug-of-war, putting a long strong rope around their necks. As they pulled, Gongen won, being the stronger of the two. When Gongen jerked the rope with all his strength, the rope severed the head of Fudo-iwa. The head rolled down to a village named Kubara.’⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

It is likewise reported that there was a long-drawn-out fight between the Nikkô mountain and the Akagi mountain and that on this account worshippers of the shrine on the one did not dare approach the shrine on the other, for fear of punishment.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Although Mount Fuji is not supposed to have been present in the original Creation by Izanagi and Izanami, but to have made its appearance at a considerably later date, it is no doubt *the* mountain which is considered most sacred by a great majority of the Japanese people. The eight summits around its crater (going the round of which, Ohachi-meguri, is a famous pilgrimage) and the eight lakes around its foot, have been ceaselessly admired, painted, sung, praised and glorified.

To quote Lafcadio Hearn:

‘The most beautiful sight in Japan, and certainly one of the most beautiful in the world, is the distant apparition of Fuji on cloudless days—more especially days of spring and autumn, when the greater part of the peak is covered with late or with early snows. You can seldom distinguish the snowless base, which remains the same colour as the sky: you perceive only the white cone seeming to hang in heaven; and the Japanese comparison of its shape to an inverted half-open fan is made wonderfully exact by the fine streaks that spread downwards from the notched top, like shadows of fanribs. Even lighter than a fan the vision appears—rather the ghost or dream of a fan—yet the material reality a hundred miles away is grandiose among the mountains of the globe.’⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

Pilgrimages to the top of Mount Fuji are extremely popular. It is estimated that over 100,000 persons make them every year, in July and August. The tiresome climb is usually effected, in special straw sandals (*waraji*) along one of six routes: Gotemba, Subashiri, Yoshida, Funatsu, Shôji and Fujinomiya, every one of which is divided into ten sections (*gô*) of unequal length; at the end of each one are found stone-huts (*ishimuro*) to accommodate pilgrims. The average total time required for climbing is about eight hours, and the descent can of course be made more rapidly. Most people endeavour to reach the summit before sunrise in order to enjoy the beautiful view (*goraikô*).

Mount Fuji is actually worshipped by a considerable number of sects, prominent among which the Fuji-kô, which was started by a man called Takematsu Hasegawa (more generally known under the name of Kakugyo) in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The sect underwent a considerable extension in the Tokugawa period. It is said that at that time there

were no less than 808 organizations of Fuji-san pilgrims, each with its leader (*kômoto*) and guides (*sendatsu*).⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Many etymologies have been suggested for the name Fuji. One which sounds very plausible is that it is an Aïnu word, since in Hokkaidô ‘the fire of every active volcano is worshipped under the name of Fuji-kami’.⁽³⁴²⁾ According to an old popular tale, it was an exclamation (meaning ‘never die’) uttered by the first man who saw it.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ According to a modern esoterist, it comes from *ho-kuji*, ‘mysterious spirit’, because ‘it is the only place on earth where the mysterious spirit of Father-Heaven can be received; it is the navel of the world.’⁽²¹⁾ For the founder of the Fuji-kô, Fuji was ‘the beginning of Heaven and Earth, pillar of the nation, and foundation of national administration’.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Its name can also be pronounced Huzi-san,⁽¹²²⁾ and some organizations of worshippers prefer to call themselves Huzi-kô.

The legend of its birth is interesting. According to tradition, it rose in one night, in the year 286 B.C., during the reign of Kôrei-tennô (Chamberlain writes: 300 B.C.),⁽³⁴⁷⁾ although, strange to say, neither the *Kojiki* nor the *Nihongi* make the slightest reference to the event. The same earthquake is also reported to have hollowed out the area where Lake Biwa now lies.

Many other legends have grown around the mountain. It is said that once a shower of *magatama*, the sacred pierced comma-shaped jewels, was flung down from its top.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ It is said also that the Goddess of Fuji once lured to the crater an Emperor who was never seen afterward, but who is still worshipped at a little shrine erected on the place of his vanishing.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ There is also a tradition according to which the sand which has rolled down during the day under the feet of pilgrims reascends at night, of its own accord, to its former position.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

Fuji-san nevertheless is not an actual Kami, but rather the seat of a Goddess, Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, a daughter of Ô-yama-tsu-mi and wife of Prince Ninigi, the one ‘who brought forth her children in fire without pain’. ‘In ancient books, it is recorded that mortal eyes have beheld her hovering, like a luminous cloud, above the verge of the crater.’⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

On the summit of the mountain is a shrine, the *oku-miya* of what is probably her main local temple, the Fujisan-hongû-sengen jinja. According to tradition, it was founded in 27 B.C. under Suinin-tennô.⁽¹²²⁾ It has given over 1,300 bun-rei.⁽¹²²⁾ Several hundred more temples, the majority of which are called Sengen-jinja, are scattered on the slopes and around the foot of the sacred mountain.⁽¹²²⁾

Various other temples which gave Buddhist names to their respective Deities were transformed and ‘purified’ at the time of the Meiji reform. Such is the case for instance of the Kusushi-jinja (now a *massha* of the Fujisanhongû-sengen-jinja) and the Mukaë-kusushi-jinja (the ninth *go-me* of the ascent by the Subashiri path), both of which now have Ô-namuchi and Sukuna-hikona as their Kami.⁽²²⁴⁾

There does not seem to be any record of the way or the time in which Kono-hana-sakuya-hime became associated with Mount Fujî.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ But one very striking thing is that in the name of the temple mentioned, as well as in those of many other temples to the same Goddess, we find the word *sengen*, which is one of the ways in which may be read the name of Mount Asama.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

As a matter of fact, Kono-hana-sakuya-hime is also very closely connected with Mount Asama, about eighty miles north of Mount Fuji, a mountain which like Fuji might also very well be likened to an ‘inverted half-open fan’, with fine streaks spreading downwards. (In

the Ainu language, *asama* means ‘volcano’.)⁽¹²²⁾ Although there is no temple at the top, the mountain is worshipped through two torii by the local people. But several Shintô temples called Asama-jinja are to be found in the neighbourhood, particularly in Konuma (sometimes called the *sato-miya* of Mount Asama, and in which a subsidiary shrine, the Anzan-sha, has Kono-hana-sakuya-hime for its Kami),⁽¹²²⁾ Oiwake and Kutsukake. Moreover, nearly 950 Asama-jinja can be found throughout Japan.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ It has been suggested that the name Asama is derived from *asa-kuma*, a winding stream.⁽¹⁴²⁾

The main Asama-jinja, from which it may be assumed that most or all of the other jinja bearing the same name have taken *bun-rei*, is believed to have been removed to its present site in Ômiya in A.D. 806, displacing a Fuji-jinja which became its *sessha*. But it must have been founded at a much earlier date, since one other temple, the Ichi-no-miya of Kai Province (Yamanashi-ken), which probably has its *bun-rei*, is reputed to have been founded in 22 B.C. Several temples, called Fuji-asama-jinja, in Shizuoka-ken, combine the names of both mountains sacred to the same Kami.

Kono-hana-sakuya-hime is also the only or main Kami of a number of other temples, prominent among which the Agata-jinja (famous for its Agata-yo-matsuri) and the Asamine-jinja.

In the Fuji-sengen-jinja, she is associated with her husband (Prince Ninigi) and Ô-yama-kuî; in the Hakone-jinja with her husband and one of her sons (Hiko-ho-ho-demi); in the West shrine of the Suhara jinja with nine other Kami.

A large proportion of the most important temples also have subsidiary shrines to her, e.g. the Katori-jingû (Sakura-ô-toji-no-jinja), the Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja (Asama-jinja), the Taga-taisha (Koyasu-jinja).

It should be noted that during the Edo era, Kono-hana-sakuya-hime was widely worshipped by businessmen and merchants in Ôsaka and its vicinity.

Space will only allow us to list a few of the other sacred mountains of Japan:

The one first mentioned in the scriptures is Mount Kagu, to which we have already made many references. It seems to have a heavenly counterpart bearing the same name: while it is definitely stated to be a terrestrial mountain in *Kojiki* I, vii, it is just as definitely described as a heavenly one in *Kojiki* I, xvi and in *Nihongi* I, 39.

Mount Hiei, although much more famous as a sacred mountain for Buddhists and for the tragic episodes of its political history, is nevertheless treated as a holy mountain by Shintôists.

Mount Ontake, ‘popularly considered second only to Mount Fuji in sacredness’,⁴⁵² Mount Akagi with its temple to Ô-namuchi, Mount Nantai near Nikkô, with its three temples, Mount Akiba with its temple to Ho-no-kagu-tsuchi, Mount Ôyama with the Afuri-jinja, Mount Takahara with its temple to Saruda-hiko, Mount Tsurugi in Shikoku, are only a few of the important ones which we have had no occasion to mention in other chapters.

* * *

Closely connected with the mountains are also the Kami of metal-ore, Kana-yama-biko and Kana-yama-bime (the latter not mentioned in the *Nihongi*), who were born from Izanami’s vomit. They are both enshrined in the Kogane-yama (golden mountain)-jinja⁽⁴⁵²⁾ (also called Horaï-zan),⁽⁵⁸³⁾ alongside with ‘all Heavenly Kami and all Earthly Kami collectively’.⁽¹²²⁾ The temple is situated on the small island of Kinka-zan (Gold-flower mountain),⁽⁴⁵²⁾ in the

Bay of Sendai. The island...has been...the resort of pilgrims from all parts of Japan for centuries past. Such was its sanctity in the old days that...no members of the female sex were allowed to gaze on the island, much less set foot on its soil.⁽³⁵⁰⁾ At the beginning of this century, women were still not allowed to walk to the top of the hill on which a small temple to Ô-wata-tsu-mi stands.⁽³⁵⁰⁾ 'Kinka-zan looks like a fairyland, its dense growth of primeval forest never having been touched by an axe... There are said to be 500 deer on the island.'⁽⁴⁵²⁾ A quaint custom which prevailed until fairly recently is that the mouths of sick deer are tied with *shimenawa*,⁽³⁵⁰⁾ probably in order that they should not defile the holy vegetation.

A few subsidiary shrines are also found to the same two Kami, such as the Sansha-sha of the Yoshida-jinja. Small shrines are also found in practically every mine.

Kana-yama-biko is worshipped, without his female counterpart, in the Nangû-jinja (founded in 660 B.C.), the Miyagi-ken Kimbu-jinja, the Kanaya-jinja, the Kanayama-jinja, the Sabimeyama-jinja, the Serita-jinja, the Wangu-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taïsha), the Ichido-sha (a *massha* of the Kibitsu-jinja, where he is in the company of nine other Kami), etc. Kanayama-hime is worshipped with Ho-musubi-no-kami in the Haruna-jinja.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to Hiralá, the melting of metal cannot be successful unless the fire is ritually pure.

A few words must also be said about the Smith-kami, Ama-tsu-mara, who took part in the making of the Perfect Mirror. The *Nihongi* calls him Ma-hito-tsu-no-kami, the one-eyed Kami, which establishes a curious similarity with the Cyclops, the companions of Hephaistos, the Smith-god of Greek mythology. He is often considered a phallic Deity.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ He shares with the Fire-kami and the Kami of stone-cutters the Fuigo-jinja, a *massha* of the Ikutama-jinja.

The Kami of clay, Hani-yasu-hiko and Hani-yasu-hime, born from Izanami's faeces, are to be found in a number of temples: the Kamo-hani-jinja (a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja), the Nisshi-massha of the Hakozaki-gû, the Kobuko-sha (a *massha* of the Mitake-jinja), etc.

Contrary to what happens to the Ore-kami, in this case it is the female Kami who is fairly often found in temples without her male companion. Instances are the Kumano Hongû-taïsha (which she shares with the Fire-kami, the Water-kami and a Kami of growth) and the Habu-jinja; she is also enshrined in the various Haruna-jinja, the Hanyû-jinja, the Kyoto Atago-jinja, the Kaëri-to-jinja (a *massha* of the Katori-jingû, which she also shares with the Fire-kami), the Jyûni-sha (a *massha* of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, in which she is in the company of eleven other Kami, including the Fire-kami), the Ho-shizume-jinja (a *massha* of the Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja, where she is with the Water-kami and again the Fire-kami).

The Clay-kami also occupy a place of honour—as might well be expected—on the home altars of clay-workers, and more particularly potters, who celebrate a small matsuri to them before heating their kilns.

Ordinary stones and rocks are not left out of the Shintô Pantheon. We have already seen that a number of them are for various reasons considered sacred and as such surrounded by *shimenawa*, and that some are even used as *shintai* for various Kami in their sanctuaries. As a matter of fact, the Scriptures tell us (*Nihongi*, II, 2) that there was a time when they could speak and had to be silenced. And there is a widespread popular belief that stones

can grow and even bear children—which of course are smaller stones.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Many specific instances are quoted.

There are many other miraculous stories about stones. The *Kojiki* (II, cxiv) tells of a woman, in the third century of our era, who was impregnated by the rays of the sun and gave birth to a red jewel; the latter was later transformed into a beautiful maiden, who became the chief wife of the local ruler's son, Ame-no-hi-boko, but finally took to flight. The *Nihongi* (VI, 4 sq.) also tells of a stone which, in the first century B.C., was worshipped as a Kami in Tsunoga, but turned into a beautiful maiden and later became the Kami of two different Himegoso-jinja, in Naniha and in Kosaki. In another chapter we saw the story of the stone which Jingû-kôgô carried on her person during her expedition to Korea in order to delay the birth of the child which she was carrying. (Cf. p. 431 above).

Some stones seem to be venerated on account of their shape, such as the *gama-ishi*, 'toad-stone', in Enoshima,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ or their origin, such as the one which was found in the body of a badger (*mujina*) at the time of Suinin-tennô (*Nihongi*, VI, 24) and is now kept in the Iso-no-kami-jingû,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ or simply because they have been suddenly discovered in a place where no stones had been seen before.

There are also some important Kami who, although not identified with stones themselves, are closely connected to them. One of them, who is probably mostly Buddhist, but is nevertheless honoured in Shintô, is Ô-iwa-daï-myôjin. Another is Ishi-kori-dome, the Goddess of stone-cutters, who nevertheless is credited by the *Kojiki*, some *Nihongi* versions and the *Kogoshûi* with having contributed to the making of the Perfect Mirror used to draw Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of the cave. One Japanologist suggests that it may be because bronze was cast into stone moulds.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ She also escorted Prince Ninigi down to earth. As we have seen, she is worshipped in a *massha* of the Ikutama-jinja with the Fire-kami and the Smith-kami.

Three Kami, whose names begin with the word 'stone', Iha-saku, Iha-tsutsu-no-wo and Iha-tsutsu-no-me, were born from Kagu-tsuchi's blood which 'gushed out and stained the five hundred rocks which are in the midst of the Divine River of Heaven' (*Nihongi*, I, 23). They do not seem to receive much worship.

One would expect to find among the Stone-kami those two who in the early stages of Creation were called respectively 'first mud' and 'sand and mud', U-hiji-ni and Su-hiji-ni. The fact that no worship seems to connect them in any way whatsoever with rocks and stones is a proof that they must be taken to correspond to one of the earliest levels of materialization in general, as we have mentioned before.

A few words must be said here about the pierced comma-shaped jewel-stones, *magatama*, in which name the word *tama*, as we have seen, also means 'soul'. They are generally made of jasper, agate, or various sorts of marble, cornelian, chalcedony, chrysoprase, or serpentine.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ No instance came to my knowledge where they had been treated as Kami, or even *go-shintai* (except the Yasakani-no-magata in the Imperial House), but they are the objects of religious respect, and they are recognized to be of a sacred nature. They are often found in the very oldest graves, both in Japan and in Korea, probably as ornaments for the dead.

One very important Kami, in whose name *tama*, possibly with the stress on the meaning 'stone', is prominent, is the ancestor of the Imbe clan, Futo-tama (Grand-jewel Kami). He took part in the divination before the process of drawing Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami out of

the cave could be initiated; he grouped the various objects on the *sakaki* tree, recited the liturgical praises, ‘pushed forward the mirror’, drew the *shimenawa* behind Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami as soon as she had come out, and ‘besought her respectfully’ never again to hide her face. He was also a member of Prince Ninigi’s escort, with the special mission of practising abstinence, praying for the Prince and guarding him.

He is the Kami of the Aha-jinja, the Ahaï-jinja, the Futo-tama-jinja, the Taji-jinja, the Nahaka-jinja, the Aha-no-yashiro (which was founded by his descendant Ame-no-tomi), the Ôasa-jinja and the Ôasahiko-jinja. Alongside with Prince Ninigi and Ame-no-koyane, he is also one of the Kami of the Amatsu-jinja.

* * *

Since, in what was exclusively—and still is to a large extent—an agricultural country, water is a determining factor,⁽¹⁸²⁾ it is not surprising that considerable attention is paid to it and to its three main sources of supply: rain, springs and rivers. The Kami associated with them are therefore naturally the object of intensive worship. In addition to which, as we have seen (cf. pp. 79–82 above), water is one of the great purifying agents.

The most popular name for the Water-kami in general is Suijin. He ‘is worshipped at the source of irrigation water-ways, lakes, ponds, springs, wells for drinking-water, etc. From of old there has been a widespread custom of representing Suijin in the form of a serpent, eel, fish or Kappa (cf. p. 480 below). Women play an important part in his worship.’⁽³²⁷⁾

The main Water-kami is Mizu-ha-no-me, who, as we have seen, was born from the urine of Izanami during her fatal illness. Remarkably little is known about her myth, but she is widely worshipped.

She is the Kami of the Todoroki-jinja, and also one of the Kami in the Kumano Hongû-taïsha, the Hokkaïdo Suiten-gû, the Yoshii-machi Mizu-jinja, the Mizu-nushi-jinja, the Soya-jinja, the Arakawa-jinja, the Ôi-hachi-man-sha and the Nibukawakami-jinja. Many important temples have subsidiary shrines dedicated to her, i.e. the Dewa-san-dzan (Sugataki-jinja), the Ôarai-isosaki-jinja (Suiten-gû), the Atsuta-jingû (Shimizu-sha), the Sumiyoshi-taïsha (Tatsu-no-yashiro, or Mii-no-yashiro), the Wakamiya-jinja (Suiten-sha), the Chiba-ken Mitsumine-jinja (Mi-nojinja and Hoshizume-jinja), the Wake-ikazuchi-jinja (Kawawo-sha), the Imi-no-miya-jinja (Inari-sha). She is also an *aïdono-no-kami* in the Okuno-miya of the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha. The Todoroki-jinja and the Nibukawakami-jinja, in addition to honouring her in their *honden*, also have special *massha* to her, the Hontaki-jinja and Naka-sha respectively.

Two other important Water-kami, both born from the Minato-no-kami, are Ame-nomi-kumari-no-kami and Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, respectively Heavenly and Earthly ‘Water-dividers’. The former is enshrined in the *honden* of the Kyoto Kono-jinja, and also in the Naru-ikazuchi-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taïsha). Both are found in the Komori-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Dewa-san-dzan. The Mi-kumari-no-kami, without specification of names or of number, is—or are—also the Kami of the Take-mikumari-jinja, the Uda-mikumari-jinja, the Araki-jinja, the Amebiki-jinja and of a *massha* of the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, the Komori-sha, and, under the name of Mizu-kumari-no-kami, of the Komori-no-yashiro, a *massha* of the Mitsui-no-yashiro, itself a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oja-jinja. There was also a Mikumari-jinja, of which the Kami was brought as an *aïdono-no-kami* into the Gôshô-jinja (a *massha* of the Miyazaki-jingû). And in the Miyazu

Wakimiya-jinja, Mikumari-no-kami, formerly in the *honden*, was relegated to a *sessha*, the Sakura-yama-ten-man-jinja.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ It would not seem however, that these two demotions indicate any general disaffection towards the Water-kami.

Among other Water kami, we may mention:

Mishima-no-mizo-kuï-hime, goddess of the 'Water-channel-piles', sometimes called Tama-kushi-hime, a wife of Koto-shiro-nushi, who is enshrined in the Minami-izu-machi Mishima-taïsha, and Mizu-maki-no-kami, Kami of 'Water-sprinkling', a great-grandchild of Susano-wo.

Neither of them seems to receive much worship.

Rivers and streams, as we have seen, play a large part in many purification processes, whether for bathing or merely as barriers, the crossing of which marks a certain stage in purification (cf. p. 96 above). It is all the more remarkable that as a general rule River-kami (Kawa-no-kami) are inconspicuous, anonymous and not credited with any specific powers.

One of the few references to their worship is found in the passages which relate a sacrifice in which Sujin-tennô 'presented august offerings of cloth to all the Kami at the august declivities of the hills and to all the Kami at the reaches of the rivers (Kawa-se-no-kami), without neglecting any'. (*Kojiki*, I, lxiv).

The name of Kahaku, a river-kami, is often found on edge-tiles (*onigawara*) to protect against fires.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

We should recall here the name of Tagitsu-hime, 'Torrent-princess', whom we have already described (cf. p. 438ff. above).

Serpents or other members of the animal kingdom are occasionally mentioned as the 'spirits' of some particular part of a given stream. But special parts of the course of rivers are themselves frequently given special attention, more particularly sources, cascades, rapids, estuaries, etc. This may be related to the fact that many a Japanese river bears different names in successive parts of its course and has no name to designate it in its entirety.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Divine sources often have considerable sanctity attached to them. Several important temples, such as the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû, the Matsu-no-wo-taïsha, were erected on the places where such sources had been discovered and were already worshipped. In addition to which many other temples boast of having on their precincts more or less miraculous sources and wells. We shall deal separately with the various Kami of the wells (cf. p. 497 below). The *Nihongi* (XXIV, 5) mentions a case in which, after prayers to the Rain-kami had been unsuccessfully offered, a great rain, which lasted for five days, was obtained by prayers pronounced at the river-source of Minabuchi.

Cascades, on the other hand, often receive more favourable treatment. The *Izumo-fudoki* mentions Taki-tsu-hiko, the Waterfall-prince, who is a son of Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne and therefore a grandson of Ô-kuni-nushi in person. In Kumano, the cascade of Nachi is considered to be both the temple of the Shirin (or Hirin, or Hiro)-jinja and its *go-shintai*. In the Todoroki-jinja, the present temple is considered to be only the *haïden*, the powerful 'virgin and pure' cascade being the *go-shintai* and the rock on which it falls the *honden*. In the Kumano Hongû-taïsha, a Water-goddess, Mizu-tsu-hime, is worshipped in a subsidiary shrine which bears the name of Taki (waterfall)-hime-jinja. Se-ori-tsu-hime is sometimes believed to dwell in the rapids of the river.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

Places where the current is swift are apt to be rather feared and their Kami have to be propitiated. It is probably not in them, however, that the odd-looking Kappa (water-tiger), more Buddhist than Shintô, is to be encountered and placated. It is represented as 'an amphibious animal, preferring muddy lakes and rivers. In its general shape it resembles a boy of about three or four years of age. The face is pointed and is of a bluish dark colour. It has thick hair, but on top of the head there is a dish-like depression which has no hair. This dish is very important, as it is for holding water when the Kappa goes out of the water. When the water in the shallow dish on top of its head is dried up, the Kappa dies, it is said. Its back is covered with carapace. The hands and feet are webbed, and nails are sharp and pointed as claws.'⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ It is mentioned frequently in the popular literature and its picture has been drawn by many artists.

Special mention should be made of the Minato-no-kami, the Kami of the 'water-gates', river-mouths, estuaries and ports. They are Haya-aki-tsu-hiko and Haya-aki-tsu-hime, both of them children of Izanagi and Izanami. They are the Kami of the Minato-guchi-jinja. The Goddess is worshipped particularly in the Tawa-jinja, some Kawaguchi-jinja (also called Shirakami-jinja), where she is considered to be a Kami of purification. She is also found in the Ôsawa-jinja, a *massha* of the Dewa-san-dzan, and, with other Kami, in the Harai-do-noyashiro, a *massha* of the Kotohira-gû. Motoôri identifies the two Kami, collectively, with Idzu-no-me-no-kami, also one of the Kami 'born from the bathing of' Izanagi. Both are enshrined as the main Kami in the Yu-minato-jinja, the Tagi-no-miya, the Minato-jinja and various others.

Some Kami located in individual estuaries or bays are mentioned in the Scriptures as being remarkably active and occasionally hostile: Ô-kura-nushi and Tsubura-hime prevented Chûai-tennô's ship from entering the Bay of Oka (*Nihongi*, VIII, 5); the evil Kami of the Bay of Segaha kills those who drink its water (*Nihongi*, XIX, 26); the Kami of the Bay of Aïta was implored for protection in A.D. 658 by the Yemishi who were pursued by the Imperial troops (*Nihongi*, XXVI, 5).

The two main Kami responsible for rainfalls are Taka-okami-no-kami, the 'great producer of rain in the mountains',⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾ or 'fierce rain-god',⁽⁴²⁷⁾ or 'god of the dividing of the waters',⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ and Kura-okami-no-kami, the 'great producer of rain on the heights',⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾ or 'dark rain-god',⁽⁴²⁷⁾ who may also be the giver of snowfalls (*Mannyôshû*, II, 19).

Kura-okami, about whose children the *Kojiki* (I, xx) supplies some additional information, was one of the two who were born from the drops of Kagu-tsuchi's blood which dripped from the hilt of Izanagi's sword and leaked out between the latter's fingers (*Kojiki*, I, viii). According to at least one Western Japanologist, he 'doubles himself and becomes in turn Taka-okami and Kura-okami'.⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾ He is enshrined in the Nibukawakami-jinja and in hundreds of Kifune-jinja in many districts, prominent among which those in Nishihon-machi and in Kume-machi. It is curious to note that the main Kami of the original Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, in Kyoto, was called Kura-okami-no-kami before the Second World War, but has now been officially renamed Taka-okami-no-kami.

Taka-okami, who might possibly be identical with Kura-mitsuha, the other Kami born on the same occasion and in the same way as Kura-okami (*Kojiki*, I, viii), was, according to other sources (*Nihongi*, I, 23), born from one of the three sections into which Izanagi cut up Kagu-tsuchi's body.

Taka-okami formerly occupied the upper shrine (Kami-sha) of the Nibukawakami-jinja, and Kura-okami the lower shrine (Shimo-sha), the middle shrine (Naka-sha) being occupied by the Water-kami *par excellence*, Mizu-ha-no-me,⁽¹²²⁾ but both the number and the order of the Kami seem to have been altered in the Taishô era.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

‘According to one version’, he is the main Kami of the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha—which, according to some authors, might be a branch of the Nibukawakami-jinja,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ although it has itself given *bun-rei* to 260 other temples.⁽¹¹¹⁾ He is also the main Kami of the nearby Oku-no-miya, in which he is considered to be identical with Funa-tama-no-kami.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Those two temples, and perhaps more particularly the latter (which is higher up), are probably ‘among the most mystical of Japan’.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ They are both closely connected with water in general and with the dragon. As a matter of fact, there stands opposite the Oku-no-miya a small shrine, the Kin-rin (golden dragon)-jinja, which is consecrated to ‘the spirit of the Kifune area, who is the chief of all the snake-spirits, snakes or dragons associated with water’.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Taka-okami is also enshrined in various other temples, such as the Tobata Sugawara-jinja.

As we have already seen (cf. p. 130 above), one ‘representation’ (*sairei*) of Taka-okami is no less a person than the main Kami of the important Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja—of which the Kifune-jinja-no-honsha remained a *sessha* until the Meiji Reform,⁽¹⁵²⁾ and of which it is still considered to be the *go-hongû*.^(119, 196) In the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, although the Kami is worshipped under his own name in two subsidiary shrines, the Aramiya-jinja (a *sessha*) and the Minato-sha (a *massha*), in the main sanctuary he bears no other name than that of the temple,⁽¹⁵²⁾ but the Chinese ideogram used to write the name means literally ‘thunder’ and therefore ‘represents the solemn dignity of that Kami as a dragon’.⁽¹⁵²⁾

According to the traditions of the temple, ‘the Kami rules the Water-element (*mizu*); he is the protecting spirit (*shugoshin*) of agriculture, because water and agriculture are closely linked; he is also the Kami of silviculture, sericulture, weaving and brewery; master of the weather, he protects against thunder, and also against the evils and misfortunes arising from unlucky exposure, thereby bestowing peace and happiness to mankind’.⁽¹⁵²⁾

Rain-kami are referred to collectively in some places, e.g. in *Nihongi*, XXIV, 5.

It should be noted however that prayers for rain may be addressed to practically any Kami. Thus it is related that in the year A.D. 841, Jimmu-tennô and Jingû-kôgô were appealed to for that purpose.⁽⁶⁰⁶⁾ As is quite natural, one of the Kami to whom people are apt to turn is the Kami of food, Uga-no-mitama or Inari.

One of the temples most famous throughout Japan for obtaining rain, the Shinano Togakushi-jinja, did not officially count among the main Kami of its three shrines (Ame-no-tajikara, Omoikane and Ame-no-uhaharu)⁽¹²²⁾ any Kami directly connected with water. And yet its fame has reached so far that every year it receives numerous telegrams from distant districts asking that prayers for rain should be offered. The sacred water of the temple is also shipped in caskets and barrels, to be taken round the farms in the daytime and guarded at night by farmers.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

But more popular than any of the Kami previously mentioned is probably Ryûjin (dragon-god), the thunder and rain-producing dragon, evidently of Chinese origin and much more Buddhist than Shintô. He is nowhere to be found in the *Kojiki* or the *Nihongi*, but is nevertheless enshrined in a number of Shintô temples, and inevitably worshipped by

the farmers in times of drought. It is said that those prayers for rain (*amagoi*) often bring immediate results.

According to popular belief, Ryûjin resides in the sea, in lakes and in large ponds, from which he will rise with a strong gust of wind and a thick mist, and ascend to the sky, creating dense rain-clouds, which then burst.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

In the Tatsuki-jinja, although 'not yet officially registered as such', he is acknowledged as one of the three main Kami and resides in the temple-well, since it was the condition on which he agreed to protect the local castle, where Ieyasu Tokugawa was born.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

In the Todoroki-jinja, Ryûjin is, as a delicate euphemism, given as just another name for Mizu-ha-no-me, but it was a real dragon which appeared in a dream to Hachisuka, Lord of Awa, at the time of Hideyoshi Toyotomi, when he prayed for success in the projected expedition to Korea, and it was evidently to that dragon that the temple was dedicated.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ And on the pictures representing the Kami sold in the temple there can be no doubt that it is a very fierce-looking dragon indeed.

Generally speaking, there are two different ways of praying for rain. One is to make offerings to the Kami, and the other is to threaten or punish him.

In the first case, water is fetched after special rites and prayers from places where the operation is believed to be specially effective, and worshipfully carried to the fields, as in the Wake-ikazuchi-sume-ô-kami-jinja. Special ritual dances (*amagoi-odori*) are offered to the Kami; they are in some cases very elaborate, and may continue uninterruptedly for several days and nights.

In the second case, one of the most common methods is called *hiburi*, or 'waving fire at the sky'. The fire is generally obtained from a shrine such as the Akiba-yama-hongu-akiba-jinja or the Inamura-dake near Ômine-san. But various methods of irritating the Kami are also resorted to. For instance cattle-bones or other rubbish are thrown into waters which otherwise are carefully protected from pollution—even into the sacred lakes around the foot of Mount Fuji!⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Since the quality of the water used in the brewing of sake, the sacred liquor, is of paramount importance, it is natural that there should be a close connection between the Water-kami and the Kami presiding over sake.

The most important temple connected with sake is probably the Matsu-no-wo-jinja (elevated to the rank of Matsu-no-wo-taisha after the Second World War), in which two Kami are found enshrined; Ichikishima-hime (one of the Munakata-no-kami, here considered as a Goddess of travel by sea) and Ô-yama-kui-no-kami (cf. p. 470 above). In the latter's name, *kui*, according to the tradition of the temple, means 'water'. Two huge marble sake-jars and numberless sake-bottles in front of the Matsu-no-wo-taisha clearly declare its vocation. In the temples to which it has given *bun-rei*, it may be presumed that the Kami is worshipped as the Kami of sake; in many of them the fact is stressed by their bearing the name of Matsuosha or Matsuojinja.

As a group of islands and a country of sailors and fishermen, Japan must of course pay considerable attention to the Sea-kami, the Umi-no-kami. Some of the most important, the Sumiyoshi-no-kami and the Munakata-no-kami, have already been described (cf. pp. 281f. and 438ff. above). The dragon-kami, Ryûjin (cf. p. 482 above) is also considered a god of the sea and worshipped as such at a big festival around the month of June.⁽³²⁷⁾

One other Kami is Funa-dama, 'a spirit worshipped by fishermen and seafarers as the Deity protecting ships. A hole is made in the mast of the ship and women's hair, dolls, two dice, twelve pieces of money and the five grains are put in and regarded as the symbol of the spirit. Funa-dama is widely believed to be a Goddess. She grants abundant catches when worshipped at times when fishing is poor.'⁽³²⁷⁾

* * *

In spite of the fact that the birth of the Fire-kami had such dire effects and that he had to be killed shortly after his birth by his own father, in Shintô he is not only regarded with awe as a 'god of conflagration',⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾ but also treated with worshipful respect.

It is true that the *Norito* evidently refers to his terrifying and destructive aspect in the passage: 'In order that he do not wreak havoc in the Court of the Sovereign Grandchild, I make offerings....'⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾ But, to quote an authoritative text-book, 'fire is considered to be sacred, to have power to destroy evil, is used as a sign of descent of a god, and is indispensable in illuminating religious ceremonies; its significance in religious ceremonies is great'.⁽³²⁷⁾

The Fire-kami is designated by a variety of names. To mention only the most frequently employed, he is called:

Kagu-tsuchi-no-kami (or -no-mikoto) in the Atago-hanazono-jinja, the Kumano Hongû-taïsha (where he is 'one of the fundamental Kami', along with a Kami of growth, a Kami of water and a Kami of clay), the West shrine of the Suhara-jinja (where he is in the company of nine other Kami, often called, with him, the Hakusari-gongen, but who do not seem to have much in common),⁽¹²²⁾ and some subsidiary shrines, such as two in the Dewa-sandzan (the Ôura-jinja and the Kagu-tsuchi-jinja), two in the Shika-umi-jinja (the Atago-jinja and the Akiba-jinja), one in the Hirota-jinja (Atagojinja), one in the Miyachitake-jinja (the Fudô-son-sha), etc. The last-mentioned is situated inside a hill which is believed to be the funeral mound of the Princess of Takanuka in Katsuragi, Jingû-kôgô's mother,⁽¹³⁰⁾ access to it is obtained through a subterranean passage lined with gigantic slabs of stone.

Ho-no-kagu—tsuchi-nokami in such cases as the Akiba-yama-hongu-akiba-jinja.⁽¹²²⁾

Ho-musubi-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami in the Akiba-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Taga-taïsha.

Ho-musubi-no-kami, the name by which the *Norito* refers to him, in a majority of cases. We may mention the Tôkyô (Yuzawa) Atago-jinja, the Haruna-jinja (where he is in the company of a Clay-kami),⁽¹²²⁾ the Izusan-jinja (where he is in the company of his parents Izanagi and Izanami),⁽¹²²⁾ and a great number of subsidiary shrines, such as the Akiba-jinja (a *massha* of the Fujisawa Shirahata-jinja), the Ho-musubi-jinja (a *massha* on the Dewa-san-dzan), the Ho-musubi-jinja (a *massha* of the Udo-jingû), the Kama-do-no-kami-no-jinja (a *massha* of the Taga-taïsha), the Atago-jinja and the Ishiko-jinja (two *massha* of the Kasuga-taïsha), the Inari-akiba-jinja (where he was in the company of Uke-mochi-no-kami; the shrine was formerly an independent temple, but was destroyed, and the Kami was brought as Guest-kami into the Gôshô-jinja, a *massha* of the Miyazaki-jingû) and the Jyûni-sha (a *massha* of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, where he is in the company of the Kami of lightning (Karaï-shin) and ten other Kami who represent a very mixed company).

One rather strange case is that of the Atago-jinja in Isurugi-chô (Toyama-ken): among the four Kami in the *honden* we find both Kagu-tsuchi-no-mikoto and Ho-musubi-no-kami; it may possibly be because at one time two temples were merged into one.

Ho-no-hiko-musubi-no-kami in the Atago-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Taga-taïsha, where he is in the company of his mother Izanami.

Hi-no-kami in the Fuigo (bellows)-jinja, a *massha* of the Ôsaka Iku-tama-jinja, where he is in the company of the two patron Kami of the stone-cutters and the blacksmiths; it is stressed by the priests that the three Kami are those who enable men to use the materials extracted from the earth: stones and ores.

Ô-hoko-no-kami, under which he is worshipped in the Shimo-tsu-sha, a *sessha* of the Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja.

The name Hi-no-yagi-haya-wo-no-kami, which is found in the *Kojiki* (I, vi), does not seem to be used in worship.

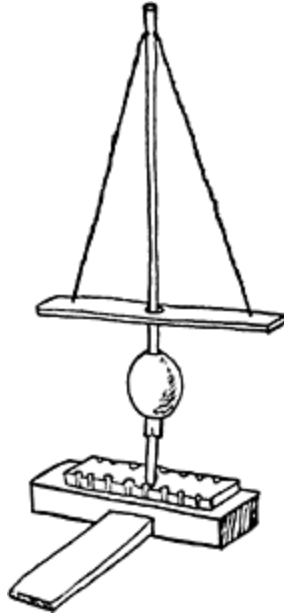
Aremarkable case is that of the Beppu Ho-no-wo-ho-no-me-jinja, where the Fire-kami is worshipped as a pair: Ho-no-wo-no-kami (male) and Ho-no-me-no-kami (female). They are said to be ‘fairly recent personifications of mountain-fire’, a fire which manifests itself permanently in the area through many hot springs, geysers and emissions of hot gases.

Perhaps the most important and famous temple dedicated to the Fire-kami is nevertheless that which is situated on Mount Atago, near Kyoto. People come to it from all over Japan to obtain charms which are believed to afford efficient protection against fires. It has given a large number of *bun-rei* and branch temples are found almost everywhere; in nearly all cases they are built on hills.⁽³²⁵⁾

Both in the above-mentioned temples and probably in a vast majority of all the others, special festivals (*hi-matsuri*) are held in honour of fire, which is viewed mainly as a powerful purifier, on a footing of equality with water. Both for those specific matsuri and also for other religious purposes, as well as for many secular uses, fire must however be pure in its very origin. Which explains why recourse should normally be had to traditional sanctified means of lighting it.

There are two main traditional methods, in both of which fire is obtained by drilling a vertical stick (*hi-kiri-gine*) on a horizontal plank (*hi-kiri-usu*) in which small cavities have been provided. Stick and plank are normally made of *hinoki* wood, although in the text (*Kojiki*, I, xxxii) which describes the first such operation on record, stems of sea-weed (*me*) were used as the ‘mortar’ instead of the plank, and stems of *komo* (probably halo-chloa macrantha) as the ‘pestle’ instead of the stick.

In the first, more simple method, which may be called the Izumo method, the stick is merely held between the palms of the two hands. In the other, the Ise method, the upper end of the stick is tied by a string wound around it to the two ends of a smaller horizontal stick which is pulled rapidly up and down. In both cases the wood is prepared according to highly elaborate rites. If we are to believe the temple tradition, the original fire-drill still in the possession of the priests of the Izumo-ô-yashiro was given to their first ancestor Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto by Kushi-mike-nu-no-mikoto (Deity Rare-offering) on instructions from Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo, and the Bekkwa family, which still supplies every year a new fire-drill, claims Kushi-ya-tama as its ancestor.⁽⁶³¹⁾ In this connection, it should be recalled that the Kumano-jinja is Nihon-hi-de-some-no-kami-yashiro, ‘the Temple where fire appeared for the first time in Japan’.⁽⁶³¹⁾



Hi-kiri-usu and hi-kiri-gine

As a general rule, fire is—or rather used to be—prepared according to either method, depending on the line to which the Kami and the temple belong. One peculiar instance is found in the Iyahiko-jinja, where both systems are used alternately.

One other way, also sacred, consists of rubbing a stone (generally a flint) or a piece of metal, against a piece of hard wood, or flint against metal (*hiuchi-ishi*), as for instance in the Yoshida-jinja. In the Kibitsu-jinja, although the fire used for cooking the offerings of food was lit ‘a very long time ago’, it is given new strength every year by sparks obtained by rubbing together stone and metal. In one variant, which used to be practised in the Fukuoka Sumiyoshi-jinja, a very special fire, called *bekka*, was obtained by rubbing a stone against a piece of wood which had previously been smeared with sulphur (*sukei*).⁽²¹⁵⁾

A rather exceptional method is followed in the Nikkô Fire-festival, where fire is obtained ‘by magnifying the rays of the sun’.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾

Nowadays, however, the sacred rite has largely fallen into disuse, and many temples, including some of the most orthodox (as for instance the Hikawa-jinja) are content with a box of matches. In some of them (such as the Nagata-jinja, the Suwa-taisha), the ritual gestures are made after the fire has been lit with a match!

Still, a great number of families hold to the ancient custom of purifying persons and things with ‘fire-striking’ (*kiribi*) or sparks obtained by steel and flint. This is done over offerings made to the *kami-dana*, at the door when someone starts on a long or important journey, or even by the wife every morning when the master of the house leaves for his work.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

To quote only a few of the most important or spectacular fire-matsuri:

At the very beginning of the year, a large number of temples celebrate a festival, Ushimitsu-doki, i.e. 'two hours before the hour of the bull', in which 'new' and therefore pure fire is solemnly lit by priests in the precincts, and worshippers light some lamp or torch from it, afterwards carrying it reverently to their homes. 'Old' fires have been put out, and every new one is made from it, directly or indirectly. Special dances (*azuma-asobi*) often accompany the celebration.⁽²³⁾

One of the most famous and impressive of those New Year festivals is the Nyôdô-sai held in the Ô-miwa-taisha. In this very peculiar temple, the *honden* is the mountain, the *heiden* a triple *torii* facing the mountain, and the only actual building is the *haiden*. Fire is lit on the slope of the mountain at O hour on January 1st and brought to the temple; a couple of hours later four six-foot torches made of dead pine-wood from the mountain are lit in their turn, and from them one giant twenty-five-foot torch. Most of the faithful have brought with them three-foot torches (*tai-matsu*) of their own, with which they take home the sacred fire; its first uses are to light the lamp which will burn before the family altar and to cook the first meal of the year (*zôni*), a soup with *mochi*. Those who did not bring torches are given specially cut bamboo-tubes in which a wick can burn for five hours. Special trains take the devotees to a number of destinations, some of them at very great distances.

During the corresponding ceremony in the Yoshida-jinja, parishioners pile up in front of the second *torii* all the *o-fuda* of the preceding year, including those emanating from Buddhist temples, family-temples, etc., in an octagonal space reserved for that purpose, and they make a huge bonfire of them.

On January 15th, the Shimotsuke festival celebrates the Otariya, the main purpose of which is to obtain protection against destructive fires. The same ceremony is repeated on December 15th.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On February 6th, in the Kannokura-jinja, young men carrying torches race down the 538 steps of the temple at a terrific speed.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the next day, the Toga-jinja celebrates the Hi-no-mai-matsuri.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On June 30th, the Ho-shizume-no-matsuri, or Fire-calming service, is performed in a great number of temples. It is repeated on December 31st.⁽⁷⁰²⁾

On June 4th of the lunar calendar, the O-te-bi-matsuri of the Nunakawa-jinja is also a fire-festival.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On July 14th, during the *rei-tai-sai* of the Kumano Nachi-jinja, the famous fire-dances in which priests, clad in white, wave huge torches, takes place before the cascade.

On August 26th, during the fire-festival of the Fuji-san-hongû-sengen-jinja, dozens of bonfires are lit on and around Mount Fuji.⁽⁴⁵²⁾

On the same day, the Fuji-sengen-jinja celebrates with a fire-festival the closing of the climbing-season; a float in the shape of Mount Fuji is carried through the streets, and when the procession is finished, a bonfire is lit in front of each house.

On October 22nd, during the Kumadera Hi-matsuri, crowds of parishioners, who have been preparing by purificatory rites for a whole week, rush from shrine to shrine carrying torches, and a dozen different processions parade through the streets.

On November 8th, we have the fire-festivals of both the Fushimi-inari-taisha (Fuigo-matsuri, festival of the forge) and the Hanayama-jinja. During the latter, devotees throw tangerine oranges into the fire.

On November 22nd, the Izushi-jinja has its great fire-kindling ceremony, the Momi-bi, according to the Ise method.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On December 8th, during the Autumn festival of the Yûtoku-inari-jinja, the fire-lighting ceremony in front of the shrine is watched by thousands of people.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On December 10th, the Ômiya Hikawa-jinja holds its great Fire-festival, which has been observed since the seventeenth century. A fire has been kept burning every night in the precincts of the temple for ten days. Marine and farm products are offered to the Kami, Ô-kuni-nushi.

On December 14th, the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja holds a great fire-festival during which sparsely-clad young fishermen jostle one another around the 108 (a sacred Buddhist number!) bonfires set in a circle in the large precincts of the temple.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾

On the same day, in the evening, one of the most impressive ceremonies in honour of the Fire-kami takes place in the *haïden* of the Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû. Only the priests of the temple are allowed to attend. In the course of a most elaborate ritual, which lasts for several hours, a priest, carrying a sword and a branch of *sakaki*, proceeds to a number of actual hieratic dances to the accompaniment of five flutes, one koto, sasara and singing, in front of a fire. And it must frankly be admitted that the participants actually, almost physically, feel that some Power from above comes down in answer to the prayers and dwells among them; the initiated know that the Divine entity is no other than Kagu-tsuchi.

On December 16th, a great fire-festival, with fire-dances, for protection from conflagration, is celebrated in the Akiba-yama-hongu-akiba-jinja.

According to some scholars,⁽²⁴⁴⁾ it is 'not unlikely' that the Hi-matsuri, as one of the Fuyu (from *fuyu*, 'to touch' and *furu*, 'to increase') should be in a way symbolical of the restoration of the heat of the sun after Mid-winter; this theory is said by others⁽³²⁷⁾ to apply to those Hi-matsuri which take place at the 'little New-Year' (*ko-shôgatsu*), i.e. the *dondo-yaki*, or during the Mid-winter festival (*tôji*) for the 'fire-burning' (*o-hi-taki*).

In addition to those specific fire-festivals, huge torches are often waved along the routes which processions should follow, in order to chase away any evil spirits or other malignant influences which might affect the ceremony. Such is the case for instance in the famous Wakamiya-matsuri of the Kasuga-taïsha, in the Himure-hachiman-gû, etc.

It should be noted that the clergy of the Ise-jingû are inclined to look askance at whatever might be interpreted as fire-worship and that therefore no torches are in evidence during festivals in Ise.

One remarkable thing about ceremonies of purification by fire is that the fire which has been used for destroying whatever objects are supposed to have embodied all the sins and misfortunes of the participants is considered to be no longer pure and has to be put out. A notable instance is the solemn Hi-no-uchikaë-shinji, during which the fire which has burnt the *tsutsugamushi* set up in the Shô-reï-saï of the Dewa-san-dzan is extinguished and a new one lit. In private houses, 'whenever there is a pollution the ashes of the hearth or stove are changed'.⁽³²⁷⁾

A brief reference should be made here to three Kami who, as we have seen, were born as children of Prince Ninigi and Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, and whose names refer to fire: Ho-deri, Ho-no-suseri and Ho-wori (cf. p. 366ff. above). They seem, however, to have no connection with fire other than the fact that the parturition-house in which they were born was then in flames. And they should not be considered as Fire-kami.

In spite of their destructive activities, for which they are greatly feared, the Kami of thunder and storm are of course closely connected with the blessings of rain. The generic name for them is Raïjin. He was anciently believed to appear in the form of a serpent or of a child. Even today there are places where a ceremony called *raikô-sai* is held in honour of the Thunder-kami whenever lightning strikes.⁽³²⁷⁾

We have already seen that Ryûjin is a Thunder-kami (cf. p. 482 above). Such is also the case for Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne,⁽⁵²⁹⁾ the Kami who came to condole at the funeral of Amewaka-hiko (cf. p. 340f. above). He is reported in some texts to have wept and cried when he was born, and to have been taken along a ladder and in a boat.

The very name of Kamowake-ikazuchi, whom we have already described, implies that, although a ‘representation’ of a Rain-kami, he may also be taken to fall into the same category. According to the *Yamashiro-fudoki*, he was born from Tama-yori-hime and a red arrow which she had found floating down the river; the said arrow was preserved in the province of Otokuni, where it is worshipped under the name of Hono-ikazuchi.⁽⁶⁸³⁾ According to another version (*Uzumasa-uji-honkei-chô*), the arrow was no other than Matsuo-no-kami.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

Take-mika-dzuchi, who prepared the way for Prince Ninigi, is also often taken to be a Thunder-kami.

The same applies equally to Susano-wo himself, who is then identified with the Buddhist Gozu-tennô, the Heavenly king with the head of a bull.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

More specific in their action are the eight Thunder-kami who were born of the rotting corpse of Izanami (cf. p. 274 above); they are sometimes worshipped collectively, as in the Hachirai-jinja (a *massha* of the Kasuga-taisha), the Roku-shiya-jinja (a *massha* of the Katori-jingû). They are nevertheless more often taken separately:

Ô-ikazuchi-no-kami is worshipped in two subsidiary shrines of the Dewa-san-dzan (the Ô-ikazuchi-jinja and the Ikazuchi-jinja) and in one *sessha* of the Yoshida-jinja (the Kaguragaoka-jinja).

Kami-nari (the Kami of thunder-rumbling), also called Naru-kami and Raïden, is believed to protect trees against lightning. Numberless legends have grown around him. In one of them, he is said to be fond of eating human navels, which gave a man called Shokuro the idea of catching him by attaching such a navel to a kite—an unexpected precursor of Benjamin Franklin! Protection against him is believed to be obtained by hiding under a mosquito-net, a method curiously akin to the one discovered in the nineteenth century by Faraday to isolate electricity with wire-nettings.⁽³⁴²⁾ In another, he is reported to have left upon the ground a son, Raïtarô, who at the age of eighteen took the shape of a dragon and flew away, never to be seen again.⁽³⁴²⁾ Tales are told in some Fudoki of fighting between him and peasants on Mount Ifukube.⁽⁵²⁹⁾ In pictures, he is generally represented as red, with the face of a devil, two claws on each foot, and a string of drums on his back.⁽³⁴²⁾ Trees which, in spite of his protection, have been hit and split by lightning, the *kantoki-no-ki*, are treated with special respect.

One curious episode connected with those ‘thunder-trees’ is related in the *Nihongi* (XXII, 30):

‘This year (A.D. 618) Kahabe-no-Omi was sent to the province of Aki with orders to build ships.... On arriving at the mountain, he sought for ship-timber. Having found good timber, he marked it and was about to cut it, when a man appeared and said: “This is a

thunder-tree, and must not be cut.” Kahabe-no Omi said: “Shall even the Thunder-god oppose the Imperial commands?” So, having offered many *mitigura* (offerings of cloth), he sent workmen to cut down the timber. Straightway a great rain fell, and it thundered and lightened. Hereupon Kahabe-no-Omi drew his sword, and said: “O Ikazuchi-no-kami, harm not the workmen; it is my person that thou shouldst injure.” So he looked up and waited. But although the God thundered more than ten times, he could not harm Kahabe-no-Omi. Then he changed himself into a small fish, which stuck between the branches of the tree. Kahabe-no-Omi forthwith took the fish and burnt it. So at last the ships were built.’

The *Nihongi* (XXVIII, 21) also makes mention of a Thunder-kami, Ikuikazuchi-no-kami (the name is also read Iku-tama) who revealed himself to the Governor of Takechi, and who, according to Aston, is not one of the eight born of Izanami’s corpse.

The lightning is called Inazuma (spouse of the rice), Ina-bikari (light of the rice), Inatsurubi (fecundation of the rice), which shows that its beneficent action is not ignored. In Kwantô, when the lightning hits a rice-field, green bamboos are stuck up around the spot, and a *shimenawa* is stretched to stress the fact that the place has been sanctified by the fire of Heaven.⁽⁵²⁹⁾

Karai-shin is more of a Buddhist name for the God of lightning.

There is also an Earthquake-kami, Nai-no-kami, who is not mentioned in the Scriptures, but whose worship seems to have started as early as A.D. 599. In popular belief, however, earthquakes are more generally attributed to a mythological fish, the *namazu*, the like of which, but of considerably smaller size, can be caught in the mud of ponds. The great Namazu was sealed underground with a stone, the Kaname-ishi, in the Kashima-jingû by Take-mika-dzuchi, and there was even a time when the stone itself was securely tied to the ground with strong wistaria vines.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ According to the *Shoku Nihongi*, in the eighth century there were temples to the Earthquake Kami in all the seven home provinces. (See also p. 352 above).

* * *

As is to be expected in a country where sailing at sea must have been widely practised by fishermen and traders, there are also some Kami responsible for winds (*kaze*), as distinct from storms.

The main Wind-kami is Shina-tsu-hiko, born of Izanagi and Izanami. On the basis of two passages in the *Mannyôshû*, Motoôri explains his name as meaning Prince of long (*na*) breath (*shi*), while Hirata, followed in this by Chamberlain, would prefer to interpret *shi* as wind.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ But in most languages the breath of a living being can be designated by the word which means also atmospheric wind, and there would therefore be no objection to taking both senses together.

Some authors stress the idea that Shina-tsu-hiko is the Kami of long, soft, continuous breezes such as those which rustle the leaves of trees.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ And we have seen that in the *Nihongi* (I, 15), with the alternative name of Shina-tobe-no-mikoto, his special task is to disperse the morning mists. Sir Ernest Satow on the other hand interprets Shina-tohe as *shina* (long wind)-to (*of*)-*he* (for *be*, female), which would announce and explain that in the most frequent type of worship Shina-tsu-hiko should be accompanied by his female counterpart, Shina-tsu-hime. For instance, in the ritual for the service of the Gods of

Tatsuta, Shina-tsu-hiko, ‘the prince with the long breath’ appears transformed into a couple of distinct personages, prince and princess.⁽⁶⁰⁵⁾

The cult of the Wind-kami is believed to have been initiated by Sujin-tennô.

They are held to be beneficent deities, whose help is sought on various occasions.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ Hirata himself addresses to them a prayer, the first one in the *Tama-dasuki*, in which he asks them to correct his mistakes, to sweep away calamities sent by evil Kami, and to transmit his daily requests to all the Kami of Heaven and Earth.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

Shina-tsu-hiko is occasionally worshipped alone, as in the Shima-ama-jinja and in the Gôshô-jinja (a *massha* of the Miyazaki-jingû); Shina-tsu-hime is alone in the Anesaki-jinja. But most often the two are found together, as in the Kazamaki-jinja, the Shinaga-jinja, the Sô sha-jinja, the Kaze-jinja (a subsidiary shrine of the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja), the Ôtake-jinja (subsidiary shrine of the Shika-umi-jinja), and also in two *bekkû* of the Ise-jingû, the Kaza-hi-no-mi-no-miya and the Kaze-no-miya. The reason why they are so greatly honoured in the chief Shintô temple of all Japan is that they are credited with a miracle performed in the thirteenth century, when they blew away from the coasts a fleet bearing the army of Gengis-khan.

Although their intervention would not seem to be the act of a soft breeze, and although most authors identify Shina-tsu-hiko and Shina-tsu-hime with the Wind-kami known by the name of Ame-no-mi-hashira-no-mikoto and Kuni-no-mi-hashira-no-mikoto (the ‘August Pillar of Heaven’, explained by Satow to mean what ‘bridged over the distance from Heaven’,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ and the ‘August Pillar of Earth’), many worshippers take them to be more or less distinct deities, ruling over strong and dangerous winds. In the *Norito* addressed to them as ‘Sovereign Kami’ (*sume-gami*), they are reported to have ‘afflicted with bad winds and rough waters all the products harvested by the common people of the Kingdom, and spoiled them, bringing them not to fruition’. In spite of the fact that nothing in their names indicates that they should belong to different sexes, the *Norito* itself refers explicitly to one of them as a male Kami and the other as a female Kami, and describes appropriate offerings for each of them.⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾

Their main temple is in Tatta, formerly called Tatuta, or Tatsuta (from which they derive their usual appellation of Tatsuta-no-kami), a small town in Yamato, famous in art and literature for its river, the Tatsuta-gawa,⁽⁵⁸³⁾ lined with red maples.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ But in the same town of Tatta there is also a separate temple where the Kami are Hiko-gami and Hime-gami,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ who may well be taken to be Shina-tsu-hiko and Shina-tsu-hime.

The Tatsuta-nokami are reverently worshipped by farmers, fishermen and seafarers.

There is one more Wind-kami who is still fiercer than they are, Haya-ji (also called Haya-tsu-muji-no-kami), the Kami of the whirlwind and the typhoon, the one who brought back to Heaven the body of Ame-waka-hiko (*Nihongi*, II, 5). Some temples, such as the Tsumuji-jinja, are consecrated to him in Izumo.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ It is probably the same Kami who is worshipped under the name of Kura-odonokami in the Arakura-jinja, a *sessha* of the Asakura-jinja.⁽³⁰⁾ And it may also be the same, under the name of Taïba (Horse-destroyer), who is greatly feared in the Nagoya district and around Kyoto; he is ‘said to appear suddenly in front of a horse with a rider or a load on its back, sending up dust and circling the horse’, which then ‘would tumble down and die’. The *hara-ate* (stomach-protector), a wide cotton-cloth mainly intended to protect the animal against the bites of insects, is believed to afford good protection against Taïba as well.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Another Kami who is locally believed to be a Wind-kami is Ugami-taruni-no-mikoto, whose name is ‘pronounced’ Ugami-no-sukune-no-mikoto, worshipped in the Utari-jinja.⁽¹²²⁾

Let us also mention the popular appellation of Fufudo-san, which designates the Kami of rain and wind collectively.

* * *

The Shintô Pantheon can also boast of a Tree-kami, Kuku-no-chi-no-kami, a son of Izanagi and Izanami (*Kojiki*, I, vi). The *Nihongi* calls him Ki-no-oya, the ancestor of trees. Satow believes him to be a *wake-mitama* of Toyo-uke-bime, the Goddess of Food.⁽⁶²⁵⁾ He is the main Kami of the Moriyama-jinja. Many subsidiary shrines are dedicated to him, such as the Sugataki-jinja on the Dewa-san-dzan.

It would seem that the Kami, as his name indicates, is more particularly concerned with the trunks of trees (*kuku* is probably a modified form of *kuki*, stem), which explains the existence of some other Kami, such as Ki-no-mata-no-kami, the Kami of tree-forks, a child of Susano-wo and Suseri-hime (*Kojiki*, I, xxiii), and Ha-mori-no-kami, the protector of tree-leaves (*ha*).

Another Kami, Itakeru-no-mikoto, is also described as a ‘Kami of trees’ in the Kii-jinja, a *sessha* of the Kasuga-taisha. He may be identical with Iso-takeru-no-kami, who helped his father Susano-wo in the ‘reforestation of Japan’ (cf. p. 318f. above).

Two other Kami, Taoki-ho-oï-no-kami and Hiko-sajiri-no-kami, worshipped in the Amahabari-jinja and the Ya-zukuri-mi-oya-jinja (a *massha* of the Ôsaka Iku-tama-jinja), although they are more specifically Kami of architecture (*ya-zukuri*), are also closely connected with trees because timber is the most important material used for building purposes.⁽¹³¹⁾

Quite apart from the Heavenly or Earthly Kami responsible for them, many individual trees and species of trees are acknowledged as sacred, although it would certainly be a gross overstatement to speak of phytolatry, as some authors have done.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ It would be more correct to follow Holtom, who writes: There are good reasons for believing that trees were the original shrines of Shintô, and that trees were not added to primitive god-houses to give the latter greater dignity and loveliness, or to commemorate ancestral graves, as has been claimed, but that god-houses were provided for trees because trees were spirits or because they were the haunt of the Kami’.⁽⁴²⁸⁾ One interesting case is that of the *ichô* (*gingko*) tree, announced by a torii, in the Eastern suburbs of Sendaï, which is believed to supply milk to nursing mothers.⁽⁴²⁷⁾

The generic name given to the sacred trees of Shintô is *shinboku*. This is the Sino-Japanese rendering of two ideograms which are read *kami-no-ki* in pure Japanese, literally god-tree, or sacred tree.⁽⁴²⁸⁾

A thought-provoking remark was made to me by a responsible *gûji* about three trees in the precincts of the Beppu Hachiman-asami-jinja, which are believed to be more than one thousand years old: They carry the same meaning as the mountain and the fire of the mountain.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Instances are not rare in which sacred trees have caused curses to fall on those who have injured them. Thus it is recorded that in A.D. 661, when Empress Saïmeï had trees belonging to the Asakura-jinja felled to build her palace, the Ki-no-maru-dono (‘Palace

of logs'), 'the Kami (probably Akaoni, who is no other than the mountain which is the *go-shintai* of the temple)⁽³⁰⁾ was angry and demolished the building;... the Grand Treasurer and many of those in waiting took ill and died.' (*Nihongi*, XXVI, 24f.) According to the *Tosa Monogatari*, the same punishment was repeated later on a samurai who also wanted a palace to be built with the same logs, Even to this day, people of the area will not so much as pick up dead branches.

On Mount Miwa, trees are never felled, because the Kami 'dwells in the living trees'.⁽¹²⁵⁾

The oak, *kashiwa* (generally *quercus dentata* (*kunugi*) but also *q. glandulifera* (*nara*) and *q. gilva* (*ichihi*))⁽³⁴⁸⁾ is very often referred to in the scriptures. 'How awful is the sacred oak-tree, the oak-tree of the august dwelling!' exclaims Emperor Yû-ryaku (*Kojiki*, III, cliv). Formerly, during some Ise festivals, a boat went to the island of Sasara, east of Futami, for the purpose of cutting oak-branches and dropping them into the sea, and those which floated were termed *Kashiwa-no-kami*.

Another tree, the *hinoki* (*hi-no-ki*, tree of fire, *chamaecyparis obtusa*)⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ is considered to be particularly sacred for the building of temples and the carving of religious utensils.

The most sacred of all trees is nevertheless the *sakaki*, which is normally *Cleyera japonica*, although the name sometimes embraces, according to Mabuchi, Motoôri and Moribe, various species of pine, the *cryptomeria* and the *kashi*.⁽⁴²⁸⁾ Its name literally means 'the tree of the Kami'. Since it is the first tree mentioned in the Scriptures, on the occasion when one was erected in front of the Heavenly Cave in which Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami had retired, it is popularly believed that it was the first to appear in the process of Creation;⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ the operation carried out before the Cave was later repeated with minute precision in honour of Chûai-tennô (*Nihongi*, VIII, 4). The *sakaki* is frequently to be met in the precincts of temples, and, as we have seen, its branches, in the form of *tamagushi*, constitute the customary offering to the Kami. The *himorogi*, whose ritual value we have already stressed (cf. p. 93f. above), is usually *sakaki*.

We have already seen (cf. p. 186f. above) the great reverence with which cherry-trees and plum-trees are regarded. The peaches (*momo*)—rather than the peach-tree—were kamified, as we know (cf. p. 275 above), by Izanagi himself, in gratitude for the help they gave him in time of dire need. The most popular folk-tale of Japan, 'loved by all children even today',⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ is that of Momotarô, a boy who was born from a peach found by an old woman in a stream, and it is not at all impossible that the choice of that fruit be due to its mythological associations.

Let us mention also the grouping of several trees, which may bestow on them a specially sacred character. Such is the case for the Nara *yadorigi* where oak, cherry, maple, camelia, nanten and wisteria have either been grafted or at least made to grow in close proximity.⁽⁴²⁸⁾

There are also individual trees which are held in great reverence, not because they belong to any particular species. 'In some districts, a tree with big branches spread in two opposite directions is selected, while in others trees divided into three trunks are chosen. In some places, trees that have all their branches leaning to one direction are selected.'⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Minute shrines are often found at their foot, and passers-by are wont to show respect to them, even when they do not deposit offerings.

Needless to say, trees loom large in painting, literature and poetry, often with a deeper meaning than can be detected at first sight. Just before his death in the second century

of our era, the greatest Japanese hero, Prince Yamatotakeru wrote a poem to a pine-tree (*Nihongi*, VII, 29).

Another Kami, Kaya-nu-hime, who was born shortly after Kuku-no-chi, is generally taken to be the Kami of herbs and grasses, and worshipped as such. The first word in her name, *kaya*, designates the miscanthus reed, which is used for thatching roofs. She is also taken by Hirata to be a *wake-mitama* of Toyo-uke-bime. She is the main Kami of the Noma-jinja and the Kami-koso-jinja. She has a *massha* of her own, the Nogami-jinja, in the Kasuga-taisha, where very special worship is offered to her; a small matsuri is celebrated to her before fire is set to the grass on the mountain.

We have already seen many cases of reeds, herbs, grasses, which are treated as sacred; it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

CHAPTER XXII

KAMI OF THE ROAD, THE HOUSE AND THE FIELD AND KAMI OF FOOD

IN the Shintô Pantheon, we find some Kami who are specially connected with roads and cross-roads, the dwelling and its various parts, and with the fields, particularly the rice-fields.

The generic name for Road-kami is Michi (way)-no-kami, or Chiburi-no-kami (Kami along the road).⁽³²⁴⁾ The three most important are: Yachi-mata-hiko and Yachi-mata-hime (literally the Prince and Princess of the place where ‘eight’ roads meet), and Kunado (or Funado)-no-kami.

The three Michi-no-kami are expected to protect ‘the boundaries of the house and the ways leading to it,’ and it is mostly in this capacity that they are worshipped in the Michi-ahe-no-matsuri,⁽¹³¹⁾ which is described as follows by Ponsonby-Fane:

‘Though now carried out with maimed rites, it is a very ancient festival, for which provision is found in the *Jingi-ryô* of Taihô.... It was held twice a year in the sixth and twelfth months at the four corners of the capital, to ensure that the thoroughfares were not molested by evil deities and demons.... It was also performed in other parts of the Empire in times of pestilence, and, in later years, was called Shikaisai or four boundaries festival.’⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

One *Norito* which is chanted at the Michi-ahe-no-matsuri is addressed to them jointly: ‘[According to a tradition which] began in the Plain of High Heaven (Takama-no-hara), I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deities (Sume-gami) who dwell massively imbedded like sacred massed rocks in the myriad great thoroughfares...[praying] that you will not be bewitched and will not speak consent to the unfriendly (*utobi*) and unruly (*arabi*) spirits (*mono*) who come from the land of Hades (Ne-no-kuni), the underworld (Soko-no-kuni); if they go below, you will guard below; if they go above, you will go above; and will guard in the guarding by night and the guarding by day, and will bless.’⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾

In addition to their national or regional action, they are also viewed as giving special protection to the particular house or temple in which prayers are addressed to them, and to the people coming to it or leaving it.⁽¹³¹⁾

They are the Dôso-jin, the ‘ancestors’ of roads, but they are also the Dôroku-jin⁽³²⁷⁾ or Saë-nokami, who protect from calamities generally, also called Yakushin, the gods who protect more particularly against pestilence.⁽³²⁴⁾ They are ‘worshipped on the village-borders, or on mountain-passes, cross-roads or by bridges’.⁽³²⁷⁾ It was in their honour that protective purification ceremonies were carried out before the arrival of foreign ambassadors.

As Saë-no-kami, they are found in only few temples, such as the Sayari-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Nishinomiya Hirota-jinja, and the Ara-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Shikami-jinja. Under their separate names, they are jointly worshipped in the Sayari-jinja, a

subsidiary shrine of the Saïtama-ken Mitsumine-jinja, in one of the Kunado-jinja on the Dewa-san-dzan and in one *massha* of the Kotohira-gû.

Yachi-mata-hiko and Yachi-mata-hime alone are found in two subsidiary shrines, both called Chimata-jinja, on the Dewa-san-dzan, and also in the Mata-no-yashiro, a *massha* of the Kawai-no-yashiro, which itself has become a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja.

According to Hirata,⁽⁴¹⁸⁾ Funado would be no other than a *wake-mitama* of Izanagi, which the latter called forth when he had to stop the infernal spirits pursuing him and to prevent them from invading the Earth.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ We know that he later became the guide of the Heavenly Kami (*Nihongi*, II, 20 sq.) He is sometimes subdivided into two more or less distinct entities, Kunado and Funado.

Under the fuller name of Tsuki-tatsu-funado-no-kami, he is worshipped in the Funado-jinja, a *massha* of the Kasuga-taïsha; in a Funado-jinja on the Dewa-san-dzan, he is called simply Funado-no-kami.

A remarkable thing is that in two other shrines on the same mountain, both called Tokoyo-funado-hime-jinja (one attached to the Gassan-jinja and one to the Yudonosan-jinja), he is worshipped under the feminine name of Tokoyo-funado-hime-no-kami. The *Engi-shiki* already mentioned a Funado hime-no-kami-no-yashiro, but ‘no explanation or suggestion on this point is found in the Shintô classics’.⁽¹²²⁾

As we mentioned before, Saruda-hiko, the Kami who waited for Prince Ninigi at the cross-roads and guided him when he arrived on Earth, is also naturally considered a powerful Kami of the cross-roads. It is in this capacity that he is worshipped, i.e. in Kasashima, in Makibori-mura (where he is in the company of Izanagi, Izanami and Konseï-daï-myôjin, the ‘root-of-life great shining Kami’), in Onogoro-jima⁽³³⁸⁾ and in the Daï-kaï-jinja, a *massha* of the Ikuta-jinja.⁽¹²²⁾

In the Mata-no-yashiro, Yachi-mata-hiko and Yachi-mata-hime are believed to be Saruda-hiko and ‘probably’ Ame-no-uzume. In the Saë-no-jinja (also called Dôso-jinja), it is Izanagi and Saruda-hiko who are worshipped as Road-kami, and until 1871 they even bore the name of Chimata-no-kami.⁽¹²²⁾

The shrines to cross-roads Kami are often serviced by Buddhist priests.

As in many other religions, the Kami of the roads and more particularly of the cross-roads are also Kami of procreation. It is mainly in the latter capacity that the Michi-no-kami are worshipped in the ‘phallic’ Ebishima-jinja and various Dôsojin-jinja in Wakayanagi, Ichinoseki, Kashima, Aïkomura, Iwato, etc. It is difficult to say whether the ‘phallic effigy’, generally wooden, which, according to Genchi Katô, is offered at the beginning of every year to Mi-toshi-no-kami in the Ta-agata-jinja, to the Kami of the Ni-ike-hachiman-gu, of the Wareï-jinja, etc.⁽⁷¹⁷⁾ is connected with the cult of Saruda-hiko.

In spite of all the instances quoted above, it is held by many authorities that the Michi-no-kami need no temple, ‘because they are always with us’;⁽¹³¹⁾ that is the reason why, in the Ikutama-jinja, the Michi-ahe-no-matsuri is celebrated near the great *torii*.

* * *

The various parts of the compound in which the human dwelling stands are also protected by special Kami. Thus there are Kami for the entrance-gate, Kushi-iwa-mado-no-mikoto and Toyo-iwa-mado-no-mikoto, or Kutami-no-kami and Ujimo-kami, while Hahigi-no-kami

is responsible for the protection of the space between the outer-gate and the house.^(325, 624) Asuha-no-kami is the Kami of the courtyard.

Four different Kami are in charge of the well from which water is drawn for household purposes: Mi-wi-no-kami (Kami of the august well, a son of Ô-kuni-nushi and Yakami-hime, who, according to *Kojiki*, I, xxiii, is identical with Ki-no-mata-no-kami, the Kami of forked trees), Iku-wi-no-kami (Kami of the vivifying well), Saku-wi-no-kami (Kami of the blessing well) and Tsunaga-wi-no-kami (Kami of the long-rope well).

The last three are worshipped jointly in the Mi-wi-jinja, a subsidiary shrine on the Dewa-san-dzan, and separately in three other shrines bearing their respective names on the same mountain. Mi-wi is also the Kami of the Mi-wi-jinja, a *massha* of the Takakura-musubi-miko-jinja, itself a *sessha* of the Atsuta-jingû. He shares with Mizu-ha-no-me and Naru-kami the Mi-no-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja.

According to a *Norito* (I, 114), the Kami of the well, who were in the care of a special priestess, the Wi-ga-suri ('near the well'), were Iku-wi, Saku-wi, Tsunaga-wi, Hahigi (the place where one puts one's foot [to draw water]) and Asuha.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

The house itself, as we have seen, is looked after as a whole by Kuku-ki-waka-muro-t suna-ne-no-kami.

There is a special Kami for the lavatories, where a flower is generally to be found as an offering to him. One of the reasons for this particular worship is probably that, in the early history of Japan, the privies were a favourite place for murdering people.

The most important of the House-kami, however, are those connected with the kitchen. About their respective identities there obtains a considerable degree of confusion.

First of all, we have Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami and Oki-tsu-hime-no-kami, whose names may mean 'Prince (and Princess) of the Interior [of the House]', or may be derived from *oki-tsuchi*, 'laid earth', which would be a reference to the furnace, made of clay. Whatever the etymology, they are the Kami of the kitchen. According to the *Kojiki* (I, xxix), they are the children of Ô-toshi-no-kami, the harvest-kami whom we shall discuss later, and Ame-shiru-karu-mizu-hime. Of Oki-tsu-hime, we are told that her other name is Ô-be-hime-no-kami, the 'Kami Princess of the Great Furnace', and that, as the Kami of the 'furnace', i.e. of the kitchen, she is 'held in reverence by all people'.

According to some authors, the Prince is particularly in charge of the caldron where water is boiled and rice cooked, while the Princess looks more particularly to the cooking pots and pans.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

They are worshipped in shrines generally called Kamado-sha, such as one *massha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, one on the Dewa-san-dzan, one of the Kasuga-taisha, one of the Kawai-no-yashiro. They are also found, along with Ho-musubi, in the Kamado-mikashirano-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Saitama-ken Mitsumine-jinja.

In spite of this close association, which would seem to leave no room for another Kami of the *kamado* (cooking-stove), there is a Kamado-no-kami, who seems to be a totally different person. We find him for instance in the Hana-zono-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Katori-jingû, and he is the one to whom constant reference is made in the household—where very often the names of the other two are not known. It is therefore to him, or to his name, that Shintô miniature shrines are consecrated in practically every kitchen in Japan, even in those of Buddhist temples and monasteries. I have never seen one left without fresh offerings.

It is also difficult to know whether some or all of the previously-named Kami can be partly or totally identified with Sampô-kôjin,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ or Kôjin-sama,⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ also called Yakatsu-kami,⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ to whom a branch of pine (*kôjin-matsu*) is offered every month in token of gratitude.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ It is believed that he lives in the cooking fire-place. ‘His duties are to see that the supplies of the kitchen are always full, that things cooked there are always of good taste, that the kitchen-fire always burns well, and that there will be no fire-accident in the kitchen.’⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ We must note, however, that according to the most authoritative publications, ‘there are also cases where Kôjin possesses the nature of a Ji-kami (cf. p. 462 below) or Yama-no-kami (cf. p. 469 below) and is enshrined out of doors. He is also believed in some parts to be a demoniacal god or spirit of Japanese antiquity eager to seek vengeance; constant attempts were made during the Middle-Ages to subdue Kôjin with Taoist rites.’⁽³²⁷⁾ In Buddhist iconography, he is represented with three faces and four arms.⁽³⁴²⁾

The stress laid on the Divine protection required for the preparation of food has led many Western orientalist to ridicule the Shintô religion as a mass of superstitions. It is rather a sign that the Japanese, like the Hindus and various other peoples in Asia, fully realize the importance of eating very pure food—which in the West is a very recent discovery—and call on the Divine to protect it at every stage.

There are also a Kami of the fire in the yard (Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami) and a High-kami of the fire in the yard (Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami) (*Kojiki*, I, xxix). According to Hirata they might be one and the same, and they might be a joint appellation for Oki-tsu-hiko and Oki-tsu-hime.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

Perhaps we should also include in this list of House-kami Mi-kura-tana-no-kami, the Kami of the august store-house shelf.

* * *

As we have already seen (cf. pp. 183–7 above), extensive worship is offered to agricultural Kami (Ta-no-kami) at all stages of the cycle of cultivation. The first and foremost of those Kami is probably Ô-toshi-no-kami, the Great Harvest-kami, who, according to the *Kojiki* (I, xx), is the son of Susano-wo and Kamu-ô-ichi-hime. Farmers generally view him more particularly as the protector of rice-fields, while they regard Mi-toshi-no-kami, the August Harvest-kami, his son by Kagayo-hime, the Refulgent Princess, as being in charge of other crops.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ There is nevertheless a story which shows Mi-toshi as a champion of the interests of farmers themselves. (Cf. p. 100 above).

Ô-toshi is worshipped in a number of temples and shrines, among which we may mention the Ô-toshi-mi-oya-jinja, the Kamo-yamaguchi-jinja (a subsidiary shrine of the Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja), the Sôho-den (a subsidiary shrine of the Hakozaiki-gû), the Toshi-gami-jinja (a *massha* of the Taga-taisha), the Mita-jinja (a *sessha* of the Atsuta-jingû) and two subsidiary shrines on the Dewa-san-dzan, both called Ô-toshi-jinja.

Mi-toshi is found in the Mita-jinja, a subsidiary shrine on the same Dewa-san-dzan; he used to be also in the former Sawada-no-yashiro, which was destroyed, whereafter he was transferred to the Mitsui-no-yashiro, a *sessha* of the Kamo-mi-oya-jinja. He shares with Tama-yori-hime the Ta-agata-jinja. They are both together, along with another Harvest-kami, Waka-toshi, in the Mi-toshi-no-yashiro (a *massha* of the Kotohira-gû), where they are collectively responsible for the ‘five grains’: *kome* (rice), *mugi* (wheat), *hie* (barnyard grass), *awa* (millet) and *kibi* (another kind of millet).

An unspecified Toshi-gami is worshipped in the Toshi-sha, a subsidiary shrine of the Kashima-jingû.

One peculiarity of the Ta-no-kami is that in many regions (not in Ise)⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ he is generally identified with Yama-no-kami, the Mountain-kami, who is believed to come down from the mountain to the rice-field in spring and return in Autumn. The festival of No-ide-no-shinji celebrates his descent,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ but dates and details vary greatly. Thus the Kami of Mount Tsukuba arrives on April 1st and leaves on November 1st according to the lunar calendar, while in other districts the Kami comes down in December, in others in January or February.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ An interesting description is given by Mock Joya of the rites in Fukeshi (Ishikawa-ken):

‘The farmers of Fukeshi believe that Ta-no-kami comes from the mountain in the first part of December and stays with them until the first part of January... When Ta-no-kami comes to the farmer’s house, it is invisible of course, but the head and all members of the household act as though the visitor is actually visible. The family head greets Ta-no-kami at the entrance and guides it to the side of the *irori* or the fire-place in the living-room. When the Deity has sat there and rested a while, it is guided to the bathroom to clean itself of the dust of travel. Refreshed and happy, it returns to the living-room. Then various kinds of food specially prepared in its honour are brought to it. The joy of the whole family is to partake of the food prepared for the occasion. During its stay of about a month at the house, Ta-no-kami is treated as if it were an honoured human guest staying with them.’⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

Many other Kami are more particularly connected with various phases of cultivation. Let us mention in particular three sons of Ha-yama-to-no-kami and Ô-ge-tsu-hime, who are therefore grandchildren of Ô-toshi: Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami (Female Kami of the transplanting of young rice), Waka-toshi-no-kami (Kami of the young harvest), and Kuku-toshi-no-kami (Kami of the harvest of full-grown rice).

Paddy-field Kami are often serviced by Buddhist priests.

One very peculiar agricultural Kami is Sohodo (scarecrow)-no-kami,⁽⁶²⁴⁾ i.e. Kuyebiko, the one to whom Ô-kuni-nushi was referred to find out the identity of the mysterious Sukuna-hikona (cf. p. 329f. above). As we saw, ‘though his legs do not walk, he knows everything under Heaven’ (*Kojiki*, I, xxvii). In people’s minds, he is practically identified with the actual scarecrow, more commonly known under the name of *kakashi*. The latter ‘are generally made in the form of a farmer wearing a wide round hat and a *mino*, or reed-raincoat... They are often seen carrying a bow and arrow. In many districts, farmers love to make *kakashi* as realistic as possible, but on the other hand crude ones not resembling human forms are often seen.’ Thanks-offerings are made at harvest-time.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

No important Kami seems to be specifically connected with the quest for game in any of its forms. It is stressed, however, in the Suwa-taïsha that of the two main temples, the Shimo-sha is more concerned with agriculture and the Kami-sha with game.

* * *

According to the *Kojiki* (I, xvii), when Susano-wo was expelled from Heaven, ‘he begged food (*woshi-mono*) of Ô-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami (the Kami Princess of Great Food, whose name is identical to one of the names given to the Island of Aha). Then Ô-ge-tsu-hime took all sorts of dainty things (*tametsu-mono*) from her nose (*hana*), her mouth (*kuchi*), and even her buttocks (*shiri*), and made them up into all sorts [of dishes], which she offered

to him. But Susano-wo watched her proceedings, considered that she was offering to him filth (*kitanaki-mono*), and at once killed (*koroshi-tamahiki*) Ô-ge-tsu-hime. So the things that were born in the body of the Kami who had been killed were: in her head (*kashira*) were born silk-worms, in her two eyes (*me*) were born rice-seeds, in her two ears (*mimi*) was born millet, in her nose (*hand*) were born small beans, in her private parts (*hoto*) was born barley, in her buttocks (*shiri*) were born large beans. So Kami-musubi caused them to be taken and used as seeds (*tane*).'

Curiously enough, in the *Nihongi* passage (I, 26–28) which reports a similar event, the protagonists are not the same:

'When Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was already in Heaven, she said: "I hear that in the Central-country-of-reed-plains there is Uke-mochi-no-kami (the Kami of food). Do thou, Tsuki-yomi, go and wait upon her." Tsuki-yomi, on receiving this command, descended and went to the place where Uke-mochi was. Thereupon Uke-mochi turned her head towards the land, and forthwith from her mouth (*kuchi*) there came boiled rice (*ihi*). She faced the sea, and again there came from her mouth things broad of fin (*hata-no-hiro-mono*) and things narrow of fin (*hata-no-sa-mono*). She faced the mountains, and again there came from her mouth animals (things with fur, *ke-no-ara-mono*) and birds (things with feathers, *ke-no-nigi-mono*). These things were all prepared and set out on one hundred tables for his entertainment. Then Tsuki-yomi became flushed with anger and said: "Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth!" So he drew his sword and slew her, and then returned and made his report, relating all the circumstances. Upon this Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami was exceedingly angry, and said: "Thou art a wicked (*ashiki*) Kami. I must not see thee face to face." So they were separated by one day and one night, and dwelt apart.

'After this, Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami sent a second time Ame-kuma-bito (Heaven-bear (or cloud)-man) to go and see her. At this time Uke-mochi was truly (*makotoni*) dead (*mimakareri*, literally: had retreated from the body) already. But on the crown of her head (*itadaki*) had been produced the ox and the horse; on the top of her forehead (*hitahi no uhe ni*) there had been produced millet; over her eyebrows (*mayu*) there had been produced the silk-worm; within her eyes (*me*) there had been produce panic; in her belly (*hara*) there had been produced rice; in her private parts (*hoto*) there had been produced wheat, soya and small beans.

'Ame-kuma-bito carried all these things and delivered them to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who was rejoiced and said: "These are the things which the race of visible men (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) will eat and live." So she made the millet, the panic, the wheat and the beans the seed (*mono*, literally: the things) for the dry fields (*hata*), and the rice she made the seed (*mono*) for the water-fields (*ta*). Therefore she appointed a village-chief (*mura-gimi*) of Heaven, and forthwith sowed for the first time the rice-seed (*ina-dane*) in the narrow fields (*sa-ta*) and in the long fields (*naga-ta*) of Heaven. That autumn, drooping ears (*tari-ho*) bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on. Moreover she took the silk-worms in her mouth (*kuchi*) and succeeded in reeling thread from them. From this began the art of silkworm rearing.'

Whether it was one brother (Susano-wo) or another (Tsuki-yomi) of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami who went on the mission, the fact remains that, on the first mention of the Food-goddess, a

messenger closely related to the Sungoddess was sent by her and that he begged some food from the Food-goddess which she accordingly offered him, but that it seemed to him repugnant—because coming out of her body (dead or alive)—so that he killed her, and also that her death resulted in the creation of more articles of food.

Let us note in passing that it is not the only case in the Shintō mythology when important entities are born out of the corpse of a Kami who had been killed. After Izanami had been burnt to death by the birth of Kagu-tsuchi, the eight Thunders sprang out of her body. When the same Kagu-tsuchi was cut to pieces by his father Izanagi, a number of Kami were born of his corpse and his blood. Apart from the declared relation between cause and effect, the three cases however do not appear to have much in common, except that the murdered Kami still continues to be worshipped as actually living. Whereas in the other two instances, there is no very apparent connection between the nature and role of the dead Kami and those of the Kami born of his or her corpse, in this case it was articles of food which came out of the body of the Food-goddess, and this seems quite consistent.

Let us also notice that no visible connection can be traced between the various types of food and the parts of the body from which they emerge. Such a relation is made all the more unlikely by the fact that here the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* do not agree on a single point. It should be noted however that if, in the *Kojiki* version, the death of the Kami led to the appearance of only the five cereals and silk-worms, in the *Nihongi* it also produced animal food (fish, birds, quadrupeds).

The generic name of the Food-goddess is Miketsu-nokami, but although she is worshipped under that name in the Shin-den of the Imperial Palace,⁽⁵⁸⁷⁾ the name seldom occurs in temple-worship. There are, however, a few cases of its use elsewhere, such as in the Futami-okitama-jinja. It may also be the same Kami who is enshrined in the Tsukuma-jinja under the name of Ô-miketsu-no-kami.⁽¹²²⁾

The Kami of food is far more generally known by the name Inari, the etymology of which is given as *ina* (rice)+*naru* (which may mean to grow, to become or to carry on one's back, and is written with different characters accordingly). The numberless temples in which Inari is worshipped are however very far from identifying him always with the same individual Kami.

The most frequent identification is probably with Uga (or Uka)-no-mitama-no-kami, a Kami mentioned in the *Kojiki* (I, xx) as a son of Susano-wo and Kami-ô-ichi-hime, and in the *Nihongi* (1, 15) as a son of Izanagi and Izanami. Such is the case in the famous Fushimi-Inari-taisha and the numerous other jinja in the Fushimi 'line' to which it has given *bun-rei*.

Uga-no-mitama is viewed in different aspects in different temples, as we shall see later, but his main role remains that of Food-kami. He is himself identified with various other Kami, so much so that when the priests of a temple in which he is worshipped are asked who he is, the answers vary considerably.

In some temples, such as the Nara Yûgamaya-inari-jinja, he is identified with Uke-mochi-no-kami. In the very Fushimi-Inari-taisha, according to some authors, he is no other than Toyo-uke-bime who is definitely a Goddess.^(122, 625)

The personality of Toyo-uke is not easy to define either.

According to a *gûji* well versed in esotericism,⁽²⁾ but whose views are far from being universally accepted, the name of Toyo-uke-bime is composed of *toyo* (a prefix stressing beauty), *u* (another prefix), and *ke*, which stands for *ki* or *ko* and embraces three different

meanings: (a) a tree, (b) air or ether, from *kuki*, *kaiki*, and (c) spirit, from *ninki*. It designates not only several aspects of one Kami, but at least two different Kami:

(1) the Toyo-uke-bime whom the *Kojiki* (I, vii) represents as a daughter of Waku-musubi-no-kami, and therefore a great-granddaughter of Izanagi and Izanami;

(2) the Toyo-uke-bime mentioned in *Kojiki* (I, xxxiii) under the name of Toyo-uke-no-kami, who is worshipped in the Gekû of Ise; this Toyo-uke, who would then be the mother of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and therefore identical to the couple Izanagi-Izanami, would also be the personified aspect of Toyo-uke-no-ô-kami—which is the name used in the *Engishiki* for the Goddess worshipped in the Toyo-uke-dai-jingû, i.e. the Ise Gekû—who is no other than Ame-no-minaka-nushi herself. In the *honden* of the Kono-jinja, Toyo-uke is worshipped as one of the two manifestations of Ame-no-minaka-nushi (the other being Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), while in the Manawi-jinja, a *sessha* of the same temple, she is worshipped as the ‘totality’ of Ame-no-minaka-nushi. It is pointed out in support of this theory that, in the *Gobusho*, which clearly expresses very old traditions of Ise, ‘Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Toyo-uke are taken to be *the* Kami and are not personified’.



Toyo-uke-bime represented as Inari

Apart from which the Watarai Toyo-uke-no-ô-kami who escorted Prince Ninigi down to Earth (*Kojiki*, I, xxxiii) is still another Goddess according to some authors, although the two *Norito* addressed to Toyo-uke-bime in the Gekû make a specific reference to ‘the field of Yamata in Watarai’.⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾

All such distinctions evidently go to prove that the Food-kami is a highly esoteric Kami, and they are of considerable interest from the point of view of esotericism, but they certainly do not influence to any serious extent the mind of the average worshipper.

Let us note, however, that, as pointed out by Revon,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ according to the *Kojiki* at least, the Kami of Food (Toyo-uke-bime) is the daughter of a Kami of the growth of plants, and even of the beginning of their growth (Waku-musubi), who is himself the son of a Kami of fire (Kagu-tsuchi) and the Kami of Clay (Hani-yama-hime), a most satisfying and consistent genealogy.

The chief temple to Toyo-uke-bime is undoubtedly the Gekû in Ise. According to the *Dai-jingû Gishikichô*, it was revealed in A.D. 478 by Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami to Emperor Yû-ryaku in a dream that the shrine of Toyo-uke-bime at Hinu-no-manawihara in Tamba—where it existed since 4 B.C.⁽⁶²⁶⁾—should be removed to Ise; one Ôsasa-no-mikoto was entrusted with the task, and the *go-shintai* was conducted to Yamada, where a temple was erected outside that of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami; hence the name of Gekû, or ‘outside shrine’.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

In the Gekû, Toyo-uke-bime is the main Kami, but she is accompanied by Prince Ninigi (under his fuller name of Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi-nomikoto), Ama-tsu-koyane and Ame-no-futo-tama.⁽⁶²⁶⁾

There are two temples dedicated to Toyo-uke-bime in the province of Tango (which is a province carved out of Tamba) which claim to be the original of the Gekû: one called Hinu-manai-jinja and the one called Komori-jinja or Kono-jinja, to which we have referred.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾

Uke-mochi-no-kami is worshipped as such in a number of subsidiary shrines such as the Sohô-den of the Hakozaiki-gû, the Ise-no-ryô-gu-sha of the Fushimi Inari-taisha (with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), and five on the Dewa-san-dzan: two Uke-mochi-jinja (in one of which she is alone while in the other she is with Michizane Sugawara), the Inari-jinja, the Iki-no-yama-jinja and the Omoikane-jinja (where she is in the company of five other Kami).

It is remarkable that little or no worship should be offered to the Food-goddess under the name of Ô-ge-tsu-hime by which she is first designated in the *Kojiki*.

The name Inari is variously translated, as would be expected from its diverse etymologies, as ‘spirit of food’,⁽⁶²⁴⁾ ‘the man of rice’,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ or ‘a load of rice’.⁽³⁴²⁾ Legend has it that it was first given to a man, Uga, who was the first to cultivate rice. The year A.D. 711 seems to have been the main startingpoint of the Inari cult. According to one tradition, in that year the Buddhist monk Kôbô Daishi (Priest Kukaï) met an old man carrying a sheaf of rice on his back and recognized in him the Kami of his temple. According to another, in that same year Empress Gemmyô originated shrines to Uga-no-mitama, Ômiya-no-me and Saruda-hiko, all three of whom are said to be representative Inari Deities.⁽³⁴²⁾

The four main peculiarities which distinguish Inari temples are (1) that they are painted bright red, whereas most other traditional Shintô temples are left unpainted; (2) that they are accompanied by long rows of wooden torii, also painted red, except for the top-beam and the base of the pillars, which are often black; (3) that numerous big and small statues of foxes are in evidence; and (4) that a special emblem, the *hôju-no-tama*, is also very much a feature of them.

Quite unexplained are the torii traditionally donated by devotees. In some temples, where they are on the average eight feet high, they are so numerous that they form long tunnels leading to the temple; in the Fushimi Inari-taisha, they are called the ‘thousand’

torii. In the case of small shrines, miniature torii are piled up in front of the building, as in the O-sachida-jinja, a *massha* of the Atsuta-jingû. They are often presented with a prayer for a particular blessing, or as thanksgiving for the blessing received, but it is only fair to believe that in many cases they are just tokens of devotion.

One of the most striking features of Inari temples, whatever group they may belong to, is the presence, both inside and outside the shrine, of numberless statues of foxes, of all sizes, some huge and some minute, made of stone, or china, or other materials. It is even suggested that the etymology of Miketsu, the name of the Food-kami, should be taken as *mi* (*three*)-*ketsu* (foxes),⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ although those foxes hardly ever go in groups of three.

The fox is commonly believed to possess supernatural powers, like the badger (*tanuki*), and to be able to bewitch and cast evil spells on people. Under the name of *kitsune*, he plays a most prominent part in Japanese folk-lore; stories are already to be found in the *Uji-shûi*, a story-book of the eleventh century.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

One could hardly do better than quote in this connection Mock Joya:

Kitsune assumes the form of a man, woman or child, by merely putting a few stray leaves onto its head, or covering its body with a few bits of straw. This is a very common belief held by the people of the country. There are many people living, even today, who will insist that they have been deceived by foxes which had assumed the form of human beings. Especially in the farming districts this belief is very strong. One returns home at night, walking through a lonely part of the country, and suddenly he sees a light, and finds a house. He enters it, wondering who could be living there. He is treated to a good meal in the house. But next morning he finds himself sitting in a muddy pool by the road and eating rotten leaves. Such tales are abundant everywhere. Again *kitsune* takes the form of a beautiful woman and lures men to strange places and strange experiences. Men carrying home baskets of fish at night often find that when they reach home, they have carried in their hands baskets of stones instead of fish; foxes have done the trick. It is also believed that often people are possessed by foxes. It is said that when people are possessed by foxes they act strangely and insanely. In olden days such people...were given strange treatment.... There were even professionals who made it their business to drive foxes out of such fox-possessed people.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

A learned Vienna professor, Dr von Bälz, gave a detailed clinical description of a Japanese woman thus possessed by a fox.

It is said also that 'he who kills a fox incurs the risk of being bewitched by that fox's kindred, or even by the *ki*, or ghost, of the fox.'⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

The foxes in and around Inari temples are of a totally different kind. They are well-disposed towards man, and serve as messengers of the Kami. Describing the Inari-foxes in Shimane-ken, Lafcadio Hearn writes: 'They are of many moods—whimsical, apathetic, inquisitive, saturnine, jocose, ironical; they watch and snooze and squint and wink and sneer; they wait with lurking smiles; they listen with cocked ears most stealthily, keeping their mouths open or closed.'⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

The Inari fox frequently holds a key, or a ball or roll of Buddhist sûtra (?) in his mouth; fairly childish explanations are offered: the key is the key to the rice-house, a phallus, etc.; the ball is the fox's own soul or that of one of its worshippers, etc.⁽³³⁶⁾ The tails are always

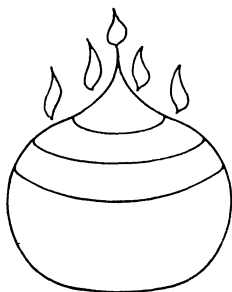
very bushy and often end in *hōju-no-tama*, with which the animals are said to strike fire from the ground.⁽³³⁶⁾ The fox is often provided with an apron of red cloth.

In the Fushimi Inari-taisha, a *massha*, the Byakko-sha, has the white fox for its Kami. At the rear of many Inari temples is a fox-hole supposed to be inhabited by an invisible fox, Ô-kitsune-san, to whom offerings are made.

It should be admitted, however, that, in the eyes of most simple-minded worshippers, the fox has taken precedence over the Kami and has even become the Kami, obliterating his master entirely.

Offerings to the Inari temples largely consist of food which is supposed to be agreeable to the fox: *aburage* (fried bean-curd or *tofu*), cooked rice, fish, meats, etc. Because of the reputed fondness of foxes for *aburage*, a kind of *sushi* wrapped up in *aburage* is commonly called *o-inari-san*.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾

The *hōju-no-tama* (or *hoshi-no-tama*), painted or carved, has the shape of a pear and is crossed by three parallel curves, and surrounded by three or more flame-looking signs. According to some Shintō authorities,⁽¹²²⁾ *hōju* having the same meaning as *tama*, the word is really repetitious; it may be thought, however, that such insistence is neither fortuitous nor meaningless. According to the same authors, the *hōju* came originally from Taoism, where it is the symbol of the soul, and 'in proper Shintō' the corresponding symbol is the *tomoë*, which is found, mostly in groups of three, *mitsu-tomoë*, as we have seen, in the crest of many jinja. However that may be, the *hōju* may almost be taken to be the emblem of the Inari temples. There the etymology is given as *hoshi* (star) *-no-tama* (ball or circle). It is said to be identical with *ta* (longevity)-*ta* (growth)-*ta* (progress); it is also said to be connected with three times *i*, and 'therefore' to protect against conflagrations; again it is said that it comes from India and should be pronounced *chi*, etc. More than likely, however, it has a far deeper esoteric meaning inherited from Taoism, which may or may not have been forgotten in the course of centuries, but which explains the great value still attached to it.



hoshi-no-tama

During the Fuigo (bellows)-matsuri on November 8th, special fires are lit in honour of Inari to commemorate the assistance given by the Food-goddess to the famous swordsmith Kokaji, when she blew the bellows for him, to help him forge a sword for the Emperor.⁽³⁴⁷⁾

The most popular Inari festival is the Hatsu-uma-matsuri held on the first day of the Horse in the month of February. Tall banners decorate the shrines. The first recorded mention of it is February 9, (lunar) A.D. 708. In feudal days it was celebrated not only by

farmers, but also by samurai' and merchants and was a great market-day. Formerly it was also a great spring festival to welcome the return of the Mountain-kami to the rice-fields (cf. p. 499! above); farm-horses were given a holiday. Although it is no longer observed as a national holiday, in rural districts it is still regarded as a community holiday. Children particularly enjoy it and celebrate it by beating drums.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ In the Fushimi Inari-taisha, the matsuri (Hatsu-uma-tai-sai) lasts for twenty-one days.⁽⁷¹⁵⁾ Less ambitious ceremonies take place every month on the first day of the Horse.

The oldest and most famous Inari temple is undoubtedly the Fushimi Inari-taisha, which has a most interesting history. According to tradition, in the very remote past, the owner of the hills on which the temple stands was a man called Kada-ryûtoda, 'dragon-head', who, at the end of his earthly life, rose to Heaven; the place from which he ascended is now protected by a fence and worshipped. At the beginning of the historical period, the hills belonged to the powerful Hata clan. Early in A.D. 711, one of its members, Hata-no-iroka (also called Hata-no-chôja-iroka), while hunting, found some *o-mochi* (cakes of steamed rice); he 'pulled' one, hung it on the branch of a cedar-tree and pierced it with an arrow shot from his bow. The *o-mochi* immediately turned into a swan (*hakuchô*) and flew away. And from that day the power of the rival Kada clan rapidly declined.

Hata-no-iroka, repenting his action, went searching for the swan and finally found it on the summit of the San-gamine peak of Mount Inari. There he started the worship of Uga-no-mitama (under the name of Uga-tama), Saruda-hiko (under the name of Sada-biko) and Ame-no-uzume (under the name of Ô-miya-no-me). The three together constitute Inari.

The cult of Inari very soon received Imperial sanction, and Hata-no-iroka was made its first high-priest. The three Kami were nevertheless enshrined in three different temples on the three hills respectively: Uga-no-mitama in the Mannaka-shimo-no-yashiro on the third summit, Saruda-hiko (under the name of Ô-da-no-mikoto) in the Kita-no-za-no-naka-no-yashiro on the second, and Ame-no-uzume (under the name of Ô-miya-hime) in the Minami-no-za-no-kami-no-yashiro on the first. The members of the clergy were recruited from the Hata and the Kada clans, both of which have their ancestors enshrined in subsidiary shrines.

In 1266, two more Kami were added: Tanaka-no-kami (literally 'the Kami in the middle of the rice-field', which may be another name for Inari), and Shi-no-kami, who is believed to have started the cult of Kada-ryûtoda. The five together make up the Inari-go (five)-shadai-myojin, or more simply the Inari-ô-kami.

In 1438, the first three Kami were brought into one temple at the foot of the mountain; in 1821, other temples were built for the other two Kami.^(121, 336)

Prayers are generally addressed to the five Kami collectively. When a devotee wishes to address himself to one of them only, he goes to the corresponding summit of the hills. Sake is served in special cups (*kawarake*) made with clay taken from the Inari hills.

The Fushimi-inari-taisha has quite a number of important matsuri which are attended by large crowds. Let us mention:

The Ô-yama-sai or Ô-shime-hari which takes place on January 5th. *Shimenawa* are placed at the seven sites of the ancient Inari Kami, and sake is placed in a hundred small earthenware cups and offered at the altar in the Gozen valley.

The Busha-sai, or Hôsha-sai, also called Ô-yumi-hajime, is held on January 12th 'for the reformation of society'. Two priests shoot with bow and arrows.

The date of the Hatsu-uma-saï, or Hatsu-uma-môde, or Mi-uma-no-ichi, to which we have referred, was fixed in 711. Devotees take away with them a branch of cryptomeria cut in the Inari hills, called *shirushi-no-sugi* (the omen cryptomeria).

Early in Spring is a Kinen-saï or Toshigoï-no-matsuri.

On the second day of the Horse in April we have the Mi-yuki-matsuri, also called Shinkô-saï or Oïde-matsuri.

On the first day of the Rabbit in May, celebrations are held in connection with Buddhist temples. When they return from the *o-tabisho* in the village of Nishi-Kujô, the five *mikoshi* of the Taïsha make a halt in front of the Tô-ji. Offerings of bronze are made from the Nishi-hongwan-ji.

On November 8th, the Fuigo-matsuri or Hi-taki-saï commemorates the day when the Goddess Inari (*sic*) blew the bellows of the swordsmith (cf. p. 506 above).⁽³³⁶⁾

It is claimed⁽¹²¹⁾ that one third of the Inari temples in Japan have a collective *bun-rei* (here called *wake-mitama*) of the five Kami of Fushimi Inari-taïsha. Among them special mention should be made of the Tokyo (Haneda) Anamori-inari-jinja, with its hundreds of red *torii*, which, according to tradition, was set up by Yagoëmon Suzuki and his companions in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁽¹²²⁾

Not all Shintô Inari-jinja however are connected with the Fushimi Inari-taïsha; it is even held by some authorities⁽²²⁾ that the independent ones are a majority. One peculiarity about them is that most of them were founded after a revelation for that purpose, generally in a dream, had come to some person, *gyôjya*, who may be an ascetic, a student or anybody else. After the *gyôjya* has heard the voice of a Kami, he teaches the people and many accept the doctrine and worship his Kami. And it is said that the Kami who is thus heard is Inari in 'eighty or even ninety-nine per cent of the cases.'⁽¹²¹⁾ Such is the case of the Otsuka-inari-jinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Miya-chitake-jinja, built about 1930 to 'protect' the *massha* which stands over the tomb of Jingû-kôgô's mother.⁽¹³⁰⁾

There are also some Inari-jinja, such as the Shira-yone-sha, a subsidiary shrine of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, of which the origin has been completely forgotten.

It should be noted also that in at least one shrine, the Gôshô-ôji-jinja, on the Dewa-sandzan, the Food-kami (here an *aidono-no-kami*) is called by the more august name of Inari-no-ô-kami, which may not be without meaning.

If we believe some authorities, there have been five successive ways of choosing the five Kami who constitute Inari. We shall only mention the two which are the most ancient according to that theory. In the first, they are

(1) Ame-no-minaka-nushi; (2) Izanagi; (3) Izanami; (4) Ho-musubi; (5) Uga-no-mitama. In the second, they are (1) Ame-no-minaka-nushi; (2) Taka-mi-musubi; (3) Kami-musubi; (4) Saruda-hiko; (5) Uga-no-mitama.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

In addition to the Shintô Inari temples, there are some very important Buddhist temples which also worship Inari, although the Deity does not seem to be the same. Perhaps the most impressive is the Toyokawa Kaku-myô-gonji. It was originally a temple of the Zen Sôtô sect where the main object of worship was Wa-kannon-sama. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, Prince Kamjangiin, on his return from a visit to China, stopped for some time in the Buddhist monastery on Mount Hieï. There he had the revelation of a 'concept' which came to be called Dakiniten, as a 'protector' of Buddhism. Dakiniten was later represented in iconography as a man carrying the *hôju-no-tama* (here called *ho-juu*) in his

hand and a sheaf of rice on his shoulder; he was ‘therefore’ called Inari and worshipped as such. Gradually Dakiniten-Inari became more and more important in the minds of worshippers, and although it is still serviced by Buddhist priests in Buddhist style (*dai-hannya-kyô*), the temple has become an actual Inari temple. Daikoku is also worshipped in it as a subsidiary Deity. Foxes are not so numerous as in Shintô Inari temples, but there are quite a few of them around.

The temple is enormously wealthy, and has a very important branch in Tokyo (Akasaka). Other Buddhist temples worshipping Dakiniten, but independent from Toyokawa, are found in Ôsaka, Fukuoka, Yokosuka and Hokkaido.

A remarkable thing is that, in some purely Shintô temples, such as the Ôarai-isosakinjinja, one occasionally finds subsidiary shrines called Toyo-kawa-sha, where the Kami is Uga-no-mitama.

Inari shrines, whatever ‘line’ they belong to, are regarded mainly as guardians of farm-crops,⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ but the attributions of Inari are many and vary with the temples. In the O-sachidajinja, a subsidiary shrine of the Atsuta-jingû, Inari has the wider function of ‘Kami of plants’ in general; he is the Rain-kami in the Kura-inne-jinja, a *massha* of the Asakurajinja. Generally speaking he is believed able to give wealth, and that is one of the lame explanations given for the key in the mouth of his foxes. In many temples he is worshipped as a healer, and sometimes highly specialized at that; thus in Matsuë and Kamachi he is the Kami of coughs and bad colds.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ In Oba, a large box full of small clay foxes is fastened to the wall of his shrine; the pilgrim who has a prayer to make puts one of them in his sleeve and takes it home. He keeps it and honours it until his prayer has been granted, and then returns it.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

The iconography of Inari corresponds to his many personalities. He is often represented as a bearded man riding a white fox,⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ but in pictures sold at temple-offices, he is generally shown as a woman with long flowing hair, carrying sheafs of rice, and sometimes also riding the white fox.

The Food-kami bear many other names, which in some cases only designate one or another of those whom we have already described and sometimes correspond to other Kami altogether. It is practically impossible to know which is the case for each name and for each temple in which the name is used. We shall therefore simply list the most important.

Waka-uka-no-me (or -be)-no-mikoto, the ‘Young lady of the food’,⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾ or the ‘Lady of the young food’, also called Ôimi-no-kami, or Hirose-no-kawaai-no-kami, is sometimes identified with Toyo-uke-bime⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ and sometimes with Kura-ine-tama-no-mikoto. She is specially connected with rain.⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ It is to her that the famous Hirose-no-ô-imi *Norito* is addressed, in which she is called ‘the patron of [the Emperor’s] food’.⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾ She is the Kami of the Hirose-jinja.

Ima-ge-no-kami is the ‘Kami of the new food’.⁽⁶⁰⁹⁾

Ihi-yori-hiko (Prince of good boiled rice) is also one of the four ‘faces’ of Futa-na, one of the first islands born of Izanagi and Izanami.

Four sons of Ugaya-fuki-aëzu and Tama-yori-hime, and therefore ‘brothers’ of Jimmutennô, are also definitely connected with food, but do not seem to receive much worship in this connection, at least in temples. They are:

Ina-hi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Boiled-rice).

Itsu-ne-no-mikoto (His Augustness Powerful-rice).

Mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto (His Augustness the August Food-master).

Waka-(or Toyo-)mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto (His Augustness the August Young (or Luxuriant) Food-master).

Kami-uga-no-me and Toyo-uga-no-me⁽⁵⁸⁷⁾ are also connected with food.

Many other Kami, better known for other activities, are also occasionally considered as Miketsu-kami. Such is the case for Kehi-no-ô-kami,⁽⁵⁹¹⁾ Susano-wo in the Kumano Hongû-taisha, and even Tsuki-yomi-no-ô-kami.⁽¹²²⁾

One peculiar case is that of Ô-yama-kuî-no-kami, in whose name *kuî* may be taken to mean 'to be born', and that, in the opinion of the *gûji* of his main temple, shows a 'connection' with the name Inari, which is interpreted by him to mean 'to be born from rice'. And he points out that for the worship of both Kami blossoms of *aoi* (hollyhock) are used.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

To close the list, let us quote a statement reported to have been made by one of the greatest high-priests of the nineteenth century, Baron Sonpuku Senge: 'In the Kama-no-yashiro of Izumo, Uga-no-mitama-no-kami is worshipped, and it is also called the Ichi-no-miya. On January 20, 1538, the kettle (*kama*) of Narihisa Amago had cracked, and he asked if it might not be worshipped in the Ichi-no-miya, and because this kettle was stored there, the shrine came to be called Kama-no-yashiro. However, as the name of this Kami is connected with the supervision of food-stuffs, Uga therefore has the meaning of *shoku* (food, especially boiled rice). Called by the names Uke-motsu-no-kami and Toyo-uke-hime-no-kami, this is the Kami of the Gekû at Ise, and the Inari-no-kami-no-yashiro at Fushimi.'⁽⁶³¹⁾

This is probably the place to mention also that a grain of rice more than an inch long, preserved from that period of the Age of the Gods (Kami-yo) when the rice grew tall as the tallest tree and bore grains worthy of the gods is reported to be in the possession of the Kamosu-jinja.

CHAPTER XXIII

EBISU, DAIKOKU AND THE GODS OF LUCK

EBISU is both one of the most popular and one of the most controversial Kami of the whole Shintô Pantheon. The numberless temples, big and small, where he is worshipped, often rank among the wealthiest and most frequented, particularly by people engaged in trade of one sort or another. His picture can be seen in most shops and places connected with commerce. He is generally represented as a fat, bearded, smiling fisherman, holding a fishing-rod in one hand and a large *tai* (seabream) in the other.

Considered by himself alone, and within the context of Shintô, Ebisu is identified with at least three different Kami: (1) an old independent Ebisu-no-kami; (2) Hiru-ko-no-kami; (3) Koto-shiro-nushi. In addition to which he is sometimes closely connected with Shiô-tsu-tsu-no-oji. Since it would be most presumptuous for a foreigner to arbitrate between widely divergent—but not necessarily incompatible—opinions, I shall limit myself to recording two typical views held and expressed by two highly competent authorities.

According to the high-priest of one of the greatest Ebisu-jinja,⁽²⁰¹⁾ there are only two Ebisu: Koto-shiro-nushi-no-mikoto, as worshipped in the Ôsaka Imamiya-ebisu-jinja, and Hiru-ko-no-kami as worshipped in the Nishinomiya Ebisu-jinja, but the actual worship is identical for the two. The cult of Ebisu is more particularly active between Nagoya in the East and Shikoku and Kyûshû in the West. East of Nagoya hardly any Ebisu-jinja can be found, but he is a popular Kami for the fishermen.

The name Ebisu does not occur in the classical texts, although Ebisu was originally an independent Kami under the name of Ebisu-no-kami. His was the most ancient worship among fishermen, for whose sake he resided far away in the Ocean, and whom he protected. And that is why the oldest Ebisu-jinja are always near the sea-shore.

Approximately in the twelfth century, the Ebisu cult changed character and became closely associated with the idea of commercial profits. There were at that time a great number of markets and fairs and it had become customary to hold a religious ceremony before the opening. The Kami, *ichi* (market)-gami, was at first Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto, but from time to time she was abandoned for Ebisu-no-kami, as can be proved by the archives and other documents. Two typical instances are quoted: In the twelfth century, in the region of Yamato, there was a big market in front of the Buddhist temple Jôraku-ji, and at that time an Ebisu-jinja was erected close by; in Nara, when the big market Minami-ichi was founded, an Ebisu-jinja was erected for it.

In support of this view can be quoted an authoritative book on the commercial development of Japan in the Middle-Ages⁽⁷⁶³⁾ and an old twelfth century *Norito*, from which it appears that similar temples were built in similar circumstances after a market was founded by the Chief in Miwa (Yamato) and also before the market on the sea-shore near Sumiyoshi became the 'Great Market of the Ebisu Beach'.

As regards the region of Ôsaka, it is further pointed out that at that time the fishing industry was on the decline and trade prospered on account of the favourable position of the town, near the mouth of an important river.

The high-priest quoted concludes therefore that the cult of Ebisu necessarily has two aspects: protection of fishermen and commercial development. He adds that it was only in the Edo era that scholars made attempts to find a place for Ebisu in the *Kojiki*, and for that purpose identified him with either Hiru-ko or Koto-shiro-nushi.

The other authority to which I wish to refer is a book entirely devoted to the Nishinomiya Ebisu.⁽⁷⁷⁸⁾ According to the author, this particular Ebisu was wrongly supposed—from the Ashikaga period—to be Koto-shiro-nushi both because Ebisu was not deemed a name worthy of a Kami and because Koto-shiro-nushi went fishing in Mihomisaki. Ebisu would be no other than Ebisu-no-kami, who was the Kami of the land of Ebisu. But after the Meiji reform, many jinja which worshipped either Hiru-ko-no-kami or Ebisu-no-kami decided that their Kami was actually Koto-shiro-nushi, and the author cites many instances.

In his view the name Ebisu really covers two different Kami, one of which, Oki-ebisu (Ebisu of the offspring) is Shiô-tsu-tsu-nooji, who welcomed Hiru-ko and brought him up, and is therefore a Saburô (serving)-kami, also called Ara-ebisu, worshipped under that name in two *massha* of the Itsukushima-jinja and the Nishinomiya Ebisu-jinja. *Ara* being an abbreviation of *arataka*, miraculous, marvellous.

Still within the same context, Ebisu can be identified with Fudô and Saburô-Ebisu with Bishamon. The author further devotes a whole chapter to Marôdo-no-kami, a statue in the Nishinomiya Ebisu-jinja, which he believes to have been originally a statue of Saburô and to have been taken to be a statue of Hiru-ko-no-kami (as Ebisu) only at the beginning of the Meiji era.

The two views quoted above will suffice to show that the identification of Ebisu is by no means a simple problem.

Whatever the solution, if any, it is generally believed that Ebisu does not go to Izumo with the other Kami during the month of October (*kami-na-zuki*) because, 'being deaf, he does not hear the summons'.⁽³⁴⁷⁾ And it is during that month that his great festival is celebrated in his temple. (Cf. p. 232 above).

Among the temples where Ebisu is worshipped as being Hiru-ko, we may mention, in addition to the Nishinomiya Ebisu-jinja, the Kôbe Wada-jinja, the Hiru-ko-sha of the Ôsaka Ten-man-gû, and the Kôbe Nishinomiya-jinja (where the Kami was originally Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, but where she is only remembered by the priests, all the worshippers thinking only of Ebisu).

Among the temples where Ebisu is worshipped as being Koto-shiro-nushi, we may mention, in addition to the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja, the Himuka-jinja, the Taga-taïsha, the Kasuga-taïsha, the Kono-jinja, the Miyazu Wakimiya-jinja, the Takama-ichi-ebisu-jinja, the Ôita-shi Ebisu-jinja, the Wakamatsu Ebisu-jinja, etc.

On January 10th, the Tôka-ebisu in the Imamiya-ebisu-jinja is reported to attract one and a half million people. A special amulet, the *kichô* (good sign) or *ko-dakara* (small treasure) is distributed to those present; it consists of a paper sea-bream (*taï*) from the sea, a few grains of rice from the mountain, an old round coin (*koban*), an old square coin (*chôgin*), a small dry measure (*masu*), two purses (*zeni-bukuro*), a mortar (*usu*), a wooden hammer to dig out treasures (*uchide-no-kozuchi*), a priest's hat (*eboshi*), a congratulating fan (*suë-hiro*), a piece

of paper in lieu of dried seaweed (*nori*), and an account-book (*daïfuku-chô*) for prosperity—all of course in miniature. It remains valid for one year.⁽²⁰¹⁾



Daïkoku

Ebisu is frequently associated with Daï-koku, who, at least in such company, is most often identified with Ô-kuni-nushi (or Ô-namuchi) in Shintô worship. Daïkoku is then represented as a fat, prosperous-looking man, sitting on two big rice-balls, carrying a bag of precious things on his back and holding a hammer (*tsuchi*) in his right hand; below him one can generally see a mouse nibbling at one of the rice-balls. The presence of the mouse is popularly explained by the fact that ‘wherever there is a mouse, there is food. Then the mouse is never idle, always busy finding and bringing in food. It does not carry food in one big load, but it makes many trips a day, taking a small bit at one time. It accumulates its big supply of food by constant labour’.⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ Minute statues of Daïkoku in gold are often carried by many people as a talisman for wealth and prosperity. As regards his mallet, popular belief has it that when it is shaken, coins flow out in unlimited quantities. It is believed in competent circles that Daïkoku was originally a transposition of the Indian Deity Mahâkâla.⁽³²⁷⁾ Apparently he was originally ‘the god of the kitchen, but later came to be worshipped as the god of happiness, and in Western Japan, combined with the god of the rice-fields (Ta-no-kami), is worshipped as the god of agricultural cultivation.’⁽³²⁷⁾

Ebisu and Daïkoku, however, are in the minds of the great mass of the people two of the ‘Seven Gods of Luck’ (Shichi-fuku-jin), most of whom have little or nothing to do with Shintô. The other five are:

Benten-san, the only Goddess in the group, was probably originally identical with the Indian Sarasvatî; she is the great Patron of music, and makes it clear by holding a *biwa* in her hand. Around her statue are often seen coils of snakes, believed to stand for jealousy. Her reputation in this connection is so strongly established that married couples hesitate

to visit her together. Many temples are devoted to her individually, and their priests are frequently unable to say whether they belong to the Buddhist or the Shintō clergy. (Cf. p. 56 above.)

Bishamon is a fierce-looking warrior, in full armour, with a spear in one hand, who, however, holds in the other hand a 'tower of treasure', or a toy pagoda. He was probably identical with the Indian God Vaishravana.

Fukurokuju is supposed to have been a Chinese hermit who lived during the Sung dynasty. His name means happiness (*fuku*)-wealth (*rok*)-longevity (*ju*). He is represented as a small old man with a prominently long and bald head, and carries a book of sacred teachings tied to his staff. He is occasionally escorted by a crane, a deer or a tortoise.

Hotei, conspicuous for his fat belly, is dressed in the costume of a Buddhist priest, and carries in his hand a fan and on his shoulder a huge bag 'which never stops to give, despite the continuous demand'.

Junrōjin, often identified with the South Pole-star, is pictured as a Chinese hermit, like Fukurokuju (with whom he is sometimes mistaken);⁽³⁴⁷⁾ he is small, with a big head, and carries a long stick, to the top of which is tied a little book; it is said that the book contains full information about the life-span of every individual. He is generally accompanied by a deer which old age has made turn black.

The seven Gods of luck are frequently represented on their 'treasureship' (Takara-bune), which carries various magical implements (*takara-mono*): a hat of invisibility (*kakuregasa*), rolls of brocade (*orimono*), an inexhaustible purse (*kanebukuro*), the keys to the divine treasure-house (*kagi*), cloves (*shoji*), scrolls or books (*makimono*), a lucky rain-coat (*kakure-mino*) and a robe of feathers (*hagoromo*) famous in folk-lore, no and kabuki. The list of implements varies.

CHAPTER XXIV SECTARIAN SHINTÔ

WE could not begin a survey of the Shintô sects (Kyôha Shintô) better than by quoting extensively from an article published in July 1932 by the National Association of Shintô priests in the Journal of the Kokugakuin [Shintô] University, the *Kokugakuin Zasshi*:

‘There are many points of similarity between Jinja Shintô and Sectarian Shintô. In popular opinion, the two are frequently confused and the real differences are often unknown. There are even cases in which writers have given erroneous expositions of the supposed differences. It is highly important to the strengthening of the institutions of the Shintô temples that the real differences between State Shintô (now Jinja Shintô) and Sectarian Shintô be made plain.

‘It is true that in the matter of the worship of the national Deities the Jinja and Sectarian Shintô have much in common. It is true also that when we go back to historical origins we find situations in which it is not easy to distinguish between them. In the processes of development through which they have passed and in actual present-day manifestations, however, it is possible to make clear distinctions between them. The fundamental differences are as follows:

‘I.—*Doctrine*. The existence of certain specified doctrines is essential to Sectarian Shintô. In the case of Jinja, this condition does not obtain. All the branches of Sectarian Shintô without exception possess certain special religious assertions which serve as their sectarian standard; in other words, they possess doctrines. As a matter of fact these are a fundamental condition of the origin of Sectarian Shintô, and apart from the attempt to induce people to believe those doctrines and to lead them accordingly it would have been impossible for Sectarian Shintô to have come into existence. To be sure, among these teachings which we have called doctrines there are some which are not systematized in any particular literary document or sacred scripture. Certain teachings exist merely as moral exhortations or by mutual consent. This matter, however, simply concerns differences in degree. It remains true that the primary condition for the existence of all the branches of Sectarian Shintô is the acceptance, application and propagation of certain special doctrines.

‘II.—*Founders*. The Sectarian Shintô which promulgate these doctrines also naturally possess individual sect founders. That is to say all the branches of Sectarian Shintô go back to certain persons who at first themselves believed the teachings which constituted the basis of organization, and who proclaimed these teachings and induced others to believe and propagate them. That is, there exist of necessity sect-fathers, founders and organizers. In the case of Jinja-Shintô, however, there is nothing similar.

‘III.—*Religious organizations*. Inasmuch as the existence of Sectarian Shintô depends on the possession and propagation of doctrines, it is essential that the necessary organizations be provided for the dissemination of the teachings. This makes a clear point of distinction between Jinja Shintô and Sectarian Shintô, which establishes agencies of propaganda and

organizes into a single body the adherents who believe particular doctrines. As has been already pointed out, since Jinja Shintô does not propagate doctrines and has no founders, it is not necessary that it should have the religious organizations that accompany them. The various societies and organizations that are connected with Jinja Shintô are not established on the basis of the acceptance of some special doctrines, and for this reason it is not inconsistent for one and the same person to hold membership in two or more of these Jinja Shintô societies.⁷

According to another official publication of the Jinja Shintô authorities,

‘the establishment of those sects is relatively recent, all of them having begun their activities in the eighteenth century.... The Tokugawa Bakufu exerted itself in protecting already established religions and as a result caused the formalization of religion. On the other hand, as the blessings of peace continued, from the middle of the Tokugawa period, annual observances, popular religious fads, spontaneous mass pilgrimages to Ise Jingû, and regular pilgrimages visiting various famous shrines all became extremely popular. It was a period of luxuriant, over-ripe growth of religions; and since the objects of prayers were such worldly benefits as curing of sickness, protection from disasters, worldly riches, and success in life, the already established religions tended to become isolated from the religious demands of the common people, and the growth of new religions was accelerated. It was in these social conditions that Sectarian Shintô grew up, and it was only natural that the founders as well as the believers in these movements should tend to consist largely of common people. Consequently, although their doctrines can be classified...actually their content is not extremely well systematized. A large number of small splinter-sects, which had from 1877 to 1908 been forcibly incorporated into one of the thirteen main sects, separated themselves at the end of the Pacific War and began independant activities,⁷⁽³²⁷⁾

The sects in 1882 had been given official recognition and changed ‘from more or less undefined sects (*ha*) related with the official cult to definite independent religious associations (*kyôkai*)’. Thirteen of those sects were officially registered: the Izumo-taishakyô, the Fusô-kyô, the Jikkô-kyô, the Honkyô-taisei-kyô, the Shinshu-kyô, the Shintô-honkyoku, the Shintô Shûsei-ha, the Mitake-kyô, the Shinri-kyô, the Misogi-kyô, the Kurozumi-kyô, the Konkô-kyô and the Tenri-kyô.⁽⁴²⁷⁾

As a matter of fact, the Naïmu-shô proclamation of January 24, 1882, authorized priests of Jinja Shintô themselves to be members of Shintô sects, although it did not allow them to hold office in any of them.⁽⁶³¹⁾ It would seem that nowadays they very seldom belong to any one of the sects, but the contacts between the two groups are very close and cordial.

To attempt to list and describe the various schools and sects of Shintô which exist would be a task just as impossible as if one tried to do the same exercise for Buddhist or Christian or Moslem sects and schools. It would be further complicated by the fact that new groups (Shinkô Shûkyô), spring up constantly and that it is impossible to draw a definite line between the sects which should be considered Shintô and those which would fall outside. We shall mention only a few of the most important.

Although any classification must needs be perfectly arbitrary, we shall group them in five main categories: those which claim to be pure Shintô, those which betray or admit of a strong Confucian influence, those which are more or less tinged with Buddhism, those

which declare themselves a mixture of Shintô, Buddhism and Confucianism, and those which lay great stress on the personality of their founders. In a separate category we shall then say a few words of Ise-Shintô.

Among the sects and schools which claim to represent pure Shintô, free from any adulteration, the most important are probably Fukko-shinto (which is authentic Jinja-shintô) and Izumo-ô-yashiro-kyô.

Fukko-Shintô, 'literally Restoration Shintô, Reform-Shintô...beginning from a painstaking study of ancient philology, attempted to make clear the mentality of the ancient Japanese and thus to discover the essence of Shintô.' It counted among its exponents the four most famous Shintô theologians: Azumamaro Kada, Mabuchi Kamo, Motoôri and Hirata, whose works and all-important influence we have already described.⁽³²⁷⁾

The Shinri-kyô founded by Tsunehiko Saho (1834–1906)^(695a), teaches worship of all Kami down to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, the Sun-Goddess; it stresses the importance of respect for the Kami and love for the country.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾ Secessions led to the creation of five new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

The Izumo-ô-yashiro-kyô results from the merger of two sects which, under the inspiration of two families of *gûji*, had both originated in the Izumo-ô-yashiro. That temple is still its centre, but it has branches in many parts of the country, so much so that one of the assistant high-priests of the temple has his permanent residence in Tokyo. It teaches worship mostly for the first three Kami, whom it calls Zôka-san-jin.⁽⁶³¹⁾

Probably in this same category falls also the sect centering around the Iso-no-kami-jingû, which, like the previous one, seems to have preserved important esoteric secrets; we have described some of its activities in a previous chapter (cf. p. 83f. above).

Some sects, like the Yamakage-shintô-kyô, claim to have retained methods originating in the shrines of the Imperial Palace.

The Shintô-taikyô, formerly Shintô-honkyoku which also claims to represent unadulterated Shintô, broke up into twelve new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

The Taïsei-kyô, founded by Shôsai Hirayama (1815–1890), should probably also be included in this group although it has been alleged that it is some-what tinged with Confucianism. Its teachings are officially summarized as follows: (1) Worship the Heavenly Kami and the Earthly Kami, pay homage to the Imperial Sanctuary as well as to the August Spirits of the successive Emperors; (2) Reverencing the divine ordinances infinite as Heaven and Earth themselves, extend the national principle of this country; (3) Illustrate in practice the moral codes heavenly ordered; (4) Disciplining oneself in morality and truth, fix the basis of faith wherein one gains peace of mind; (5) Abiding in the One Truth which unifies the two realms of the Manifested and the Hidden, get enlightened on the reason of life and death; (6) Undertake scientific investigations and encourage various enterprises; (7) As regards the divine rites and ceremonial affairs, follow the traditional standards which were bequeathed by the successive courts.^(695a) Secessions in this group led to the creation of two new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

Among the sects and schools which are definitely connected with Confucianism, we should mention particularly the Mito-gaku, the Shintô Shûsei-ha and the Ritô-shinchi-shintô.

The originator of Mito-gaku was Mitsukuni Tokugawa (1628–1700) generally known under the name of Gikô. He initiated historical studies on a large scale. He stressed respect

for the Imperial Court and for the Kami, Shintô being in his view the more essential part and Confucianism playing an important secondary part. The main exponents of Mito-gaku were Nariaki Tokugawa (generally known under the name of Rekkô) (1800–1860), who founded the Kôdô-kan school, and Hiroshi Kurita (1835–1899), who wrote a considerable number of books. Their main authorities were the *Kogoshûi* and the various *Fudoki*.^(327, 420)

The Shintô Shûsei-ha teaches that man receives his body from his parents, but his spirit from the first three Kami. The purpose of religion is stated to be to nurture this spirit.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

Razan Hayashi, the founder of Ritô-shinchi-shintô, stressed the unity of Shintô and Confucianism, but energetically rejected Buddhism. He taught that the heart is the Kami, and that the Kami is also identified with *ri*, i.e. the Confucianist reason or truth. For him Shintô is Ôdo, the royal way, which pierces through the Heaven, the Earth and Man.⁽⁴²⁰⁾

The most important group of sects and schools is probably made up of those which more or less mix Shintô and Buddhism. They are covered by the generic name of Ryôbu-Shintô. Among them we must mention more particularly the Shingon-Shintô, the Tendai-Shintô, the Shinrei-kyô and the various sects of Shugen-dô.

The Shingon-shintô sect, which is supposed to have been founded by Kûkai (773–835), interprets Shintô in the light of the doctrines of the Buddhist Shingon sect. According to its tenets, there is absolute identity between the Absolute and the Relative, between noumenon and phenomenon. Therefore the Kami are also Buddha, and for instance Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami is no other than Mahāvairohana (Damichi-nyôrai).

The Tendai-shintô, also called Sannô Ichijitsu Shintô, or Hië-Shintô, takes as a basis for its teachings the doctrine of the Buddhist Tendai sect. The God Sannô, who dwells on Mount Hieï, is taken to be identical with Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and is the chief of all Kami, just as Sakyamuni is the chief of all the Buddha. Tendai-shintô is said to have been founded by Saichô (767–822), the very founder of the Tendai sect of Buddhism.⁽³²⁷⁾

The Hokke-shintô, to which we have already referred, is in spite of its name much more of a Buddhist than a Shintô sect. It was founded by the famous Buddhist monk Nichiren, who had studied Shintô in the Buddhist monastery on Mount Hieï.

The Ishidzuchi-hon-kyô was founded after the Second World War as a specific reaction against the separation of Buddhism and Shintô.

The Shugen-dô are the ‘mountain-sects’, which were officially suppressed at the beginning of the Meiji era, although the Jinja-Shintô continued to celebrate some of their festivals. That interdiction naturally fell when Shintô was removed from State control in 1945, and many of the sects which had continued underground came back to normal life and gained renewed strength. There are three main groups, that of Kumano, that of Ômine and that of the Dewa-san-dzan.

Although mountain-worship was an old Shintô tradition, Shugen-dô seems to have arisen mostly under the influence of Buddhism. For many centuries the priests in the Shugen-dô centres bore the title of *ajari* and the high-priests that of *bettô*, both of them Buddhist appellations. The practices, however, differed greatly from the corresponding techniques in Buddhism. As one of the chief priests of the Dewa-san-dzan put it tersely to me: ‘In the usual form of Buddhism, people seek the help of the Buddha, whereas here people seek themselves.’

To Shugen-dô belong the real *yamabushi* (literally: those who sleep among mountains),⁽³⁰⁸⁾ who practise elaborate techniques of asceticism and ritual, mostly in holy mountain areas. Many of them attach considerable importance to the worship of the first Kami mentioned in the Scriptures.

Some of the best-known mountain sects are:

The Fusô-kyô, which worships only the first three Kami listed in the *Kojiki*, and results of an amalgamation of several groups (*kô*) worshipping Mount Fuji. On the other hand, various secessions led to the creation of sixteen different new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

The Jikkô-kyô founded by Takekuhi Fujiwara (1541–1646) and propagated by Han Shishino and a few others. It was given a fresh impulse by Hanamori Shibata (1809–1890),^(695a) it is sometimes described as pure Shintô.⁽³⁹⁰⁾ Its members have a special adoration for Mount Fuji, pray for the peace of Japan and try to instil a national morality.⁽³⁹⁰⁾ It was one of the sects recognized in the official census of 1893. Three new sects seceded from it.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

The Mitake-kyô shows special devotion for Kuni-toko-tachi, Ô-namuchi and Sukuna-hikona.^(695a) Their main place for exercise is Kiso Ontake (3,063 m.)⁽¹²²⁾. Secessions led to the creation of twelve new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

The three main sects which have tried to blend Shintô, Buddhism and Confucianism are the Yoshida-Shintô, the Shin-gaku and the Suiga-Shintô.

The Yoshida-Shintô was named after its founder, Kanetomo Yoshida (1435–1511); it is also called Yui-itsu-Shintô after the name of one of his chief works, Yui-itsu (only one)-Shintô-Myôbô-Yôshû; other names for it are Gempon-Sôgen-Shintô (fundamental Shintô) and Urabe-Shintô. It is a systematization of Shintô learning which had been handed down from the Heian period in the Yoshida family. It teaches the unity of Shintô, Buddhism and Confucianism, with Shintô as the basic factor. Although recognizing the existence of the Kami outside man, it also sees the Kami dwelling in the heart of man—which is the proper place to worship it through purity and discipline. From the later medieval period until the Meiji Restoration, it was influential in appointments to the priesthood, in decisions regarding religious ceremonies, etc.^(327, 420)

The Shin-gaku got its name because its teachings, like those of Yoshida-Shintô, emphasize the moral training of the ‘heart’ (*shin*), i.e. ‘that which causes all actions and all uses of the human heart’. It is a religious and ethical spiritual movement preached originally by Baigan Ishida (1685–1746). Based on Shintô, with special worship for Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and the Family-kami (*uji-gami*), it used Zen Buddhism and Neo-confucianism to teach the ethics of everyday life to the common people. It spread throughout the country from its centre in Kyoto and is still very active. The complete works of the founder were only published in 1957.^(327, 420)

To the same group also belongs Suiga (i.e. descent of Divine blessing)-Shintô, an academic school of Shintô founded by Ansai Yamazaki (1618–1682). It is a compendium of the various Shintô theories of the early Edo period, to which some Buddhism of the Yoshida type and the Neo-confucianism of Chu Hsi have been added. It regards the *Nihongi* as the highest Scripture, teaches the unity of Heaven and Earth, of soil and gold, of God and man, as being the *michi* (path) of Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. It distinguishes between four categories (*ka*) of Kami: the Kami of Creation (*zô-ka*), which are the seven Divine generations, the Kami of Evaporation (*ki-ka*), which are Izanagi, Izanami (these two being also in the *zô-ka* category),

Saruda-hiko, etc.; the Kami of corporealization (*shin-ka*), who are the five generations of Earthly Kami; and the Kami of mentalization (*shin-ka*), like Tagitsu-hime, Ichikishima-hime, Tagori-hime, etc. Suiga-Shintō makes the virtue of *tsutsushimi* (dutiful and respectful application of all rules and precepts) the centre of its teachings; it preaches Emperor-worship and an ardent patriotic spirit. One of its peculiarities is that the founder and many of his 6,000 disciples were worshipped as gods while still alive. It is one of the nine sects listed in the 1893 census.^(327, 390, 420)

One may justifiably put into one group a number of other sects, most of which of very recent origin, and which have in common some of the following points: to an outside observer at least, they seem content with very simple rules of behaviour, for the observance of which they promise their followers great happiness in this world and/or the next; they all firmly believe they possess the one and only truth, in its totality—just like Christians or Moslems—and their adepts therefore feel that they have to proselytise to the maximum of their ability; they are extremely popular and often amazingly wealthy; they show a reverence often amounting to worship for their founder, who in quite a few cases was an uneducated woman.

Possibly because they are taken to be a potent factor for a strong revival of Shinto—although often in a rather mutilated form—the priests and other authorities of Jinja-Shintō look upon those sects with some amount of favour, speak well of them, often encourage them, and put their temples at their disposal for some ceremonies.

Such new sects, called by the generic name of Shinkō-shūkyō, spring up by the dozen, some of them claiming to be Shintō, others presenting themselves as totally new religions, although on a basis of Shintō. Within the ten years that followed the Second World War, statistics show that about six hundred of them were announced.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

Although it is notably older, one generally counts among them the Kurozumi-kyo, founded by Munetada Kurozumi (1780–1850). It teaches that ‘the origin of all lives in the universe is Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami, the Mother-Goddess, whose sunny spirit pervades the universe, giving birth to all things by its light and heat, and ceases not to nurture them all’.⁽⁴⁰²⁾ Its members should avoid seven evils: (1) to be faithless when one is born in the country of the Kami; (2) to get angry and to worry over things; (3) to be arrogant and spiteful; (4) to arouse evil desires seeing others do evil; (5) to neglect one’s household affairs while in good health; (6) not to have sincerity even when one is entering upon the path of sincerity; (7) not to accept things gratefully for which one ought to be grateful every day.^(695a) Its catchword is communion (*iki-tōshi*) pervaded by vitality. Its members inhale the divine vitality by facing the Sun in the morning and praying to Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami. They practice spiritual healing.⁽⁶⁶⁸⁾ For some ill-defined reason, this sect obtained considerable publicity in the West.

But perhaps the most influential and widely-spread of all modern sects is the Tenri-kyō, which was founded by a very simple peasant-woman, Miki Nakayama (1798–1887), ‘after God had patiently waited for her for 99,999 years, which is the number of human souls that have been born in the world’. Its president (*shin-bashira*), at present one of the best athletes in Japan, and its members firmly believe that they are in exclusive possession of *tasukeichijō-no-michi*, ‘the way for the whole-hearted saving of mankind’, and therefore engage in aggressive propaganda, with considerable success. Its method of worship is as

simple as its cosmogony is fantastic. The source of all evil is Innen, unhappy causation, which is ‘a basic principle’. But the seven kinds of vices are only dust which stains the mirror of one’s soul, and we just have to wipe it off. The soul is eternal, but Innen may make it take birth in the Valley of the Moon. The main object to be attained seems to be cheerfulness and joy. All religious ceremonies should be *yôki-zutome*, gay services, and are thereby *tasuke-zutome*, saving services. The typical ceremony, *tsutome*, is intended ‘not only to reproduce the joy of Creation for which we yearn, but also to invoke His (i.e. Oya’s, God the Parent’s) protection by glorifying His boundless grace’.^(361, 641) The members wear the motto of their sect woven in the cloth of their garments. They wield considerable political influence. The priests of the Yoshida-jinja recall with pride that the foundress practised religious discipline (*gyô*) in their temple before she started to preach.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Secessions in the Tenri-kyô led to the creation of seven new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

After this, we come to a whole ‘family’ of important sects, which all trace their origin to Chikaatsu Honda (1823–1889) and his disciple Odate Nagasawa (1858–1940). Although neither of them seems to have founded an actual sect, three of the latter’s disciples are responsible for the creation of some of the most important present-day groups: Yoshizane (Kanshin) Tomokiyo (1888–1952) who founded the Tenkô-kyô, Onisaburô Deguchi (1871–1948) who founded the Ômoto-kyô, and Yonosuke Nakano (born 1887) who founded the Ananai-kyô. Later, one of Deguchi’s disciples, Masaharu Taniguchi (born 1893) founded the Seichô-no-ië, and one of Taniguchi’s disciples, Masahisa Goï (born 1916) founded the Byakkô-kôseikai

The Tenkô-kyô, with its headquarters on Mount Iwaki, insists on the classical ascetic practices and worships all the Kami listed in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, giving precedence to Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. Its present membership is approximately three million.⁽¹²²⁾

Although the Ômoto-kyô recognizes as its ‘Holy Master’ Onisaburô Deguchi, it was really founded by Mrs Nao Deguchi (1836–1918), his mother-in-law, who was herself an adopted daughter of the Deguchi family. Onisaburô also adopted her family-name; he is responsible for writing some 600,000 poems. The sect considers Ômoto-no-kami (the Kami of the Ômoto-kyô), who is no other than Susano-wo, to be ‘the Saviour of the World, the Guardian Angel who protects us from all evil’, and also worships Ushitora-no-konjin (the God in the North-East), whom they identify with Kuni-toko-tachi. They have their headquarters in Ayabe and claim about 1,200 temples spread over a very wide area. They were submitted to systematic persecution by the authorities, particularly from 1921 to 1927 and from 1935 to 1945.⁽¹⁶⁾

The Ananai-kyô has its headquarters in Shimizu. It is also a very wealthy organization, which devotes some of its activities to a world-wide movement endeavouring under the aegis of the sect to organize international meetings of representatives of all religions—a trend which we find in many new groups or sects throughout Asia. The members are invited to follow a system of mental concentration which is very similar to some Indian yogic practices.⁽¹²³⁾

The Seichô-no-ië was founded as ‘a movement for the dissemination of certain spiritual truths’ in 1930, but came to be recognized as a ‘religious spiritual person’, i.e. a Shintô sect, in 1945. It now has well over one and a half million followers, many of whom are recruited from the intelligentsia. Its teachings are reported to be ‘the most eclectic of all the new religions’; they combine on a Shintô basis Buddhism, the Bible, Christian Science,

psychoanalysis, biology, etc. They are summed up in the ‘Proclamation of the Seven Rays of Light’ which are reproduced in practically every issue of the many periodicals of the sect. They run as follows:

‘1. We should not be prejudiced in favour of any sect of any religion, but believe in the spiritual nature of Man, living in accordance with the spiritual truth of Life.

‘2. We believe that to bring the Great Life Principle into full manifestation is the way to infinite power and plenty, and that the personality of every individual is also immortal.

‘3. We study and make known to all the Law of the Creative Spirit so that humanity may follow the right way to infinite growth.

‘4. We believe that Love is the best nourishment for Life and that prayers and words of love and praise are the creative Way of the Word, necessary to bring Love into manifestation.

‘5. We believe that we, the Sons of God, have infinite power and plenty within ourselves and can attain absolute freedom by following the creative Way of the Word.

‘6. We publish the monthly “Seichô-noië” and other books and booklets filled with good messages so that all men may follow the creative Way of the good words and live happy lives.

‘7. We organize actual movements in order to conquer all the pains and troubles of humanity including diseases, by means of the right view of life, right living, right education, and at last to bring the Kingdom of Heaven onto the earth.’

The founder and present President of the Seichô-no-ië, Mr Masaharu Taniguchi, had an eventful youth and was for several years an active member of the Ômoto-kyô. More than nine million copies of his main work, *Seimeï no Jissô*, are reported to have already been sold.

The Byakkô-kôseikaï is probably the youngest of the movements which have reached a very large public, especially in Tokyo and surroundings. The only duty of the members consists in repeating, light-heartedly and without effort, a special prayer for peace, clapping hands in a certain way, so as to create a ‘white light’ which drives out all evil, and opening up to that white light so as to ‘become Space (*kû*, Sanskrit *shûnyâta*)’. The founder and leader, Mr Masahisa Goï, a very young man, is a visionary who claims to describe the upper worlds from his personal experience of them. The quality to which he attaches the highest value is Love (*ai*), first for God and consequently for all. He practices spiritual healing and believes in *karma*—which is what prevents us from feeling that we are all the children of God. Mr Goï has a very peculiar theory, which may be related to that of the *mamori-tamashii* (cf. p. 60 above). According to him, each soul is supported by several *shugo-rei* (guardian angels), one chief one, and several others who are subordinate to him and exercise specialized functions, but assemble to hear man when he prays for the peace of the world. All those *shugo-rei* are in their turn supported by the soul’s own deity, *shugo-shin*, ‘which may be either individual or collective’. The time has now arrived, says Mr Goï, when the *shugo-rei* come down very close to man, so that mankind gradually takes the shape of a cone, at the apex of which the All-powerful God appears ‘in Space’. Needless to say, this sect is not pure Shintô, but even perfectly orthodox Shintôists consider it with great respect, and not a few have affiliated to it.

Among other sects coming within this category, we may mention also:

The Konkô-kyô, founded by Bunjirô Katori (or Kawade) (1814–1883) also called Konkô Daijin^(695a), which attaches much importance to sincerity of heart and spiritual healing. Its members worship Kon-jin, who is usually considered to be an evil entity, but whom the founder heard in conversation with the Kami.⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

The Misogi-kyô was founded by Masakane Inouë (1790–1849). Its main Kami are Izanagi-no-mikoto and Susano-wo.^(695a) It stresses internal purity above everything else.

The Shinshû-kyô, which shows the same concern about internal purity, was founded by Masamochi Yoshimura (1839–1916).^(695a) Secessions gave rise to two new sects.⁽⁷⁷⁶⁾

Outside this group of sects was apparently Bonji Kawazura (1862–1929), ascetic and writer who had great influence on modern Shintô. He is said to have worked a considerable number of miracles, putting out fires at a distance, going from Kôbe to Izumo and back in one day, etc. A proportion of the present-day high-priests are said to be his direct or indirect disciples.⁽²⁰⁾ He worshipped Ame-no-minaka-nushi through Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami. The Kawazura-shinto is mainly supported by the Miitsu-kai.⁽¹²²⁾

In a category by itself is the Ise-Shintô, ‘a school of Shintô’ established by priests of the Grand Temple of Ise from medieval to recent times. In its early period it contained Buddhist elements, which were partly expurged under the influence of Nobuyoshi Watarai (1615–1691); under the same influence Confucianist elements were added. It established a Japanese Shintô theology placing purity and honesty as the highest virtues and teaching that these virtues should be gained through a religious experience. It is sometimes called Watarai-Shintô.⁽³²⁷⁾ Its theology was condensed in five volumes, the *Shintô-go-bu-sho*, which date from the eighteenth century.

It should not be confused with the Jingû-kyô, formerly one of the officially recognized sects (*kyôkai*), which on September 4, 1899, obtained permission to become a secular juridical person under the name of Jingû-hôsaïkai,⁽⁴²⁷⁾ and was later renamed Tôkyô-dai-jingû. The Jingû-hosan-kai, now renamed Jingû-sûkei-kai, is a large national organisation for supporting the Ise-jingû.⁽¹²²⁾

There are two Associations of Shintô Sects. One of them, the Kyôha-shintô-rengô-kai, founded in 1921, comprised the thirteen sects then recognized. Later the Ômoto-kyô also became a member, but two others withdrew, so that the membership now comprises the Shintô-tai-kyô, the Izumo-taisha-kyô, the Tenri-kyô, the Konkô-kyô, the Fusô-kyô, the Jikkô-kyô, the Shinri-kyô, the Shintô-taisei-kyô, the Ontake-kyô, the Misogi-kyô and the Ômoto-kyô.

The other, the Shin-shûkyô-renmei, founded in 1951, comprises about 90 independent sects and their branches, i.e. about 700 members in all, including Shintô, Buddhist, Christian and other sects.

APPENDIX

THE SHINTÔ GENESIS AND THE AVATARS OF VISHNU

No attempt has apparently been made so far to draw any comparison or establish any connection between the Shintô Genesis and the various Hindu—as distinct from Buddhistic—descriptions of the creation of the universe. And as a matter of fact any such rapprochement would seem fanciful and ungrounded. Hinduism considers the creation (*srishti*) of our world both as a fall from a higher state (*nirguna* Brahman, state of *advaita*) to a lower and less satisfactory state (*jagat*, world of multiplicity) and as cyclic, periodical, alternating with dissolutions of the world (*mahâpralaya*). Shintô, on the other hand, views creation as a development for which man should be unqualifiedly grateful, makes no reference whatever to an eventual dissolution of the world and completely ignores the concept of cyclic return.

Quite apart from the actual stories of Genesis, there is however in Hinduism an extremely important series of myths to which a large proportion—and possibly a majority—of Hindus attach even greater value, both theological and practical, those which describe the successive descents on Earth of the God Vishnu, his Avatars. In fact, not only do all Vaishnavites (as clearly expounded by Madhva, Jayatîrtha and others) maintain that every verse in the Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads, etc., refers exclusively to Vishnu as *saguna* Brahman, beyond whom there is nothing, but many schools and sects of Hinduism see either in Vishnu or in his most perfect incarnation (*purnâvatara*), Krishna, an entity, Purushottama or Parabrahman, which ranks still higher than the absolute (*nirguna*) Brahman, and remains in existence even during the periods when the world of multiplicity has been dissolved. The latter concept is expressly stated in various Purânas and is certainly not inconsistent with the most widely accepted interpretation of the sacred Hindu text which is regarded as the most authoritative by most Hindus, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*.⁽¹⁾

It is true that the various accounts of the successive Avatars of Vishnu do not ever seem to be presented by the Hindu Scriptures or by any vaishnava sect or school as a description of the creation of the world. They are generally taken as indicative of a gradual spiritualization of an already existing world, and apart from the last Avatar, Kalki, who is yet to come, and about whose action only vague speculations can therefore be hazarded, they certainly do not look as if they were to culminate in a dissolution of the world. But as we have seen, this gradual influx of spirituality is precisely what the Shintô Genesis describes in a somewhat different terminology as a gradual conquest of the Earth by the Heavenly forces. A comparison between the two would therefore, a priori, not seem entirely unjustified.

When one considers the most apparent esoteric meaning of the Shintô myths of Genesis as outlined in Chapters XI to XVIII above, one cannot be but struck with the remarkable similarities they offer with the most apparent esoteric meaning of the myths of the ten Avatars of Vishnu as given in the various Hindu Scriptures. The comparison we shall

outline here does not claim to be either exhaustive or conclusive, but it gives a sufficient number of specific instances to suggest that it would be extraordinary difficult to explain the concordance of the two series of myths as purely accidental. We shall take the episodes in the chronological order in which they come in both mythologies.

1. In Shintô, the pair of Kami who actually create the world, Izanagi and Izanami, appear and work only after several successive steps, those which I called the pre-material stages of creation, have been taken by the first fifteen Kami of the *Kojiki*, of which the first seven 'hid their person', i.e., according to G.Katô, were 'imperceptible to man's naked eye'.

2. Izanagi and Izanami are commanded by all the Heavenly Kami, not only to 'make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land',⁽³⁾ but also to 'proceed and bring it into order'.⁽⁴⁾

3. Izanagi and Izanami had to 'find the ocean'⁽⁶⁾ before they could carry out their task.

4. The instrument with which Izanagi and Izanami seek for land and eventually make land by stirring the ocean is a lance, *nu-hoko*.⁽⁸⁾

5. Izanagi and Izanami see to the erection of the Pillar of the Centre of the Land, Kuni-no-naka-no-mi-hashira.⁽¹⁰⁾

6. Izanagi and Izanami have to circumambulate the pillar before they can proceed to actual creation.⁽¹²⁾

7. Izanagi and Izanami had to stir the brine till some of it coagulated, and the first objects created were Onogoro, the 'self-curdled'⁽¹⁴⁾ and Awa-shima, 'the isle of foam'.⁽¹⁵⁾

8. After having churned the ocean and circumambulated the pillar, Izanagi and Izanami become able to give birth to children.⁽¹⁶⁾

Vishnu begins to send down Avatars, i.e. to take a material body perceptible to man, only after an 'original creation', what the Matsya Purâna⁽²⁾ calls *adisrishti*, has taken place.

The purpose of the first Avatar, Matsya, is to help Manu, who not only 'wished to bring all creatures into existence, and began visibly to create all living beings', but whose task 'consisted in creating all beings in appropriate and exact order'.⁽⁵⁾

The Avatar descended for this purpose is a fish, and ultimately had to be taken to the ocean to carry out its task.⁽⁷⁾

One essential feature of the fish, without which it could not carry out its task, is a horn, *shringa*.⁽⁹⁾

The second Avatar, Kûrma, the tortoise, upholds the central pillar of the Earth, Mount Mandara.⁽¹¹⁾

By rotating Mount Mandara, Kûrma brings out of the ocean the basic principles of the universe.⁽¹³⁾

The process used is a churning of the ocean, *samudra-mathana*.

After having rotated the pillar and churned the ocean, the Creator, called for this purpose Prajâpati, becomes able to create an offspring, *prajā*.⁽¹⁷⁾

9. Izanagi and Izanami then give birth to the 'islands or countries' which form the whole world known to the authors and no later reference is made to the creation of other lands.⁽¹⁸⁾

10. The islands begotten by Izanagi and Izanami number 14.⁽²²⁾

11. II. After giving birth to the land, Izanagi and Izanami give birth to a number of Kami.⁽²⁴⁾

12. Through giving birth to the next child, Kagu-tsuchi, Izanami's 'private parts were burnt',⁽²⁶⁾ 'so that she died'.⁽²⁷⁾

13. Kagu-tsuchi's father kills him.⁽²⁹⁾

14. The Kami who now takes the lead is Amaterasu—ô—mi—kami, the Heavenly Kami *par excellence*.

15. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami's opponent is a Kami of no lesser stature than herself, with whom she deals as with an equal, but who is described as 'exceedingly wicked', of a 'fierce temper', 'given to cruel acts'.⁽³¹⁾

16. This opponent, Susano-wo, is a son of the two great Kami, Izanagi and Izanami.⁽³³⁾

17. Susano-wo obstinately endeavours to bring Heavenly forces down to the Earthly world.

18. Although in different passages, Susano-wo is given dominion over three worlds: the ocean-plain, *una-bam*,⁽³⁷⁾ the Earthly world⁽³⁸⁾ and the Nether-land.⁽³⁹⁾

The third Avatar, Vâraha, the boar, raised the Earth out of the middle of the sea; it is generally represented as an island surrounded by water.⁽¹⁹⁾ 'Becoming a boar, he raised the Earth and created the whole world.'⁽²⁰⁾ 'He placed the Earth upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of water, like a vast ship, she does not sink. Having levelled the earth he heaped together the mountains.'⁽²¹⁾

Vâraha divides the Earth into seven continents, *dvîpa*.⁽²³⁾

Between the third and the fourth Avatars, the Earth is gradually peopled, in particular by sages, since the fourth Avatar comes down to protect one of them.⁽²⁵⁾

The main or only action of the fourth Avatar, Nri-simha, the man-lion, is to liberate one sage, Prahâlâda, from his father-demon, Hiranyakashipu. He does so by tearing the loins of the father and thereby killing him.⁽²⁸⁾

Prahâlâda's father makes many attempts to kill him.⁽³⁰⁾

The fifth Avatar, Vamana, is the only one to be a brahmin, i.e., as the Hindu Scriptures often stress, a representative of Heaven on Earth, whereas all the other human Avatars are in the caste of kshatriyas.

Vamana's opponent is the very powerful Bali, 'invincible in battle...unequaled in strength... who lives the entire length of a kalpa'.⁽³²⁾ But Bali is an asura, i.e. a demon.

Bali is a grandson of a very great sage, Prâhlada.⁽³⁴⁾

Although an asura, Bali is very holy and shows a very strong leaning towards Heaven. 'He is a great yogi...comprehends the essential principles of Karma'.⁽³⁵⁾ He celebrates sacrifices.⁽³⁶⁾

Bali is the 'master of the three worlds',⁽⁴⁰⁾ and possesses 'the oceans, forests and seas'.^(40a)

19. Susano-wo disobeys his father, who curses him.⁽⁴¹⁾ Bali disobeys his teacher, Ushanas, who curses him.⁽⁴²⁾
20. Out of his sword, Susano-wo lets Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami create three child Out of his domain, Bali grants Vamana the ground he can cover in three steps.⁽⁴⁴⁾
21. Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami triumphs over Susano-wo without fighting and does not kill him—a most uncommon occurrence in any mythology in a fight between a god and a demon. Vamana triumphs over Bali without fighting and does not kill him.
22. After his defeat, Susano-wo is banished to the Nether-world,⁽⁴⁵⁾ over which it is later made clear that he has dominion.⁽⁴⁶⁾ After his defeat, Bali is granted dominion over the infernal regions, Pâtâla⁽⁴⁷⁾ or Sutâla⁽⁴⁸⁾ according to the texts.
23. Susano-wo is tied by his son to the rafters of his own house.⁽⁴⁹⁾ And his original domain was the ‘ocean-plain’. Bali is bound by Vamana with the chains of Varuna, sovereign of the ocean.⁽⁵⁰⁾
24. In Japan, Susano-wo is worshipped in a great many temples, those of the Yasaka line. In India, Bali continues to be worshipped by a large body of devotees.
25. The Kami who next comes down to Earth, with swords ‘ten hand-breadths long’, are the two warrior-kami *par excellence*, Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi.⁽⁵¹⁾ The sixth Avatar of Vishnu, Parashu-râma, is essentially a great warrior, as indicated by his very name, ‘Râma with the axe’.
26. The monarch whose kingdom Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi come to claim for the Heavenly Kami is Ô-kuni-nushi, i.e., ‘the great sovereign of the whole Earth’.⁽⁵²⁾ Parashu-râma’s chief opponent, Arjuna son of Kritavîrya, is ‘Lord of the whole world, rules over the whole sea-girt Earth, with its oceans and continents’,⁽⁵³⁾ ‘Lord of the seven *dvîpas*’.⁽⁵⁴⁾
27. All references to Ô-kuni-nushi show him to be a perfect monarch. His meekness is brought out by the fact that when asked to renounce his kingdom, he chooses to abide by whatever his sons may decide.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This Arjuna is ‘a dutiful and religious monarch...of a meek, pious and charitable turn of mind’.⁽⁵⁶⁾ ‘By him, this Earth...was perfectly governed’.⁽⁵⁷⁾ His sons play a considerable part in his life.^(57a)
28. Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi ‘put to death’ all the Earthly Kami who ‘were rebellious’ to the Heavenly Kami.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Parashu-râma exterminates all the kshat-triyas who have proved unfaithful to their holy traditions.⁽⁵⁹⁾
29. Prince Ninigi’s task is to establish on Earth the reign of the Heavenly Kami. As evidenced in all the versions of the Râmâyana, the task of the seventh Avatar, Râmachandra, is to establish the reign of morality on Earth, at whatever cost to himself.
30. Prince Ninigi’s escort, when he comes down to Earth, includes Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Râmachandra follows so closely upon the previous Avatar that they are reported to have met.⁽⁶¹⁾

31. Prince Ninigi marries a wife, Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, who is a daughter of the Great Mountain-Kami, Ô-yama-tsu-mi.⁽⁶²⁾ Râmachandra marries a wife, Sîta, who was born from a furrow ploughed by her father Jamadagni.⁽⁶³⁾
32. Prince Ninigi is cursed by his father-in-law, who wants to protect the interests of his other daughter Princess Ihanaga.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Râmachandra is cursed by his stepmother, Kaikeyî, who wants to protect the interests of her son, Bharata.⁽⁶⁵⁾
33. Prince Ninigi is guided in his expedition by Saruda-hiko, a minor Godhead whose name means Prince (*hiko*) of the field (*da=ta*) of the monkey (*saru*).⁽⁶⁶⁾ Râmachandra is guided in his expedition by a minor Godhead, Hanumân who has the body of a monkey.⁽⁶⁷⁾
34. It is stated of Saruda-hiko that his 'refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of Reed-plains'.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Hanumân is described as 'that monkey of immeasurable effulgence...covering the plaintain-wood furnished with trees, and elevating himself to the height reached by the Vindhya mountain'.⁽⁶⁹⁾
35. Saruda-hiko is one of the most popular Kami in Shintô, particularly outside the temples. Hanumân is one of the most popular Gods in Hinduism, particularly outside the temples.
36. One of Prince Ninigi's wives, Kono-hana-sakuya-hime, is suspected of infidelity and has to submit to a fire-ordeal.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Râmachandra's wife, Sîtâ, is suspected of infidelity and has to submit to a fire ordeal.⁽⁷¹⁾
37. Jimmu-tennô and his wife are the first couple to have among their ancestors all the great Kami. The ninth Avatar, Krishna (we shall return to the eighth later) is the 'perfect' Avatar, *purnâvatar*.
38. Jimmu-tennô secures most of Japan for the descendants of the Heavenly Kami. Krishna plays the leading part in the great war of Kurukshetra, which decides of the fate of India in favour of his disciples.
39. Jimmu starts his conquest at the age of forty-five.⁽⁷²⁾ Krishna begins his political action only fairly late in life.
40. Jimmu is supported in his conquest by his three elder brothers.⁽⁷³⁾ Krishna is supported in his action by his elder brother, Balarâma, who is the eighth Avatar.
- The following five episodes do not take place at exactly the same juncture in Hinduism and Shintô, but the similarities between them cannot be ignored:
41. One important and extraordinary outcome of the conflict between Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami and Susano-wo (cf. 20 above) is that they jointly produce children.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The most important result of Parashu-râma's fight against the kshatriyas (cf. 28 above) is that brahmin men and kshatriya women join to procreate children.⁽⁷⁵⁾

42. One of the great feats accomplished by Ô-kuni-nushi (cf. 27 above) was that he pulled to the shore and attached to the mainland some outlying islands. That is *kuni-biki* or *kuni-yuzuri*.⁽⁷⁶⁾

43. Prince Ninigi's chosen son, he who is to become the ancestor of the Imperial Dynasty, Hiko-ho-ho-demi goes down to the Palace of the Sea-king, Ô-wata-tsu-mi, at the bottom of the sea, marries his daughter, Toyo-tama-hime, and eventually returns.⁽⁷⁸⁾

44. After her husband, Hiko-ho-ho-demi, Ninigi's son, had ignored her request, Toyo-tama-hime abandons him and their child and returns to the element from which she had come, i.e. the sea.⁽⁸⁰⁾

45. Susano-wo (cf. 22 above) has to rescue his future wife, Kushi-inada-hime, from a many-headed monster Yamata-no-orochi, who wants to devour her.⁽⁸²⁾

It is reported that part of the present shores of Malabar were originally islands and were pulled to the shore by Bali (cf. 18 above).⁽⁷⁷⁾

Krishna's closest associate and disciple, Arjuna, son of Pandu, goes down to the Palace of the King of the *nagas*, Kauravya, at the bottom of the waters, marries his daughter Ulûpî, and eventually returns.⁽⁷⁹⁾

After her husband, Râmachandra, had doubted her fidelity, Sîtâ abandons him and their children and returns to the element from which she had come, i.e. the earth.⁽⁸¹⁾

Râmachandra (cf. 36 above) has to rescue his wife from a many-headed monster, Râvana, a man-eater, who has taken her captive.⁽⁸³⁾

Although the following points are historical and not mythological, they ought also to be mentioned, since neither Shintô nor Hinduism draw any dividing line between history and mythology:

46. In the history of Japan, the next important event in spiritual life is the irruption of Buddhism, which corrupted Shintô into Ryôbu-shintô.

47. Buddhism is ultimately rooted out of Shintô.

In India, it is often held that the tenth Avatar of Vishnu is Gautama Buddha, who came to preach a heterodoxical doctrine.

Buddhism is ultimately driven out of India.

It should also be observed that the number eight, which recurs constantly in Shintô mythology (cf. p. 147f. above) but is seldom found in Hindu mythology, comes with striking frequency throughout the myth of Krishna, both of the child Krishna and of King Krishna.

Throughout this volume, we have purposely refrained from discussing any historical problems in the sense in which they are understood by modern Western scholars. The similarities outlined in the above pages, however, call for some historical considerations.

It is beyond doubt that the books, *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, which embody the totality of the original Shintô mythology, were written before A.D. 720, and it is inconceivable that the myths should not have existed long before. In fact, the variety of versions given in the *Nihongi* for many or most of the important episodes confirms that the original myths had had time to develop into a number of variants. And, as we have mentioned before, the purpose of those books, as expressly stated by the authors, was 'to preserve the true

traditions from oblivion', because 'the records preserved by the chief families contained many errors'.

It should be noted also that the first time when Buddhism was brought to Japan is given as A.D. 552, and there seems to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the date. It is clear that by that time Shintô traditions, including the mythology, were firmly established since Shintô Kami were consulted about the admissibility of the foreign faith.

The conclusion can therefore not be evaded that the amazing similarities between the myths of Shintô and of Vaishnavism can only be explained by relations which existed long before the sixth century, either between the two groups of men who came to practise those two religions, or between both of them and a third original group from which they would have taken their myths.

This fact may throw an entirely new light on the origins of those two religions, or early relations between countries of the Far East, and if not on the debated problem of the origins of the Japanese race, at least either on the early influences which contributed to make it what it is, or on the influence it exerted on other races in a very remote past.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

¹ Cf. in particular Shri Aurobindo's *Essays on the Gîtâ*.

² III, 51, 3.

³ *Kojiki*, I, iii.

⁴ *Nihongi*, I, 8.

⁵ *Mahâbhârata, Vana Parvan*, CLXXXVI.

⁶ *Nihongi*, I, 5.

⁷ *Matsya Purâna*, I, 25.

⁸ *Kojiki*, I, iii.

⁹ *Agni-Purâna*, 13; *Matsya-Purâna*, I, 12 and 19, 36, 44f.; *ShatapathaBrâhmana*, I, 8, 1, 5; *Mahâbhârata, Vana Parvan*, CLXXXVI).

¹⁰ *Nihongi*, I, 5.

¹¹ *Garuda Purâna*, CXLII.

¹² *Kojiki*, I, iv; *Nihongi*, I, 8.

¹³ *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VIII, 7f.

¹⁴ *Kojiki*, I, iii; *Nihongi*, I, 9f.

¹⁵ *Kojiki*, I, iv; *Nihongi*, I, 8 and 10.

¹⁶ *Kojiki*, I, iv.

¹⁷ *Shatapatha Brâhmana*, VII, 5, 1, 5.

¹⁸ *Kojiki*, I, v.

¹⁹ *Mahâbhârata, Vana Parvan*, CXLI.

²⁰ *Râmâyana, Ayodhya Kandam*, no.

²¹ *Vishnu Purâna*, I, 4, 45f. Cf. *Mahâbhârata, Vana Parvan*, CCLXX.

²² *Kojiki*, I, v.

²³ *Vishnu Purâna*, I, 4, 46.

²⁴ *Kojiki*, I, vi.

²⁵ *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VII, 4, 28.

²⁶ *Kojiki*, I, vii.

²⁷ *Nihongi*, I, 14.

²⁸ *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VII, 8, 29f.; *Mahâbhârata, Vana Parvan*, CCLXX.

²⁹ *Kojiki*, I, viii; *Nihongi*, I, 16f.

³⁰ *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VII, 5.

³¹ *Nihongi*, I, 12.

³² *Harivamsha*, 31.

³³ *Kojiki*, I, xi; *Nihongi*, I, 12.

³⁴ *Matsya Purâna*, XLVII.

³⁵ *Harivamsha*, 31.

³⁶ *Râmâyana, Bala Kandam*, 32.

³⁷ *Kojiki*, I, xi.

³⁸ *Nihongi*, I, 21.

³⁹ *Nihongi*, I, 13.

⁴⁰ *Râmâyana, Bala Kandam*, 32.

^{40a} *Râmâyana, Yuddha Kandam*, 41.

⁴¹ *Kojiki*, I, xii; *Nihongi*, I, 12 and 22.

- 42 *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VIII, 20.
 43 *Kojiki*, I, xiii; *Nihongi*, I, 32.
 44 *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VIII, 18, 27f.
 45 *Kojiki*, I, xvii; *Nihongi*, I, 41 and 44.
 46 *Kojiki*, I, xxiii.
 47 *Mahâbhârata*, *Shânti Parvan*, CCCXL.
 48 *Bhâgavata Purâna*, III, 15f.
 49 *Kojiki*, I, xxiii.
 50 *Bhâgavata Purâna*, VIII, 21, 26.
 51 *Nihongi*, II, 7.
 52 *Kojiki*, I, xxiii.
 53 *Mahâbhârata*, *Anushâsana Parvan*, CLII.
 54 *Vishnu Purâna*, IV, 11, 3; *Bhâgavata Purâna*, IX, 23, 20–27.
 55 *Kojiki*, I, xxxii; *Nihongi*, II, 7.
 56 *Mahâbhârata*, *Shânti Parvan*, L.
 57 *Vishnu Purâna*, IV, 11, 3.
 57a *Mahâbhârata*, *Vana Parvan*, CXVI and *Shânti Parvan*, XLIX.
 58 *Nihongi*, II, 21.
 59 *Vishnu Purâna*, IV, 7, 16; *Bhâgavata Purâna*, IX, 15, 5; *Mahâbhârata*, *Vana Parvan*, CXV–CXVII.
 60 *Kojiki*, I, xxxiii.
 61 *Râmâyana*, *Bala Kandam*, XXXVIII.
 62 *Kojiki*, I, xxxvii.
 63 *Râmâyana*, *Yuddha Kandam*, 41.
 64 *Kojiki*, I, xxxvii; *Nihongi*, II, 24.
 65 *Râmâyana*, *Ayodhya Kandam*, VII–XI.
 66 *Kojiki*, I, xxxiii; *Nihongi*, II, 16f.
 67 *Râmâyana*, *Kishkindhâ Kandam*.
 68 *Kojiki*, I, xxxiii.
 69 *Mahâbhârata*, *Vana Parvan*, CXLIX.
 70 *Kojiki*, I, xxxviii.
 71 *Râmâyana*, *Yudhya Kandam*, LXXX and *Uttara Kandam*, XXIX; *Garuda Purâna*, CXLIII.
 72 *Nihongi*, III, 2.
 73 *Nihongi*, III, 2 ff.
 74 *Kojiki*, I, xiii; *Nihongi*, I, 32.
 75 *Mahâbhârata*, *Adi Parvan*, LXIV.
 76 *Izumo-fudoki*.
 77 Tradition of Malabar.
 78 *Kojiki*, I, xl; *Nihongi*, II, 38–43.
 79 *Mahâbhârata*, *Adi Parvan*, CCXVI.
 80 *Kojiki*, I, xliii; *Nihongi*, II, 35 and 48.
 81 *Râmâyana*, *Uttara Kandam*, XXIX.
 82 *Kojiki*, I, xviii; *Nihongi*, I, 50f.
 83 *Râmâyana*, *passim*.

LIST OF SOURCES

I.

—CHIEF INFORMANTS

- ¹ Akioka (Sejirô), negi, Enoshima-jinja, Enoshima (Kanagawa-ken).
- ² Amabe (Yoshiharu), gûji, Kono-jinja, Ame-no-hashidate (Kyôto-fu).
- ³ Amano (Chiharu), gon-negi, Dewa-san-dzan (Yamagata-ken).
- ⁴ Anzu (Motohiko), professor, Kokugakuin University.
- ⁵ Aoyama (Shigeyoshi), gûji, Iso-no-kami-jingû, Tenri (Nara-ken).
- ⁶ Araï (Akira), gon-negi, Mitsumine-jinja (Saitama-ken).
- ⁷ Arima (Sumihiro), gon-negi, Kirishima-jingû (Kagoshima-ken).
- ⁸ Asayama (Yoshikuni), gûji, Sada-jinja, Matsuë (Shimane-ken).
- ⁹ Aso (Koretomo), gûji, Aso-jinja, Aso (Kumamoto-ken).
- ¹⁰ Azumi (Isoôki), gûji, Shika-no-umi-jinja; mayor, Shikanoshima (Fukuoka-ken).
- ¹¹ Bessho (Naoïchi), gûji, Udo-jingû, Udo (Miyazaki-ken).
- ¹² Betchaku (Shigefumi), gûji, Hachiman-gû, Kôchi-shi.
- ¹³ Bôjô (Toshinaga), dai-gûji, Ise-jingû (Mië-ken).
- ¹⁴ Chikuma (Yasufumi), gûji, Kushida-jinja, Fukuoka-shi.
- ¹⁵ Date (Tatsumi), gon-gûji, Meiji-jingû, Tokyo.
- ¹⁶ Deguchi (Isao), director, Ômoto-kyô, Ayabe (Kyôto-fu).
- ¹⁷ Ebihara (Tokuo), professor, Municipal University of Ôsaka.
- ¹⁸ Ebinuma (Shinichi), negi, Heian-jingû, Kyoto.
- ¹⁹ Fujii (Shun), professor, University of Okayama.
- ²⁰ Fujimura (J.K.M.), gûji, Sannô-jinja, Kôbe.
- ²¹ Fujinomiya (Keiko), president, Fûji-chôse, Tokyo.
- ²² Fujioka (Nobuo), gûji, Yuga-jinja, Nara.
- ²³ the late Fujisawa (Chikao) professor, Kokushikan University, Tôkyô—director, Nihon Bunka Rengôkai, Tokyo.
- ²⁴ Fukumitsu (Miss Michië), miko, Ten-man-gû, Ôsaka.
- ²⁵ Furuta (Shôkin), professor, Nippon University, Tokyo.
- ²⁶ Goï (Masahisa), president, Byakkô-shinkô-kai, Ichikawa (Chiba-ken).
- ²⁷ Goto (Koheï), gûji, Kirishima-jingû (Kagoshima-ken).
- ²⁸ Hagami (Jerusumi), ajari, high-priest, Enryakuji, Mount Hiei (Shiga-ken).
- ²⁹ Hagiwara (Yasuo), kyôdô-shi, Ise-jingû (Mië-ken).
- ³⁰ Hamada (Kisaburô), gûji, Asakura-jinja, Kôchi-shi.
- ³¹ Harada (Ken), master of ceremonies in the Imperial Court, Tokyo.
- ³² Hase (Haruo), gon-gûji, Atsuta-jingû (Aïchi-ken).
- ³³ Hase (Tôyoô), gûji, Atsuta-jingû (Aïchi-ken).
- ³⁴ Hashimoto (Shizunobu), gûji, Tsushima-jinja (Aïchi-ken).
- ³⁵ Hatano (Shigeya), professor, Municipal University of Ôsaka.
- ³⁶ Hida (Yutaka), secondary school teacher, Tsushima (Aïchi-ken).
- ³⁷ Hiraï (Naofusa), assistant-professor, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
- ³⁸ Hirata (Kanichi), gûji, Ô-mi-jingû, Ôtsu (Shiga-ken).
- ³⁹ Hirayama (Shigemasa), gûji, Katori-jingû (Chiba-ken).

- 40 Honda (Tomoshige), gon-negi, Atsuta-jingû (Aichi-ken).
 41 Hori (Ichirô), professor, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
 42 Horikawa (Saichirô), gon-gûji, Kasuga-taisha, Nara.
 43 Hoshimi (Akira), negi, Ten-man-gû, Ôsaka.
 44 Ikeda (Masuji), gon-negi, Kashiwara-jingû (Nara-ken).
 45 Ikemoto (Miss Noriko), gûji, Tsukino-shita-jinja, Tohaku (Tottori-ken).
 46 Ina (Satao), gûji, Iga-hachiman-gû, Okazaki (Aichi-ken).
 47 Inahara (Minoru), gûji, Nashinoki-jinja, Kyoto.
 48 Inai (Gengo), gon-negi, Fujisaki-hachiman-gû, Kumamoto-shi.
 49 Inoue (Kunio), gûji, Miyazaki-jingû, Miyazaki-shi.
 50 Io (Sei), negi, Meiji-jingû, Tokyo.
 51 the late Ishikawa (Iwakichi), former president, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
 52 Ishiwara (Katsumori), shussi, Fujisaki-hachiman-gû, Kumamoto-shi.
 53 Ishiwara (Norifumi), gûji, Ôyama-suwa-jinja, Oyama (Kumamoto-ken).
 54 Isobe (Itsuo), gûji, Imi-no-miya-jinja and Sakura-yama-jinja, Shimonoseki (Yamaguchi-ken).
 55 Iwamoto (Tokuichi), professor, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
 56 Iwashita (Tadataka), gûji, Fujisaki-hachiman-gû; president, Kumamoto Jinja-chô.
 57 Izutsu (Toshihiko), professor, Keio University, Tokyo.
 58 Joya (Mock), specialist of folk-lore, *Japan Times*, Tokyo.
 59 Kamitsukasa (Nobumori), gûji, Tamukeyama-hachiman-gu, Nara.
 60 Kanbayashi (Fukukichi), gon-negi, Dewa-san-dzan (Yamagata-ken).
 61 Kanda (Kiichirô), former curator, National Museum, Kyoto.
 62 Kaneko (Daiei), professor, Ryûkoku University, Kyoto.
 63 Kaneseki (Tamotsu), gon-gûji, Kotohira-gû (Kagawa-ken).
 64 Kanroji (Ukenaga), gûji, Meiji-jingû, Tokyo.
 65 Kashima (Noriyuki), gûji, Tokiwa-jinja, Mito (Ibaraki-ken).
 66 Katayama (Toshihiko), former professor, University of Tokyo.
 67 Katô (Mrs. Kisako), gûji, Kaname-jinja, Ogata (Ôita-ken) and negi of thirty other jinjas.
 68 Katô (Ryôjirô), gûji, Ikuta-jinja, Kôbe.
 69 Kawade (Kiyohiko), shôten, shrines of the Imperial Palace, Tokyo.
 70 Kawai (Shigeki), gûji, Shiogama-jinja and Shiwahiko-jinja, Shiogama (Miyagi-ken).
 71 Kawata (Havuo), gon-gûji, Ômi-jingû, Ôtsu (Shiga-ken).
 72 Kimura (F.), professor, Ryûkoku University, Kyoto.
 73 Kimura (Gentei), gon-gûji, Izanagi-jingû, Awaji-shima (Hyôgo-ken).
 74 Kino (Gensaburô), gon-gûji, Chichibu-jinja (Saitama-ken).
 75 Kinoshita (Iwao), gûji, Kashii-gû, Fukuoka-shi.
 76 Kishimoto (Hideo), professor, University of Tokyo.
 77 Kitayama (Yunyu), former professor, University of Marburg (Germany).
 78 Kô (Fujio), negi, Hachiman-asami-jinja, Beppu (Ôita-ken).
 79 Kô (Kikuo), gûji, Hachiman-asami-jinja, Beppu (Ôita-ken).
 80 Kôno (Kichiro), gûji, Katsuragi-ô-jinja, Kôchi-shi.
 81 Kôno (Yaokichi), gon-gûji, Usa-hachiman-gû, Usa (Ôita-ken).
 82 Kôsai (Hiromi), gûji, Kitano-ten-man-gu and President, Jinja-chô, Kyoto.
 83 Koshi (Yoshihiro), gon-gûji, Ômiwa-jinja, Ômiwa-machi (Nara-ken).
 84 Kôtake (Hidetomo), gûji, Sumiyoshi-jinja, Shimonoseki (Yamaguchi-ken).
 85 Koyama (Sugane), gûji, Tamaë-gû-tôshô-gû, Okayama-shi.
 86 Kubo (Teruo), gûji, Munakata-jinja, Munakata (Fukuoka-ken).
 87 Kubota (Osamu), professor, Kôgakukan University (Mië-ken).
 88 Kumano (Suëbumi), gon-gûji, Iyahiko-jinja, Yahiko (Niigata-ken).

- 89 Kurata (Katsumi), chief of division for external relations, Ananai-kyô, Shimizu, (Shizuoka-ken).
- 90 Maëbara (Ineo), negi, Fujisaki-hachiman-gû, Kumamoto-shi.
- 91 Maruyama (Masao), professor, University of Tokyo.
- 92 Matsui (Michikuni), director of education, Ananai-kyô, Shimizu (Shi-zuoka-ken).
- 93 Matsumoto (Kazutomo), gûji, Kodama-jinja, Enoshima (Kanagawa-ken).
- 94 Matsumoto (Nobuhiro), dean of the Faculty of Arts, Keio University, Tokyo.
- 95 Matsuoka (Yutaka), gûji, Atago-jinja, Tokyo.
- 96 Mikami (Shigeru), chief of division, Jinja-honchô, Tokyo.
- 97 Mikami (Tsugio), professor, University of Tokyo.
- 98 Mita (Teichirô), shokutaku, Dai-jingû, Tokyo and gûji, Meôtogi-jinja, Kôfu (Yamanashi-ken).
- 99 Mitsui (Seikichi), gûji, Nagata-jinja and president, Jinja-chô (Hyôgo-ken).
- 100 Miwa (Iwane), gûji, Suwa-taisha (Nagano-ken).
- 101 Miyagawa (Masaya), negi, Aso-jinja, Aso (Kumamoto-ken).
- 102 Miyaji (Yoshikazu), gûji, Kenzan-jinja, Kôchi-shi.
- 103 Miyamoto (Masakiyo), dean of the Faculty of Arts, Municipal University of Ôsaka.
- 104 Miyamoto (Shigeo), gon-negi, Kashima-jingû (Ibaraki-ken).
- 105 Miyasaka (Kiyomichi), negi, Suwa-taisha (Nagano-ken).
- 106 Mizuno (Hisanao), gûji, Akama-jingû, Shimonoseki (Yamaguchi-ken).
- 107 Mori (Tsuneshige), gûji, Ôtoshi-jinja and negi, Akama-jingû, Shimonoseki (Yamaguchi-ken).
- 108 Moriyama (Tarô), gon-gûji, Heian-jingû, Kyoto.
- 109 Motonaga (Masatoyo), gon-negi, Usa-hachiman-gû, Usa (Ôita-ken).
- 110 Motoôri (Yayoi), chief of division, Jinja-honchô, Tokyo.
- 111 Muraoka (Yoshiromi), gûji, Kifune-jinja, Kifune (Kyôto-fu).
- 112 Nagasawa (Kuichirô), writer, Tokyo.
- 113 Nagata (Tanenobu), gûji, Okata-jinja, Nishinomiya (Hyôgo-ken).
- 114 Nagatomo (Shigemi), gon-negi, Aoshima-jinja (Miyazaki-ken).
- 115 Nagatomo (the wife of Mr Yasumi), gûji, Tsuno-jinja and Aoshima-jinja (Miyazaki-ken).
- 116 Nagayoshi (Isao), gûji, Tosa-jinja, Kôchi-shi.
- 117 Nakachi (Munezo), gûji, Kunteki-jinja, Kôchi-shi.
- 118 Nakagawa (Hitoshi), gûji, Kio-mizu-jinja, Kyoto.
- 119 Nakaï (Katsuhiko), gûji, Shiramine-gû, Kyoto.
- 120 Nakamura (Hajime), professor, University of Tokyo.
- 121 Nakamura (Yoshitsugu), shô-gûji, Fushimi-inari-taisha, Kyoto.
- 122 Nakanishi (Akira), professor, Chuô University, Tokyo.
- 123 Nakano (Yonosuke), founder, Ananai-kyô, Shimizu (Shizuoka-ken).
- 124 Nakano (Miss Yoshiko), successor-designate to the founder, Ananai-kyô, Shimizu (Shizuoka-ken).
- 125 Nakasute (Masamichi), negi, Ômiwa-jinja, Ômiwa-machi (Nara-ken).
- 126 Nakatsugawa (Masakoto), gûji, Himuka-jinja, Kyoto.
- 127 Nakayama (Masashi), gûji, Hirota-jinja, Kôbe.
- 128 Nakayama (Shôzen), president, Tenri-kyô, Tenri (Nara-ken).
- 129 Nakayama (Wakei), gûji, Ômiwa-jinja, Ômiwa-machi (Nara-ken).
- 130 Ninomiya (Akira), gon-gûji, Miyachitake-jinja, Tsuyazaki (Fukuoka-ken).
- 131 Ninomiya (Masaaki), gûji, Ikutama-jinja, Ôsaka.
- 132 Nishimura (Tameji), gûji, Taga-taisha, Taga (Shiga-ken).
- 133 Nishitakatsuji (Nobusada), gûji, Dazaifu-tenman-gû and Kamado-jinja (Fukuoka-ken).
- 134 Nishitsunoï (Masayoshi), professor, Kokugakuin University, Tôkyô.
- 135 Noda (Yoshiyuki), professor, University of Tokyo.

- 136 Nogami (Masaatsu), gūji, Iyahiko-jinja, Yahiko (Niigata-ken), former chief of the matsuri-division, Ise-jingū.
- 137 Nomiya (Atsushi), professor, University of Fukuoka.
- 138 Nozaka (Motosada), gūji, Itsukushima-jinja, Miyajima (Hiroshima-ken).
- 139 Ōba (Iwao), professor, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
- 140 Obara (Kuniyoshi), president, Tamagawa University, Tōkyō.
- 141 Ogata (Yorozu), gon-gūji, Kirishima-jingū (Kagoshima-ken).
- 142 Okada (Yoneo), chief of the division of research, Jinja-honchō, Tokyo.
- 143 Ōkawa (Takeo), gūji, Dewa-san-dzan (Yamagata-ken).
- 144 Okuno (Shigetoshi), negi, Sumiyoshi-taisha, Ōsaka.
- 145 Ōmiya (Morihide), gūji, Himuro-jinja, Nara-shi.
- 146 Ōnishi (Arabaya), founder, Uchū-seimeï-gaku (Ehime-ken).
- 147 Ono (Mataichiro).
- 148 Ono (Sokyō), professor, Kokugakuin University, Tōkyō.
- 149 Ōshiki (Kōsuke), negi, Shiogama-jinja and Shiwahiko-jinja, Shiogama (Miyagi-ken).
- 150 Ōuē (Kikumaro), president, Yamakage-shintō-aishinkaï, Tokyo.
- 151 Oya (Tsunao), gūji, Yoshida-jinja, Kyoto.
- 152 the late Saïda (Moriuji), gūji, Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, Kyoto.
- 153 Saitō (Hideo), secretary-general, Byakkō-shinkō-kaï, Ichikawa (Chiba-ken).
- 154 Saitō (Katsumi), gon-negi, Dewa-san-dzan (Yamagata-ken).
- 155 Saitō (Mitsuhisa), gūji, Sugō-jinja, Okazaki (Aichi-ken).
- 156 Saka (Takanobu), negi, Nachi-jinja (Wakayama-ken).
- 157 Sakaï (Toshiyuki), gūji, Gō-ō-jinja, Kyoto.
- 158 Sakurāi (Katsunoshin), negi, Ise-jingū (Mië-ken).
- 159 Sasaki (Yukitada), president, Jinja-honchō and Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
- 160 Satō (Isao), shokutaku, Hië-taisha, Ōtsu (Shiga-ken).
- 161 the late Satō (Teïkichi), professor, University of Tōhoku (Miyagi-ken).
- 162 Satō (Yoshiharu), negi, Miyazaki-jingū (Miyazaki-ken).
- 163 Satō (Yoshijirō), secretary, The Ponsonby Memorial Society, Kyoto.
- 164 the late Sawatari (Moriatsu), gūji, Ō-kuni-tama-jinja, Fuchū-shi (Tōkyō-to).
- 165 Segawa (Masao), gūji, Gojō-tenjin-sha, Tokyo.
- 166 Senge (Takanobu), kyōto, Izumo-ō-yashiro, Izumo (Shimane-ken).
- 167 Shibukawa (Kenichi), chief of publications division, Jinja-honchō, Tokyo.
- 168 Shigaragi (Kō-ün), kanjo, Kurama-dera, Kifune (Kyōto-fu).
- 169 Shimayagi (Shigeo), gūji, Wakimiya-jinja, Miyazu (Kyōto-fu).
- 170 Shimizu (S.), president, Kangan-kuyin.
- 171 Shinohara (Shirō), gūji, Nachi-jinja (Wakayama-ken).
- 172 Shinotsuka (Yōnosuke), gūji, Isosaki-jinja, Ōarai (Ibaraki-ken).
- 173 Shirai (Eiji), gon-gūji, Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gū, Kamakura (Kanagawa-ken).
- 174 Shirayama (Yukinobu), president, Masumi-shūyō-kaï (Tōkyō-to).
- 175 Shōmoto (Mitsumasa), chief of the education section, Jinja-honchō, Tokyo.
- 176 Soëjima (Hiroyuki), chief-negi, Meiji-jingū, Tokyo.
- 177 Sugimura (Eïchi), gon-gūji, Hië-taisha, Ōtsu (Shiga-ken).
- 178 Sugiura (Eita), gūji, Tatsuki-jinja, Okazaki (Aichi-ken).
- 179 Suzuki (Daïsetz Teitaro), former professor, University of Kyoto.
- 180 Suzuki (Hikoō), former gon-gūji, Iyahiko-jinja, Yahiko (Niigata-ken).
- 181 Suzuki (Shinichi), shake, Mitake-jinja (Saitama-ken).
- 182 Suzuki (Shōichi), gon-negi, Ise-jingū (Mië-ken).
- 183 Suzuki (the wife of Mr Tsutomu), gūji, Susano-wo-jinja, Toyokawa (Aichi-ken).
- 184 Suzuki (Yoshikazu), kyōdō-shi, Ise-jingū (Mië-ken).

- 185 Tadano (Dôjun), yakuryô, Myôgon-ji, Toyokawa (Aichi-ken).
 186 Takahara (Yoshitada), gûji, Yasaka-jinja, Kyoto and former president, Jinjâ-chô (Kyôto-fu).
 187 Takamatsu (Tadakiyo), gûji, Sumiyoshi-taisha, Ôsaka.
 188 Takashina (Kenichi), gûji, Kashiwara-jingû and president, Jinja-chô (Nara-ken).
 189 Takashina (Nariaki), gon-gûji, Kashiwara-jingû (Nara-ken).
 190 Takeshima (Hideo), Assistant-seeretary-general, Jinja-honchô, Tokyo.
 191 Tamura (Katsuki), gûji, Hakozaki-gû, Fukuoka-shi.
 192 Tanaka (Fumikiyo), gûji, Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû, Kyoto.
 193 Tanaka (Kiyoshi), shô-gûji, Ise-jingû (Mië-ken).
 194 Tanaka (Yoshihiro), Matsuri Society, Nagoya.
 195 Tani (Mrs Haruno), gûji, Sasuke-inari-sha, Kamakura (Kanagawa-ken).
 196 Teraï (Tanenaga), gûji, Ten-man-gû, and president, Jinja-chô (Ôsaka-fu).
 197 Tezuka (Michio), gûji, Matsu-no-wo-taisha, Arashiyama, Kyôto-fu.
 198 Toda (Yoshio), professor, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo.
 199 Tomioka (Morihiko), gûji, Tomioka-hachiman-gû, Tokyo and former secretary-general, Jinja-honchô, Tokyo.
 200 Tsuda (Masuho), gûji, Miyaûra-jinjaandnegi, Udo-jingû (Miyazaki-ken),
 201 Tsuë (Takao), gûji, Imamiya-ebisu-jinja and Hirota-jinja, Ôsaka.
 202 Tsuitsui (Eishun), chief-monk of the Kegon sect, Kyoto.
 203 Uchiyama (Masayoshi), gûji, Kamakura-gû, Kamakura (Kanagawa-ken).
 204 Uêda (Magotaro), negi, Todoroki-jinja, Tokushima-shi.
 205 Uëno (Hajime), gûji, Hayatama-taisha (Wakayama-ken).
 206 Wada (Yôzô), gûji, Wada-jinja, Kôbe.
 207 Watanabe (Kazuô), gûji, Umi-hachiman-gû, Umi-chô (Fukuoka-ken).
 208 Watanabe (Shôkô), professor, Toyo University, Tokyo.
 209 Yamada (Humio), gon-gûji, Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, Kyoto.
 210 Yamaguchi (Susumu), president, Ôtani university, Kyoto.
 211 Yamamoto (Eïgo), professor, University of Kyoto.
 212 Yamamoto (Tatsurô), professor, University of Tokyo.
 213 Yamane (Masao), kannushi, Izumo-ô-yashiro, Izumo (Shimane-ken).
 214 Yaoita (Atsushi), shôten, shrines of the Imperial Palace, Tokyo.
 215 Yokota (Tomeshirô), gûji, Sumiyoshi-jinja, Fukuoka-shi.
 216 Yokoya (Hiroïchi), gûji, Suhara-jinja, Suhara (Gifu-ken).
 217 Yoshida (the wife of Mr Mitsuyoshi), gûji, Kumano-jinja, Tokyo.
 218 Yoshida (Tomoaki), gûji, Minatogawa-jinja, Kôbe.
 219 Yoshida (Yoshitake), negi, Hôkoku-jinja, Kyoto.
 220 Yoshii (Yoshihisa), gûji, Nishinomiya-jinja, Kôbe.
 221 Yoshii (Yoshitada), gon-gûji, Nishinomiya-jinja, Kôbe.

ADDENDUM

- 222 Andô (Haru), gûji, Ebisu Suwa-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 223 Ashizu (Uzuhiko), editorial writer, Jinja-shimpô.
 224 Chigusa (Norio), gûji, Kikuchi-jinja, Kikuchi (Kumamoto-ken).
 225 Fujino (Shintarô), president, Shizuoka-ken Jinja-chô.
 226 Fujioka (Yoshitaka), chief of department, Ise-jingû.
 227 Fujita (Kiyoshi), professor in Ôsaka.
 228 Hagiwara (Masahiko), gon-gûji, Kashima-jingû (Ibaragi-ken).
 229 Hamaguchi (Suëhiro), gûji, Take-no-kuchi-hachiman-gu, Sumoto, Awa-ji-shima (Hyôgo-ken).
 230 Haruta (Kenichi), gûji, Ushijima-jinja, Tokyo.

- 231 Hashimoto (Akira), gūji, Haguro-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 232 Hayashi (Fukutarō), gūji, Tsu-no-mine-jinja, Tachibana (Tokushima-ken).
 233 Higashi-tsunoï' (Mitsuomi), gūji, Hikawa-jinja, Ômiya (Saitama-ken).
 234 Hiraoka (Matsuhiko), gon-gūji, Izumo-ô-yashiro, Izumo (Shimane-ken).
 235 Hirata (Kanichi), president, Kôgakukan University.
 236 Hirato (Kôzo), gūji, Kamo-jinja, Ikuho-chô, Awajishima (Hyôgo-ken).
 237 Homma (Masayo), gūji, Yawata Hachiman-gû, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 238 Ikeda (Takeo), gūji, Tamura-jinja, Takamatsu (Kagawa-ken).
 239 Inoue (Tadaïchi), psychical researcher.
 240 Ishihara (Shigetade), president, Tochigi-ken Jinja-chô.
 241 Itô (Mrs Seïran), president, Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-saikai, Nangoku-shi.
 242 Kameï (Hiromitsu), gūji, Koshiô-jinja, Akita-shi.
 243 Kaneko (Yasuhiro), president, Gunma-ken Jinja-chô.
 244 Kanekura (Humio), negi, Ôasa-hiko-jinja (Tokushima-ken).
 245 Kanemitsu (Noboru), gūji, Kawarada Suwa-jinja and Kimpokuzan-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 246 Kima (Keï), chairman of Committee on Spiritual Science, Chuô University.
 247 Kimura (Hajime), president, Aomori-ken Jinja-chô.
 248 Kinouchi (Yugi), gūji, Akai-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 249 Kitajima (Hajime), gūji, Yataka-jinja, Akita-shi.
 250 Koobara (Masako), miko, Ôsaka Ten-man-gû.
 251 Koyama (Fujio), expert in pottery.
 252 Kuki (Munetaka), gūji, Kumano Hongû-taisha.
 253 Makiyama (Kôjirô), gūji, Mano-gû, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 254 Matsunaga (Motoki), counsellor, Jinja-honchô; former professor, Koku-gakuin University.
 255 Mikaki (Yutaka), gūji, Ise-jinja, Okayama-shi.
 256 Miki (Shôtarô), professor, Kôgakukan University.
 257 Mishima (Yasuhisa), gūji, Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, Ômishima (Ehime-ken).
 258 Mitsuma (Shingo), professor, Takasaki University.
 259 Miyagawa (Yutaka), gūji, Minato Wakamiya-hachiman-gû, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 260 Miyazaki (Masamori), gūji, Hachiman-gû, Fukura, Awaji-shima (Hyôgo-ken).
 261 Mori (Shigeo), gūji, Gokoku-jinja, Gifu-shi.
 262 Morita (Yasunosuke), lecturer, Kokugakuin University.
 263 Moritani (Yamashiro) gūji, Nikû-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 264 Moriya (Hiroji), Kaminibo Hiyoshi-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 265 Naganuma (Yoshihito), manager, Nagano-ken Jinja-chô.
 266 Nakashima (Masakuni), gūji, Hachiman-gû, Masuda-shi.
 267 Nasagawa (K.).
 268 Nishiyama (Megumi), professor, Kokugakuin University.
 269 Nukaga (the late Hironao), gūji, Katori-jingû (Chiba-ken).
 270 Nukaga (Hirooki), gon-gūji, Nikkô Tôkyô-gû.
 271 Ochi (Yoshikuni), negi, Ishidzuchi-jinja, Saïjô (Ehime-ken).
 272 Okumoto (Hiromi), gūji, Yuzuruha-jinja, Awaji-shima (Hyôgo-ken).
 273 Origuchi (the late Nobuo), professor, Kokugakuin University.
 274 Ôta (Masumi), proxy president, Ishikawa-ken Jinja-chô.
 275 Ôtorii (Yoshiyuki), gūji, Kameïdo Tenjin-sha, Tôkyô.
 276 Ôtsuka (Kanichi), president, Metapsychic Scientific Institute, Tokyo.
 277 Sako (Mrs Sachië), negi, Utsu-jinja, Osakijima (Okayama-ken).
 278 Sasaki (Yoshihisa), gūji, Nakaoki-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 279 Satô (Fumimasa), negi, Ômiwa-taisha (Nara-ken).
 280 Sayama (Isamu), negi, Ushiô-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).

- 281 Sogame (Wasaku), gūji, Ishidzuchi-jinja, Saijō (Ehime-ken).
 282 Sugita (Kōzō), editor, Shin-nihon-shunjū.
 283 Sunami (Takashi), former professor, Tokyo Imperial University.
 284 Takashima (Miyoshi), gūji, Minato-guchi-jinja, Awaji-shima (Hyōgo-ken).
 285 Takeuchi (Mitsuyoshi), negi, Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gū, Kyoto.
 286 Tamura (Iwao), gūji, Taihei-zan-miyoshi-jinja, Akita-shi.
 287 Tamura (Tadashi), negi, Taihei-zan-miyoshi-jinja, Akita-shi.
 288 Tanaka (Takashi), professor, Kōgakukan University.
 289 Tsumori (Michikoto), gon-gūji, Sumiyoshi-taisha, Ōsaka.
 290 Uchida (Morihiro), gūji, Itsukushima-jinja, Kōchi-shi.
 291 Utsumi (Hajime), gūji, Nezu-jinja, Tokyo.
 292 Watanabe (Kwantarō), gūji, Ohira-jinja, Sado (Niigata-ken).
 293 Yamada (Sadao), gūji, Iwaki-yama-jinja, Hirosaki (Aomori-ken).
 294 Yamamura (Izuhiko), president, Kōchi-ken Jinja-chō.
 295 Yasukawa (Tadamasa), gūji, Sakaki-jinja, Tokyo.
 296 Yoneda (Toshimitsu), gūji, Kaïnan-jinja (Kanagawa-ken).

II

—WRITTEN SOURCES

- 301 ABE (Kuniharu): *Essence of Shrine Shinto* in T.M.J.S., XL (1933). 2 pp.
 302 AKASHI (S.): *Inari* (Ueber Fuchs-Gottheiten) in Z.M.R., XLIII (1928). 7 pp.
 303 AKEGARASU (Rev. Haya): *Man above gods* (Lectures at the Zinteï school—Okayama, 1925).
 304 ——— *Selections from the Nippon Seishin* (Kitayāsuda, Kōsōsha, 1936). xi+4+144 pp.
 305 AKIYAMA (Aisaburo): *Shinto and its architecture* (Tokyo, Tokyo News Service, 1955).
 306 AKIYAMA (Kenzō): *Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū*. (A study of the history of negotiations between Japan and China) (Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1939). 663 pp.
 307 AMABE (Yoshiharu): *Gensho-no-kami-to-jōko, gekū-chinza-zenshi-ryakuden* (Important manuscript as yet unpublished).
 308 ANESAKI (Masaharu): *History of Japanese Religion*. With special reference to the social and moral life of the nation. (London, Kegan Paul, 1930). xxii+424 pp.
 309 ——— *Hymns (Japanese)* in E.R.E., VII.
 310 ——— *Japanese Mythology* in *The Mythology of all religions*, vol. VIII. (Boston, Marshall Johns, 1928). 196 pp.
 311 ——— *Philosophy (Japanese)* in E.R.E., IX.
 312 ——— *Religious life of the Japanese People*. (Tokyo Society for International Cultural Relations, 1938).
 313 ANZU (Motohiko): *Fundamental elements of Shintō Rituals* in *Cultural Nippon*, IX (1941). 48 pp.
 314 APPERT (Georges) and H. KINOSHITA: *Ancien Japon* (Tokyo, 1888). 252 pp.
 315 ARAI (Hakuseki): *Zenshū* (Complete Works) (Tokyo, 1905–1907). 6 vol.
 316 ARAKI (General Sadao): *State and Education* in *Contemporary Japan*, VII (1938). 3 pp.
 317 ASAYAMA (Akira): *On the Shinto festival Jinzai-sai* in T.M.J.S., XL (1933). 25 pp.
 318 ASHIDA (K.): *Japan* in E.R.E., VII.
 319 ASSO (I. H.): *Pictures of ancient Japanese history* (Tokyo, 1890). 96 pp. Illustr.
 320 ASTON (William George): *Early Japanese History* in T.A.S.J., XVI (1899). 37 pp.
 321 ——— *History (A) of Japanese literature* (London, Heinemann, 1899). xi+408 pp.
 322 ——— *Preface and notes to the translation of the Nihongi* (Cf. No. 563).
 323 ——— *shinto* in E.R.E., XI

- 324 ——— *Shinto, or the Way of the Gods* (London, Longmans, 1905) ii+390 pp.
- 325 ——— *Shinto, the ancient religion of Japan* (London, Constable, 1907). 83 pp.
- 326 BAN (Nobutomo): *Hōkyō-hikō* in *Kōgaku-sōsho*, vol. VII (Tokyo, Kōbunko-Kankōkaï, 1928). 32 pp.
- 327 ——— *Basic terms of Shintō*, compiled by the Jinja-honchō, the Kokugakuin University and the Institute for Japanese culture and classics (Tokyo, 1958). xiv+92 pp.
- 328 BENEDICT (Ruth F.): *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946).
- 329 BERSIHAND (Roger): *Histoire du Japon* (Paris, Payot, 1959). 492 pp.
- 330 BRETON (M.): *Le Japon; ou moeurs, usages et coutumes des habitants de cet empire, d'après Krusenstern, Langsdorf, Titsingh et Golownin* (Paris, 1818). 4 vols.
- 331 ——— *Bréviaire de la religion shinto*. Sanskrit text in Roman characters. Introduction, French translation and a commentary by L. Metchnikoff (Genève, 1880). 8+20 pp. In Ban Zai San, sheets 146, 147, 156 & 159 in vol. IV.
- 332 BRINKLEY (Frank): *Japan described and illustrated by the Japanese* (Boston, Millet, 1897–1898). 382 pp.
- 333 *Japan and China, their history, art and literature* (London, Jack 1903–4). 12 vols.
- 334 and Dairoku KIKUCHI: *A history of the Japanese people from the earliest times to the end of the Meiji era* (New York and London, 1914). xi+784 pp. 150 illustrations.
- 335 BRUMBAUGH (T.T.): *Religious values in Japanese culture* (Tokyo, Kyo-bun-kwan, 1934). viii+154 pp.
- 336 BUCHANAN (Rev. Daniel Crump): *Inari, its origin, development and nature* in T.A.S.J., XII (1935)- vi+191 pp.
- 337 ——— *Some mikuji of Fushimi Inari Jinja* in *Monumenta Nipponica* II, 1939. 20 pp.
- 338 BUCKLEY (Edmund): *Phallicism in japan* (Chicago, Chicago Press, 1895). 34 pp.
- 339 BUNCE (William K.) et alii: *Religions in Japan* (Tokyo, Tuttle, 1955).
- 340 ——— *Bungo-fudoki*. Cf. H.Kwan.
- 341 Bureau of Religions: *Handbook of the old shrines and temples and their treasures* (Tokyo, 1920). 135 pp.
- 342 BUSH (Lewis): *Japanalia* (Tokyo, Okuyama, 1956). xiv+224 pp.
- 343 CESSÉLIN (G.): *L'art de la divination au Japon* in *Mélanges japonais* VI (1909). no pp. (Nos. 21–24).
- 344 ——— *Language (the), mythology and geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies* (Tokyo, 1887).
- 345 CHAMBERLAIN (Basil Hall): *Note on some minor Japanese religious practices* in T.P.J.S., VIII (1880). 27 pp.
- 346 ——— *Note on the Japanese gohei or paper-offering to the Shinto Gods* in T.P.J.S., XVIII (1889).
- 347 ——— *Things Japanese* (London, Kegan Paul, 1939). xvi+584 pp.
- 348 Preface and notes to the translation of the *Kojiki* (cf. No. 686).
- 349 assisted by M.Ueda: *A vocabulary of the most ancient words of the Japanese language* in T.A.S.J., XVI (1889). 60 pp.
- 350 and W.B.MASON: *A handbook for travellers in Japan* (London, Murray, 1901). 580 pp.
- 351 ——— *Chinese and Japanese Repository* (London, 1864).
- 352 CLEMENT (Ernest W.): *Handbook (A) of modern Japan* (Chicago, 1903).
- 353 ——— *Japanese Calendars* in T.A.S.J. XXVIII (1900). 82 pp.
- 354 COBBOLD (G.A.): *Religion in Japan* (London, 1894).
- 355 ——— *Dai-nihon shiryō* (Great history of Japan), 201 volumes published to date (Tokyo, Shiryō hensan-jo, 1901–1961).
- 356 DAVIS (Frederick Hadland): *Japan from the age of the gods to the fall of Tsingtau* (London, Jack, 1916). x+323 pp.
- 357 DEGUCHI (Onisaburo): *Miti-no-siori* (1925).

- 358 DENING (Walter): *A new life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi* (Tokyo, Kyōbu-kwan, 1904) vi+405 pp.
- 359 ——— *Descent of Prince Ninigi-no-mikoto in Travel in Japan*, VI (1940), 6. 3 pp.
- 360 ——— *Dewa-san-dzan-shi* (Notes about the Dewa-san-dzan) (Tsuruoka, 1954). xvi+186 pp.
- 361 ——— *Doctrine (The) of the Tenrikyō* (Tenri, 1954). 106 pp.
- 362 Doi (Kōchi): *The Old Japanese myths and traditions* in T.P.J.S., XXXV (1938). 61 pp. (95–156).
- 363 EGGERMONT (J.): *Le Japon, histoire et religion* (Paris, 1885).
- 364 EMBREE (John Fee): *A Japanese village, Suye Mura* (London, Kegan Paul, 1946). xx+268 pp.
- 365 ——— *The Japanese* (Baltimore, 1943) iv+42 pp.
- 366 ——— *The Japanese nation* (New York, Farrer and Rinehart, 1945).
- 366a *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, Clark, 1908–1926), 13 vols. (The articles quoted are mentioned in the Bibliography under the names of the authors with the abbreviation E.R.E.)
- 367 ——— *Enoshima, Katase to Koshigoë* (Tokyo, 1941). xvi+132+vi pp.
- 368 ERSKINE (William Hugh): *Japanese festival and calendar lore* (Tokyo, 1933). x+210 pp.
- 369 FALLAIZE (E.N.): *Harvest* in E.R.E., VI.
- 370 ——— *Festival of the god Tenjinko of Calligraphy* in *The Tourist*, Jan. 1920. 5pp.
- 371 ——— *Altjapanische Kulturzustände* in M. d. D.Gesellschaft Ostasiens XLIV.
- 371a *Ancient Japanese Rituals* in T.A.S.J., XXVII (1899). 112 pp.
- 372 FLORENZ (Karl A.): *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto Religion aus dem Altjapanischen und Chinesischen* übersetzt und erklärt (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1919). xi+470 pp.
- 373 ——— *Japanische Mythologie* in M. d. D.Gesellschaft für Natur and Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Tokyo 1901.
- 374 ——— *Nihongi, japanische Annalen*, A.D. 592–697 (Tokyo, Hobunsha, 1903).
- 375 ——— *Nihongi, Zeitalter der Götter* (Tokyo, Hobunsha, 1901). 341 pp. und 21 plates.
- 376 FRANK (Bernard): *Kata-imi et kata-tagae, étude sur les interdits de direction à l'époque Heian* in B.M.F.-J., V, 2–4 (1958). 246 pp.
- 377 FUJIMAKI (Masayuki): *Inari-hyaku-wa* (Hundred stories about the Fushimi-inari-jinja) (Kyoto, 1959). x+1959 pp.
- 378 FUJISAWA (Prof. Chikao): *Concrete Universality of the Japanese Way of Thinking* (Tokyo, Hokuseido, 1958). xiv+160 pp.
- 379 ——— *Confucianism as a component of Japanese Culture* (mimeographed).
- 380 ——— *Der Shintoistische Grundbegriff des politischen und die existenz-philosophische Eigenschaft des japanischen Kaisers* (Tokyo, 1957).
- 381 ——— *Introduction to the study of Japanese global philosophy or Kotonarism* (Tokyo, The Society for the advancement of global democracy, 1954). viii+212 pp.
- 382 ——— *Outline (An) of Japanese cosmic existentialism* (1954).
- 383 ——— *Some parapsychological aspects of Shinto* (mimeographed).
- 384 ——— *Zen and Shinto* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1959). 92 pp.
- 385 ——— *Fukyō-hyakushyū-kōsetsu*: (A hundred poems about the Izumo religion by different poets) (Izumo, Taisha-kyō-hon-in, 1888). ii+136 pp.
- 386 FUSHIMI (Kozan): *Hatsu-uma-matsuri of Inari-shrine* in the *Tourist*, Febr. 1933. 4 pp.
- 387 GATENBY (Edward Vivian): *Cloud-men of Yamato*, being an outline of mysticism in Japanese literature (London, Murray, 1929). 128 pp.
- 389 GRIFFIS (The Rev. William Elliot): *Mikado's Empire (The)* (London, Harper, 1913). 2 vol.
- 390 ——— *Religions (The) of Japan from the dawn of history to the era of Meiji* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1895). xxii+457 pp.
- 391 GUNDERT (Wilhelm): *Japanische Religionsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, Gundert, 1935). xix+267 pp.
- 392 ——— *Der Schintoismus im Japanischen Nō-Drama* (Tōkyō, 1925, M.d.G.N.V.O.)
- 393 HAAS (Hans): *Religion der Japaner* in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Jena, 1914. xvii+270 pp.

- ³⁹⁴ HAGA (Yaïchi): *Kokumin-sei jûron* (Ten lectures on national characteristics) (Tokyo, Toyama-bô, 1912). 259 pp.
- ³⁹⁵ ————*Ten lectures on Japanese nationality* (Tokyo, 1908).
- ³⁹⁶ HAGUENAUER (M. C.): *L'adresse du Dignitaire de la Province d'Izumo* (Norito), avec preface de N. Sugiyama in B.M.F.-J., I (1927). 24 pp.
- ³⁹⁷ ————*La danse rituelle dans la cérémonie du Chinkonsai* in J.A., CCXVI (1930).
- ^{397a} HAIL (A.D.): Cf. Bureau of Religions.
- ³⁹⁸ HALL (Robert King): *Kokutai no hongî; Cardinal principles of the national entity of Japan* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949). viii+200 pp.
- ³⁹⁹ ————*Shushin, the ethics of a defeated nation* (New York, Columbia University, 1949)
- ⁴⁰⁰ HAMMITSCH (H.): *Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki. Bericht über die Erden-wandel Ihrer Hoheit der Prinzessin Yamato. Eine Quelle zur Frühgeschichte der Shinto-Religion.* Uebersetzt und erklärt (Leipzig, 1937). 92 pp.
- ⁴⁰¹ HARA (Katsurô): *Histoire du Japon, des origines a nos jours* (Paris, Payot, 1926). 307 pp.
- ⁴⁰² HARADA (Tasuku): *Faith of Japan (The)* (New-York, Macmillan, 1914). ix+190 pp.
- ⁴⁰³ ————*Family (Japanese)* in E.R.E., III.
- ⁴⁰⁴ ————*Japanese words kami and mikoto (The)* in T.M.J.S. XXXVIII (1932) 21 pp.
- ⁴⁰⁵ ————*God (Japanese)* in E.R.E., VI.
- ⁴⁰⁶ ————*Names (Japanese)* in E.R.E., IX.
- ⁴⁰⁷ ————*Purification (Japanese)* in E.R.E., X.
- ⁴⁰⁸ ————*Suicide (Japanese)* in E.R.E., XII.
- ⁴⁰⁹ ————*Harima-fudoki.* Cf. H. Kwan.
- ⁴¹⁰ HEARN (Lafcadio): *The Complete Works.*
- ⁴¹¹ HEPNER (G. W.): *The Kurozumi sect of Shinto* (Tokyo, Meiji-seitoku-kinen-gakkaï, 1935). 263 pp.
- ⁴¹² HIBINO (Yutaka): *Nippon Shindo Ron* (Lord and vassal relation), or the national ideals of the Japanese people (Cambridge University Press, 1928). xxxviii+176 pp.
- ⁴¹³ ————*Pure Royalty, the ideal of the Japanese subject* (London, Kegan Paul, 1924). viii+54 pp.
- ⁴¹⁴ HILDBURGH (M.): *Japanese popular magic connected with agriculture and trade* in T.P.J.S., 1913. 63 pp.
- ⁴¹⁵ HILDBURGH (W. L.): *Charms and amulets (Japanese)* in E.R.E., III.
- ⁴¹⁶ HIRAI (Naofusa): *Fundamental problems of present Shinto* in Proceedings of the IXth international Congress for the History of religion (Tokyo, Maruzen, 1960). 4 pp.
- ⁴¹⁷ ————*The principles of pure Shinto* in *ibid.*, 16 pp.
- ⁴¹⁸ HIRATA (Atsutane): *Zenshû* (Complete Works). Compiled by Muromatsu Iwao (Tokyo, Itchi-dô, 1911–1918). 15 vol.
- ⁴¹⁹ HIRATA (Kanichi): *Shigayama-yawa* (Talks on Mount Shiga) (Otsu, 1959). 201 pp.
- ⁴²⁰ ————*Shintô-no-hongi-to-sono-tenkat* (The essence of Shintô and its unfolding) (Kyoto, Shintô-shigakaï, 1959). xii+202 pp.
- ⁴²¹ HISAMATSU (Senichî): *Concept of Kami in the Manyôshu* in Cultural Nippon, VIII & IX (1940–1941). 63 pp.
- ⁴²² ————*Hitachi-fudoki.* Cf. H. Kwan.
- ⁴²³ ————*Hizen-fudoki.* Cf. H. Kwan.
- ⁴²⁴ HOLTOM (Daniel Clarence): *Meaning of kami (The)* in Monumenta Nipponica, III (1 & 2) & IV (2) (1940–1941).
- ⁴²⁵ ————*Modern Japan and Shinto nationalism* (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1947). ix+226 pp.
- ⁴²⁶ ————*National Faith of Japan (The), a study in modern Shinto* (London, Kegan Paul, 1938). xiii+329 pp.
- ⁴²⁷ ————*Political philosophy of modern Shinto (The), a study of the State religion in Japan* (Tokyo, 1922). ii+325 pp.

- ⁴²⁸ ————*Some notes on Japanese tree-worship* in T.A.S.J., VIII (1931). 19 pp.
- ⁴²⁹ HONAGA (S.): *Ama-Terasu O-Mi-Kami. Der Ursprung ihrer Verehrung als Göttliche Urahnin* (Bristol, 1916).
- ⁴³⁰ ————*National spirit of Japan (The), a contribution to spiritual understanding between nations* (Bristol, Arrowsmith, 1916). 109 pp.
- ⁴³¹ HORI (Miyashizu): *A preliminary observation on the history of the fishing industry in connection with Shinto Shrines* in T.M.J.S., XLVII (1937).
- ⁴³² HOZUMI (Nobushige): *Stellung der Frau im alten Shinto* in Lectures on the New Japanese Civil Code (Tokyo, 1912).
- ⁴³³ HIGGINS (Harold C.): *The fox. A study in Japanese superstition* (Kôbe, 1927).
- ⁴³⁴ and Shimizu OSAMU: *Intimate tales of Old Japan* (Tokyo, 1929). 224 pp.
- ⁴³⁵ HUIISH (Marcus Bourne): *Japan and its art* (London, Batsford, 1912). xvi+373 pp.
- ⁴³⁶ HUMBERTCLAUDE (Pierre): *Vitalité des religions non chrétiennes, II—Le Shintô d'aujourd'hui. Vie intellectuelle*, 1956. 21 pp.
- ⁴³⁷ HUNTLY (Kate Hope): *Kami-no-michi. The way of the gods in Japan* (London, 1910). A novel.
- ⁴³⁸ IKEDA (A.): *The holy rice-tub festival on the Sagura-ga-ike pond* in *The Tourist*, Nov. 1930. 10 pp.
- ⁴³⁹ IMBE-NOHIRONARI: *Kogoshûi* (Gleanings from ancient stories) translated with an introduction and notes by Genchi Katô and Hikoshirô Hoshino (Tokyo, Meiji Japan Society, 1925). xviii+124 pp.
- ⁴⁴⁰ IMBE (Masamichi): *Shindai-no-maki kuketsu* (Oral traditions of the Age of the Gods) (Kokumin-shiso-soshô-kanko-kai, 1929). 492 pp.
- ⁴⁴¹ INOUE (Kazuô): *Toyokawa-shi no chiri* (1954).
- ⁴⁴² ————*Toyokawa-shi no rekishi* (1954).
- ⁴⁴³ INOUE (Tetsujirô), Genchi KATO, Suëo GOTO, Bruno PETZHOLD and Pierre HUMBERTCLAUDE: *Etude sur la pensée religieuse du Japon* in B.M.F.-J., VIII
- ^{443a} IRITA (Seizô). Cf. SEIZÔ IRITA.
- ⁴⁴⁴ ————*Ise-fudoki*: Cf. H. Kwan.
- ⁴⁴⁵ ————*Ise-monogatari* (text and translation with notes by F. Vos) (The Hague, Mouton, s.d.). 2 vol.
- ⁴⁴⁶ ————*Ise-Grand Shrine (The) and periodical ceremony of removing of its All Shrine* in *Shintô Bulletin*, No. 3 (Chiba).
- ⁴⁴⁷ ISHIKAWA (Michiji): *Introduction to Shinto theology* in *Cultural Nippon*, V, I (1937). 7 pp.
- ⁴⁴⁸ ITÔ (prince Hirobumi): *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan* (Tokyo, 1889). xiii+259 pp.
- ⁴⁴⁹ ITô (Masao): *Ise-no-bungaku* (Ise in literature) (Ise, Jingû, 1954). xiv+250 pp.
- ⁴⁵⁰ ————*Iwagaki-koku-si-ryaku*, translated into French by E. Burnouf (Paris, 1875).
- ⁴⁵¹ ————*Izumo-fudoki*, partial English translation by Sakai Atsuharu in *Cultural Nippon*, IX (1941), ii, iii & iv.
- ⁴⁵² ————*Japan, the Official Guide* (Tokyo, Japan Travel Bureau, 1959). lxx + 1,016 pp.
- ⁴⁵³ ————*Japanese texts, primitive and medieval*. Edited with introduction, notes and glossaries by F.V. Dickins (Oxford, 1906). 2 vol.
- ⁴⁵⁴ JOLY (Henri L.): *Legends in Japanese art*. A description of historical episodes, legendary characters, folklore, myths, religious symbolism illustrated in the arts of old Japan (London, Lane, 1907). xliii+453pp.
- ⁴⁵⁵ JÛBUTSU SAKA: *Ise dai-jingû sankeiki* (Diary of a pilgrim to Ise) Translation by Arthur L. Sadler (Tokyo, Meiji Japan Society, 1949) 76 pp.
- ⁴⁵⁶ KAEMPFER (Engelbert): *The History of Japan...* translated... by J.G. Scheuchzer (London, 1727). 2 vol.
- ⁴⁵⁷ KAGASHIMA (Kanshi): *The so-called Post seven Buddhas and the Kami or Shinto Gods mentioned in the ancient Japanese histories* in T.M.J.S., LIV (1940). 2 pp.

- 458 ——— *Kampeï-taisha-hirota-jinja-shi* (Notes about the Hirota-jinja) (Tokyo, 1937)- 58 pp.
- 459 KAKEHI (Katsuhiko): *Koshindô-taigi* (The essentials of old Shintô) (Tokyo, Shimizu-shôten, 1912). 455 pp.
- 460 ——— *Zoku-koshintô-taigi* (Continuation of the previous work) (Tokyo, Shimizu-shôten, 1914–15). 2 vol. KAMO (Mabuchi): Cf. MABUCHI KAMO.
- 461 KANEKO (Prof. Daiei): *Engi-shiki Norito kô*. (Inquiry into the Norito appearing in the *Engi-shiki*.) (Tokyo, 1951). 504+14 pp.
- 462 KANOKOGI (K.): *Shintoism and its significance* (Smithsonian Institute, 1919). pp. 610 sqq.
- 463 KATÔ (Genshi): *Ancient (The) Shintô God Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami, seen in the light of to-day* in T.A.S.J., XXXVI (1908) and VIII (1931).
- 464 ——— *Meiji, Taishô, Shôwa Shintô Shoseki Mokuroku* (Tokyo, published under the auspices of the Staff of the Meiji Shrine, 1953). 727 pp.
- 465 ——— *Naoë (The) matsuri of Kônomiya of Owari, or a Shintô rite for the expulsion of devils*. Translated by D.C. Holtom in T.A.S.J., VIII (1931). 24 pp.
- 466 ——— *On the historical book Kogoshûi* in T.M.S.J., XXII (1924). 6 pp.
- 467 ——— *Shimpo-jinja (The) in which Meiji-tennô's sword and mirror are enshrined* in T.M.S.J., LII (1939). 2 pp.
- 468 ——— *Study (A) of Shintô; the religion of the Japanese nation* (Tôkyô, Zaïdan Hojin Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai, 1926). lx+255 pp.
- 469 ——— *What is Shintô* (Tokyo, Tourist Library, 1935). 73 pp.
- 470 and Hikoshirô HOSHINO: Translation, introduction and notes to the *Kogoshûi* (Tokyo, Meiji Japan Society, 1925). xviii+124 pp.
- 471 Karl REITZ and Wilhelm SCHIFFER: *A bibliography of Shintô in Western languages from the oldest times till 1952* (Tokyo, Meiji-jingû-shamusho, 1953). xiv+58+8 pp.
- 472 KELLOG (E. R.): *Spring and Autumn fires in Japan* in T.A.S.J., XLIV (1918). KIKUCHI (Yutaka). Cf. YUTAKA KIKUCHI.
- 473 KIPPO (Ishimura): *Taga-jinja-shi* (History of the Hikone Taga-taisha). xxiv+210+134 pp.
- 474 KIRBY (R. J.): *Ukemochi-no-kami, the Shintô goddess of food* in T.A.S.J., XXXVIII (1910).
- 475 KISHIMOTO (Hideo): *Japanese religion in the Meiji era* (Tokyo, Obunsha, 1956). xx+379 pp.
- 476 KISHIMOTO (Hideo): *Mount Miwa* (mimeographed).
- 477 ——— *Some Japanese cultural traits and religions in japan* (mimeographed).
- 478 KITABATAKE (Chikafusa): *Hÿôchû-jinnô-shôtô-ki* (History of the true succession of the Divine Monarchy) (17th edition, Tokyo, Matsumu-rasanshô-dô, 1898). 174 pp.
- 479 KITANO (Hiromi): *The matsuri or Japanese festival, with special reference to its origin* in The Tourist, Oct. 1930 and Nov. 1930. 22 pp.
- 480 KITAYAMA (Junyu): *Shintoismus (Der)* (Berlin, Limpert). 16 pp.
- 481 ——— *West-östliche Begegnung. Japans Kultur und Tradition* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1954). vii+252 pp.
- 482 KIYAMA (K.): *The life of a great man, Kurozumi-Munetada*.
- 483 KIYÔDO (Tsurumi): *Kanke-kôso* (A study on the Poetry of Michizane Sugawara) (Dazaifu, 1953).
- 484 KOBAYASHI (Prof. Kenzô): *Matsuri-no-tenkai* (Philosophical meaning of matsuri). iv+228 pp.
- 485 KOCH: *Japan, Geschichte nach Japanischen Quellen und ethnographischen Skizzen* (Dresden, Baensch, 1904). *Kogoshûi*: Cf. Imbe-no-hironari. *Kojiki*: Cf. Yasumaro.
- 486 ——— *Kokushi-tdikei*: (Systematic data of the national history) recompiled and enlarged by Katsumi Kuroita (Tokyo, 1929–1933). 60 vol.
- 487 ——— *Kokutai-no-hongi* (The fundamental principles of the National structure) (Tokyo, Department of Education, 1937). 156 pp.
- 488 KÔNO (Shôzô): *Jingishi gaiyô* (An outline of Shintô history) (Tokyo, 1927). 162 pp.

- 489 ——— *Kannagara-no-michi Shinto* in *The Universities Review*, issued by the National League of Japanese University Professors, I (1938).
- 490 ——— *Kannagara-no-michi* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, III (1940), 2. 23 pp.
- 491 ——— *Kokumin dōtoku shiron* (A history of national morality) (Tokyo, Morië-shōten, 1924). 293 pp.
- 492 ——— *The Hitachi-fudoki, or records of customs and land of Hitachi* in *Cultural Nippon*, VIII (1940), 2 et 3 and IX (1941), 4. 134 pp.
- 493 KOSHIBA (Naonori): *Peculiar festivals of Usaka-shrine* in *T.M.J.S.*, XL (1933). 2 pp.
- 494 KOZAKI (Hiromichi): *Kokken to shūkyō* (Religion and the nation) (Tokyo, 1913).
- 495 KUBO (Noritada): *Koshin Shinkō* (Faith in Kanoë-sarū, a division of the sexagenary cycle) (Tokyo, Yameka Shuppansha, 1956). 315 pp.
- 496 KUBOTA (Osamu): *Chusei-shintō-no-kenkyō* (Researches on Shintō in the Middle-Ages).
- 497 KUMAZAWA (Banzan): *Daï-gaku wakumon* (A discussion of public questions in the light of the Great Learning—written about 1690). English translation in *T.A.S.J.*, XIV (1938). 98 pp.
- 498 KUME (Prof. Kunitake): *Nihon kodai shi to shintō no kankei* (The relations of Shintō and ancient Japanese history) (Tokyo, Sōgen-sha, 1907). 194 pp.
- 498a *Nihon-Kodai-shi* (History of ancient Japan) (Tokyo, Waseda University, 1905). 934 pp.
- 499 ——— *Shintō* in *Fifty Years of New Japan*, II (London, 1910).
- 500 KURITA (Prof. Hiroshi): *Ritsuri-sensei-zacho* (Tokyo, Yoshikawa-hanshichi, 1901) 5 vol. *Kofudoki-itsubun-kōshō* (Fragments still extant of various Fudoki) (Tokyo, Daï-nippon-toshō Co., 1903). 3 vol.
- 501 KUROIITA (Katsumi): *Kokushi gaikan* (Outline of the national history) (Tokyo, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1936). 58 vol.
- 502 KUWASABURO (Takatsu), Sanji MIKAMI and Masaru ISODA—*History of the Empire of Japan* (Tokyo, Department of Education, 1893).
- 503 LAY (Arthur Hyde): *Japanese funeral rites* in *T.A.S.J.* XXIX (1891). 38pp.
- 504 LEONARD (L.): *When Titibu (Chichibu) shrine celebrates* in *Travel Bulletin*, Nov. 1939. 64 pp.
- 505 LLOYD (A.): *Death and disposal of the dead (Japanese)* in *E.R.E.*, IV.
- 506 ——— *Demons and spirits (Japanese)* in *E.R.E.*, IV.
- 507 ——— *Remmon-kyō (The)* in *T.A.S.J.* XXIX (1901). 16 pp.
- 508 LONGFORD (Prof. Joseph Henry): *The story of old Japan* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1910). xii+410 pp.
- 509 LOWELL (Percival): *Esoteric Shintō* in *T.A.S.J.*, XXI, 1, 2 & 3 (1893) and XXII, 1 (1894). 101 pp.
- 510 ——— *Occult Japan or the Way of the Gods*. An Esoteric study of Japanese personality and possession (Boston, Houghton and Mifflin, 1895). 380 pp.
- 511 ——— *Religion of Japan* in *Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, LX.
- 512 ——— *The soul of the Far-East* (Boston, Houghton and Mifflin, 1888). 226 pp.
- 513 MABUCHI KAMO: *Kokuikō*, a partial translation by Dumoulin in *Monumenta Nipponica*, II (1939), I. 28 pp.
- 514 ——— *Koku-i-kō*—(an enquiry into the will of the Nation) (Tokyo, Yoshikawa-kō-bunkan, 1903). 14 pp.
- 515 ——— *Norito-kō*—(an enquiry into the Norito) (Tokyo, Yoshikawa-kobunkan, 1903). 132 pp.
- 516 MACCULLOUGH (J. A.): *Blest, Abode of the (Japanese)* in *E.R.E.*, II.
- 517 ——— *First fruits* in *E.R.E.*
- 518 ——— *Lycanthropy* in *E.R.E.*, VIII.
- 519 MAITRE (Cl. E.): *La littérature historique du Japon des origines aux Ashikaga* in *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1904. 37 pp.
- 520 ——— *Manyōshū*, translated and edited by J.L. Pierson (Leiden, Brill, 1929–1956). 9 vol.

- 521 MARAINI (Fosco): *Ore giapponese* (Bari, 1957). 574 pp.
- 522 MARTIN (Le P. Jean-Marie): *Le Shintoïsme, religion nationale du Japon* (Hong-Kong, 1924–1927). 2 vol.
- 523 MASON (Joseph Warren Teets)—*The meaning of Shintô; the primeval foundation of creative spirit in modern Japan* (New York, Dutton, 1935)- 252 pp.
- 524 ———*The spirit of Shinto Mythology* (Tokyo, Fuzambo, 1939). xiii + 285 pp.
- 525 MATSUDAIRA (Narimitsu): *Fêtes (Les) saisonnières au japon* (Paris, 1936). 175 PP.
- 526 ———*Rituel (Le) des prémices au Japon* in B.M.F.-J., IV (1955).
- 527 ———*Essai sur la mythologie japonaise*. Austro-Asiatica, II.
- 528 MATSUMOTO (Nobuhiro): *Nihon no shinwa* (Mythologie japonaise).
- 529 ———*Recherche sur quelques themes de la mythologie japonaise* (Paris, Geuthner, 1928). 140 pp.
- 530 ———*Type (A) of shrine-worship among the Kujukuri people*, in Study of Fishing community in Japan (Tokyo, Keio University, 1958). 10 pp.
- 531 MATSUSHITA (Matsuhei): *My recent discovery of whole text of first volume of pilgrimage to provincial shrines of foremost rank*, in T.M.J.S. L (1938). 2 pp.
- 532 MAZELIERE (Marquis de la): *Le Japon, histoire et civilization* (Paris, Plon, 1907). 8 vol.
- 533 McLEOD (N.): *Epitome of the ancient history of Japan* (Tokyo, 1879).
- 534 Illustrations to the Epitome of the ancient history of Japan (Tokyo, 1879) 8 pp. 80 plates.
- 535 MEIJI-TENNO: *Omi-kokoro* (Selected poems) (Tokyo, Yasukuni-jinja, 1923).
- 536 MERGE (Salvatore): *Demonologia nipponica, l'oni*, in Monumenta Nipponica, II, 1939. 7 pp.
- 537 METCHNIKOFF (Léon): *Dynastie archaïque (Une) du Japon* in Mémoires de la Société des Etudes japonaises, &c., V (1886). 18 pp.
- 538 ———*Empire japonais (L')* (Genève, 1881). viii+692 pp.
- 539 ———*Notice sur la religion nationale des Japonais, le culte des kami ou le Shintoïsme* in 36 Congrès national des Orientalistes (Lyon, 1878). 10 pp
- 540 MIKANAGI (Kiyo-o): *Remarks on harai or Shinto ablutions as expressed in phrases used in the ceremony of Oharai or Shinto Great Purification* in T.M.J.S., XXXIV (1930). 15 pp.
- 541 ———*Minatogawa Shrine* in the Japan Magazine, XXVII (1937).
- 543 MIURA (Sempo) and Jigohei TANAKA: *Shindaï no shisô* (The ideas of the Age of the Gods) (Tokyo, Shindaï-shisô-hakko-sho, 1912). 398 pp.
- 544 MIYAJI (Naokazu): *Shingi shi-kôyô* (Outline history of the deities of heaven and earth) (Tokyo, 1919).
- 545 MIYAO and INAMURA: *Jinja gyôseihô kôgi* (Lectures on the administrative laws of Shintô temples) (Tokyo, 1912).
- 546 MIYASAKA (Negi Kïomichi): *Suwa-no-on-bashira-sai* (Matsuri of the pillars in the Suwa-taisha) (Nagano, 1956). xviii+274+viii pp.
- 547 ———*Miyazaki-jingû-go-shinkô-no-dzu* (Description of the pageant of the Miyazaki-jingû).
- 548 MOCK JOYA: *Things Japanese* (Tokyo, The Tokyo News Service, 1960). xiv+732+xxxii pp. and later articles published in *The Japan Times*.
- 549 MORAES (Wenceslau de): *Cartas do Japão*, (Lisboa, Brandão, 1927). 3 vol.
- 550 ———*Relance d'alma japoneza*.
- 551 ———*Relance da historia japoneza*.
- 552 ———*Vida japoneza (La)*.
- 553 MORI (Prof.): *Le sentiment de la nature chez les Japonais* in Syntheses, Nov. 1958.
- 554 MOTÛORI (Norinaga): *Zenshû* (Complete Works) (Tokyo, Yoshikawa kôbun-kan, 1926–1927). 12 vol.
- 555 ———*Naobi no mitama* (Spirit of renewal) translated by Hans Stolte, S.J., in Monumenta Nipponica, II (1939). 19 pp.
- 556 MOTOSABURO YOSHIDA: *Fushimi Inari zen keinaï meïsho zue* (An illustrated handbook of famous places within the precincts of the Fushimi Inari shrine) (1925).

- 557 MUNRO (Neil Gordon): *Prehistoric Japan* (Yokohama, 1911). xvii + 705 PP.
- 558 ————*Primitive culture in Japan* (Yokohama, Fukuin, 1906). vii+212 pp.
- 559 MURDOCH (James): *A history of Japan* (London, Kegan Paul, 1949). 3 vol.
- 560 MUTSU (Iso): *Kamakura, fact and legend* (Tokyo, 1955). 320 pp.
- 561 NACHOD. *Geschichte von Japan*.
- 562 NAKANISHI (Prof. Akira): *Shintô-no-riron* (Philosophy of Shintô) (Tokyo, Jinja-honchô) 1963). iv+203 pp.
- 563 ————*Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697*. Translated from the original Chinese and Japanese by W.G. Aston (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1956). xxiii+444 pp.
- 564 NISHIKAWA (Kôjirô): *Shindô kyôso den* (An account of the founders of Shintô) (Tokyo, 1914).
- 565 NITOBE (Inazô): *Bushidô* (London, Putnam, 1905).
- 566 ————*Editorial Jottings* (Tokyo, Hokuseido, 1938). 2 vol.
- 567 ————*Noritô* a new translation of the ancient Japanese ritual prayers by Donald L. Philippi (Tokyo, The Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, 1959). iv+95 pp.
- 568 ————*Ohari-fudoki* in H. Kwan.
- 569 OKADA (Chiyo): *Story of Yamato-takeru-no-mikoto* in *The Tourist*, Aug. 1929. 8 pp.
- 570 OKAKURA (Kakuzo): *Awakening of Japan (The)* (London, Murray, 1905). xx+225 pp.
- 571 ————*Book of Tea (The)* (Edinburgh and London, Foulis, 1919). 139 pp.
- 572 ————*Ideals of the East (The)* (London, Murray, 1903). xxii+244 pp.
- 572a *Japanese Spirit (The)* (London, 1909).
- 573 ÔKUMA (Shigenobu): *Fifty Years of New Japan* (London, Smith Elder, 1909–1910). 2 vol.
- 573a OMACHI (Tokuzô): *Ceremonial practices in Japan* in *Cultural Nippon*, 1941. 46 pp.
- 574 OMI (T.): *Mythology of Japan* (Tokyo, 1915).
- 575 ÔNISHI (Genichi): *Dai-jingû-shi-yô* (Résumé of the history of the Ise-jingû) (Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1960), 394 pp.
- 576 ————*Sangû-no-konjaku* (The pilgrimage to Ise in the past and in the present) (Ise, Jingû, 1956). xvi+312+xxxiv pp.
- 577 ONO (Prof. Sokyô): *Jinja-shintô-gai-ron* (Handbook of Jinja-shintô) (Tôkyô 1956).
- 578 ————*Jinja-shintô-shingakû-nyu-mon* (Introduction to Jinja-shintô theology) (Tôkyô, 1953). 141 pp.
- 579 ————*The kami Way* (Tokyo, International Institute for the Study of Religions 1959). viii+118 pp.
- 580 OTTO (Alexander F.) and Theodore S. HOLBROOK: *Mythological Japan or the symbolism of Mythology in relation to Japanese Art* (Philadelphia, Drexel Biddle, 1902). 63 pp.
- 581 ————*Outline (An) of Shinto Teachings*, compiled by the Jinja-honchô, the Kokugakuin University and the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics (Tokyo, 1958). 33 pp.
- 582 PAGES (Léon): *Bibliographie japonaise ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le XV^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, Benjamin Duprat, 1859).
- 583 PAPINOT (E.): *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie du Japon* (Tokyo, Sansaisha, 1906). xviii+994 pp. and an atlas.
- 584 ————*Essais sur l'histoire du Japon* in *Mélanges japonais*, III (1907) and IV (1908). 135 pp.
- 585 PARKER (E. H.): *Early Japanese History* in *China Review*, Hong-Kong, 1890. 37 pp.
- 586 PONSONBY-FANE (R. A.B.): *Divine Spirits of Shintô and Hirota-jinja* (1934)
- 587 ————*Japanese personalities throughout the ages* in T.J.S.L., XXIX
- 588 ————*Kamo-Mioya Shrine* (Kôbe and London, 1933)
- 589 ————*Kyôto, the old capital of Japan* (Kyoto, the Ponsonby Memorial Society, 1956). xii+454 pp.
- 590 ————*Nibukawakami-jinja* in J.A.S.J., X (1933). 22 pp.
- 591 ————*Studies in Shintô and Shrines* (Kyoto, the Ponsonby Memorial Society, 1957). vi+574 pp.

- 592 ——— *Vicissitudes of Shinto (The)* (Kyôto, The Ponsonby Memorial Society, 1963). xiii+423 pp.
- 593 ——— *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions* (Tôkyô, Maruzen, 1960).
- 594 ——— *Religious Studies in Japan*. Edited by the Japanese Association for Religious Studies and the Japanese Organizing Committee for the IXth Congress for the History of Religions (Tôkyô, Maruzen, 1959).
- 595 REVON (Michel): *Anciens (Les) rituels du Shintô considérés comme formules magiques* in Transactions of the International Congress of the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908). 18 pp.
- 596 ——— *Ancestor-worship and cult of the dead (Japanese)* in E.R.E., I.
- 597 ——— *Cosmology and Cosmogony (Japanese)* in E.R.E., IV.
- 598 ——— *Divination (Japanese)* in E.R.E., IV.
- 599 ——— *Envoûtement (L') dans le Japon primitif* in Bulletin de la Société d'ethnographie de Paris, Oct. 1913.
- 600 ——— *Heroes and hero-gods (Japanese)* in E.R.E., VI.
- 601 ——— *Histoire de la civilisation japonaise* (Paris, Colin, 1900). ii+155 pp.
- 602 ——— *Hospitality (Japanese and Koreari)* in E.R.E., VI.
- 603 ——— *Human Sacrifice (Japanese and Korean)* in E.R.E., VI.
- 604 *Magic (Japanese)* in E.R.E., VIII.
- 605 ——— *Nature (Japanese)* in E.R.E., IX.
- 606 ——— *Prayer (Japanese)* in E.R.E., X.
- 607 ——— *Sacrifice (Japanese)* in E.R.E., XI.
- 608 *Sin (Japanese)* in E.R.E., XI.
- 609 ——— *Shintoisme (Le); les dieux de Shinnto* (Paris, Leroux, 1905). 229 pp.
- 610 ——— *Worship (Japanese)* in E.R.E., XII.
- 611 ROBINSON (C. H.): *Flowers* in E.R.E., VI.
- 612 ROSNY (Léon de): *Dieux (Les) primordiaux du Sintauïssem Mémoires de la Société des Etudes japonaises et chinoises*, V (1886). 24 pp.
- 613 ——— *Grande Déesse solaique (La) Ama-Terasu-Oho-Kami et les origines du Sintauïsme* in Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1884.
- 614 ——— *Kami yo no maki. Histoire des dynasties divines* (Paris, Leroux, 1884). 2 vol.
- 615 ——— *Religion (La) des Japonais; quelques renseignements sur le Sintauïsme* in Congrès international des Sciences ethnographiques, Paris, 1878. 16 pp.
- 616 SAEKI (Ariyoshi): *Daï Nihon Shingi shi* (An account of the deities of Great Japan) (Tokyo, Kokukô-kan, 1913). 1,324 pp.
- 617 SAIDA (Moriuji): *Morinaga-shinnô to Kamakura-gû* (Prince Morinaga and the shrine of Kamakura) (Tokyo, 1933). x+62 pp.
- 618 ——— *Saikai-no-kokoroë* (What observances are compulsory during saikai) (Izumo-ô-yashiro). Mimeographed. SAKA (Jûbutsu), cf. JÛBUTSU SAKA.
- 619 SAKATANI (Baron Yoshirô): *History of the Meiji-jingû*. 16 pp.
- 620 SALOMON (A.): *Le Sintauïsme* in Mémoires de la Société sinico-japonaise, X (1891). 27 pp.
- 621 SANSOM (Sir George Bailey): *History (A) of Japan* (London, Cresset, 1958). xii+500 pp.
- 622 ——— *Imperial Edicts (The) in the Shoku-Nihongi* in T.A. S.J., II, 1 (1924).
- 623 ——— *Japan, a short cultural history* (London, Cresset, 1946).
- 624 SATOW (Sir Ernest M.) *Ancient Japanese Rituals* in T.A.S.J., VII (1, 2, 4) and IX (2) (1878 and 1881).
- 625 ——— *Revival (The) of pure Shin-tau* in T.A.S.J., III, 2 (1875) and II, 2 (1927). 175 pp.
- 626 ——— *Shin-tau temples (The) of Ise* in T.A.S.J., III (1874). 24 pp.
- 627 SCHILLER (Emil): *Japan und seine Religionen* (1936).
- 628 ——— *Shinto, die Volksreligion Japans* (Berlin, 1911).
- 629 SCHUON (Frithjof): *Studies in Shintô* in France-Asie, No. 164. 17 pp.

- 630 SCHURHAMMER (G.): *Shinto, the Way of the Gods in Japan* (Bonn & Leipzig, 1923).
- 631 SCHWARTZ (W. L.): *The great shrines of Idzumo. Some notes on Shinto, ancient and modern* in T.A.S.J., XLIII (1913). 87 pp.
- 632 SEIZŌ IRITA: *On the three Imperial Treasures* in Cultural Nippon, IX, I (1941). 45 pp.
- 633 ——— *Sendai-kuji-hongi* (Toyo-uke-kōtai-jingū, 1835).
- 634 SENGE (Takahuku): *Izumo-taishin* (The great God of Izumo) (Tokyo, 1922). xiv+548 pp.
- 635 ——— *Setsubun; the origin and meaning of the demon-driving away festival* in The Tourist, March 1927, 8 pp.
- 636 SHIBA (Kuzumori): *Chūgaku nihon rekishi* (Japanese history for middle-schools) (Tokyo, 1917). 2 vol.
- 637 ——— *Shintō-ronbun-shū* (Collection of Essays on Shintō presented to Mr Takanobu Senge on the occasion of his 61st anniversary) (Tokyo, 1958). xviii+938+xxviii pp.
- 638 ——— *Shinto shrines (zinsya)*, with a brief explanation of Shinto ceremonies and priesthood (Tokyo, Japanese Government Railways, 1938).
- 639 ——— *Shishi-no-han*, a catechism for Fuji-worshippers in Chrysanthemum, II (1882).
- 640 ——— *Shoku-nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan, continued). Partial translation by J.B. Snellen in T.A.S.J., XI (1934). 70 pp.
- 641 ——— *Short History (A) of Tenri-kyō* (Nara, Tenri-kyō, 1956). 274 pp.
- 642 SLAWIK (Alexander): *Susano-wo als Geheimbündler* in Die Indogermanen und Germanenfrage (Salzburg, 1936). 12 pp.
- 643 SPINNER (Rev. Dr W.): *Tanabata-no-sekku; das japanische Sternenfest* in Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, V (1890). 14 pp.
- 644 STEININGER (H.): *Der Tenno-Gedanke in einigen Liedern des Manyōshū* (1956) in Sino-japonica, 1956, 25 pp. (178–202).
- 645 STRAELEN (Henry van): *Japans most powerful religious movement* (Kyoto, Veritas Shoin, 1957).
- 646 SUGINO (K.): *One-day trip to Lake Kasumigaura and shrine of Kashima and Katori* in The Tourist, Aug. 1932. 7 pp.
- 647 ——— *Suwa festival (The) at Nagasaki* in The Tourist, Sept. 1929. 8 pp.
- 648 SUZUKI (Takeichi): *Ujigami to ujiko* (Tutelary deities and their devotees) (Tokyo, Seichi-Dō, 1915). 90 pp.
- 649 SUZUKI (Teitaro): *Agata festival at Uji* in The Tourist, July 1920. 7 pp.
- 650 ——— *Synopsis of the ceremonies of ascension to the throne of H.M. the Emperor of Japan* (1928).
- 651 TACHIBANA (S.): *Ethics and morality (Japanese)* in E.R.E., V.
- 652 ——— *Taga-jinja-shi* (History of the Hikone Taga-taisha) (Tokyo, 1933). xxvi+210+136 pp.
- 653 TAKAHARA (Yoshitada): *Nihon-katei-sai-ki* (Accessories for Japanese home-worship) (Tokyo, 1959). 283 pp. TAKATSU (Kuwasaburō). Cf. KUWASABURO TAKATSU.
- 654 TAKEZONO (K.): *La religion des poètes manyō* in Journal of Religious studies, 1956. 30 pp.
- 655 TANAKA (Takashi): *Jingū-no-sōshi to hatten* (The origin and growth of the cult in the Ise-jingū) (Ise Jingū, 1959). viii+287+v+68 pp.
- 656 TANAKA (Yoshitō): *Shintō hongī* (The essentials of Shintō) (Tokyo, 1911).
- 657 *Tango-fudoki* in H. Kwan.
- 658 TANIGAWA (Kotosuga): *Wakun no shiori* (Guide to Japanese interpretations of Chinese) (Tokyo, by various publishers, 1898). 2 vol.
- 659 TERRY (M.): *The Shintō Cult. A Christian study of the ancient religion of Japan* (London, 1910).
- 660 TEZUKA (Michio): *Jinja yūsoku kojitsu zuē* (Kyoto, Shukyo Banka Kenkyusho, 1959), 111 pp.
- 661 TOKUGAWA (Mitsukuni) et alii: *Daī-nihon-shi* (History of Great Japan), with a Preface by Tsunaēda Tokugawa (Tokyo, Daī-nihon yūben-kaī, 1928). 17 vol.

- ⁶⁶² TOMII (Masaakira): *Le shintoïsme, sa mythologie et sa morale* in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, X (1886). 20 pp.
- ⁶⁶³ TOMOBE (Yasutaka): *Shintô-shoden-kuju*.
- ⁶⁶⁴ TSUDA (Noritake): *Shintô kigen ron* (An essay on the origins of Shintô) (Tokyo, Daïtôkaku, 1920). 268 pp.
- ⁶⁶⁵ TSUNODA (Ryûsaku) et alii: *Introduction to Oriental Civilisations. 54. Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1958). xxvi+928 pp. TSURUMI (Kiyodo). Cf. KIYÔDO TSURUMI.
- ⁶⁶⁶ UESUGI (Shinkichi): *Kokutai seika no hatsuyô* (Exalting the essence of the national structure) (Tokyo, Rakuyô-dô, 1919). 328 pp.
- ⁶⁶⁷ UKITA (M.): *The Imperial regalia of Japan* in T.J.S.L., VI.
- ⁶⁶⁸ UNDERWOOD (Alfred Clair): *Shintoism, the indigenous religion of Japan* (London, Epworth, 1934). 126 pp.
- ⁶⁶⁹ UYEHARA (G. Etsujirô): *The political developments of Japan 1867–1909* (New York, 1910). xxiv+296 pp.
- ⁶⁷⁰ VARENIUS (Berhardus): *Descriptio regni iaponiae cum quibusdam affinis materiae ex variis auctoribus collecta et in ordinem redacta* (Amstel-odami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1649). xlviii+268 pp.
- ⁶⁷¹ ———: *Tractatus in quo agitur de Iaponiorum religione, de Christianae religionis introductione in ea loca, de ejusdem extirpatione. Adjuncta est de diversa diversamm gentium totius telluris Religione brevis informatio* (Amstelodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1649). vi+320 pp.
- ⁶⁷² VISSER (M. V. de): *Shintô, de godsdienst van Japan* (Leiden).
- ⁶⁷³ ———: *The fox and the badger in Japanese folklore* in T.A.S.J., XXXVI (1908). 159 pp.
- ⁶⁷⁴ Vos (Frits): *A study of the Ise-monogatari...and an annotated translation* (The Hague, Mouton, s.d.). 2 vol.
- ⁶⁷⁵ WATANABE (Ikarimaru): *Ama-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami-ki* (Tokyo, 1873). 40 ff.
- ⁶⁷⁶ WENCKSTERN (Fr. von): *A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* (Tokyo, 1895–1907). 2 vol.
- ⁶⁷⁷ WHEELER (Post): *The Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1952). xlv+562 pp.
- ⁶⁷⁸ YAMADA (Nakaba): *Ghenkô, the Mongol invasion of Japan* (London, Smith Elder, 1916). xx+276 pp.
- ⁶⁷⁹ YAMADA (Yoshio): *Izumo-no-kokuso-no-kanyogoto* (Relations of the Senge family with the Imperial family).
- ⁶⁸⁰ YAMAKAGE (Motohisa): *Jirei-hai-no-higi* (The esoteric meaning of prayer for one's own soul) (Tôkyô, Aïshin 1960) 101 pp.
- ⁶⁸¹ ———: *Shintô-saishi-no-higi* (The mystery of the Shintô cult) (Tôkyô, Aïshin, 1960). 50 pp.
- ^{681a} *Sôzô-no-kami to umi-no-kami* (God the Creator and God the Parent) (Tokyo, Aïshin, 1960). 32 pp.
- ⁶⁸² ———: *Zen to Shintô no gai-setsu* (Relations between Zen Buddhism and Shintô) (Tokyo, Aïshin, 1960). 46 pp.
- ⁶⁸³ ———: *Yamashiro-fudoki* in H. Kwan.
- ⁶⁸⁴ YAMASHITA (M.): *The Influence of Shintô and Buddhism in Japan* in T.J.S.L., IV.
- ⁶⁸⁵ ———: *Yamato-jinja-chûshinjô* (Cahiers du Temple de Yamato).
- ⁶⁸⁶ YASUMARO ASON (Ô-no): *Kojiki*. Two English translations are available:
 (1) *Ko-ji-ki*, or Record of Ancient Matters, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain in T.A.S.J. (Yokohama, Lane, Crawford & Co., 1883). lxxv+370 pp. Reprinted with annotations by W.G. Aston and an Appendix by Prof. Urû Tsugita (Kôbe, 1932).
 (2) *Koji-ki*, or the Record of Ancient Japan, translated by Shunji Inouë (1958, for private circulation only).
- ⁶⁸⁷ YATSUKA (Kiyotsura): *Kôshitsu-to-jingû* (The Imperial Court and the Ise-jingû) (Ise, Jingû, 1957). xviii+226 pp. YOSHIDA (Motosaburô). Cf. MOTOSABURO YOSHIDA.

- ⁶⁸⁸ YOYA (M.): *Worshippers of Mt. Fuji* in *The Tourist*, Aug. 1939. 1 p.
⁶⁸⁹ YUTAKA KIKUCHI: (Quoted by Fujisawa).
⁶⁹⁰ ZACHERT (Herbert): *Semmyō, die kaiserlichen Erlasse des Shoku-nihongi* (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1950). 198 pp.

ADDENDUM

- ⁶⁹¹ ARAKIDA (Hisaoyu): *Mannyō-kō-tsuki-no-ochiba* (The fallen leaves of the zelkova-tree from the research on Mannyōshū) (Edo, 1839).
⁶⁹² ASTON (W. G.): *Notes on Chamberlain's translation of the Kojiki* (Kōbe, Thompson, 1932).
⁶⁹³ BARY (Maurice): *Japans neue Religionen in der Nachkriegszeit* (Bonn, 1959).
⁶⁹⁴ BELLAH (Robert N.): *Tokugawa Religion* (Glencoe, The Free Press), 1957. 249 pp.
⁶⁹⁵ BUCHANAN (Daniel C.): *Some mikuji of Fujimi-inari-jinja* in *Monumenta Nipponica* IV. 18 pp. (518–535).
^{695a} Bureau of Religions—*A general view of the present religious situation in Japan* (1920).
⁶⁹⁶ CASAL (U. A.): *Salt* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XIV, 30 pp.
⁶⁹⁷ DUMOULIN (Heinrich), H. STOLTE und W. SCHIFFER: *Die Entwicklung der Kokugaku* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, II. 25 pp. (140–164).
⁶⁹⁸ DUTHU (J. B.): *Kurozumi-kyō* in *Mélanges japonais*, 18. 68 pp.
⁶⁹⁹ EBARA (Saikakou): *Contes d'amour des samourai* (Paris, 1927).
⁷⁰⁰ ——— *Enthronment edition*, *The Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo, 1928). xvi+180 pp.
⁷⁰¹ FUJII (Dr Shinichi): *Characteristics of the Japanese Constitution* in *Contemporary Japan* IX (1940), 3.
⁷⁰² FUJISAWA (Chikao): *What is the Japanese Shintoist Way of Thinking* in *Mañchi—Tōkyō*, 5–11 Nov. 1958.
^{702a} GOWEN (Herbert H.): *An outline history of Japan* (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century, 1939). xx+448 pp.
⁷⁰³ ——— *Grand Shrine of Ise (The)* (Ise, Grand Shrine Office, s.d.) 34 pp.
⁷⁰⁴ HIGO (Kazuō): *Nihon shinwa kenkyū* (Studies in Japanese mythology) (5th ed., 1942).
⁷⁰⁵ ——— *Kodai denshō kenkyū* (Studies in ancient traditions) (2nd ed., 1943).
⁷⁰⁶ HIRATA (Atsutane): *Taidō Wakumon* (Es fragt einer nach dem Grossen Weg) in *Monumenta Nipponica* II. 25 pp. (212–236).
⁷⁰⁷ HISAMATSU (Prof. Senichi): *Kokugaku, sono seiritsu to kokubungaku to no kankei* (The Kokugaku, its appearance and its bearing on Japanese literature) (Tokyo, 1941). 417 pp.
⁷⁰⁸ ——— *Holy rice-tub festival on the Sakura-ga-ike pond* in *The Tourist*, Nov. 1930. 11 pp.
⁷⁰⁹ HOLZMAN (Daniel) and Yukuhiko MOTOYAMA: *Japanese religion and philosophy: a guide to Japanese reference and research materials* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1959). 192 pp.
⁷¹⁰ HORI (Hidenari): *Shin-meī-kō* (a research into the names of Kami) (Tokyo, 1909). 99 ff.
⁷¹¹ HOZUMI (Prof. Nobushige): *Ancestor-worship* in Japan by the Japanese, edited by Alfred Stead (London, Heinemann, 1904). 24 pp.

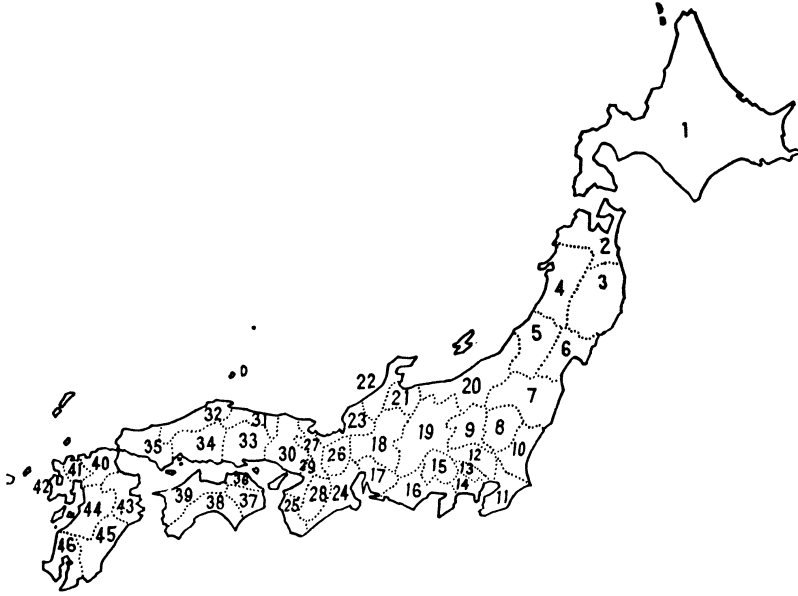
ICHIKAWA (Tatsumaro). Cf. TATSUMARO ICHIKAWA.

- ⁷¹² IMBE (Masamichi): various writings.
⁷¹³ INOUE (Mitsusada): *Nihon Kodai-shi sho-mondai* (Researches into the early history of Japan) (Tokyo, 1949). 358 pp.
⁷¹⁴ *Jinja-meisai-chō* (Official records of the Jinja-honchō).
⁷¹⁵ ——— *Shintō-tai-i* (Summary of Shintō philosophy).

- 715a KANZAKI (Issaku): *Meiji igo ni okeru shintoshi no shôso* (Various aspects of the history of Shintô after the Meiji Restoration) (Tokyo, 1937)
- 716 KAROW (Otto): *Utagaki-Kagahi* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, V. 45 pp. (287–331).
- 717 KATÔ (Genchi): *Japanese Phallicism*.
- 718 KEICHÛ: *Enjuan-zakki* (Random notes at the hermitage of the round jewel), edited by Kamo-nomabuchi (Edo or Kyoto, 1813).
- 719 KOHLER (Werner): *Die Lotus-lehre und die modernen Religionen in Japan* (Zürich, Atlantis, 1962). 300 pp.
- 720 KÔSAKA (Masaaki): *Japanese thought in the Meiji era* (Tokyo, 1958).
- 721 KUMAZAWA (Banzan): *Banzan Zenshû* (Tokyo, 1940) 3 vol.
- 722 KURITA (Hiroshi): *Sairei-shikô* (Ritual of worship) (1875). 94 pp.
- 723 *Kusunoki Masashige*, übersetzt von Kenji Koike in *Monumenta Nipponica*, IV. 33 pp. (133–165).
- 724 LEMOINE (Ch.): *Une crise d'illumination au Japon* in *Mélanges japonais*, 12. 30 pp.
- 725 MABUCHI KAMO: *Fumi no kokoro* and *Goikô*, übersetzt von Heinrich Dumoulin, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XI. 16 pp. (268–283).
- 726 ——— *Kokuikô* (Sinn des Landes) übersetzt von Heinrich Dumoulin, in *Monumenta Nipponica* II. 28 pp. (165–192).
- 727 ——— *Kommentar zum Norito des Toshigoji-no-matsuri*, übersetzt von Heinrich Dumoulin, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XII. 36 pp. (121–156).
- 728 ——— *Niimanabi*, übersetzt von Heinrich Dumoulin, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, IV. 19 pp. (566–584).
- 729 MATSUDAIRA (Narimitsu): *Matsuri* (1943).
- 730 ——— *Matsuri, honshitsu to shosô* (Festivals, their characteristics and aspects) (1946).
- 731 MATSUOKA (Shizuo): *Shimpen Nihon-kogo Jiten* (Newly edited Ancient Japanese Dictionary) (Tokyo, Tôkô-shoten, 1962). 82 pp.
- 732 MITSUMA (Prof. Shingo): *Shintô or the Way of the Gods* (mimeographed).
- 733 MOCK JOYA: *Huzi-kô, worshippers of Mt. Huzi* in *The Tourist*, August 1939–
- 734 MUTOBE (Koreyoshi): *Ken'yû-junkô-ron* (Meditation on the invisible world) in Vol. III–VI of *Shintô-sôsho* (Tôkyô, 1896–1897).
- 735 ——— *Ubusuna-koden-shô* (Resume of the traditional doctrines on the Ubusuna-no-kami) Tokyo, 1873). 15ff.
- 736 NAGOYA (Kazuhiko): *The new role of Shintôism in marriages* in *Mainichi Daily News*, 4 January, 1961.
- 736a *Nihon Rekishi Dai-ji-ten* (Grand Dictionnaire de l'histoire du Japon) (Tokyo, Kawade Shobô, 1956–1960). 21 vol.
- 737 NITÔBE (Prof. Inazô): *Bushido; the moral ideals of Japan* in *Japan by the Japanese*, edited by Alfred Stead (London, Heinemann, 1904). 24 pp.
- 738 NUMAZAWA (Franz Kiichi): *Die Weltanfänge in der japanischen Mythologie* (Paris und Luzern, 1946). 481 pp.
- 739 OKAMOTO (Tenmei): various works.
- 740 ÔKUNI (Takamasa): *Hongaku-kyôyô* (Resume of the fundamental philosophy) in Vol. I of *Ôkuni-takamasa Zenshû* (Tokyo, 1937–1939). 7 vol.
- 741 ——— *Shintô-michi-shirube* (Guide to Shintô Philosophy) in *ibid.*, Vol. II.
- 742 ORIGUCHI (Nobuo): *Matsuri-no-hassei* (Origins of the festivals) (Tokyo, 1927).
- 743 ——— *Matsuri no Hanashi* (The tales of the festivals) (Tokyo, 1947).
- 744 ——— *Nihon no Nenchû-gyôji* (The regular annual celebrations in Japan) (Tokyo, 1943).
- 745 OUWEHAND (Cornelius): *Some notes on the God Susa-no-o* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XIV. 24 pp.
- 746 PONSONBY-FANE: *Kashima Ohokami and Katori Ohokami* in *Commemoration Volume for the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Meiji Japan Society* (Tokyo, 1937). 44 pp.

- 747 RAMMING (M.): *Japan Handbuch*; Nachschlagewerk der Japankunde (Berlin, 1940).
- 748 SAITO (Hikomaro): *Katabisashi* (Under the pent-roof), in Vol. II of *Hiyakka-Setsurin*, edited by Teisuke Imaizumi (1891).
- 749 SAKA JÛBUTSU: *Diary of a pilgrim to Ise* (Tokyo, Japan Meiji Society, 1940). 84 pp.
- 750 SCHIFFER (Wilhelm): *New Religions in Postwar Japan* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XI, 14 pp.
- 751 SEAMI: *Jûroku Bushû* (sixteen treatises). Ch. IV. *Jinji-ni-ju* (Matters of the Gods)—translated by Shidehara Michitaro and Wilfrid Whitehouse, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, V, 7 pp.
- 752 SECKEL (Dietrich): *Taigenkyû, das Heiligtum des Yuitsu-Shintô* in *Monumenta Nipponica*, VI, 34 pp.
- 753 *Shinten* (The Shintô Bible) (Tokyo, Ôkura-seishinbunka-kenkyûjo). 2,156 pp.
- 753a *Shintô Dai-ji-ten* (Great Dictionary of Shintô) (Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1937–1940).
- 754 *Shintô Shrines and Festivals* (Tokyo, Association of Shintô Shrines, Kokugakuin University and Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, August 1958). 84 pp.
- 755 ——— *Special Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of 1349, The*, translated by P.G. O’Neill, in *Monumenta Nipponica* XIV. 21 pp.
- 756 STRAELEN (Henry van) and (ClarkB.) OFFNER: *Modern Japanese Religions* (Leiden, Brill, 1963). 296 pp.
- 757 SUZUKI (Shigetane): *Yotsugi-gusa* (Data to be transmitted by tradition) in Suzuki-shigetane Shû (Tokyo, 1944).
- 758 TACHIBANA (Moribe): *Itsu-no-chiwaki* (The divine expulsion) in Vol. I of Tachibana-moribe Zenshû (Tokyo, 1922).
- 759 ——— *Itsu-no-kotowake* (Divine reasoning) in Vol. III of *ibid.*
- 760 ——— *Nan-kojiki-den*.
- 761 TACHIBANA (Narisue): (1,254). 20 vol.
- 762 TAKAMASA (Ôkuni). Cf. ÔKUNI (Takamasa).
- 763 TAKESHI TOYODA (Prof.): *Chmei-nippon-shôgyôshi-no-kenkyu* (A study of the commercial history of Japan in the Middle Ages) (Tokyo University, 1952), 475+23 pp.
- 764 TANAKA (Dr Yoshihiro): *The Snow-festival* in *Today’s Japan Orient-West*, VI, 3 March 1961. 5 pp.
- 765 TANIGAWA (Kotosuga): *Nihonshoki-tsûshô* (Common arguments on the *Nihongi*) (Edo, 1751–35 vol.).
- 766 TANIGUCHI (Masaharu): *Truth of Life* (Tokyo, Seicho-noie, 1961). 320 pp.
- 767 TATSUMARO ICHIKAWA: *Maga-no-hire* (A fun to expel the falsehood) about 1780. 56 pp.
- 767a TOKITSUNA MANO: *Shinka-Jôdan* (The chats of a Shintô family) (1687). TOYODA (Takeshi). Cf. TAKESHI TOYODA.
- 768 UMESAO (Tadao): *The Izumo taisha* (Chuô Koron, January 1961).
- 769 WATANABE (Baiyû): *Modern Japanese Religions: their success explained*, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XIII, 10 pp.
- 770 WOODWARD (William P.): *Sectarian Shinto shows divergencies*, in *Japan Times*, April 12, 1963.
- 771 ——— *Shinto Shrine Association expands activities*, in *Japan Times*, Nov. 16, 1962.
- 772 ——— *The Yasukuni Shrine, Story behind Postwar Survival*, in *Japan Times*, April 20, 1962.
- 773 YAMAMOTO (Dr Nobuya): *Shintô-kôyô* (The essence of Shintô) (Tokyo, 1933).
- 774 YANO (Harumichi): *Honkyô-gakuchû*.
- 775 ——— *Yasokumade*.
- 776 *Year-book of religions* (Tokyo, Ministry of Education, 1962).
- 776a YOSHIDA (Atsuhiko): *La mythologie Japonaise* (Paris, 1963).
- 777 YOSHIDA (Kanetomo): *Yuitsu-shintô-myôhô-yôshû* (Codification of the doctrines of Shintô) (Kyoto, 1655). 2 vol.
- 778 YOSHII (Yoshihide): *Nishinomiya Ebisugami Kenkyû* (A study of the Nishinomiya Ebisu) (1935).

List and locations of prefectures in Japan. (The number after the name of each prefecture refers to the corresponding number on the map)



Aichi 17	Kagawa 36	Saga 41
Akita 4	Kagoshima 46	Saitama 12
Aomori 2	Kanagawa 14	Shiga 26
Chiba 11	Kôchi 38	Shimane 32
Ehime 39	Kumamoto 44	Shizuoka 16
Fukui 23	Kyoto 27	Tochigi 8
Fukuoka 40	Mie 24	Tokushima 37
Fukushima 7	Miyagi 6	Tokyo 13
Gifu 18	Miyazaki 45	Tottori 31
Gunma 9	Nagano 19	Toyama 21
Hiroshima 34	Nagasaki 42	Wakayama 25
Hokkaido 1	Nara 28	Yamagata 5
Hyôgo 30	Niigata 20	Yamaguchi 35
Ibaragi 10	Ôita 43	Yamanashi 15
Ishikawa 22	Okayama 33	
Iwate 3	Ôsaka 29	

ALPHABETICAL INDEX AND GLOSSARY

ALPHABETICAL INDEX AND GLOSSARY

- Abeno-jinja, Abeno-ku, Ôsaka-shi, 450
aburage (fried bean-curd), 506
Achi-jinja, Kurashiki-shi, Okayama-ken, 119
Adams (William), 200
Aë-kuni-jinja, Uëno-shi, Mië-ken, 176, 412
Afuri-jinja, Ôyama-machi, Kanagawa-ken, 200, 469, 475
Aga-jinja, Himeji-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 213, 443
Agataï-jinja, Hamamatsu-shi, Shizuoka-ken, 455
Agata-jinja, Uji, Kyôto-fu, 205, 475
Agata-nushi, 154, 443
Agata-yo-matsuri, 205, 475
age (fried bean-curd), 82
agedo (opened door), 273
age-ta (high fields), 381
Agetsu-jinja, 467
agetsurafu (to discuss), 273
Age-uma festival, 202
agu-mu (cross-legged), 343
agura (couch), 340
Aha (Island of), 257ff.
See also Awa *aha* (millet), 262
Ahaï-jinja, Naruto-shi, Tokushima-ken, 478
Aha-jinja, Tateyama-shi, Chiba-ken, 478
ahagi (*aucuba japonica*), 278
Ahagi-hara, Tsukushi, 278
Ahaji-no-shima, 257ff., 261ff., 267, 283, 413, 417, 422.
See also Awaji-shima
Aha-no-yashiro, Tateyama-shi, Chiba-ken, 478
Aha-saku-mitama (=Saruda-hiko), 357
ahé (banquet), 379
Ahira-tsu-hime, 400
Ahira-yama, Miyazagi-ken, 387
ai (to be sad), 426
aidono-no-kami (guest-kami), 107, 118, 172, 196, 245, 247, 303, 316, 360
ai-mami-eru (to see face to face), 288
Aïnu, 15, 24, 422, 436, 448
Aïsen-in-jinja, Kaga-shi, Ishikawa-ken, 206
Aïta (Bay of), 480
ajari (a master in esoteric Buddhism), 217, 519
Aji-shiki (or -suki)-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami (or -mikoto) (=Koto-shiro-nushi), 305, 328, 340f., 419, 480, 488
Aju (Siragi), 427
aka (red, resplendent), 148, 321
Aka-dake (Mount), Nagano-ken, 472
aka-dama (red, i.e. resplendent jewels), 341
Akagi-jingû, Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi-ken, 411
Akagi-san, Gunma-ken, 473, 475
akahada-ni-naru (scorched), 321
Akahito, 37
Akahito-jinja (=Yamabe-jinja), 102
Akaï-jinja, 200
akakagachi (Winter cherry), 313, 356
akaki (purity and joy), 73
Akama-jingû, Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi-ken, 134, 156, 201, 424
aka-me (*serranus marginalis*), 381
akami (all seeing), 24
Aka-oni, 493
akari (to be bright, fully ripe), 366
akaru-ki (brilliant), 291
Akaru-hime, 427
Akasaka-hikawa-jinja, Tokyo, 163
Akasaki-jinja, Onoda-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, 185
Aka-tsuchi-no-mikoto, 280, 291
[Akazuka-]suwa-jinja, Itabashi-ku, Tôkyô, 183
Aki (Hiroshima-ken), 400, 489
Akiba-gongen, Kyôto-shi, 195
Akiba-san, Shizuoka-ken, 475
Akiba-yama-hongû-akiba-jinja, Haruno-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 483f., 488
Aki-bime-no-kami, 333
Aki-guhi-[no-ushi-] no-kami, 276, 279
Aki-matsuri, 183, 185, 219
akiraka (clearly), 24
akitsu (dragon-flies), 110
Aki-tsu-mi-kami, 390, 396
Akitsu-shima, no, 405
Aki-yama-no-shita-bi-wotoko, 428
akomeôgi (a type of *shaku*), 146
aku (evil, wickedness), 77
akuma (devil), 140

- Akumi -kambe -shinmī-jinja, Toyohashi-shi, Aichi-ken, 196, 371
 Ama (Heaven), 17, 236, 238
 Amago (Narihisa), 510
amagoi (praying for rain), 482
amagoi-odori (a dance), 483
 Amahabari-jinja, Okayama-shi, 304, 924
 Ama-kushi-tsu-ô-kume, 362
 Ama-mi-musubi-no-kami, 239
 Ama-no-akaru-dama, 303f.
 Ama-no-fuki-ne-no-kami, 314
 Ama-no-hahe-kiri, 315
 Ama-no-hara (=Takama-no-hara), 291
 Ama-no-hi-sumi, 347
 Ama-no-mi-sora-toyo-aki-dzu-ne-wake, 263
 Ama-no-saka-hoko, 369
 Ama-no-shima, 262
 Amatera-shimasu-sume-ô-mi-kami
 (=Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), 62, 371
 Ama-terasu, 355
 Amaterasu-ô-hiru-me-no-mikoto (=Ama-terasu-
 -mi-kami), 286f.
 Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, 21, 26, 29ff., 39, 46,
 56, 62f., 73, 94f., 104, 111, 116, 119, 149–
 153, 155, 158, 175, 185, 196, 200, 203, 211,
 222, 236, 241, 243, 247, 260, 262, 280ff.,
 284–304, 307ff., 311, 313, 316, 324, 328,
 334–4¹, 343, 348ff., 352, 354ff., 358–61,
 370–4, 389f., 396, 398f., 402f., 405, 407,
 409–12, 440, 465ff., 471, 477, 485, 500f.,
 503, 517, 519–23, 527ff
 See also Amatera-shimasu-sume-ô-mi-
 kami, Amaterasu-ô-hiru-me-no-mikoto,
 Amaterasu-sume-ô-mi-kami, Amateru-
 mitama-no-mikoto, Dañichi -nyûraï, Hiko-
 ho-akari-no-mikoto, Ô-hiru-me-muchi-no-
 mikoto, Ô-hiru-me-no-muchi, Shinmeï,
 Tenshō-daijīn, Tenshō-kōdai-jin, Tsuki-
 sakaki-izu-no-mitama
 Amaterasu-sume-ô-mi-kami
 (=Amate-rasu-ô-mi-kami), 371
 Amateru-kuniteru-hiko-ho-akari-no-mikoto
 (=Ame-no-ho-akari-no-mikoto), 371
 Amateru-mitama-no-mikoto
 (=Amate-rasu-ô-mi-kami), 371
 Ama-tsu, 16
 Ama-tsu-futo-norito, 387
 Ama -tsu -futo-norito-goto-sumera-mikoto, 387
 Ama-tsu-haha-kami, 305
 Ama-tsu-hi-daka, 381
 Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-
 fuki[ya]-aëzu-no-mikoto (=Ugaya-fuki-
 aëzu), 386
 Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto
 (=Hiko-ho-ho-demi), 366, 387
 Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto, 437
 Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto (=
 Prince Ninigi), 337, 504
 Ama-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, 293ff.
 Ama-tsu-hi-tsugi, 361, 390, 396
 Ama-tsu-ho-tsugi, 346, 396
 Amatsu-jinja, Ichinomiya, Itoigawa-shi,
 Niigata-ken, 280, 330, 478
 Amatsu-jinja, Okayama-shi, 239
 Amatsu-jinja, Yoshikawa-machi, Hyôgo-ken,
 295
 Ama-tsu-kami, 26, 28, 232, 237, 334, 369
 Ama-tsu-[ô-]kume-no-mikoto, 362
 Ama-tsu-kuni (= Takama-no-hara), 244
 Ama-tsu-kuni-no-mikoto, 292
 Ama-tsu-kuni-tama-no-kami, 338, 340
 Ama-tsu-mara-no-kami, 301, 476.
 See also: Ma-hito-tsu-no-kami
 Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi (= Ame-no-kagase-wo),
 342
 Ama-tsu-mi-shirushi, 334
 Amatsu-ô-kami, 28
ama-tsu-tsumi (heavenly sins), 77
 Ama-tsu-udzu-udzu-shi-yatsu-nagi-no-ô-kami,
 240
 Ame (Heaven), 17, 104, 288f., 291, 313
ame (wheat-gluten), 165, 388
 Amebiki-jinja, Maizuru-shi, Kyôto-fu, 214, 479
 Ame-futa-ya, 263
 Ame-ga-shita-tsukurashishi-ô-kami
 (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 320
 Ame-hito-tsu-bashira, 262
 Ame-hito-tsu-ne, 263
 Ame-kuma-bito, 501
 Ame-kuni-nigishi-hiko-ho-no-ninigi-no-mikoto
 (=Prince Ninigi), 362
 Ame-nigishi-kuni-nigishi-ama-tsu-hi-daka-
 hiko-[hiko-ho-no-] ninigi-no-mikoto, 354
 (=Prince Ninigi)
ame-no, 16, 240, 253
 Ame-no-akaru-tama-no-mikoto, 152
 Ame-no-fuki-ne-no-mikoto, 152
 Ame-no-fuki-wo-no-mikoto, 264
 Ame-no-fukube, 268
 Ame-no-fuyu-kinu-no-kami, 317, 405

- Ame-no-gawa, 468
 Ame-no-hahakiri-no-tsurugi
 (=Futsu-no-mitama), 315
 Ame-no-hashidate, 254
 Ame-no-hashidate-jinja, Yosa-gun, Kyôto-fu,
 46
 Ame-no-hashira, 257, 286
 Ame-no-hato-bune, 343
 Ame-no-hazuchi-wo-no-kami, 304
 Ame-no-hibara-ô-shina-do-mi-no-kami, 266
 Ame-no-hi-boko, 413, 427, 477
 Ame-no-hitane-no-mikoto, 457
 Ame-no-hiwashi-no-mikoto (or no-kami), 104,
 304
 Ame-no-ho-akari-no-mikoto, 368, 371
 Ame-no-hohi-no-mikoto, 293ff., 336f., 347,
 349, 485
 Ame-no-itane-no-mikoto, 203
 Ame-no-iwa-fune, 253
 Ame-no-iwa-kura, 361
 Ame-no-iwa-to-wake-no-kami, 359
 Ame-no-iwa-ya (or -to), 151, 300, 341f.
ame-no-iwa-yugi, 362
 Ame-no-kagase-wo, 342, 467.
 See also Ama-tsu-mika-hoshi, Hoshi-no-
 kami Kagase-wo
 Ame-no-kago (or -kagu)-yama-no-mikoto, 196,
 203, 457
 Ame-no-kaku-no-kami, 341
 Ame-no-kana-yama, 301
 Ame-no-koyane-hime-no-mikoto, 438
 Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto, 94, 224, 301–4,
 308ff., 352f., 359.
 See also Ama-tsu-koyane
 Ame-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami, 265
 Ame-no-kura-do-no-kami, 266
 Ame-no-ma-hito-tsu-no-kami (or -no-mikoto),
 301, 304
 Ame-no-mana-wi, 292
 Ame -no-[mi-] hashira (-no-mikoto) 258, 491
 Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, 265, 371, 479
 Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami
 (or-sumera-mikoto), 29f., 63, 68, 90, 149,
 219, 223, 234, 236–40, 242f., 245, 250, 307,
 325, 358, 371, 373, 389, 398, 467, 503, 508,
 523.
 See also Ô-amaterasu-ô-mi-kami
 Ame-no-murakumo-no-tsurugi
 (=Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi), 152, 316
 Ame-no-nuka-do-no-mikoto, 302
 Ame-no-oshi-hi-no-mikoto, 362
 Ame-no-oshi-hito-no-mikoto, 386
 Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto, 291 ff.,
 335ff., 354f., 359f., 370, 405, 438.
 See also: Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayabi-
 ame-no-oshi-mimi-no-mikoto, Masa-ya-
 a-katsu-katsu-no-haya-hi-ama-no-oshi-ho-
 ne-no-mikoto, Masa-y-a-a-katsu-k-atsu-no-
 kachi-bi-ame-no-ne-no-mikoto, Wakigo
 Ame-no-oshi-koro-wake, 262
 Ame-no-oshi-kumo-ne-no-mikoto, 224
 Ame-no-oshi-wo, 263
 Ame-no-sade-yori-hime, 262
 Ame-no-sa-dzuchi-no-kami, 265
 Ame-no-sa-giri-no-kami, 266, 328, 471
 Ame-no-sagu-me, 339
 Ame-no-shita, 286, 329ff.
 Ame-no-tajikara-wo-no-kami, 211, 302, 304,
 308, 359, 372, 482
 Ame-no-take-chi, 301, 351
 Ame-no-tanabata-hime (= Tanabata), 304, 467
 Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 235, 239, 245f.,
 250
 Ame-no-tomi-no-mikoto, 478
 Ame-no-tori-bune (-no-kami)
 (celestial bird-boat), 266, 347, 358
 Ame-no-tsudohe-chi-ne-no-kami, 317
 Ame-no-uhaharu, 482
 Ame-no-uki-hashii, 253, 336, 361, 363
 Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto, 28, 175, 285, 289,
 302, 305, 307f., 355–9, 397, 463, 496, 507.
 See also: Miya-bi-no-kami, Ô-ichi-hime,
 Ô-miya-hime, Ô-yama-hime, Sarume-no-
 kimi
 Ame-no-wo-ha-bari, 270
 Ame-no-yasu (or -yasu)-kawa (or -no-kawa),
 271, 292, 337, 341
 Ame-shiru-karu-mizu-hime, 332, 470, 498
 Ame-toyo-takara-ikashi-hi-tarashi-hime
 (Empress), 420.
 See also Kôgyoku-tennô, Saimeï-tennô
 Ame-waka-hiko, 31, 328, 336, 338ff., 342
 Ame-yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata-hime (=
 Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-tzu-shi-hime), 355
 Ame-yuzuru-hi-ame-no-sagiri-kuni-yuzuru-
 tsuki-kumino-sagiri-no-mikoto, 239
 Amida-nyorai (= Tsuki-yomi), 466
 Ana (Ferry of), between Moji and
 Shimo-noseki, 414
ana-dama (celestial jewels), 341

- Anaba-jinja O-mi-shima, Ehime-ken, 366
 Anaho-jinja, Ôtsu-shi, Shiga-ken, 412, 415
 Anamori-inari-jinja, Ôta-ku, Tokyo, 508
 Ananaï-kyô, 468, 522
 Anesaki (Masaharu), 241, 269, 305, 324, 364, 371
 Anesaki-jinja, Anesaki-machi, Chiba-ken, 491
 Ankan-tenno, 419
 Anneï-tennô, 408
 Antoku-tennô, 29, 201, 223, 413, 423f.
ao (or *awo*) (blue or green), 148
ao-hito-gusa (human beings growing like green grass), 59, 399
aoï (hollyhock), 204, 510
 Aoi-matsuri (various), 130, 201, 204
ao-kaki (green fence), 331
 Aomi-jinja, Kamo-shi, Niigata-ken, 204, 442
ao-nigi-te (fine blue cloth), 301, 304, 310
aori-ita (architectural element), 112f.
 Aoshima-jinja, Aoshima, Miyazaki-shi, 134f., 171, 195, 351, 387, 472
ara (rough), 61
arabi (unruly, waste and wild), 330, 495
araburu (savage), 27, 337, 340
 Ara-ebisu, 512
ara-gaki (fence), 97
ara-haka (first burial), 62
arahani-goto (public matters), 347
ara-imi (rough abstinence), 169
 Ara-kami (=Susano-wo-no-mikoto), 318
 Arakawa-jinja, Himeji, Hyôgo-ken, 478
 Arakawa river, Aïchi-ken, 206, 208
 Arakawa river, Saitama-ken and Tokyo-to, 130, 192, 214, 318
arake-ru (to vanish away), 277
araki (savage), 383
 Araki (General Sadao), 393
 Arakida (H.), 24
 Araki-jinja, Kokufu-mura, Gifu-ken, 479
 Araki-jinja, Niiyama-mura, Shizuoka-ken, 295
 Ara-matsuri, 214
ara-mitama (rough spirit), 61–64, 120, 148, 198f., 281, 293, 352, 372f., 410, 422f., 429, 431, 439, 466, 471
ara shine (a type of rice), 173
arare (hailstorm), 210
 Arasaka, Shimane-ken, 402
ara-tahe (rough hempen cloth), 174, 204
arataka (marvellous), 512
arawareru (manifestation), 442
are-maseru (were born), 234, 236
areru (existence), 442
 Ariga-jinja, Uchihara-mura, Ibaragi-ken, 130, 353
 Ariga-saï, 130
 Arima, Izumo, 269
aru (to appear), 61
asa-gutsu (a type of clogs), 145
asa-hi (morning sun), 363
 Asahigamori, 203
asa-kuma (a winding stream), 475
 Asakura (Mount), Kôchi-ken, 121
 Asakura-jinja, Kôchi-shi, 121, 140, 221, 305, 420, 491, 493, 509
 Asakusa, Tokyo, 104, 222
 Asakusa-hachiman-sha, Tokyo, 467
 Asakusa-jinja, Tokyo, 184, 204f
 Asama (Mount), 474f.
asama (-yama) (volcano), 475
 Asama-jinja, Ichi-no-miya-machi, Yama-nashi-ken, 200, 475
 Asama-jinja, Konuma, Nagano-ken, 365, 475
 Asama-jinja, Shizuoka-shi, 470
 Asama-jinja (various), 474f.
 Asamine-jinja, Nagaoka-gun, Kôchi-ken, no, 121, 475
 Asano (-takumi) (Lord), 456
 Asano-jinja, 247
 Asayama-hachiman-gû, Izumo-shi, Shimane-ken, 98
ashi (foot, leg), 272ff., 310
ashi (hand), 315
ashi (pillar), 97
ashi (reed), 257
ashi-barahe (or *-harai*) (purification of evil), 79
 Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni, 231, 275, 288, 330
 Ashi-hara-shiko-wo [or no-ô] -no-kami (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 319, 350
ashi-kabi (reed-shoot), 246
 Ashikaga clan, 425
 Ashikaga period (1335–1573), 187, 449f.
ashiki (wicked, malignant), 342, 501
 Ashiki-kami, 27
ashi-kirahi-mono (things abhorrent of calamity), 310
 Ashi-nazu-chi-no-mikoto, 97, 313, 315, 317f., 405
 Ashi-nazu-te-nazu, 313
ashi-ura (foot-divination), 384
 Aso (Mount), Kumamoto-ken, 121, 213

- Aso family, 135
asobi (entertainment), 183
asobi (spiritual exercises), 88
 Aso-jinja, Ichi-no-miya-machi, Kuma-moto-ken, 117f, 120, 135, 140, 184, 213, 232, 407, 408
 Aso-matsuri, 213
asome (very pure woman), 139
 Asotsu-hime-no-mikoto, 407
 Asuha-jinja, Fukui-shi, 419
 Asuha-no-kami, 332, 497
 Asusuki-jinja, Ayabe-shi, Kyôto-fu, 243
 Ata (Princess of), 364, 403
 Atago (Mount), Kyôto-fu, 214, 485
 Atago-hanazono-jinja, 484
 Atago-jinja, Isurugi-machi, Toyama-ken, 201, 204, 484
 Atago-jinja, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 415, 469
 Atago-jinja, Ukyô-ku, Kyôto-shi, 213, 476
 Atago-jinja, Yuzawa-shi, Akita-ken, 178, 484
 Atahe (or Atai) of Yamato, 464
 Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime (=Kono-hana-sakuya-hime), 367
 Ata-no-nagaya, 363
 Ata-tsu-hime (= Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime), 355
atsumeru (to gather), 321
 Atsuta, Aichi-ken, 316
 Atsuta-jingû, Nagoya-shi, Aichi-ken, 62, 96, 106f., 114, 118f., 122, 128f., 133, 136, 154, 163, 171, 180, 184, 202, 205, 216, 232, 316, 325, 358, 371, 373, 398, 402, 415, 421, 448, 450, 458, 478, 497, 499, 504, 509
 Atsuta-no-[ô]-kami (= Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi), 106
 Aun-no-kokyu, 223
 Awa (Island of), 259, 330, 333.
 See also Aha
awa (millet), 499
awabi (sea-shell), 121
awa-gara (millet-stalk), 330
 Awaji-shima, Hyôgo-ken, 17, 64, 120, 122, 136, 180, 198, 255f., 329, 366, 422, 526.
 See also Ahaji-no-shima
 Awa-nagi-no-kami, 252, 264
 Awa-nami-no-kami, 264
 Awa-shima-jinja, Tokyo, 259
 Awata-jinja, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi, 195, 295, 318
awa-yuki (melting snow), 290, 327
 Awoba-jinja, Sendai-shi, Miyagi-ken, 219, 452
awo-hiye (bamboo-knife), 368
 Awo-kashiki-ne-no-mikoto, 252
 Ayabe, Kyôto-fu, 190, 522
 Aya-kashiko-ne-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 235f, 249, 251
ayashiki (evil), 337
 Ayato-hime-no-mikoto, 328
ayu (trout), 430
 Ayuchi, 316
 Azaka, 357
 Azechi-no-tsubone, 423
aze-nawa (division ropes), 297
 Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1598), 452
 Azuki (Island), 263
azuki (red beans), 165, 263, 472
azuma-asobi (a dance), 175, 486
 Azuma-asobi-no-gi, 398
 Azuma-kagami, 152
 Azumamaro-jinja, Fushimi-ku, Kyôto-shi, 455
 Azumi (chiefs of), 282

ba (horse), 102
bachi (Divine punishment), 79
bagite (flayed), 328
baïro (a dance), 175
 Bajoö-yaku, 201
bakemono (spirits possessed of evil powers), 27
 Bakufu, 448
ban-shin (imported Deity), 30
 Bara-bara-shingyo, 56
 Batônin, 201
batsu (Divine punishment), 79
be (guild), 302, 386, 413, 433
-be or *-he* (in composition, indicative of the feminine), 249, 490
bekka (a fire), 486
bekkaku-kampeï-sha, 127
bekkû (a temple), 107, 114, 129, 203, 351
 Bekkwa family, 485
 Benkeï, 211
 Benten-san, 56, 513
beppyô-jinja (a category of temples), 128
betsugû (a category of temples), 81, 351
bettô (a priest), 141, 459, 519
bettô-ji (Buddhist temple), 46
bi (beauty), 393
 Bichû, Okayama-ken, 400
 Bidatsu-tennô, 420
 Bingo, (Okayama-ken), 38, 400

- Bingo-fudoki, 38, 289
 Bishamon, 512, 514
biwa (a string instrument) 514
 Biwa (Lake), 174, 350, 474
biyakke (an umbrella), 183
 Bizen, Okayama-ken, 400
 Bôfu-ten-man-gû, Bôfu-shi, Yamaguchi-ken,
 221, 338
bokusen (divination), 180
 Bon-matsuri, 208
 Boshita-matsuri, 217
bôsô (a bird), 104
 Bôsô Peninsula, Chiba-ken, 415
bu (military spirit), 202, 446
bu-den (temporary stage), 114
bugaku (a style of music and dancing), 169,
 175f., 221
bukki (mourning), 76, 167
buku (mourning), 76, 167
bun (culture), 446
 Bungo-fudoki, 38
bun-rei, 91, 122–5, 128, 130, 174, 187, 202,
 243, 277, 281ff., 325, 344f., 350, 353, 373,
 407. 435, 437, 483
bun-sha (a type of temple), 122, 129f.
bun-shin (fractional body), 28
 Buretsu-tennô, 419.
 See Muretsu-tennô *busha* (archery contest),
 180
 Busha-saï, 507
bushidô (an ethical code), 202, 448
butsu-dan, 460
 Buzen-fudoki, 38
 Byakkô-kôseikai, 523
 Byaku-ryô-ten-sachi-bi-mitama-no-ô-kami, 148
-byô (a title for a temple), 128
byôbu (folding screen), 208
 Byôbu-matsuri, 208
 Byôdô-in, Uji-shi, Kyôto-fu, 205

 Chagu-chagu-umako, 206
 Chan-chan-matsuri, 177, 198
chi (blood), 270
chi (knowledge, wisdom), 154
chi (milk), 386
chi (miscanthus reeds), 192
 Chiba, 121, 180
 Chiburi-no-kami, 495
 Chiburi-no-shima, 262
 Chichibu, Saïtama-ken, 214
 Chichibu-jinja, Chichibu-shi, Saïtama-ken, 162,
 223, 279, 360, 448, 453
 Chichibu-yo-matsuri, 223
chië-mairi (worship for wisdom), 165
 Chien-shin 462f.
 Chi-gaheshi-no-tama, 335
chigaya (a reed), 192
 Chi-gayeshi-no-ô-kami (= Yomo-tsu-hira-saka),
 276
chigi (cross-beam), 111ff., 406
 Chigo-kurai-morai, 209
 Chigo-san, 192, 209f.
chihaya-buru (violent), 337
chi-haya-hi-bahama (a dance), 176
 Chika, 263
 Chika-tsu-afumi, 332
chiko (handsome), 319
 Chikugo-fudoki, 38
 Chikugo-gawa, Fukuoka-ken, 203
chikura-okido (a thousand tables), 310
 Chikuri-hachiman-gu, Kita-Shigeyasu-mura,
 Saga-ken, 217
 Chikuzen-fudoki, 38
chimaki (sweets), 211
 Chimata-no-kami, 279, 356, 496
chin (to pacify), 85
 Chin-eki-saï, 196
 Chinju-no-kami, 462
 Chinju-sama, 437
chinju-sha (a temple), 46
 Chinka-saï, 201
chin-kôn (pacifying of the spirit), 79f., 85, 88,
 90, 306, 334
 Chin-kôn-saï, 88f, 177, 396, 399
 Chinkwa-saï, 186
chi-no-wa (a ring of *chi*), 192f., 213
 Chinu, 402
chi-omo (wet-nurse), 386
 Chion-ji, 46
 Chi-shiki-no-ô-kami (= Izanami), 276
 Chiwa-kuguri, 192
chôchin (a lantern), 209, 215
 Chôfu, Yamaguchi-ken, 383, 456
chôgin (a coin), 513
 Chôkei-tennô, 425
 Chôkoku-ji, 46
choku (uprightness), 142
chokusai-sha (a type of temple), 49, 128, 142
chokushi (Imperial messenger), 128f., 396
chôna (adze), 195

- Chôna-hajime-saï, 195
 Chôraku-ji, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi, 195
 Chôsokabe, no *chôzu-bachi* (stone water-vessel), 100
 Chûai-tennô, 122, 128, 154, 214, 415, 426–9, 431f., 435, 437, 480, 493
 Chûgoku (District), 97
 Chu Hsi, 47, 520
 Chûkyô-tennô, 396
chû-môn (a gate), 107
chû-saï (a type of matsuri), 182
chûsha (a type of temple), 127
- daï* (great, greatness), 127, 393
 Daï-aku-tennô (=Yû-riyaku-tennô), 419
 Daian-ji, Nara-shi, 429
 Daï-bosatsu, 56
 Daï-butsum, 46, 437
 Daï-cha-kaï, 393
daïfuku-chô (an account-book), 513
 Daigen-kyû, 191, 232
 Daigo-tennô, 175, 423, 446
daï-gûji (a high-priest), 133f.
daï-gûji (a shake), 141
daï-hanna-kyô (a style of worship), 509
 Daï-jingû, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, 216, 373
 Daï-jingû, Gishiki-chô, 503
 Daïjô-e, 176, 178
 Daïjô-saï, 171f, 177, 396f., 399, 421
 Daikoku, 350, 508, 511, 513
daikoku-bashira (a pillar), 258
 Daikyô-in, 373
 Daï-kyô-saï, 193
daïmyô (a noble), 457
daïmyô-gyôretsu (a parade), 207
 Daï Nankô (=Kusunoki (Masashige)), 205, 449
 Daïnichi-nyôdraï (=Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), 371
 Daï-nihon-shi, 454
daïri-bina (a set of dolls), 197
 Daïri-jinja, Toyohata Mura, Shiga-ken, 421
 Daïri-sama, 197
 Daïryu-ji, Kamoya-mura, Tokushima-ken, 445
 Daitô-matsuri, 223
 Dajô-daijin (=Morokata Fujiwara), 445
 Dajôkan, 49, 125
 Dakiniten, 508f.
 Dango-matsuri, 223
 Danjiri-matsuri, 216
 Dankyô-jinja, Sayama, Shimane-ken, 216
danna (a devotee), 134
- Dan-no-ura, between Fukuoka-ken and Yamaguchi-ken, 202, 413, 423, 448
 Danzan-jinja, Sakurai-shi, Nara-ken, 127, 444
dashi (float), 178f.
 Date (Masamune), 452
 Dazaifu-ten-man-gû, Dazaifu-machi, Fukuoka-ken, 29, 45, 50, 56, 106, 119, 122, 133, 135, 163, 188, 447, 464
 Dazaikandaishi, 369
 Deguchi (Nao), 522
 Deguchi (Onisaburô), 358, 522
dengaku (a type of matsuri), 175, 183
dengaku (a type of music), 184, 204
dengaku-hôshi (players of *dengaku*), 184
 Dewa-san-dzan, Yamagata-ken, 28, 50f., 77, 96, 102, 105, 121, 140, 208, 243, 265, 271, 279, 283, 332, 353, 358, 374, 448, 453, 459, 467, 469f., 478ff, 484, 489, 492, 496–9, 504, 508, 519
 Dodo-ichizen-no-kami, 458
dôji-dôsho (same time, same place), 238
dôjô (a hall), 89
dôkwa-seï (assimilative nature), 74
 Dô-kyô (Ô-tera-no-bosan), 46, 105, 316, 445
dondoku-bune (the thirteen boats), 213
 Dondo-matsuri, 195
dondo-yaki (to burn vigorously), 194, 488
 Dondoyaki (or Dontoyaki), 194
 Dô-rin, 211
 Dôroku-jin, 496
doryoku (effort), 73
 Dôso-jin, 358, 496
 Dôso-jinja, Saë-no-miya, Miyagi-ken, 496
 Dôsojin-jinja (various), 497
 Dôzoku-shin, 461, 463
- ebi* (lobster), 173
 Ebishima-jinja, 496
 Ebisu, 63, 72, 120, 260, 329, 344, 465, 511ff.
 Ebisu-jinja, Hama-chô, Ôita-shi, 513
 Ebisu-jinja, Wakamatsu, Fukuoka-ken, 223, 371, 469, 513
 Ebisu-jinja, Nishinomiya-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 511f.
 Ebisu-jinja (various), 511f.
 Ebisu-no-kami, 511f.
eboshi (a headgear), 145, 167, 513
 Edo (=Tokyo), 161, 214
 Edo era (1603–1868), 49, 75, 200, 204, 214, 475
 Egara-jinja, Kamakura-shi, Kanagawa-ken, 134, 369

- ehô-mairi* (a visit to a temple), 160
 Eisei-jinja, Himeji-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 453
ema (picture of a horse), 101
ema-den (hall for *ema*), 114
e-maki-mono (a scroll), 447
 Engi era (898–930), 38, 423
 Engi-shiki, 35, 38f, 72, 100f., 118, 127, 133, 232, 243, 395, 423, 464, 496, 503
 Enjuan-zakki, 24
ennichi (auspicious day), 160
 En-no-gyôya, 211
 Enoshima, Kanagawa-ken, 115, 373, 477
 Enoshima-jinja, Enoshima, Kanagawa-ken, 50, 136, 206
 Entoku-in, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi, 195
en-tô (*no-*) *oke* (collection-box), 81
en-tô (*no-*) *oke* (salt-water-box), 81
 Enzan (river), 212
 Enzan Benzaiten, Higashiyama-kti, Kyôto-shi, 195
 Eshiki, 411
 E-shima, Awajishima (Hyôgo-ken), 255
ettenraku (a type of music accompanied by dancing), 175
 Ezo (=Hokkaido), 449
- fuchi-koma* (piebald colt), 297, 299
 Fudô, 512
 Fudô-iwa, Kumamoto-ken, 472
 Fudoki, 38 *et passim*
fuë (a flute), 176
 Fufudo-san, 492
 Fû-fu-rocks, Mië-ken, 300, 466
 Fuha-no-moji-ku-nu-su-nu-no-kami, 317, 405
 Fuigo-matsuri, 487, 506, 508
 Fuji (Mount) or Fuji-san, 77, 129, 317, 466, 472–5, 483, 487, 519
 Fuji-asama-jinja, Koyama-machi, Suntô-gun, Shizuoka-ken, 475
 Fuji-kami, 473
 Fuji-kô, 473f.
 Fuji-matsuri, 201
 Fujinami-jinja, Kibi-machi, Wakayama-ken, 270
 Fujinomiya (Keïko), 154
 Fuj isaki-hachiman-gu, Ikawabuchi-machi, Kumamoto-shi, 64, 281
 Fujisan-hongû-sengen-jinja, Fujinomiya-shi, Shizuoka-ken, 110, 129, 184, 474, 487
 Fujisawa (Prof. Chikao), 15, 67f., 154, 241, 246
 Fuji-sengen-jinja, Fuji-yoshida-shi, Ya-manashi-ken, 369, 475, 487
 Fujishima (Battle of), 449
 Fujishima-jinja, Fukui-shi, 449
 Fujita (Tôko), 454
 Fujiwara clan, 224, 303, 444
 Fujiwara (Hidesato), 445
 Fujiwara (Hirosugu), 444
 Fujiwara (Kamatari), 444
 Fujiwara (Momokawa), 445
 Fujiwara (Sugane), 446
 Fujiwara (Sukemitsu), 444
 Fujiwara (Takahira), 38
 Fujiwara (Takekuhi), 519
 Fujiwara (Tokihira), 38, 446
 Fujiwara (Uona), 444
fujô-bardi (a purification ceremony), 77
 Fuka-fuchi-no-mizu-yare-hana-no-kami, 317, 405
 Fukayama-hachiman-sha, 467
fuki (colt's foot), 82
fuki-dasu (to well out), 306
fuki-nasu (to blow forth), 280
 Fukko Shintô, 517
fuku (happiness), 514
 Fukuji (Mount), Suruga, 472
fukumu (to contain), 306
 Fukuno-machi, Toyama-ken, 372
 Fukuoka, 131, 282
 Fukura, 261, 423
fukuro (bag), 321
 Fukurokuju, 514
funa, fune or *-bune* (boat), 211, 257, 314, 328f., 343, 377
 Funa-dama, 483
 Funadama-matsuri, 214
 Funado-hime-no-kami-no-yashiro, 496
 Funado-no-kami, 266, 275f., 351, 495f.
 Funado-sahe, 181
 Funa-hoko, 211
funa-kurdbe (boat-races), 178, 220, 223
 Funaoka-tai-sai, 220
 Funa-tama-no-kami, 481
 Funatsuka-yama, Miyazaki-ken, 400
fune, Cf. *funa* Funu-dzu-nu-no-kami, 317
furi (to attach), 88
furi (to wash), 292
furi, furu (to increase), 488
furu (ascetic exercises), 88
 Furuaki-no-kami, 419

- furube* (balance), 84
 Furu-goto (=Kogoshûi), 37
 Furu-koto-bumi (=Kojiki), 35
 Furu-koto-fumi (=Kujiki), 37
 Furumine-jinja (various), 415
furuta-nuki (old badger), 452
fusa-wazu (not adequate), 260
fusha (metropolitan temple), 127
fushi (shrub, branches), 93
 Fushi-ikazuchi, 274
 Fushimi-inari-taisha, Fushimi-ku, Kyôto-shi,
 40, 126, 128, 133, 184f., 200, 212, 266,
 357f., 444, 487, 502, 504, 506ff, 510
 Fushimi-shô, Kyôto-fu, 451
 Fusô-kyô, 516, 519, 524
fusuma (coverlet), 327, 361, 385
 Futa-go, 263
 Futa-i-jima, Yamaguchi-ken, 462
 Futami, Mië-ken, 115
 Futami-Hutami-okitama-jinja, 356
 Futami-jinja, 247
 Futami-okitama-jinja, Futami-machi,
 Watarai-gun, Mië-ken, 502
 Futamoto-no-mikoto, 247
 Futa-na [-no-shima], 262, 266, 509
 Futara-san-jinja, Nikkô-shi, 27, 129, 201, 341
 Futara-san-jinja, Utsunomiya-shi, Tochigi-ken
 350, 413
 Fute-mimi-no-kami, 317
futo-mani (a type of divination), 180, 260
futo-mitegura (grand august offerings), 302
futo-norito-goto, 302
 Futo-no-yasumaro-no-ason, 36
 Futo-tama-jinja, Kihoku-machi,
 Kago-shima-ken, 478
 Futo-tama-no-mikoto, 37, 94, 301, 303f., 308f.,
 359f., 478
 Futsu-mitama-no-tsurugi or Futsu-no-mitama,
 60, 198, 315, 340.
 See also: Kara-no-kami, Mika-futsu-no-
 kami, Orochi-no-ara-masa, Orochi-no-kara-
 sa-bi, Saji-futsu-no-kami
 Futsu-nushi-no-kami, 81, 130, 271f., 336, 342,
 347, 351ff., 360, 398, 463, 467, 528
fuyu (spiritual exercises), 88
fuyu (to touch), 488
 Fuyu-matsuri, 171, 195

ga or *ka* (scents), 467
gagaku (a type of music), 114, 175f.
- gai-rai-kôn* (a great soul), 88
 Gakubu, 175
gaku-za (a priest), 141
gama-ishi (toad-stone), 477
 Gama-mi-wake, 426
gan-gake (offering a prayer), 156
ganji (a drum-player), 213
garyôhin (a dance), 175
 Gassan-jinja (various), 467
gâyû-kayu (a paste of rice and red beans), 181
gejôraku (a dance), 175
 Gekû-ho, 239
 Gemmiô-tennô, 36, 504
 Gempon sôgen-shintô, 520
gempuku (a ceremony), 105, 165
 Gengenshû, 305
 Gengis-khan, 449, 491
 Genji (=Minamoto clan), 202, 208, 413, 435
genkaï (human world), 85
 Genkaïnada, 439
 Genroku era (1688–1703), 200
 Gensen, Korea, 431
gen-shiki (a ceremony), 105
 Genshi-saï, 370, 398
 Genshō-tennô, 422
 Genwa-no-embu (Genwa era) (1615–1623), 452
genzai-shin (kamified man), 26, 30
 -*gi* (wood), 93
gi-betto (a shake), 141
 Giji-den, 42
 Gikô (= Mitsukuni Tokugawa), 454
 Gikyo-dai-myôjin (= Yoshitsune Mina-moto),
 449
gin-go-zô (a statue), 222
 Ginteki-ô-sho, 458
 Gion-jinja, Takada-shi, Niigata-ken, 206, 208
 Gion-matsuri, 179, 205–8, 212, 325
 Gion-san, 209
 Gion-tai-saï, 207
gion-zukuri (a type of architecture), 109f.
gishiki-den (a hall), 114
gô (a section of the ascent of a sacred
 mountain), 473
 Gobusho, 503
 Godaigo-tennô, 52, 196, 424, 449
gogyô (cotton weed), 82
gohei (an instrument for purification), 116f.,
 120, 190
gôï (agreement), 157
 Goï (Masahisa), 157, 523

- gojô* (5 virtues), 70
 Gojô-tenjin-sha, Daitô-ku, Tokyo, 191, 349, 447
 Gokoku-jinja (various), 202, 456
gokû (food offered to the Kami), 172
gokû-za (parishioners), 172
gokû-za-shake (parishioners), 141, 172
gon-den (building for housing the *mikoshi*), 124
gongen (incarnation), 46
 Gongen-yama, Hikodake, Kumamoto-ken, 472
gongen-zukuri (a style of architecture), 109f
gon-gûji (a priest), 133, 143 *et passim*
gon-negi (a priest), 133
gon-seikar (a degree), 142
 Go-ô-jinja, Kyôto-shi, 105, 127, 198, 445
go-ô-no-shimpu (a picture of Yatagarasu), 444
 Go-ô-shinji, 39
goraito (a view of the sunrise from a sacred mountain), 473
gorin (5 great ethical principles), 70
-goro (condensed), 256
goryô (mausoleum), 430
 Goryô-e, 208
 Goryô-jinja (various), 421f
 Goryô-saï, 388
gosaijin (a Kami enshrined in a temple), 118, 129
 Go-sanjô-tennô, 217
gosechi-no-mai (a dance), 176
gôsha (regional temple), 127, 243
goshiki-ban (banners), 116, 149
 Go-shimpô, 397
go-shintai or *shintai*, 28, 49f., 62, 119–123, 125, 158, 199, 240, 318, 349, 352, 439, 472, 478, 480, 503
 Go-shirakawa-tennô, 423, 448
 Go-taïro, 452
 Go-tô, 263
 Gotoba-tennô, 201, 424
 Go-tsuchi-mikado-tennô, 425
 Goyô-saï, 205
gozen (a wife of the lord), 120
 Gozen valley, Kyôto-to, 507
 Gozu-tennô (= Susano-wo-no-mikoto), 49, 325, 489
-gû (a type of temple), 128
guhi (integration), 249
gûji (high-priest), 134ff. *et passim*
 Gundari-jinja (various), 415
gyô (mental and spiritual training), 80, 85
gyôjya (ascete), 508
 Gyôkyô, 429
gyu-o (a picture of Yatagarasu), 444
ha (feather), 322, 329
ha (obstacle to happiness), 179
ha (sect), 514
 Ha-akaru-tama, 290.
 See also;
 Kushia-karu-tama-no-mikoto
 Habu-jinja, Narita-shi, Chiba-ken, 476
ha-buki (heavenly bellows), 303
hachi (wasp), 322
 Hachi-dai-ôji, 295
 Hachiko-no-ôji-no-kami, 140, 420
 Hachiman, 46, 55f., 110, 123, 149, 198, 216f., 398, 426, 433–8, 445f.
 Hachiman-akita-jinja, Akita-shi, Akita-ken, 202, 432, 435, 457
 Hachiman-asami-jinja, Beppu, Oita-ken, 123, 135, 139, 435, 493
 Hachiman Daihosatsu, 39
 Hachiman-gû, Fujisaki, Kumamoto-ken, 217, 435, 437
 ,, Fukura, 136, 198, 435
 ,, Hakozaiki, Fukuoka-ken, 432
 ,, Hase, Saëki-shi, Ôita-ken, 458
 ,, Kado-mura, Iga-gun, Nagano-ken, 223
 ,, Kagoshima-shi, 438
 ,, Osaki, Miyagi-ken, 195
 Hachiman-gû, Sakura-yama, Takayama-shi, Gifu-ken, 216, 434
 ,, ,, Shikawa-mura, Shimane-ken, 432, 435
 ,, ,, Shinzen-chô, Nagahama-shi, Shiga-ken, 200, 432, 434
 ,, ,, (various), 123, 426, 434f., 437
 Hachiman-gu-dô-kun, 426
 Hachiman-gû no Kenkyû, 426
 Hachiman-jingû, Shinjû, 220
 Hachiman-jinja, Gero-machi, 183
 ,, ,, Habu, Okayama-shi, 435
 ,, ,, Kohama-shi, Fukui-ken, 435
 ,, ,, Minami-Bunegi, Bugi-gun, Gifu-ken, 434
 ,, ,, Mino-shi, Gifu-ken, 200, 404
 ,, ,, Miya-maë, Gifu-ken, 204, 219, 434
 ,, ,, Nagahama, 435
 ,, ,, Nihonmatsu-cho, Fuku-shima-ken, 219, 434
 ,, ,, Noshiro-shi, Akita-ken, 281, 435
 ,, ,, Ogano-machi, Saitama-ken, 223, 360, 432
 ,, ,, Ôsumi-machi, Kago-shima-ken, 221, 435
 ,, ,, Sotogawa-machi, Gifu-ken, 434f.

- ,, ,, Sumoto-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 303
 ,, ,, Tobata, Fukuoka-ken, 205
 ,, ,, Tomozawa-machi, To-chigi-ken, 432, 434
 Hachiman-ô-kami, 435
 Hachiman-sha, Saëki-shi, Oi-ta-ken, 28, 435
 ,, ,, Ushikubo-machi, Aichi-ken, 198, 418f.,
 432, 434
 Hachiman temples (various), 55f., 104, 131,
 418
 Hachiman temples (various) in Sadoga-shima,
 220
 Hachiman-taisha, 126
hachiman-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
hachiman-zukuri (a style of architecture), 109f.
 Hachinohe, Aomori-ken, 215
 Hachi-no-hire, 335
 Hachi-ôji, 295
 Hachi-ôji-jinja, Nishimura-machi, Aichi-ken,
 247, 295
 Hachisaki-jinja, Hosoë-machi, Shizuoka-ken,
 271
 Hachisuka, Lord of Awa, 482
hadagi (shirt), 166
 Hadaka-matsuri, 195
 Hadzukashi-ni-masu-takami-musubi-jinja,
 Fushimi-ku, Kyôto-shi, 243
hafu (bargeboard), 112f.
hafu-mushi (creeping things), 329
hafuri (a priest), 133, 316
hagatame (stones bearing teeth-marks), 222
hagoromo (robe of feathers), 514
haha-ka (cherry-bark), 301
 Hahaki-fudoki, 38
haha-ko-gusa (cotton-weeds), 82
 Hahigi-no-kami, 332, 497
 Haibara, Nara-ken, 462
haïden (hall of worship), 107 *et passim*,
haïrei (individual worship), 157
haïshi (to enshrine), 118
haïshi (= *aidono-no-kami*), 118, 281
hajikare (to jerk off), 330
hajime (source), 258
hakama (trousers), 143, 165, 276, 279
hakamagi (a ceremony), 165
 Hakkaï, 85
 Hakko-matsuri, 216
 Hakkô-no (or -daï) -moto-tsu-bashiro, 64
hakobe (chickweed), 82
 Hakodate—hachiman-gu, Hakodate—shi,
 Hokkaido, 215, 436
 Ha-ko-kuni-nu-no-mikoto
 (=Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 245
 Hakone-jinja, Hakone-machi, Kanagawa-ken,
 96, 213, 475
 Hakozaiki-gû, Hakozaiki-machi, Fukuoka-shi,
 96, 119, 194, 435f., 476, 499
haku (white), 149
hakuchô (swan), 507
 Hakuga, 210
 Hakurakuten, 211
 Haku-san (Mount), 277
 Hakusan-gongen, 484
 Hakusan-jinja, Ichibanbori-dôri, Niigata-shi-
 215
 Hakusan-jinja, Noto-machi, Ishikawa-ken, 207
hakushu (hand-clapping), 157
 Hakuto-jinja, 321
hama-ya (an arrow), 179f.
 Ha-mori-no-kami, 492
 Han (Land of), 44, 319, 433
hana (nose), 282, 356, 500
 Hana-iwaya-jinja, Kumano-shi, Mië-ken, 324
 Hana-kaë-matsuri, 186
 Hana-matsuri, 183
hana-mi (contemplation of cherry-blossoms),
 186
 Hanashizume (-no) -matsuri, 198, 201
 Hanawo-jinja (various), Kagoshima-ken, 423,
 448
 Hanayama-jinja, Yamashina, Kyôto-shi, 487
hani (red earth, clay), 322, 348
hani-tsuchi (clay), 314
hani-wa (clay-rings), 413
 Hani-yama-hime, 268, 278, 503
 Hani-yasu-biko-no-kami, 268, 476
 Hani-yasu-bime-no-kami, 268, 476
 Hani-yasu-no-kami, 267
hannya (a mask), 177
 Hannya-shingyô, 46, 56
han-teï (half-Emperor), 396
 Hanyû-jinja, Shin-asahi-machi, Shiga-ken, 476
hara (belly), 272, 274, 501
hara (plain, moor), 236, 272
hara-ate (stomach-protector), 492
 Harada (Tasuku), 70
haraë-do (a building), 114
 Haraëdo-no-kami, 84
 Haraë-no-futo-norito-goto, 310
haraë-sha (a building), 114
harahe (expiatory fine), 289, 310

512 *Alphabetical Index and Glossary*

- harahe-tsu-mono* (ceremony of purification), 310
- harai*, or *havae*, or *-barai* (purification), 73, 79f., 84, 145, 169, 190, 310, 352
- Harai-do-no-kami*, 97, 158
- havai-gushi* (an instrument for purification), 81, 114, 116f., 150, 158f, 170, 219
- Harai-no-kami*, 280, 282
- Harai-no-kami* (=Futsu-nushi), 352
- Harai-no-miya* (former), Ise, Mië-ken, 189
- hara-kara* (brothers and sisters), 21, 364
- hara-meru* (pregnant), 384
- hara-mu* (to become pregnant), 365f.
- Harano-machi*, Fukushima-ken, 213
- Hara-no-naka-no-sumera-mikoto* (=Ôjin-tennô), 431
- hara-obi* (a girdle), 161
- Hara-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, 272, 469
- Hare*, 1971, 202
- Hari-kuyô*, 196
- Harima-fudoki*, 38, 100
- Harizuna-jinja*, Inuyama-shi, Aichi-ken, 198, 457
- haru* (spring), 184
- Haru-matsuri*, 183f, 200
- Haruna-jinja*, Haruna-machi, Gunma-ken, 476, 484
- Harunobu Takeda*, 199, 450, 457
- Haru-yama-no-kasumi-wotoko*, 428
- Hasegawa* (Takematsu), 473
- hashi* (bridge), 96, 211
- hashi* (chopsticks), 170
- hashi* (head of a jewel), 294
- hashi-dono* (roofed bridge), 107
- hashira* (pillar), 256, 352
- Hashiri-mizu*, 414
- Hashirimizu-jinja*, Yokosuka-shi, Kana-gawa-ken, 415
- Hashiro-kuma-washi*, 430
- Hashhin-den* of the Imperial Palace, 126, 242, 392, 395
- Hassho-jinja*, Munakata-machi, Fukuoka-ken, 249
- hassoku-an* (eight-legged table), 94, 116, 158, 172
- hata* (fin), 377, 501
- hata* or *wata* (field, dry field), 434, 501
- hata* or *wata* (flag), 434
- hata* or *wata* (weaving-loom), 434
- Hata clan*, 470, 507
- hata-dono* (weaving-hall), 299
- Hata-jinja*, Kume-minami-machi, Okayama-ken, 277
- Hata-no-[chôja]-jirôka*, 507
- Hata-no-jinja*, Uëno-shi, Mië-ken, 418
- hata-suzuki* (pampa-grass), 326
- hata-ya* (weaving-hall), 299
- hatsu-ho* (the first ears of rice), 185
- Hatsuka-e-sai*, 198
- Hatsu-konpira*, 195
- Hatsu-kuni-shirasu-mimaki-no-sumera-mikoto* (=Sujin-tennô), 411
- Hatsu-kuni-shirasu-sumera-mikoto* (=Jimmu-tennô), 412
- hatsu-mairi* (a visit to the temple), 160
- hatsu-miya-mairi* (an initiation), 165
- hatsu-môde* (a visit to the temple), 160
- hatsushimada* (a ceremony), 165
- Hatsu-uma-matsuri*, 506
- Hatsu-uma-môde*, 507
- Hatsu-uma-sai*, 507
- Hatsu-uma-tai-sai*, 506
- Hattori* (clan), 192
- Hattori-no-Muraji*, 240
- haya* (quick), 264
- Haya-aki-tsu-bi-no-mikoto*, 267
- Haya-aki-[tsu]-hiko-no-kami* and *Haya-aki-[tsu]-hime-no-kami* (or *no-mikoto*), 197, 264, 279, 282, 480
- Haya-busa-wake*, 416
- haya-chi* (swift wind), 340
- Haya-hi-wake*, 262
- Haya-ji*, 491
- hayama* (foot-hill), 272
- Ha-yama-hime-no-mikoto*, 471
- Ha-yama-to-no-kami*, 332f., 470f., 500
- Hayama-tsu-mi-no-kami*, 272, 469
- Haya-mika-tama-no-mikoto*, 407
- Haya-osa-hachiman-gû*, Murozumi-machi, Yamaguchi-ken, 219
- Haya-sasura-hime-no-kami*, 264
- Hayashi* (Razan), 349
- Hayashi-jinja*, Tonami-shi, Toyama-ken, 442
- Haya-suhi-nado* (channel between Ôita-ken and Ehime-ken), 278, 400
- Haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto* (=Susano-wo-no-mikoto), 287, 326
- Hayatama-matsuri*, 180
- Hayatama-no-wo*, 277, 295
- Hayatama-taisha*, Kumano, 120, 123, 128, 243, 247ff., 265, 283, 402, 413

- Haya-tsu-muji-no-kami, 491
 Heian-era (794–1192), 97, 111, 126ff., 143, 145, 161, 176, 184, 194, 200f., 204, 350, 422
 Heian-jingū, Kyōto-shi, 77, 118, 220, 422, 425
 Heian-kyō or Heian-jō (= Kyoto), 422
heiden (hall for offerings), 107, and *passim*
heihaku (offerings), 116, 174, 185
 Heike (= Taira), 202, 206, 208
heishi (a red jar), 223
 Heiwa-daï, 64
 Heiwa-no-tō, 64
 Heizei-tennō, 37
hemi-no-muroya (snake-house), 322
henro (pilgrim), 161
 Hetsu-kagami, 335
 He-tsu-kahi-bera-no-kami, 279
 He-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami, 279
 He-zakaru-no-kami, 279
hi (male), 239
hi (shuttle), 299
hi or *-bi* (Deity), 67
hi or *-bi* (light), 67, 273
hi or *-bi* (soul, spirit), 67, 94, 317
hi or *-bi* (wonderful), 67
hi or *-bi* or *-ho* (fire), 67, 149, 182, 239, 262, 272, 306
hi or *-bi* or *-mi* (sun), 22, 24, 67, 93, 104, 306, 317
 Hibarigahara, 213
 Hiba-yama (Shimane-ken), 269
 Hibino (Yutaka), 394
 Hibitsu-zukuri (a style of architecture), 109
hiburi (fire-waving), 483
hichiriki (flageolet), 176
 Hida-ichinomiya-minashi-jinja, Miya-mura, Gifu-ken, 175
hidari (left), 149
 Hidari (Jingorō), 210, 212
 Hieda-no-Are, 35f.
hiē (barnyard grass), 499
 Hieï (Mount) or Hieï-san (between Shiga-ken and Kyōto-fu), 44, 103, 217, 332, 350, 425, 475, 508, 519
 Hiē-jinja, Nagata-chō, Tokyo, 103, 204f., 247, 283, 471
 Hiē-jinja, Sakata-shi, Yamagata-ken, 204, 440
 Hiē-jinja (various), 199, 202
 Hiē-taisha, Ōtsu-shi, Shiga-ken, 55, 62, 96, 103, 110, 120, 122, 128, 136, 174, 199f., 350, 453, 470f.
- See also: Hi-yoshi-sama
hiē-zukuri (a style of architecture), 109
higan-zakura (a cherry-tree), 186, 415
 Higashi-kirishima-jinja, Kita-morogata-gun, Miyazaki-ken, 369
hige (beard), 310, 319
higi (cross-beams), 323
 Higo-fudoki, 38
 Higumo, 412
 Higurako-shima, 448
hihada-buki (shingling), 110
 Hi-haya-hi-no-kami, 271, 465
hi-hoko (sun-spear), 303
 Hii-jinja, Kizuki-machi, Shimane-ken, 342
hiiragi (a holly-tree), 189
 Hijiri-jinja, Gyōtoku, Tottori-shi, Tottori-ken, 204, 344, 369, 387
 Hijiri-jinja (various), 372
 Hijiri-no-kami, 332
 Hi-kaha-hime, 317, 405
 Hi-kawa, Shimane-ken, 312, 314, 318
 Hikawa-jinja, Nakano-ku, Tokyo, 217
 Hikawa-jinja, Ōmiya-shi, Saïtama-ken, 123, 128f., 136, 163, 175, 192, 196, 197, 200, 214, 223, 281, 318, 391, 398, 440, 486f.
hi-kiri-gine and *hi-kiri-usu* (pieces of wood for lighting a fire), 170, 222, 348, 485
 Hikiyama-matsuri, 200f.
hikizuna (a cord), 140
hiko (prince), 528 *et passim*
 Hikoboshi, 467
 Hiko-gami (= Shina-tsu-hiko), 491
 Hiko-ho-akari-no-mikoto (=Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami), 371
 Hiko-ho-ho-demi (= Jimmu-tennō), 400
 Hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto, 151, 195, 282, 295, 308, 351, 363, 366f., 370, 375–86, 400, 405, 472, 529.
 See also: Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto, Sora-tsu-hi-daka, Sora-tsu-hiko, Yama-no-sachi-hiko
 Hiko-ho-no-ninigi (= Prince Ninigi), 368, 405
hikoji (husband), 385
 Hiko-jima, Yamaguchi-ken, 202
hiko-miko (male Kami), 295
 Hiko-miko-no-kami, 407
 Hiko-nagisa-take-ugaya-fuki-aezu-no-mikoto (=Ugaya-fuki-aezu), 131
 Hiko-sashiri- (or sajiri-) no-kami, 304, 403, 492
 Hiko-zuru-hime, 452

- hi-machi* (waiting for the sun), 466
 Hi-matsuri, 182, 485, 487f.
 Hime (Island of), 263, 417
 Hime-gami or Hime-ô-kami, 16, 122, 355, 371, 426, 434f., 438, 457, 491
 Hime-goso-jinja (various), 427, 477
hime-miko (female Kami), 295
 Hime-miko-no-kami, 120
 Hime-tatara-i-suzu (or -i-suke-yori)-hime-no-mikoto, 333, 404f.
 See also: I-suzu-hime
hime-ya (wedge), 322
 Himiko (Queen), 434
himo-gatana (stiletto), 382
himoro (esoteric), 94
himorogi (place for rituals), 93, 158, 171, 212, 373, 397
himorogi (sacred tree), 94, 121, 123, 201, 209, 352, 359f., 493
 Himuka-fudoki, 38
 Himuka-jinja, Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto, in, 129, 136, 220, 239, 358, 369, 469, 471f., 513
 Himuka-no-ye, 369
 Himure-hachiman-gû, Ômi-hachiman-shi, Shiga-ken, 200, 432, 435, 488
 Himuro-jinja, Tenri-shi, Nara-ken, 136, 418
hina (doll), 197
 Hinako-naishinnô, 425
 Hina-matsuri, 197
 Hina-rashi-bime, 328
 Hi-no-haya-hi-no-kami (or -no-mikoto), 271, 294, 342
 Hino-jinja, Takeo-shi, Fukui-ken, 419
 Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami (= Ho-no-musubi), 266
 Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami (= Ho-no-musubi), 266, 405
 Hi-no-kami (= Ho-no-musubi), 393, 484
hinoki (a cypress), 93, 110, 116, 145f., 174, 190, 218, 313, 397, 485, 493
 Hinokuma, Kii, 302
 Hi-no-kuma-kunikakasu-jingu, Waka-yama-shi, Wakayama-ken, 303, 360
 Hi-no-kuma-no-kami, 303
 Hi-no-mai-matsuri, 487
 Hi-no-misaki-jinja, Taisha-machi, Shimane-ken, 188, 374
 Hi-no-miya-jinja, Himi-shi, Toyama-ken, 205
 Hi-no-Suketomo, 196
hinotsukai (a messenger for the sun), 224
hi-no-uchikaë-shinji (lighting of a new fire), 140, 488
 Hi-no-yagi-haya-wo-no-kami (=Ho-no-musubi), 266, 485
hi-nuki (an element of architecture), 112f.
 Hinu-manai-jinja, Mineyama-machi, Naka-gun, Kyôto-fu, 504
 Hinu-no-manawihara, Tamba, 503
hiôgi (a type of *shaku*), 146, 176
hira (level), 297
hirabu (a shell-fish), 357
 Hirado, Nagasaki-ken, 263
 Hirai (Naofusa), 15
hiraka (a platter), 348
 Hirakiki-jinja, Kaïmon-machi, Kagoshima-ken, 371
 Hirano-jinja, Kita-ku, Kyoto, 117, 186, 415, 419
 Hirano-jinja, Wakayagi-chô, Miyagi-ken, 371, 418
 Hiranuma (Kiichirô), 391
 Hiraoka, Ôsaka-fu, 123
 Hiraoka-jinja, Hiraoka-shi, Ôsaka-fu, 115, 182
 Hirata (Atsutane), 22, 24, 27, 40ff., 65ff., 69, 166, 235f., 240, 245–9, 253f., 258, 263, 269, 301, 332, 339, 343, 348f., 358, 455, 462, 466, 476, 490f., 494, 496, 498, 517
 Hiratsuka, Kanagawa-ken, 468
 Hirayama (Shôsai), 517
hire (fin), 335
hire (scarf), 322
hiro (fathom), 256
hiro-hoko (flat and broad spear), 347
 Hiromine-jinja, Himeji-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 184
 Hiromushi-hime, 445
 Hirose-jinja, Kawai, Nara-ken, 82, 186, 509
 Hirose-jinja, Oda-machi, Ehime-ken, 243
 Hirose-no-kawaai-no-kami, 509
 Hirose-no-ô-imi-norito, 509
 Hirota-jinja, Naniwa-ku, Ôsaka-shi, 30, 134
 Hirota-jinja, Nishinomiya-, Hyôgo-ken, 62, 118, 162, 372, 428, 432, 467, 470f., 483, 491, 496
 Hiruko-jinja, 260
 Hiru-ko-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 63, 120, 257, 259f., 262, 266f., 287, 352, 465, 511f.
 See also: Ebisu
 Hiru-me, 259
hisago (gourd), 150
 Hisa-me (= Shiko-me), 275

- hi-shaku* (a ladle), 98
 Hishi-jinja, Sutama-machi, Yamanashi-ken, 419
hisôsetsu (creation), 238
 Hitachi, Ibaragi-ken, 38, 351
 Hitachi-fudoki, 38, 359, 472
 Hitaka-jinja, Mizusawa-shi, Iwate-ken, 243
 Hi-taki-sai, 508
hitatare (surplice), 167
 Hitawo, 363
 -*hito* (benevolence), 395
hito or -*bito* (man), 21, 59
hito-gata (a doll for purification ceremonies),
 190ff., 197
 Hito-goto, 211
 Hito-koto-nushi-no-mikoto (or -ô-kami), 341,
 419
 Hitomaro Kamimoto, 37
hito-no-koë (human voice), 329
hito-no-makoto (human nature), 32
hiuchi-ishi (stones for lighting fire), 486
 Hiuga or Hyûga (= Himuka) 38, 262, 356, 362,
 400
hiwashi (gold body or spirit), 148
hiwashi (sun-eagle), 148
 Hiyoshi-jinja, Himi-shi, Toyama-ken, 205, 469
 Hiyoshi-jinja, Mihara-gun, 469
 Hiyoshi-jinja, Noshiro-shi, Akita-ken, 103
 Hizen-fudoki, 38
hiziri (an ascete), 140
ho (ear of rice), 325, 328, 366
hō (a priestly garment), 145
 Ho-akari-no-mikoto, 366f.
 Hodaka-jinja, Niigata-ken, 129
 Ho-deri-no-mikoto, 366, 375, 488
 Hodosan-jinja, Nagatoro, Saïtama-ken, 214
hōheï (offerings), 174
 Hō-heï-shiki, 190
 Hōin-shinji, 444
hōjinism (unity of land and man), 22
 Hōjōbō-sonshi, 56
hōjō-e (setting free of birds and fishes), 100
 Hō j jōzu -hachiman-gu, Shin -minato -shi,
 Toyama-ken, 218
hōju (= *tama*), 506
hoju-bashira (pillar with a jewel), 122f.
hōju-no-tama (= *hoshi-no-tama*), 149f., 504ff.,
 508
ho-jyu (= *hoshi-no-tama*), 508
hōka (to beam down), 211
 Hoka-hoko, 211
 Hōki-fudoki (= Hahaki-fudoki), 38
 Hokkaï-do, 330, 350, 449
 Hokke Shintō, 45, 519
hoko (a type of float), 209, 211f.
hoko (halberd, spear), 150, 305
hoko (pole), 179
hōko (treasure-house), 114
hoko-hoko (grass, unidentified), 82
hōko-hoko-guas (cud-weed), 82
 Hōkoku Daïmyōjin (=Hideyoshi Toyotomi),
 451
 Hōkoku-jinja, Ôsaka-shi, 127, 452
 Hōkoku-ryō, 451
hokora (bee-hive), 92
ho-kuji (a mysterious spirit), 473
 Hokushin-ô-kami, 467
 Hommon-ji, Tokyo, 452
hōmotsu-den (treasure-house), 114
hōmotsukan (treasure-house), 439
 Homotsu-wake (= Homu-chi-wake), 413
 Homu-chi-wake, 413
 Homuda-wake-no-mikoto (=Ôjin-tennō),
 429, 432, 435
 Ho-musubi-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami
 (=Ho-no-musubi-no-kami), 484
 Ho-musubi-no-kami, 67, 266, 277, 476, 484,
 498, 508
 Honda (Chikaatsu), 522
 Honda (Tadakatsu), 220, 453
 Honda (Tomoshige), 154
 Honda-no-sumera-mikoto (= Ôjin-tennō), 433
 Honda-no-yawata-maro (= Ôjin-tennō), 433
honden (sanctuary), 117f. *et passim*
hōnen-odori (a dance), 185
 Hōnen Shōnin, 217
hongū or *go-hongū* (buildings), 107, 110f., 117,
 122, 170, 181
 Hongū-taïsha, Kumano, 28, 63f., 111, 120, 128,
 136, 164, 268, 282, 303, 305, 325, 411,
 442ff., 467, 476, 478, 480, 484
 Hongwan-ji, 48
honji (fundamental substance), 46
honke (original house of the ancestor-kami), 461
honke-gaëri (61st anniversary), 166
 Honkyō-taïsei-kyō, 516
 Ho-no-akari-no-mikoto, 366f.
 Ho-no-hiko-musubi-no-kami, 67, 484
 Ho-no-ikazuchi-no-kami, 274, 489
 Ho-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kumi
 (=Ho-no-musubi-no-kami), 475, 484

- Ho-no-me-no-kami, 485
 Ho-no-musubi-no-kami, 268.
 See also: Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami, Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami, Hi-no-kami, Ho-musubi-no-kami, Ho-no-kagu-tsuchi, Ho-musubi-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami, Kagu-tsuchi-no-kami
 Ho-no-sa-wake, 261
hō-no-sumō (offering of *sumō*), 200, 222
 Ho-no-suseri-no-mikoto, 366f., 488
 Ho-no-susori-no-mikoto, 366, 375
 Ho-no-susumi-no-mikoto, 366f.
 Honoto-hata-hime-ko-chi-chi-hime-no-mikoto (=Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime-no-mikoto), 355
 Ho-no-wo-ho-no-me-jinja, Beppu, Ōita-ken, 485
 Ho-no-wo-no-kami, 485
 Ho-no-wori-no-mikoto, 366f..
honsha (buildings), 96, 107, 129
hontai (noumenon), 50
horagai (a conch), 140
 Horagashima-jinja, Kōchi-shi (=Kunteki-jinja), 457
 Horai-zan (= Kogane-yama-jinja), 444, 475
 Hori (Hidenari), 24
 Hōriu-ji, 46
hovobi (to fall to ruins), 382
 Ho-sha-sai, 171, 179, 195, 507
hoshi (star), 243, 468
 Hoshi (Ichirai), 212
 Hoshi-daïmyō-jinja, Ichië, Aichi-ken, 468
 Hoshi-jinja (various), 243
hoshin (a dance), 175
 Hoshino (Hikoshirō), 38, 298, 301
 Hoshi-no-kami (= Ame-no-kagase-wo), 342
 Hoshi-no-miya, Ichië, Aichi-ken, 468
hoshi-no-tama or *hōshono-tama*, *hōju* (an object used in worship), 506
hoshi-wo (fish), 173
 Ho-shizume-no-matsuri, 487
 Hōshō, 210
 Hōsoshi, 191
 Hossō sect of Buddhism, 353
hoto (private parts), 268, 272, 274, 302, 500f.
hotoke (avatar), 50
hotoke-no-za (Chinese milk), 82
 Hōtoku-ninomiyama-jinja, Odawara-shi, Kanagawa-ken, 137
 Hoto-tate, 209
 Hotta (Masanobu), 454
 Ho-wori-no-mikoto, 366f., 375, 488
hōzen (a shrine), 89
 Huzi-kō (=Fuji-kō), 474
 Huzi-san (=Fuji-san), 474
hyakudo-ishi (a stone-pillar), 100
 Hyōgo, 431
 Hyōsu-no-kami, 458
hyottoko (a mask), 177
 Hyūga-fudoki, 38
 Hyūga-jinja of the Taga-taisha, 404

i (boar), 321
i (perch for birds), 95
ibuki (breath), 282, 294
 I-buki-do-nushi-no-kami, 264, 282
ichi (market), 511
 Ichi-gami, 511
ichih (oak), 493
 Ichi-hime-no-mikoto, 458
ichi-hinoki (excellent cypress), 145
ichi-kashi (excellent oak), 145
 Ichikishima-hime-no-mikoto, 56, 187, 292ff., 435, 438ff. 483, 511, 520
 Ichikishima-jinja, Miyajima, 439
 Ichimori, Nahari, 412
ichi-motsu (miraculous thing), 244
ichi-nen-kannushi (a priest), 140
ichi-no-miya (a type of temple), 128
 Ichi-no-miya-hachiman-gu, Ogata-machi, Ōita-ken, 136
ichirikibana (a type of matsuri), 183
ichō (gingko), 492
 Ideha-no-kami, 28, 102
idzu (awful, dread), 361
 Idzu-no-me-no-kami, 279f., 480
 Idzu-no-wo-bashiri-no-kami, 342
 Idzushi-wotome-no-kami, 427
 Ifukube (Mount), 489
 Ifuya pass, Shimane-ken, 276
 Iga-hachiman-gū, Okazaki-shi, Aichi-ken, 453
 I-ga-suri, 497
 Iha-naga-hime, 265, 364f., 528
 Iha-no-hime, 415
 Iha-saku-ne-saku-no-kami, 342
 Iha-saku-no-kami, 271f., 477
 Iha-su-hime-no-kami, 264
 Iha-tsuchi-biko-no-kami, 264
 Iha-tsuchi-no-mikoto, 280
 Iha-tsutsu-(no) me-no-mikoto, 271f., 342, 477

- Iha-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami (ou-no-mikoto), 264, 271f., 342, 477
ihi (boiled rice), 368
 Ihika, 403
ihi-kami (chewers of boiled rice), 386
 Ihi-yori-hiko, 262, 509
ihotsu (many), 272
 Iinoya-gû, Hikisa-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 425
i-kan (a garment), 143, 145
 Ikana, 213
 Ikantan, 144
 Ikasuri, 408
 Ikazuchi-no-kami, 272, 489
 Ikenobe-no-Hida, 44
 Ike-no-miya-jinja, Hamaoka-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 217, 282
 Iki Islands, Nagasaki-ken, 122, 178, 181, 262
ikiru (to breathe), 249
 Ikisu-jinja, Ikisu, Ibaragi-ken, 260
iki-tôshi (communion), 521
 I-kitsu-gû, 439
iku (to increase, to vivify), 392
iku (to live), 249, 323
 Iku-guhi-no-kami, 235, 248f., 251
 Iku-ikazuchi (or Iku-tama)-no-kami, 421 490
iku-kuni (to make the narrow countries wide), 391, 393
 Iku-kuni-tama-jinja, Ôsaka-shi, 48, 50, 82, 123, 136, 177, 194, 207, 224, 392, 430
 Iku-kuni-tama-no-kami, 392
 Iku-musubi-no-kami, 67, 392, 395, 407
ikusa (warriors), 274
iku-shima (to make the narrow countries wide), 391
 Ikushima, 220, 407
 Iku-shima-no-kami, 123, 194, 392, 398
 Iku-shima-no-mikanko, 391
 Ikushima-tarushima-jinja, Shiota-machi, Nagano-ken, 392
iku-tachi (life-sword), 323
 Iku-tama, 335, 490
 Ikuta-jinja, Ikuta-ku, Kôbe-shi, 62, 136, 200, 300, 372, 432, 496
 Ikutama-jinja, Tennôji-ku, Ôsaka-fu (=Iku-kuni-tama-jinja), 476f., 484, 492, 497
 Iku-tsu-hiko-ne-no-mikoto, 293ff., 353
 Iku-wi-no-kami, 497
iku-yumi-ya (bow and arrows), 321
 Ima-ge-no-kami, 509
 Ima-hië-jinja, Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto, 202, 388, 423, 469, 471
 Imaki-no-kami (=Yamato-takeru), 415
 Imamiya-ebisu-jinja, Naniwa-ku, Ôsaka-shi, 46, 134, 136, 300, 374, 467, 487, 511, 513
 Imamiya-jinja, Kita-ku, Kyôto-shi, 191, 318
 Imamura-gû, Okayama-shi, 353
 Ima-tenjin (= Sanetsumo Sanjô), 455
ima-yô (hymns), 57
 Imbe family, 37, 140, 478
 Imbe (Hironari), 37
 Imbe (Masamichi), 24
imi (avoidance), 77, 397
imi (awful), 299
imi (mourning), 76
imi-kotoba (words abhorred by the Kami), 72
 Imi-no-miya-jinja, Shimonoseki-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, 80, 118, 214, 419, 426, 457, 478
imi-ya (building for *kessai*), 170
in (as opposed to *yô*), 246
ina (=ine) (rice), 502
 Inaba, Kyôto-fu, 198, 320f., 326
 Inaba-fudoki, 321
 Inaba-jinja, Gifu-ken, 413
 Ina-bikari, 490
 Inada-hime-no-mikoto, 209 315, 317ff.
 See also: Ô-kushi-inada-hime
ina-dane (rice seed), 501
 Inada-no-miya-nushi- suga-no- yatsu-mimi-no-kami (=Ashi-nazu-chi), 313, 317
 Inafuku-jinja, Nobeoka-shi, Miyazaki-ken 207
 Ina-hi-no-mikoto, 387, 402, 510
inaho (rice-ears), 361
 Inamura-dake, 483
 Inari and Inari-temples in general, 96, 106, 110, 149f., 318, 463, 482, 502, 504–9
 Inari-go-sha-daï-myôjin, 507
 Inari-jinja, Kamakura-shi, 164
 Inari-matsuri, 200
 Inari-no-ô-kami, 508
 Inari-ô-kami, 507
 Inasa, Shimane-ken, 329, 342
 Inasa-no-kami-no-yashiro, Inasa, Shimane-ken, 350
 Inase-hagi, 344
 Ina-tsurubi, 490
 Inazuma, 490
 Ingyô-tennô, 419
 Inishiki-irihiko-no-mikoto, 413
 Inishiki-no-mikoto, 413
 Innen, 521
 Inochi-hime-no-mikoto, 321

- inochi-nagaki* (long-lived), 365
inoshishi (boar), 105
 Inoüe (Masakane), 524
 Inoüe (Shunji), 36
in-sei (abdication and ordination as a Buddhist monk), 423
inu (dog), 100, 161
 Inu-hime, 332
iraka (tiling), 385
iraka-oi (an element of architecture), 112f.
 Irië-jinja, Maëbara-machi, Sakata-gun, Shiga-ken, 421
 Irita (Seïzo), 154
 Irô-jinja, Nanzaki-mura, Shizuoka-ken, 406
iroko (fish scales), 377
irori (fire-place), 499
iro-se (elder-brother), 313
iroto (younger sister), 257
 Isa, 294
 Isachisa-jinja, Wada-machi, Kagoshima-ken, 277
isago (pebbles), 272
 Isa-no-mana-i, 294
 Isaoshi-no-kami (=Iso-takeru), 319
 Isaseri-hiko-no-mikoto, 203, 408
 Ise, Mië-ken, 38, 89, 114, 136f., 155, 181, 189, 300, 308, 331, 356, 373, 412, 414, 421, 493, 499
 Ise-fudoki, 38, 412
 Ise-jingû, Mië-ken, 40, 46, 50, 53, 55, 62, 75, 77, 81, 92f., 97, 100f., 107, 110-5, 127ff., 132ff., 143, 154, 159, 162, 170, 176f., 184f., 189, 202ff., 206, 220, 223, 239, 302, 332, 352, 355, 369, 371, 373, 395, 397ff., 438, 450, 458, 463, 466, 488, 491, 503f., 510, 516, 524
 Ise-jinja, Okayama-shi, 111, 135, 355, 412
 Ise-Kasuga-hachiman-no-ô-kami, 438
 Ise-monogatari, 27
 Ise Shintô, 40, 246, 412, 517, 524
 Ise-tai-byô, 128
ishi (stone), 321
ishi-age (stone-throwing), 161
 Ishida (Baïgan), 520
ishi-dôrô (stone-lantern), 98, 212
 Ishidzuchi (Mount), Ehime-ken, 207
 Ishidzuchi-hon-kyô, 519
 Ishidzuchi-jinja, Saijo-shi, Ehime-ken, 120, 207
 Ishikaha, 44
 Ishi-kiyowo-hachiman-gû, Miyawaki-machi, Kagawa-ken, 220
 Ishi-kori-dome-no-kami, 152, 301ff., 359, 463, 477
ishimuro (stone-hut), 473
 Ishitori-matsuri, 207
ishi-tôrô (kind of *tôrô*), 99
 Iso-no-jinja, Saijô, 111, 206, 220, 415
 Iso-no-kami-jingû, Tenri-shi, Nara-ken, 61, 83, 88f., 136, 142, 159, 162, 220, 282, 315, 334, 409, 413, 423, 477, 517
 Isora-no-mikoto, 281
 Iso-takeru-no-kami, 314, 318f., 322, 332, 492.
 See also: Ô-ya-biko-no-kami
iso-tsugumi (a blackbird), 104
 Isukeyori-hime, 206
 Isuzu (river), Mië-ken, 356
 Isuzu-hime (= Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime), 406
itadaki (crown of the head), 501
ita-gaki (a fence), 97
 Itakeshi-no-mikoto, 458, 492
 Itate-hyôzu-jinja, Hyôgo-ken, 432
 Itate-no-kami, 432
 Ito, 154
 Itô (Prince Hirobumi), 393
 Itote, 154
itsu (illuminating), 429
itsu (solemn), 429
itsu (will and power), 75
 Itsukashi, Nara-ken, 412
itsuki-no-miya (high-priestess), 133, 410
itsuku (to serve), 439
itsu-kushi-bi (benevolence), 74, 91
 Itsukushima, Hiroshima-ken, 328, 423, 436
 Itsukushima-jinja, Miyajima, Hiroshima-ken, 62, 96, 104, 159, 163, 176, 187, 193, 206, 215, 512
 Itsu-ne-no-mikoto, 510
 Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari- (or -bashiri) no-kami, 270, 341f.
 Itsuse-no-mikoto or Ituse-no-mikoto, 387, 400, 402
iwa or *iha* (rock), 94, 344, 365
 Iwagami-jinja, Tsuna-gun, Hyôgo-ken, 198, 316, 371
iwai (religious abstinence), 359
iwaigoto (prayers), 39
 Iwai-no-ushi (= Futsu-nushi), 342
 Iwai[-no] -nushi-no-kami (=Futsu-nushi) 342, 352
 Iwakara-wake-no-mikoto, 434
 Iwaki-yama, (Nakatsugaru) Aomori-ken, 216, 522

- Iwaki-yama-jinja, Nakatsugaru-gun,
Aomori-ken, 216
- iwa-kura* (shrine-rock), 121, 362
- Iwakura (Tomomi), 455
- Iwami-no-kuni, 326
- iwane* (rock-bottom), 323
- Iwa-no-ô-kami (= Ô-kuni-nushi), 320
- Iwa-oshi-waku, 403
- Iware-no-mikoto, 406
- iwasaka* (sacred enclosure), 94, 121, 359, 369,
438
- iwasaka* (small stone), 352
- Iwa-shimizu-hachiman-gû, Kyôto, 75, 81, 101,
110, 118, 123, 128, 131, 135, 162, 174, 180,
185, 211, 217, 281, 398, 429, 436ff., 487
- Iwa-shimizu-matsuri, 100
- Iwa-shimizu-sha, Yahata-machi, Tsuzuki-gun,
Kyoto, 436
- iwata-obi* (girdle for mothers), 161
- Iwateyama-jinja, Mizoishi-machi, Iwate-ken,
415
- iwa-to* (rock-door), 300
- Iwato-wake-no-jinja, Mino-gun, Okayama-ken,
305
- iya* (respectful or ceremonial behaviour), 74
- Iyahiko-jinja, Mount-Yahiko, Yahiko-mura,
Niigata-ken, 50, 81, 114, 125, 135, 171, 196,
208, 457, 471, 486
- Iyasaka-matsuri, 207
- Iyo, Ehime-ken, 38, 262
- Iyo-fudoki, 38
- Iyômyô-ni, 56
- Iyo-no-futa-na, 262
- Izanagi-jingû, Awajishima, Hyôgo-ken, 120,
122, 136, 180, 256, 281, 283
- Izanagi-no-kami (or -no-mikoto), 21, 31, 64, 81,
84, 103, 120, 122, 148ff., 187, 192, 194,
201, 211, 232, 235f., 244, 248f., 251–6, 258,
260f., 263–80, 282ff., 286–90, 300, 303,
307, 313, 315, 317. 320, 323, 326, 328, 336,
342, 347, 352, 357f., 362ff., 370ff., 377,
389, 405, 417, 429, 466, 493, 496, 502f.,
508, 520, 524, 526f.
- Izanagi-no-ô-kami, 280
- Izanami-jinja, Dewa-san-dzan, 283
- Izanami-no-kami (or -no-mikoto), 21, 26, 31,
63, 65, 81, 103, 120, 148ff., 194, 201, 232,
235f., 244, 248f., 251–6, 258, 260f., 263,
265–70, 273–8, 283f., 286, 307, 313, 315,
317, 320, 323f., 326, 328, 336, 342, 347,
357f., 364, 371f., 377. 405, 417, 475f., 484,
501ff., 508, 520, 526f.
- Izasa-wake-no-mikoto, 432
- Izô-no-miya, Isobe-machi, Mië-ken, 184
- Izu, Shizuoka-ken, 122, 181
- Izu-jinja, Asake-mura, Nagano-ken, 195, 369
- Izumi-oka-hito-koto-jinja, Kaminaka-machi,
Fukui-ken, 419
- Izumo, Shimane-ken, 39, 135, 232, 241, 269,
276, 312, 314, 316f., 319, 326f., 329ff., 338,
349, 409ff., 414, 446, 464, 491, 510, 512
- Izumo-fudoki, 38, 326, 328, 480
- Izumo-no-kokuzô-kamu-yo-goto or Izumo-no-
kuni-no-miyatsu-ko-kamu-yo-goto, 39, 319
- Izumo-no-kuni, 326
- Izumo-ô-yashiro Taïsha-machi, Shimane-ken,
29, 45, 48, 77, 81–4, 96ff., 101f, 106f.,
114f., 118, 124, 128f., 133, 135, 143, 146,
162, 169, 171f, 176, 178, 182, 215, 222,
232, 243, 245, 269, 282, 317, 323, 349f.,
459, 485, 517
- Izumo-ô-yashiro-kyô, 157, 350, 516f.
- Izumo-taïsha-kenkoku-saï-kemma, 222
- Izumo-taïsha-kyô, 524
- Izumo-yashiki, 404
- Izusan-jinja, Atami-shi, Shizuoka-ken, 484
- Izushi, Hyôgo-ken, 427f.
- Izushi-jinja, Izushi, Hyôgo-ken, 413, 427, 487
- Izu-tama-hiko-no-mikoto, 56
- Jaku-in, Kyoto, 423
- ja-odori* (a dance)-*ji* (in composition, indicative
of the masculine), 249
- ji* (land, locality), 30
- ji-chin-saï* (a ritual), 93, 160
- Jidaï-matsuri, 77, 220
- Jigen-jinja, Tanuma-machi, Tochigi-ken, 419
- Ji-kami, 30, 462, 498
- jikara*, 308
- Jikkô-kyô, 516, 519, 524
- ji-matsuri* (a ritual), 160
- Jimmu-sama, 406
- Jimmu-tennô, 52, 64f., 89, 106, 110, 118, 153,
165, 196, 198, 204, 230, 315, 331, 333ff.,
352, 369f., 387f., 390, 392, 395f., 398–408,
410ff., 421, 440, 447, 469, 482, 529.
- See also: Toyo-mike-nu-no-mikoto, Waka-
mike-nu-no-mikoto
- Jimmu-tennô-saï, 198
- Jimmyô-chô, 38

- jin* (benevolence), 74, 154
jindai (the Age of the Gods), 206
Jindai-hongi, 38, 238
jindai-odori (a dance), 175
Jingi-in, 54, 126
Jingi-kwan, 125, 344, 395
Jingi-ryô, 37, 495
Jingi-shô, 51, 126
jingû (merits), 427
jingû (a type of temple), 17, 102, 107, 127f.
Jingû-hôsaikai, 524
Jingû-hosankai, 524
jingû-ji (a temple), 48, 50
Jingû-kôgô (Empress), 63, 122, 128, 136, 175, 204, 210f., 214, 281, 345, 383, 392, 415, 427–32, 435, 437f., 457, 477, 482, 484, 508
Jingû-kyô, 524
Jingû-sukei-kai, 524
jinja (temple), 128f.
Jinja-chô, 126, 142
Jinja-honchô, 13, 57, 64, 84, 125f, 128, 132, 137, 139, 141f., 189, 207, 227, 230, 239, 243, 324f., 331
Jinja-kakuroku, 422
Jinja-kyoku, 126
Jinja-meikan, 243
jinja-saishiki (ritual observance), 126
jinja-sanpai (a visit to a temple), 155
jinja-shaden (buildings)
Jinja Shintô, 55, 57f., 85, 137, 143, 156, 515ff.
Jinja-taikam, 127
Jinji-hi-fumi-den, 42
Jinnô-shôtô-ki, 153f, 450
Jirei-hai, 399
jishû-chin-kôn (a type of discipline), 83, 88
Jishu-shin, 56
Jitô (Empress), 114, 422
jô (purity), 141
jô-e (a garment), 144f.
jô-kai (a degree), 141f.
Jôkomyô-ji, 455
Jomei-tenno, 39
Jômi-no-sekku, 197
Jômyô, 212
Jôraku-ji, 511
Jôruri, 213
jôtô-sai (a ritual), 160
ju (longevity), 514
judo, 60, 202
Jûfuku, 220
Jûgoshô-dai-jinja, Rokugô-machi, Yama-nashi-ken, 265
jukusen (cooked food), 172
Junkô-nihon, 423
Junnin-tennô, 64, 422
junpai (a round of pilgrimage), 161
jun-shi (a practice in burial), 413
Juntoku-tennô, 424
Junrôjin, 514
jûsan-mairi (a festival), 165
Jyû-ichi-men-kannon, 45
Jyun-toku, 156
ka (fire), 24
ka (manifestation), 520
ka (prefix), 24
ka (strange, hidden), 24, 31
kabane (clan-name), 356
kabi (mould, fungus), 24
kabimoye (to grow and germinate), 24
kabuki, 514
kabuto (helmet), 352
Kabuto-yama, Hyôgo-ken, 471
kabu-tsuchi-no-tachi or *-tsurugi* (mallet-headed sword), 362
Kachi-haya-hi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto (=Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi), 294
kachi-nu (gaining the victory), 296
kachô (mosquito-net), 203
Kada clan, 506
Kada (Azumamaro), 40, 48, 455, 517
Kada-ryûtoda, 506f.
kado (gate), 97, 314, 377
Kado-mori-no-kami, 97f.
Kagaku-ji, Hyôgo-ken, 456
kagami (an unidentified plant), 260, 328f..
kagami (mirror), 24
kagami (spiritual sight or spirit), 335
kagami-mochi (a kind of cake), 159
Kagami-tsukuri, 302
Kagase-wo (= Ame-no-kagase-wo), 342, 467
kagasu (to brighten, to illumine), 467
kagayaite-mieru (to appear bright), 24
Kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami, 332, 470
Kagayo-hime, 332, 499
kage (light), 378
kagemi (shadow-body), 24
kage-zen (a meal), 125
kagi (Divine treasure-house), 514
Kagoshima-ken, 51, 136, 160

- Kagoshima-jingu, Hayato-machi,
Kago-shima-ken, 201, 387, 419, 437
- Kagoshima-jinja, Kagoshima-shi, 379, 387
- Kagu (Mount), Nara-ken, 270, 301–5, 403,
472, 475
- kagura* (a dance), 60, 114, 175ff., 190, 221, 399
- kagura* (spiritual exercises), 88, 150
- kagura-den* (a hall), 114, 406
- Kagura-sai, 175
- kagura-uta* (spiritual exercises), 89
- Kagu-tsuchi-no-kami or -no-mikoto
(=Ho-no-musubi-no-kami), 31, 266–70, 272.
317, 328, 465, 469, 484, 488, 501ff., 527
- Kahabe-no-Omi, 489f.
- Kahakami, 414
- kahakami* (a sword), 413
- Kahaku, 479
- kaheru* (to exchange), 270
- kaheru* (to return), 273
- kaho* (filth), 380
- kaiga* (image of a Kami), 119
- kaigan-kuyô* (animation of statues of
Kami), 437
- kaï-hi* (opening of the *honden*), 119
- Kaï-jinja, Hyôgo-ken, 220
- Kaïjin-matsuri, 187
- kaiki* (air, ether), 502
- Kaikwa-tennô, 427
- Kaïnan-jinja, Miura-shi, Kanagawa-ken, 445
- kaisho* (meeting), 183
- kakashhi* (scarecrow), 500
- kake* (barn-door fowl), 340
- Kakegawa-jinja, Kôchi-shi, 120
- Takehi (Katsuhiko), 40, 238
- kake-kagami* (large mirror), 111
- kaki* (fence), 93, 314, 327, 344
- kaki-chirasu* (vomited), 299
- Kakinomoto (Hitomaro), 444
- Kakinomoto-jinja, Akashi-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 444
- Kakinomoto-jinja, Takatsu-machi,
Shimane-ken, 444
- kaki-ta* (an enclosed rice-field), 297
- kakko* (a drum), 176
- kaku-e* (a garment), 144
- Kaku-myô-gonji, Toyokawa, 508
- kakure* (buttocks), 319
- kakuregasa* (hat of invisibility), 514
- kakure-mi* or *kakuri-mi* (a hidden person), 24
- kakure-mino* (a rain-coat), 514
- kakuri-goto* (secret matters), 347, 349
- Kakurigoto-shiro-shimesu-ô-kami
(=Ô-kuni-nushi), 320
- kakuri-mashiki* (disappeared), 343
- kakuri-mashinu* (to become concealed), 348
- kakuri-no-miya* (an abode of gloom), 283
- Kakuri-yo, 65
- Kakuru-jinja, Kamigaya-machi, Shizuoka-ken,
271
- kakushi-mi* (which hides itself), 24
- kaku-takatsuki* (a tray), 174
- kama* (cauldron), 82
- kama* (sedge), 321
- kamado* (cooking-stove), 498
- Kamado-jinja, Hô-man-dzan, Fukuoka-ken,
50, 134, 387
- Kamado-kami, 463
- Kamado-no-kami, 498
- Kamado-slia (various), 498
- Kama-gami, 463
- Kamakura, Kanagawa-ken, 51, 425, 449
- Kamakura era (1185–1333), 46, 75, 95,
334, 426
- Kamakura-gongorô-kagemasa, 422
- Kamakura-gû, Kamakura-shi, Kanagawa-ken,
425
- Kamakura-shôgunate, 448
- Kama-no-kami, 332
- Kamayama-jinja, Wada, Wakayama-shi, 402
- Kambe-jinja, Shizuoka-shi, 198
- kame* (tortoise), 385
- Kameido-tenjin-sha, Tokyo, 136, 164, 191
- Kameyama-hachiman-gû,
Saseho-shi, Nagasaki-ken, 218
- Kameyama-jinja, Kure-shi, Hiroshima-ken,
220, 432, 435
- kami* (hair), 310, 322, 324
- kami* (head-waters), 312, 318
- kami* (spiritual exercise), 88
- kami* (top of the head), 152
- Kami-ari-matsuri, 222
- kami-arizuki* (month full of gods), 232
- Kami-ataka-ashi-tsu-hime
(=Kono-hana-sakuya-hime), 365, 368
- kamibeya* (a room), 183
- kami-dana* (an altar), 54, 57, 124, 159, 167,
460, 486
- kami-gakari* (possessed by the Kami), 430
- kami-gakari-shite* (possessed by a Kami), 430
- kami-gaki* (sacred hedge), 94
- kami-goto* (divine affairs), 347f.

- kamiko* (temple girl-attendants), 139
 Kami-koso-jinja, Asai-machi, Shiga-ken, 494
kami-michi (ropes), 183
kami-môde (a visit to a temple), 155
kami-mukaë (the summoning of the Kami), 171
 Kami-musubi-no-kami, 67, 234, 236, 239,
 241–4, 250, 260, 321, 328f., 373, 395, 443,
 500–508.
 See also: Kami-ro-mi,
 Kami-musubi-no-miko-no-kami-yashiro,
 Taïsha-machi, Shimane-ken, 328
kamina (to make new sake), 232
 Kami-nabi, 403
 Kami-naga-hime, 433
kami-nagara (= *kan-nagara*), 393
kami-nagara-no-michi, 31
 Kami-naho-bi-no-kami, 280, 282
 Kami-nari, 489
kami-na-zuki (the month without Kami),
 232, 512
kami-no-ki (sacred tree), 492
kami-no-ko (child of the Kami), 21
kami-nushi (priest), 132
 Kami-ô-ichi-hime, 502
 Kamioka-matsuri, 201
kami-okuri (sending-off the Kami), 182
kami-oroshi (a dance), 195
 Kami-ro-gi, 241, 243
 Kami-ro-mi, 241, 243
kami-sabi (divinely serene), 92
kami-shimo (garment), 166
 Kami-susano-wo-no-mikoto
 (=Susano-wo-no-mikoto), 326
 Kami-take-tsunu-mi-no-mikoto, 130
 Kami-tsu-wonu-no-hari-hara, Uda-gun,
 Nara-ken, 405
 Kami-uga-no-me, 510
kami-yaku (families responsible for the
shinsen), 172
 Kami-yama, Tottori-ken, 206
kami-yama (a mountain), 121
 Kami-yo (age of the Gods), 22, 229
kamiyo-nanayo (the seven Divine generations),
 251
kami-yori-tamaëriki (approached by a Kami),
 430
kami-zukasa (a priest), 132
 Kamjangiin (Prince), 508
 Kammu-tennô, 52, 369, 422, 425.
 See also: Kwammu-tennô
 Kamo clan, 443, 459
 Kamo (Mabuchi), 39f, 247f., 443, 455, 493,
 517
 Kamo temples, Kyoto, 107, 114, 130, 133, 204,
 398, 422
 Kamo-jinja, Shimokamo, Sumoto-shi,
 Awajishima, 118
 Kamo-mi-oya-jinja, Kyôto-shi, 102, 114, 128,
 130, 162, 201, 203f., 281f. 326, 330, 346,
 350, 358, 388, 443, 476, 479, 496, 498f.
 See also: Kamo temples
 Kamo-no-taketsu-numi-no-mikoto
 (=Yatagarasu), 443
 Kamoshi-jinja, Matsuë-shi Shimane-ken, 269
kamosu (to brew, to ferment), 24
 Kamosu-jinja, Matsuë-shi, Shimane-ken, 222,
 510
 Kamo-tama-yori-hime (=Tama-yori-hime),
 199, 388
 Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-jinja, Kyôto-shi, 29, 63,
 94, 98, 101, 107, 123f, 128, 130, 133, 136,
 140, 179, 182, 184, 199, 202, 204, 443, 458,
 471, 479, 481, 489, 499.
 See also: Kamo temples
 Kamo-wake-ikazuchi-no-kami, no, 130, 325
 Kamo-yama-tori-hime, no, 122
kampeï-chûsha (a temple), 127
kampeï-shôska (a temple), 127
kampeï-taïsha (a temple), 127, 355
kamu (to integrate), 248
kamu-agari (spirit-career), 283
kamu-agaru (to rise), 65
 Kamu-ata-tsu-hime
 (=Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime), 364
 Kamubo-jinja, 470
 Kamu-do-tsurugi (= Ô-ha-kari), 341
kamu-gakari (divinely-inspired utterance), 305
kamu-gaki (taboo fence), 94
 Kamu-hata-hime, 359
 Kamu-hatori-no-yashiro, 412
kamui (that which covers), 24
 Kamu-iku-subi-no-kami, 332
 Kamu-mi-musubi, 407
 Kamu-musubi-mi-oya-no-kami, 348
 Kamu-naho-bi-no-kami, 279
 Kamu-ô-ichi-hime-no-mikoto, 265, 318, 332,
 499
kamu-saru (to retire divinely), 268
 Kamu-yamato-ihare-hiko-no-mikoto
 (=Jimmu-tennô), 387, 405

- kamu-yarahi* (Divine punishment), 310
 Kamu-ya-tate-hime-no-mikoto, 328, 333
kan- (winter), 196
kanabô (metal-rods), 198
 Kanakori-jinja, Sakaë-mura, Ôita-ken, 408
 Kana-kori-no-kami, 408
 Kaname-ishi, 352, 490
 Kaname-jinja, Ogata, 96, 137
 Kanasana-jinja, Kodama-gun, Saitama-ken,
 117, 121, 182, 373
 Kanatsunawi, 421
 Kanaya-jinja, Okachi-machi, Akita-ken, 476
 Kana-yama-biko-no-kami, 268f., 463, 475f.
 Kana-yama-bime-no-kami, 268f., 463, 475f.
 Kanayama-jinja, Okachi-machi, Akita-ken, 476
kanba (a dance), 195
 Kanda-jinja, Tokyo (Miyamoto-cho), 204
 Kanda-matsuri, 204
kane or *-gane* (metal, money), 153, 303
kanebukuro (inexhaustible purse), 514
 Kanegasaki-gû, Tsuruga-shi, Fukuï-ken, 186,
 425
 Kanenaga-shinnô, 425
kane-tôrô (a type of *tôrô*), 99
kangami (mirror), 24
kan-gami (shining-see), 24
kangen (instrumental music), 175
 Kangen-saï, 193, 206
 Kan-hatori-hatadono-jinja, Matsuzaka-shi,
 Mië-ken, 203
kani (crab), 386
kanjô (ordination), 51
kanjô (a ceremony), 123
kanjo (lady in waiting), 197
kanjô (a priest), 138
 Kanju (Islet of), Yamaguchi-ken, 383
 Kanko-hoko, 210
 Kankô-saï, 212, 218
 Kan-maïri, 195
kanmiso (garments), 203
 Kanmiso-saï, 203
kanmuri (a headgear), 145, 205
kannagara, 70f.
 Kannagara-no-michi, 31f., 69f., 76, 91
 Kanname-saï, 183, 185, 220, 399
kannarau (a mode of life), 32
kannazuki (the month without Kami), 185
 Kannokura-jinja, Shingû, Wakayama-ken, 487
 Kannon, 56, 120
kannushi (priest), 48, 57, 132, 136f., 143, 208
 Kan-omi-hatadono-jinja, Matsuzaka-shi,
 Mië-ken, 204
hansha (government temple), 127
kansha (thankfulness), 73, 156, 172
kantoki-no-ki (tree struck by lightning), 489
 Kan-yamato-iware-hiko-no-mikoto
 (=Jimmu-tennô), 400
kanza (a room), 183
kaori (fragrance), 24
 Kappa, 478, 480
 Karabashi, 203
kara-hitsu (Chinese casket), 153
 Karaï-shin, 484, 490
kara-mon (a gate), 97
 Kara-no-kami (= Futsu-no-mitama or
 Iso-takeru), 332
 Karasawa-yama-jinja, Sano-shi, Tochigi-ken,
 221, 445
 Karasn-jinja, Karasu-machi, Mië-ken, 300
 Karatsu-jinja, Karatsu-shi, Saga-ken, 221, 281
kare-nayamashi (to cause to wither and feel
 pain), 269
kari (wild goose), 417
kari-ginu (a garment), 143ff.
 Kasama-inari-jinja, Kasama-shi, Ibaragi-ken,
 184
 Kasanui, Nara-ken, 412
 Kasasa (Cape), Kagoshima-ken or
 Miyasaki-ken, 363f.
kashi (oak), 145, 493
 Kashiha (Ferry of) (= Bay of Ôsaka), 414
 Kashii, Fukuoka-shi, 430
 Kashii-gû, Kashii, Fukuoka-shi, 50, 128f., 135,
 162, 432
 Kashiko-dokoro, 154, 395f., 399, 406, 413
kashikoki (awful), 314
kashi-komi (awe), 24
 Kashima, Miyagi-ken, 123, 130
 Kashima-jingû, Kashima-machi, Ibaraki-ken,
 80, 83f., 89, 104, 114, 124, 129, 162, 197,
 216, 260, 283, 352f., 398, 490, 499
 Kashima-jinja, Ehime-ken, 200
 Kashima-jinja, Shirakawa-shi, Fukushima-ken,
 353
 Kashima-matsuri, 216, 352
 Kashima-no-kami (= Take-mika-dzuchi), 352
kashima odori (a dance), 208
 Kashima Shintô, 190
kashima-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
kashira (head), 272, 274, 500

- kashiwa* (ceremony), 157
kashiwa (oak), 157, 493
kashiwade (hand-clapping), 157
kashi-wa-de (butler), 347
kashiwade-no-osa (a priest), 157
 Kashiwa-hime-no-mikoto, 366
 Kashiwara, Nara-ken, 404
 Kashiwara-jingû, Kashiwara-shi, Nara-ken, 106f., 129, 196, 198, 406f.
 Kasuga Daïmyôjin, 39
 Kasuga-gongen-reikenki, 353
 Kasuga-matsuri, 197
 Kasuga-no-[ô]kami, 27, 353, 493
 Kasuga-taïsha, Nara-shi, Nara-ken, 29, 75, 110, 114, 117f, 123ff., 128, 133, 136, 176, 181, 197, 215, 224, 233, 239f., 243, 245, 260, 265, 280–3, 303, 358, 438, 454, 458, 465, 471, 476, 479, 484, 488f., 492, 494, 496, 498, 513
 Kasuga-wakamiya-matsuri, 224
 Kasugayama-jinja, Takada-shi, Niigata-ken, 216, 451
kasuga-zukuri (a style of architecture), 108, 110f.
Kasumigaura (Lake), Ibaraki-ken, 352
kata (image), 303
katachi (form), 385
kata-ginu (shoulder-cloth), 191
 Katahisashi, 24
 Kata-jinja, Kata-mura, Wakayama-ken, 196
katama (basket), 377
 Katami-jinja, Tôhaku-machi, Tottori-ken, 373, 388, 432, 447
 Kataoka (Sachihiko), 15
katashi-ha (hard rocks), 301
katasumi (corner), 65
 Katayama-jinja, Higashi-ku, Nagoya-shi, 419
 Katô (Genchi), 38, 41, 115, 238f., 247, 254, 298, 301, 393, 526
 Katô (Kiyomasa), 217, 450, 452.
 See also: Kishôkwan, Seishoko
 Katô-jinja, Kumamoto-shi, 452
 Katori, Chiba-ken, 123
 Katori (Bunjirô or Kawade), 524
 Katori-jingû, Sawara-shi, Chiba-ken, 114, 129f., 184, 193, 199, 207, 223f., 271, 283, 352f., 398, 475f., 489, 498
 Katori-no-kami (= Futsu-nushi), 352
 Katsube-jinja, Moriyama-machi, Shiga-ken, 194, 335
 Katsumura-no-ô-kami, 432
 Katsu-no-haya-hi-no-mikoto (=Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-dzu-shi-hime), 355
katsuogi (a cigar-shape log on the roof), 111ff., 406
 Katsura-gawa, Kyôto-to, 202
 Katsuragi (Mount) between Ôsaka-fu and Wakayama-ken, 419
 Katsurakake-jinja, Ikenone, Gifu-ken, 223
katsura-no-ki (cassia-tree), 377
 Katsuyori-no-ô-kami, 432
kawa or *-gawa* (river), 264, 275
 Kawachi-hatsusho-jinja, Ôsaki-mura, Kôchi-ken, 265
 Kawaguchi (Lake), Yamanashi-ken, 201
 Kawaguchi-jinja, Chôshi, Chiba-ken, 121, 282, 480
 Kawai (Kiyomaro), 40
kawa-kami (head-waters), 301
kawa-kari (river wild-geese), 340, 377
 Kawamura (Denemon), 215
 Kawa-no-kami, 479
kawara (bed of a river), 271, 301, 337, 339
 Kwarada-suwa-jinja, Sadogashima, Niigata-ken, 214
kawarake (cups for sake), 507
 Kawa-se-no-kami, 479
kawa-yori (river-border), 298
kawazu (a mask), 177
 Kawazura (Bonji), 40, 523
 Kawazura Shintô, 240
kaya or *-gaya* (pampa-grass, thatch, rushes), no, 192, 244, 385, 494
kayabuki-yane (a roofing), 112f.
 Kaya-no-ho, 224
 Kaya-nu (or-no) -hime-no-kami, 265, 267, 471, 494.
 See also Nu-dzu-chi-no-kami
kayohazaru (communication), 386
 Kayura-no-matsuri, 180
 Kaza-ge-tsu-wake-no-oshi-wo-no-kami, 264
 Kazahinomi-sai, 185, 203
 Kazamaki-jinja, Miwa-mura, Niigata-ken, 491
kaza-ore (a headgear), 145
kazari (ornamental), 115
kaze (wind), 321, 382, 490
 Kaze-matsuri, 199
kazura or *katsura* (a headgear), 274f., 289, 302, 305
kazura (vine), 150

- kegarahashi* (filthy and wicked), 289
kegare (pollution), 76, 278f.
 Kego-jinja, Fukuoka-shi, 279, 282
 Kehi-jinja, 212, 415
 Kehi-jingû, Tsuruga-shi, Fukui-ken, 216
 Kehi-no-ô-kami, 510
 Kehi-tarashi-hime-no-mikoto
 (=jingû-kôgô), 427
keiba (horse-races), 178, 202
keibatsu (purification), 169
 Keiba-e-no-shinji, 202
 Keichû, 24, 48
keidai-chi (precincts), 94, 97, 121f., 129
keidai-sha (a temple), 129
keihitsu (the call to the Kami to manifest), 125,
 169, 171, 182
 Keikô-Tennô, 413, 415
 Keikô-tennô-sha, Nagakute-mura, Aichi-ken,
 415
 Keitai-tennô, 419, 428
 Keko-jinja, Fukuoka-shi, 471
kemari (a ball game), 122
 Kemmu restoration (1334–1336), 424, 449
kemuri (smoke), 366
ken (offer), 74
ken (sword), 428
ken-gyô (a *shake*), 141
 Kengyû-sei, 467
kenka (quarrel), 213
 Kenka-matsuri, 213, 220
 Kenkoku-sai, 222
 Kenkun-jinja, Kyoto, (= Take-isao-jinja), 127,
 193, 450
kenkwai (a mask), 177
 Kennin-tennô (=Sutoku-tennô), 423
kensen (presentation of offerings), 169
kensha (a temple), 127
kenshin (spiritual surrender), 74
 Kenshin-matsuri, 216
 Kensô-tennô, 419
 Kenzan-jinja, Suie, Kôchi-shi, 457
 Kenzoku, 30
keshi (a garment), 279
kessai (period of purification), 114, 155, 169f.
kessai-kan (a hall), 170
keta (crossbeam), 113
 Ketsuen-shin, 462f.
 Ketsumiko-no-kami (= Susano-wo-no-mikoto),
 325
ki or *-gi* (particle indicative of the feminine), 239
ki or *-gi* or *-ke* or *-ko* (tree), 93f., 275, 318,
 322f., 337, 502
ki or *ke* or *ko* (air, ether), 502
ki (equipment), 94
ki or *ke* or *ko* (spirit), 505
ki (water), 239
ki (yellow), 148
kibi (millet), 499
 Kibi, Okayama-ken and Hiroshima-ken, 263,
 400
 Kibi-no-ko, 263
 Kibi-ô-no-take-hiko, 415
 Kibitsu, Okayama-ken, 408
 Kibitsu-hiko-jinja, Ichi-no-miya-mura,
 Okayama-ken, 184, 214
 Kibitsu-hiko-no-mikoto, 408
 Kibitsu-jinja, Kibitsu-gun, Okayama-ken, 77,
 117, 120, 136, 172, 203, 220, 224, 358, 447,
 476, 486
 Kibitsu-no-ô-kama-san, 77
kiboku (a divination), 180
kibuku (mourning), 76, 167
kichô (an amulet), 513
 Kido, 52
kidô (occult practices), 434
 Kifune, 370, 481
 Kifune-jinja-no-honsha, Kifune-machi,
 Kyôto-shi, 28, 63, 102, 110, 115, 123ff.,
 130, 136, 193, 249, 358, 366, 478, 481
kigan (prayers), 156
 Kigen-setsu, 196, 398, 406
kigishi (pheasant), 338ff.
 Kii (Wakayama-ken, perhaps sometimes
 Korea), 269, 303, 319, 324, 332
kiji-mai (a dance), 175
ki-ka (evaporation), 520
kiku (chrysanthemum) 211, 277
kiku (to hear), 277
 Kikuchi (Taketoki), 449f.
 Kikuchi-jinja, Kikuchi-shi, Kumamoto-ken,
 127, 450
kiku-ri (hearing of truth), 277
 Kikuri-hime-no-mikoto, 277
 Kimbu-jinja, Tome-gun, Miyagi-ken, 330, 476
 Kimbu-jinja, Tsurugaoka-shi, Yamagata-ken,
 184
 Ki-mi, 391
kimi (master, Lord), 24, 361
kimitosu-ru (to preside over), 343
 Kimmê-tennô, 204, 369

- Kimpi-mishô, 156
kin- (self-dedication), 441
kine (root of a tree), 246
kinen (expression of gratitude), 155f.
 Kinen-saï, 184, 196, 391, 398, 507
 Kinen-saï-norito, 100
kin-gô-zô (a golden image), 222
 Kinka-zan (Island of), Miyagi-ken, 476
kin-ô (self-dedication to the Emperor), 441f.
ki-no-ji-no-iwai (77th anniversary), 166
 Ki-no-maru-dono, 493
ki-no-mata (fork of a tree), 322
 Ki-no-mata-no-kami, 326, 492, 497.
 See also: Mi-wi-no-kami
 Kinomiya-hachiman-jinja, Itô-shi, Shizuoka-ken, 432, 434
 Kinomiya-jinja, Atami, 208
 Ki-no-oya (=Kuku-no-chi-no-kami), 265, 492
 Kin-rin-jinja, Sakyô-ku, Kyôto-shi, 481
 Kintada, 446
 Kintarô, 203
kinu-gaki (silk-veil), 124
kiri (mist), 290
kiribi (fire-striking), 486
kirin (a mythological animal), 396
 Kirishima, Kagoshima-ken, 400
 Kirishima-higashi-jinja, Nishi-morogata-gun, Miyazaki-ken, 369
 Kirishima-jingû, Kirishima-machi,
 Kago-shima-ken, 92, 164, 217, 369
 Kirishima-matsuri, 217
 Kirishima-mine-jinja, Kagoshima-ken, 369
kiru (to cut), 310
 Kisa-gahi-hime, 321
kisaki (Empress), 333, 391
 Kisaki-kimi-no-mikoto (=Taka-mi-musubi), 242
 Kisarazu, Chiba-ken, 415
kisan-mochi (bearer), 340
 Kishiki-jinja, Kishiwada-shi, Ôsaka, 216
 Kishimoto (Hideo), 156, 394
 Kishiwada, Ôsaka-fu, 216
 Kishôkwan (= Kiyomasa Katô), 452
 Kiso (Forest), Nagano-ken, 397
 Kitabatake (Akiie, Akinobu and Akiyoshi), 450
 Kitabatake (Chikafusa), 59, 449f.
 Kitabatake (Morichika), 450
 Kitabatake-jinja, Misugi-mura, Mië-ken, 450
 Kitajima family, 135, 349
kitanaki (spoiled), 274, 278f., 500
 Kitano-mantokoro, 451
 Kitano-tenjin-engi, 447
 Kitano-Ten-man-gti, Kyôto-shi, no, 163, 185,
 218, 221, 447
 Kitashirakawa (Prince Yoshihisa), 457
 Kitayama, 105
kitô (a prayer), 156
kitô-den (a hall), 156
kitsune (fox), 177, 505
kiyo-chiyun (emptiness), 236
 Kiyohara-no-yorinari-no-mikoto, 448
 Kiyo-hiko, 413
kiyome (a type of purification), 169
 Kiyotaki-jinja, Nikkô-shi, 264
kizu (flaw), 308
ko (bêche-de-mer), 357
ko or *-go* (young, child), 257, 259, 445
kô (a group of worshippers), 519
kôbai (red plum-blossom), 186
koban (a coin), 513
 Kôbô Daïshi, 256, 504
 Kôbun-tennô, 421
 Kôchi, 51, 185, 243
ko-dakara (an amulet), 513
 Kodama (General Gentarô), 457
 Kodama-jinja, Enoshima, Kanagawa-ken, 457
kodane (seeds of trees), 332
 Koden-shinjô-saï, 169, 171, 222
 Kôdô, 58
 Kôdô-ishin, 15, 229
 Kôdô-kan, 454
 Koën, 217
 Kôfuku-ji, Nara-shi, 51
 Kogaku-fukkô, 40
 Kôgaku-kan University, 143
kogane (gold), 475
 Kogane-yama-jinja, Kinkazan-shima, 475.
 See also: Horai-zan
 Kôgen-tennô, 408
kôgôshi (god-like), 92
 Kogoshûi, 35, 37, 115, 153, 291, 298, 300,
 302-5, 308ff., 319, 348, 359, 361f., 386,
 392, 407, 410, 477
 Kôgyoku-tennô, 420
ko-hiziri (an ascete), 140
 Koïga-ura, Sadogashima, Niigata-ken, 424
kô-in (a special day), 396
koï-nobori (paper-carp), 202
 Kojiki-den, 25, 40, 117
 Kojima, 263
 Kôjin-sama, 498

- kôjin-matsu* (a branch of pine), 498
 Kokaji, 506
koke (-*musu*) (moss), 306, 313
kôken (Empress), 422
 Kokin-chômon-shû, 153
 Kokka-Shintô, 57
kôkô (devotion to the Emperor), 74
kokoro (heart), 22
kokoro (nakedness), 277
koku (black or purple), 149
 Koku-gaku, 59, 66
kokugaku (classics), 40
 Kokugakuin University, 13f., 61, 126, 142f.,
 230, 311
 Kokugakuin Zasshi, 515
 Kokugaku-kan, 142
kokugakusha (theologians), 40
 Kokugi-kan, Tokyo, 464
kokuhei-chûsha, *kokuhei-sha*, *kokuhei-shôsha*
 (types of temples), 127
kokuhei-taisha (a type of temple), 127, 355
 Koku-i-kô, 40
 Kokura-taiko-matsuri, 207
 Koku-ryô-ten-kushi-bi-mitama-no-ô-kami, 148
 Kokutai-no-hongi, 71
kokutai-seishin (a devotion to the country), 457
kokuzô (a priest), 135, 222, 459
koma (Korean), 100
 Komagadake-no-kami, 358
 Komagata-jinja, Shiokawa-machi,
 Fukushima-ken, 217
 Komagata-matsuri, 217
koma-inu (Korean dog), 100f., 161
kome (rice), 499
 Komei-tennô, 196, 398, 425, 441f.
 Ko-mikado-jinja, Katori-gun, Chiba-ken, 175,
 201, 445
komo (a reed), 348, 485
 Komo (Norikiyo), 40
 Komori-jinja, Yosa-gun, Kyôto-fu, 504
 Komori-ô-kami (= Susano-wo-no-mikoto), 325
kômoto (leader of pilgrimage), 473
 Kompira, 56, 320, 449
 Kompira-daï-gongen, 187
 Kompira-matsuri, 219
 Komura-jinja, Kusaka-mura, Kôchi-ken, 246
kôn (spirit), 85, 456
kôndô (a doctrine), 393
 Kônin (period, 810–824), 36
 Kônin-shiki, 36
 Kônin-tennô, 39, 186, 422
ko-niwa (model landscape garden), 98
 Konjin, 524
konju (a dance), 175
 Konkô Daijin, 524
 Konkô-kyô, 516, 524
 Konkô-myôkyô, 395
konoë-toneri (head of the body-guard), 176
 Kono-hana-chiru-hime, 265, 317, 405
 Kono-hana-saku-ya-hime, 28, 205, 208, 265,
 317, 364ff., 370, 405, 469, 474f., 528f.
 See also: Ataka-ashi-tsu-hime, Kami-ataka-
 ashi-tsu-hime, Toyo-ata-tsu-hime
 Kono-jinja (Tango-ichi-no-miya), Kyôto-fu,
 136, 192, 201, 239, 358, 371, 479, 503f.,
 513
ko-no-mi (fruits), 314
 Kono-miya, Owari, 344
 Konomoto, Nara-ken, 270
 Konsei-daï-myôjin, 496
konshinkwai (social gatherings), 73
 Kontai-kon-ryô-ame-no-hiwashi-ara-bi-mitama-
 no-ô-kami, 148
ko-nusa (an implement for purification), 159
 Ko-o-no-minato, 439
 Kôra-taisha, Kurume-shi, Fukuoka-ken, 128
 Kôrei-den, 395, 398ff.
 Kôreiimon-in, 223, 424
 Kôrei-tennô, 408
 Kôrei-saï, 398
 Koromogawa, Iwate-ken, 448
koroshi-tamahiki (killed), 500
kôrozen (a garment), 398
koru (to coagulate), 256
 Koryô, Korea, 431
 Kosaki, 477
 Koshi, 263, 313, 327
koshi (loins), 272
 Koshi-den, 67
 Koshiki-saï, 206
kôshin (asking the Kami to descend), 169
 Koshin-dô, 216
 Koshiô-jinja, Akita-shi, 180, 353, 408
 Koshi-ore-da, 464
 Kôshitsu Shintô or Saïshi, 57
ko-shôgatsu (little New Year), 488
 Ko-so-date-myôjin (=Hiromushi-hime), 445
 Kôsô-hachiman-gû, Yahata-machi, Moji-shi,
 Fukuoka-ken, 220
 Kosui-matsuri, 213

- Kôtai-jingû, Iseyama, Yokohama, 163
 Kôtai-jingû, Nagasaki-shi, 62, 163, 219, 469
 Kôtai-jingû, Ise, 219
kotaka (little hawk), 445
 Kotaka-jinja, Fukuoka-shi, 445
 Kotan Shôrai, 289
koto or *-goto* (harp), 171, 176, 305
koto (thing), 31
koto (word), 344, 390
koto-agesenu (non-raising of words), 33
kotoba (word), 239, 344
koto-dama (affection), 72
koto-dama (power of words), 39, 72
 Kotohira (or Kompira), 56
 Kotohira-gû, Kotohira-machi, Kagawa-ken, 56,
 101, 121, 123, 136, 186f., 195, 218f., 232,
 282, 320, 328, 350, 420, 423, 448, 469, 480,
 496, 499
 Kotohira-gû, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 219
 Kotohira-jinja, Sanuki, Kagawa-ken, 219
koto-ita (a musical instrument), 223
 Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu Nagasa, 363, 365.
 See also: Shiô-tsu-tsu-no-oji
 Kôtoku-tennô, 420, 443
kotomuke (the directed word), 72
kotomuke (-ru) (to pacify), 329, 331, 338, 354
 Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami, 31, 104, 106, 206,
 220, 318, 328f., 333, 343- 351, 395, 404f.,
 407, 421, 429, 431, 479, 511ff.,
 See also: Aji-shiki-taka-hiko-ne-no-kami,
 Ebisu, Hito-koto-nushi, Ô-mono-nushi.
 Koto-toke-no-wo-no-mikoto, 264
kotowari (a law), 260
kotowari (truth, reason), 344
ko-umu (delivery), 366, 384
koworo (to curdle), 253
 Koyama (Mount), Kita-ku, Kyôto-shi, 471
kôzo (paper-mulberry), 158
 Kozu, Shimane-ken, 326
Kôzu-no-miya, Ôsaka-shi, 418
kû (space), 523
kubi (neck), 270
kubo-ta (low fields), 381
kuchi (mouth), 314, 322, 356, 500f.
kuchi-me (mullet), 381
kuchi-to (mouth-sharp), 298
kuchô (a building), 114
kûden (a room), 118
 Kuguri-kami, 463
kuhi (obstructed with stumps of trees), 297
kuhi (integrator), 470
kuî (to be born), 470, 510
kuî (water), 470, 483
 Kuji-aratame, 211
 Kuji-hongi, 238
 Kujiki, 37, 244, 334, 360.
 See also: Furu-koto-fumi
 Kujitori-shiki, 209
kujô (a priest), 133
 Kûkaï, (=Kôbô Daïshi), 334
kûki (air, ether), 502
kuki (stem), 492
 Kukuchi, 30
 Kuku-ki-waka-muro-tsuna-ne-no-kami, 333,
 497
 Kuku-no-chi-no-kami, 265, 267, 492
 Kuku-toshi-no-kami, 333, 500
kuma (in front), 303
kuma-de (road-windings), 346
kuma-de (rake), 104, 222
 Kumadera, 487
 Kumage-jinja, Kumage-machi,
 Yama-guchi-ken, 402
kumaji (road-windings), 382
 Kumakabuto-arakashi-hiko-jinja,
 Naka-jima-sho, Ishikawa-ken, 217
 Kumamoto, 435
 Kuma-nari (Mount), 324
 Kumano (Cape), Shimane-ken, 324, 330
 Kumano (Land of), Wakayama-ken and
 Mië-ken, 294, 402, 519
 Kumano temples, Wakayama-ken, 93, 134, 161,
 277, 388, 403
 Kumano-fusumi, 64
 Kumano-gû, Hinokuchi-machi, Aomori-ken,
 277
 Kumano-jinja, Toyokawa-shi, Aichi-ken, 199
 Kumano-jinja, Yakumo-mura, Shimane-ken,
 222, 485
 Kumano-jinja, Yamamoto-gun, Akita-ken, 448
 Kumano-jinja, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 50, 120, 205
 Kumano-ni-masu-jinja (=Hongû-taïsha), 325,
 411
 Kumano-kusu-bi (or -no-kusu-hi)-no-mikoto,
 293f.
 Kumano-musubi, 293
 Kumano-no-oshi-homu (or ô-sumi)-no-mikoto,
 294f.
 Kumasô, Southern Kyûshû, 262, 414, 428, 430
kuma-wani (bear sea-monster), 333

- Kumazawa (Banzan), 24
 Kume (Kunitake), 393
kume-mai (a dance), 175
kumo (cloud), 247, 317, 361
kumo-nu (cloud-moor), 247
 Kumosuzugahara, Sôma-gun, Fukushima-ken, 207
kumu (to integrate), 247
 Kunado-no-kami, 124, 207, 347, 351, 495f.
 Kunado-no-sahe-no-kami, 275
 Kunai-chô, 133, 137
kuni (land, country, earth), 120, 234, 246, 317, 326, 363, 391
kuni-biki (country-pulling), 326, 529
 Kuni-chi-sai, 219
kuni-hito (nation-man), 22
 Kuni-mi-nu-no-mikoto
 (=Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 245
kuni-mitama (earthly soul), 66, 392
 Kuni-no-ku-hiza-mochi-no-kami, 265
 Kuni-no-kura-do-no-kami, 266
 Kuni-no-mi-hashira, 258
 Kuni-[no-mi]hashira-no-mikoto, 491
 Kuni-no-mi-kumari-no-kami, 265, 479
 Kuni-no-miya-tsu-ko-hongi, 38
 Kuni-no-naka-no-mi-hashira, 258, 526
 Kuni-no-sa-dzuchi-no-kami, 245, 247, 265
 Kuni-no-sa-giri-no-kami, 266, 471
 Kuni-no-sa-tachi-no-mikoto
 (=Kuni-no-sa-dzuchi-no-mikoto), 245, 247
 Kuni-[no-]soko (or -toko)-tachi-no-mikoto, 245, 250
 Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 235, 245ff., 249
kuni-tama (bodily soul), 60
 Kuni-tama-jinja (various), 392
 Kuni-tatsu-no-kami, 120
 Kuni-toko-tachi-no-kami, 28, 120, 246, 440, 519, 522
 Kuni-tsu-kami, 26, 130, 232, 237, 334, 409
 Kuni-tsukurashishi-ô-kami (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 320
 Kuni-tsukuri-ô-namuchi-no-mikoto
 (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 320, 322
kuni-tsu-tsumi (earthly sins), 78
kuni-wake-shinji (division of the land), 140
kuni-yuzuri (land-pulling), 223, 529
 Kun-min-kyoshoku-no-yen, 398
 Kunohe-jinja, Kunohe-mura, Iwate-ken, 243
 Kunteki-jinja, Kôchi-shi, 51, 120, 457.
 Kunteki-o-shô, 56, 457f.
kunugi (oak), 493
kura (seat), 117
kura, for *kuro* (dark), 271
 Kura-ina-tama-no-kami, 435
 Kura-ine-tama-no-mikoto, 509
 Kurama-dera, Kurama-yama, Kyôto-shi, 138
 Kurami, Shimane-ken, 326
 Kura-mitsuha, 271, 481
 Kura-mizu-ha-no-kami, 271
 Kura-odo-no-kami, 491
 Kura-okami-no-kami, 271, 317, 352, 405, 481
 Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 271f., 470
kurayami (darkness), 124, 202
 Kurayami-matsuri, 124, 202
kureru (to present), 117
kuri (chestnuts), 219
kuro or *-kura* (black), 148
 Kuroda, 52
 Kuro-hime, 416
 Kuro-ikazuchi, 274
 Kurokawa (Naoya), 15
kuroki (darker), 172
kuro-kino-an (a table), 116
 Kurozumi (Munetada), 521
 Kurozumi-kyô, 516, 521
 Kurumazaki-jinja, Arashiyama, Kyôto-shi, 204, 448
kusa (herb), 337
 Kusagusa-no-mono-no-hire, 335
 Kusaka, 401
kusaki (*gisiss* and trees), 172
 Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi (or -no-tachi), 152f, 314, 316, 361, 371, 374, 414, 421.
 See also: Ame-no-murakumono-tsurugi, Atsuta-no-ô-kami.
kushi (mysterious), 103, 291
kushi (to pierce, to connect), 61
kushi or *-gushi* (comb), 68, 150f., 158, 298, 304, 314, 377, 385
 Kushi-akaru—tama—no—mikoto (or -no-kami), 291, 303.
 See also: Ha-akaru-tama
 Kushibi, 362f.
 Kushida-jinja, Shake-machi, Fukuoka-ken, 162, 207
 Kushi-dama-nigi-haya-hi-no-mikoto (=Nigi-haya-hi), 334, 465
 Kushi-inada-hime, 151, 313, 315, 423, 529
 Kushi-iwa-mado-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 304, 309, 359, 407, 497

530 *Alphabetical Index and Glossary*

- kushi-ki* (curious, mysterious), 151
 Kushi-machi-no-mikoto, 103
 Kushi-mika-dzuchi-no-kami (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 320
 Kushi-mika-tama-no-kami (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 319
 Kushi-mike-nu-no-mikoto, 485
kushi-mitama or *kushibi-mitama* (an aspect of the soul), 61–4, 68, 120, 293, 331
kushi-mitama (a stage in burial), 148
 Kushi-nada-hime, 405
 Kushi-ya-tama-no-kami, 346, 348, 485
kuso (excrement), 268
kuso-mari (excrements), 298
 Kusunoki (Masashige), 205, 442, 449, 454
 Kusunoki (Masasuë), 449
 Kusunoki (Masatsura), 449, 454
kusuri (drug), 151
kusushi (pharmacist), 151
 Kuta-jinja, Kôbe-shi, 163
 Kutami-no-kami, 497
 Kutani (Shôzo), 463
 Kutani-jinja, Teraï-machi, Ishikawa-ken, 463
kutsu (shoes), 276
 Kutsukake, 475
 Kuwana-jinja, Kuwana-shi, Mië-ken, 207, 293
 Kuyebiko, 329f., 500
 Kuyahaya, 464
 Kuzu-hachiman-gu, 434
 Kwakuju-ni, 56
 Kwammu-tennô (= Kammu-tennô), 422
kwan (coffins), 166
 Kwan-kô Kita-no-kata, 447
 Kwansëi era (1789–1801), 454
kwan-yô-sei (tolerant generosity), 74
 Kwazan-in (Morokota) (= Morokota Fujiwara), 445
 Kwi-si, 43
 Kwôgyoku-tennô (= Kôgyoku-tennô), 420
kyakuden (a type of shrine), 107
 Kyôbu-shô, 51, 126
kyôdô-shoku (a teacher of religion and morals), 51
 Kyôha Shintô, 57, 515
 Kyôha Shintô Rengô Kai, 524
kyô-in (a place for preaching), 51f.
kyôkai (religious associations), 516, 524
kyoma (a dance), 195
kyôto (reader on doctrine), 133, 350
 Kyoto, 105f, 111, 124, 161, 184, 197, 204, 208, 210, 220, 422, 425, 436, 456
kyûjutsu (archery), 178
li-chi (new theory of human nature), 47
ma (interstices), 377
ma (to chase away), 179
ma (true, truth), 213
machi (divination), 103
 Machiya river, Mië-ken, 207
ma-doko (true couch), 361, 380, 385
 Maëda (Toshië), 205, 452
maga (distorted, evil), 279
 Magaki (Island of), Miyagi-ken, 82
ma-gami (to bite uprightly), 255
 Ma-gami-furu-kushi-inada-hime, 318
ma-gane (true metal), 153, 301
magare (to perish), 340
magatama (curved jewels), 68, 153, 290, 474, 477
 Maga-tsu-bi (or -hi)-no-kami, 26f., 65, 67, 78f.
mage-mono (water-box), 81
magojirô (a mask), 177
 Ma-hito-tsu-no-kami
 (=Ama-tsu-marano-kami), 476
 Maï-age-saï, 176
maï-dono (temporary stage), 114
ma-imi (true abstinence), 169
 Maïsô-no-kotoba, 60, 167
maïto (a stage), 183
maji (poor, poverty), 381f.
majinaï (prevention and control), 330
makane-no-madama (iron ball), 122
 Makaru-gaheshi-no-tama, 335
makimono (scroll), 514
makoto (truth, sincerity), 71ff.
makotoni (truly), 501
makura (august pillow), 270
mame (beans) 189
mame-maki (scattering of *mame*), 189
mamori-tamashii (guardian soul), 60
 Manaï, Shimane-ken, 222
manako (eye-balls), 356
ma-nashi (without interstices), 377
mani (jewels), 428
 Manju (Island of), Yamaguchi-ken, 383
 Mankusen-no-yashiro, Shikawa-mura, Shimane-ken, 222, 23
 Mannyôshû, 37, 40, 48, 93, 154, 253, 472, 481, 490
 Mano (Tokitsuna), 188

Mano-gû, Sadogashima, Niigata-ken, 196, 424
manyô-gana (characters), 36
manzairaku (a dance), 195
 Mari-no-sei, 122
 Marôdo-no-kami, 512
maru-takatsuki (a tray), 174
 Maruyama (Ôkyo), 210
 Masa-a-ya-katsu-kachi-haya-hi-ame-no-oshi-
 ho-ne-no-mikoto or Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-
 hayahi-ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-mikoto
 (=Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi), 293
 Masa-ka-a-katsu-kachi-hayahi-ame-no-oshi-ho-
 ne-no-mikoto, 294f.
ma-sakaki (true sakaki), 213
 Masa-katsu-yama-tsu-mi, 272, 470
 Ma-saka-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 272, 470
 Masa-ya-a-katsu-katsu[-no]-haya-hi-ama-
 (or -kachi-haya-bi-ame)-no-oshi-ho-ne (or
 -mimi)-no-mikoto (=Ame-no-oshi-mimi),
 337
massha (a subsidiary shrine), 129 *et passim*
masu (measure), 513
 Masumida-no-jinja, Aichi-ken, 187
 Masumi-shûyô-kaï, 85
masura-wo (hero), 342
mato-i (archery), 180
matsu (pine), 140
matsu (to wait), 273
 Matsubara-jinja, Saga-chi, Saga-ken, 199, 219,
 452, 457
 Matsudaïra (Munehiro), 458
 Matsudaïra (Naomasa), 48
 Matsudaïra (Sadanobu), 454
 Matsuë, Shimane-ken, 105, 269
 Matsuë-jinja, Rakusan, Shimane-ken, 202, 454
 Matsugasaki-jinja, Yamaguchi-ken, 454
 Cf. Bôfu-ten-man-gû,
matsukage (a dance), 195
 Matsumoto, Nagano-ken, 51
 Matsunaga (Motoki), 40
matsii-no-hijiri (an ascete), 140
 Matsu-no-mori-jinja, Nagasaki-shi, 219, 447
 Matsu-no-wo-taisha, Kyôto-shi, 46, 120, 123,
 128, 130, 163, 198, 203f., 332, 467, 470f.,
 479, 482f.
 Matsuo, 106
 Matsu-ô-jinja and Matsu-ô-sha (various), 470
 Matsuoka (Shizuo), 94
 Matsuo-no-kami, 489
 Matsura, 430

matsuri (religious festival), 168–224, 391
et passim
matsuri-goto (government), 168, 391
matsuru (to worship), 168, 331
matsu-sha (branch-shrine), 129
 Matsushima (Bay of), 207
mayu (eye-brows), 319, 501
me (eye), 282, 500f.
me (indicative of the feminine), 258
me (sea-weed), 348, 485
 Medori (Queen), 416
mei (brightness), 141
 Meiji era (1868–1912), 37, 50ff., 64, 119f., 126,
 134, 143, 196, 215, 373, 437, 463f.
 Meiji-jingû, Tokyo, 95, 107, 110, 129, 141, 160,
 170, 172, 199, 213, 221, 425, 452
 Meiji-reform or restoration, 49, 55, 76, 93, 97,
 111, 132, 134ff., 141, 152, 165, 189, 197,
 219, 222, 239, 393f., 407, 437, 440, 448,
 453, 455, 458, 467f., 474, 481, 519f.
 Meiji-tennô, 52, 172, 181, 196, 205, 213, 221,
 391, 398f., 406, 425, 452, 455ff.
 Meiji-tennô-sai, 213
mei-kaï (a degree), 141f.
 Mekari-jinja, Moji-shi, Fukuoka-ken, 188,
 387f., 432
 Mekari-sai (or -matsuri), 188
men (aspects), 439
me-negi (a priestess), 137
 Me-oto-iwa, 300
mesu (to take to wife), 313
me-wo (husband and wife), 258
 Mezuki-jinja, Kyoto, 340
mi (body), 31, 60, 258, 262
mi (container), 60
mi (divine, august), 119
mi (fruit), 24, 60, 306
mi-(an. honourific prefix) 16, 25, 30, 118, 119,
 174, 183 *et passim*
mi (low spirits), 60
mi (maturity), 24
mi (native shape), 385
mi (to see), 24, 31
mi (three), 83
mi- (in *mikoto*), 31
mi-ahe (to feast), 314
 Mi-are Matsuri, 130, 182, 184
michi (sacred blood), 32
michi (sea-ass, sea-lion), 222, 379
michi (way), 70, 377, 495, 520

- Michi-*ahe-no-matsuri*, 207, 224, 495, 497
michi-biki (guide), 351
michi-biraki (harbinger), 356
 Michi-no-kami, 117, 495ff.
 Michi-no-naga-chi-ha-no-kami, 278
 Michi-no-omi-no-mikoto, 442
 Michi-no-toyonaga, 445
mi-chôdai (a cupboard), 118
 Midori-maru-mitama-no-ô-kami, 445
mieï (paintings), 120
mifuna-shiro (outer covering), 153
 Mifuto-hime, 421
migi (right), 149
mihashira-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
 Miho (Cape), Shimane-ken, 328, 343
 Miho-jinja, Miho-no-seki, Shimane-ken, 162, 182, 223, 344
 Mihomisaki, Shimane-ken, 512
 Miho-tsu-hime-no-kami, 328, 344, 351
 Mii-dera, 421
 Miikusa-matsuri, 199
mi-itsu (light), 91
mi-itsu (prestige), 30, 174, 306, 396
 Mika-futsu-no-kami (= Futsu-no-mitama), 315
mi-kagami (mirror), 119
 Mikage (Mount), Kyôto-fu, 102, 203
 Mikage-matsuri, 102, 203
mikagura (a type of *matsuri*), 183, 398
 Mika[-no]-haya-hi-no-kami, 271, 342, 465
mi-kakushi (who hid their person), 247
mikanko (a priest), 397
 Mika-no-haya-hi-no-kami
 (=Mika-haya-hi-no-kami), 271
 Mikasa (Mount), Nara-ken, 471
mikata (way of understanding), 439
 Mikawa, Aichi-ken, 183
mi-kayu-ura (divination by gruel), 180f.
mike (sacred food)
 Mike(-iri)-nu-no-mikoto, 65, 387, 402, 510
 Miketsu-[no-]kami (= Toyo-uke-hime), 198, 352, 395, 407, 502, 504, 510
 Miketsu-no-kami or Miketsu-kami
 (=Susano-wo-no-mikoto), 325
miki or *ô-miki* (rice-wine), 131, 159, 173, 215
miko (temple girl-attendant), 77, 134, 139, 141, 150, 156, 159, 166, 171, 176, 179, 194, 201, 430, 459
miko (women giving oracles), 137, 171
 Mi-ko-gami, 30
miko-kagura (a dance), 217
mikoshi (portable shrine), 77, 81, 91, 102, 114, 123f, 130, 178f., 199–203, 205–9, 211ff., 215–21
 Mikoshi-araï, 209
mikoshi-araïshiki (purification of the *mikoshi*), 81
mikoshi-gura (building for the *mikoshi*), 114
mikoto, 31, 390, 395
 Miko-yama-jinja (Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja), 29
 Mikumari-no-kami, 270, 479
 Mikumi-jinja, Mikumi-machi, Fukui-ken, 204, 419, 469, 479
 Mi-kura-tana-no-kami, 286, 499
mikusa-no-kandakara (the three Regalia), 152
 Mikushi-yama, Ehime-ken, 201
mimakareri (dead), 501
mi-makaru (to withdraw), 65
 Mimana, Korea, 427
mime (consort), 318
mi-megumi (blessing received), 155
mimi (ear), 500
 Miminashi-yama, Kashiwara-shi, Nara-ken, 472
mi-moro (sacred dwelling for the Kami), 117
 Mimoro-yama, Nara-ken, 331, 409, 412
mi-muro (sacred dwelling for the Kami), 117
mi-musubi (threefold *musubi*), 67
 Minami-ichi, 512
 Minami-matsuri, 217
 Minamino (Okata), 425
 Minamoto (or Genji), clan, 208f., 423
 Minamoto (Hikaru), 446
 Minamoto (Tamemori), 349
 Minamoto (Tametomo and Tameyoshi), 448
 Minamoto (Yoritomo), 215, 217, 448, 453
 Minamoto (Yoshiie), 435
 Minamoto (Yoshimitsu), 449
 Minamoto (Yoshinaka), 208
 Minamoto (Yoshitomo), 448
 Minamoto (Yoshitsune), 221, 448f.
 See also: Gikyô -*daï-myôjin* in
 Minase-jingû, Moto-machi, Ôsaka-fu, 424f.
minato (river-mouth), 321
 Minatogawa, Kôbe-shi, 449
 Minatogawa-jinja, Kôbe-shi, 127, 205, 448f.
 Minato-guchi-jinja, Hyôgo-ken, 136, 197, 480
 Minato-jinja, Haai-machi, Tottori-ken, 102, 480
 Minato-matsuri, 207
 Minato-no-kami, 264, 347, 479f.
mi-nige (escape), 102
minikuki (hideous), 365

- miniku-shi* (ugly), 365
 Minitsu, Miyazaki-ken, 406
 Minkan Shintô, 57f.
mino (reed-raincoat), 500
minoru (to bear fruit), 306
minosha (sea-weed soup), 170
minsha (a temple), 128
 Mi-oya-no-kami, 472
 Mirâ-herâ-inada (= Inada-hime), 317
misasagi (funeral mound), 369, 387, 394, 406, 413, 421ff.
 Mishihase no Kuma, 27
 Mishima (Island of), Shizuoka-ken, 333
 Mishima-matsuri, 215
 Mishima-miya, Izu, 106
 Mishima-no-mizo-kuî-hime, 479
 Mishima-taisha, Minami-izu-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 128, 183, 186, 195, 215, 453, 479
mi-shirushi (sign), 373
miso (bean-paste), 82
misogi (purificatory exercises), 79–82, 84f., 89, 98, 142, 155, 169, 171, 195, 202, 207, 216, 352
misogi-harai (purificatory exercises), 79, 84f., 143, 281
 Misogi-harai-no-kami (= Harai-no-kami), 280
 Misogi-kyô, 516, 524
 Misogi-no-miya, Ise, Mië-ken, 189f.
misogi-norito (*norito* for *misogi*), 89
 Misogi-sai, 192
 Misoro (Lake), Wakayama-ken, 189
misosazasi (wren), 340
 Misu-no-jinja, Yokoôji-mura, Kyôto-fu, 422
 Mitake (Mount), Yamanashi-ken, 280, 448
 Mitake-jinja, Ohme-shi, Tokyo, 103, 105, 141, 180, 202, 476
 Mitake-jinja, Okutama-machi, Tôkyô-to, 400
 Mitake-jinja (various), 246, 454
 Mitake-kyô, 240, 516, 519
mitama (soul, spirit), 16, 25, 28, 59–64, 89, 93, 117, 122f., 129f., 212f., 315f., 331, 357, 371f., 394, 402, 439
mitama-furi (spiritual exercises), 85
 Mitama-matsuri, 207
mitama-no-fuyu (activity of the Kami, blessings received), 155, 172, 373
 Mitama-no-kami, 29
mitama-shiro (an object in which the Kami is worshipped), 29, 72, 97, 118f., 122ff., 179, 201, 203, 232, 281f., 316
mitama-shizume (spiritual exercises), 79, 84f., 88ff., 216
 [Mi-]tama-shizume-no-matsuri, 396
mitama-utsushi (a ceremony), 166
mitama-ya (house for departed ancestors), 167
mitarashi (pure water), 98
 Mita-uë-shinko-shiki, 184
mitegura (offering of white cloth), 117, 149f., 489
 Mite-shiro-no-obito, 240
 Mitsu-kai, 240
mi-tobira (door), 112
 Mitobiraki-sai, 201
 Mito-kômon (= Mitsukuni Tokugawa), 454
 Mitomo-no-kami, 359
 Mitoshi-nof[-ô]-kami, 100f., 332, 393, 497, 499
mi-tsuë-shiro (virgin Imperial princess), 133
 Mitsu-go, 262
mi-tsukai (= *otsukai*), 102
 Mitsumine-jinja, Gokyô-mura, Chiba-ken, 451, 458, 478, 496
 Mitsumine-jinja, Otaki-mura, Saïtama-ken, 103, 162, 177, 232, 255, 357, 366, 374, 414, 454, 469, 475f., 498
mitsuna (a plant), 416
mitsu-tomoë (a symbol), 61, 506
 Mi-uma-no-ichi, 507
mi-uma-ya (stable), 101
miuse-tama-hiki (to die), 321
 Miwa (Mount), Nara-ken, 63, 412, 493
miwa-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
 Mi-wi, 497
 Mi-wi-no-kami (=Ki-no-mata-no-kami), 327, 497
miya (temple, palace), 128f., 259, 316, 331
miya-bashira (temple-pillar), 323, 346
 Miya-bi-no-kami (= me-no-uzume), 358
 Miyachitake-jinja, Tsuyazaki-machi, Fukuoka-ken, 115, 164, 260, 432, 484, 508
 Miyachitake (Mount), Fukuoka-ken, 430, 472
 Miyajima, Hiroshima-ken, 439
 Miyake-hachiman-gû, Sakyô-ku, Tokyo, 216
 Miyako (Ryû-kyu), 42
miyako (to concentrate), 306
 Miya-matsuri, 447
 Miyamoke-no-sukune, 459
 Miyaûra-jinja, Miyaûra, Miyazaki-ken, 131, 136, 388
miya-za (organisation of *ujiko*), 139
 Miyazaki-jingû, Miyazaki-shi, 64, 82, 106, 114, 129, 136, 164, 180, 406, 442, 479, 484, 491

- Miyazu, Kyôto-fu, 254
 Miya-zu-hime, 316
miyoshi (grass), 192
 Miyoshi-no[-ô]-kami, 203, 220
mi-yuka (august couch), 361
 Mi-yuki-matsuri, 507
mizo (ditches), 297
 Mizo-kuï-hime, 333
mizu (water), 149, 321, 482
mizu-gaki (a boundary), 97
mizu-gori (cold bathing), 80
 Mizu-ha-no-me-no-kami, 29, 268ff., 478, 481f.,
 497
 Mizu-hime, 414
 Mizu-jinja, Yochii-machi, Fukuoka-ken, 478
 Mizu-kumari-no-kami (= Mikumari-no-kami),
 479
 Mizu-maki-no-kami, 333, 479
 Mizu-matsuri, 208
 Mizu-nushi-jinja, Mohara-shi, Chiba-ken, 478
mizura or *mi-mizura* (hair-bunch), 273f., 289,
 294, 314
 Mizushi-jinja, Ônchi-machi, Kanagawa-ken,
 410
 Mizu-tsu-hime, 480
 Mizu-wakasu-jinja, Iwo-mura, Oki,
 Shimane-ken, 202, 457
 Mizu-wakasu-no-mikoto, 457
mo (ascetic exercises), 88
mo (skirt), 278
mochi (rice-dumpling), 130, 159, 197, 486
 Mock Joya, 180, 232, 472, 505
modoki (a dance), 195
 Mogari-no-shinji, 188
mogari-no-tokoro (temporary burial-place), 273
 Moji-shi, Fukuoka-ken, 432
moku-kai (wooden stairs), 112f.
moku-zô (wooden image), 120
 Momi-bi, 487
 Momiji-matsuri, 221
 Mommu-tennô, 394
momo (peach), 493
 Momo-no-sekku, 197
 Momotarô, 408, 493
 Momote-matsuri, 180
môn (gate), 97
mono (seed), 501
mono (spirit person), 60, 495
mono (thing), 501
mono (-imi) (spiritual exercises), 74, 88f., 169
 Mononobe-gawa, Kôchi-ken, 236
 Mononobe-jinja, Ôta-shi, Shimane-ken, 335
 Mononobe-no-tachine-no-ô-muraji, 413
mono-no-ke (evil spirits), 27
mono-zane (seed), 295
 Mon-shu-jin, 97
 Montoku-tennô, 399
 Môri (Motonari), 450, 455
 Môri (Takachika), 455
 MoribeTachibana. See Tachibana (Moribe)
 Moriyama-jinja, Fuchi-machi, Gifu-ken, 492
 Morinaga-shinnô, 425, 449
moro (to come through), 94
moro-moro (all), 93
morota-bune (a type of *matsuri*), 182, 223, 343
 Moro-yama (a float), 210
moru (to come through), 94
moshu (chief mourner), 166
 Moto-Ise (various), 412
 [Moto-ise]-kono-jinja, Kyôto-fu, 162
 Moto-miya, 371
 Moto-no-miya, Yamato, 412
 Motoôri (Norinaga), 25–8, 37, 39ff., 46, 59, 61,
 67, 69, 93, 115ff., 122, 158, 186, 227, 240,
 242, 245–8, 252, 254, 256, 258, 261–4, 276,
 279, 332f., 339, 343, 348, 360, 363, 366,
 377, 414, 427, 455, 480, 490, 493, 517
 Motoôri-jinja, Matsusaka-shi, Mië-ken, 455
mo-ya (mourning-house), 340f.
 Mo-yama, Gifu-ken, 341
 Moyoshi-daïko, 213
mu (nothing), 84
mu (six), 83, 306
muchi-kake, 112f.
mugi (wheat), 499
mujina (badger), 477
mukade (centipede), 322
mukaë-bi (a welcoming fire), 94, 208
 Mukaë-kusushi-jinja, Koyama-machi,
 Shizuoka-ken, 474
 Mukafu-no-shima, 262
 Mukahe-no-kami, 333
 Mukahi-jinja, Otokuni-gun, Kyoto, 333
muka-hime (chief-wife), 323
 Mukahitsu-no-wo-kiki-so-ôfu-itsu-no-mitama-
 hayasa-nobori-no-mikoto, 429
mukakusha (shrine with no official rank), 127
mukatsu (oriented), 429
muke-ru (to subdue), 337, 342
muku (a species of tree), 322

- mukuro* (trunk), 272
 Mumako-no-sukune, 44
muna-ji (breasts), 302
 Munakata, Fukuoka-ken, 50, 426, 439
 Munakata-nakatsu -hime-no-mikoto, 440
 Munakata-no-kami, 26f., 123, 187, 197, 293,
 296, 328, 334, 426, 430f., 437f, 440, 483
 Munakata-taisha, Fukuoka-ken, 94, 121, 123,
 136, 187, 355, 438f.
muna-kuni (desert), 363
munamochi-bashira (the pillar to support the
 ridge), 112f.
 Munasohi, 363
mune (breast), 272, 274, 319, 327
mune (ridge), 299
 Munenaga-shinnô, 425
mura-ahase (village-adjoining), 297
mura-gimi (village-chief), 501
mura-hachibu (heterodoxies), 33
 Murakami-tenno, 447
murasaki (purple), 148
 Murasaki-jinja, Matsushima-machi, Miyagi-
 ken, 243
 Muraya, 421
 Muretsu-tennô, 419
muro (pit), 93, 367
 Muromachi period (1392–1490), 22, 75, 114,
 137, 184, 197, 450
 Musa, 421
musa (to beget), 67
musubi (vital energy), 59, 65, 67f., 88, 91, 94,
 157, 231, 239, 241f., 306, 311, 325, 332
 Musubi[-no]-kami, 30, 241f., 244, 307, 395,
 397
musubi-no-mitama (creative power), 67
musubu (to bind together), 306
musuko (son), 67
musume (daughter), 67
 Mutobe (Koreyoshi), 66
 Mutsu-fudoki, 38
myô-e (garment), 144
 Myôjin, 243
myôjin-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
 Myôken, 243
 Myôken-bodhisattva, 467
 Myôken-jinja, Naruto-shi, Tokushima-ken, 243
 Myôken-sha (various), 243, 467
 Myöng (King), 44
na (long), 490
na (as a personal pronoun), 252
 Nabaki-jinja, Seki-mura, Chiba-ken, 121
 Nabe-matsuri, 198
 Nabeshima clan, 457
 Nabeshima(Katsushige, Kiyohisa and
 Naoshige), 452
 Nachi waterfalls, Kumano, 206, 480
 Nachi-jinja, Koza-machi, 208
 Nachi-jinja, Kumano, Wakayama-ken, 50, 120,
 123, 136, 179, 184, 206, 247ff., 265, 283,
 373, 403, 443, 487
na-deru (to pat), 315
 Naga-chi-ha-no-kami, 276
 Nagahama-jinja, Kôchi-shi, 110
naga-naki-dori (long-singing birds), 302
 Nagano-jinja, 455
 Nagauchi, 464
 Naganori, 456
 Nagara river, Gifu-ken, 223
nagare-zukuri (a style of architecture), 107f.
 Nagasaki, 178, 219
 Nagasawa (Odate), 522
nagashi-no-taru (a diminutive barrel), 187
 Naga-shiraha-no-kami, 304
naga-ta (long fields), 501
 Nagata-jinja, Nagata-ku, Kôbe, 81, 104, 136,
 191, 220, 344, 432, 467, 470, 483, 486
 Nagatoro, Saitama-ken, 215
 Nagawo, Settsu, Ôsaka-fu, 429
nagi (calm), 252
nagi (to join together into one unity), 240
 Nagi-jinja, Chizu-machi, Tottori-ken, 249
 Nagi-matsuri, 213
 Naginata-hoko, 209
nagisa (beach), 386
 Nago-shi-sai, 80, 193, 281
 Nagusa, Kiyokuni, 412
 Nahaka-jinja, Shiga-gun, Shiga-ken, 478
 Naho-bi, 292
 Nahobi-no-mitama, 69
nahoki-koto (righteousness), 72
nahoshi (righteous), 72
nai-gama, 122
 Naïmu-shô, 126
 Naï-no-kami, 490
naishi (a priestess), 139
naishôten (a priestess), 137, 398

- naka* (centre), 238
 Nakagawa, 280f.
 Nakahara-hachiman-gu, Kitakyûshû-shi,
 Fukuoka-ken, 205, 435
naka-ima (here and now), 32, 238, 390
 Nakanishi (Prof. Akira), 14f., 40, 64, 94, 441
 Nakano (Yasuo), 256
 Nakano (Yonosuke), 522
 Naka-no-ôe-no-oji (= Tenji-tennô), 420
 Naka-no-gozen, 440
 Nakanoshima, Oki Islands, 424
 Nakatomi and Ô-nakatomi (clan), 38, 136, 140
 Nakatomi-baraï-no-kotoba (=ô-baraï-no-rito),
 39, 264
 Nakatomi-no-Kamako, 444
 Nakatomi-no-sukefusa, 458
 Nakatsu-gû, Ô-shima, Fukuoka-ken, 439
 Naka-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 187, 279f., 429
 Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 279f., 282
 Nakayama (Miki), 521
 Nakayama-jinja, 214
 Naka-yama-tsu-mi, 272, 470
naki (cry, crying), 302, 339
 Naki-me, 338
 Nakiri-jinja, Daïô-machi, Mië-ken, 247
 Naki-saha-me-no-kami, 270
 Nakono-jinja, Nagoya-shi, Aïchi-ken, 318, 423
naku (cry), 339
namazu (a fish), 490
 Namazu, 490
 Namesa-jinja, Namesa, Shimane-ken, 283, 327
namî (waves), 252, 328
namida (tears), 270
namî-ho (crest of the waves), 343, 365
 Namikawa, 106
 Nami-no-uë-gû, Wakasa-machi, Ryû-kyu
 Island, 277
 Nana-kawa-matsuri, 203
 Na-naki-me, 338
nana-kusa (the seven herbs), 194
 Nanatsuka-hagi, 415
 Nanbeiji, 256
 Nanbokuchô era (1336–1392), 449
nandin (bamboo), 190
 Nangû-jinja, Tarui-machi, Gifu-ken, 177, 476
 Naniha or Naniwa, Ôsaka-shi, 210, 427, 477
 Nankô Fujin, 449
 Nankô-jinja, Shirakawa, Fukushima-ken, 455
 Nankô-saï, 205
 Nanshû-jinja, Kagoshima-shi, 455
 Nantaï (Mount), Tochigi-ken, 475
nanten (bamboo), 190
 Naobi-no-kami, 26f.
 Naobi-no-mitama, 27, 40
nao-hi (sun rays), 148
naoï-bito (scape-goat), 191
 Naoï-matsuri, 191, 318
 Naoki, Gifu-ken, 51
naoraï (ceremonial meal), 166, 169, 174
naoraï-shiki (feast), 174
nara (oak), 493
 Nara era (710–784), 29, 46, 126
 Narano-o-gawa, Kyôto-shi, 107
 Nara(-shi), 55, 104, 124, 425, 493
nari-kabura (whizzing arrow), 322, 362
naru (to become), 306, 502
naru (to carry on one's back), 502
 Naru-ikazuchi, 274
 Naru-kami, 489, 497
 Naruto passage, between Awaji-shima and
 Fukushima-ken, 278
 Nashinoki-jinja, Hirokoji, Kyoto, 127, 455
nâsiya, 152
nasori (a dance), 175
nasu (to produce), 291f., 294, 306
 Natsukoshi-matsuri, 206
 Natsu-matsuri, 123, 177, 185, 188, 206f., 221
 Natsu-no-ne-no-kami, 333
 Natsu-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami, 333
 Nawa (Nagatoshi), 449f.
 Nawa-jinja, Nawa-machi, Tottori-ken, 450
nazuke-oya (god-parents), 165
nazuna (a herb), 82
ne (root), 293
neburu (asleep), 314
negi (a priest), 133f., 141, 181
negi (a *shake*), 141
negimâi (a dance), 195
 Negi-no-jinja, Takeda-shi, Ôita-ken, 415
nekwan (a type of coffin), 166
nen (thought-wave), 84
nenchû-gyôji (collective acts of worship), 155
 Ne-no-katasu-kuni, 65, 286, 322
 Ne-no-kuni, 31, 65, 287, 323f., 495
 Ne-saku-no-kami, 271f.
 Nezu-jinja, 219
nezumi (mouse), 322
 Nibu-jinja, 300
 Nibukawakami-jinja, Yoshino-gun, Nara-ken,
 102, 264, 280f., 344, 360, 408, 432, 478, 481

Nibutsuhime-jinja, Itsu-gun, Wakayama-ken, 28, 300
 Nibutsu-hime-no-kami, 28
 Nichiren sect, 452
 Nichiren(-sama), 45f., 465, 519
 Nichi-rin, 465
 Nigatsu-do, 55
nigi-haka (a stage in burial), 62
 Nigi-haya-hi-no-mikoto, 88, 334f., 361, 400, 404, 468.
 See also: Kushi-dama-nigi-haya-hi-no-mikoto
nigi-mitama (gentle *mitama*), 61–4, 120, 135, 148, 198ff., 281ff., 300, 372f., 422f., 429, 431, 439
nigiru (to consolidate), 61
nigi-shine (a type of rice), 173
nigi-tahe (fine silk cloth), 174, 203
nigi-te (fine cloth), 304
 Niha-taka-tsu-hi-no-kami, 498
 Niha-tsu-hi-no-kami, 332ff., 498
 Nihon, 35
 Nihongi or Nihon-shoki, 36f, and *passim*
 Nihon-hi-de-some-no-kami-yashiro, 485
 Niigata-shi, 215
 Nii-name(-sai), 172, 174, 185, 340, 368, 399
nii-no-ama (grandmother), 423
 Niiyama-jinja (= Shinzan-jinja), 183, 195
nijū-nisha (the 22 temples), 127
 Nikkō, 27, 96, 475, 486
 Nikkō (Mount), Tochigi-ken, 473
nikku (daily offerings), 168
nikuku-shite (very wicked), 329
nina (snail), 101
ningen-no-honseï (nature of man), 32
ningen-shin (historical persons), 441
 Ninigi (Prince), 32, 121, 130, 153, 230, 265, 293, 303, 305, 315ff., 334–7, 350, 353–7, 359–70, 372, 379, 389f., 395, 398f., 404, 409f., 437f., 465, 474, 478, 528f.
 See also: Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ninigi-no-mikoto, Hiko-ho-no-ninigi.
ninjō (master of ceremonies), 176, 398
ninjō-mai (a dance), 176
ninki (spirit), 502
 Ninkō-tennō, 398
ni-no-miya (second temple), 128
 Nintoku-tennō, 415–9, 433, 435, 437
ni-nuri-ya (red arrow), 404
 Niō-sama, 97

Nishidake -j inj a, Kiso -komagatake, Nagano-ken, 266
 Nishi-hongwan-ji, 508
 Nishi-ya, 206
 Nishi-ji-hachiman-gū, 434
 Nishiki, Wakayama-ken, 402
 Nishi-nasuno-machi, 456
 Nishinomiya-jinja, Nishinomiya-shi, Hyōgo-ken, 63, 72, 107, 120, 123f., 136, 143, 260, 373, 512
 Nishinomiya-shi, Hyōgo-ken, 329
 Nishitsunoï (Masayoshi), 39
 Nitobe (Dr. Inazō), 75f., 460
 Nitta (Yoshisada), 52, 448
 Nitta-hachiman-gu, Sendai-shi, Kagoshima-ken, 369, 437
 Nitta-jinja, Miyauchi-machi, Kagoshima-ken, 184, 369
niwa-bi (fire in the yard), 176
niwakunaburi (wagtails), 257
niwa-tori (barnyard fowl), 210
 Niwa-tori-hoko, 210
nō (a play), 114, 205, 209ff., 221, 224, 514
-nō (= *ō*) (king, sage), 393
 Nobeoka, Miyagi-ken, 207
 Nobo, 415
 Nobono-jinja, Kameyama-shi, Mië-ken, 415
nobori (fiercely promoted, quickly steamed), 429
 Noda-jinja, Yamaguchi-shi, 455
 Nogi (General Count Maresake), 76, 216, 456f.
 Nogi-jinja (various), 310, 456
 Nogi-kinenbi, 216
 No-ide-no-shinji, 197, 499
 Noi-jinja, 243
 Noma-jinja, Kanazawa-shi, Ishikawa-ken, 494
 Nomaōi-matsuri, 213
 Nomi-jinjā, Takatsuki-shi, Ōsaka-fu, 464
 Nomi-no-sukune, 446, 463f.
 Nonaka (Yoshitsugu or Kenzan), 457
 Nonaka-jinja, Yamada-chō, Kōchi-ken, 457
 Nonami-jinja, Mitsuse-mura, Saga-ken, 449
nori or *noru* (resemblance), 39
nori (sea-weed), 513
noritabe-goto (august words), 39
norito (invocation), 38f, 41, 55, 59, 107, 124, 147, 167, 169, 171, 190, 266, 277, 436, 483f., 491, 495, 497, 503, 512
norito-den (a hall), 107, 119
nori-to-goto (magic words), 39

- Norito-kô, 40
nonto-sôjô (chanting of norito), 169
nori-wake-ru (to divide), 295
nu (field moor), 294, 322
nu (for *nushi*), 247
 Nu-dzu-chi-(hime-) no-kami
 (=Kaya-nu-hime-no-kami), 151, 265, 304
nu-hoko (Heavenly spear), 149, 253, 526
 Nu-ikazuchi, 274
nuka (rice bran), 302
nuka (to draw out), 302
 Nukisaki-jinja, Tomioka-shi, Gunma-ken,
 182, 353
nuku (to pluck out), 310
 Nunada, 368
 Nuna-i, 294
 Nuna-kawa-hime, 321, 327
 Nuna-kawa-jinja, Tabuse, Niigata-ken, 487
 Nunaki-iri-hime-no-mikoto, 411
 Nuna-soko-naka-tsu-hime, 408
nune-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
 Nunobiki (Falls of), Kôbe-shi, 200
 Nurinomi, 416
 Nu-ri Sa-chhi-hyé, 43f.
nuru (to paint), 321
nusa (a type of *gohei* or *harai-gushi*), 120, 159,
 170, 224, 232
nushi (master), 238, 247
 Nu-shima, Hyôgo-ken, 255f.
 Nu-zu-chi-no-kami, 471
 Nyaku-ôji (=Uona Fujiwara), 444
 Nyôdô-sai, 486
nyoi (pearl), 428
nyûdo (a mask), 177
- ô (Emperor), 441
 ô (great), 31
 ô or *wo* (man), 327
 ô- (yellow), 149
 Ôagata-jinja, Inuyama-shi, Aichi-ken, 214
 Ô-amaterasu-ô-mi-kami
 (=Ame-no-minaka-nushi), 240
 Ôarai-isosaki-jinja, Ô-arai-machi, Ibaragi-ken,
 96, 130, 136, 478, 509
 Ôarai-isosaki-no-kami, 27
 Ôarai-jinja, 121, 123
 Ôarata-wake-no-mikoto, 203
 Ôasa-hiko, 303
 Ôasahiko-jinja, Itano-gun, Tokushima-ken, 175,
 199, 203, 303, 478
- Ôasa-jinja, Zentsûji-shi, Kagawa-ken, 478
 Ô-atari, 220
 Ô-aya-tsu-bi-no-kami, 264, 280
 Oba-go-shinji, 222
o-bama (little shore), 342, 346
 Ôba-no-ô-miya (= Kamoso-jinja), 269
 Ô-barai, 399
 Ô-barai-no-norito, 39
 Ô-be-hime-no-kami, 332
obi (belt), 166, 212, 276, 278
obiage (a ceremony), 165
o-bisha (a type of archery), 180
obito (headman), 317
obo (big), 381
 O-bon, 94, 468
 Ôboshi-jinja, Aomori-shi, Aomori-ken, 243
 Oda (Nobunaga), 450–3
 Oda (Nobutada), 450
 Ô-da-no-mikoto (= Saruda-hiko), 507
 Odo-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 272, 470
oë (ascetic exercises), 89
oë (it is overf.), 326
 Oë-jinja, Oë-machi, Tottori-ken, 89, 321
o-fuda (a sacred object), 57, 124, 159, 190, 373.
 486
ofukasogi (a ceremony), 165
 O-fune-matsuri, 124, 214
o-furo (hot bath, bath-room), 81
 Ogami-jinja, Hachinoke, Aomori-ken, 215
 O-gami-yama-jinja, Hakusen-machi,
 Tottori-ken, 206
 Ôga-no-higi, 137, 198, 433
 Ô-ge-tsu-hime (Island of), 262
 Ô-ge-tsu-hime-no-kami, 262, 266, 312, 333,
 500, 504
 Ôgimachi-tennô, 450
 Ogoto-jinja, Ninbu-machi, Tochigi-ken, 422
 ô-go-zen-no-shinji, 171
ô-guchi (big mouth), 255
 Ô-guchi-ma-gami-no-mikoto, 245
 O-guna (= Yamato-takeru), 415
 Oguni-jinja, Mori-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 195
 Ohachi-meguri, 473
 Ô-ha-kari, 341
 O-hake-matsuri, 218
 Ô-haraë, 192f., 207
ô-hayaï (great *harai*), 55
ô-harai (an amulet), 373
ô-harai-norito (an invocation), 89, 130, 190,
 282

- Ô-harano-jinja, Ôharano-minami-kasuga-machi,
 Kyôto-shi, 105, 175, 185
 Ohari-fudoki, 38
 Ohari-no-harinane-no-muraji-no-mikoto, 457
 Ohata-no-matsuri, 214
 Ô-hatsuse-waka-sasagi-no-jinja, Asuka-mura,
 Nara-ken, 419
o-hido-koro (a straw hut), 84, 146
 Ôhiko-no-mikoto, 408
ô-hiro (a priest), 135
 Ô-hiru-me-no-mikoto, 287
 Ô-hiru-me-no[-muchi-no]-mikoto (=Amaterasu-
 ô-mi-kami), 286, 371
o-hi-taki (fire-burning), 488
 Ohitsu-osame-matsuri, 217
 Ô-hoko-no-kami, 484
ô-hôri (a priest), 105
o-hyakudo (a prayer), 100
 Ôi river, 204
 Ô-ichi-hime (= Ame-no-uzume), 358
 Oide-matsuri, 507
oifuse (to crouch), 323
 Ôi-hachiman-sha, Kotohira-machi,
 Kagawa-ken, 478
 Ô-ikazuchi-no-kami, 274, 489
 Oi-matsu-kobaï, 186
 Oïmi-no-kami, 509
 Oï-no-shimizu, 261
 Ôishi (Yoshio), 456
 Ôishi-jinja, Akaho-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 456
 Ôishi-jinja, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi, 456
 Ô-iwa-dai-myôjin, 477
 Oïwake, 475
 Ôjin-tennô, 96, 197, 281, 360, 415, 418, 426,
 431–8, 457.
 See also: Hachiman
 Oka (Bay of), Fukuoka-ken, 400, 480
 O-kachô-matsuri, 203, 219
 Okada-jinja, Nishinomiya-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 219,
 239
 Ô-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-kami
 (=Ô-kuni-nushi), 332, 470
 Ôkagura-saï, 199
 Ô-kama-sama, 223
okame (a mask), 177, 358
 Okami-no-kami, 328
 Ôkami-no-take (Mount), Shimane-ken, 326
 Ô-kamu-dzu-mi-no-mikoto, 275
o-hari-den (a reserve shrine), 124
 Okata-jinja, 243
 Okayama, 97
 Okayama-jinja, Okayama-shi, 409
 Okayu-ura-go-shinji, 182
oke (a species of tree), 305
 Oke-no-miko-no-jinja, Asuka-mura, Nara-ken,
 419
 Oki (Islands of), Shimane-ken, 51, 77, 262, 424
 Oki-ebisu, 63, 512
okina (a dance), 195
okina (a mask), 177
 Okinaga-tarashi-hime-no-mikoto
 (=Jingû-kôgô), 281, 427, 432
 Okinawa (Islands of), 137
 Okinokarumo, 256
 Okino-shima. Cf. Oki, 355, 438f.
o-kitô-shi (prayer-reciter), 134
oki-tsuchi (laid earth), 497
 Oki-tsu-hiko-no-kami, 332, 497f.
 Oki-tsu-hime-no-kami, 332, 497f.
 Okitsu-kagami, 335
 Oki-tsu-nagisa-biko-no-kami, 279
 O-kitsune-san, 505
o-kitsune-san (a kind of *sushi*), 506
 Oki-tsu-shima-hime-no-mikoto
 (=Ta-kiri-hime-no-mikoto), 293, 438
 Okiyo-maru, 400
 Oki-zakaru-no-kami, 279
o-komori (abstinenes), 169
 Ô-koto-oshi-wo-no-kami, 264
okoze (salt-sea fish), 469
ô-kuchi (large mouth), 348
 Okuma-kabuto-matsuri, 217
 Ô-kume-no-mikoto, 442
oku-miya (a type of shrine), 107, 129, 216, 471,
 474
 Ôku-naïshinnô, 421
 Okunchi-matsuri, 219, 221
 Ôkuni (Takamasa), 66
 Ô-kuni-mitama-no-kami (= Ô-kuni-nushi), 332,
 350
 Ô-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto (or-no-kami) 28, 31,
 56, 63, 65f., 100, 102, 130, 160, 198, 222f.,
 231, 295, 312, 318–24, 326–31, 333–40,
 343–52, 364, 373, 405f., 439, 443, 462, 487,
 497, 500, 513, 528f.
 See also: Ame-ga-shita-tsukurashishi-ô
 kami, Daïkoku, Ô-kaga-yama-to-omi-no-
 kami, Ô-kuni-mitama-no-kami, Ô-kuni-
 tama-no-kami, Ô-mono-nushi-no-kami,
 Ô-namuchi-no-kami, Utsushi-kuni-tama-

- no-kami, Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami
 Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, Musa-shi, Tôkyô-to, 28, 81,
 101, 104, 124, 136, 141, 202, 213, 458, 462,
 470, 483
 Ô-kuni-tama-jinja, Ômiya, Aïchi-ken, 81
 Ô-kuni-tama-no-kami (= Ô-kuni-nushi), 104,
 204, 319, 344
 O-kuno-miya, 415, 481
 Ô-kura-nushi, 480
okuri-bi (a fire), 94, 208
 Ô-kushi-inada-hime-no-mikoto
 (=Inada-hime-no-mikoto), 200, 318
 Oku-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 272, 470
ô-ma (wide meshes), 377
 Ô-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami, 279f.
o-mamori (amulet), 167, 373
 Ô-mi-jingû, Ôtsu, Shiga-ken, 129, 201, 421
 Ô-miketsu-no-kami, 502
o-mikuji (written oracle), 156, 180
 Ômine (Mount), Nara-ken, 519
 Ômi-no-Mifune, 400
 Ômi-ryô, 422
 Ô-mi-shima, 102, 469
ômitakara (the people), 330
ô-mitama (complete soul), 62
 Ô-miwa, 331, 333, 411
 Ô-miwa-taïsha, Nara-ken, 63, 105ff., 117, 121,
 126, 136, 141, 201, 206, 331, 404, 430, 458,
 486
 Ô-miya (Ichikishima-hime), 440
 Ômiya palace, Kyoto, 397
 Ô-miya-hime (= Ame-no-uzume), 358, 507
 Ômiya-jinja, Aomori-shi, Iwate-ken, 215
 Ômiya-no-me-no-kami (= Ame-no-uzume),
 309, 357f., 395, 407, 504
 Ô-mizu-nu-no-kami, 317, 405
omo (face), 262
omo daru (complete perfection), 249
 Omo-daru-no-kami, 235f., 249, 251
 Omoïkane-no-kami, 241, 301ff., 336–9, 341,
 359f., 372, 482
omo-no-chishiru (mother's milk), 321
 Ô-mono-nushi-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 63,
 105, 187, 319, 331, 344, 348, 350f., 409,
 411, 420, 423
omotegata (masks), 195
 Omote-senke (school), 204
 Ômoto-jinja (various), 243
 Ômoto-kyô, 189ff., 522ff.
 Ômoto-no-kami, 522
 O-mukaë-chôchin, 209
ô-mukaë-ningyo, 213
 Ônahe-no-matsuri, 421
 Ô-naho-bi-no-kami, 264, 279f., 282
 Ô-nakatomi, 303
 Ô-naka-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, 413
 Ôname-sai, 421
 Ô-namuchi-no-mikoto (*or* -no-kami)
 (=ô-kuni-nushi), 56, 63, 130, 191, 203,
 318–21, 329f., 337, 343, 347. 350, 411, 475,
 513, 519
on-bashira, (a pillar), 100, 345
 On-be, 463
 Oni, 27, 179, 188f., 191
oni (a mask), 177, 179, 214
 Onibu, 27, 195
onigawara (edge-tiles), 479
 Ô-nihe-no-matsuri, 396
oni-mai (a dance), 195
 Oni-sube, 188
oni-yarai (a rite), 189
ono (self), 256
 Ono (Prof. Sokyô), 40
 Onogoro-jima, 149, 253, 255, 258, 260, 263,
 496, 526
 Onogoro-jima (or -shima)-jinja, 255
 Onogoro-jima-san-choki, 256
 O-no-jinja, Ôsaka-fu, 402
 Ô-no-jo, 106
 Ono-kori-dome, 302, 304
 Onokoro-jinja, Nu-shima, Mihara-gun,
 Hyôgo-ken, 371
 Ô-nomi-no-sukune-jinja, Tottori-shi, 464
 Ôno-mura, Sumoto-shi, 261
 Ô- (or Futo)no-yasumaro, 36
 Ontake (Mount), Nagano-ken, 212, 475, 519
 Ontake-jinja, Kiso, Nagano-ken, 212
 Ontake-jinja (various), 246
 Ontake-kyô, 524
 Ô-nu-de-hime, 263
onzaki-gû (temple for the Kami of the gates), 97
 Onzaki-sama, 97
on-zô (divine image), 222
ore (wretch), 323
 Orikuchi (Prof. Shinobu), 39, 186
orimono (rolls of brocade), 514
oyochi (a mythological snake), 313
 Orochi-no-ara-masa (=Futsu-no-mitama), 315
 Orochi-no-hire, 335
 Orochi-no-kara-sabi (= Futsu-no-mitama), 315

- Osada-jinja Haruë-shi, Fukui-ken, 194
 Ô-saka, Nara-ken, 411
 Ôsaka (= Ôsaka-shi, Ôsaka-fu), 149, 215, 475
 Osakabe-jinja, Himeji-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 206, 422
 Osakabe (Prince), 422
 Ôsaka-yamaguchi-j in j a, Kashiba-machi,
 Nara-ken, 411
 Ô-sake-jinja, Akô-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 220
 Osaki-jima, 439
osameru (to govern), 331, 347
 Osasa-jinja, 467
 Osasa-no-mikoto, 503
 Ô-sazaki-no-mikoto (= Nintoku-tennô), 417f.
 Ô-se-ihhi-no-mikuma-no-ushi, 338
 Ôse-jinja, 305
ôse-ru (to give a fine), 310
oshi (a priest), 85, 134, 373
 Oshi, 412
o-shichiya (a ceremony), 161, 165
oshiki (a tray), 174
 Ô-shima (mythology), 263
 Ô-shima, Fukuoka-ken, 438
 Ô-shime-hari, 507
oshi-no-iye-moto (a priest), 85
 Oshi-take-ô-kuni-no-mitate-no-mikoto
 (=Nariaki Tokugawa), 454
ô-sora (the great Void), 354
ôsu (a fine), 310
 Ôsumi, Kagoshima-ken, 38
 Ôsumi-fudoki, 38
o-suma (sacred sand), 82
osushi (a brave strong woman), 302
 Ô-suwa-matsuri, 219
O-tabisho (a shrine), 114, 124, 130, 178, 192,
 202, 206, 211f., 217, 219, 224, 508
otafuku (a mask), 177, 358
 Ôta-jinja, Haramachi-shi, Fukushima-ken, 207,
 214, 239, 243
 Ôtaka-jinja, Numaki, Yamagata-shi, 415
 Ô-tamaru-wake, 263
 Ôta-no-mikoto, 412
 Otariya, 487
 Ô-tata-neko, 411
 Ôtate of Yamabe, 416
 Ô-ta-uë-matsuri, 184, 214
 O-te-bi-matsuri, 487
 Ô-tento-sama, 465
 Ô-to-hi-wake-no-kami, 264
otoko (male), 466
 Ô-toko-nushi-no-kami(=Ô-kuni-nushi), 160, 320
 Otoko-yama, Kyôto-fu, 436
 Ô-tomato-hiko-no-kami and Ô-tomato-hime-
 no-kami, 266, 471
otome (virgin), 213, 364
otome-mai (a dance), 176
 Ôtomo-no-Kuronushi, 211
 Ôtomo-no-Takehi-no-muraji, 415
 Ô-to-no-be-no-kami and Ô-to-no-ji-no-kami,
 235, 249, 251, 254
 Ô-tori-jinja, Sakaï-shi, Ôsaka-fu, 303, 415
 Ô-tori-jinja, Ryûsenji-machi, Daïtô-ku,
 Tôkyô-to, 46, 222, 415
 Ô-tori-jinja (various), 104
 Ôtori-no-muraji, 415
ôtori-zukuri (a style of architecture), 108
otorohe (downfall), 382
 Ôtoshi-jinja, Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi-ken, 134
 Otoshiki, 411
 Ôtoshi-mi-o-ya-jinja, Miyazaki-machi,
 Shizuoka-shi, 198, 470, 499
 Ô-toshi-no-kami, 224, 318, 332f., 469f., 498f.
 Oto-tachibana-hime-no-mikoto, 414
 Otoyo-no-mikoto, 316
 Ô-tsuchi-no-kami, 333, 358.
 See also: Tsuchi-no-mi-o-ya-no-kami
 Ôtsu-jinja, Kamioka-chô, Gifu-ken, 201, 408
otsukai (a messenger of the Kami), 102–6, 167,
 282
 Otsukaï-den, 201
 Otsu-matsuri, 219
 Owaki-jimmyo-jinja, Aïchi-ken, 219
 Owari, 93
 Owari-ô-kuni-tama-jinja, Inazawa-shi,
 Aïchi-ken, 191, 457
 Owari-ô-kuni-tama-no-kami, 457
 Ô-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 148, 264, 267, 377,
 387, 405, 437, 476, 529.
 See also: Toyo-tama-hiko
 Ôwuru-wake-ishi—jinja, Ishigoshi—machi,
 Miyagi-ken, 415
 Oya, 521
 Ô-ya-biko-no-kami, 264, 322
 O-yachi-mata-hiko and -hime, 207
 Oyama, Kanagawa-ken, 475
 Ô-yama-hime (= Ame-no-uzume), 358
 Oyama-jinja, Kanazawa, Ishikawa-ken, 205,
 452
 Ô-yama-kuï-no-kami (or -no-mikoto), 62, 103,
 120, 130, 199, 332, 350, 470f., 483, 510.
 See also: Sannô

- Ô-yama-mori (Prince), 417
 Ô-yama-sai, 507
 Ôyama-suwa-jinja, Jakuma-mura,
 Kumamoto-ken, 135
 Ô-yamato, 262
 Ô-yamato-jinja, Tenri-shi, Nara-ken, 177, 198,
 393
 Ô-yamato-no-jinja-chûshin-jô, 319
 Ô-yamato-toyo-aki-tsu-shima, 263
 Ô-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, Ô-mishima, Ehime-ken,
 28f., 102, 121, 135, 201, 208, 217, 222, 366,
 469, 484
 O-yama-tsu-mi-jinja, Sadogashima,
 Niigata-ken, 208
 O-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 208, 265, 272, 313,
 317f., 335, 364f., 367, 379, 405, 411, 435,
 440, 469, 471, 474, 528
 Ô-ya-shima-kuni, 261, 318
 O-yashima-no-rei, 392
 ô-yashiro (a type of temple), 128
 Ô-ya-tsu-hime, 332
 Ô-yumi-hajime, 507
 Ozono, 256
 Ozu-jinja, Kôchi-shi, 122
 o-zuchi (a room), 118
- Pèkché, Korea, 43f., 431
- Raïden, 489
 Raïjin, 488
 Raïko-sai, 488
 Raïtarô, 489
 Rakuzan (= Naomasa Tokugawa), 454
 Ransan-koshô-kaï, 221
 rei (soul), 79
 reijin (a musician), 176
 rei-sai (a type of *matsuri*), 90, 182, 184, 193,
 198–201, 203–6, 208, 212ff., 219ff.
 rei-tai-sai (a type of *matsuri*), 77, 175, 187,
 192, 200, 205, 217, 219, 221, 487
 Reizan-kannon, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi,
 195
 Rekkô (= Nariaki Tokugawa), 454
 ren-chi-shin (consciousness of shame), 76
 rengo-sô (Chinese milk-vetch), 82
 ri (reason, truth), 277
 Richû-tennô, 438
 rissshun (birth of Spring), 188
 ritsu-ryô (laws), 38
 iôjô (a mask), 177
- rokkon-shôjô (purification), 195
 Rokkon-shôjô-no-ô-harai, 192
 roku (wealth), 514
 Rokusho-jinja, Okazaki, Aïchi-ken, 123, 358
 Rokusho-jinja, Matsu-daïra-mura, 123
 Rokusho-jinja, Matsuë, Shimane-ken, 467
 Rokusho-ô-kami, 64
 rômon (a gate), 97
 rônin (a samurai), 456
 Rnmaï (a dance), 195
 royôbu-Shintô, 148, 530
 ryôbu-toii (four legged *torii*), 95f.
 Ryô-no-gige, 85
 ryo-ô (a dance), 175
 Ryôzen-jinja, Ryôzen-machi, Fukushima-ken,
 450
 Ryû, 468
 ryû-gû (dragon palace), 424
 Ryûjin, 414, 482f., 488
 Ryûsenji-machi, Tokyo, 222
 Ryûzôji (Masaie, Takafusa, Takanobu), 457
- sa (spirituality), 325
 sa (= *saka*), 265
 sa-bahe (flies in the fifth moon), 286
 Sabime-yama-jinja, Ôta-shi, Shimane-ken, 476
 Sabi-mochi (= Ina-hi-no-mikoto), 402
 Saburô-kami, 512
 sachi (luck), 376
 sachi-mitama (one of the *mitama*), 62, 148
 Sada, Shimane-ken, 326
 Sada-biko (= Saruda-hiko), 355, 358
 Sada-jinja (ou-no-yashiro) Yatsuka-gun,
 Shimane-ken, 29, 222, 232, 358, 369
 Sadatoki (Prince), 423
 Sado (Island of) or Sadogashima, Niigata-ken,
 261, 263, 424
 Saëki-no-kuramoto, 440
 Saë-no-jinja, Natori-shi, Miyagi-ken, 496
 Saë-no-kami, 496
 Sagami, 175, 365
 saga-nashi (unlucky), 257f..
 Saga-tennô, 434
 sagi (heron), 212, 340
 Sagi-chô-matsuri, 200
 sa-giri (mist), 293
 Sahime-yama, Shimane-ken, 326
 Saho (Tsunehiko), 517
 Saho-biko, 413
 saho-ki (pole-tree), 262

- sai* (festival), 168
 Saichō, 519
sai-fuku (a garment), 143ff.
 Saigō (Takamori or Nanshin), 455
saigusa (golden-banded lilies), 206
 Saigyō, 30
 Saïho, 195
 Saïji-jinja, Ukyō-ku, Kyōtō-shi, 130
saïjitsu (the day of the *matsuri*), 168
saïjō (part of the *keidaï-chi*), 94
 Saïjō-matsuri, 220
saïkai (abstinence), 74, 169ff.
saïkan (a building for *saïkai*), 84f., 114, 140, 170
saïkigu (furniture and ornaments of the temple), 114
 Saïko-ji, 46
 Saïkusa-matsuri, 206
 Saïmeï-tennō, 420, 493
 Saï-mochi-no-kami, 382
saïmotsu (offerings of cloth), 157, 174, 397
saïrei (representation of the Kami), 123, 130, 481
saïsei-itchi (unity of politics and religious rites), 58, 126, 391
saïsen (money-offerings), 157
saïsen-bako (offering-chest), 107, 157
saïshi (festival), 168
 Saïshi, 201
saï-shoku (food served during periods of abstinence), 170
saïshu (virgin priestess of the Imperial family), 133, 137
 Saïtan-saï, 398
saïten (thanks-giving), 170
 Saïto (Hikomaro), 24
 Saïto (Sanemori), 208
 Saïto-saï, 197
 Saji-futsu-no-kami (= Futsu-no-mitama), 315
saka (enclosure), 94
saka (mountain-pass, hill), 265, 323
saka-bune (liquor-vat), 314
saka-clono (building for preparing *sake*), 172
 Saka-hogi-jinja, Kamo-yama, Gifu-ken, 470
 Sakaï (Atsuharu), 38
sakaki (*Cleyera ochracea*), 60, 124, 150f., 155, 158f., 201, 209, 213, 222, 301, 304f., 429, 478, 487, 493
 Sakaki-jinja, Sumida-ku, Tokyo, 207, 249
 Saka-no-mi-wo-no-kami, 470
 Sakata, 412
 Sakataru-jinja, Noto-machi, Ishikawa-ken, 207, 435, 469
 Sakawori-no-miya, 415
sake (rice-wine), 75, 166, 172, 192, 206, 215, 315
 Sake-no-kami (= Saruda-hiko), 358
 Sakhalin, 330, 350
saki (headland), 327
saki (vanguard, guide), 355, 362
 Saki-kuni-tama, 392
saki-mitama (one of the *mitama*), 61–4, 68, 292f., 331, 344
saku (to split), 61
 Saku-ikazuchi, 274
sakura or *-zakura* (cherry-tree), 186
 Sakura (Sōgorō), 454
 Sakura-jima, Kagoshima-ken, 178
 Sakura-jingū, Tsuyama (Hyōgo-ken), 425
 Sakura-yama-jinja, Shimonoseki-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, 455
sakura-yu (cherry-tea), 186
 Saku-wi-no-kami, 497
sama or *-san* (a suffix of respect), 132
 Samo-jinja, Kirishima, 369
 Sampō-kōjin, 326, 498
 Samukawa-hiko (and -hime) -no-mikoto, 457
 Samukawa-jinja, Samukawa-machi, Kanagawa-ken, 457
samuraï, 132, 165, 197, 201f., 205, 221, 224, 456, 493
 Sanada, Mië-ken, 356, 368
sanbō (an octagonal stand), 174
sandō (an avenue), 106
 Sanden-saï, 399
san-gaku (mountains), 469
san-ja (the three temples), 39
 Sanja-matsuri, 184
 Sanjō (Sanetomi), 455
 Sanjō (Sanetsumo), 455
sanjū-ban-shin (Kami of the days of the month), 233
sankan (three reed-instruments), 176
sankeï (a visit to a temple), 155
sanko (a mask), 177
sanko (three percussion-instruments), 176
sanku (a type of worship), 158
 Sannō, 332, 519
 Sannō-gongen, 205
 Sannohe-daï-jingū, Sannohe-machi, Aomori-ken, 216, 371
 Sannō-matsuri, 174, 199f., 202, 204f.

- san-no-miya* (the third temple), 128
San-no-miya-jinja of the Taga-taisha, 249, 402
san-no-torii (mountain-shaped *torii*), 95f.
 Sanoö, 325
sanrô (period of abstinence), 171
san-san-kudo (sake-drinking), 166
Sansha-dai-gongen-sha, 204
Sansha-matsuri, 204
Sansha-myôjin-sha, 204
sansha-takusen (oracles), 39, 75
Sanshu-no-shinki, 149, 152
 Sanuki, 101, 262, 423
Sanu-no-jinja of the Miyazaki-jingû, 400, 406
Sanu-no-mikoto (= Jimmu-tennô), 400
san-ya (a ceremony), 161, 165
sanza-kagura (a dance), 217
sa-otome (rice-planting maidens), 184
Sapporo-jinja, Hokkaido, 206
sari-nu (to go away), 344
saru (a mask), 177
saru (monkey), 103, 357, 528
saru (to depart), 300, 346
sarubo-gai (a shell-fish), 357
Saruda-hiko-jinja, Ise-shi, Mië-ken, 184, 358, 442
Saruda-hiko-jinja, Wakayama-shi, 358
Saruda (or *Saruta*)-hiko-no[-ô]-kami, 167, 198, 203, 207, 254, 308, 355–9, 369, 412, 475, 496f., 504, 507f., 520, 528f.
 See also: Dôsojin, Sada-biko, Yachimata-hiko-no-kami
sarugaku-nô (a type of music), 184
Sarume-no-kimi (=Ame-no-uzume and her descendants), 305, 356
sasa (bamboo-grass), 150
sasa-ba (leaves of *sasa*), 302
sasa-odori (a dance), 199
sasara (a percussion musical instrument), 176, 184
Sasara (Island of), Mië-ken, 493
Saseho-Okunchi, 218
sashiha (a threefold veil), 124f.
sasu (to make fast), 300
Sasuke-inari-sha, 137
Sasu-kuni-ô-no-kami (= *Sashi-kuni-ô-no-kami*), 317
Sasu-kuni-waka-hime (= *Sashi-kuni-waka-hime*), 317, 321
sasurafu (to wash away), 264
sa-ta (narrow field), 501
Satake (Yoshikazu, Yoshinori and Yoshi-taka), 435, 457
sato (village), 129
sato-kagura (a dance), 175, 201
sato-miya (a type of temple), 129, 471, 475
Satow (Sir Ernest), 35, 39ff., 65, 236, 253, 307, 348, 351, 490ff.
Sawara (Prince), 422
sawo (a pole), 400
Sayari-masu-yomi-do-no-ô-kami (=Yomo-tsu-hira-saka), 276
Sayori-hime-no-kami ou (-no-mikoto) (= *Ichiki-shima-hime*), 293
sa-yû-sa (a rite), 159
sazuki (platform), 314
se (back), 467
se (reach), 323
Segaha (Bay of), Niigata-ken, 27, 480
sei (blue or green), 149
sei (holiness), 393
sei (righteousness), 141
sei-bi-dai (holiness, beauty and greatness), 393
seiichi (sacred place), 92
Seichô-no-ië, 522f.
seigi (righteousness), 71f.
sei-hôden (treasure-house), 114
sei-kai (a degree), 141f.
Seikai-jinja, Takahama-machi, Fuku-shima-ken, 442
seimeï (purity and cheerfulness), 73
Seimeï no Jissô, 523
seimon-barai (reductions), 73
Seimon-sai, 72
Seïmu-tennô, 415
seisen (raw food), 172
Seishôkô (= *Kiyomasa Katô*) 452
seïto (a garden), 183
Seïwa-tennô, 208, 422, 434
Seïwa-tennô-sha, Ukyô-ku, Kyôto-shi, 423
Seïzan (= *Mitsukuni Tokugawa*), 454
seki (red), 149
sekihan (rice cooked with red beans), 165
Sekison-san, 365
seme-kataru (to chastise), 310
semmyô (proclamation), 205
Sendai-shi, Miyagi-ken, 468
Sendai Kuji Hongi, 37f.
sendatsu (a guide), 85, 161, 473
Sengaku-ji, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 456
Senge family, 83f., 135, 140, 222, 349

- Senge (Baron Sonpuku), 242, 319, 373, 510
sengen (=asama), 474
 Sengeri-jinja, Miyazaki-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 198
 Sengen-jinja (various), 474
sengen-zukuri (a style of architecture), 109
senjū (transfer of a Kami), 124
senji (a kitchen), 183
 Senkwa-tennō, 419
 Sennin-gyōretsu, 204
senreishiki (funeral rites), 166
 Senso, 396
 Sentei-sai, 201
 Se-ori-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, 217, 279, 282, 480
seppuku (ritual suicide), 457
seri (parsley), 82
sessha (a type of subsidiary shrine), 129 and *passim*
 Seta (River), Shiga-ken, 215
 Setoda-jima, 439
 Setsubun, 179, 188–191
setsu-massha (subsidiary shrines), 129
setsu-sha (embraced shrine), 129
 Settsu-fudoki, 38
 Seya-tatara (Princess), 333, 404
-sha (a suffix to the name of a temple), 128f.
shaden (temple building), 106f., 110
shagō (a title for a temple), 128
 Shaji-kyoku, 52, 126
shakaku seido (hierarchy of temples), 127
shake (high-ranking families of devotees), 85, 133, 139ff., 202
shaku (a measure of length), 153
shaku (a sceptre used by priests), 145f., 150, 155, 399
 Shaku-nihongi, 254
shamin (a name for *shake*), 141
shamoji (a spoon), 191
shamusho (temple-office), 114
sha-sō (Buddhist priest), 46, 48
shen (pearl), 428
shi (breath, wind), 490
shi (conjunction), 240
shiba (brushwood), 214
 Shiba (Lake), 207
 Shibata (Hanamori), 519
 Shichi-fuku-jin, 513
 Shichi-go-san, 165
 Shichi-go-zen-suē-no-shinji, 203
shide (whitepaper-strips), 94, 115ff., 148, 158, 304
 Shidzuri-kami, 342
 Shiga-no-ura, 201
 Shigi-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 272, 470
 Shihō-matsuri, 198, 398
 Shiinetsu-hiko-no-mikoto, 204
 Shijō, Kyōto-shi, 209, 212
 Shijō-nawate-jinja, Shijōnawate-machi, Ōsaka-fu, 449
 Shikaīsai, 495
shika-odori (a dance), 176
 Shika[-no]-umi-jinja, Shika-no-shima, Shimane-ken, 76f., 135, 141, 171, 177, 180, 195, 197, 219, 266, 282, 374, 431, 468, 470, 484, 491, 496
shiki (hideous), 279
 Shiki, Nara-ken, 408
shikinai-sha (temple mentioned in the Engi-shiki), 127
 Shikinen-mi-fune-sai, 216
shikinen-sengū (periodical rebuilding), 111
 Shikinen-shinkō-sai, 199
 Shiki-no-mizugaki-no-miya, Nara-ken, 408
 Shiki-yama-tsu-mi, 273, 470
 Shikobuchi-jinja, Sakyō-ku, Kyōto-shi, 215
shikome (hideous), 150, 274
 Shiko-me, 275
shikomeki (hideous), 278
shikōn (the various aspects of the soul), 61
shima or *-jima* (island), 391, 469
shima or *-jima* (region), 319
 Shima-ama-jinja, Goi-machi, Chiba-ken, 491
 Shimada Ason, 447
shima-raku (a brief while), 290
 Shimazu clan, 370
 Shimazu (Nariakira), 455
shima-no-yasoshima (the country of the eighty islands), 392
shimenawa (a cord of rice-straw), 56, 114ff., 124, 150, 170, 211, 222, 304, 308, 476ff., 490, 507
shimenawa-taki (a ceremony), 115
shime-no (forbidden field), 115
shimeshi-no-yama (marking mountain), 178
shimo (inferior), 24
shimodaki (a dance), 195
 Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi-ken, 202
 Shimo-taka-miya, 439
 Shimotsuke, 413
 Shimotsuke festival, 487
 Shimo-tsu-wonu-no-hari-hara, Nara-ken, 405

- Shiwpon-btitsujū-setsu*
 (=Han-honji-suijaku-setsu), 46
shimmu (dream divine dreams), 85
shimpu (a charm), 443f.
shin (body, person), 74
shin (divine), 119
shina (long wind), 490
 Shinaga-jinja, Taishi-machi, Ōsaka-fu, 491
 Shinagawa (Bay), 81
 Shinanu or Shinano, Nagano-ken, 345
 Shina-tobe-no-mikoto (or no-kami), 265, 267, 490
 Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami
 (=Shina-tobe-no-mikoto), 265, 490f.
 Shina-tsu-hime-no-mikoto, 265, 490f.
 See also: Hime-gami
shin-bashira, 521
shinboku (sacred trees), 115, 492
 Shinbutsu-bunri, 42, 49
 Shinbutsu-konkō (or Shinbutsu-shūgō), 42, 46
shinchi (temple-pond), 98
shinchō (temple-bird), 104
shin-den (temple rice-field), 185
 Shin-den of the Imperial Palace, 395, 397f., 502
 Shinden-sai, 398
shin-dō (a consecrated child), 213
shin-en (divine garden), 94
 Shinetsu-hiko-jinja, Saganoseki-machi, Ōita-ken, 442
 Shinetsu-hiko-no-mikoto, 442
shingaku (theology), 40
 Shin-gaku, 520
shin-go (a short religious service), 170
 Shingo-ji, Ukyō-ku, Kyōto-shi, 445
 Shingon sect of Buddhism, 50, 165, 445
 Shingon-shintō, 518
 Shin-gyō-e, 195
shin-gyū (temple bull), 105
shin-i-keishō (to live in the spirit of the Kami), 169
shinjin-gōitsu (spiritual coalescence), 21
shinji-nō (nō performed in temples), 177
 Shinka-den of the Tokyo Imperial Palace, 185, 399, 406
shin-ka (materialisation in a body), 520
shin-ka (mentalisation), 520
shinkai (divine world), 85
shin-kai (hierarchy of temples), 126f.
 Shinka-jōdan, 188
shinkan (a priest), 132
shinki (the three Regalia), 396
 Shinkō (=Kenshin Uesugi), 451
 Shinkō-sai, 130, 211, 220, 507
shinkō-shiki (a tour of inspection by the Kami), 124
 Shinkō-shūkyō (new sects), 517, 521
shin-kyō (bridge), 96
shinmaka (a dance), 175
shin-me (temple-horse), 101
 Shinmei (= Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami), 370
 Shinmei (= Kami), 23
 Shin-meī-gū, Hichinohe-machi, Aomori-ken, 215
 Shin-meī-kō, 24
 Shin-meī-sha, Toyohake-machi, Aichi-ken, 219
 Shin-meī-sha (various), 202, 372f.
shinmei-torii (a type of *torii*), 95
shinmei-zukuri (a type of architecture), 107f., 111ff.
shin-me-no-ya (temple stable), 101
shin-mon (temple gate), 95, 97
 Shi-no-kami, 507
shinobi-te (silent hand-clapping), 157
shinpō (temple treasures), 114
 Shinra-jinja, Hachinohe-shi, Aomori-ken, 215
 Shinran-shōnin, 217
shin-rei (the complete set of *mitama*), 437f.
 Shinri-kyō, 516f., 524
shinsei (godliness), 442
shinsen (food-offerings), 77, 89, 103, 125, 141, 169, 171ff., 174, 189, 191, 201, 215, 219, 222
shinsen-den (building for preparing the *shinsen*), 172, 174
shinsen-den (sacred rice-field), 114, 172
shinsen-sho (special building), 171
 Shinsen Shōji-roku, 38
 Shin-shin-goetsu, Ibaraki-ken, 130, 352
shinshoku (priest), 132f., 137f., 141f.
 Shinshū-kyō, 516, 524
 Shin-shūkyō-renmei, 524
shintai. 345, 466, 477.
 Cf. *go-shintai*,
shintai-yama or *shintai-zan* (mountain serving as *go-shintai*), 121
 Shin-tao, 31
 Shinten, 37f.
 Shintō-go-bu-sho, 40, 524
 Shintō-honkyoku, 516f.
 Shintō-kenshu-bu, 142

- shintoku* or *go-shintoku* (powers of the Kami),
28, 30, 366, 434, 438ff., 442
- Shintō Miomoku, 326
- Shintō shūsei-ha, 516
- Shintō-taikyō, 517, 524
- Shintō-taisei-kyō, 524
- shinyo-ko*, 114
- Shinyo-watari-go-shinji, 202
- Shinyu-matsuri, 212
- shinza* (the Divine couch), 397
- Shin-zaī-sai*, 222
- shinzen-kekkon* (Shintō marriage-ceremony),
165, 350
- shinzō* (statue of the Kami), 119
- shiō* (brine), 253
- shiō* (salt), 81
- shiō* (tide), 329
- Shiogama, 123
- Shiogama-jinja, Shiōgama, Miyagi-ken, 81,
129, 164, 188, 207, 281, 351
- shiō-hiru-tama* (a jewel which makes the tide
ebb), 381
- shiō-kumi-tago* (a salt-box), 81
- Shi-ōji-san, 106
- shiō-mitsu-tama* (a jewel which makes the tide
flow in), 381
- Shiōtaki, 102
- Shiō-tsuchi-[no-oji-]no-kami, 81, 151, 351,
377ff., 400, 442
- Shiō-tsu-tsu-no-oji (= Koto-katsu-kuni-katsu),
363, 377, 511f.
- Shiragi (= Silla), 326, 431
- shiraha* (cloth), 304
- Shirahata-jinja, Fujisawa-shi, Kanagawa-ken,
415, 448f., 484
- Shirahata-jinja, Kamakura-shi, Kana-gawa-ken,
448
- Shirahige-jinja, Noshima, Miyazaki-ken, 358
- Shira-hi-no-kami, 332
- Shira-hi-wake, 262
- Shira-jinja, 449
- Shirakami-jinja (= Kawaguchi-jinja), 282, 480
- Shirakawa family, 140
- Shirakawa-school, 141
- Shirakawa-tennō, 423
- shirami* (lice), 322
- Shiramine (Mount), 423
- Shiramine-gū, Kyōto-shi, 64, 118, 122, 200,
217, 422f., 448
- Shiramine-gū, Sukaide-shi, Kagawa-ken, 64,
120f., 217, 423
- shira-nigi-te* (offerings of fine white cloth), 301,
304, 310
- shirasu* (to govern, to bring into order), 252,
336f., 343, 354
- Shirataka-ten-ryo-nigi-bi-mitama-no-ō-kami,
149
- Shiratori-jinja, Kirishima, 369
- Shiratori-jinja (various), 415
- Shirayama-hime-jinja, Hakusan, Ishi-kawa-ken,
184, 277, 469
- shiri* (buttocks), 274, 356, 500
- shiri-kume-nawa* (bottom-tied rope), 115, 308f.
- Shiri-ō-tsu-mochi, 376
- shiro* (object), 119
- shiro* (white), 148
- shiro-chidori* (white plover), 415
- shiroki* (white and pure sake), 172
- shiro-yaki* (undecorated pottery), 170
- shirozake* (rice wine), 197
- Shisei Tanikaha, 245
- shishi* (lion), 100, 177
- shishi-koma-inu* (a mythological animal), 100
- shishi-mai* (a dance), 176f., 195, 199
- Shishin-den, 396
- Shishino (Han), 519
- Shishō-jinja, Totsugawa-mura, Nara-ken, 425
- shitagahanu* (rebellious), 351
- shitagi* (garment), 166
- shitagutsu* (shoes), 166
- Shitateru-hime-no-mikoto, 328, 338, 340.
See also: Taka-hime-no-mikoto.
- Shita-tsu-kuni, 65
- Shiujuku, 222
- Shiwa-hime-gami and Shiwa-hime-mura,
Kurihara-gun (Miyagi-ken), 28
- Shizuko-no-mikoto, 456
- shizumari* (at rest), 327
- Shizutama-jinja, Shimonoseki-shi, 456
- shō* (place), 124
- shō* (a musical instrument), 176
- shō* (small), 127
- shōbu* (myrtle-flag), 202
- Shōbu-sai, 205
- Shōdo-shima, Kagawa-ken, 220
- shōga* (ginger), 170
- Shōga-matsuri, 216
- shō-gūji* (a priest), 133
- Shōgun., 48f., 178, 205, 215, 425
- Shōichi, 395

- Shôichii (Sanetomi Sanjô), 455
 Shôichii-go-ô-dai-myôjin
 (=Wake-no-kiyomaro), 445
 Shôin-jinja, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo, 455
 Shôin-jinja, Hagi-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, 455
shoji (cloves), 514
shojiki (honesty), 72
shojikkiri (a dance), 195
shôjin (period of purification), 169
shôjin (principle of progress), 34
 Shôjiroku, 443
shôjô (a mask), 177
shôkan (the season of the minor cold), 188
 Shôken-kotaigô (Empress), 199, 424f.
 Shôken-kotaigô-sai, 199
 Shôki-san, 203
shôko (a drum), 176
shoku (food, particularly boiled rice), 510
 Shokujo, 467
 Shoku-Nihongi, 490
 Shokuro, 489
 Shônai-jinja, Tsurugaoka, Yamagata-ken, 215
shô-rei-sai (a type of matsuri), 77, 105, 140,
 420, 488
shô-sai (a type of matsuri), 182
shôsha (non-governmental temple), 127
 Shoshiki, 210
shô-shin-sai (a short religious service), 140
shô-tai (a sacred image), 46
shôten (a priest), 133
shôten-ho (a priest), 133
shôten-shoku (clergy), 133
 Shôtoku (Empress), 105, 445
 Shôtoku (Prince), 47, 210, 420
 Showo-kannon, 102
sho-yakunin (temple secretary), 134
shôzoku (ecclesiastical garments), 143
shûbatsu (sprinkling with consecrated water),
 81, 169
 Shugen-dô, 519
shugo-rei (guardian angel), 523
shugoshin (the soul's own Deity), 482, 523
shugyô (mental training), 80
 Shûki-kôrei-sai, 220
 Shun-ki-sai, 200
shukkwân (a rite), 167
 Shunkyo-den, 396
 Shûsei-ha, 240
shusshi (a priest), 133
shuten (a priest), 133
 Silla, Korea, 427, 429, 431.
 See also: Shiragi
so (a garment), 276
so (to bring up), 445
 So, Hiuga, 361f.
sobira (back), 274, 356
 Sôgo-jinja, 454
sohodo (scarecrow), 330, 500
 Sohodo-no-kami, 500
sohoni (red earth), 384
 Sohori-no-kami, 332
 Sohori-yama, Kagoshima-ken, 362
 Sôji-hajime, 398
 Sojishi, 363
soko (bottom), 245
 Soko-doku-mitama (= Saruda-hiko), 357
 Soko-no-kuni, 65, 495
 Sokotsu-ne-no-kuni, 288
 Soko-tsuchi-no-mikoto, 280
 Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto, 187, 264, 279f.,
 429
 Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 279f., 282
 Sokuï-Rei, 396
sokutai (a garment), 143
 Sôma-jinja, Sôma-shi, 214
 Sôma-kotaka-jinja, Kotaka-machi,
 Fukushima-ken, 243
 Sôma-nakamura-jinja, Nakamura,
 Fukushima-ken, 214, 243
 Sôma-sai, 392
 Somin-Shôrai, 289
 sômôn (a gate), 97
soni (kingfisher), 340
 Sonnô Ishin, 231
sonnô-ron (a doctrine), 394
 Sono (Beach of), Shimane-ken, 326
 Sono-maïri-sai, 212
sonsha (village-temple), 127
sora (the void), 244
 Sora-tsu-hi-daka (= Hiko-ho-ho-demi), 379,
 381
 Sora-tsu-hiko (= Hiko-ho-ho-demi), 380
 Sorei-den, 102
sorei-sha (a shrine to ancestors), 159
sorei-shin (ancestors), 460
 Sôriuji, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi, 195
sôsai (funerals), 166
 So-sei, 391
sozen (vegetarian offerings), 172
sozen-sûhai (cult of ancestors), 460

- sôsetsu* (creator), 238
sôsha (a type of temples), 128, 462
 Sô-sha-jinja, Kusatsu-shi, Shiga-ken, 491
 Soshi-mori, Korea, 314
sôsô-no-shiki, 167
 Sotoôri-hime, 419
soto-tama-gaki (a boundary), 97
 Sô Wagakkô Kei, 40
 Sôya-jinja, Hatano-shi, Kanagawa-ken, 137, 478
 Sôzen-jinja (various), 102, 206
 Sôzen-sama, 102
su (gentility), 325
su (lattice), 346
 Sudo-ginkyo-kôtei, 29
 Sudô-jinja (various), 422
 Sudô-tennô, 422
suê-hiro (congratulation fan), 513
suê-kagami (large mirror), 111
 Suga (river), 212
 Suga, Shimane-ken, 148, 313, 316f.
 Suga-jinja, Asai-mura, Shiga-ken, 422
 Suga-no-kake-no-saka-karu-hiko-ya-shima-teno-mikoto (= Ya-shima-ji-nu-mi), 313
 Suga-no-yu-yama-nushi Mitsu-na-saro-hiko-yashima-shinu, 313
 Sugawara clan, 338, 446, 464
 Sugawara (Fukashige, Kage-yuki, Kaneshige, Kiyokimi and Koreyoshi), 447
 Sugawara (Michizane), 28, 70, 105f, 124, 131, 186f., 201, 210f., 213, 270, 305, 369, 446ff., 456.
 See also: Ten-jin
 Sugawara (Shinenaga and Takami), 447
 Sugawara-in-ten-man-gu-jinja, Kyôto-shi, 447
 Sugawara-jinja, Aso, Tobata, Fukuoka-ken, 205, 469, 481
 Sugawara-jinja, Fushimi Sugawara, Ikoma-kori, Yamato, 338, 447
 Sugawara-jinja, Kishiwada, Ôsaka, 216
 Sugawara-jinja, Sakai-shi, Ôsaka-fu, 464
 Sugawara-jinja, Sugawara-mura, Ikoma-gun, Nara-ken, 464
 Sugawara-jinja (various), 448
suge-no-sashiha (reeds), 124
 Suginori-jinja, Odaï, 212
 Sugô-isobe-jinja, Kaga-shi, Ishikawa-ken, 196
 Sugo-ô-jinja, Okazaki, Aichi-ken, 212, 373
suhama (a rice-cake), 211
 Suhama-hoko, 211
 Suhara-jinja, Suhara, Gifu-ken, 104, 277, 373, 469, 475, 484
 Su-hiji (or Suhi-ji)-ni-no-kami, 235, 248f., 251, 477
 Suhote-matsuri, 214
sui (water), 211
 Suiga-Shintô, 74, 520
suijaku (manifestation), 46
 Suijin, 478
 Suiko (Empress), 38, 420
 Suinin-tennô, 412f., 431
 Suiten-gû, Hokkai-do, 478
 Suiten-gû, Kurume, Fukuoka-ken, 203 424
 Suiten-gû, Chûo-ku, Tokyo, 29, 164, 223, 239, 424
 Suizei-tennô, 408
 Sujaku-tennô
 Sûjin-tennô, 39, 136, 151, 154, 198, 315, 393, 395, 403, 408–13, 435, 470, 479, 491.
 See also: Hatsu-kuni-shirasu-mimaki-no-sumera-mikoto.
sukei (sulphur-smear), 486
sûkeisha (parishioner), 139
sûkeisha-kai (association of parishioners), 140
suki-bei (a fence), 97
 Suki-den, 178, 397
sukuna (very little), 329
 Sukuna-hikona-no-mikoto, 28, 65, 130, 203, 241, 260, 329ff., 343, 349, 500, 519.
 See also: Tema-no-ama-tsu-kami
 Sume-gami, 491, 495
 Sume-mi-ma-no-mikoto (= Prince Ninigi), 355
sumera (imperial), 390
 Sumera-mikoto, 94, 390f., 398
 Sumera-mikuni, 390
 Suminoë-no-kami (= Sumiyoshi-no kami), 280
 Sumisaka, Nara-ken, 403
 Sumisaka-jinja, Harihara-machi, Nara-ken, 405
 Sumisaka-no-ô-kami, 405
 Sumiyoshi, 27
 Sumiyoshi-jinja, Fukuoka, Fukuoka-ken, 76, 80, 135, 156, 193, 281, 486
 Sumiyoshi-jinja, Nagasaki, Nagasaki-ken, 219
 Sumiyoshi-jinja, Shimonoseki, Yama-guchi-ken, 281, 436
 Sumiyoshi-jinja (various), 187
 Sumiyoshi-matsuri, 213
 Sumiyoshi-no-[ô]-kami, 63, 123, 188, 198, 280ff., 397, 430f., 435, 437, 483
 See also: Suminoë-no-kami
 Sumiyoshi-sha, Hakui-gun, Ishikawa-ken, 216

550 *Alphabetical Index and Glossary*

- Sumiyoshi-taisha, Ôsaka-shi, 81, 96, 101, 114, 118, 123, 128, 136, 163, 184, 187f., 213, 266, 281, 358, 421, 432, 458, 478
- sumiyoshi-zukuri* (a type of architecture), 108
- Sumi-zaka, Haibara, Nara-ken, 411
- sumô* (Japanese wrestling), 60, 81, 115, 178, 200, 221f, 224, 464
- Sumono-matsuri, 213
- sun* (Japanese inch), 153, 181
- sunâ-dori* (fishing), 343
- Suruga, Shizuoka-ken, 175
- Susabaru-jinja, Ôita-ken, 446
- Susa-jinja, Arita-shi, Wakayama-ken, 220
- Susano-wo-jinja, Toyokawa-shi, Aichi-ken, 358
- Susano-wo-jinja (various), 325
- Susano-wo-no-mikoto, 26, 29, 31, 63, 65, 73, 78, 82, 97, 104, 116, 147, 151f, 185, 200, 203, 209, 211, 231, 247, 265f., 282, 284–300, 307, 309f., 312–5, 317–26, 328, 332, 334–7, 346, 349f., 352, 355f., 372ff., 389, 404f., 409ff., 414, 423, 466, 485, 489, 500ff., 510, 522, 524, 527ff.
- See also: Ara-kami, Gion-san, Gozu-tennô, Haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto, Kami-susano-wo, Kemitsuko-no-kami, Komori-ô-kami, Miketsu-no-kami, Sano, Take-haya-susano-wo, Tennô, Yasaka-no-sume-ô-kami
- Susa-no-yatsu-mimi (=Ashi-nazu-chi), 313, 318
- Suseri-hime-no-mikoto, 321ff., 326ff.
- Su-shên, 27
- sushi* (fish and rice), 506
- Sushun-tennô, 140, 420
- susu* (eager), 381
- susu* (soot), 348
- Susu-harai, 224
- Susu-harai-matsuri, 224
- susuki* (pampa-grass), 304
- sute-mikuji* (hanging up divination papers), 156
- Sutoku-tennô, 64, 120f., 217, 423.
- See also: Kennin-tennô
- Suwa, Nagano-ken, 100
- Suwa family, 197
- Suwa-jinja, Nagasaki-shi, 101, 219
- Suwa-jinja, Uozu-shi, Toyama-ken, 215
- Suwa-jinja, Yokka-ichi-shi, Mië-ken, 218
- Suwa Lake, 345f.
- Suwa-taisha, Nagano-ken, 50, 62, 95, 100, 105, 107, 115, 117, 121–5, 128, 135f., 141, 174, 181, 185, 196f., 200, 214, 224, 345, 472, 486, 500
- suzu* (cluster of small bells), 149, 155, 169, 190
- Suzuka, 211
- suzuki* (perch), 348
- Suzuki (Shigetane), 66
- Suzuki (T.), 239
- Suzuki (Yagaëmon), 508
- suzume* (sparrow), 340
- suzuna* (Chinese-sape), 82
- suzushiro* (garden radish), 82
- Syông [-myông], 43
- ta* or *-da* (field, rice-field, water-field), 183, 501, 528
- ta* (hands, or muscular), 308
- Ta-agata-jinja, Komaki-shi, Aichi-ken, 388, 497, 499
- Ta-asobi-matsuri, 183
- tabe-zome* (first meal), 165
- tabi* (journey), 124
- tabi* (socks), 145
- Tabura-tsu-hime, 430
- tachibana* (mandarin orange), 65
- Tachibana family, 140
- Tachibana (Moribe), 40, 153, 276, 493
- Tachibana (Moroye), 37
- tachibana-no-wo-do* (the small orange-tree house), 377
- tachi-barai* (sword-dance), 190
- tachi-bi* (icicle), 344
- tachi-bina* (a doll), 197
- Tada-jinja, 208
- tadashiki-nahoki* (honesty), 72
- Tado-jinja, Kuwana-gun, Mië-ken, 202
- tafusagi* (apron), 166
- tafutoshi* (illustrious), 378
- Taga, Shiga-ken, 283
- tagafu* (disobedient), 346
- Taga-matsuri, 201
- Taga-taisha, Hikone, Shiga-ken, 48, 103, 120, 128, 164, 201, 249, 283, 358, 369, 374, 469, 475, 484, 499, 513
- Tagi-no-miya, Tsuchi-yama-machi, Shiga-ken, 480
- Tagiri-hime, 293, 435, 438, 520
- Tagishi, Shimane-ken, 346
- Tagitsu-hime-no-mikoto (= Tagori-hime), 187, 293f., 438ff., 479
- Tagori-hime-no-mikoto, 187, 294, 305, 437–40, 520.
- See also: Naka-no-gozen,

- Tagi-tsu-hime
taguri (vomit), 268
tagusa (a branch of *sahaki*), 222
tagusa-shidori (priests), 222
tai (sea-bream), 165, 170, 173, 381, 511, 513
tai (substance), 119
 Taiba, 491f.
 Tai-chô, 419
 Taigen-jinja, Hachiman-shi, Ehime-ken, 243
taiheiraku (a dance), 175
 Taihei-zan-miyoshi-jinja, Akita-shi, 203, 220
 Taihō-ryō, 37, 125
taiko (a drum), 169, 176
 Taikō (=Hideyoshi Toyotomi), 392, 451
taiko-jorō (a *geisha*), 176
 Taikwa era, (645–9), 406
 Taikwa reform, 421
taima (an inscribed board), 159, 373
 Taïma-ji, 98
 Taïnan-jinja, Taïnan, Taiwan, 457
 Taïra (Masakada), 214
 Taïra clan, 208f., 316, 423, 448
taïra-ge (pacification), 351
taï-saï (chief matsuri of the temple), 172, 182, 185, 197, 201
 Taïsei-kyō, 517
taïsha (a type of temple), 127f, 133
taïsha-zukuri (a style of architecture), 107f.
 Taishō era (1912–1926), 136, 481
 Taï-shōgun-no-mori, Ōsaka-ken, 447
 Taishō-tennō, 398f., 425
 Taiwan, 350, 457
 Taïwan-jinja, Taihoku, Taïwan, 457
 Taji-jinja, Hiyoshi-machi, Kyōto-fu, 478
 Tajima-jinja, Yohiko-machi, Saga-ken, 180
 Tajima-mori-no-mikoto, 65
taka (high), 236
 Taka, 412
 Takachiho (Mount), Kagoshima-ken and Miyazaki-ken, 356, 361 f., 386
 Taka-chi-hono-mine-jinja (=Kirishima-jingū), 369
 Takada, Niigata-ken, 216
 Takagi-jinja, 243
 Taka-gi-no-kami (=Taka-mi-musubi), 241, 339, 343, 354, 368
 Takahama-hara (=Takama-no-hara), 236
 Takahara (Mount), Tochigi-ken, 475
 Takahara-jinja, Enya-gun, Tochigi-ken, 358, 467
taka-hashī (high bridge), 347
 Takahashi (Eishi), 423
 Taka-hime-no-mikoto (= Shita-teru-hime-no-mikoto), 124, 328
 Taka-hoko-jinja, Yoshino-machi, Nara-ken, 243
 Taka-ki-no-kami, 68, 94
 Takakura family, 140
 Takakuraji-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 352, 402, 429, 442
 Takama-ga-hara (=Takama-no-hara), 231, 236
 Takama-hara (=Takama-no-hara), 88, 236, 370
 Takama-ichi-ebisu-jinja, 513
 Takama-no-hara, 65f., 78, 94, 178, 189, 234, 236, 244, 288, 323, 440, 495.
 See also: Ama-no-hara, Ama-tsu -kuni, Takahama-hara, Takama-ga-hara, Takama-hara
 Takamikura, 396
 Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami, 63, 67f., 153, 234, 236, 239, 241–3, 250, 296, 301, 329, 336–40, 342ff., 347f., 351, 354ff., 359–62, 368, 372f., 377, 395, 405, 407, 409, 508.
 See also: Kisaki-kimi-no-mikoto, Takagi-no-kami
 Takamiya family, 458
taka-mura (bamboo-grass), 274, 377
 Takanaga-shinnō, 425
 Takanuka (Princess), 484
 Takanu-no-niikasa, 422
 Takaoka, 412
 Taka-okami (no-kami), 28, 63, 130, 272, 352, 481
takara-bune (treasure-ship), 514
takara-mono (magical implements), 514
 Takasaki-jinja, Akasaka-machi, Gunma-ken, 264
 Takase-jinja, Ishikawa-ken, 184
 Takashima, Kagoshima-ken or Miyasaki-ken, 400
taka-tomo (elbow-pad), 290
takatsuki (a one-legged stand for offerings), 174
 Takatsu-no-miya Ōsaka-shi (=Kōzu-no-miya), 418
 Taka-ya, 368
 Takaya (Mount), Hiuga, 387
 Takayama (Hirokurō), 442
 Takayama, Gifu-ken, 200, 216
 Taka-yuzuru-umashi-michine-no-mikoto (=Mitsukuni Tokugawa), 454
take (cloth), 116

Takebe-jinja, Seta-machi, Shiga-ken, 215, 415
 Takeburi-hiko-no-mikoto, 452
 Takechi, 421
 Takechi-no-agata-nushi, 421
 Takeda (Harunobu), 199, 450, 457.
 See also: Shingen.
 Takeda-jinja, Kôfu, Yamanashi-ken, 199, 457
 Take-futsu-no-kami (=Take-mika-dzuchi), 271
 Taka-ha-dzuchi-no-mikoto, 342
 Take-hani-yasu-hiko, 403
 Taka-haya-susano-wo-no-mikoto
 (=Susano-wo), 283, 326
 Take-hi-kata-wake, 263
 Take-hi-mukahi-toyo-kuji-hine-wake, 262
 Take-hira-tori-no-mikoto, 338
 Take-hi-wake, 262
 Take-isao-jinja, Kyoto, 193, 220, 450.
 See also: Kenkun-jinja
 Take-isao-no-yashiro, Tendô-shi, Yama-gata-ken, 450
 Take-iwa-tatsu-no-mikoto, 406f..
 Taka-kuni-kore-wake-no-mikoto, 415
 Take-mika-dzuchi-no[-wo-no]-mikoto,
 (or-no-kami), 81, 104, 130, 231, 271, 336,
 341f., 344f., 347, 350–4, 360, 398, 402,
 410f., 463, 467, 489f., 528.
 See also: Kashima-no-kami, Take-futsu-no-
 kami, Toyo-futsu-no-kami
 Take-mikuma-no-ushi, 338
 Take-mikumari-jinja, Chihaya-akasaka-mura,
 Ôsaka-fu, 479
 Take-mi-nakata-no-kami, 200, 281, 344ff., 351,
 431
 Take-no-kuchi-hachiman-gu, Sumoto-shi,
 Hyôgo-ken, 136
 Take-no-uchi, 417, 430
 Take-[no-]uchi-no-sukune-no-mikoto or
 Takeshi-uchi-no-sukune, 135, 221, 281, 398,
 408, 429, 433, 435, 443
 Taketsu-numi-no-mikoto (= Yatagarasu), 443
 Takeuchi (Shigezô), 16
 Take-yori-wake, 262
 Ta-kiri-bime-no-mikoto, 293, 327f., 340
 See also: Oki-tsu-shima-hime-no-mikoto
 Taki-san-ji, 453
 Taki-san-tôshô-gû, Taki, Mië-ken, 56
 Taki-tsu-hiko, 480
 Taki-tsu-hime, 435, 440
 Takiwa-jinja, 454
 tako-bata (octopus flag), 218

taku (bark of the paper-mulberry-tree), 327
 Taku-hata-chi-chi-hime [-yorodzu-hata
 hime] -no-mikoto (=Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-
 dzu-shi-hime), 337, 355, 370
 takusen (group of oracles), 39
 takusen (possession by a Kami), 137
 Tal-sol, 43
 tama (control), 335
 tama (jewel, soul), 22, 59f., 85, 119, 158, 166,
 254, 290, 335, 378, 477f.
 tama (a type of spiritual exercise), 88
 Tama-dasuki, 491
 Tamaë-gû-tôshô-gû, Okayama-shi, 107, 119,
 163, 192, 388, 448
 tama-furi (a type of spiritual exercise), 83 85,
 88f., 282
 tama-gaki (a fence), 95, 97
 tamagushi (a branch as symbolic offerings),
 125, 138, 150f, 158f, 166f., 169, 174, 304.
 493
 tamagushi-hoten (presentation of *tama-gushi*),
 169
 tamahi (bracelet), 279
 tama-hoko (jewelled spear), 253f.
 Tamaki (Masahide), 315
 tamaki-haru (a spiritual discipline), 88
 Tama-kushi-hime-no-mikoto (Mizu-kuï-hime),
 206, 333, 479
 tama-mari (jewelled bowl), 378f.
 tama-mohi (jewelled vessel), 378f.
 Tamanaë-jinja, Kujukurihama, Chiba-ken, 121
 Tama-no-mi-hashira, 66, 254, 466
 tama-no-tsurube (jewelled pitcher), 379
 Tama-no-ya-no-mikoto, 301, 303, 359, 463
 tamashii (the complete soul), 60, 158, 161, 437
 tamashiro (a tablet), 166f.
 Tama-tori-hime, 428
 Tamatori-matsuri (or -sai), 194, 215
 Tama-tsu-me-musubi, 395, 407
 Tamatsuoka-jinja, Shimane-ken, 340
 Tamatsu-shima-jinja, Wakayama-shi, 300, 419
 Tama-wakasu -mikoto—j in j a,
 Shimonoshi-mura, Oki, 50
 tama-ya (a shrine to ancestors), 159
 Tama-yori-hime-no-mikoto, 131, 165, 201, 332,
 370, 384–8, 405, 432, 435, 437, 458, 489,
 509.
 See also: Kamo-tama-yori-hime
 tametsu-mono (delicate things), 500
 Tamo-mi-no-sukune, 458

- tamuke* (offering), 117
 Tamuke-yama, Nara-ken, 437
 Tamukeyama-hachiman-gu, Nara-ken, 122
 Tamura-jinja, Takamatsu-shi, Kagawa-ken, 120, 136, 203, 219, 408ff., 457
 Tamura-no-kami, 203
tana or *-dana* (shelf), 159
 Tanabata-hime, 467f.
 See also: Ame-no-tanabata-hime
 Tanabata-matsuri, Sendai-shi, 148, 468
 Tanaka-no-kami, 507
ta-na-mata (the fork of the hand), 329
 Ta-nari-shiki-matsuri, 184
ta-na-uchi (palm of the hand), 329
tane (seeds), 318, 500
 Tango-fudoki, 38, 254
 Tango-ichi-no-miya-no-kami, 282
 Tango-no-sekku, 202
 Tango-no-tsubone, 423
 Taniguchi (Masaharu), 522f.
tani-guku (frog), 328
 Tanikawa (Kotosuga or Shisei), 315
 Ta-no-kami, 462, 469, 499f., 513
tanpopo (dandelion), 82
tanuki (badger), 505
tanritsu-jinja (temple not affiliated to the Jinja-honchō), 126
 Taoki-ho-oi-no-kami, 304, 463, 492
 Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko (= Chūai-tennō), 426
tari-ho (drooping ears), 501
tariki (rafter), 322
 Tarō Urashima, 221
taru (to make complete and sufficient), 392
tayu-kuni (to make the country complete), 391, 393
 Taru-kuni-no-kami, 392
 Taru-musubi-no-kami, 67, 392, 395, 407
taru-shima (to make the country complete), 391
 Taru-shima-no-kami, 123, 194, 392, 398
 Taru-tama, 335
tasuke-zutome (saving services), 521
tasuki (sash), 302, 305
tatami (mat), 145
tatari (warning, curse), 78, 204
 Tatemono-matsuri, 215
tatsu (dragon), 120, 385
tatsu-gashira-mai (a dance), 177
 Tatsuki-jinja, Okazaki-shi, Aichi-ken, 136, 201, 220, 453, 482
 Tatsumushi-jinja, Shikawa-mura, Shimane-ken, 96
 Tatsuta, Ikoma-gun, Nara-ken, 421, 490
 Tatsuta-hiko-tatsuta-hime-jinja (or Tatsuta-taisha), Misato-mura, Naraken, 128, 421
 Tatsuta-hime, 102
 Tatsuta-no-kami, 491
 Tatta, 491
 Tattō (Shiba), 44
 Ta-uē-matsuri, 183
 Taūra-saī, 182
 Tawa-jinja, Shido-machi, Kanagawa-ken, 480
tawara (rice-bags), 220
 Tawara-momi-sai (or -matsuri), 220
tawoyame (a delicate female), 258, 355
tayū (a priest), 133
tazu (swan), 413
te (hand or arm), 272, 274, 310
 Teimeī (Empress), 399
 Tema-yama, Tottori-ken, 321
te-mizu-ya (a basin for purification), 98, 100
 Temmu-tennō, 35, 39, 111, 176, 202, 316, 388, 421f.
 Temmu-tennō-sha, Kuwana-shi, Mië-ken, 422
ten (Heaven), 393
 Te-nazu-chi-no-mikoto, 97, 313, 315, 318
 See also: Inada-no-miya-nushi
 Tenchi-tennō. Cf. Tenji-tennō
tenchi-kongen (a style of architecture), 107
 Tenchō-saī, 399
 Tendai Buddhism, 50, 350, 519
 Tendai-shintō, 55f., 519
tengū, (a mask), 177
 Tengū, 25, 196
 Ten-ichi-jinja, Tokuhisa-mura, Hyōgo-ken, 239
 Ten-jin (=Ama-tsu-kami), 26, 369
 Ten-jin (=Michizane Sugawara), 210, 446
 Ten-jinja, Okayama, 120
 Ten-jinja, Sumiyoshi-ku, Osaka-fu, 464
 Tenjin-jinja, Chinzei-machi, Saga-ken, 451
 Tenjin-jinja (various), 196
 Tenjin-kō, 213
 Tenjin-matsuri, 201, 213
 Tenjin-no-mori, Ōsaka-ken, 447
 Tenjin-sha, Nishi-iya-mura, Tokushima-ken, 206
tenjin-shichidai (the first seven Divine generations), 235, 251
 Tenji-tennō, 420f.
ten-ka (the sub-solar universe), 286
tenka-fabu (under one sword), 450
 Tenkō-kyō, 522

- Ten-man-gû, Bôfu-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, 447, 464
- Ten-man-gû, Kita-ku, Ôsaka, 123, 186f., 213, 239, 358, 404, 434, 444, 447, 464, 476, 484, 508, 512
- Ten-man-gû, Shinjô-shi, Yamagata-ken, 215
- Ten-man-gû, Suïten-gû, Kurume-shi, Fukuoka-ken, 215
- Ten-man-gû, Tenjin-cho, Tsuruoka-shi, Yamagata-ken, 205
- Ten-man-gû (various), 186, 201, 213, 442, 446
- Tennô-matsuri, 206
- Tennô (Emperor), 230, 393f.
- Tennô (for Gozu-tennô), 325
- Tennô river, Aichi-ken, 206
- Tennô-ji, 46
- Tennô-jinja, Ichi-mura, Hyôgo-ken, 422
- Tennô-matsuri, 185
- Tenri-kyô, 78, 516, 521, 524
- Tenri-kyô-kôyô, 72
- Tensha-yamakage-jinja, Nakano-ku, Tokyo, 63, 118, 373
- Ten-shin (Son of Heaven), 369, 390
- Tenshō-daijīn (= Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), 56, 465
- Tenshō-kô-daijīn (= Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami), 371
- Tenshō Kôtai-jin (Ise), 39
- Tenshō-kyô-sha, Mount Fuji, 373
- Tenson-hongi, 38, 334
- Tenson-jinja, Ôtsu-shi, Shiga-ken, 219
- tenshon-kôrin* (descent on Earth), 85
- Tenyû, 56, 459
- terasu* (refulgence), 355, 385
- Terukuni-jinja, Kagoshima-shi, Kago-shima-ken, 455
- tessen* (withdrawal of offerings), 169
- tetsugaku-shin* (“physical” Kami), 30
- tetsu-no-tama* (iron ball), 122
- to* (corpuscle), 22
- to* (or *-do*) (door), 300, 302, 305, 314, 322
- Tobata, Fukuoka-ken, 205
- tobi* (kite), 403
- tobi-ume* (jumping plum-tree), 447
- Tôdai-ji, Nara, 40, 55
- Tôdai-ji, Yôroku, 126
- todomari yasumu* (resting-place), 289
- Todoroki waterfall, Tokushima-ken, 221
- Todoroki-jinja, Kaibu-gun, Tokushima-ken, 77, 117, 121, 123, 136, 221, 265, 469, 471, 478, 480, 482
- tôfu* (bean-paste), 82, 506
- Toga-jinja, Ichinomiya-mura, Aichi-ken, 487
- Togakushi (Mount), 214
- Togakushi-jinja, Shinano, Nagano-ken, 214, 305, 482
- Togakushi-matsuri, 214
- togamezu* (to upbraid), 299
- togeru* (to accomplish), 306
- Togi-hachiman-gû, Togi-machi, Ishikawa-ken, 216, 432, 435
- Togi-shiki, 104
- Tôgô (Admiral Heihachirô), 373
- Tôhaku, Tottori-ken, 138
- tohe* (chief),
- tôhō-den* (treasure-house), 114
- Tôhoku-ehiko, 102
- tohotsu-kami* (distant Deities), 25
- Tohotsu-machi-ne-no-kami, 266, 328
- Tô-ji, 508
- tôji* (winter solstice), 488
- Tôka-ebisu, 513
- Tôka-sai, 184, 187
- Tôka-sechi-e, 171, 180
- tôkei-gaku* (a dance), 175
- Toki-no-ki-nembi, 421
- Toki-okashi-no-kami, 278
- Tokiwa-jinja, Mito, Ibaraki-ken, 120, 454
- toko* (or *-doko*) (stable), 65
- toko* (= *soko*, bottom), 245
- Toko-no-kuni, 387
- tokoro* (land, spot), 306, 363
- tokoshië* (eternally), 365
- toko-shizume-no-matsuri* (a ritual), 160
- Toko-yo, 65, 302
- toko-yo* (eternal night), 300
- Tokoyo-funado-hime-no-kami, 496
- Toko-yo-no-kuni, 65, 329f.
- Tokugawa Bakufu, 516
- Tokugawa era (1603–1867), 73, 101, 166, 204, 212, 451, 468, 473
- Tokugawa (Ietsuna), 349
- Tokugawa (Ieyasu), 124, 201, 215, 220, 450, 452ff., 482
- Tokugawa (Mitsukuni), 120, 454.
See also: Gikô, Mito-kômon, Seizan, Takayuru-zu-umashi-michine-no-mikoto
- Tokugawa (Naomasa Matsudaïra), 454
- Tokugawa (Nariaki), 120, 454.
See also: Oshi-take-ô-kuni-no-mitate-no-mikoto, Rekkô

- Tokugawa (Yorinobu and Yoshimune), 453
tokusa (a type of rushes), 210
tokusa-no-kandakara (the ‘ten treasures’), 334, 361, 413
tokushu-shinji (a type of *matsuri*), 182
 Tokyo, 38f, 49, 126, 161, 197, 456, 517.
 See also: Edo
 Tōkyō-dai-jingū, Tokyo, 524
tomaru (to stop), 306
tomato (vale), 266
tombo (dragon-fly), 110, 405
 Tomi (Prince of), 335, 400
 Tomi-hime, 422
 Tomi-yama-bime, 335
 Tomioka-hachiman-gū, Kōtō-ku, Tōkyō, 214
tomo (eldow-pad), 362
tomo, or *tomobito* (attendant), 321
tomoë (a symbol), 61, 150, 506
 Tomokiyo (Yoshizane) or Kanshin, 522
 Tomonori (Hatta), 78
tonaë-goto (a short religious service), 170
 Tondoyaki, 194
 Toneri-shinnō, 36, 422
tō-nin (organisation of *ujiko*), 198
tono or *-dono* (hall, palace), 148, 256, 273
 Tonomori Be, 443
 Tōchi-no-hime-miko, 421
tori (bird), 95, 104, 343
tori (hen), 104
tori (eagle), 104
tori-ageru (to rake up), 104
 Tori-bune-no-kami, 342ff.
 See also: Ame-no-tori-bune-no-kami, Tori-no-iha-kusa-bune-no-kami
 Tongoe-jinja, Daïto-ku, Tokyo, 193f., 205, 415
tovii (a portal before sacred places), 95f., 106f., 161, 207, 301, 352, 431, 456, 474, 492, 504, 508
 Tori-kami, Shimane-ken, 312
 Tori-kami-no-take (Mount), 314
 Tori-mimi-no-kami, 328
tori-mono (accessories for *kagura*), 150, 152
 Tori-naru-mi-no-kami, 328
 Tori-no-ichi, 104, 222
 Tori-no-iha-kusu-bune-no-kami
 (=Tori-bune-no-kami), 260, 266
tōrō or *-dōrō* (standing lantern), 98
tororogu (rotting), 273
 Tōrō-shinji, 171
 Tosa (Land of), 262
 Tosa-jinja, Kōchi-shi, 51, 110, 120, 136, 185, 215, 264, 305, 341, 419
 Tosa-Monogatari, 493
 Tosa-no-Mitsukuni, 447
toshi (harvest, year), 325
 Toshi-gami, 160, 499
 Toshi-goï-no-matsuri, 184, 391, 507
toshi-otoko (a leader in the Setsubun), 189, 191
 Toshiya-matsuri, 140
 Tōshō-dai-gongen (= Ieyasu Tokugawa), 452
 Tōsho-gū in general, 124
 Tōkyō-gū, Aikawa-machi, (Niigata-ken), Hakodate-shi (Hokkai-do), Hirosaki-shi, Hiroshima-shi, Hōrai-machi (Aichi-ken), Kunō-san, Maëbashi-shi (Gunmaken), and Chaya-machi (Nagoya), 453
 Tōkyō-gū, Nikkō, Tochigi-ken, 175, 204, 220, 453
 Tōkyō-gū, Oshima-machi (Gunma-ken), Sendai-shi (Miyagi-ken), Shiba (Tokyo), Takayama-shi (Gifu-ken), Taki-san, Uēno (Tokyo) and Wakayama-shi, 453
 Tottori, 97
 Tōshiyō-gū, 454
toya (elective system), 140
to-yama (mountain-gate), 272
 To-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 272, 470
 Toyo, 262
toyo (a prefix), 502
toyo (luxuriant), 262
toyo (sea-crossing), 220
 Toyo-ashi-hara-chi-i-vo-aki-no-midzu-ho, 252
 Toyo-ashi-hara[-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki]-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, 153, 336ff.
 Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chiioaki-no-mizu-ho-no-kuni, 361
 Toyo-ashi-hara-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni, 354
 Toyo-ata-tsu-hime (= Kono-hana-sakuya-hime), 365, 368
 Toyo-futsu-no-kami (= Take-mika-dzuchi), 271
 Toyo-futsu-jinja (various), 353
 Toyo-hi-wake, 262
 Toyo-iwa-mado-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 304, 309, 359, 407, 497
 Toyo-ka-fushi-nu-no-mikoto (= Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 245
 Toyokawa-sha (various), 509
 Toyoki-iri-hiko-no-mikoto, 411, 413
 Toyoki-yahiko-no-mikoto, 203
 Toyo-kui-no-no-mikoto (= Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 245
 Toyo-kuji-hine-wake, 262

- Toyo-kumo-nu-no-mikoto (or -no-kami)
 (=Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 235, 245,
 247, 250
 Toyo-kuni-jinja, Higashiyama-ku, Kyôto-shi,
 452
 Toyo-kuni-jinja, Kanazawa-shi, Ishikawa-ken,
 451
 Toyo-kuni-jinja, Tokyo, 452
 Toyo-kuni-no-no-mikoto
 (=Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 245
 Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto, 245.
 See also: Toyo-ka-fushi-nu-no-mikoto,
 Toyo-kuî-no-no-mikoto, Toyo-kuni- no -no-
 mikoto, Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi-no-mikoto
 Toyo-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 387, 510
toyo-mu (to shake), 289
 Toyo-no-akari-no-sechi-e, 176
 Toyora, 428
 Toyosaka-jinja, Yamaguchi-shi, 450
 Toyo-suki-iri-hime-no-mikoto, 151, 410
 Toyo-tama, 303
 Toyo-tama-hiko-no-mikoto (=Ô-wata-tsu-mi),
 379
 Toyo-tama-hime-no-mikoto, 165, 351, 370,
 378ff. 384–8, 405, 529
 Toyotomi clan, 215
 Toyotomi (Hidenaga), 452
 Toyotomi (Hideyori), 349, 447, 452
 Toyotomi (Hideyoshi), 47, 199f., 205, 221, 392,
 450ff., 482.
 See also: Daïmyôjin, Hôkoku, Taikô, Zoô-
 sho-ichii-toyotomi-no-asomi-hideyoshi-kô
 Toyo-uga-no-me, 510
 Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami, 111, 185, 239, 268f.,
 318, 352, 371, 398, 463, 492, 494, 502ff.,
 509f.
 See also: Miketsu-no-kami, Toyo-uke-no-
 ô-kami
 Toyo-uke-dai-jingû (= Gekû of the Ise-jingû),
 503
 Toyo-uke-no-[ô-]kami, 371, 396, 503
 Toyura (Anato), 429
tô-za (group of *ujiko*), 139, 198
 Tsu (Island of), 262
tsuba (to spit), 382
tsubaki (spittle), 277, 310
 Tsubaki-jinja, Suzuka-shi, Mië-ken, 358
tsubaku (to spit), 365
 Tsubukushima, 106
 Tsubura-hime, 480
 Tsubu-tatsu-mitama (=Saruda-hiko), 357
tsuchi (hammer), 513
tsuchi-gomori (earth-hiders), 404
tsuchi-gumo (earth-spiders), 404
 Tsuchi-ikazuchi, 274
 Tsuchi-mikado-tenno, 194, 424
 Tsuchi-no-mi-oya-no-kami (= Ô-tsuchi-no-
 kami), 333
tsuë (staff), 150, 275f., 278
 Tsugaru-matsuri, 216
 Tsugata-jinja, Mizuho-ku, Nagoya-shi, 418
tsuge (box-wood), 181
tsugi (next), 234, 240
tsuina (a rite), 189, 191
tsui-shin (industriousness), 75
tsuji-ura (cross-road divination), 181
tsuki (moon), 210
 Tsuki-hoko, 210
tsuki-machi (waiting for the moon), 160
 Tsukinami-sai, 206, 223
 Tsuki-sakaki-itsu-no-mitama-ama-zakaru-
 mukatsu-hime-no-mikoto, 429
 Tsuki-sakaki-izu-no-mitama, 372
 Tsuki-tatsu-funado (or -kunado)-no-kami, 278,
 496
 Tsuki-yomi-jinja, Iki Island, 467
 Tsuki-yomi (or -yumi)-no-mikoto (or -no-kami
 or -no-ô-kami), 105, 149, 243, 282f., 285,
 288, 307, 312, 466f., 501, 510.
 See also: Amida-nyorai
 Tsukuba (Mount), Ibaragi-ken, Hitachi, 472,
 499
tsukuë (tables), 364
 Tsu-ku-himi-no-kami, 304
 Tsukuma-jinja, Maïbara-machi, Shiga-ken, 198,
 502
 Tsukuma-no-matsuri, 198
tukuri (repairing), 330
 Tsukushi, 262, 278, 296, 319, 356, 361, 430
 Tsukushi-no-himuka-no-ye-no-misasagi, 369
tsuma (close), 314
tsuma (spouse), 327
 Tsumamagi-sai, 215
 Tsuma-tsu-hime, 332
tsume (nails), 310
tsumi (evil), 77, 191
 Tsu-mine-sha, Awajishima, 366
tsumu (a germ), 249
 Tsumuji-jinja, 491
 Tsunaba-jinja, Matsuë-shi, Shimane-ken, 328

- Tsunaga, 432
tsunagari-no-shūkyō (religion of solidarity), 156
 Tsunaga-wi-no-kami, 497
 Tsunenaga-shinnō, 425
 Tsunoga, 477
 Tsunō-jinja, Imatsu-machi, Shiga-ken, 134, 408
 Tsunō-jinja, Tsunō-machi, Miyazaki-ken, 406
tsu-no-kakushi (bride's hood), 166
 Tsu-no-mine-jinja, Tokushima-ken, 120, 135, 200, 222, 366
 Tsunu-guhi-no-kami, 248f., 251
tsura (cheek), 329
 Tsura-nagi-no-kami, 235, 264
 Tsura-nami-no-kami, 264
tsuri-bari (fish-hook), 376
tsuri-kagari (hanging brasero), 98
tsuri-tōrō (a type of *tōrō*), 99
 Tsurugaoka-hachiman-gū, Kamakura-shi, Kanagawa-ken, 123, 134, 217, 438
tsurugi (piercing), 335
tsurugi (sword), 120, 150, 270, 314, 376
 Tsurugi (Mount), Tokushima-ken, 236, 475
tsurugi-ba (sword-blade), 344
 Tsurugi-jinja, Kiyahira-mura, Tokushima-ken, 424, 469
 Tsurumi (Mount), Beppu, Ōita-ken, 472
 Tsushima, Aichi-ken, 178, 181, 262f., 289, 423f.
 Tsushima-jinja, Tsuchima-shi, Aichi-ken, 192, 206, 207, 289, 326
 Tsushima-matsuri, 206
tsutome (a ceremony), 521
tsutsugamushi (a giant straw-worm used as a scape-goat), 140, 488
 Tsutsugayu-matsuri, 182
 Tsutsuhi, 432
tsutsushimi (respectfulness to rules), 74, 520
 Tsuwano, Shimane-ken, 51
 Tsūzoku Shintō, 58
tsuzumi (a drum), 180
- u* (cormorant), 348, 384
uba (a mask), 177
 Uba-matsuri, 204
ubu-ko (devotee), 462
 Ubusuna-jinja (various), 392
 Ubusuna-matsuri, 217
 Ubusuna-no-kami, 159, 165 435, 458, 462f.,
 Ubuta-jinja, Kumano-shi, Mië-ken, 324
- ubu-ya* (parturition-house), 259, 276, 384
 Ubuya-jinja, Kyoto, 199
ubuyu (a bath), 431
uchide-no-kozuchi (a small mallet), 167
uchi-hashhi (flying bridge), 347
uchi-mono (percussion instruments), 176
uchi-tama-gaki (a fence), 97
 Uchyū-shin, 30
 Uda, 403, 412
 Uda-mikumari-jinja, Haru-hara-machi, Nara-ken, 479
 Uda-tennō, 446
 Udo cave, 165
 Udo-jingū, Nichinan-shi, Miyasaki-ken, 50, 90, 96, 104, 115, 130f., 181, 369, 388, 402, 411, 419, 484
udzu (spiral), 240
 Uēsugi (Harunori), 454
 Uēsugi (Kagekatsu), 454
 Uēsugi (Kenshin or Terutora), 216, 450f., 457
 Uēsugi (Shinkichi), 394
 Uēsugi-jinja, Yonezawa-shi, Yamagata-ken, 202, 451
 Uga, 504
uga (serpent), 121
 Uga (or -Uka-) no-mitama-no-kami, 28, 508.
 See also: Uga-tama
 Ugami-no-sukune-no-mikoto (or Ugami-taruni-no-mikoto), 492
 Uga-no-mitama (-no-mikoto), 16, 265, 267, 318, 482, 502, 504, 507, 509f.
 Uga-sha (various), 56, 121
 Uga-shin, 56
 Uga-tama-no-mikoto, 357
 Ugaya-fuki-aëzu-no-mikoto, 165, 370, 387f., 405, 411, 509
 Uga-yama, Shimane-ken, 222
 U-hiji (or Uhi-ji)-ni-no-kami, 235, 248f., 251, 477
uji (maggots), 273
 Uji river, 212
 Uji-bashi, Ise, Mië-ken, 114
ujl-gami (tutelary Kami), 30, 159f, 165, 197, 212, 352, 400, 437, 461ff., 520
 Uji-kata-yagi-no-yamai-gamī, 191
ujiko (parishioner), 122ff., 138–41, 178f., 187, 192ff., 196ff., 201, 203, 205, 214, 217, 220f., 243, 438, 461
ujiko-sōdai (representative of *ujiko*), 139
 Ujimo-kami, 497

- Uji-no-kami, 446
 Uji-no-waki-iratsuko, 417
 Uji-shûi, 505
 Uka (Mount), Shimane-ken, 323
uka (rice), 325
ukaberu-abura (floating oil), 253
 U-kagura-matsuri, 199
ukara (relations), 277
uke (tub), 305
ukefu (oath), 291
uke-fusete (sounding-board), 302
uke-ki (a float), 377
 Uke-mochi-no-kami, 442, 466, 484, 501f., 504
 Uke-motsu-no-kami, 510
ukera (a medicinal herb), 191
 Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi-no-mikoto (= Toyo-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto), 245
uki-hashî (floating bridge), 347
uki-jimari (floating sand-bank), 363
uki-takara (boats), 319
 Ullumbana, 468
 Uma-matsuri, 201
umashi (savoury, delightful), 377
 Umashi-ashi-kabi[-hiko]-ji-no-kami, 234, 245ff., 250
 Umashi-maji-no-mikoto, 88, 334, 396
 Umashi-ôya-hime-no-mikoto, 125
 U-matsuri, 197
ume (plum-tree), 447
ume-boshi (pickled plums), 82, 170
umibata (sea-shore), 264, 377, 384
 Umi-hachiman-gû, Fukuoka-shi, Fukuoka-ken, 136, 431
 Umi-jinja, 431
 Umi-no-kami, 483
umi-no-michi (sea path), 385
umi-[no-]sachi (wealth from the sea), 60, 172, 375
 Umi-no-sachi-hiko, 376
umu (to beget), 291, 296
 Umugahi-hime, 321
umusu (the act of begetting), 67
una (neck), 327
una (sea). Cf. *uma*
 Una-bara (the ocean-plain), 280, 286, 331, 384, 527
 Unakoji-matsuri, 198
una-saka (sea-boundary), 385
 Unebi-yama, Nara-ken, 404, 406, 472
uneme (palace servant), 458
 Unewo, Nara-ken, 270
 Unkei, 210f.
 Unmei-den, 395f.
 Unoshima-jinja, Kawaguchi-machi, Yamanashi-ken, 201, 388
 Unoshi-matsuri, 197
ura (inside, heart), 180
 Urabe clan, 277
 Urabe Shintô, 520
 Urabe (Kanetomo or Yoshida), 22
ura-goto (divination), 169
urahe (divination), 210, 301, 368
 Ura-ise, 438
 Ura-jinja, Ine-machi, Kyoto, 214, 444
ura-kimon (south-eastern direction), 436
ura-nahi (divination), 180
 Urashima-no-ko (or Urashima-Tarô), 444
ura-yasu-no-mai (a dance), 176
uru (begotten), 296
uru (silly), 381
 Usa, Ôita-ken, 400, 426, 439, 445
usagi (rabbit or hare), 105, 321
 Usa-hachiman-gû, Usa, Ôita-ken, 46, 48, 50, 94, 118, 123, 129, 135, 137, 162, 195ff., 213, 433, 437, 467, 469, 471
 Usami, 192
ushi (cattle), 105
ushi (a dance), 195
 Ushijima-jinja, Sumida-ken, Tokyo, 423
 Ushijima-jinja ujiko-sôchô mikoshi rengô togyo, 216
 Ushikaï-jin (= Waka-futsu-nushi-no-kami), 106
 Ushikubo-hachiman-gû, 198, Cf. Hachim-ansha, Toyokawa-shi
 Ushi-mitsu-doki, 486
ushiô (sea-water) 321, 357
 Ushitora-no-konjin, 522
 Ushiwaka, 211
uso (bullfinches), 196
usobuki (to whistle), 382
 Uso-gaë, 196
usu (mortar), 513
usu-ru (to shake), 302
uta (a type of poem), 197, 317
 Utari-jinja, Kosakaï-machi, Aichi-ken, 199, 492
utobi (unfriendly), 495
utsu-kushi (beauty), 91
 Utsushi-hi-gana-saku-no-mikoto, 282
utsushiki aohitokusa (the visible race of men), 319, 329, 365, 501

- Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami (=Ô-kuni-nushi),
65, 320, 323, 350
Utsushi-yo, 65
uwagi (garment), 166
Uwatsu-hiko-jinja, Itsukushita-Uwajima-shi,
Ehime-ken, 221
uyamau (respect), 74
Uyehara (Etsujirô), 389
Uzuë-matsuri, 194
Uzu-hiko, 400
Uzumasa-uji-honkei-chô, 489
- wa* (harmony), 63, 73, 75
wa (I, you), 73, 75
Wada (Yôzô), 229
Wada-jinja, Hyôgo-ku, Kôbe-shi, 170, 229, 239,
329, 512
Wada-mi-saki (Beach of), Awaji-shima,
Hyôgo-ken, 329
Wadzurahi-no-kami, 276
Wadzurahi-no-ushi-no-kami, 279
wagon (a type of *koto*), 176
Waka-futsu-nushi-no-kami, 106
Wakago-jinja, Jakkô, Nikkô-shi, 340
Waka-hime-no-kami, 407
Waka-hiru-me-no-mikoto, 28, 299f., 465
waka-kusa (young herbs), 327
wakame (a sea-weed, *undaria pinnatifida*), 170,
188
Waka-mi-ke-nu-no-mikoto, 387, 510
Wakamiya (Tagi-tsu-hime), 440
waka-miya (a small palace), 129, 283
Wakamiya-hachiman-gû, Kitsuki, 223
Wakamiya-hachiman-gû, Tsukiyono-machi,
Tone-gun, Gunma-ken, 218
Wakamiya-hachiman-sha (various), 418
Wakamiya-jinja, Miyazu, Kyôto-fu, 135, 239,
282, 458, 478
Wakamiya-matsuri, 488
Wakamiya-ô-kami, 29
Waka-musubi-no-kami, 269
Wakana-matsuri, 194
Wa-kannon-sama, 508
wakare-no-mi-kushi (comb of farewell), 151
Wakasa-hiko-jinja, Kohama-shi, Fukui-ken, 387
Wakasa-hiko-no-ô-kami (= Hiko-ho-ho-demi),
387
Wakasa-hime-no-ô-kami (= Toyo-tama-hime),
387
Waka-sa-na-me-no-kami, 333, 500
- Waka-suseri-hime-jinja, Shimane-ken, 327
Waka-toshi-no-kami, 333, 499f.
Waka-uka-no-me-hime, 421
Waka-uka-no-me (or -be)-no-mikoto, 186, 509
Wakayama Kata-jinja, 196
Waka-yama-kui-no-kami, 333, 471
Waka-yamato-no-ko-hiko-futo-ô-hibi-no-
mikoto, 408
Wake-ikazuchi-jinja, 478
Wake-ikazuchi-sume-ô-kami, Motoyama-chô,
Mito-shi, 483
wake-mitama (superior soul), 60, 63, 66, 78,
123, 351, 492, 494, 496, 508
Wake-no-kiyomaro, 105, 198, 442, 445
waki (side, lateral), 291
waki-den (secondary *honden*), 118
Wakigo (=Ame-no-oshi-mimi-no-mikoto), 291
Waki-ikazuchi, 274
Wakimiya-jinja, Miyazu, Kyôto-fu, 119, 129,
358, 448, 458, 479, 513
Waku-musubi-no-kami, 67, 268f., 503
Wang-in, 46, 433
wani (a sea monster), 321, 377f., 381f., 385
waraji (straw-sandals), 145, 473
ware (I, you), 90
Warei-jinja, Uwajima-shi, Ehime-ken, 212, 497
wasabi (a kind of horse-radish), 170
washi (eagle), 104
Washi-jinja, Asakusa, Tokyo, 104
wata or *-hata*, 434
wata (sea), 329
Watahari-Haruo-hiko-tayu, 447
watakushi-ni (in private), 366
Watanabe (Ikarimaru), 238
wata-naka (middle of the sea), 381
Watarai (Nobuyoshi), 71, 524
Watarai Shintô, 524
Watarai Shrines, Ise, 101, 133, 503
Wata-tsu-mi-jinja, Tarunuzu-ku, Kôbe-shi, 282
Wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 371
Wata-tsu-mi-no-miya, 380
Wa-tsu-kuni, 381
Wa-tsutsumi-no-wo-no-mikoto (or -no-kami), 187,
279ff., 429
Wa-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami, 279f., 282
waza (posturings), 383
waza-bitô (mime), 383
wazawai (disasters), 78, 329
waza-wogi (mimic dance), 307
waza-wogi-bitô (mime), 305, 384

- wi* (well), 377
Wi-ga-suri, 497
-wo (a mighty being), 467
wo (indicative of the masculine), 258
 Wobama, Shimane-ken, 329
wo-bashira (male pillar), 150, 273
 Wodate, 419
wogi (prayer), 303
wo-guna (dwarf), 329
wo-hata (small-finned), 348
Wo-ōsu-no-mikoto (=Yamato-takeru), 413
woshi-mono (food), 310, 500
wo-su (to eat), 294
wotoko (youth), 258
wotome (maiden), 258
 Woyamada, 429
- ya* (arrow), 179
yabusame (horse-back-archery), 178, 180, 187, 195, 202f., 207, 216f., 221
Ya-chi-hoko-no-kami (= Ō-kuni-nushi), 320, 327, 350, 393
yachi-mata (eightfold road crossing), 355f.
Yachi-mata-hiko and *Yachi-mata-hime*, 495f.
Yachimata-no-kami, 358
yadori (lodging, shelter), 289
yadorigi (a clump of trees), 493
Yaëgaki-jinja, Sukusa-machi, Shimane-ken, 317, 318
Yaë-koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami (=Koto-shiro-nushi), 343
yaë-no- (eightfold), 382
yaë-zakura (a cherry-tree), 186
Yagara-jinja, Ōhama-machi, Shizuoka-ken, 243
Yagokoro-omoikane-no-mikoto (=Omoikane), 360
Yagorō-den, 221
Yahashira-jinja, Shōnāi-mura, Shizuoka-ken, 295
Yahashira-no-kami, 355
Yahata-jinja, Yamagata-shi, Yamagata-ken, 434, 436
Yahoni-kizuki (Cape of), Shimane-ken, 326
Yaizu-jinja, Yaizu-shi, Shizuoka-ken, 214, 415
Yakami-hime, 321, 326, 497
Yakamochi Ōtomo, 37
Yakatsu-kami, 498
yaku-doshi (unhappy periods), 179
yaku-mame (a certain number of beans), 192
Yakushi-bosatsu-myōjin, 330
Yakushin, 496
Yakushi-Nyorai, 120
yaku-zuka (misery-mound), 115, 192
yama (mountain), 210
yama (a type of float), 209, 211
yama-boko (a type of float), 179
yamabushi (a type of ascete), 210, 519
yama-da (rice-field in the hills), 330
 Yamada, Nagato, Yamaguchi-ken, 429, 503
yamagasa (a giant “doll”), 207
 Yamagata, 52
 Yamaguchi-sai, 201
yamahi or *yamai* (healing of diseases), 329
 Yama-hoko-junkō, 209, 211
 Yama-home-tanenaki-sunadori-no-matsuri, 197
 Yama-ikazuchi, 274
 Yama-junko, 211
 Yamakage-shintō (-kyō or -aishinkai), 79, 84, 89, 189f., 240, 517
 Yamamoto (Nobuki), 24
 Yama-no-kami, 469, 498f.
yama-(no-)sachi (wealth from the mountain), 60, 172, 375
Yama-no-sachi-hiko (= Hiko-ho-do-demi), 376
 Yamanouchi-jinja, Mikawa-machi, Yamaguchi-ken, 247
 Yamashina family, 140
 Yamashina-jinja, 415
 Yamashiro-fudoki, 38, 443, 489
Yama-suë-no-ō-nushi-no-kami (=Ō-yama-kuï-no-kami), 332, 470
ya-mata (eight-forked), 313
 Yamata, Watarai, 503
 Yamata-no-orochi, 151f, 325, 529
 Yamato, Nara-ken (also taken for the whole of Japan), 177, 263, 331, 334, 470, 491
 Yamato era (in the wider sense: 660 B.C.– 784; in the narrower sense: from the origin to 538), 177
 Yamato-hime-no-mikoto, 412, 414, 458
 Yamato-hime-seiki, 412, 466
yamatokoto (a string instrument), 176
yamato-mai (a dance), 177
 Yamato-[no] -ō-kuni-tama-no[ō] -kami, 393, 410.
 Yamato-ō-koku (= Japan), 434
 Yamato-take(ru), 104, 216, 316, 414f., 426, 494.
 See also: Imaki-no-kami, Ō-guna, Wo-osu-no-mikoto

Yamato-to-tohi-momoso-hime-no-mikoto, 203, 409f.
 Yama-tsuchi, 151, 304
 Yama-tsu-mi-no-kami, 267, 469
yama-uba (a mask), 177
 Yamaüchi, 457
yama-utsugi (a sunflower), 172
 Yamazaki (Ansai), 74, 520
yama-zakura (mountain-cherry), 186
yami (darkness), 300
yanagi (willow), 212
 Yanagi-matsuri, 212
yang, 150, 237
 Yang Kuei Fei 458
 Yano (Harumichi), 66
yao-yorozu-no-kami (the eight myriads of Kami), 23, 222
yarafu (banished), 288
yarahi (expulsion), 290
 Yasaka jewels, 154, 290, 293, 296
 Yasaka pagoda, 210
 Yasaka-jinja, U-kyô-ku, Kyoto, 110, 124, 185, 206ff., 318, 325, 349, 355
 Yasaka-jinja, Nagasaki-shi, 219
 Yasaka-jinja, Naoetsu-shi, Niigata-ken, 206, 208f., 212
 Yasaka-jinja, Noto-machi, Fugeshi-gun, Ishikawa-ken, 207
 Yasaka-jinja, Kokura-shi, Fukuoka-ken, 207, 423
 Yasaka-jinja (various), 208, 212, 528
yasakani-no-magatama (a string of jewels), 152f., 292, 413, 478
 Yasaka-no-sume-no-kami (= Susano-wo), 209
 Yasaka-tome-no-mikoto, 345
yase (barren), 298
yasha (a mask), 177
yashiki (a type of small shrine), 159f.
yashiki-gami, 159f.
 Ya-shima-ji-nu-mi, 265, 317, 405.
 See also: Suga-no-kake..., Suga-no-yu...
 Ya-shima-muji-no-kami, 328
yashiro (a temple), 17, 94, 129
yashiro-dono (a hall), 366
 Yashiro-gû, Yashiro-shi, Kumamoto-ken, 425
 Ya-so-maga-tsu-hi-no-kami, 279f., 282
 Yasoshima-no-matsuri, 397
 Yassa-matsuri, 218
yasu (easy), 297
 Yasui-Kompira-gû, Higashiyama-ku, Ky-ôto-shi, 195

Yasukuni-jinja, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, 95, 101, 126f., 129, 133, 201, 207, 220, 456
 Yasurai-matsuri, 191
 Yata (Princess), 418
 Yatagarasu, 104, 403, 443f.
 See also: Kamo-no-taketsu-numi-no-mikoto
yatagarasu-bd (a cap), 443
 Yatagarasu-jinja, Kumano, 104
yatai (a float), 179
 Yataka-jinja, Akita-shi, 455
 Yata-no-kagami, 148, 152f., 302, 361, 410, 412
 Yata-no-waki-iratsume, 416
yatsu (eight), 97, 240
yatsu-ashi-[shiri]mon (eight-pillared gate), 97
 Yatsu-ga-take (Mount), Nagano-ken, 346
 Yatsuka-mizuomi-tsunu-no-mikoto, 326
 Yatsuka-no-tsurugi, 335
 Yatsurugi-jinja (various), 415
 Yatsushima-jinja, Hinode-machi, Ôita-ken, 295
yawa-su (to pacify), 338
yawata or *yahata* (Hachiman), 434, 437
 Yayoi-matsuri, 201
ya-zukuri (a type of architecture), 492
 Ye (River), 313
ye (placenta), 257
 Ye-hime, 262
 Yeisai, 44
 Yemishi, 216, 414, 481
yena (placenta), 257
yin (as opposed to *yang*), 150, 237
yo (night), 301
yô (a tax), 395
yo (world), 65, 306
yô (as opposed to *in*), 246
yobafu (to woo), 327
yogoto (prayers), 39
yôhai (worshipping from a distance), 129
yôhai-jo (distant shrine), 129
 Yoï-yama, 209
 Yoki-hi, 458
yoki-yoku (old tales), 209
yôki-zutome (gay services), 521
 Yokosuka, 200
 Yokoyama-jinja, Maruoka-machi, Fukui-ken, 419
yomei (hell), 23
yomi (darkness), 23
 Yomi, 65f., 78, 150, 192, 269, 273–7, 279, 466
 Yomi-do-ni-sayari-masu-ô-kami (=Yomo-tsu-hira-saka), 276
 Yomi-no-kuni, 65f.

- yomogi* (mugwort), 82
 Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, 274–8, 323.
 See also: Sayari- masu -yomi- do- no-ô-
 kami
 Yomi- do- ni-fusagaru-ô-kami
 Yomo-tsu-kami, 273
 Yomo-tsu-koto-saka-no-wo, 277
 Yomo-tsu-kuni, 65, 273
 Yomo-tsu-ô-kami (=Izanami), 65, 276
 Yomo-tsu-shiko-me, 274
 Yone-ura-sai, 182
 Yonezawa, Yamagata-ken, 202
 Yoôri, 399
yori-gatni (Kami cast ashore), 121
yori-ishi (stones cast ashore), 121
 Yori-ki-no-zoëi, 349
yori-shiro (*shintai* cast ashore), 119
 Yorodzu- hata- hime- ko- dama- yori- hime-no-
 mikoto (= Yorodzu-hata-toyo-aki-tzu-shi-
 hime), 354f.
 Yorodzu- hata-toyo- aki- dzu[-shi] -hime-no-
 mikoto, 368, 372, 405.
 See also: Ame-yorodzu-taku-hata-chi-hata-
 hime, Ata-tsu-hime, Honoto-hata-hime-
 ko-chi-chi- hime- no- mikoto, Katsu- no-
 haya-hi-no-mikoto, Taku-hata-chi-chi-him-
 eyorodzu-hata, Yorodzu-hata-hime-ko-
 dama-yori-hime-no-mikoto
 Yoroji-jinja, Tozawa-mura, Yamagata-ken, 449
 Yôrô-jinja, Yôrô-machi, Gifu-ken, 422, 447
 Yôrô-ryô, 37
yoroshi (to be fully equipped), 384
 Yoru-no-wosu-kuni, 286
 Yoryu Kwannon, 211f.
 Yosa, 412
yoshi (bullrush), 181
yoshi-bayai (purification of good), 79
 Yoshida family, 126, 395, 519
 Yoshida (Kanetomo), 232, 519
 Yoshida (Noritaka, Torajirô or Shôin), 455
 Yoshida school, 120, 141, 232
 Yoshida Shintô, 519
 Yoshida-jinja, Sa-kyô-ku, Kyoto, 107, 114f.,
 117, 180, 191, 201, 232, 476, 486, 489, 521
yoshi-kirahi-mono (things abhorrent of good),
 310
 Yoshimizu-jinja, Yoshino-machi, Naraken, 425,
 449
 Yoshimura (Masamochi), 524
 Yoshino temples, 161
 Yoshino-jingû, Yoshino-machi, Nara-ken, 425
 Yoshino-mikumari- j in j a, Yoshino-machi,
 Nara-ken, 265, 369, 388
 Yoshitsune-sha, Hiratori-machi, Hok-kaïdo, 449
yotsu-ashi-mon (four-pillared gate), 97
 Yôzan (= Harunori Uêsugi), 454
 Yôzô Wada, 229
yû (bravery), 154
yû (the bark of the paper-mulberry-tree), 94,
 114, 158
yudate (a purification ceremony), 171
yudate-kagura (a musical ceremony), 171
yufu (tree-fibre), 304
 Yufu (Mount), Ôita-ken, 472
yufu-hi (evening-sun), 363
yufu-yami (evening darkness), 276
 Yûgamaya-inari-jinja, Nara, Nara-ken, 48, 502
 Yuge clan, 445
yu-hara (top), 290
 Yuïgon 452
 Yui-itsu Shintô, 520
 Yui-itsu shintô myôbô yôshû, 520
yûuitsu (unique), 107
yûuitsu-shinmei-zukuri (a type of architecture),
 107
yuka (dais), 380
yûkai (another world), 85
yukata (a garment), 205f.
yuki (snow), 195
 Yûki (Munehiro), 449
 Yuki-den, 178, 397
 Yûki-jinja, Tsu-shi, Mië-ken, 449
 Yuki-matsuri, 195
yumari (urine), 268
yumari-su (to urinate), 275
yumi (bow), 150
yu-niha (sacred garden), 361
yuniwa (a mode of cooking), 180
yu-omo (bathing-woman), 386
 Yura-minato-sha, Sumato-shi, Hyôgo-ken, 435,
 480
yurayura (shaking), 84
 yurine (vegetables), 173
 Yuriwaka, 445f.
yuru (night), 65
 Yu-ryaku-tennô, 394, 419, 493, 503
 Yushima-jinja, Bunkyo-chô, Tokyo, 447
 Yûtoku-inari-jinja, Kashima-shi, Saga-ken, 223,
 357, 487
yutsu (five hundred, multitude), 270f., 314

yutsu-tsuma-gushi (a comb made of bamboo), 120
yu-ye (washer woman), 386
Yuzuruha-jinja, Mihara-gun, Awajishima, 136

za (association), 172
za (place for a Kami in a temple), 373
zakarū (remote in Heaven), 429
zakwan (a coffin), 166
zange (penitence), 195f.
zazen (posture of meditation), 458
Zen (Buddhism), 44, 211
zen (good, superiority), 70
zeni-bukuro (two purses), 513

Zenkoku-shintō-seinen-kyōgi-kai, 137
zō (a mask), 177
Zō-ka (creation), 520
Zōka-san-jin, 243, 517
zōni (a meal), 486
Zōō-shō-ichii-toyotomi-no-asomi-hide-yoshi-kō
(=Hideyoshi Toyotomi), 451
Zui-jin, 97
zuijin-mon (a gate), 97
zuiiki (stems of taro), 219
Zuiki-matsuri, 447
zukuri (architecture), 107
zun (a dance), 195