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# The Origins of the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Cult of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami

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Toyotama-hime who married Hoori no Mikoto was one of the oldest figures of Shintō mythology. She was the guarantor of fish fertility and the cycle of death and rebirth. In Ise Sarume was a similar goddess, but she was also the wife of the sun god Saruta-hiko who visited her nightly. Amaterasu Ōmikami emerged out of the image of this sea goddess, and significantly a mirror symbolizing Amaterasu was placed in a coffin-like container named *mifune-shiro* or 'the boat-substitute', and reminiscent of the boat for Fudaraku Watari. On the other hand Amaterasu was originally the wife of Ōmono-nushi, the god of Mount Miwa on top of which lay Himuka (Facing the Sun) Shrine, who as god of both sun and serpent was represented by three sedge rings (*miwa*) used in the Nagoshi purificatory festival of Tsunakoshi Shrine of Miwa. When Yamato-hime went to Ise, she took the sun-half of Ōmono-nushi with her straight to the east from the Hashihaka tomb of Ōmono-nushi's wife via Hibara Shrine to establish the *saigū* palace. This led to the merger of the Yamato and Ise deities of the sun and their wives to create Amaterasu. Ninigi no Mikoto was originally a miracle child of the sea goddess, but was turned into a god who comes from Heaven. The ancient world-view that regarded the sky as primordial sea assisted this sea-heaven conversion.

*Keywords:* SEA GODDESS, AMATERASU ŌMIKAMI, MOUNT MIWA, SERPENT-SUN GOD, ŌMONO-NUSHI.

## (i). The basic concept of the goddess of the undersea world

This paper aims to unveil the origins of the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami. To achieve this they will firstly be related to the cult of the goddess of the undersea world in Ise (Sections [i]-[iii]), but also to the worship of the wife of the god of Mount Miwa in Yamato as well as to the merger of the two forms of religion (Sections [iv] and [v]).

The concept of the goddess of the undersea world will be presented first. The positive aspect of the concept is provided by the *Kojiki* record popularly known as the "Tale of the Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains" (the *Nihonshoki* also records the same story with different names for the heroes) and the *Tango no Kuni no Fudoki* (*Regional Record of Tango Province*) record of Urashima Tarō

(called "Shimako" in the oldest extant version which is quoted below), which is famous as the Japanese Rip van Winkle. The negative aspect of the concept will be discussed later. The story lines of the two records in brief go as follows:

(1) The Tale of the Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains.

After his descent from the heavens to Himuka in southern Kyūshū, Ninigi no Mikoto, the grandson of the Sun Goddess, married Konohana no Sakuya-hime, a daughter of the mountain god, and begot three sons. The oldest of his sons Hoderi no Mikoto (called Ho no Suseri in the *Nihonshoki*) was known as Umisachi-hiko, 'Luck-of-the-Sea Lad', signifying that he was a marvelous fisherman. The youngest of the sons Hoori no Mikoto (called Hiko Hohodemi in the *Nihonshoki*) was known as Yamasachi-hiko, 'Luck-of-the-Mountain Lad' signifying that he was a marvelous hunter. Each had a magic tool of their trade.

One day Hoori (henceforth we omit the honorific "no Mikoto" from the names) proposed an exchange of their magic tools. Hoderi initially refused it but later gave in upon his brother's repeated requests. Hoderi went hunting and Hoori fishing each carrying his brother's tool. The result was miserable for both. To make the matter worse, Hoori lost his brother's magic fish hook.

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

When Hoori was weeping and lamenting over his loss by the seashore, Shiotsuchi no Kami (God of the Salt-[waters]) came and asked the reason for his grief. Hoori explained what had happened, whereupon the god offered him help. He made a *menashi katama* or vessel of closely woven bamboo stalks, and putting Hoori into it, instructed him:

"When I push this boat free, a very good tideway will carry you to a palace made as if with the scales of fish. This is the palace of Watatsumi no Kami (the sea god). At the gate of this deity will be a well and a luxuriant *katsura* tree beside it. If you climb to the top of this tree, the daughter of the sea god will see you and will counsel with you."

Hoori did as he was instructed. He climbed up the *katsura* tree and waited. Then the serving maiden of Toyotama-hime, the daughter of the sea god, came out and noticed a glaring light in the well and, looking up, found him.

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

Then he brought him inside, spread out eight layers of sealskin *tatami* (carpets), then spread out eight layers of silk *tatami* over them, and had him sit on top of these. (The *Nihonshoki* says that the sea god welcomed Hoori onto a *yae-datami* or eight layers of *tatami* in his palace. In the Fourth Variant of the tale recorded in the same book there is also a story of the sea god offering Hoori a *madoko-ofufujsuma*, a type of couch, to test whether Hoori was a son of a heavenly god or not by the way he used the couch.) There was a feast in celebration of their marriage. He lived for three years in this land, when Hoori remem-

bered the things of before, and gave a long sigh. Toyotama-hime heard this sigh and reported it to her father. The sea god asked his son-in-law for reason for the long sigh; he also asked what had initially brought Hoori to his land.

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

The Sea God gave Hoori the tide-raising jewel and the tide-ebbing jewel, and said that Hoori could drown or save his brother as he wished with these two jewels until his brother rendered submission. Then he was taken back to the human world on the back of a giant *wani* (probably a kind of shark) that could swim quickly. As the Sea God had predicted, Hoderi, frustrated by his failures, attacked Hoori, but was drowned by Hoori. To avoid death, Hoderi pleaded saying that he would henceforth serve as Hoori's guard (one of the variants recorded in the *Nihonshoki* says that for this reason the Hayato people who descended from Hoderi [Ho no Susori] still serve at the gates of the imperial palace by barking like a dog [Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 175. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 100]). The Hayato dance that came down to this day imitates various postures of Hoderi's drowning motions (the *Nihonshoki* main text says that Hoderi [Ho no Susori] pledged to serve as *waza-oki* [actor/dancer] [Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 175. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 94]).

Later Toyotama-hime came to Hoori and said that she was already pregnant and that she came to give birth to the child at the right place. She told Hoori that he should not see her when she gives birth to her child in the parturition house built on the seashore. Hoori, however, peeped into the hut and saw Toyotama-hime crawling and slithering around in the form of a *wani*. Toyotama-hime, learning that he had been watching, felt extremely ashamed, and went back into the sea closing *unasaka* (sea-slope or sea-border).<sup>1</sup> The born baby was left on the beach (one variant in the *Nihonshoki* says that Toyotama-hime wrapped the baby with a *madoko-ofufu*suma and grass, and abandoned him on the beach).

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

Akadama wa	Beautiful are red jewels;
O sae hikare do	Even their cord seems to sparkle.
Shiratama no	But I prefer pearls
Kimi ga yosoi shi	For the majestic beauty

1 The word *saka* is a homonym meaning both a slope and a border.

Tōtoku arikeri                      Of your pearl-like form.

Then her husband replied with the song:

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

The child born to them was Ugaya Fukiaezu no Mikoto, father of the first emperor Jinmu.

(The above summary is based on Philippi's translation of the *Kojiki* story [Philippi 1968: Chapters 42-46. Kurano and Takeda 1958: 132-147]. For the *Nihonshoki* version see Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 163-181 or its English translation by Aston [1956: Book I, 92-104].)

## (2) The Tale of Urashima.

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

During the Reign of the Emperor Yūryaku Shimako embarked in a small boat all by himself and sailed far out to sea. He fished for three days and three nights, but did not catch a single fish. Instead, he hooked a five colored turtle. He thought it was strange, but he put it in his boat and fell asleep whereupon the turtle turned into a maiden. So beautiful was she that no woman was her equal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The maiden's parents welcomed him, and a magnificent banquet was held. The pleasure of the banquet was thousands of times greater than it would be in the human world. Thus Shimako, totally oblivious of his homeland, spent three years with Kame-hime in the Land of Eternal Youth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(For the full text see [Akimoto 1958: 470-477]).

The main theme of these two tales consists in the marriage between a maiden or goddess of the undersea world and a hero who visits the maiden from the human world. Usually a miracle child is born of this marriage. In (1) the child born of the marriage is the father of the first emperor of Japan.

In (2) the Shimako seems to go to a large island in the middle of the sea, not to the undersea world, but the place is also referred to as *tokoyo no kuni* (Land of Eternal Youth), which ancient Japanese mythology regards as another name for the undersea nether world called *ne no kuni* (root country) (Yanagita 1969: Vol. I, 35-72). The name of the maiden Kame-hime (Turtle Maiden) clearly indicates her being the daughter of the sea god. Urashima's encounter with the star maidens seems to indicate that ancient Japanese regarded the sky as the primordial sea. In early Japanese the word "ama" meant both the sea and the sky.<sup>2</sup>

There are many other tales similar to (1) and (2) in Japanese folk tales collected in modern times, and almost all of them tell of the coming of the miracle child who brings wealth to the visiting hero. Yanagita Kunio made a study of this type of tale in his essay *Kaijin Shōdō* (the Little Boy Sea God) (1962: Vol. VIII. 37-74), in which he collected and studied tales of a boy of miraculous power who comes from under the sea. A typical example of this *Kaijin Shōdō* type of folk tale, in brief, goes like this:

(3)

An old man ekes out a scanty living by selling dry twigs that he gathers in the mountains. One day no twigs are sold, and so he sinks them into a deep pool under the bridge over a river; whereupon a beautiful woman appears from under the water with a little boy in her hands.

2 All Japanese specialists recognize a heavy Taoist influence both on content and style of (2). In fact, the original text refers to the place Shimako goes as Hō-zan 蓬山 (Chinese: *p'eng shan*), the mythical island in the ocean where Taoist wizards were believed to dwell. The mixture of the image of heaven with that of an island may be in part Taoist, but we consider that the roots of such a view lay in Japanese tradition itself. Many ancient peoples of the world regarded the sky as the primordial sea (Kramer 1963: 113. Gimbutas 1974: 145).

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

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

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

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

(Abridged from Yanagita [1962: Vol. VIII, 38-39]).

In (3) the drama occurs at a river, but the palace, Ryūgū, is always located under the sea in Japanese folk tales. As no distinction is made between fresh and sea water in (1), early Japanese regarded the river and the sea as one continuum. In fact, in other tales of this type the dry twigs or flowers are often thrown into the sea, although in these tales the coming of a miracle child is replaced by that of a dog or a cat that brings good luck (Yanagita 1962: Vol. VIII, 41. Iwakura 1943: Tales II-VI).

(2) lacks a child birth and (3) marriage, but Japanese folklorists regard these two as based on the same mythical concept as (1). It is significant that at the end of both (1) and (2) an exchange of similar love songs between the parted husband and wife occurs. A similar tale recorded in Tale V in Iwakura Ichiro's collection of the folk tales of Kikai-ga-shima Island presents a striking similarity to (1).

In this story, a poor man goes to the nether world as a reward for saving a baby turtle, and marries a daughter of the sea god, whom he takes back to the human world. She bears him three children, but when the husband peeps at her taking a bath—an act strictly prohibited by her—and finds her splashing water in the shape of a large fish, the wife goes back to the undersea world and reduces her husband to his earlier state of poverty. Later the three children also disappear after picking up a mysterious object, a gift from their mother, at the seashore.

In ancient Japan the undersea, or nether world and any place on the sea very distant from land were considered synonymous. Seeing a ship beginning to sink below the horizon as it sails far from the shore, the ancient Japanese thought that a ship could reach the bottom of the sea and the earth, by sailing far out from land (for a further discussion of this world view, see [Akima 1982: II]).

Orikuchi Shinobu put the maiden or goddess of the undersea world into the category he called *mizu no onna* (water woman) who he thought represented the miraculous productive power of water. According to him, the following tale in the



annals of the Emperor Suinin in the *Kojiki* also indicates the same idea:

(4)

(In this scene the Empress Saho-hime gives an instruction to her husband, the Emperor Suinin, before she goes to die with her brother who plotted against the emperor and failed.)

Again the emperor (Suinin) said: "How shall he (the baby born to the Emperor and Saho-hime) be reared?" She (the Empress Saho-hime) replied: "Employ a wet-nurse, and assign senior and junior bathing women (*ō-yue* and *waka-yue*); thus should he be reared."

(Philippi 1968: Book II, Chapter 72. Kurano and Takeda 1958: 195).

Philippi gives the following annotation, following Orikuchi, to the words "senior and junior bathing women":

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

Orikuchi regards the "bathing women" in (4) as *mizu no onna* (water woman) and surrogates of the empress, and discusses the mythical power of water used for the bathing of an imperial prince. According to him, such women were mythically identified with the goddess of water including Toyotama-hime or Tamayori-hime in (1) (Orikuchi 1965: Vol.II, 94-95).

For Orikuchi the sacred water to be served to the emperor is also very important, which is described in the *Ama tsu Kami no Yogoto* or "Heavenly Deities' Prayer for Imperial Prosperity", a prayer recited by the Nakatomi clan headman at the time of the rite of imperial accession Daijōsai. The words in the prayer read, "...the water to be used for food and drinks that are offered to the august grandson (Ninigi no Mikoto who was identified with the emperor regnant) shall be prepared by mixing heavenly water and earthly water..." The Prayer tells how heavenly water should be found, the use of which guarantees longevity of the newly enthroned emperor and the prosperity of his reign. In the *Manyōshū* occur poems mentioning (*w*)*ochi-mizu*, or rejuvenating water (see *Manyōshū* 1034 and 3245). Orikuchi considered the water mentioned in the "Ama tsu Kami no Yogoto" to be identical with this.

Accepting Orikuchi's idea as being basically correct, we can now further relate tales like (1)-(3) to a shamanistic ritual for fish fertility given the additional knowledge that fishes were thought to have been created by the mythical power of water. These tales always associate wealth and prosperity with the undersea world, which suggests the importance of fishing for very early Japanese. In the two ancient tales (1) and (2) we note that the tales say that the hero could not catch any fish. This indicates that when fishing was unsuccessful for a long time a shaman-king practiced a ritual in which he was believed to travel to the undersea world to secure help from the goddess of the undersea world so that an abundant

catch of fish, and its resultant wealth and prosperity were guaranteed. (2) implies that it was thought that through ritual dreaming the dreamer could be transported to the undersea world, since Shimako (Urashima Tarō) is made to fall asleep when journeying between the human world and the *tokoyo no kuni*. But (1) seems to indicate another means of communication.

It is highly probable that the goddess of the undersea world was represented by a priestess with whom the king slept in a sacred marriage, which must have been believed to endow the king with a magical power of control over the sea and water. Otherwise the occurrence of marriage in (1) and (2) would be inexplicable. We conjecture that this was also a very early rite of accession.

There is a religious practice parallel to our fish fertility ritual among the Eskimos. When hunting was unsuccessful, a shaman in a trance journeyed to the nether world to negotiate or fight with the goddess of the nether world for release of animals that the goddess was believed to have sequestered. The fish fertility ritual we conjectured must have originated in the preagricultural or *Jomon* period in Japan. A large number of shellfish and fish-bones found in the *kaizuka* (shell-mound) rubbish dump of this period signals the importance of wealth from the sea. The rice-paddy motif in (1) must have been a later development in the agricultural period, since this motif does not seem important in the story. We conjecture that the goddess of the undersea world was an important prototype of Shintō deities.

(2) must have been a tale of a local chieftain's failure in mediating with the power of the undersea goddess. This explains the reason why there is no childbirth occurring between the visitor and the goddess. The failure tale, particularly when compared with (1), seems to indicate an end to religious authority of the local chieftain of Tango, which suggests its transference to the emperor.

In (1) we find the mysterious fish (animal?) called *wani* serving as a medium between this world and the undersea world.<sup>3</sup> the daughter of the sea god turns out to be a *wani*, and Hoori no Mikoto sails from the undersea world back to the human world on the back of a *wani*. In the 4th-6th century there was an influential clan named Wani whose daughters repeatedly became imperial consorts after the fifteenth emperor Ōjin (Kishi 1966: 15-89). Although no scholar has yet identified the clan with the mysterious fish, we consider that the two names were related and that Wani daughters' marriage into the imperial family replicated the marriage described in (1).

In this connection Mishina Akihide's study of the myth of the Empress Jingū and her son, the Emperor Ōjin, needs to be looked at. He argued that the myth grew out of the belief in the goddess of the undersea world and the miracle child she bears (1972: Vol.IV, 55-204). We regard this theory as correct, but Mishina overlooked one important fact that the Empress is related to the Wani clan in

3 *Wani* in modern Japanese means crocodile, but crocodile could not have lived in cold Japan. Most scholars interpret the name as meaning a kind of shark called *wani-zame*.

Naniwaneko Takefurukuma is described as an ancestor of the Wani clan (Kurano & Takeda 1958: 234-5. Philippi 1968: 267. Tsukaguchi 1980: Chapter VII). These Wani connections obviously grew out of the fact the mysterious fish *wani* was a medium for communication between the human and undersea worlds. An emperor's marriage with a woman of the Wani clan must have guaranteed his control over the sea and fish as well as his rejuvenation and the birth of a miracle child.<sup>4</sup>

We conclude that the goddess of the undersea world was the guarantor of fish fertility and rejuvenation by water in very early Japan. But we need also to look at the other side of the myth of the goddess of the undersea world: *tokoyo no kuni* or *ne no kuni* was the place where dead men's spirit finally went to. As Yanagita clarified, the name *ne no kuni* in particular had this connotation (1969, Vol. I, 35-72).

For a study of this negative aspect of the undersea world, a reconstruction of an ancient death ritual will be repeated here in an abridged form from my earlier publication, "The songs of the dead; poetry, drama, and ancient death rituals of Japan" (1982, 1985). It will throw a different light on the fish fertility ritual. The work proves that a shamaness in trance carried the spirit of the dead person to the *ne no kuni* beyond the *unasaka*, the slope of the sea, which was believed to be the border between the human world and the *ne no kuni*.

As a background to my reconstruction of the ritual, the concept of the *unasaka* needs to be explained. The *norito* prayer named *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* (The Great Purification on the Last Day of the Sixth Month), which is recorded in the *Engishiki* (compiled in 927) and is commonly known as *Ōharae no Norito (Ōharae Kotoba)* (Prayer for the Great Purification), has the following description of the way sins and filth are purged from this world to the *ne no kuni*:

(5)

The goddess Seoritsu-hime who reigns over the mouths of the fast-flowing rivers will carry all the sins into the wide plains of the sea. Then the goddess Hayaakitsu-hime who reigns over the meeting place of the eight hundred rough currents of salt waters will engulf them. After that the god Ibukido-nushi who reigns over the Gate of the Swift Wind (Ibukido) will blow them into the nether world (*ne no kuni*) (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 427).

What is described here as "the meeting place of the eight hundred rough currents of salt waters" is the *unasaka*, the slope of the sea, which ancient Japanese believed divided the human world from the *ne no kuni*. In the *Manyōshū* poem entitled "A Poem on Urashima of Mizunoe, accompanied by an envoy" (1740-1741), which is a versification of the tale (2), Urashima is described as sailing

4 For further details of the relationship between Wani and the Empress Jingu see my forthcoming publication, "The Myth of the goddess of the undersea world and the tale of the Empress Jingu's Subjugation of Silla" in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, September 1993 (Vol. 20, No. 3).

beyond the *unasaka* to meet the Sea God's daughter. In the last part of (1) the angered Toyotama-hime closes the *unasaka* and goes back into the sea. When ancient Japanese noticed that a ship started sinking beyond the horizon, they thought the edge of the sea sloped downwards towards the *ne no kuni*.

Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) argued in his classic commentary on this *norito* prayer (1971: Vol. VII, 154) that the goddess Hayaakitsu-hime mentioned in (5) is referred to as *minato no kami*, or the goddess of the Gate of the Waters, in the *Kojiki* (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 58-59; Philippi 1968: 55), and that the word *minato*, which means "seaport" in modern Japanese, in ancient times meant any place where waters flowed down (note that most Japanese seaports lie at the mouth of a large river). It is certain that in ancient mythology the word *minato* was also used as another name for *unasaka*, since *minato* is described as "the meeting place of the eight hundred rough currents of salt waters" in (5), and since ancient Japanese thought that the sea waters flowed down the *unasaka* slope, starting from *minato*, into the *ne no kuni* as indicated in (5).

On the basis of this my earlier publication introduced a radical rereading of the following poems:

## (6)

(a)	
Yama koe te	Though I pass over the mountains
Umi wataru tomo	And cross the seas,
Omoshiroki	Yet can I never forget
Imaki no uchi wa	The pleasant region of Imaki
Wasurayu mashiji	

(b)	
Minato no	With the harbor's
Ushio no kudari	Ebbing tide
Unadudari	As the sea goes down
Ushiro mo kure ni	With the darkness behind me
Oki te ka yukamu	Leaving him, I must go—

(c)	
Utsukushiki	The dear one.
A ga wakaki ko o	My young child.
Oki te ka yukamu	Leaving him, I must go.

(Aston 1956; Vol. II, 255).<sup>5</sup>

5 In my earlier publication (Akima 1982) D. Philippi's translation was used as the basis of discussion for the reason that it faithfully reflects current Japanese scholars interpretation. But here Aston's translation is quoted for the reason that it is more faithful to the words of the poems.

The *Nihonshoki* records these as poems composed by the Empress Saimei when she set sail to the hot spring of Ki (modern Kii) leaving her dead grandson Takeru behind. But we believe that they were originally shamanistic songs sung by a shamaness as she enacted the sailing of a dead person's spirit from this world to the next. Otherwise the expression in (b), "as the sea goes down" does not make sense.

This sequence of poems seems to describe a journey comparable to the medieval religious practice known as Fudaraku Watari (crossing to Fudaraku). It was a ritual in which some Buddhist priests set sail from Kumano on the southern tip of the Kii peninsula locking himself up in a coffin-like boat in an attempt to reach a Buddhist paradise called Fudaraku (Pure Land of Kannon). It is widely accepted among Japanese scholars that ancient Japanese belief in the *ne no kuni* as paradise (when conceived of as positive and paradisaean the nether world would be called *tokoyo no kuni*) sowed the seeds for the growth of the popular belief in the Pure Land of Buddha lying to the west, which is in the same direction as the *ne no kuni*.<sup>6</sup> In fact in a medieval painting describing this ritual the boat is adorned with the Shintōist *torii* gates (Ikeda *et al.* 1982: 16). Kumano was also the place from which the God Sukuna Hikona went to the *tokoyo no kuni* (*ne no kuni*) after he worked with the God Ōkuni-nushi for the creation of the land of Japan (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 129. Aston 1956: Book I, 60). The southern tip of the Kii Peninsula or a journey there is the locale for both (6) and Fudaraku Watari, a geographical relationship that seems to link the two in their religious concept as well.<sup>7</sup>

A mention is made of the mountains in (a) because the mountains were also a region where dead men's spirits roamed, particularly before going over the seas. The place name "Imaki" 今城 in (a) must have originally meant "a new tomb" ("ima" means "now" or "new", and "ki", "tomb") where the dead man's spirit was entertained with song and dance. "Omoshiroki" translated as "pleasant" was a word often used in praise of a ritual performance. In (b) "the harbor's" in the translation corresponds to "minato" in the original, which is a word we discussed with regard to (5). The above mentioned work of mine attributes the death ritual, in which the above songs were sung, to a group of shamanesses called "Asobi-be", "asobi" literally meaning "playing" in modern Japanese but in very early Japanese

6 In the ancient Japanese world view the Grand shrine of Izumo, which lies on the western edge of Honshū as one goes to the west from Yamato, was associated with the *ne no kuni* (Saigō 1967: Chapter 2). According to the *Kojiki*, the ancestor god Izanagi no Mikoto reaches Izumo when he comes back from the *ne no kuni* (Kurano & Takeda 1958: 66-7, Philippi 1968: 67).

7 In the *Nihonshoki* tale of the Empress Saimei the empress sails to the hot spring of Muro (present Shirahama). This route was designated by the government as a route for government officials to follow when going to Kumano, and in medieval Japan came to be known as the Ki-ji, or Kii Route, one of the three major routes for pilgrimage to Kumano (Toda 1982: 61). This geographical relationship between the tale of the Empress Saimei and Fudaraku Watari is not mentioned in my earlier publication.

an orgiastic ritual involving music making and dancing, and “be” a pseudo clan which was more like an occupational group.

In my reconstruction of the ancient death ritual, the Asobi-be provided two persons called “negi” and “yoshi” for the death ritual (both or at least *yoshi* must have been female). *Negi* literally means “appeaser” and the word still means “Shintō priest”; *yoshi* is an ancient form of *yose* (“yoshi” is possible only in very early Japanese), which means ‘a person who causes (a spirit) to come’ i.e. a shaman(ess). *Kuchi-yose* literally means the person who causes (the spirit) to come to the mouth (*kuchi*) i.e. a “medium” (see under “kuchi-yose” in the *Kogo Daijiten* [Nakada *et al.* 1984]). In our understanding of the Asobi-be’s ritual, the songs of parting were sung by *yoshi*, a shamaness, when she was possessed during the funeral by the spirit of the dead person (Akima 1982: V).

It should also be noted that this *yoshi* played her ritual role carrying weapons (Akima 1982: V). The weapons must have been necessary for protection when she got into contact with an element of the nether world. In the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) dresses herself as a man, and carries weapons when she meets her younger brother Susanoo no Mikoto, who is a god of the *ne no kuni* (see [7] below). In fact it will later be suggested that Amaterasu originated in the shamaness (goddess) of the sea because of the identical acts of the two female figures.

In the Asobi-be’s ritual *yoshi* enacts a dead man (the emperor) sailing to the *ne no kuni*. But this can also be understood to be *yoshi* sailing to the nether world carrying weapons. According to Eliade, in Japan and other Asian countries around Japan there has been a shamanistic practice in which a shaman(ess) takes a dead person’s spirit to the nether world in his (her) boat, and then reports to the dead person’s relatives on the safe trip of the dead person, and on his (her) behavior on the way (1964: 355-358). It is quite natural that a *yoshi* was also believed to sail with the dead person to the nether world.

On the basis of my earlier study, we can probably say that the goddess of the undersea world was also identified with the shamaness of the Asobi-be. In this connection it is important that in (1) occurs the name Tamayori-hime which means “the spirit-inviting maiden” or a shamaness. Tamayori-hime is described as a sister of Toyotama-hime “the maiden of abundant spirit”, but they should be regarded as two aspects of an identical deity. In the *Nihonshoki* version of the tale Tamayori-hime comes to the human world together with her sister when the child is expected.

While the fish fertility ritual and the birth of the miracle child represent the positive aspect of the powers of the *ne no kuni*, Asobi-be’s ritual represents the negative. As Yanagita pointed out, in the ancient Japanese world view the *ne no kuni* was associated with both the positive (creative, paradisaean) and the negative (hellish, destructive, etc.) (1969: Vol. I, 35-72). We conjecture that ancient Japanese regarded water, particularly sea water, as a mysterious substance that purified the uncleanness of death and turned it into new life including fish life.

## (ii). The new theories about the myths and rituals of the Sun goddess

In this section we shall attempt to relate the two ancient rituals Daijōsai and Chinkonsai, which are the most important Shintō rituals for the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami and her grandson Ninigi no Mikoto, to the belief in the goddess of the undersea world and her miracle child. There are many works published in Japanese on the Chinkonsai and Daijōsai rituals, and recent years have also seen publications in English on them too (Holton 1972. Ellwood 1973. Bock 1990); and so only brief explanations of the established theories will be provided below so that more time can be spent on the introduction to the English speaker readers two new alternative interpretations, one by Ōwa Iwao (1983) of Chinkonsai, and the other by Matsumae Takeshi of Daijōsai (1970). These two new theories are important for us because they provide support and parallel later on to our thesis.

Before we discuss the myths and rituals related to Amaterasu Ōmikami, an outline of the *Kojiki* myth relevant to her will be given below to help the reader unfamiliar with Japanese mythology. For the convenience of later reference the consecutive story will be divided into four sections A-D.

(7)

A.

After descending from High Heaven to the island Onogoro-jima, the two ancestor gods Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanamino Mikoto got married, and gave birth to islands of Japan and many deities. But Izanagi lost his wife Izanami when she was burned to death giving birth to a fire-god. Yearning for her, Izanagi descended to the nether world to retrieve her, but failed to do so because he broke a taboo in the nether world, which angered Izanami. After being chased by the angry Izanami, now a hag, he successfully returned to the Middle Land of the Reed Plains (the human world or Japan), closed the passage between this world and the nether world, and then performed a purificatory ablution in the sea. When he washed his left eye, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami was born; when he washed his right eye, the Moon God Tsukuyomi no Mikoto; and when he washed his nose, the god of the nether world and of typhoon, Susanoo no Mikoto.

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

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

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

Next, Susanoo took the Sun Goddess' string of *maga tama* or heart-shaped beads, chewed them to pieces, and spat them out. In the misty spray was born the God Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto. Repeating the same acts using other beads of the Sun Goddess, Susanoo gave birth to a total of five male deities. Then Susanoo declared that the birth of the pure maidens from his sword was the sign of the purity of his heart.

Delighted in his success in proving his innocence, Susanoo began to work a lot of mischief. He broke the ridges between the rice paddies, covered up the irrigation ditches in the Sun Goddess' rice fields. He defecated in the sacred hall built for the rice tasting festival (Shinjōsai).

Then when Amaterasu Ōmikami (Sun Goddess) was inside the sacred weaving-hall seeing to the weaving of the divine garments, the God Susanoo opened a hole in the roof of the sacred weaving-hall and dropped down into it the pony which he had skinned. The heavenly weaving maiden, seeing this, was alarmed and struck her genitals against the shuttle and died. This frightened Amaterasu Ōmikami, and so she hid herself in the Heavenly Rock-Cave to throw the world into complete darkness. Because of this all manner of calamities arose.

Then the eight-hundred myriad deities assembled in the river-bed of the Ame no Yasu no Kawa (Heavenly Tranquil River). They gathered together the long-crying birds of Tokoyo (the land of Eternal Youth) and caused them to cry. They commissioned various deities to make a large mirror, long strings of myriad *maga-tama* (heart-shaped) beads. They summoned Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futodame no Mikoto to remove the shoulderbone of a male deer of the mountain Ame no Kagu-yama, and take heavenly Hahaka wood from the mountain Ame no Kagu-yama, and with these perform a divination. They uprooted a *masakaki* tree of the mountain Ame no Kagu-yama; to its branches they fixed strings of *maga-tama* beads, a large-dimensioned mirror, and white Nikite cloth. Then Ame no Koyane no Mikoto intoned a solemn liturgy.

Ame no Tajikarao no Kami stood concealed beside the door, while Ame no Uzume bound up her sleeves, tied around her head a head-band, bound together bundles of *sasa* leaves to hold in her hands, and overturning a bucket before the heavenly rock-cave door, stamped resoundingly upon it. Then she became divinely possessed, exposed her breasts, and pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals. Then Takama no Hara shook as all the deities laughed at once.

Then Amaterasu Ōmikami, thinking this strange, opened a crack in the heavenly Rock-Cave door, and said from within: "Because I have shut myself in, I thought that the whole world would be completely dark. But why is it that Ame no Uzume sings and dances, and all the deities laugh?" Then Ame no Uzume said: "We rejoice and dance because there is there a deity superior to you." While she was saying this, two deities brought out the mirror and showed it to Amaterasu Ōmikami. Then Amaterasu Ōmikami, thinking this more and more strange, gradually came out of the door.

Then the hidden Ame no Tajikarao took her hand and pulled her out. When Amaterasu Ōmikami came forth, Takama no Hara and the Middle Land of the Reed Plains of themselves became light.

The deities imposed upon Susanoo no Mikoto a fine of a thousand tables of restitutive gifts, had him exorcised, and expelled him. (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 56-83. Philippi 1968:



50-86).

B.

Expelled from the Plains of High Heaven, Susanoo descended to Izumo where he chanced to meet an old deity named Ashinazuchi and his wife Tenazuchi. They were crying with their young daughter Kushinada-hime between them. Susanoo asked them why they were crying. Ashinazuchi said in reply that they had had eight daughters, but once every year an eight-headed dragon came and devoured their daughters one by one, and that they were crying because they would soon lose their last daughter Kushinada-hime as the time approached for the dragon's visit.

Having heard this and introduced himself to them as the younger brother of the Sun Goddess, Susanoo ordered them to brew strong *sake*, and pour it into eight pots. When this was done, the eight-headed dragon came. The dragon found the *sake*, drank it and fell asleep. Thereupon Susanoo hacked it with his own sword. When he cut the tail of the dragon, the tip of his sword was chipped. In the dragon's tail was found a fine sword, which Susanoo sent to heaven as a gift to the Sun Goddess. The sword, named Kusanagi, was later made one of the imperial regalia.

Susanoo married Kushinada-hime and his descendants prospered in the Middle Land of the Reed Plains. The sixth generation descendant from Susanoo was the great god of Izumo, Ōkuni-nushi no Kami. He had fight with his elder brothers, and in this process went to the nether world and married a daughter of the God Susanoo who had been residing there. With the help of Susanoo, Ōkuni-nushi established hegemony over the Middle Land of the Reed Plains.

Later the heavenly deities decided that the Middle Land of the Reed Plains be ruled by Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto, son of Amaterasu Ōmikami. But as he looked down upon the human world, it looked to be swarmed with unruly earthly deities. Hearing his report, the heavenly deities dispatched first Ame no Hohi no Kami and later Ame no Waka-hiko for negotiation with Ōkuni-nushi, but both failed to perform their duty.

Then Takemikazuchi no Kami was dispatched to the land of Japan, where he had a contest in physical strength with Takeminakata no Kami, the second son of Ōkuni-nushi, and defeated him. Seeing this Ōkuni-nushi decided to cede his land to the son of Amaterasu Ōmikami.

(Kurano and Takeda 1958: 84-125. Philippi 1968: Chapters 18-38).

C.

Then Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takagi (Takami-musubi) no Kami commanded Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto to descend and rule the human world, but he replied that as he was preparing to descend, a child was born to him whose name was Ho no Ninigi no Mikoto, and that the child should descend instead of him. The child was born of his union with the daughter of Takagi no Kami. Thereupon Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takagi no Kami imposed the command upon Ninigi no Mikoto. As Ninigi no Mikoto was about to descend from the heavens, there appeared in the heavenly cross-roads a deity whose radiance shone above through the Plains of High Heaven and below through the Middle Land of the Reed

Plains. Then Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takagi no Kami commanded Ame no Uzume no Kami to see this deity and inquire who he was.

When she inquired, he replied that he was an earthly deity named Saruta-hiko no Kami, and that he came out to serve Ninigi no Mikoto as guide on his journey down to the human world. Then Amaterasu Ōmikami and Takagi no Kami made Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, Futodama no Mikoto, Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, Ishikoridome no Mikoto, and Tamanoya no Mikoto (five clan heads) descend from the heavens with Ho no Ninigi no Mikoto.

Thereupon, Amaterasu Ōmikami imparted unto Ho no Ninigi no Mikoto the myriad *maga-tama* beads and the mirror which had been used to lure Amaterasu Ōmikami out of the Rock-Cave, as well as the sword Kusanagi; and said: "This mirror—have it with you as my spirit, and worship it just as you would worship in my very presence."

Then Ninigi no Mikoto was commanded to leave the Heavenly Rock-Seat (the *Nihonsho-ki* says that Takami-musubi no Mikoto wrapped Ninigi no Mikoto with a *madoko-ofu[fu]suma* and caused him to descend). Pushing through the myriad layers of the heavens' trailing clouds, he descended to the peak Kujifuru-take of Mount Takachiho of Himuka in Tsukushi.<sup>8</sup> Then the two deities Ame no Oshibi no Mikoto and Ama tsu Kume no Mikoto armed themselves, and standing in front of him, served him.

At this time Ninigi no Mikoto said: "This place is opposite the land of Kara (Korea); it is a place to which one comes directly through the Cape of Kasasa, a land where the morning sun shines direct, a land where the rays of the evening sun are brilliant. This is a most excellent place." Thus saying, he built a fine palace and dwelt there.

(Kurano and Takeda 1958: 111-129. Philippi 1968: Chapters 32-39).

#### D.

After the descent to Mt. Takachiho, Ninigi no Mikoto told Ame no Uzume to accompany Saruta-hiko on his return to Ise, and also to assume the name of this male deity when serving Ninigi no Mikoto. This is the reason why Ame no Uzume's descendants are called "Saru-me".

When Saruta-hiko no Kami was in Azaka in Ise, he went fishing, but got his hand caught in a shell and sank into the sea. When he had sunk to the bottom, his name was Sokodoku Mitama (Bottom-touching Spirit); when the frothy bubbles appeared on the surface of the sea, his name was Tsubutatsu Mitama (Frothy-bubbles Appear Spirit); when the foam gushed forth, his name was Awasaku Mitama (Foam-forming Spirit).

8 The name of the mountain Takachiho means "High (Stack of) One Thousand (Rice) Ears", and the mountain is located in Himuka (Facing-the-sun). Ninigi no Mikoto's full name is Ame-nikishi Kuni-nikishi Ama tsu Hiko Hiko-ho no Ninigi no Mikoto, which means "Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty." These two names are full of mythical associations, and their semantic relations with each other must have influenced the choice of the site for Ninigi no Mikoto's descent (mythical tales often develop by word association) (Matsumura 1955: Vol. III, Chapter 15, Section 3. Saigō 1967: 44-46, 140-141).

Ame no Uzume accompanied Saruta-hiko and returned (home to Ise)<sup>9</sup>; and, chasing all the fish together, she inquired: "Are you willing to serve the offspring of the heavenly deities?" Then all the fish said as one: "We will serve". Because of this, when the year's first-fruits of the sea are presented to the court from the region of Shima (part of Ise), they are distributed also to the the Sarume clan.

At Cape Kasasa Ninigi no Mikoto met a beautiful maiden Konohana no Sakuya-hime (Blossoms-of-the-Trees-Blooming-Maiden), who was a daughter of the mountain god. He married her but rejected her elder sister Iwanaga-hime (Rock-Long-Maiden) who was also given him as wife together with Konohaha no Sakuya-hime. For this reason the life span of emperors is as short as blossoms, not being solid like a rock.

(The above summary is based on Philippi 1968: Chapters 40-41 For the Japanese text see Kurano and Takeda 1958: 129-133).

All scholars agree that (7-A) is a mythical explanation of the ritual Chinkonsai (Rite of the Appeasement of the Spirit), and (7-C) a mythical explanation of Daijōsai (Great Food-Tasting Festival).

Chinkonsai was held about the time of the winter solstice, and was intended to bring the dead sun back to life. A *Gōke Shidai* (compiled in 1111) note on the main part of the ritual says that its intention was to reproduce the bucket resounding of the Goddess Ame no Uzume (Imaizumi *et al.* 1928-33: Vol. II, 299), although what was actually done in the Heian period (794-1185) was a little different from what the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* describe (the *Gōke Shidai* describes hitting of the bucket with a halberd by a woman representing a Sarume).

The rock-cave in the myth is no doubt a tomb, and the sacred weaving maiden who dies is a double of the Sun Goddess. In the *Nihonshoki*, which records several versions of the same myth, one version says that the Sun Goddess was injured with the shuttle, and another that she fell ill as a result of Susanoo's mischievous acts. Still another calls the Sun goddess "Ō-hirume" or "Great Woman (Wife) of the Sun" and the weaving maiden who dies "Waka-hirume" or "Young Woman (Wife) of the Sun", which indicates the identity of the Sun Goddess and the weaving maiden. All of the above ideas can now be regarded as firmly established in Japanese scholarship.

9 Philippi's translation of this part reads, "Then, after accompanying SARUTA-BIKO-NO-KAMI on his return, (Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto) returned; and chasing together..." (1968: 143). This translation faithfully reflects the original text which does not say where Ame no Uzume returned to. The text seems to mean that Ame no Uzume returned to Himuka, but this is not right because Ame no Uzume is never said to have stayed in Himuka. Our sentence at this point is based on Saigō's interpretation (1976: Vol. II, 289). As the words "after" and "on his return" that we find in Philippi's translation do not occur in the original text, Saigo's interpretation "Then, accompanying (together with) Saruta-hiko no Kami, Ame no uzume no Mikoto returned [to Ise]" is more reasonable. According to Saigō, the use of the word "return" for apparently Ame no Uzume's going to Ise reveals unwittingly that she was originally a goddess of Ise.

An important point for us is that the act of Ame no Uzume was related to Asobi-be's death ritual. The *Kogo Shūi* (compiled in 807) refers to the ritual in front of the Heavenly Rock-Cave as "asobu" (verb form of 'asobi') (Iida 1970: 61-2), and the *Hokuzan-shō*, a book on courtly rituals, manners, and customs compiled in the early 11th century, calls the Chinkonsai ritual "kami-asobi" (gods' playing) (Jingū Shichō 1967: Vol. VI, 503). In fact this ritual can be nothing but a kind of death ritual since the cave is a tomb.

Although Orikuchi Shinobu earlier expressed a similar idea, too (1967: Vol. XX, 374-8), it was Gorai Shigeru who established that Chinkonsai and Asobi-be's death ritual were identical on the evidence that Chinkonsai was called a *kagura* (sacred Shintō music and dance) in many 9th-12th century books describing it, and that *kagura* was often called *kami-asobi* too. According to him, the fact that both the Asobi-be and Sarume were matrilineal families indicates that the Sarume family was a branch of the Asobi-be (Gorai 1963: 33-50). Thus there is a community of ideas between Amaterasu Ōmikami's hiding in the Heavenly Rock-cave, which signals her descent to the *ne no kuni*, and Asobi-be's journey with a dead person's spirit to the undersea *ne no kuni*. Furthermore the fact that both the Asobi-be shamaness and Amaterasu arm themselves when getting into contact with elements of the nether world closely link the two femal figures (the virtual identity of Amaterasu and Sarume will be discussed later).

According to Matsumae, the ritual of Ame no Uzume was one in which the shamaness journeyed to the *ne no kuni* for the purpose of bringing back the spirit of the Sun Goddess that had gone there (1974: Chapter 3, Section 3). A shamaness' journey to the nether world seems to have had two different objectives, one to take a dead person's spirit to the nether world and the other to bring back a spirit from there. In Section I we recognized the inherent ambivalence in the concept of the *ne no kuni*: on the one hand it was related to the birth of the miracle child through a sacred marriage, and on the other to death. This duality concurs with the duality of the purpose of the shamaness' journey.

Ōwa Iwao in one of his recent publications has argued that the weaving maiden's death by hitting her genitals against the shuttle in (7-A) indicates a sacred marriage held at the time of winter solstice. Thus he ascribes the duality of death and marriage([re] birth) to the myth of Chinkonsai.

Ōwa considers that the shuttle in (7-A) symbolizes the rays of the sun. In the *Izumo no Kuni no Fudoki* is mentioned the cave of Kaga where the book says the Great God of Sata was born. According to the book, the goddess Kisakai-hime lost her arrow at the time of the birth of her child, the Great God of Sata, in the cave, and so she prayed to God saying, "If the child I bear is that of a good and powerful god, the lost arrow be returned to me." She first found an arrow made of horn, and so threw it away saying that it was not her lost arrow. Then came out a golden arrow which she shot into the cave saying, "It's too dark inside the cave." Another story in the same book says that the goddess shot a golden arrow into the cave whereupon the cave shone brightly (Akimoto 1958: 126-7,148-9. Aoki 1971: 94,102).

Many scholars have argued that it was a sun god who married Kisakai-hime and begot the Great God of Sata (Doi 1973: 181. Matsumae 1976; 194. Tanigawa 1976: 30). According to Ōwa, this arrow is identical with the shuttle against which the sacred weaving maiden in (7-A) hit her genitals, and the name Kisakai, which denotes a kind of shellfish, symbolizes the female genitals. He also quotes the myth of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime, who married Ōmono-nushi, but who later killed herself by hitting her genitals with a chopstick (see [13] below), and argues that all of the shuttle, arrow, and chopstick symbolize rays of the sun, and that the death of the maiden is identical with her marriage with the sun god [1983: Chapters 1-3]. In support of Ōwa we can point out a fact he was not aware of: the word *hi* (*pi* in ancient Japanese pronunciation) which means "shuttle" in (7-A) also means "the sun (light)".

Furthermore it is important for us that the cave of Kaga lies right on the sea, and is reminiscent of another cave on the sea of Izumo, which is called "the cave of *yomi* (*ne ko kuni*)" and is associated with the legend:—"Anyone who dreamt that he was approaching the cave was destined for immediate death" (Akimoto 1958: 182-3. Aoki 1971: 116). This indicates a link between the cave in which the Sun Goddess hid herself and the undersea *ne ko kuni*.

Ōwa argues that the myth of Chinkonsai is basically the same as the following Korean myth of Yuhwa recorded in the *Wei Chih* (compiled in the 3rd century), and the *Samguk Sagi* (compiled in 1145), as well as the later Korean book *Samguk Isu* (late 13th century). To give the storyline in brief:

(8)

The king of Fuyo, Kumwa, met a woman at Hemosu. When the king asked who she was, she replied, "My name is Yuhwa, a daughter of the river god. When I came here on a picnic with my brothers, I met a man who introduced himself as Haemosu, a son of the emperor of the heavens. He took me into a chamber around Amnok and slept with me, but abandoned me after that. My parents blamed me for my misconduct, and exiled me to this place."

Kumwa thought this a very strange tale, and locked her up in a chamber, whereupon sun light shone into the chamber. When Yuhwa ran away from the light, it chased her and shone upon her body, which impregnated her. She gave birth to a huge egg. The king took it and threw it in front of various animals and birds, but they never touched the egg. The king tried to break it, but could not; and so he returned the egg to Yuhwa. She kept it in a warm place, whereupon it was hatched and a boy emerged from inside. He looked highly dignified and was quite different from other boys. He later became the first king of Koguryo.

(Mishina 1973: Vol. V, 175).

Ōwa quotes Mishina Akihide, who related this story to the myth of Demeter in the sacred cave in Arcadia (Elaius) (Mishina 1973: Vol. V, 176-177). As pointed out by Fraser, this Arcadian sacred cave has a small window cut above the cave so that the rays of the sun may shoot in through it to light up the altar of the goddess

(1965: IV, 406-7). Ōwa considers the "chamber" in (8) to be a similar cave. The two Japanese scholars also consider it significant that this parallel myth says that Arcadian Demeter, raped by Poseidon, hid herself in the cave in anger carrying all the good on earth with her, devastating life on earth. Later, the myth says, the Goddess was appeased and taken back to restore life on earth. This of course resembles the myth of Chinkonsai (7-A).

Ōwa also relates (8) to the myth of Ame no Hiboko told in the *Kojiki* annals of the fifteenth emperor Ōjin. The myth tells of a woman who became pregnant after the rays of the sun shone upon her genitals, and gave birth to a red jewel. According to the story, the jewel turned into a beautiful maiden and married a Korean king; but she was dissatisfied with her husband, and came to her home, Japan, where she was deified as the goddess of the Himegoso Shrine in Nanaiwa (Ōsaka) (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 254-258. Philippi 1968: Book 2, Chapter 106).

On the evidence of the similarity between (7-A), (8), the Arcadian cave of Demeter, and the myth of Ame no Hiboko, Ōwa maintains that the rape of Demeter, the death of the sacred weaving maiden by hitting her genitals with the shuttle in the Japanese myth, and (8) all indicate a sacred marriage performed about the time of the winter solstice by a maiden and a male person who personified the rays of the sun. The maiden or goddess in this seasonal magical rite, Ōwa claims, was also believed to be the Goddess Mother Earth as Demeter was.

He further relates the sacred marriage to fire making by means of a wooden drill. The ancient Japanese myth of the ancestral goddess Izanami says that she died after giving birth to the fire god as this burnt her genitals (7-A). Ōwa finds a basic identity between this tale and the tale of Amaterasu Ōmikami and her weaving maiden. In ancient Japan the word for female genitals was *hoto*, which is an abbreviation of *ho-tokoro* or fiery spot. Ōwa considers that this word was closely related to the act of fire-making by drilling a piece of wooden stick into a hole in a wooden board. The act, according to Ōwa, was identified with sexual intercourse in many early cultures (1983: 45-7). The *Kojiki* says that a bon-fire was lit for the ritual in front of the rock cave where the Sun Goddess had hidden herself, and the words used in the description are, "ho-tokoro yakiki" which can be interpreted as "burned the genitals" as well as "lit fire". This relates the death of the Sun Goddess to that of Izanami no Mikoto who died after giving birth to a fire god (7-A).

On the evidence of these facts Ōwa argues that in ancient times the sacred marriage with the sun was identified with death and resurrection of the sun, and that this concept lies behind the tales of Izanami, Amaterasu Ōmikami (7-A), Demeter, Ame no Hiboko, and (8), the caves mentioned in many of them symbolizing a tomb. He also considers, as some scholars do, that the Goddess Izanami, who represents the nether world in Japanese mythology, can be regarded as the Goddess Mother Earth.

Although the lack of the male deity who marries Amaterasu Ōmikami in (7-A) can be a problem for Ōwa, it is in general hard to disagree with him. We must at least recognize remnants of such an early concept in (7-A). In fact Amaterasu Ōmikami later encounters Susanoo no Mikoto, a god of the sea and the nether world, and the birth of the two children of miraculous power, Ame no Oshihomi-

mi no Mikoto and Ninigi no Mikoto, result from the encounter.<sup>10</sup>

We can now better recognize parallels between (1) and (7-A, C): both involve a journey to the *ne no kuni*, a sacred marriage, and a birth of a miracle child. The difference between (1) and (7-A, C) is that the former is related to the undersea nether world while latter to the underground one. But these two nether worlds were identical in the ancient Japanese world view, since they both belonged to a strata of the world lying below the human world. We may conjecture Amaterasu Ōmikami was originally a goddess of the undersea world and married a god there—a point we shall further discuss below.

Now let us turn to (7-C) and Daijōsai.

Daijōsai was held on the days immediately following Chinkonsai, and served as the rite of accession for the Emperor. It is firmly established among Japanese specialists that during this rite the spirit of Ninigi no Mikoto, who was a rice spirit,

10 Ebersole argues that the encounter of the Sun Goddess with Susanoo is symbolic of Susanoo's rape of the Sun Goddess, and that the myth reflects an incident in 586 in which Prince Anahobe attempted to sexually violate the chief mourner Kashikiya-hime (Empress Suiko) in the *mogari no miya* (temporary interment shrine) built for her deceased husband, Bidatsu. According to him, when there was a dispute over succession in ancient Japan, a candidate tried to win the deceased emperor's wife through sexual violence, and that to prevent this from happening the *mogari* fences were built around the *mogari no miya* in which the mourning women stayed with the corpse during the funeral (1989: 136-145). This argument is hard to accept for the following reasons:

(1) When Ananobe attempted to rape Kashikiya-hime, the successor to the Emperor Bidatsu (Kashikiya-hime's husband), namely the Emperor Yōmei, had already been on the throne for eight months, and so Ananobe's attempt was too late for Ebersole's theory to be valid.

(2) If Susanoo were a mythical representation of an imperial prince like Anahobe, as Ebersole claims, then this would violate the basic principle of ancient Japanese mythology in which an Izumo deity like Susanoo always symbolized local chieftains, and not a member of the imperial family. Note that all the deities born through the encounter of the Sun Goddess with Susanoo except Ame no Oshihomimi (who is not even once called a son of Susanoo) are deities of important local shrines. It has been well-established that the tale of the encounter of the Sun Goddess and Susanoo was created to relate the ancestors of local chieftains to the imperial family by blood (Matsumura 1955: Vol. III, 29-30. Masuda 1976: 83). Matsumura has also pointed out that the Sun Goddess-Susanoo relationship parallels Osiris-Seth, Odin-Loki, and Artemis-Appollon relationships, the destructive deity in each pair being the god of the subjugated group of people in each culture (1955: Vol. III, 1-24).

(3) If Ebersole were right, when a succession dispute arose between sons of the empress, they would have to sexually violate their own mother, which is an unacceptable conduct in any society.

(4) The reason why *mogari* fences were built around the *mogari no miya* has already been made clear by Japanese scholars; it was to prevent the dead person's spirit from turning into or being possessed with an evil spirit (this was often identified with wild animal's attack on the corpse, and so fences were required). It is important that the *mogari* fences are still built around ordinary people's tombs in many parts of Japan, a fact that makes nonsense of Ebersole's theory. (Yanagita 1956: 1582. Wakamori 1969: 145-9. Saigō 1988. Vol. III, 403-4. Gorai 1992: Chapter II).

Ebersole's study of ancient Japan has the fundamental defect of reading power struggles between modern Western atomized individuals into ancient Japan. I have pointed out the importance of communal spirit in ancient Japan [Akima 1972: 42-3. 1991].

entered the body of the new emperor and became one with him. The rite was also held every year on a reduced scale under the name Shinjōsai (New-Food-Tasting Festival). Scholars agree that earlier there was no distinction between Daijōsai and Shinjōsai. The *madoko-ofu(fu)suma* which was used for the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto is known to be identical with the coverlet of the *shinza* (*kami-kura*) 神座 couch which was laid in the Daijōsai House, and in which the birth of Ninigi no Mikoto was probably enacted (Saigō: 1973: 148-9).<sup>11</sup> It also seems that the whole of the *shinza* was sometimes identified with the *madoko ofu(fu)suma* (Tanaka 1975: 137).

It is widely known that the myth of the Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains (1) provides a mythical explanation for the origin of the Hayato dance and the ritual imitation of dog's barking at the time of Daijōsai by the Hayato people of southern Kyūshū who descended from Hoderi no Mikoto. Matsumae, however, sees a much closer relationship between (1) and Daijōsai or (7-C) in his recent work.

11 Many theories have been published concerning the use of the *shinza* (couch). One theory, which has been handed down among some Shintō priests, was that the new emperor slept with the corpse of the deceased emperor in the *shinza*. Orikuchi Shinobu, who probably gave the greatest influence to the modern study of Daijōsai denied this theory at one time, but at another, supported it (Yamaori 1990: 159-161). His main idea first published in 1928, however, was that the new emperor covered himself under the quilt and stayed in it for some time to emerge as a new person (1965: Vol. II, 143,362,425. 1966: Vol. III, 402-403). He expressed a view that in the popular Niiname Matsuri, which was the prototype of Daijōsai, a sacred marriage was practiced (1966: Vol. III, 182), and even hinted at some sexual connotations in the emperor's ablution at the time of Daijōsai (1966: Vol. III, 220-229). However, he did not advocate the theory of a sacred marriage in the Daijōsai houses probably because he was aware of the fact first that in Daijōsai the new emperor stayed only about thirty minutes in the *shinza* if he ever did so (the Imperial Household Agency maintains that the *shinza* couch is simply placed in the Daijōsai houses and nothing takes place in it), and secondly that the emperor performed the same act twice in one night (ancient texts give the time sequence; for the latest discussion on this point see Tanigawa 1990: 140-145.)

Carmen Blacker says in her latest publication that Ellwood first advocated in 1973 that a sacred marriage took place in the *shinza* (Blacker 1990: 188). This may be correct, because no Japanese specialist would make such a statement for the obvious reasons given above. However, in his publication in 1959 (see its reprint 1960: 85-86) Saigō had argued that the beds in the Daijōsai houses "strongly indicate" a sacred marriage, although in his later work he simply says that on the day of accession a sacred marriage was performed (1976. Vol. II, 306). Furthermore Okada Seiji had argued in a work first published in 1962 that *shinza* was a "remnant" of the ancient practice of the sacred marriage (1970: 39-40).

Blacker's own idea that incubation was practiced in the *shinza* is hard to accept because it means that the new emperor practiced incubation twice in one night given thirty minutes for each session. It should also be known that incubation was practiced when there was a serious pending issue for which a divine intervention was sought. The Emperor Suinin, for instance, ordered his three sons to practice incubation so that he could decide which of his sons should be made successor to the throne (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 250-251. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 161). Certainly enthronement was not an occasion for an incubation. We should note that *madoko-ofu(fu)suma* is always associated with a childbirth and an epiphany of a baby deity in the myths.



According to Matsumae, *manashi katama*, which is mentioned in (1), is identical with the bamboo baskets *mekago* that were placed near the *shinza* in the Daijōsai Houses. He maintains that the *mekago* baskets were the *yōri-shiro* or the objects to which a god or spirit attached itself when coming to the human world, and that the baskets were prepared by the Hayato people who descended from Hoderi no Mikoto.

Furthermore, Matsumae relates (1) not only to the Hayato people of Kyūshū but also to the *ama* (fishermen) people as a wider basis of the tale. He considers that the Hayato people was a branch of the *ama*; and argues that the fact that foods served at the time of Daijōsai were mainly marine products indicates a very close relationship between (1) and Daijōsai. According to him, (1) also served as a mythical explanation of the origin of Hayato people's (or the *ama* people's) making of *mekago* baskets and of serving marine products at the time of Daijōsai.

On the basis of these facts he maintains that, *madoko-ofu(fu)suma* and *yaedatami* mentioned in the *Nihonshoki* version of (1) are nothing other than the very objects that constituted the above-mentioned couch known as the *shinza* (*kamikura*). With regard to this contention, we can provide a theory more convincing than Matsumae's.

Ellwood pointed out that the *shinza* had a three-tiered structure with a *madoko-ofu(fu)suma* on top,<sup>12</sup> and argued that this structure nicely fitted in with the description of the three-tiered couch that the sea god offered Hoori (Hiko Hohodemi) to find out the identity of Hoori in the Fourth Variant of the *Nihonshoki* tale of (1) (1973: 71). In the tale Hoori climbed up to the top of the couch in the right manner and squatted cross-legged in the *madoko-ofu(fu)suma* on the top of the couch, so that he proved that he was a son of a heavenly god (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 182-3. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 106). This fact enforces Matsumae's argument. In fact, the theories of Matsumae and Ellwood need to be carried much further. It must be that the way Hoori behaved with the couch reveals what a newly enthroned emperor was expected to do with the couch at the time of Daijōsai. This interpretation makes (1) an unmistakable myth of Daijōsai. Our contention indicates that the myth of the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto from the Plains of High Heaven was originally a myth of his coming from the undersea world, Ninigi no Mikoto being the miracle child born to the goddess of the undersea world.<sup>13</sup> It

12 The *yaedatami* constituted the main part of the couch which had a three-tier structure (Tanaka 1975: 129-44).

13 In (7) Ninigi no Mikoto is a grandson of Amaterasu, not a son, but this resulted from the belief that a deity at the time of an epiphany must be a baby. Exactly in the same way as (7), the god Ame no Ohabari suggested sending his son Takemikazuchi to the human world when he was asked by heavenly deities to go to Izumo (Kurano & Takeda 1958: 118-9. Philippi 1968: 129). This must also be based on the same idea. Ueyama Shunpei maintains that the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto instead of his father reflects the problem of the imperial succession after the death of the Emperor Tenmu, when the Empress Jitō made utmost effort to pass the throne to her grandson after the death of Prince Kusakabe, the only son born of her and the Emperor Tenmu (1972: Chapter V).

is significant that Ise was an important base of the *ama* people who probably handed down a variant of (1). Concerning the possible identity of Ninigi no Mikoto with Hoori no Mikoto's son (the miracle child), however, Matumae's view is not very clear, nor does he make any study as to how the myth of a god's coming from the undersea world was converted into the myth of his coming from the heavens. Yet we consider Matumae's theory as an important collateral to our thesis. Unlike Matumae, we shall provide an explanation as to the process of the sea-heaven conversion toward the end of this paper.

(iii). **The Sun Goddess Amaterasu and the two deities Saruta-hiko and Ame no Uzume**

We have already discussed a relationship between the myth of Chinkonsai and the death ritual of the Asobi-be which is closely associated with the sea. But the Sun Goddess' relationship with the goddess of the undersea world is not immediately clear at least in her tales recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*. On the contrary, her image as a god of the Plains of High Heaven even seems to have been created by casting off what we consider her original connection with the sea. Still it is possible to trace this connection. For this purpose we must initially study the two deities Saruta-hiko and Ame no Uzume (Sarume) putting aside the Sun Goddess.

Looking into (7-D) where events after Ninigi no Mikoto's descent to Mt. Takachiho is described, we find an obvious similarity between this part of the myth and the tales of the goddess of the undersea world (1)-(3). Ame no Uzume no Mikoto has an absolute control over fish as if she were a sea goddess, and orders them to serve the emperor. This similarity strongly indicates that Ame no Uzume, or rather Sarume as well as Saruta-hiko, was originally the goddess or god of the undersea world whose power had to be won over in order to secure catch of fish. The fact that Saruta-hiko goes fishing is reminiscent of Urashima Tarō (Shimako) in (2). It seems that Saruta-hiko's drowning originally meant his trip to the *ne no kuni*. We consider that the drowning takes place to indicate the failure of the local deity (chieftain) Saruta-hiko in his mediation with the power of the sea. Similarly in the tale of the Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains (1) Hoderi no Mikoto, the ancestor of the Hayato people, drowns. It is important that this failure of Hoderi's means that the Hayato chieftain must surrender power to the grandfather of the first emperor.

Certainly (7-D) is concerned not with the Sun Goddess but with the two deities Saruta-hiko and Ame no Uzume. What are their relationship with the Sun Goddess? Will they relate the Sun Goddess to the sea? As a preliminary to a discussion of these questions, acquaintance with certain basic facts about the two deities,

widely accepted by Japanese specialists, is first of all necessary.<sup>14</sup>

(a) The Deity Saruta-hiko no Kami is the ancestor god of the Uji no Tsuchi-gimi clan. This clan name literally means "the Soil-Lord of Uji", Uji being the location of the Grand Shrine of Ise, which is dedicated to the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami). Judging from the clan name and the important roles their descendants played in the worship of the Sun Goddess,<sup>15</sup> it is certain that the Uji no Tsuchi-gimi were the original inhabitants of the area, and Saruta-hiko no Kami, the local deity they worshipped (Kuratsuka 1986: 36-53).

The Uji no Tsuchigimi was also called Iso-be (lit. Beach-group), which indicates their close relationship to the sea (see under "Uji no Tsuchigimi" in the *Shōji Kakei Jisho* [Ōta 1968], or under "isobe-uji" in the *Shintō Daijiten* [Miyaji and Saeki 1978]). But Saruta-hiko must also have been the local god of the sun as indicated by the description of the radiance of the deity in (7-C).

(b) Saruta-hiko was identified with a rock in the sea off Ise. On the beach near the mouth of the sacred river Isuzu stands a pair of sacred rocks known as the *meoto iwa* or the 'wedded rocks' where all visitors to the grand shrine are supposed to worship. The two rocks there are connected with a sacred *shimenawa* rope and are so situated that visitors can worship the sun rising between them, particularly on the days of spring and autumn equinox. In the offing beyond the rocks there is another rock called the *okitama ishi*, which means 'the rock of the spirit of the distant waters'. The rock was visible until it sank into the sea when the shore was hit by a *tsunami* tidal wave in the 18th century.

According to the *Yamato-hime no Mikoto Seiki* (Annals of Princess Yamato-hime) compiled in the 13th century, the rock was identified as Saruta-hiko no Kami. Tsukushi Saruma considers that the *Okitama Ishi* in the sea represented the spirit of the sea who periodically visited the human world from the *tokoyo no kuni*, the Land of Eternal Youth, which was believed to lie under the sea (1964: 48-50); and Ōwa says that this rock was believed to be the gate to the palace of the sea god (1983: 189).

(c) Saruta-hiko was identified with the Buddhist divinity Jizō, who many medieval Japanese legends say resides in Hell to save sinners sent there (see under Saruta-hiko in the *Nihon Mukashi-banashi Jiten* [Inada et al. 1977]). This indicates that Saruta-hiko was also believed to reside in the nether world. The fact that the

14 Some of the points given here are still disputed as is the case with virtually all contentions made in the study of ancient Japan. We cannot at this point discuss all relevant theories. For further discussion of such problems the reader is advised to see works referred to in the following summaries.

15 At the time of the bi-decennial reconstruction of the shrine buildings the Uji no Tsuchigimi clan was entrusted with the making of the most sacred objects of the shrine, namely the sacred pillar *shin no mihashira* and the *mifunashiro* (the boat substitute), the latter of which we shall discuss below. Also on the same occasion the Uji no Tsuchigimi clan head, together with the head priest of the shrine, played the most important ritual role of carrying the spirit of the Sun Goddess from the old shrine into the newly constructed one.

*Ise Ni-sho Kōtaijin-gū Gochinza Denki* (Annals of the Establishment of the Two Grand Shrines of Ise) (ca. 13th century) calls him “Ki-jin” 鬼人 (a dead man’s spirit) also proves that Saruta-hiko was a deity of the nether world.

(d) Sarume, who is identified with Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, was probably a local deity, too, and was the wife or a sister of Saruta-hiko no Kami. In ancient Japan kingdoms were ruled by a male person and his sister or wife, a practice continued until much later in Okinawa (see under “hime-hiko-sei” in the encyclopedia *Heibonsha Daihyakka Jiten* [Shimonaka 1984]), and so their ancestral deities were also believed to be a similar pair. The account in (7-D) that the descendants of Ame no Uzume assumed the name of the male deity probably reverses the actual history (Saigō 1976: Vol. I, 282-4).

The name Ame no Uzume is comprised of four words: “Ame no”, “of the Heavens”; “Uzu”, “head gear, or head-band” usually of natural plant; and “me”, “woman”. “Of the Heavens” always indicates the imperial family, and so this must be the name the Sarume women used when performing their role in Chinkonsai after they had been absorbed into the imperial court. “Sarume” probably means “the monkey woman” and indicates mimicry, and “Saruta” means “the monkey rice-field” or “the rice-fields of the Saru clan”, where ritual rice for the Grand Shrine of Ise was grown (Matsumura 1955: Vol. III, 553. Kuratsuka 1986: 31-46). The name of the male deity indicates that the pair of deities were also involved in agricultural fertility.

(e) In Japanese folk belief *saru* or monkey is often associated with the sun. The typical example is the fact that monkeys are regarded as the messengers of the God of the Hie Shrine of Mt. Hie(i) in Kyōto, whose name “hi” denotes the sun (see under “saru” in the *Nihon Minzokugaku Jiten* [Nakayama: 1980]; also [Matsumae 1960: 44-45]). Scholars have pointed out that a monkey (*saru*) is related to the sea and water as well. In Japanese folklore the monkey is also regarded as a water god (Yanagita 1969: Vol. XXVII. 49-110. Ishida 1970: Vol. V, 154-181).<sup>16</sup>

(a)-(e) as well as (7-C, D) indicate that Saruta-hiko and Sarume were both related to the sun and the sea. The facts that Saruta-hiko was identified with the rock *okitama ishi* and that the rock was believed to be the gate to the palace of the sea god (b) seem to indicate that the rock served as the *yorishiro* (a sacred object to which a spirit attaches itself) in the sea god’s epiphany.

As Saruta-hiko acts as the guide for Ninigi no Mikoto in his descent from the heavens, the rock in the sea and the deity play the identical role of the medium for a deity coming to the human world from a mysterious region. Judging from the descriptions in (7-C, D), Ame no Uzume (Sarume) also plays the same role. It appears that Saruta-hiko was a god of the sun who comes from the undersea *ne no*

16 According to Matsumae, the identity of the monkey with water god is world wide (1960: 52-53).

*kuni*, and that he was also identified with the medium (*Okitama-ishi*) for this coming, Sarume being his wife or a sister. Generally speaking in ancient religions the identities of a deity and his (her) medium (priest[ess] or a *yorishiro*) who represented the deity in the human world seem to have easily been fused, and once the medium was identified with the deity, the deity could also have been regarded as a medium for another deity. Thus Saruta-hiko was a sun god as well as a medium for the coming of Ninigi no Mikoto, the deputy of the Sun Goddess. We conjecture that Sarume was a goddess of the undersea world who nightly received the sun god (Saruta-hiko) into her palace and thus helped him in his daily revitalization.

It is important that according to the fourth year of Kōnin (813) entry in the *Ruijū Sandaikyaku* (Ordinances by the Emperors Saga, Seiwa, and Daigo Classified) compiled in the late 10th century, Sarume women had men of the Wani clan for their husbands, and that this led to the women of the Ono clan, who branched from the Wani,<sup>17</sup> replacing Sarume in rituals. This close relationship between Sarume and Wani indicates that they shared the same religious role of being a medium.<sup>18</sup> We saw that the fish (or perhaps animal) *wani* as well as the Wani clan served as a medium for communication between this world and the *ne no kuni*. Ame no Uzume leading Ninigi no Mikoto in his descent indicates that she also played the same role as a *wani* in the communication between this world and the beyond.

This Wani-Sarume link corroborates our thesis that both Sarume and Saruta-hiko were involved in the rite of fish fertility. In fact Matsumura Takeo has already related Saruta-hiko's drowning to Hoderi no Mikoto's as well as to fish fertility. But he failed to relate Sarume to Wani, shamanism to fish fertility, and the Sun Goddess to the sea (Matsumura 1955: Vol. III, 584-90).

The spirit of the sea god that Tsukushi described as coming from the *tokoyo no kuni* must have been none other than Saruta-hiko; and Sarume (Ame no Uzume) who joins Saruta-hiko in guiding Ninigi no Mikoto in his descent to the human world must have been the deified form of the shamaness who served the god Saruta-hiko (and later the Sun Goddess). Perhaps Saruta-hiko was originally the local sea god as well as the sun god, whose wife or sister was Sarume, but who together with Sarume was given the role of a medium after the local cult was superseded by the religion of the central government.

It seems that the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) has assimilated the identities of the two local deities Saruta-hiko and Sarume into her own person. The same idea has been expressed by Ōwa (1983; 194). Sarume is almost a double of the Sun Goddess (in primitive religions the worshipper and the worshipped had

17 The *Kojiki* annals of the Emperor Kōshō has a list of clans and families descended from the Wani, one of whom being the Ono clan (Kurano & Takeda 1958: 168-9. Philippi 1968: 189). The main Wani clan declined in the 7th century (Kishi 1966), but the Ono clan flourished in later years and produced many poets and artists including Ono no Komachi and Ono no Tōfū.

18 The *Ruijū Sandaikyaku* entry records a complaint by an Ono headman of his clansmen's marriage with Sarume women, but such a close relationship between the two clans must have existed for a long time. See Yanagita Kunio's essay Ono Otsū (1962: Vol. IX 188-206), but he mistook the fourth year of Kōnin entry for the fourth year of Enryaku entry.

such a close relationship), but a similar close relationship seems to exist between Saruta-hiko and the Sun Goddess, too, since both represented the sun. In fact the close relationship between the two goddesses is mediated by the fact that Saruta-hiko, Ame no Uzume's partner, was also a god of the sun.

Having thus identified the nature of the two local deities of Ise, we shall now study various facts known about the Grand Shrine of Ise. Our aim is to establish relationships between the Grand Shrine of Ise, where the sacred mirror representing the Sun Goddess is enshrined, and the sea, so that we can ascertain the origin of the Sun Goddess in the goddess of the undersea world. The following are some of the facts known about the Grand Shrine of Ise:

(f) The most basic information about the establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise is found in the *Nihonshoki* records of the tenth emperor Sujin (3rd-4th century?) and the eleventh emperor Suinin (4th century?). To give the stories in summary:

(9)

(A. From the annals of the Emperor Sujin.)

Until the reign of the Emperor Sujin the spirits of the Sun Goddess and of Yamato no Ōkunidama no Kami (the Spirit of the Land of Yamato) had been enshrined in the imperial palace, but the Emperor's awe of the powers of these two deities impelled him to move the two deities outside the palace. The spirit of the Sun Goddess was "attached"—the word implies a shamanistic practice—to the emperor's daughter Princess Toyosuki Irihime, to be taken to the Kasanui village, where a new shrine was constructed, which is considered by scholars to be the present Hibara Shrine (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 238-9. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 151-2).

(B. From the annals of the Emperor Suinin.)

During the reign of the Emperor Suinin the spirit of the Sun Goddess possessed Princess Yamato-hime, a daughter of the emperor, who took it to Ise along with the sacred mirror given to Ninigi no Mikoto by the Sun Goddess, and established the Grand Shrine of Ise (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 269-71. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 176).

Added to the second record (9-B) is found the statement that the Palace of Iso (Iso no Miya or 'Beach Shrine') on the upper stream of the River Isuzu, which flows through the Grand Shrine of Ise, was the place where the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) first descended from the Plains of High Heaven (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967. Vol. I, 270-1. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 176).

Judging from the geographical position of the Palace of Iso, it is none other than the Grand Shrine of Ise, and the name Iso or Beach is identical with that of the Iso-be, the Beach-group, which is another name for the Uji no Tsuchigimi clan as mentioned in (a) above. As many scholars have argued, it is probably that earlier (before it was made a shrine of the Imperial Family) the shrine of Ise was located right on the beach (the name Ise was derived from Iso) at a place different from the present Grand Shrine which lies in some distance from the sea and up a hill (Tsukushi 1964: III, IV). The beach was the right location for communication with

the *ne no kuni*.

(g) According to the *Yamato-hime no Mikoto Seiki*, Yamato-hime makes a long detour to get to Ise, and on the last leg of her journey boards a boat on a river in Kushida near Takamiya in the present Matsusaka city. The book says that when the boat reached the sea, fish gathered around her boat and jumped aboard it to the delight of the princess (Hanawa 1959: Vol. I, 53). This reminds us of the power Sarume yields over fish.

As mentioned above (f), the *Nihonshoki* annals of the Emperor Suinin say that the Palace of Iso or the Grand Shrine of Ise was the place where the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami first descended to. This descent seems to be a mythical expression of Yamato-hime's (the first *saigū's*) Journey to Ise, taking the Goddess' spirit with her. Scholars consider that Yamato-hime served as the prototype of the Sun Goddess. Then we can say that it was the Sun Goddess herself who had such a close relationship with the fish.

We also note that according to the *Yamato-hime no Mikoto Seiki*, Yamato-hime sometimes waged war against enemies. She carried weapons. In this respect she also resembles the shamanesses of the Asobi-be who carried weapons.

(h) In the *Nihonshoki* and the *Ise no Kuni no Fudoki* (Regional Record of the Province of Ise) the expression, "washed by waves from the *tokoyo no kuni* (the Land of Eternal Youth)", occurs in reference to the Land of Ise ("tokoyo no kuni no shikinami yosuru kuni" in the *Nihonshoki* [Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol.I, 270-1. Aston 1956: Book I, 175], and "tokoyo no nami yosuru kuni" in the *Ise no Kuni no Fudoki* [the Regional record of the province of Ise] [Akimoto 1958: 433]). The latter book (*Fudoki*) tells a story of the provincial deity Ise tsu Hiko who is subjugated by Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto, a demigod dispatched by the first emperor Jinmu. Ise tsu Hiko agrees to cede the province to the Emperor, and says, "This evening I will cause eight winds to rise and the sea waters to stir up. Riding on the waves, I will go to the east. You will know from these signs that I have left the land." The book says that this is the origin of the epithet for the province of Ise "Ise, the land of the divine wind, the land washed by waves from the *tokoyo no kuni*" (Akimoto 1958: 433-5).

In the ancient Japanese world view wind is associated with the *ne no kuni*. The god Susanoo who devastated the world with his crying was a god of the *ne no kuni* and typhoon god. In (5) we find the deity Ibukido-nushi (god of wind) reigning over the *una-saka* which leads to the *ne no kuni*. These facts clearly indicate that Ise was directly linked to the *ne no kuni* (*tokoyo no kuni*).

(i) We studied *okitama ishi* in (b) above. A similar rock is found in the Grand Shrine of Ise, too. It is the Okitama Shrine, which is actually a rock of about half a meter high, located in the precincts of the Shrine of the Sun Goddess; and the spirit of the Goddess is believed to attach itself (*yoru*) to this rock.<sup>19</sup> This certainly

19 Now there is another Okitama Shrine or Futami Okitama Shrine on the beach facing the *meoto iwa* (wedded rocks), but this shrine was constructed in 1909 (Ōwa 1983: 169).

is another *okitama ishi*.

It is highly probable that the present Grand Shrine originated in the belief in the *okitama ishi* located in the sea; and when the shrine was later moved away from the beach up in the mountain, another *okitama ishi* became necessary to guide the spirit coming from the sea. According to Tsukushi, all important festivals in the Grand Shrine are started with a ritual at the Okitama Shrine (1964: 32). It is highly probable that the removal of the original shrine from the beach paralleled the removal of the sea elements in the myth of the Sun Goddess or her solarization.

(j) A fact known to Japanese specialists is that the mirror which represents the spirit of the Sun Goddess is placed in a container called the *mifuna-shiro* or 'boat substitute' in the Grand Shrine of Ise. The shape of this boat resembles a coffin. This is an important piece of evidence that the Sun Goddess was originally the goddess of the undersea world (Okada 1970: 370. Matsumae 1985: 81). Toward the end of Section I mention was made of the ritual Fudaraku Watari, which was related to Asobi-be's death ritual. Kumano from which Fudaraku Watari boats departed lies not far from Ise. The coffin-shaped *mifuna-shiro* is reminiscent of the boat used for the ritual.

Furthermore at the time of the bi-decennially reconstruction of the shrine buildings the Uji no Tsuchigimi clan, who descended from the deity Saruta-hiko, was entrusted with the making of this coffin-like sacred object. This further relates Saruta-hiko to the Sun Goddess and the sea.

(k) At the Grand Shrine of Ise the Sun Goddess is served even today with fresh fish and edible sea weed from the neighboring seas every morning and evening, and very little of other type of food is offered to the Goddess (Matsumae 1974: 153). Formally such marine products were provided by the Uji no Tsuchigimi or rather Iso-be (Beach-group). This reminds us of the folk tale "Hanatare Kozō-sama" (Master Nose-Running Urchin), the miracle child of the sea god, who demanded fresh fish salad every day (3). In the Grand Shrine of Ise it is the Sun Goddess herself rather than her miracle child who is served with fish and marine product, but in ancient mythology mother and son were spiritually identified. The goddess (god?) of the Grand Shrine of Ise clearly shows signs of her (his) originally being the goddess (god) of the sea (Tsukushi 1964: III-IV).

All the facts (f)-(k) indicate that the Sun Goddess had an origin in the goddess of the undersea world who was identified with Sarume in the Ise religion, and that she also absorbed the sun quality of Saruta-hiko. With regard to (j) it is necessary to touch briefly on the myth of the 'boat of the sun' which was discussed by Matsumoto Nobuhiro (1956: 127), Mishina (1970: 273-5), and Matsumae (1960: Chapter I, Sections 1-2. 1974: 147-55), although none of them related the boat and the sun with the goddess of the undersea world.

According to them, in Egypt and Southeast Asia the same type of myth that the sun comes from the nether world on board a boat is found, and an ancient burial



mound called Mezurashi-zuka in Kyūshū depicts this boat on its rock wall. This connection seems important, it is probably possible to trace the origins of the myth of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu to the foreign myths of the boat of the sun. But the Japanese Sun Goddess' association with the sea could also have been of local origin. In any place where the sun is worshipped as it rises from the sea, the sea-sun association and the myth of the boat of the sun could have spontaneously developed without foreign influence. No matter which may be correct, Ise must have been a Japanese center of such a religious concept long before the establishment of the Grand Shrine as the center of the state religion for the cult of the sun.

What we conjecture from our study of (a)-(k) is this: when the original shrine of Ise was moved from the beach to the mountain, its goddess Sarume, who was the local goddess of the sea, and wife (sister?) of the local god of the sun, Saruta-hiko, was moved from the sea to the Plains of High Heaven in myth, and absorbing in her a quality of Saruta-hiko, turned herself into a pure goddess of the sun under the name Amaterasu Ōmikami.

According to the *Nihonshoki* and the *Manyōshū*, the Sun Goddess is also called "hirume" or "woman (wife) of the sun", and Orikuchi Shinobu argued on this ground that Amaterasu Ōmikami was originally the wife of the sun god (1966: Vol. III, 428-9).

It appears that the meaning of this name (Ō)hirume changed with the solarization of the original wife of the sun and the goddess of the undersea world. Originally the word "hi" in "(Ō)hirume" must have meant any spirit of mysterious power as well as the sun. *Miyuka tsu hi*, for instance, means the spirit of the palace floor in the *Ōtono Hokai no Norito* (the Prayer for the Palace Building) (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 418-419, Note 13). The name (Ō)hirume must have meant "the woman of a miraculous spirit", the word "me" meaning either "woman" or "wife". The "hi" in this sense is the widest and so primitive, being used to signify both the goddess of the undersea world and the sun. The more limited meaning of the name, "the woman of the sun", "the wife of the sun" must have come to be fixed later when the solarization of kingship developed and the goddess' association with the sun came to dominate at the cost of her connection with the sea.

Amaterasu Ōmikami is almost a double of Sarume, but there is also a gap between the two. The following two sections will discuss what lies between them.

#### (iv). The creation of Amaterasu Ōmikami and the religions of Mount Miwa and Ise

No specialists in early Japanese culture would deny that the founding of the Grand Shrine of Ise was the most important factor in the creation of the myth of Amaterasu Ōmikami, and that the founding of the shrine marked an important

step in the full centralization of Japan under the Yamato leadership. We shall now relate the development in Ise to Yamato religion. We shall, however, begin with a discussion of the historical background of the establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise and of the dating of the establishment.

As summarized in (9), the *Nihonshoki* tells about the founding of the Grand Shrine of Ise. The legendary events during the reigns of the Emperors Sujin (3th-4th century?) and Suinin (4th century?) are often interpreted as symbolizing a separation of religion and politics, but it is undeniable that they equally served as an effective expulsion of the imperial shamaness first from the palace, and then from the capital zone Yamato (Kuratsuka 1979: 278-89).

It was probably the growth of bureaucracy under the influence of continental culture, and the rise of male-dominated militarism related to the Japanese involvement in Korean power struggles that led to this expulsion. In ancient Japan shamanesses who were imperial princesses and consorts accompanied military expeditions and provided spiritual guidance for the soldiers through prayers and divination.<sup>20</sup> But their role must have become more of a hindrance with the development of more pragmatic weapons and military tactics.

King Kwanggaeto's stele that lies on the border between north Korea and China says that in 391 the Japanese forces conquered Paekche and Silla of south Korea, and that in 400 King Kwanggaeto of Koguryo sent an expedition of 50,000 mounted soldiers against the invaders, and successfully conquered castles in Mimana and Kaya (which had become Japan's colony), (see under "Kwanggaeto's stele" in the *Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan* [Itasaka *et al.* 1983]; also [Hatada 1969: 16]).<sup>21</sup>

The sword known as the *Shichishi-tō* 七支刀 (Seven-pronged Sword) is also notable, which is mentioned in the *Nihonshoki* annals of the Empress Jingū as dedicated to her by a Paekche king (the *Kojiki* simply mentions "a sword and a large mirror" (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 358, note 1)), and which is still held in the Isonokami Shrine of Yamato. The sword is inscribed with words expressing the Paekche king's good will toward a Japanese emperor as well as with the date of 369 A.D.<sup>22</sup>

20 The legendary hero Yamato Takeru was accompanied by his wife Ototachibana-hime on his eastern expedition, who sacrificed herself by jumping into the sea to appease the sea god when they were caught in a storm on Tōkyō Bay (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 214-5. Philippi 1968: Chapter 84). Scholars think that *Manyōshū* poem No. 8 was composed by Nukada no Ōkimi as a command for departure when the fleet of 661-3 Korean expedition set sail from the port of Nigitazu (Nakanishi 1976: 60-4). Nukada no Ōkimi was wife of the Emperor Tenji (then still a crown prince) who led the expedition, Nukada no Ōkimi herself coming from a family that practiced a shamanistic religion (Tani 1966).

21 The reading and interpretation of the worn out letters on the stele has been problematical, but we agree with Hirano Kunio's reading (1985: Part I, Chapter 3, Section 2). Also see *Kenkyūshi; Kokaido-ō-hi* (A research history; King Kwanggaeto's stele) (Saeki 1974).

22 The reading and interpretation of the letters on the sword has been problematical, but we agree with Hirano Kunio's reading (1985: Part I, Chapter 3, Section 1).

Most Japanese historians agree that this attests to an alliance between the Korean state and Japan.

These two records of Japanese involvement in Korean power struggles are further corroborated by the following letter recorded in the *Sung Shu*, which was sent to the Chinese Emperor Shun Ti in 478 from the Japanese Emperor Bu 武, whom almost all Japanese historians regard as the 21st emperor Yūryaku.

(10)

Since the early days my forefathers have crossed rivers and mountains (in wars of conquest) wearing armor, and had no time for peaceful settlement. In the east fifty five nations of the Hairy Tribes (Emishi and Ainu) were conquered; in the west sixty six nations of various barbarians were subjugated; and over the seas to the north, ninety five nations (of Korea) were crushed (Wada and Ishihara 1977: 64).<sup>23</sup>

23 The reading "...over the seas to the north, ninety five nations (of Korea)" may be a problem, but as Ueda Masaaki pointed out, the expression "over the seas to the north" was almost a set phrase to denote the route to Korea (1977: 167-9). It is also important that (10) was written by the last of the emperors known as the *wa no go-o* (Five Emperor's of *Wa*) who sent envoys to the Sung China and claimed in their letters Chinese recognition of their suzerainty over Korea, part of which the Chinese emperor recognized (Nishijima 1983: 421-422). Egami Namio maintains that the tenth Japanese emperor Sujin came from Korea and built his state in northern Kyūshū, and that the fifteenth emperor Ōjin who descended from him conquered Yamato to establish what Egami calls the horseriders' state, and quotes (10) as evidence of the horseriders' conquest of central Japan (Yamato) (1967: 197-8). But such an interpretation of (10) distorts the content of the letter and overlooks its historical context that involved the five emperors. Egami's idea that horseriders' state was constructed in northern Kyūshū failed to find supporters among academic historians and archaeologists because northern Kyūshū provides no archaeological evidence that connects the area to what Egami calls horseriders' culture. Our interpretation of (10) is what a majority of Japanese specialists support. Western scholars who support Egami (Ledyard 1975. Ellwood 1990) should also be aware of the fact that initially Egami argued that the horseriders conquered Yamato direct in the 4th century and created the culture which archaeologist call later *kofun* (large scale burial mounds) culture (1949), but he had to modify his theory soon as a result of the archaeologists' criticism that the earlier and later *kofun* cultures were continuous without any sign of abrupt break in between, and that the oldest horse gear found in burial mounds was of the 5th century. *Kokushi Daijiten* (Encyclopedia of Japanese History), which is still incomplete, says that Egami's theory was from the very beginning a mere speculation without any concrete evidence (see under "kiba minzoku-setsu") (1978).

Ledyard who presented a modified version of Egami's theory argued that the Puyo (Fuyo) Koreans conquered firstly the *Wa* (Japanese) state in Korea and then central Yamato in the 4th century, but in doing so completely overlooked two of Egami's major stumbling blocks, namely the facts that the cult of the mirror (which has continued to this day) began a little before the beginning of the Christian era in Japan, and that the large key-hole shaped tombs developed from the earlier round tombs of Japan about 300 A.D. in the central Yamato region (the structural continuity of the two types of tomb is now well-established) and were being built until the 8th century as a symbol of Japanese Imperial authority. The cult of the mirror is not found in any part of Korea or China, nor are the key-hole shaped tombs except a couple of small ones built in the 5th century in the southern tip of Korea (scholars regard these as a Japanese influence). In the light of the fact that Ledyard neither mentions any Japanese scholars' arguments as to the possibility (continued)

While the letter obviously exaggerates the success of the emperor's wars of conquest, it is sufficient evidence of militarism in 4th-5th century Japan. The archaeological investigation of the sacred island of Oki no Shima which lies on the way to Korea from northern Kyūshū also testifies to the close Japan-Korea relations, because the religious implements and artifacts found on the island indicate that the worship of and on the island began in the 4th century, and that the artifacts and religious implements found on the island comprise mainly of products from Yamato (Yuba 1979: 59,68,119).

We conjecture that the earlier loose federation of semi-independent states in Japan ended when the forefathers of the Emperor Yūryaku, who are known as the *wa no go-ō*, or the Five Emperors of Japan, and who sent envoys to China in the 5th century, were directly involved in power struggles in Korea, the external war sparking off internal power struggles.

Although the legendary establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise probably precedes the above recorded Japanese invasions of Korea, these two events must have been closely related. It would be quite natural to consider that Japan's Korean expeditions were preceded by the internal rise of militarism, which must also have been an influence from the increasing military struggles in Korea. Without such an internal development, and without a parallel growth of bureaucracy, it would have been impossible to organize overseas military campaigns.

In the process of the establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise, which probably had the above described socio-political background, the local belief in the god and goddess of the undersea world and the sun as represented by Saruta-hiko and Sarume merged with the religion which had been upheld by the imperial shamaness of the central government, and which probably included a cult of the sun. This merger must have led to the Sun Goddess' final rise in the Shintō pantheon to the indisputable status of the ancestress of the imperial family.

Many scholars have argued that the rise of the Sun Goddess' authority in Japanese mythology was rather new. This is undeniable, but her recency should not be overemphasized.

As an indication of the newness of Amaterasu the fact has been pointed out that deities worshipped in Daijōsai were the eight deities, Kami-musubi no Kami, Takami-musubi no Kami, Tama tsu Musubi no Kami, Iku-musubi no Kami, Taru-musubi no Kami, Ōmiya-no-me no Kami, Mike tsu Kami, Kotoshiro-nushi no Kami, who were enshrined in the imperial palace, and the Sun Goddess was not included in the group (Matsumae 1974: II).

It should, however, be noted that nearly all the deities mentioned above as worshipped in the palace are gods of *musubi* or "birth and growing" who do not play

(or rather impossibility) of the Wa people having had their state in Korea, the significance of the Shichishi-to (Seven-plonged Sword) inscriptions, nor even the archaeological discoveries on Okinoshima Island, it would appear that he has not read representative works of early Japanese history written by Japanese scholars.

any significant role in ancient mythology, and are all primitive gods of fertility. Mike tsu Kami or "Food Deity" belongs to this category, too, despite the lack of the word *musubi* in the name. Ōmiya no Me or the Goddess of the Palace Building and Kotoshiro-nushi or the God of Divination<sup>24</sup> are exceptional. But these two deities are also insignificant in ancient mythology. Ōmiya no Me is not even mentioned in either the *Kojiki* or the *Nihonshoki*, and Kotoshiro-nushi is mentioned only as a god of Izumo who advised Ōkuni-nushi to cede his land to Amaterasu Ōmikami. It is clear that Amaterasu does not belong to this category of deities. Neither does Ninigi no Mikoto.

We may further surmise that after the Sun Goddess was taken first to the Kasanui village and then to Ise, there was no need to worship the goddess in the palace every day, and that this resulted in the displacement of Amaterasu's name in the list of deities worshipped in the palace.

It is widely known that in ancient mythology Takami-musubi no Kami, also called Takagi no Kami, almost always appears as the virtual supreme god of the Plains of High Heaven (Takama no Hara), although there is no significant event associated with him. Matsumura pointed out that in the total of six different versions of the myth of the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto to the human world, which are recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*, the deity who ordered the god to descend was mainly Takami-musubi. The main text of the *Nihonshoki* and its Fourth and Sixth Variants give only Takami-musubi as the commander, while the *Kojiki* and the Second Variant of the *Nihonshoki* give both Amaterasu and Takami-musubi as the commanders, with only the First Variant of the *Nihonshoki* naming Amaterasu Ōmikami alone as the commander (Matsumura 1955: Vol. III, 514-5). This certainly indicates the oldness of Takami-musubi and the relative recency of Amaterasu, but how recent a creation the Sun Goddess remains an open question.

It is also known that neither the *Kojiki* nor the *Nihonshoki* records a single imperial visit to the Grand Shrine of Ise until a record appears in an entry of the latter text of the Empress Jitō's visit to the shrine in 692. This obviously indicates the newness of the shrine. This does not, however, necessarily have to mean that the establishment of the Grand Shrine was quite as late as the 7th century. Since a daughter or sister of the reigning emperor was the priestess of the shrine, there would have been no religious need for the emperor to visit the shrine himself.<sup>25</sup> On the contrary, the emperor may well have avoided visiting fearing the consequences of the powers of the primitive shamaness and her followers impinging on

24 "koto" means "koto-ba" or "language", "shiro", 'to know', the word being identical to "shiru" (to know), and "nushi", "master".

25 The Empress Jitō's visit to the Grand Shrine of Ise was no doubt prompted by the fact that during the War of Jinshin in 672 her husband, the Emperor Tenmu, worshipped towards the shrine when they were near it during their military campaign. It is known that this greatly enhanced the political importance of the Grand Shrine after the reign of the Emperor Tenmu.

politics.

Scholars since the Edo period have argued that there was a male god of the sun before Amaterasu Ōmikami. Was he Saruta-hiko or some one else? According to Matsumae and Ueda, there are many ancient Shintō shrines dedicated to the god Amateru (lit. 'Heaven-Shining'), this name being a less honorific form of Amaterasu, and most of these Amateru shrines regard the god as male (Matsumae 1974: 74. Ueda 1970: II-3).

Orikuchi Shinobu was the first to express the view that Amaterasu Ōhirume was originally the wife of a sun god, but he never said who the husband was (1966: Vol. III, 428-9 [originally published in 1929]). Okada Seiji and Matsumae think that Takami-musubi no Kami was the original god of the sun who was later replaced by Amaterasu Ōmikami. According to Matsumae, a gender change took place at some stage of development to create the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami (Okada 1970: 383-389. Matsumae 1974: 74,183).

Matsumura regards Takami-musubi as the earlier supreme god of the Plains of High Heaven, and says that half of Amaterasu's function in ancient mythology was that of the wife of the sun. But he does not regard Takami-musubi as a sun god or Ōhirume's husband (1955: Vol.II, Chapter 8, Section 4). Mishina and Ueda seem to share Matsumura's opinion (Mishina 1970: 24,127. Ueda 1970; II-3).

We should like to present a new idea concerning the possible husband of Ōhirume.

There used to be a Shintō shrine named "the Himuka (Facing-the-Sun) Shrine" at the top of Mount Miwa 三輪 (the shrine was relocated at the bottom of the mountain in the 19th century), which was probably the oldest center of worship at Mount Miwa (Wada 1985). This Miwa shrine itself seems to have been the most important shrine in the earliest period of Japanese kingship established in Yamato, because the worship of the mountain is an important topic in the tale of the tenth emperor Sujin, who many scholars regard as the first emperor of Japan whose existence is more or less ascertainable.<sup>26</sup> The tale is known as representative of the Mount Miwa cycle, in which the god of the mountain, Ōmono-nushi, visits a maiden and takes her as his wife. An outline of the tale is as follows:

(11)

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

Ōtataneko was born to the God Ōmono-nushi and Iku-tamayori-hime, a daughter of Suetsumi Mimi. Earlier a mysterious man began to visit Iku-tamayori-hime at midnight. They were wed and she became pregnant after a short time. But the identity of the man who al-

26 The *Nihonshoki* calls both the first emperor Jinmu and the tenth emperor Sujin "hatsu kuni shirashishi sumera-mikoto" or "the first emperor who ruled underheaven."

ways left her early in the morning was not known. Her parents wondered what had happened to their daughter. Hearing her story, the parents instructed their daughter to sew hemp yarn to the man's garment. The next morning Iku-tamayori-hime found that the yarn passed through the keyhole in her door, and led up to the God Ōmono-nushi's shrine on the top of Mount Miwa. As only three roles (*miwa* 三輪) of the hemp yarn had been left on the reel, the mountain came to be known as Miwa.

(Abbreviated from Kurano and Takeda 1958: 180-3. Philippi 1968, Chapters 65 and 66).

There is a possibility that Ōhirume was the wife of the god who lived on the top of the mountain close to the Plains of High Heaven. The name Iku-tamayori-hime seems to have been a common noun meaning "the life-giving-spirit-inviting-maiden", and so was applicable to all shamanesses in the worship of a deity.

Mount Miwa was the focal point in the observation and worship of the sun in Yamato. According to Ogawa Kōzō, a line stretching from the top of the gigantic tomb of Princess Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime, who according to the *Nihonshoki* version of (11), was the wife of the God Ōmono-nushi of Mount Miwa (some scholars consider her to be the Queen Himiko [Pimiko] mentioned in the *Wei Chih* [see note 29 below]), to the peak of Mount Miwa points in the direction of the rising sun on the days of the spring and autumn equinox (1973: 119-24, 188-92).

In this regard we shall venture a new interpretation of the place name "Miwa". The name Miwa or "three rings" must have meant a serpent in coil represented by three *chi no wa* or sedge rings of different sizes piled up with the largest one at the bottom and the smallest one on the top. Yoshino Hiroko suggests that the conical shape of Mount Miwa was looked upon as the coiled shape of a serpent (1979: 34, 1982: 54). Each separate *chi no wa* ring can on the other hand be considered to represent the whole set of three, the word "mi" in that case being an honorific prefix.

In many areas of Japan a ritual passing of a sedge ring *chi no wa* is performed (see under "nagoshi" in the *Minzoku-gaku Jiten* [Yanagita *et al.* 1951]), and this ring represents both the sun and the serpent. In this connection it is important that *chi no wa* is commonly used in an early summer ritual of purification called *nagoshi*, which is a corrupt form of *natsu-goshi* or 'summer passing', and is performed in early summer in order to pray for divine protection from epidemics in the hot and humid Japanese summer.

There is a deep relationship between the *chi no wa* sedge ring and the Miwa Shrine. The Ōgishō written by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-1177) says that on the festival day of the shrine they used to make three *chi no wa* rings which were placed on the rocks, probably piled up to represent a coiled snake on one of the sacred *iwakura* rock formations found on Mount Miwa (Sasaki 1963: Vol. I, 301).<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the Tsunakoshi Shrine, which lies at the foot of Mount Miwa

27 For the picture of this rock formation see the second and third photographs at the beginning of the *Ōmiwa Jinja*, and for its explanation Chapter 4 of the same book (Nakayama 1971).

and is affiliated to the Miwa Shrine, is also called Nagoshi no Yashiro (the Shrine of the Nagoshi Festival), and is actually famous for the *nagoshi* festival (Nakayama 1971: 224-5). The name Tsunakoshi can be interpreted either as a corruption of *nagoshi* or literally as “rope-passing” because a huge sedge rope made into a ring is attached to the main gate of the shrine for visitors to walk through during the *nagoshi* festival.

According to Ōwa, there used to be a huge ring of the sacred *shimenawa* rope hung on the beach of Ise where the *me-oto iwa* (wedded rocks) stand, but now small versions are seen in the Futomi Okitama Shrine (1983: 167-70). This *shimenawa* ring obviously represented the sun; and we may conjecture a direct relationship between the Miwa and Ise rings. It is significant that the sun rise is seen between the *me-oto iwa* wedded rocks from the *torii* gate on the beach on spring and autumn equinox days (Ōwa 1983: 169, diagram 70). This exactly duplicates the observation of the sun rise on Mount Miwa on these very same days from the top of the Hashi-haka (Hashi no Haka) burial mound which is the tomb of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime. Furthermore on Mount Miwa is also a pair of rocks called *me-oto iwa* (Nakayama 1971: 66).

In the earliest form of the worship of Mount Miwa the god of the mountain was probably both serpent and sun, because the god of the mountain as we know him is the serpent god Ōmono-nushi as is clearly identified in the *Nihonshoki* version of (11) (see [13] below or [Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 238-43. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 151-5]), and on the top of the mountain there used to be the Himuka (Facing-the-Sun) Shrine.

It was probably that the Yamato government separated the two aspects of the mountain god. The *Nihonshoki* says that the Emperor Sujin established both the worships of Mount Miwa and of Amaterasu Ōmikami. Furthermore, (11) tells how an epidemic was successfully stamped out, which can be interpreted as a mythical explanation of the origin of the *nagoshi* festival at Mount Miwa in which the sedge ring representing sun and serpent played the central religious role.

Another piece of evidence that indicates Ōmono-nushi's relationship with the sun is the following tale about the birth of Himetatara-Isukeyori-hime, the consort of the first emperor Jinmu. The storyline in brief runs like this:

(12)

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

(Abridged from Kurano and Takeda 1958: 160-3. Philippi 1968, Chapter 53).

The red painted arrow in the story is normally interpreted as symbolizing a serpent as well as a thunderbolt (see [14] below), both of which the God Ōmono-



nushi is. But an arrow also symbolizes rays of the sun as we have studied by quoting Ōwa (Section ii); the arrow in (12) symbolizes the rays of the sun as well as a serpent and a thunderbolt.

According to the *Kojiki*, the god enshrined at the top of Mount Miwa originally came to the God Ōkuni-nushi "lightening up the sea", and to Ōkuni-nushi's inquiry of his identity, declared himself to be Ōkuni-nushi's own *nigi-mitama* or "gentle spirit" (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 108-9. Philippi 1968: Book I, 117). In this context the name Ōmono-nushi is not used for the god of Mount Miwa, but the *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko no Kamu-yogoto* (the Divine Blessing [Recited] by the Local Chieftain of the Province of Izumo) says, the God Ōmono-nushi of Mount Miwa is the *nigi mi-tama* (gentle spirit) of the God Ōkuni-nushi (Kurano and Takeda 1958: 454-5).

The *Kojiki* story indicates that Ōmono-nushi was a sun god who comes from beyond the seas as well as a serpent-thunder god. Then he must also have been a god of the undersea world since there was no distinction between the world beyond and under the seas in the ancient Japanese world view. Thus Ōmono-nushi had a close affinity with Saruta-hiko of Ise whom we considered to be a sun god as well as a sea god, and this affinity must have helped the merger of the wives of the gods of Mount Miwa and Ise.

We conjecture that the god of the sun taken out of the Emperor Sujin's palace was the solar half of Ōmono-nushi, the sun-serpent deity, this removal of the sun god itself symbolizing the separation of the sun element from the serpent element in the original deity of Mount Miwa. The festival of the Tsunakoshi Shrine must be a continuation in a modified form of the earlier belief in the *chi no wa* as the sun-serpent god of the Miwa Shrine. The identification of Ōmono-nushi of Mount Miwa with the Izumo god Ōkuni-nushi may have taken place after the solar half of the original god of Mount Miwa achieved independence, thus making his earthly half no different from the earthly god of Izumo.

We mentioned above the tomb of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (this name occurs only in the *Nihonshoki*) with regard to Mount Miwa and the sun rise above it. According to the *Nihonshoki*, she was the wife of Ōmono-nushi, the serpent god of the mountain, and so she seems to be equivalent for Iku-tamayori-hime in the *Kojiki* tale of Mount Miwa (11). But the *Nihonshoki* describes Ōtataneke as the son of Iku-tamayori-hime, not of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime, thus providing Ōmono-nushi with two different wives. We conjecture that in the *Nihonshoki*, Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime is identical to Iku-tamayori-hime, the former name being the personal one, and the latter the generic name for the shamaness who marries the serpent god. The *Nihonshoki* version runs as follows:

(13)

...Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime no Mikoto became the wife of Ōmono-nushi no Kami. This god, however, was never seen in the daytime, but came at night. Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto said to her husband:—"As my Lord is never seen in the daytime, I am unable to view his august countenance distinctly; I beseech him therefore to delay a while, that in the

morning I may look upon the majesty of his beauty." The great God answered and said:—"What thou sayest is clearly right. Tomorrow morning I will enter thy toilet-case and stay there. I pray thee be not alarmed at my form." Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto wondered secretly in her heart at this. Waiting until daybreak, she looked into her toilet case. There was there a beautiful little snake, of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment. Thereupon she was ashamed, and uttered an exclamation. The Great God was ashamed, and changing suddenly into human form, spake to his wife, and said:—"Thou didst not contain thyself, but hast caused me shame: I will in my turn put thee to shame." So treading the Great Void, he ascended to Mount Mimoro (Miwa). Hereupon Yamato-toto-hime no Mikoto looked up and had remorse. She flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda so that she died. She was buried at Oichi. Therefore the men of the time called her tomb the Hashi no Haka (Chopstick Tomb). This tomb was made by men in the daytime, and by Gods at night...

(Aston 1956: Vol. I, 158-9. Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 246-7).

Two facts in this tale attract our attention. The first is the name of the heroine Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime,<sup>28</sup> which is abbreviated as Yamto-toto-hime; and the second is the fact that this is a tale of a failure in the mediation with the supernatural being. The former fact indicates that the princess was of the same family or clan of shamanesses as Yamato-hime no Mikoto who carried the spirit of Amaterasu Ōmikami from Yamato to Ise, because their names are quite alike, both meaning "the Maiden of Yamato". The latter fact (the failure in mediation) signals an end to this line of shamanesses, which caused the transference of the spirit of Amaterasu from Yamato to Ise, or what we called "effective expulsion of the imperial shamaness". The appointment of Ōtataneko also means the replacement of the shamaness by a male priest.<sup>29</sup>

- 28 The meaning of the word "totobi" is not clear. The annotation in the *Koten Taikēi* version of the *Nihonshoki* interprets "totobi" as "bird-flying" and says that the word implies a spirit flying in the form of a bird (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 230, note 4).
- 29 R. Ellwood has discussed "The Sujin Revolution" which he considers to have caused a replacement of a female-led religion by a male-led one. We are in agreement on this point, but all other arguments he makes in the paper seem entirely wrong. As the topic of his paper is related to ours, some very basic errors he makes need to be pointed out. He argues that the Empress Jingū (Jingū) is identical with Himiko (Pimiko) and preceded the Emperor Sujin, and says, "My case also depends on the common identification of her or her era, with the Pimiko of the Chinese *Wei Chih*". But there is no such "common identification". The common understanding is that the *Nihonshoki* attempts to identify Empress Jingū with Himiko (Pimiko) (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 360, note 16, supplementary note 9-33. Higo 1957: 51-3). In fact it is well-established that Himiko died about 250 A.D., while the Empress Jingū's son Emperor Ōjin reigned around 400, some scholars counting him as one of the Five Emperors of *Wa* who sent envoys to China in the 5th century; and so no modern scholars would claim a common identity for the two. In fact scholars have tended to place the origins of the tale of the Empress Jingū between 6th and 7th centuries (Kurat-suka 1986: 88-9. Naoki 1964: Chapter II, Section 2). Contrary to Ellwood's statement, (continued)

My earlier publication, "The Songs of the Dead; Poetry, Drama, and Ancient Death Rituals of Japan", which was mentioned in Section (i), contains a study of a legend concerning the Asobi-be, which is recorded in the *Ryō no Shūge* (Akima 1982: V).

According to the legend, the spirit of the twelfth emperor Keikō caused great destruction after his death because there was no one of the Asobi-be group to appease the dead emperor's spirit. Descendants of the Asobi-be were sought, and in due course a female descendant of the Hijikiwake clan who had traditionally practiced Asobi-be's ritual was found. But she insisted that a woman was not suitable to conduct Asobi-be's ritual for the reason that a sword must be carried in the ritual. Therefore, the legend says, the duty of the Asobi-be was taken over by her husband Prince Tsuburame.

The final conclusion of my study was that this legend explains not the origin of Asobi-be's ritual, but a change from a female dominated to a male dominated leadership. Amaterasu Ōmikami carries weapons when she meets her brother Susano who is god of the nether world (7-A), and even today priestesses dance carrying a sword in many Shintō shrines. Furthermore, the legend of the Asobi-be compares their ritual to the Kagai festival in which women were absolutely necessary because the festival involved singing, dancing, and sexual licence. It is difficult to consider that originally Asobi-be's ritual was conducted by men. The legend merely gives a plausible reason for men taking over female shamanism.

The appointment of the male priest Ōtataneko, and the death of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime in the Emperor Sujin's tale are very much like this legend of the Asobi-be, because in this tale too the lack of a ritual is related to a destruction of normal life, and the inauguration of a ritual is said to have restored peaceful life. We conjecture that this alleged inauguration of the ritual of Mount Miwa in the hand of a male priest was in reality a handover in the role of chief worshipper from women to men, in the same way as the legend of the Asobi-be. The Emperor Sujin's tale provides only a plausible reason for this change in gender role in the worship of the god of Mount Miwa.<sup>30</sup> It is also significant that the *Kojiki* says that

what may be called a "common identification" exists between Himiko and Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (Yamato-totohi-momoso-hime) (Kasai 1924: 394-407. Higo 1970: 277-307. Yamao 1972: 159). The *Wei Chih* says that when Himiko died about the middle of the 3rd century, a huge burial mound was constructed; and scholars consider that it is only Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime's tomb called the Hashi-haka (Hashi no Haka) burial mound, which is probably the oldest ascertainable key-hole shaped tomb (the late 3rd century?), that can fit the *Wei Chih* description. Perhaps Ellwood is not aware that the tomb of the Empress Jingū lies in the Saki Tatanabe group of burial mounds in the north eastern part of the Nara basin, which was a territory of the Wani clan who were related to the empress by blood and whose ancestor Naniwaneko Takefurukuma was the empress' general in her military expedition (Tsukāguchi 1980: Chapters VI and VII). The location of the empress' tomb nicely fits her genealogy and myth, and furthermore the shape of her tomb is more recent than the Hashi-haka.

30 A legend recorded in the *Usa Gotausen-shu*, a collection compiled in 1313 of oracles and tales related to the Usa Hachiman Shrine in northern Kyūshū (for the importance of this shrine see under "Usa Hachiman" in the *Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan* [Itasaka 1983]) also provides (continued)

Ōtataneko was found in Mino Village in Kawachi, so that he was an outsider to the original Yamato religion.

Our view that Mount Miwa with its serpent god was closely related to the Grand Shrine of Ise has many more pieces of evidence in its favor.

Firstly there is the legend recorded in the *Tsūkai Sankei-ki* (Tsūkai's Record of Pilgrimage to the Grand Shrine of Ise) (also called *Daijingū Sankeiki*) written in 1286. The legend says that Amaterasu Ōmikami visited the *saigū* (the imperial priestess) every night and left serpent's scales in her bed (Hanawa 1957: 777-8). Clearly in this legend Amaterasu is the same serpent god as Ōmono-nushi, *saigū* being his wife, who many scholars consider to be the archetype of the Sun Goddess.

Secondly, the *Nihonshoki* annals of the twenty first emperor Yūryaku contains another story that relates the *saigū* to the serpent. According to the story, the *saigū* Princess Takuhata no Himemiko committed suicide after having been falsely accused of having an affair with and becoming pregnant by Ihokibe no Takehito. The story says that before she hanged herself, she secretly buried the sacred mirror symbolizing the Sun Goddess at a place upstream along the sacred river Isuzu. The emperor, knowing of her disappearance, secretly ordered a search in all directions of the shrine precinct in the dead of night. When they came to the upper stream of the river, the story says, "a rainbow appeared, like unto a serpent, four or five rods in length" (Aston 1956: Vol. I, 341. Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 466-7). Although a serpent is mentioned only as an analogy in this expression, we conjecture that the story attests the connection between the mirror (Sun Goddess) and a serpent.<sup>31</sup>

Thirdly, as has already been pointed out above, the tale of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (13) closely resembles that of the heavenly weaving maiden in Amaterasu's weaving hall who was killed when she struck her genitals against the

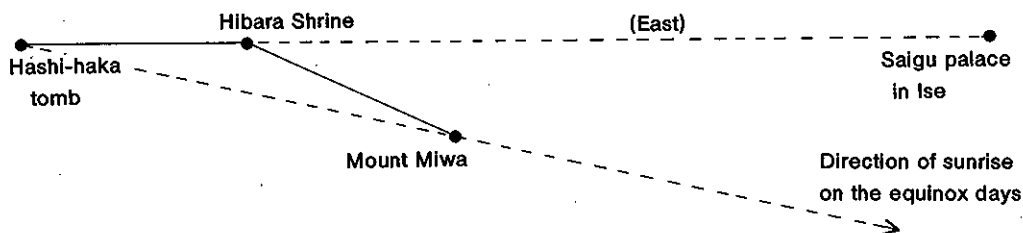
a parallel to the tale of Mount Miwa. According to the legend, a mysterious old blacksmith appeared on the Lake of Hishigata in Usa in the 6th century and all who saw him died. Ōmiwa no Higi (he was of the Ōmiwa, a family of Shintō priests of Mount Miwa) prayed for three years, whereupon a god appeared in the form of a three-year old child and declared himself to be the Emperor Ōjin whose worship Ōmiwa no Higi established. But scholars know that the Usa Hachiman Shrine was originally established by Korean immigrants whose priests were the Karashima (lit. Korean Island) family, and that Ōmiwa no Higi affiliated the shrine to Shintōism of the Yamato government, the death of people marking an end to the old form of worship. In the earlier form of worship at the Hachiman Shrine a priestess must have been the religious leader, its main deity Ōtarashi-hime also being a goddess. Ancient records mention a priestess Karashima no Masa (Nakano 1978). In this case too the tale of the people's suffering explains the establishment of a new male-led religion, which was actually an altered form of the preexisting female-led religion.

31 Yoshino Hiroko has already pointed out a close relationship between *saigū* and serpent with the above two and some more facts as evidence. She also maintains that the sacred mirror of the Sun Goddess symbolizes the glaring eye of the mythical serpent, and further that the Sun Goddess Amaterasu represents what she calls 'the serpent shamaness'. However, Yoshino never attempted to link Mount Miwa to the Grand Shrine of Ise (1979: Chapter 3. 1982: 53).

shuttle (7-A). As Matsumura and others have argued, this weaving maiden is the Sun Goddess' double, and symbolizes the *saigū*. Therefore the similarity of the stories links Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime of Mount Miwa with the *saigū* of Ise.

The fourth piece of evidence that points to the relationship between Mount Miwa and the Grand Shrine of Ise is found in the *Kōtaijingū Gishiki-chō* compiled in 804. The book says that the Itsuki no Miya palace, where the newly appointed *saigū* (imperial priestess) led an year's ascetic life before proceeding to her post in Ise, was established by Yamato-hime in the plains of Mimoro (Mimoro ga Hara) of Mount Miwa.<sup>32</sup> This establishes an additional relationship between Mount Miwa and the worship of Amaterasu Ōmikami.

The fifth piece of evidence is also geographical. It establishes a relationship between Princess Yamato-toto-hime's tomb (Hashi-haka), the Hibara Shrine where the spirit of Amaterasu was first transferred to from the imperial palace by Toyosuki Iri-hime, and Mount Miwa. These three places lie in the same distance of each other with the Hibara Shrine in the middle. They do not, however, lie on the same line. From the Princess' tomb one must go to the east (slightly to the south) for about 1.2 k.m. to reach the Hibara Shrine, and then at the shrine turn about ten degrees to the south to go for the same distance and reach the peak of Mount Miwa. The easterly direction from the tomb to the shrine relates both the tomb and the Hibara Shrine to the worship of the rising sun. More importantly, this line, when extended farther to the east, leads exactly to the site of the *saigū* palace in Ise, and thus connects the two places to the Grand Shrine of Ise (Ogawa 1973: 66). Also we have already pointed out that the rising sun is seen over Mount Miwa from the Hashi-haka on the spring and autumn equinox days. The above described geographical relationship links the tomb, the Hibara Shrine, and the Grand Shrine of Ise to Mount Miwa.



32 Tsuruoka Shizuo argued that this place must be the present site of the Miwa Shrine at the foot of Mount Miwa, to which we agree. He also argued that the imperial family first enshrined the Imperial Spirit (Tennō-rei) at the foot of Mount Miwa, but that the earlier deity and his worshippers pushed the Imperial Spirit out of Yamato, which led to the establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise (1976). This, needless to say, differs markedly from the views presented in this paper.

It needs to be pointed out that the Hibara shrine, where Amaterasu Ōmikami was enshrined before her transference to Ise, is affiliated to the Miwa Shrine, and the two shrines are the only Shintō shrines that have a triple *torii* gate which is formed by adding a smaller gate to either side of the higher main one (Nakayama 1971: 148-51, 217).

Two additional pieces of evidence that point to the Miwa-Ise relationship are found in medieval books. The *Miwa Daimyōjin Engi* (the Origins of the God Miwa Daimyōjin), which was written in 1318, regards the god of Miwa and the Sun Goddess of Ise as identical, and furthermore identifies them with a Buddhist divinity whom the book calls “Ten-konrin-ō Kōmyō-henjō Dainichi-son” or the “Heavenly-Golden-ring-King Universal-Light Great-Sun-Buddha” who is no doubt identical with Vairocana, the Buddhist divinity of the sun (Hanawa 1958: 536. Nakayama 1971: 113-4). And the Noh drama *Miwa*, which was written by Zeami (1363-1443), says that the gods of Ise and Miwa are one and the same (Sato 1964: Vol. V, 2988). Although these two works are comparatively recent, their concept of Ise-Miwa relationship itself seems to be rooted in a very early tradition. The link they recognize between the two shrines would be inconceivable, if it had not been established in ancient times through the identity of the solar half of the god of Mount Miwa and Amaterasu Ōmikami.

We believe that we have sufficient evidence to conclude that Amaterasu-Ōhirume originated in part in the wife of the serpent-sun deity believed to reside at the top of Mount Miwa. Amaterasu Ōmikami was created when the identities of Sarume and Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (Yamato-hime) were merged under the political need of alienating the influence of the imperial shamaness from politics. We may also consider the influence of the Chinese concept of Heaven which was believed to be the ultimate source of their religious and political authority.

**(v). The ancient religious concepts that contributed to  
the creation of Amaterasu Ōmikami**

We must now further consider the way the wife of the serpent-sun god of Mount Miwa was merged with Sarume of Ise. First we shall discuss the affinity between Sarume and Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (Yamato-hime), and then the development of the ancient Japanese world view that prompted the merger of the two. The political necessity for the creation of Amaterasu Ōmikami, which we studied at the beginning of the previous section, was realized through a development of the ancient Japanese religious concepts.

It has already been stated that the affinity between Ōmono-nushi and Sarutahiko prompted the merger of their wives, but the affinity between their wives need also be studied more in detail. For this we must look at (12) again. The story has what seems its variant version in the *Yamashiro no Kuni no Fudoki* (the Regional Record of the Province of Yamashiro).

(14)

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

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

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

(Abridged from Akimoto 1958: 414-5).

The maiden in (14) is Tamayori-hime, the Spirit-Inviting Maiden, and so Seyatatarahime in (12) must also be a Tamayori-hime, since the two play the same role in almost identical stories. They must also be identical with the maiden in (11) Iku-tamayori-hime or the Life-Giving Spirit-Inviting Maiden since the names of the two maidens are almost identical and the tale (11) resembles (12) and (14). Furthermore, we have another Tamayori-hime in (1) as a double of Toyo-tama-hime, the Maiden of Abundant Spirit. In Section (i) we introduced Orikuchi's term 'mizu no onna' (water woman) which refers to both the goddess of the undersea world and a maiden related to fresh water, both of whom being visited by a male deity in a myth. Seyatatarahime and the Tamayori-hime in (14) are obviously related to water.<sup>33</sup>

As we have argued above, Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime and Tamayori-hime constitute a double. Then Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime, who is not related to water in (13), must also be a *mizu no onna*. In fact her husband Ōmono-nushi is a serpent god who is identical with the water god in Japanese as well as world religions. We also argued that Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime and Yamato-hime belonged to the same family of shamanesses, and that Yamato-hime had a control over fish. Furthermore we pointed out the widely accepted view that Yamato-hime was the first *saijū* and served as the prototype of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami. Then this series of duplicated identities would suggest that Yamato-toto-

33 At the foot of Mount Miwa, at the starting point of a path leading up to the summit of the mountain, stands the Sai (Sacred Well) Shrine where Seyatatarahime, the *ara mitama* (rough spirit) of Ōmono-nushi, and other deities are enshrined. Seyatatarahime seems to be a well-goddess, too.

bi Momoso-hime, a *mizu no onna*, could potentially be identified with the goddess of the undersea world as symbolized by the Yamato-hime who has control over fish.

The god of Mount Miwa (his name Ōmono-nushi may be new) was originally not only a serpent god but also a sun god, which makes his wife Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (Iku-tamayori-hime) a *hirume*. Thus in the myth of Mount Miwa *hirume* and the *mizu no onna* are identical. In Ise, too, Sarume is a *hirume* being the wife or a sister of the local sun god Saruta-hiko, and is a *mizu no onna* being the goddess of the undersea world. The religion of Ise is unique in that the worship of the sun god and the sea god unmistakably converge; but it also had an affinity with the religion of Mount Miwa because the female deities in both areas were a *hirume* and *mizu no onna*, although in the religion of Mount Miwa the relationship with the sea was not so clear except that Ōmono-nushi originally came from beyond the seas.

The fundamental affinity between Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime (Yamato-hime) and Sarume as well as that between Miwa and Ise religions made the merger of the two goddesses possible. But this merger also involved a conversion of the goddess of the undersea world into the goddess of High Heaven. Although we have already related this conversion to the relocation of the Grand Shrine of Ise from the beach to the mountain (Section iii), we must now discuss this conversion more in detail.

As mentioned in Section (ii), Matsumae argued that the rite of accession, Daijōsai, was closely related to the myth of the Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains (1). His study indicates that the myth of the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto from the Plains of High Heaven was originally a myth of his coming from the undersea world, Ninigi no Mikoto being the miracle child born to the goddess of the undersea world. His study also indicates that the mother of the miracle child has also undergone the same transformation.

We have already pointed out that in the myth of Urashima (Shimako) (2) the undersea *tokoyo no kuni*, a distant island, and the heavens are identified, and that the ancient Japanese word *ama* meant both the sea and the sky. Our conclusion was that ancient Japanese regarded the sky as the primordial sea. It is important that both for a journey from the heavens to the human world and that from the undersea world to the human world the same implements *madoko ofu(fu)suma* and *yaedatami* are used. We conjecture that the ancient Japanese world view contained the formula: the heavens—human world relationship = the human world—undersea world relationship. This is the reason why the *Nihonshoki* contains the tale of a Heavenly Deity descending from the heavens in a Rock-boat of Heaven (*ame no iwa-fune*) (Sakamoto 1967: 189,208. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 110, 127-8).

We find an interesting fact that corroborates this structuralist equation. In the Fourth Variant of the *Nihonshoki* myth of Ninigi no Mikoto the deity descends to Cape Kasasa in Ata no Nagaya via Mount Takachiho, and there encounters an earthly deity Kotokatsu Kunikatsu Nagasa, whom the note at the end of the sentence identifies as Shiotsuchi no Oji (Old man of the Salt[-waters]). In (1) Shiot-



suchi no Kami or the God of the Salt (-waters) is the guide who tells Hoori no Mikoto how to get to the undersea world, and Shiotsuchi no Oji and Shiotsuchi no Kami are identical since the *Nihonshoki* version of (1) uses the name Shiotsuchi no Oji for the guide to the undersea world. In the Second Variant of the *Nihonshoki* tale of Ninigi no Mikoto, Kotokatsu Kunikatsu Nagasa, who is identified with the Old Man of the Salt Waters in the Fourth Variant, is not a deity Ninigi no Mikoto merely encounters in Himuka, but is summoned by Ninigi to act as a guide when Ninigi is about to complete his descent from the Pains of High Heaven (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. I, 154. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 84). Thus we find Kotokatsu Kunikatsu Nagasa (Old man of the Salt Waters) playing the same role in both Ninigi no Mikoto's descent to the human world and Hoori no Mikoto's descent to the *ne no kuni*.

It seems that all the sacred places in Japan were believed to be points of contact both with the heavens and the nether world. We find records of such contact at all sacred places of Japan: Ise, Izumo, Himuka, and Kumano (a sacred region to the south of Ise). As we have seen, Ise provided contact with the *ne no kuni* (*ryūgū*) through the *okitama ishi*, and it was also the place where, according to a legend in the *Nihonshoki* annals of the Emperor Suinin, the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) first descended to from the heavens.

Himuka in Kyūshū was the place where Ninigi no Mikoto descended to from the heavens (7-A). It was also the place from which Hoori no Mikoto journeyed to the undersea world (1).

Izumo was the place where Susanoō, Ame no Hohi no Kami, Ame no Wakahiko, and Takemikazuchi descended to from the heavens (7-B). Yet as has repeatedly been stated, Izumo represented the *ne no kuni*. In the *Kojiki* it was the place where Izanagi came back to from the *ne no kuni*, and the place where the slope named Yūya-zaka, an entrance to the *ne no kuni*, was located (Kurano 1958: 66-7. Philippi 1968: 67).

Kumano was the place where the boats for *fudaraku watari* departed for a journey to the *ne no kuni* which was identified as a Buddhist paradise (Section i). It was also the place where the God Sukuna Hikona departed from when he went back to the *tokoyo no kuni* after having worked with Ōkuni-nushi over the creation of the Middle Land of the Reed Plains (the human world) (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 129. Aston 1956: Vol. I, 60). Kumano was also used for contact with the heavens. In the mythical tale of the first emperor Jinmu, the deity Futsu-nushi descended onto the Kumano Mountains from the heavens by order of the Sun Goddess to help the emperor in his battle against the enemy.<sup>34</sup>

The internal structure of the ancient Japanese world view as explained above must have been an important factor in the creation firstly of the pair Saruta-hiko and Sarume as deities of both the sun and the sea, and secondly of Ōmono-nushi

34 The deity Futsu-nushi is actually a sword once worn by Takemikazuchi no Kami when he was sent to Izumo to persuade Ōkuni-nushi to dedicate his land to the Sun Goddess.

who came from beyond the seas and became a sun-serpent god of Mount Miwa. The fact that Ōmono-nushi's wife was, as we conjectured, a *mizu no onna* (water woman), which indicates a relationship to the sea, and that her husband was a sun-mountain god must have also been related to this world view in which heaven and sea are always related. But the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami became the supreme deity in the Plains of High Heaven by severing her ties with the sea or the mountain after climbing up into the heavens assisted by the internal structure of this world view.

The creation of the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) was assisted not only by the vertical parallels between the heavens and the undersea world but also by the horizontal parallels that were built in the ancient Japanese world view. In fact we have already seen geographical parallels between Ise, Izumo, Himuka in Kyūshū, and Kumano as places suitable for contacts both with the heavens and the undersea nether world.

For our study of horizontal parallels the Himuka Shrine on the top of Mount Miwa provides the focal point. Firstly, it is identified with Himuka in Kyūshū through the name Himuka (Facing-the-Sun). We conjecture that this identification was established at the time the Yamato government wanted to secure its direct domination of the southernmost area of Kyūshū.<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, the Himuka Shrine of Mount Miwa and Ise are semantically identical, or rather the Himuka Shrine was relocated to the latter place in what we called the effective expulsion of the imperial shamaness. It is significant that the Himuka Shrine of Yamato was shifted to the edge of land traveling to the east from Yamato, because it obviously parallels the shrine's relocation to the southernmost edge of Japan i.e. Himuka in Kyūshū. Needless to say, east and south are both the directions of the sun; they are the places described as facing the sun and stood for the positive value of kingship.

As we have repeatedly mentioned, the *Nihonshoki* annals of the Emperor Suinin says that Ise was the place where the Amaterasu Ōmikami first descended to. This parallels Ninigi no Mikoto's descent to Himuka since he represents his grandmother in the human world. In ancient mythology both Saruta-hiko and Ame no Uzume (Sarume) lead Ninigi no Mikoto in his descent from the Plains of High Heaven to the Middle Land of the Reed Plains. But while Ninigi no Mikoto goes to Himuka, the two deities go to Ise. This fact also indicates the semantic identity of Ise and Himuka.

The establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise immediately indicates its semantic opposite, the establishment of the Grand Shrine of Izumo which lies at the western edge of land as one travels to the west from the capital zone. As Saigō argued,

35 It is noteworthy that after the Christian-led Shimabara rebellion of 1637-8 was quelled, the Tokugawa government established a branch shrine of the Tōshogū (the shrine of the East-Illuminating, or Eastern Sun God), which is dedicated to Tokugawa Ieyasu, in Shimabara. This same logic must have made Himuka a sacred place of Shintō after rebellions of the Hayato (also called Kumaso) people there were quelled (the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* record many rebellions of these people.)

this semantic and geographical contrast, Ise symbolizing the positive and Izumo the negative, played a decisive role in the creation of the semantic structure of ancient Japanese mythology (1967: Chapter 2).

We conjecture that the bifurcating geographical relocation of the Himuka Shrine of Yamato was concomitant with the merger of the sun-sea goddess of Ise (Sarume) and the sun-mountain goddess of Mount Miwa (Yamato-totobi Momosohime) as well as the raising of the synthesized goddess to the heavens to create Amaterasu Ōmikami.<sup>36</sup> Thus a contradictory geographical relationship was created: as ancient myth and legend say, Amaterasu Ōmikami was born in Himuka, but Ise was also the place where she first descended from the heavens.

Saigō pointed out the semantic identity of Kumano with Izumo. We shall take a step further than the conclusion of his study which emphasizes the fact that Kumano is located in the *kuma* or 'edge' of land (*no* means 'field') and was regarded as identical to Kumano of Izumo which also lies at an edge of land.<sup>37</sup>

Kumano lies to the south of Ise and the name denotes a range of mountains that soars right from the edge of the Pacific Ocean. The Grand Shrine of Kumano lies deep in the mountain range with its subsidiary shrines lying along the coast. In medieval Japan pilgrims, particularly of lepers, visited the Grand Shrine to pray for a new life, or death and resurrection with a healthy body. The Buddhist temples and Shintō Shrines on the beach at Kumano served as the starting point for the medieval Buddhist ritual Fudaraku Watari.

Kumano and Ise lie at either end of the long coastline called the Kumano-nada, Ise in the northeastern edge and closer to Yamato, and Kumano in the southwestern tip of the Kii Peninsula and farther from Yamato. As Saigō pointed out, in the ancient Japanese world view Ise stands for the positive and Kumano for the negative. But this polarization must have been a result of the establishment of the Grand Shrine of Ise as the seat of the ancestor goddess of the imperial family. We consider that the political expansion of the ancient Yamato state organized space as a horizontal as well as vertical hierarchy. After the creation of Amaterasu, heaven was given positive values in contrast to the *ne no kuni* which was made the land of the dead.

Furthermore, we conjecture that as each sacred area was incorporated into this spatial order, myth handed down in each area was incorporated into the myth of the Yamato government with some modification. As Matsumae argued, the myth of the Luck of the Sea and the Luck of the Mountains originated in southern

36 It is highly probable that the establishment of Ise as a sacred place preceded that of Himuka in Kyūshū. One may even consider a two step development and say that Himuka in Kyūshū was made sacred when the semantic value of Ise was transferred to southern Kyūshū.

37 Kumano in Izumo lies to the east of the Grand Shrine of Kumano, and the Kumano Shrine there was the original religious and political center of Izumo. All important rituals of the Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko (local chieftain of Izumo) were held in the Kumano shrine, not the Grand shrine of Izumo.

Kyūshū (he considers that the tale was also told by *ama* people of other places), but was absorbed into the myth of the Yamato government as a tale of the ancestors of the Yamato emperors. Similarly, the legend of Saruta-hiko and Sarume, which originated in Ise, was absorbed into the myth of the central government. The absorption took place on the ritual level, too. As Matsumae argued, the ritual of the Hayato people of Kyūshū was absorbed into Daijōsai of the central government. Similarly we can say that the shamanistic ritual for the revitalization of the sun, which originated in Ise, was absorbed into the Chinkonsai of the central government.

The above statement immediately raises the question as to what the relationship between the myth and ritual of Izumo and those of Yamato was. The discussion of this topic would require another paper. Here we can only say that the serpent god of Izumo was merged into that of Mount Miwa. The myth of the slain of the eight-headed serpent by Susanoo no Mikoto (7-B) must have meant an end to the local cult of the serpent god who was believed to engulf girls once every year in a girl initiation ritual.<sup>38</sup> The *Izumo no Kuni no Fudoki* which collects purely local myths and legends does not mention Susanoo's slain of the serpent. As Saigō argued, this unmistakably indicates that the myth of the slain of the eight-headed serpent tells of a religious revolution, a creation of a new cosmic order, made by the central government (1975: Vol. I, 381-2). The myth of the coming of Ōmono-nushi from beyond the seas must have meant a replacement of the old serpent god of Izumo, who was slain, by a new Yamato-related serpent god. Even today an object representing a coiled serpent plays a positive role in the festivals of the Grand Shrine and other shrines of Izumo (Yoshino 1979: 32. 1982: 54). This seems to be a remnant of the earlier Izumo cult of the serpent.

The conversion of the undersea goddess Sarume of Ise into the Sun Goddess through her merger with the wife (shamaness) of the god Ōmono-nushi of Mount Miwa was part and parcel of the above described development of the ancient Japanese world view and the assimilation of local myths and rituals. Without this development, the sea-heaven conversion of the goddess of the undersea world, despite her affinity with the wife of the sun-serpent god, would have been impossible.

#### (vi). Conclusion

We began our study with the presentation of our definition of the concept of the goddess of the undersea world. We concluded that she was one of the most primi-

38 Among Australian aborigines is a ritual in which a rainbow serpent engulfs girls at the initiation every year. Later the serpent regurgitates the girls who revive as adult women (Hiatt 1984). The Japanese myth of the eight-headed dragon must have been based on the same type of girl initiation.

tive figures in Shintōism, and that Sarume of Ise was a variant of this same mythical figure. There was a relationship between Princess Yamato-hime, the first *saigū*, who was responsible for the foundation of the Grand Shrine of Ise and who is regarded as the prototype of Amaterasu Ōmikami, and the goddess of the undersea world.

We found that Princess Yamato-hime was of the same family as Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime, the wife of the sun-serpent god Ōmono-nushi of Mount Miwa. The genealogical relationship between the two priestesses, the geographical connection between Yamato and Ise (the site of the *saigū* palace lies to the east of Yamato-totobi Momoso-hime's tomb and the Hibara shrine of Mount Miwa), the similarity between the religions of Ise and Mount Miwa, and the *saigū's* association with the serpent demonstrated that Amaterasu Ōmikami was created as a hybrid of the goddess of the undersea world, who was identical with the wife (or sister) of the sun god in Ise, and the wife of the sun-serpent god of Mount Miwa. This merger of the identities of the two goddesses was in part their merger with the god of the sun, particularly Saruta-hiko.

The merger of the Ise and Miwa religions and the resultant creation of Amaterasu Ōmikami was closely related to the relocation of the Grand Shrine of Ise from the beach to the mountain, and the ancient world view that regarded the sky as the primordial sea also assisted this merger that involved a sea-sky conversion. This merger and conversion severed her from the sea, but behind Amaterasu Ōmikami and her son Ninigi no Mikoto we can still see the remnant of their association with the undersea *ne no kuni*. The Chinkonsai ritual recreates in the heavens the ritual of the Asobi-be in which the spirit of a dead person journeyed to the undersea *ne no kuni*, and Daijōsai ritual transposes to the heavens the birth of a miracle child in the undersea *ne no kuni* out of a sacred marriage between a visiting god and the goddess of the undersea world.

The creation of Amaterasu Ōmikami as a hybrid was closely related to both horizontal and vertical expansions of the ancient concept of space, which also involved the Yamato government's absorption of local religious powers to establish dominion all over Japan. We find a concurrent growth of a fully centralized Yamato state under the stimulus of the international tension behind this development. In all the developments we described above during the reigns of the Emperors Sujin and Suinin, Mount Miwa served as the starting point of both religious and political expansion.

This view obviously stands in contradiction to the ideas of scholars such as Ueda Masaaki, Mayuzumi Hiromichi, R. Ellwood, and others who have argued that the Emperor Sujin entered the Mount Miwa district from outside and established a new 'dynasty'.<sup>39</sup> Our view indicates that the Emperor Sujin's influence spread from Mount Miwa to other parts of Japan.

39 Concerning the criticism of Ueda and Mayuzumi, we agree with Maenosono (1986: 124-5). Ellwood quotes Egami's hoerserider theory and says that the Emperor Sujin was a (continued)

horse-riding nomadic conqueror who entered the Mount Miwa district. But he overlooks the well-known fact that Egami has been arguing that the Emperor Sujin never entered Yamato (see note 23 above). It should also be understood that Egami interprets "Mimaki Iri-hiko" as "a man (*hiko*) who resided in the castle of Mima" (1967: 182), not as "a prince who entered the Mount Miwa district from the castle of Mima" as Ellwood understands him. One would wonder how Ellwood could call Egami's idea as "the celebrated horserider theory" without even knowing what it was. As Maenosono pointed out, if "mima" in the emperor's name stands for Mimana, then the fifth emperor Mima-tsu-hiko (man of Mima) as well as several other princes and princesses with the word "mima" in their names must have been the horseriding conquerors from Mimana, too; and if "ki" means "castle (palace)" as Egami interprets it, then many princes and princesses with the word "ki" at the end of their names must have had a castle of their own, which is impossible.

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## 伊勢神宮の起源と太陽神・天照大神信仰

秋間俊夫

要旨：この論文は天照大神と伊勢神宮の起源を海底の根の国の母神に求める。母神は海幸・山幸神話の豊玉姫・玉依姫に代表される。原始時代男性主長は呪術によって海底におもむき、母神（女巫）との聖婚により海の豊穡を支配した。伊勢のサルメも海の母神で、サルタヒコは海に出入りする太陽神＝主長であった。

海の母神が空に移るには三輪山信仰との結合が重要な役割りを果たした。三輪は三つの茅の輪を重ねて蛇の形にしたものだが、輪はまた太陽でもあり、山頂の日向社にまつられた。大物主は海から光を発してやってきた太陽神＝蛇神である。崇神、垂仁時代に蛇と太陽は分離され、太陽信仰が伊勢に移され、土地の太陽神＝海神信仰と結合した。箸墓から東へ二キロに檜原神社があり、そこからやや南行二キロで三輪山頂があること、箸墓、檜原神社の線を東に行くと斎宮跡に出ること、ヤマトトヒモソヒメとヤマトヒメは同家系の巫女と思われること、斎宮を訪れる蛇神の伝説があること、二見浦に茅の輪が太陽として祭られていること、中世伝説が天照大神と三輪の神を同一とすることは重要だ。

海の母神が天空に移るのを可能にしたのは空を始源の海と見る世界観である。浦嶋伝説では根の国に星神がいる。天の鳥船信仰、裏床覆衾が天界、根の国の両方から人界への移動に使われることは重要だ。海幸・山幸神話は大嘗祭と深くかかわるが、紀の一書で海神が山幸彦に「三つの床」と真床覆衾の使い方をテストする話は大嘗祭の神座がいかに使われたかを表す。ニギノミコトは元来「海神少童」であり、天照大神を訪れるスサノヲには母神と聖婚する男神の面影がある。

古代王権の軍事化で女巫の神は伊勢に疎外され、天上に祭り上げられた。また三輪の日向は伊勢、九州へ移行して上下、水平の空間が再編された。