Out of Sundaland : The Provenance of Selected Japanese Myths

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Out of Sundaland:
The Provenance of Selected Japanese Myths

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Introduction

At the end of the Pleistocene era (Ice Ages), global warming melted the polar ice caps, causing mean sea levels to rise dramatically, which in turn inundated shallow land. In his 1998 book *Eden in the East*, Stephen Oppenheimer argues that this reduced the land area of the former continent of Sundaland by about a half, an area the size of India, to form the present-day islands of Southeast Asia. This occurred in stages, and he presents evidence to suggest that this flooding caused refugees from Sundaland and neighbouring Wallacea and northern Sahulland (the latter to become Papua New Guinea) to flee in several directions (see Figure 1).[1] He surmises that they took with them their genes and other physical attributes, and aspects of their culture including their myths.

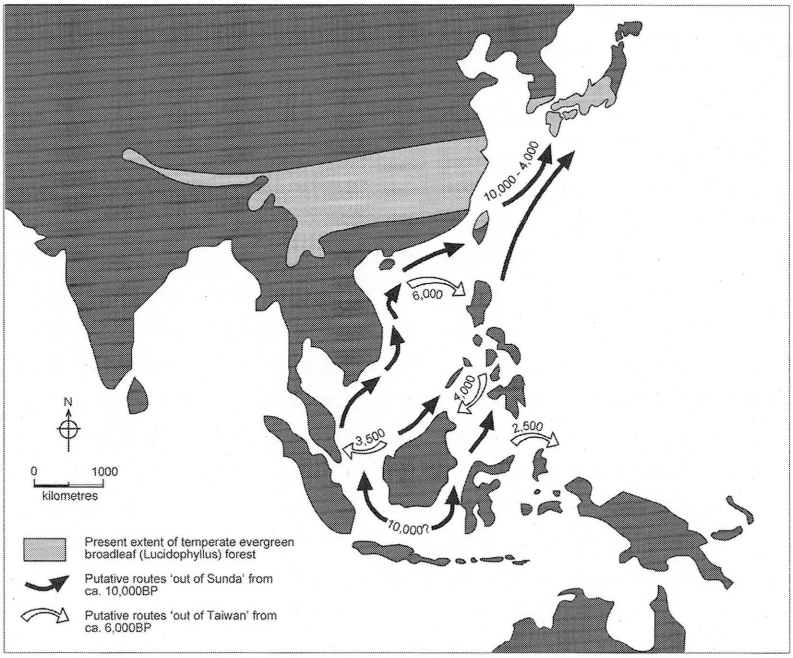
10,000 - 4,000
6,000
4,000
2,500
3,500
10,000?
N
0 1000
kilometres
Present extent of temperate evergreen broadleaf (Lucidophyllus) forest
Putative routes 'out of Sunda' from ca. 10,000BP
Putative routes 'out of Taiwan' from ca. 6,000BP

Fig. 1 Putative routes of Holocene migrations in East and Southeast Asia.

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[1] Sundaland includes the region of the present-day Malay peninsula and most of Indonesia, including Borneo. Wallacea included the present-day islands centred on Sulawesi and the Moluccas. Sahulland comprised Papua New Guinea and Australia. For the purposes of the present study, I refer to Sundaland, Wallacea and northern Sahulland (which is to say, excluding the part that is now Australia) as Sunda–Sahul.

In various respects, Oppenheimer's hypothesis goes against many prevailing established scholarly opinions about prehistoric Southeast Asia. For the past two decades or so the view has been held that after the Pleistocene era, Neolithic Austronesian-language speaking farmers and their cultures left Taiwan to migrate steadily southwards through Island Southeast Asia and eventually eastwards to Polynesia—in quite the reverse direction from Oppenheimer's putative prevailing migratory flow. Oppenheimer himself presents no discussion about his postulated refugees from Sunda-Sahul who might have travelled in a northerly direction. It is well established that some Jōmon Japanese were genetically related to present-day Southeast Asians. I have elsewhere tested his hypothesis against evidence from Jōmon period (approximately 16,500–3,000 BP) Japan. On the basis of evidence from biological anthropology, postglacial Holocene environmental changes and aspects of Japanese culture, I found Oppenheimer's theory quite plausible.[2]

In short, it is not only possible but probable that some refugees from the encroaching sea in Sunda-Sahul moved northwards, some perhaps very rapidly, some perhaps taking generations, by two routes: either 'strand-looping' northwards up the coast of southern China, or 'island-hopping' via the Philippines and Taiwan, to the newly-emergent Japanese archipelago, to settle and assimilate there among other groups of mainland Eurasian provenance as 'Jōmon' Japanese.

Exponents of the 'Out of Taiwan' theory have relied to a considerable extent on historical linguistics to reconstruct the spread of Austronesian languages through Island Southeast Asia to Polynesia. While archaeology can provide artefacts and activity sites as snapshots of human life at any one time, linguistic reconstruction, especially through lexicostatistics (occurrence of particular vocabulary) can provide insight into the thinking of the target society, albeit through isolated words. Some of these scholars admit the imprecision of this field of study, the results of which at best can be only approximate.

It is recognised that cultural attributes, whether artefacts, concepts, language or myth, may spread independently of people: the originators may remain *in situ*. However, generally some movement of people does occur concurrently, and in the case of the 'Out of Taiwan' scenario, this is demonstrated to occur from north (Taiwan) to south (Island Southeast Asia) then east (Polynesia). Oppenheimer, however, proposes quite a different scenario, running counter to that of 'Out of Taiwan' for the Holocene period.

One of the cultural markers employed by Oppenheimer in his discussion is mythology. He contends that such cataclysmic inundation as we now know must have occurred in Sunda–Sahul would have made a huge impact on those fleeing from it and would have been passed down in the oral traditions of affected social groups. It would not be surprising to find vestiges of these traditions in the form of 'flood' myths among their descendants.

So-called 'flood myths' are common throughout the world.[3] Ryan and Pitman (1998), the geologists who identified the catastrophic flooding of the Black Sea and placed it at 7,500 BP, regard the Middle Eastern (Babylonian and Biblical) accounts of a great flood as collective memory of that event.[4] They suggest that the flooding of the Black Sea was an event that scattered migrating refugees in all directions, into Europe, the Middle East and Central Asia, taking their culture with them. This appears to be both common sense and supported by the archaeological evidence. Oppenheimer, however, argues that the Middle Eastern myths of the flood were carried to that region by refugees from rising sea levels in Sundaland after the last Ice Age. This is an innovative hypothesis indeed.

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[2] Palmer 2007a.

[3] See, for example, Dundes, 1988.

[4] Ryan and Pitman, 1998, p. 217ff.

Oppenheimer proposes that when people fled from the flooding of Sunda-Sahul, some went westwards as far as the Middle East, where their creation and flood myths were transmitted and transformed to become the Babylonian Legend of Gilgamesh and later the Biblical Book of Genesis. He structures his argument by analogy to the principles of glottochronology, that source regions should reveal greatest diversity, richness and coherence of mythic elements, which become attenuated, fragmented and less diverse as they are transmitted spatially and temporally.

Unlike historical linguistics, however, which relates in part to the reconstruction of ‘isolated’ items of vocabulary, the analysis of myth may reveal much more complexity of thought, as the great French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss demonstrated. Thus, one way of testing Oppenheimer’s bold hypothesis is to compare the Southeast Asian myths he analyses with those of a different culture, one that should have been affected if his hypothesis is correct. Having found his ‘Out of Sunda’ theory plausible (though not, perhaps, proven) in terms of the likelihood that some refugees from Sunda-Sahul, or their descendants, settled in Japan to become ‘Jōmon’ people, it stands to reason that we might find some vestiges of their myths in Japan too. Were this to be the case, Oppenheimer’s overall scenario would become very much more plausible indeed.

The main aim of this paper, then, is to examine Japanese myths and seek evidence that might corroborate both (a) Oppenheimer’s ‘Out of Sunda’ theory and (b) my consequent contention that some who left Sunda-Sahul settled in Japan during the Jōmon period. If his theory that Gilgamesh and Genesis derive (at least in part) from Sunda-Sahul is correct, and if my theory that other migrants from that region settled in Japan is also correct, we should find parallel myths. Nevertheless, since there are no strikingly obvious parallels in Japanese mythology to, for example, the Legend of Gilgamesh or the Book of Genesis, I approached this exercise with considerable scepticism.

‘Southern’ provenance of Japanese myth

Japanese scholars of Japanese and comparative mythology have, in both broad terms and with regard to specific motifs, traced the origins of many elements of Japanese mythology. They have observed close similarities between some Japanese myths and folktales and those of Southeast Asia and Polynesia, just as they have for similarities with particular tales from China and central Asia.[5] The chief among these scholars is arguably Taryō Ōbayashi . For example, Ōbayashi notes close connections between the Izanagi-Izanami land-making myth of *Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 with Southeast Asian and Polynesian counterparts.[6] So far there has been little speculation about *when* such stories were transmitted to Japan. However, if I am right in surmising that Jōmon

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[5] See, for example, Mabuchi, 1964; Yen, 1974, p. 32; Konishi, 1984, pp. 171–174, 180.

[6] Ōbayashi, 1997, pp. 43–44; Sasaki, 1997, p. 109.

Japanese—or at least, a good proportion of them—had migrated in response to the 'flooding' of Sundaland, we might be able to identify some particular elements of Japanese myths and folk tales that plausibly date from that time. Before dismissing the possibility that myths could have been transmitted since such antiquity, we might bear in mind that Lévi-Strauss held a 'deep conviction that Japanese mythology and American mythology, each in its own way, use sources which go right back to paleolithic times and which were once the common heritage of Asiatic groups later disseminated throughout the Far East and the New World.'[7]

The transmission of myth: The 'White Rabbit of Inaba' trickster folktale

In my view, one such tale is the trickster myth well known in Japan as 'The White Rabbit of Inaba 稲羽素兎,' first recorded in *Kojiki* (AD 712). In this tale, Rabbit is stranded on Oki 隠岐 Island in the Sea of Japan and wishes to cross to the mainland. Having no means of transport, Rabbit dupes *Wani* (putatively a crocodile).[8] He asks whether there are more rabbits than *wani*, and suggests that they all be counted to see which are the more numerous. *Wani* is tricked into agreeing to line up all his relatives from Oki Island to the mainland so that Rabbit can count them as he runs over them. Just as Rabbit reaches the last *wani*, he gloatingly confesses his ruse. In anger, the last *wani* in line snaps at Rabbit and pulls off his clothes—that is, he flays him alive. In response to Rabbit's cries of pain, the relatives of Ōkuninushi 大国主, 'the Great Land Deity,' bully him by telling him to bathe his flesh in salt water and then let the wind dry him, which of course makes matters worse. Ōkuninushi then takes pity on Rabbit and teaches him to wash in the fresh water of the river and apply a medicinal poultice. Rabbit is thereby saved by Ōkuninushi, the mythological creator deity of the land and province of Izumo.[9]

The new areas of shallow tropical water created by the flooding of Sunda-Sahul around 8,000–6,000 BP also produced a 'dramatic increase in the habitat of one of humanity's most feared natural adversaries,' the crocodile.[10] As humans migrated out of Sunda-Sahul they took with them many aspects of their culture, including familiarity with crocodiles, to lands where such creatures did not exist. Among the New Zealand Māori, for example, the water-dwelling mythical creature appears as the *taniwha*. In some Japanese myths, like 'The White Rabbit of Inaba,' it appears as the creature known as the *wani.*

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[7] Lévi-Strauss, 1973, p. 378.

[8] *Wani* is the modern Japanese word for crocodile, but since there are no crocodiles in Japan and since it is referred to in the earliest recorded Japanese myths, there has been scholarly debate in Japan as to the meaning of *wani* in these ancient texts. While some regard *wani* as a crocodile, there are those who claim that since there are no crocodiles there, it must refer to a species of shark, or that it depends on the tale in question (Ōbayashi, 1997, 329). This debate assumes, of course, that the myths are entirely indigenous to Japan, which is clearly not so. If, as I demonstrate here, the myths themselves were transmitted from a region where crocodiles were endemic, I believe there can be no doubt that crocodiles were indeed the original animal characterised. Benedict analyses the etymology of *wani* in Japanese, deriving it from a Proto-Austronesian language. He favours 'shark' (for which there is another word, *same*) as the meaning in Old Japanese, but notes 'alligator' 'crocodile' as 'earlier meanings' (Benedict, 1990, p. 193).

[9] Chamberlain, Basil Hall (trans), 1882, *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*, Charles E, Tuttle (1981 reprint), pp. 81–83; Philippi, Donald (trans), *Kojiki*, Tokyo: University of Princeton Press and University of Tokyo Press; Tsuji, 1998, pp. 123–124.

[10] Oppenheimer, 1998, p. 100.

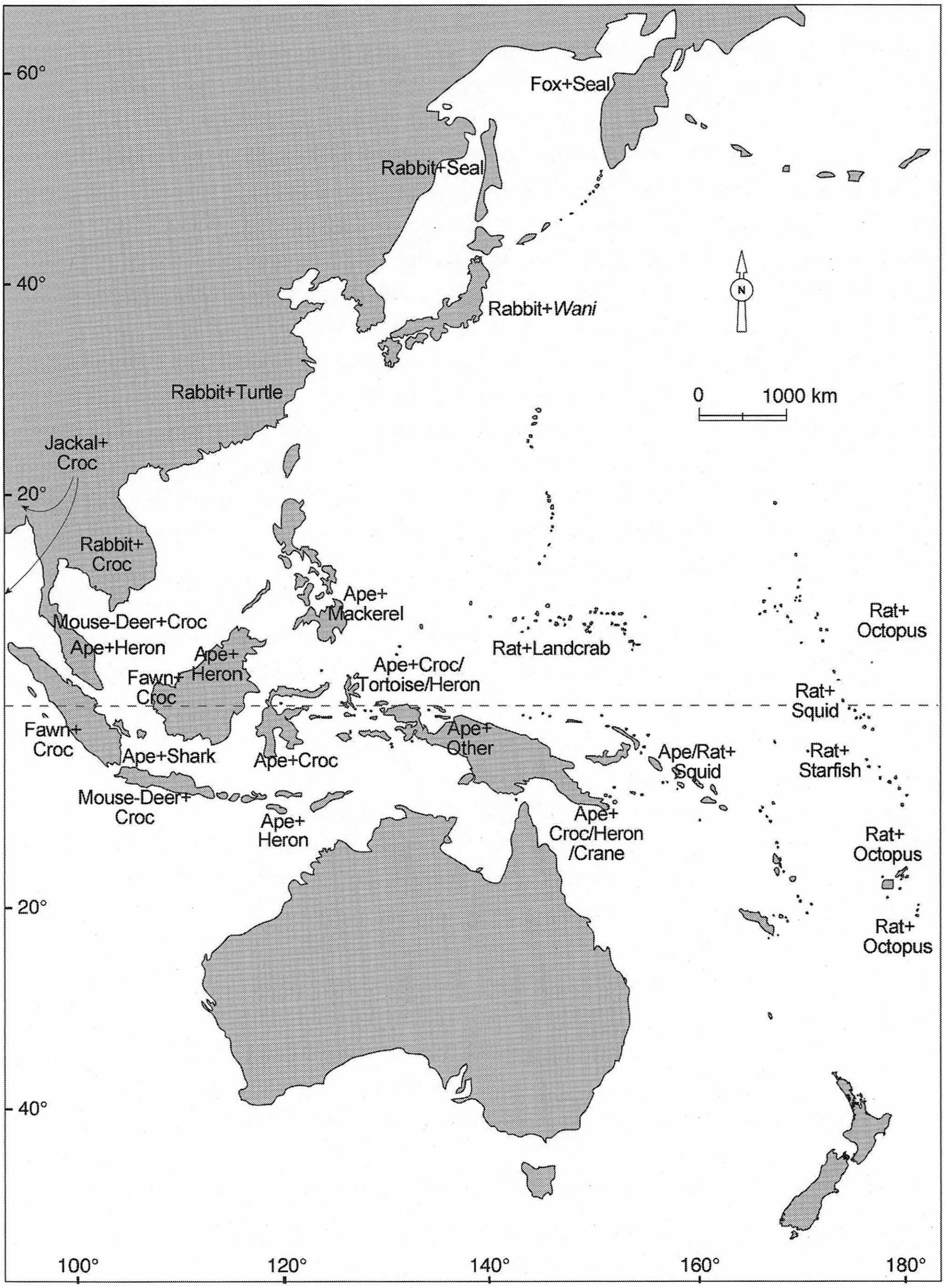
60°
Fox+Seal
Rabbit+Seal
40°
Rabbit+*Wani*
0 1000 km
Rabbit+Turtle
Jackal+
Croc
20°
Rabbit+
Croc
Ape+
Mackerel
Mouse-Deer+Croc
Ape+Heron
Ape+
Heron
Rat+Landcrab
Rat+
Octopus
Ape+Croc/
Tortoise/Heron
Fawn+
Croc
Rat+
Squid
Fawn+
Croc
Ape+
Other
Ape+Shark
Ape+Croc
Ape/Rat+
Squid
·Rat+
Starfish
Mouse-Deer+
Croc
Ape+
Heron
Ape+
Croc/Heron
/Crane
Rat+
Octopus
20°
Rat+
Octopus
40°
100°
120°
140°
160°
180°

Fig. 2 Diffusion of "White Rabbit of Inaba"-type trickster myth.

Tsuji (1998) traces variants of the 'White Rabbit of Inaba' trickster myth from Japan to places as diverse as India, Kamchatka and Polynesia. In the various versions of this trickster myth, Tsuji finds that the animals change in transmission to become consistent with the fauna of the ecosystem of the geographical region in question (see Fig. 2). She surmises that the archetype of this myth originated in Southeast Asia, postulating that it came from the region of Vietnam, and that it diffused westwards to India, eastwards to Melanesia and Polynesia, and northwards to eastern China, Japan and eastern Siberia.[11] I suggest that it would more likely have come from further south than Vietnam, in the region of Sulawesi, the Moluccas or New Guinea, where the contest is between an ape and a crocodile. My reasoning is that this region shows the greatest diversity; and the anthropomorphic ape seems a more likely candidate for the archetype of a clever trickster than any others among the variants. As it moves northwestward, the trickster ape becomes a deer in the tale in Borneo, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; a jackal in northern India; a rabbit in Indo-China, China, Japan and Kamchatka, and a fox in Sakhalin. Eastwards from the Solomon Islands, on the other hand, the ape consistently becomes a rat in the Pacific Islands from the Caroline Islands and Tokelau to Tonga. The tricked creature changes likewise geographically, with the crocodile of the whole of Southeast Asia and India transforming into a turtle in China, a *wani* in Japan and a seal further north in Sakhalin and Kamchatka. East of the Malay Peninsula, the tricked creature is sometimes a heron instead of a crocodile in Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and New Guinea; is a mackerel in the Philippines, a crab in the Caroline Islands, a squid in the Solomon Islands; a squid or starfish in Tuvalu; and an octopus in Tokelau, Samoa and Tonga.[12]

In my view, it is significant that in all cases the trickster is a land animal, while the tricked is a water dwelling creature. In nearly all cases, the trickster land animal is explicitly attempting to cross an expanse of water, which accords well with the probability that this myth originates in the post Ice Age flooding of Sunda-Sahul. In the case of Japan, the tale could have been transmitted from the east coast of China; however, the tricked water creature there is a turtle, which would have been familiar to the inhabitants of Japan. There is no reason to suppose that the turtle would have been transformed in transmission into a creature *unknown* in Japan like the *wani*. This suggests, more logically, that the transmission of the tale to Japan was more directly from a place in Sunda-Sahul where there were crocodiles. Since there were none in Japan, the crocodiles of the myth became known there as *wani*. Tsuji inferred that the tale was taken to Japan during the Jōmon period, and it now seems plausible that it was indeed transmitted perhaps as early as around 7,500 years ago or even earlier, as the flooding of the Sunda shelf stimulated migration in all directions, including to Japan. The myth of the White Rabbit of Inaba is one of many Japanese myths—and other cultural attributes—whose origins should perhaps now be reappraised in the context of Neolithic migration 'out of Sundaland.'

The transmission of myth: archaeological and linguistic evidence

There is evidence that other Japanese myths, such as some in *Harima Fudoki* 播磨風土記 (AD 714),[13] also likely date to the Jōmon Period, on the basis of linguistic evidence, such as the following entry, which pertains to the village of Iwa 伊和村:[14]

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[11] Tsuji, 1998, p. 125ff.

[12] Tsuji, 1998, p. 114ff.

[13] A description of Harima Province (present-day southern Hyōgo Prefecture). This is one of the earliest extant texts in Japan. Provincial government officers appear to have received orders from the central government in Nara to collect various kinds of information pertaining to the province under their jurisdiction, including orally transmitted tales such as these.

> Ikama River:[15] When Ōkami occupied the land, there were squid in this river. Hence it is called Ikama River.[16]

Excavation around Iwa village between 1975 and 1980 revealed that the site was occupied more or less continuously from 3,000–4,000 years ago (Late Jōmon period) until the eighth century.[17] The Austronesian language family, which centers on Southeast Asia, stretches westwards in pockets across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar, including the Naga hill tribes of northeast India, and eastwards through Micronesia and Melanesia to Polynesia as far as Easter Island. Northwards it includes indigenous languages in Taiwan and forms a substratum in Japanese.[18] In modern Japanese *ika* 烏賊 means 'squid', and it is regarded as impossible for there to have been squid in the freshwater river of this myth, so far upstream as indicated in this *Harima Fudoki* entry. Literary exponent of *Fudoki* Uegaki (1992) cites Matsuoka (1927), who early noted that *ika* is a Malay and Polynesian word denoting 'fish' in general, and that this myth might therefore have Southeast Asian origins.[19] More recently *ika* has been reconstructed as a pre-Old Japanese word for 'fish.'[20] The confirmation of the age of settlement at Iwa combined with this linguistic evidence supports my hypothesis that residents of Iwa were descendants of Jōmon inhabitants of this district, and that this myth is based on a vestige of the language they brought with them from Sunda-Sahul.

Uegaki expresses doubts about this Austronesian connection, questioning the need to have called it 'Fish River', which seems too obvious.[21] However, it could have indicated that fish were especially abundant in this river. More likely, however, since the boulders of riverbeds are an important source of readily accessible stone, I infer that this river was designated by the Neolithic Iwa tribe for fishing rather than for some other activity such as stone collection. Indeed, *iwa* clearly means 'stone', and we learn from elsewhere in the same text that the early Yamato (seventh century) state recognised the skill of the people of Iwa as stonemasons.[22] Overall, there is agreement among *Fudoki* scholars and archaeologists that the myths pertaining to the 'Great Deity of Iwa'[23] clearly indicate strong local

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[14] Centered on present-day Iwa, Ichinomiya-chō, Shisō-gun, Hyōgo Prefecture (*Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten*, 1988, p. 212).

[15] Present-day Ikaba River, also known as the Kakehashi River, a tributary that joins the Ibo River at Ikaba (Akimoto, 1958, p. 322, n. 7).

[16] *Ikama-gawa*: 'Squid Space River'.

[17] *Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten*, 1988, p. 2076.

[18] Waterson, 1990, pp.11–15; Oppenheimer, 1998, pp.113–140; Hudson, 1999, pp. 83–84. 'All these languages have developed out of an original language (or more probably a group of dialects) which linguists term Proto-Austronesian, and which probably existed by at least 6,000 years ago.' (Waterson, 1990, p. 12). The modern Japanese language is a composite of many linguistic influences, but that the pre-literate language (i.e., before the introduction of a writing system) shares much in common with Malayo-Polynesian languages is 'clear-cut' (Maruyama, 1976). Ueda also notes connections between Old Japanese and Austronesian languages (1995. p. 33). Vovin (1994), however, disputes that Austronesian forms a substratum to Japanese.

[19] Uegaki, 1992, p. 105.

[20] Benedict, 1990, pp. 26, 193: from Proto-Austro-Tai *sikan > *yikai > ika.

[21] Uegaki, 1992, p. 106.

[22] It is recorded earlier in the text that the family of the Ishitsukuri-no-obito, chief of the Ishitsukuri *be* of stonemasons, lived in this village.

[23] Iwa-no-Ōkami.

'indigenous' (i.e., resident from Jōmon times) resistance to Yayoi Period immigrants and to centralised (Yamato) state control.[24]

The transmission of myth: westward and northward?

As noted above, Oppenheimer analyses Southeast Asian myths and draws comparisons between them and the Babylonian Legend of Gilgamesh and the Biblical stories of the Garden of Eden, Cain and Abel, and Noah's Flood in the Book of Genesis. He argues that these myths are likely to have originated in Sunda–Sahul, and were taken by migrants fleeing westwards from postglacial 'flooding.' He demonstrates that not only are there similarities in the motifs in these myths, but that they appear in the same order in parallel tales. The Sumerians, who recorded the Epic of Gilgamesh, are believed to have settled in the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and generated the flourishing of Mesopotamian culture 3,200–2,800 BC, but their provenance is still unidentified.[25] Since their creation and flood myths are so similar to those of 'Sunda–Sahul,' Oppenheimer boldly argues that their forebears took the myth with them as refugees from the flooding of Southeast Asia.

In what follows, I will summarise the myth motifs and parallels identified by Oppenheimer.[26] I shall also attempt to test his hypothesis that they originated in Southeast Asia. We know already from biological and other evidence that some Jōmon Japanese originated in Southeast Asia, and if indeed that was the heartland of cultural transmission in several directions as he suggests, then we should find similar motifs and parallels among the earliest recorded myths of ancient Japan. And if moreover we were to find them appearing in *close proximity* in the narratives, let alone in the *same order*, it would be surely beyond the bounds of sheer coincidence. Relevant myths and motifs are tabulated below (see Table 1).

First there is a Tree Spirit, often of the banana tree in the myths of the Moluccas Islands and Papua New Guinea, that typically 'dies and rises again' with the seasons (see Table 1).[27] The banana is considered endemic to Southeast Asia, and has probably been managed or cultivated there for some 10,000 years. It represents the Tree of Life, and insofar as the cultivated variety reproduces asexually, in mythological terms it is the very origin of life itself. The phallic shape of its fruit is hardly coincidental in the context of the significance of this myth. As a result of the first woman[28] incorporating, through either eating or copulating with, the fruit of the banana tree, humans lose immortality. As such it represents *the* Tree of Life, the proper management of which decides the outcome of immortality or mortality.[29] And since the banana tree perishes as soon as it produces fruit, it is also, paradoxically, the Tree of Death.[30] To be sure, the lush tropical forest of this region is a more logical candidate for the original Garden of Eden than anywhere in the arid Middle East.[31] In the Genesis account of the Fall, there are two particular trees in the Garden of Eden, the implication being that one is the Tree of Immortality and the other the Tree of Death. Through Eve's (i.e. the first female's) 'knowledge' of 'eating' the forbidden fruit, i.e., of the Tree of Death, Adam and Eve are banished from the Garden and humans thereby lose immortality.[32] In Sulawesi the connection of this motif to the origin of mortality is explicit, with 'Banana Maiden,' representing seasonality/mortality, being paired with 'Rock Maiden,' representing permanence/immortality.

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[24] Iwa-no-Ōkami's 伊和大神 chief adversary is a deity called Ame-no-Hiboko-no-mikoto 天之日矛命, who is clearly identified as a deity from the Korean peninsula. Archaeological excavation at Iwa village 伊和村, Ichinomiya-chō 一宮町, in 1974 revealed that the settlement there was razed to the ground by fire around the beginning of the fifth century (Murakami, 1991, p. 79), which suggests that there might have been an attempt to obliterate the Iwa family. This evidence, and the fact that they are not mentioned in other, 'national', texts such as *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, suggest that they resisted submission to Yamato domination and were probably deliberately expunged from the national historical record.

[25] Ryan and Pitman, 1998, p. 198.

[26] For brevity, I shall refer only to Genesis, on the assumption that most readers will be more familiar with the Biblical version of these stories than with the earlier Babylonian Gilgamesh epic.

[27] Oppenheimer, 1998, pp. 414–440.

[28] Oppenheimer notes that in many of the myths apparently diffused from this region to Polynesia, the name of the first tree spirit/creatrix is a variant of 'Eevee/Ivi', which is remarkably similar to the Biblical 'Eve', who is created from a bone in the first man's side (Oppenheimer, 1998, pp. 358–59). In New Zealand Māori, *iwi* means both 'bone' and 'tribe'.

Is there a parallel for this myth in Japan? Sure enough, in Chapter 41 of *Kojiki* (AD 712) there is reference to a deity called Ko-no-hana-sakuya-hime 木花之佐久夜毘売, which means 'Maiden/Goddess who causes the trees to blossom.' This deity is generally associated with mountain forests in Japan, and there are many other references to her in Japanese mythology. In *Kojiki*, she is described as the beautiful daughter of a mountain deity, who offers her in marriage along with her ugly sister, Iwa-naga-hime 石長比売, 'Rock/Stone Long Maiden,' to a fire deity, provided he accept them both. Since the fire deity rejects Iwa-naga-hime by returning her home, their father curses the fire deity by decreeing that henceforth the issue of the marriage and their descendants will flourish and die like the blossoms of the trees, thus explaining the origin of mortality.[33]

Frazer (1913) categorised myths of the origin of death into four main types: the Two Messengers, or the Perverted Message, the Waxing and Waning Moon, the Serpent and the Cast Skin, and the Banana Tree.[34] He noted that often these motifs are combined in one tale, and that the banana tree myth is found in Nias, Banks Islands, the New Hebrides, the Shortland Islands, among the Kai of New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands and Samoa.

Ōbayashi (1973) regards the Ko-no-hana myth as a Banana Tree myth. He compares it to similar myths from Annan (Southern China), from among the Atayal people (Taiwan), the Mentra [Mantra] of the rainforest of the Malay Peninsula, Nias Island (western Indonesia), the Toraja people of central Sulawesi, Seram (Moluccas Islands), the Kai of

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[29] Oppenheimer, 1998, p. 382ff., p. 414.

[30] Frazer, 1913, p. 74.

[31] Oppenheimer, 1998, pp. 403–5. We should, however, be wary of assuming that the climate and ecology of the Middle East has always been so arid.

[32] Genesis, 2: 9–17; 3: 19–24.

[33] *Kojiki* says: 'For this reason, until this day the emperors have not been long-lived.' Philippi notes that 'in the *Nihon shoki*, the same story is given to account for the shortness of human life,' and he appears to acknowledge that this myth must predate the imperial lineage (Phillipi, 1969, p. 145, nn. 12 and 13). Philippi also notes that Matsumura Takeo 松村武雄 was aware of such myths in the central Celebes (Sulawesi), citing Matsumura, *Nihon Shinwa no Kenkyū [Research on Japanese Mythology]*, (Tokyo: Baifūkan, 1954–58), pp. 613–21. It appears that this *Kojiki* version of the myth originally referred to the origin of mortality in human beings, and that it was 'reinterpreted'—probably by the *Kojiki* compilers—to refer here instead to the life span of the Yamato kings. See also Ebersole, 1989, pp. 104–105. We might also note that this myth represents symbolically that fire 'consumes' wood, but that it does not 'consume' rock.

[34] Frazer, 1913, pp. 59–86.

New Guinea, New Britain, the Shortland Group (Solomon Islands), Banks Island (Papua New Guinea), New Hebrides, Guam, Samoa, and even Guyana in South America.[35] Significantly in terms of the present research, Ōbayashi argues that the version that most closely resembles the Japanese Ko-no-hana myth is from the Alfur people of Poso, central Sulawesi.[36] The motif these myths bear in common is that the first humans were born from vegetation—especially the banana tree; they were originally immortal; that at some point they had the choice of becoming permanent as rock or short-lived as vegetation; and due to an error, a quarrel, a false message or misjudgement, they took the latter course. Related to these motifs are elements involving the moon and/or cast skin.[37]

Ōbayashi notes that Frazer regarded the provenance of Banana Tree myths of mortality as Southeast Asia.[38] He adds that the Banana Tree myth for the origin of immortality involves only the banana and no other tree except bamboo, suggesting Southeast Asian origins, where the banana and bamboo are native plants. And he argues that this myth predates the introduction of cereal farming, and emanates from pre-Austronesian arboriculture.[39] Oppenheimer observes that: 'The deepest layer of the myths [of the origin of mortality] have humans already possessing the secret of immortality. This immortality was usually lost by the bad temper of curse of an old man.'[40] This is precisely what we see in the Japanese Ko-no-hana version, with her father, the mountain deity, uttering the curse. If Oppenheimer is right, this is also a clue to the antiquity of the origin of the Japanese Ko-no-hana myth.

If I may digress here for a moment, I believe it is significant and by no means coincidental that the *very next entry* in *Harima Fudoki* following the one about the squid in Iwa village discussed above is for Uruka village 雲箇里, as follows:

> The figure of Ko-no-hana-sakuya-hime-no-mikoto,[41] wife[42] of Ōkami, was beautiful.[43] Hence [this village] is called Uruka.[44]

In this case, Ko-no-hana is married to Iwa-no-Ōkami 伊和大神; in other words, although the details differ, the motif is again that of the beautiful female mountain tree spirit (here Ko-no-hana) being coupled with a stone deity, indeed '*the* Great Deity of Stone' (Iwa-no-Ōkami). I surmise that this is therefore the vestige of a local variant of the same basic myth explaining the origin of mortality. Given the attested antiquity of the Iwa settlement, I infer that this too dates from the Jōmon period.

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[35] Ōbayashi, 1973, p. 113; pp. 223–230; Ōbayashi, in Sasaki and Ōbayashi (ed.), 1991, p. 356.

[36] Ōbayashi, 1973, p. 225.

[37] Ōbayashi, 1973, pp. 224–225, 228; Oppenheimer, 1998, p. 401ff.

[38] Ōbayashi, 1973, p. 229. Ōbayashi's citation is not referenced, but I have located it to Frazer, 1913, pp. 74–75.

[39] Ōbayashi, 1973, p. 229. The Japanese folktale *Taketori Monogatari* 竹取物語 (The Tale of the Woodcutter), in which a human is born from bamboo, is of similar provenance, arising from among the oldest known form of plant management. Ōbayashi cites Schmidt (unreferenced, but surely Wilhelm Schmidt: either *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*. Bd 10. Münster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1952; or *Wege der Kulturen*. Münster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1964.) Listed in Ōbayashi, 1986.

[40] Oppenheimer, 1998, p. 400.

[41] Some exponents believe that this is not the same deity as that mentioned in *Kojiki* (Akimoto, 1958, p. 322, n. 10; Uegaki, 1992, p. 106), but in the overall context of these myths as I explain them, I must disagree with them.

[42] *Tsuma*: 'wife'.

[43] *Uruwashi*: 'beautiful', 'admirable'.

[44] The real etymology is probably derived from this having been a boggy area around the confluence of the Ibogawa River with a tributary, the Hikihara (Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten, 1988, p. 255).

The next motif within the Southeast Asian myth cycle explored by Oppenheimer is that the Tree Spirit gives birth to either two or three sons, of whom two pursue different occupations and who become serious competitors or rivals; one is good-natured while the other is ill-natured.[45] In the Southeast Asian myths, the Tree Spirit creatrix produces two such sons, whom Oppenheimer calls Manup and Kulabob from the versions current in the region of Sulawasi and Papua New Guinea, while recognising that they have other names in other versions. Manup, the elder brother, is a skilled farmer and hunter, while Kulabob is a boat builder and fisherman. As a result of a transgression by the younger brother against the elder, he is exiled on a journey or voyage. Oppenheimer notes a close parallel here with the Biblical tale of the rivalry between two of Eve's three sons, Cain and Abel.[46] Cain, the elder brother, is a farmer and hunter, while Abel, his younger brother, is a herdsman. As a result of their rivalry, Cain murders Abel, for which he is punished by banishment and exile to wander in perpetuity. This is followed in Genesis by a genealogical list before the next 'story', which, it should be noted, is the account of the Flood and the building of Noah's Ark.

Again, we do not need to 'force' the argument to find a similar parallel in Japanese mythology. As early as 1893 Muller noted the similarities between this myth and one collected in the Kei Islands of the Moluccas.[47] In Chapter 42 of *Kojiki*, Ko-no-hana-sakuya-hime, the same tree spirit as noted above, gives birth to three sons, two of whom likewise become arch rivals. Exactly as in the Southeast Asian counterpart, while one brother is a fisherman, the other brother is a hunter, though their birth order is the opposite. These are the two brothers in the tale well known and well loved in Japan of 'The Luck of the Mountain and the Luck of the Sea.'[48] The younger one, Ho-wori, who possesses 'the luck of the mountain,' with difficulty persuades his grumpy elder brother, Ho-deri, to exchange 'lucks'—the tools of their trades—to try their hand at each other's livelihood. However, he catches no fish and loses his brother's precious fishhook in the sea. The unforgiving elder brother insists that it be returned, so the younger brother sets off on a voyage in search of it. Thus in both the Southeast Asian tale and the Japanese version, it is the younger brother who sets off on a voyage. Ōbayashi (1991) notes that there are similar tales of a lost fishhook in North America, but that the greatest concentration of them is to be found in Sulawesi, the Lesser Sundas, and the Moluccas Islands.[49]

Among many Southeast Asian peoples even nowadays it is customary for eldest sons to remain at home and for younger sons to migrate in search of their fortunes.[50] Among the myths of the Mambai of Timor

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[45] Oppenheimer, 1998, pp. 417–420, p. 441ff.

[46] Genesis, 4: 1–16.

[47] Ono and Anasz, 1996, p. 29, citing F. W. K. Muller, 1893, Eine Mythe de Kei-Isulaner und Verwandtes, *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, (no page numbers cited).

[48] Translated in Keene, 1955, pp. 54–58. Konishi discusses this myth (1984, pp. 101–102, 129–132, 180–184), and notes that the version of this legend that most closely resembles the Japanese is that of the Indonesian islands of Palau, Kei and Sulawesi, (ibid., 180). He cites Matsumoto Nobuhiro (1931), *Nihon Shinwa no Kenkyū*, Dōbukan, republished by Heibonsha 1971, pp. 55–61; and Matsumura Takeo (1955), *Nihon Shinwa no Kenkyū*, Baifūkan, p. 764.

[49] Ōbayashi, 1973, 232; Ōbayashi, in Sasaki and Ōbayashi (ed.), 1991, p. 356.

> it is the elder brother who elects to remain behind at the origin-place, tending the altars of '*rock and tree*', while the younger brother leaves to wander off, taking with him the house wealth and emblems of political power (emphasis added).[51]

Here again we see reference to a rock–tree dyad, as noted above. Elder brothers are associated with stillness, while younger brothers are expected to 'traverse wild, open territories to settle at the fringes of inhabited space.'[52]

In the Southeast Asian myth, the voyage starts with Kulabob making a canoe *under* water, which turns into a huge seaworthy craft. In the Bible, of course, it is Noah who builds a boat, so huge that it can hold a pair of each of the world's living creatures. In the Japanese version, the size of the craft is not mentioned, but in Chapter 43 of *Kojiki* it takes 'Luck of the Mountain' *under water* to the Sea King's Palace.

The parallels continue between the Southeast Asian and Japanese tales. In the Southeast Asian tales, the voyager Kulabob experiences many adventures while on his odyssey, among which he climbs up a tree over a spring and attracts the attention of two girls who come to draw water, by chewing betel nut and spitting it between them, a gesture of courtship.[53] Similarly, when Luck of the Mountain reaches the Sea King's palace at the bottom of the ocean, he climbs a tree over a well outside the palace gates, and awaits the arrival of the servant girls who draw water. He spits a 'jewel' into their pitcher that sticks fast, so that they have to take him to their mistress, the Sea King's daughter—whom, of course, in fairy tale fashion, he ends up marrying. Benedict (1990) notes as follows with regard to the reconstructed Proto-Austro-Japanese word *tsu(m)paq (OJ/Jp tubaki):

> The core meaning of this root: 'spit/spittle' has been maintained in Japanese and the more northern Austronesian languages, with widespread extension to 'betel chewing/cud' in the more southerly Austronesian languages.[54]

From this evidence, I deduce that the 'jewel' in the Japanese version is a transformation of betel nut in the earlier southern Austronesian myth. Such a transformation could only have occurred in transmission from betel nut to jewel, and not the other way around, because the betel palm (*Areca catechu*) is endemic to Southeast Asia but not to Japan.

The last of the motifs in common to these myths is that of drowning. In some versions of the 'Kulabob' myth, the vengeful elder brother Manup builds a canoe and attempts to pursue him, but he (and in some versions all of his crew) is drowned. In the case of Noah, all creatures on earth are drowned except for those in Noah's Ark.[55] Luck of the Mountain takes with him the lost fishhook to give back to its owner and instructions from the Sea King on how to avenge his elder brother for having been unkind to him. The latter include the use of two special jewels: one to cause the tide to flood and drown his brother and the other to cause it to ebb and spare him. Eventually the elder brother submits and promises to serve thenceforth as his bodyguard. In *Kojiki*, this tale is attributed as the origin of why his descendants, the Hayato people, served as Imperial Guards and also performed a dance at Court that simulated the act of drowning. It is plausible that this drowning motif again recalls in folk memory the flooding of Sunda–Sahul as mean sea level rose after the Ice Ages.[56] And just as we saw earlier in the White Rabbit of Inaba, it is the land, here represented by Ho-wori/Luck of the Mountain that eventually 'wins' against the ocean (Ho-deri/Luck of the Sea).

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[50] Waterson, 1990, p. 229ff.

[51] Waterson, 1990, p. 193.

[52] Waterson, 1990, p. 193, citing Traube, E, *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange among the Mambai of East Timor*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 105.

[53] Waterson, 1990, 71. Presumably, the red staining of the lips and mouth function similarly to the application of lipstick in the West in attracting a mate.

[54] Benedict, 1990, p. 245.

[55] Genesis, 6: 11– 9: 29.

It is also noteworthy that the descriptions of the Hayato people in the earliest extant Japanese chronicles, as an outlandish tribe living in southern Kyūshū, lead Japanese scholars to believe that they were of Indonesian provenance. For fighting, rather than bows and arrows they used spears and shields decorated with red, white and black hamate patterns and hair tufts, similar to those of the Philippines, Indonesia and Borneo.[57] Ōbayashi regards the Ko-no-hana and Ho-deri 火照 /Ho-suseri 火須勢理 /Ho-wori 火遠理 myths as having been taken to Japan by the Hayato.[58]

Here again we see the appearance of *wani*, as in the White Rabbit of Inaba tale, above. In a version of this fishhook myth from central Timor, the Sea King is explicitly the King of the Crocodiles.[59] In the Japanese tale, Luck of the Mountain eventually returns to his original home on the back of a *wani*. Later on, his wife, the beautiful Sea King's daughter, prohibits him from looking at her while she gives birth to their child. Curiosity gets the better of him, and when he looks, he finds that she has turned back into her original form: a crocodile.

Earlier (1991) I argued the case for a predominant east–west axis of orientation in ancient Japan, prior to Sinicization.[60] Chinese continental culture orients primarily to the north/Pole Star, which had great influence on Japanese cosmological thought and town planning from at least the seventh century. I analysed the frequency of occurrence of the cardinal directions in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, on the assumption that 'pre-Chinese' ways of thought would be embedded in these early texts of even earlier myths. This and other evidence led me to conclude that before the seventh century the preeminent direction of orientation was not to the north but to the east. I regarded this as an 'indigenous' Japanese system of orientation—which, of course, in some senses it is. Waterson (1990) notes that Southeast Asian peoples traditionally employed a variety of methods of orientation that deeply permeated everyday life. The most common, found in many parts of Southeast

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[56] Ono and Anasz (1996) trace versions of this Southeast Asian myth eastwards through to Polynesia, as far as Hawai'i and New Zealand. There they find that the motifs of strife between brothers and/or sisters, a lost or stolen fishhook, an undersea world, a flood and/or drowning all recur in myths that are clearly parallel to those recounted above (Ono and Anasz, 1996, pp. 29–31).

[57] Ōbayashi, in Sasaki and Ōbayashi (ed.), 1991, pp. 355–365.

[58] Ōbayashi, 1973, p. 230ff.

[59] Ōbayashi Taryō, 1986, pp.230–232, citing Kraijer van Aalst, H., Karakterschetsen uit Midden-Timor, In *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendlings-Genootsap,* 65, 2, 1921, pp. 119–130.

[60] Palmer, 1991.

Asia, such as Sulawesi, is to the east, associated with the rising sun, life, deities and life-affirming rituals.[61] It is now obvious to me that the early east–west axis of orientation in Japan was probably taken there from Southeast Asia in the Jōmon period.[62]

My 1991 article also discussed the importance of orientation to mountains in early Japan.[63] What is of further note here, then, is that another method of orientation is the symbolic use, such as in Bali, of 'mountain' and 'sea' for orientation:

> According to early Dutch ethnographers . . . central to their view of the world is the opposition between mountains and sea, *kaja* and *kelod*. The mountains… are the home of the gods, while the sea is the habitation of demons. To the South Balinese, the mountain direction is to the north and the sea to the south; for North Balinese, the situation is reversed and south becomes the auspicious, mountain direction. . . . The sea is not simply dangerous, it is also a source of power, life, and knowledge, and a place of purification.[64]

This is most instructive in the light of the Japanese 'Luck of the Mountain and Luck of the Sea' myth referred to above. In Indonesia, the mountain is the auspicious direction, and in the Japanese myth, it is likewise the 'Luck of the Mountain' who is the outgoing younger brother who prevails in the end; while his brother, with the 'Luck of the Sea' is the darker, brooding, temperamental one who is ultimately worsted. Respectively they precisely reflect the Indonesian symbolism.[65]

The element of mountain–sea: good–bad symbolism here also corroborates the view that the Middle Eastern myths, of Cain and Abel, for example, are derivative, since they have entirely lost this association in transmission, by having had the occupations of the two brothers adapted to Middle Eastern Neolithic methods of subsistence ('fishing' as representative of the sea having been placed by pastoralism in the myth).

It is noteworthy that in *Kojiki* the Ko-no-hana-sakuya-hime myths appear very early, in the so-called 'Age of the Gods' section. They are specifically located in the southern tip of Kyūshū, where the gods 'descend from heaven.' The Ko-no-hana-sakuya-hime myths in *Kojiki* are followed by the appearance of Ninigi (aka Jimmu) and an account of his eastward migration to the region of the Kii Peninsula. In the past decade or so, with the discovery and excavation of the Uenohara 上野原 site in Kokubun-shi, Kagoshima Prefecture, there is now archaeologicial evidence to suggest that 'southerners' did indeed arrive in southern Japan by some 9,500 years ago, and, moreover, that they fairly rapidly moved eastwards, as the Japanese myths relate.[66] It is no longer entirely implausible, therefore, to speculate that these are the remnants of an oral tradition that could have been transmitted from as long ago as the beginnings of the Jōmon period, and that to a certain extent they form the kernel of a very ancient mythified oral history.

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[61] Waterson, 1990, pp. 42, 88, 93ff. Matsumae notes that the name of the late Yayoi Period Japanese (Wa) Queen Himiko, recorded in the *Wei Chih*, may actually mean 'Sun Shamaness'; also that the description of her people's lifestyle as 'water people' suggests that they were 'fishermen and divers related to south Chinese or southeast Asian seafarers who worshiped the sun.' (1993, p. 334).

[62] Orientation primarily by the sun makes sense in the equatorial regions, where diurnal and annual variations are minimal. This is in contrast to the use of the fixed Pole Star at higher latitudes in China and northern Eurasia, where diurnal and seasonal variations in the course of the sun are wider. Thus, Japan's early orientation to the sun suggests equatorial (i.e., Southeast Asian) origins. It is noteworthy that Latest Jōmon Period burials have been found lain mainly in an easterly direction, while the Early Yayoi Doigahama site, regarded as transitional, was found to have a majority with the heads pointing east, but some to the north. A cemetery also regarded as dating from the transitional phase at the Itazuke site had jar burials in pits oriented north–south (Kidder, 1993, pp. 75, 85–86).

[63] Palmer, 1991, pp. 78–81.

[64] Waterson, 1990, p. 97.

[65] In the Gohōden no Dengaku Festival of Nakaso-shi, Fukushima Prefecture, two groups of young men representing respectively the mountains and the sea race to divine which of the agricultural and fishing harvests will be better (Plutschow, 1990, p. 58). Ōbayashi (1990) writes at length on the significance of mountain and sea for the Japanese.

Senda (1995) draws together various of the elements explored above (the Hayato, the Satsuma Peninsula, the 'Luck of the Sea and Luck of the Mountain' myth, *wani*, mountain and sea worship) and traces their close connection to the so-called *ama* (diving) fisher people of western Japan. He argues that the Hayato were those settlers, possibly from Indonesia via southern China, and that they later branched, one offshoot travelling on the Tsushima current up the Japan Sea coast to Izumo, and the other taking the Kuroshio current via the Pacific coast and Inland Sea to the Kii Peninsula. Offshoots included the Ata, Azumi, Munakata and Wani lineages. Senda postulates that the family name Wani recorded in eighth century records originally meant 'crocodile' and recollected the family's southern heritage, perhaps from southern China. In short, through an elaborate process of tracing interconnections between family names, place names and myth, Senda deduces that the original settlers of the Yamato Basin—I would say in the Jōmon period—were descendants of southern *ama* immigrants who continued to dive for fish and shellfish and who continued to worship both the mountains and the sea over several millennia.[67]

Conclusion

Neolithic migrants from Southeast Asia took with them various attributes of their culture. The aspect I have explored here is their mythology associated with the flooding of their homeland. As noted above, geologists Ryan and Pitman (1998) regard the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh and the Biblical account of the Flood as based upon the flooding of the Black Sea, but their argument is challenged by the parallels of those stories with the Sunda–Sahul and Japanese myths. The Sunda–Sahul myths are clearly fuller and more coherent and offer a more likely prototype. I deduce that while the Gilgamesh and Noah accounts are probably also coloured by local recollection of the Black Sea inundation, they are underlain by the Sunda–Sahul myths as regards structure, themes and motifs. I have shown that not only are there parallel myths in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, as Oppenheimer suggests, but that there is a further parallel set embedded in the earliest recorded myths of Japan.

Moreover, it can hardly be coincidental that the main motifs are recounted in the earliest extant text narratives *both* in close succession *and* in the same sequence. The fullest of the three sets, with the greatest internal coherence, is clearly that of the Southeast Asian myths. Some of the motifs present in the Southeast Asian set are missing or altered in the other two, with the result that the other two are not immediately identifiable as linked to each other without reference to the intermediary Southeast Asian set. That there is greater coherence and a fuller account in the Southeast Asian myths places them as the 'main line' in the ancestral tree, while the fragmented and modified versions in the ancient Middle East and Japan are the 'branches.'

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[66] NHK, 2002.

[67] Senda, 1995, pp. 69–89.

Indeed, the Japanese myths I have identified above start to make considerably more sense with the Southeast Asian parallel set as a point of comparison. Oppenheimer's arguments that (1) Southeast Asia was a postglacial source of outmigration in response to rising sea levels and that (2) the culture of the 'drowned continent' was transmitted from there to other parts of the world have been tested in the above analysis of myths and corroborated in respect to Jōmon Period Japan. At the same time, this article has presented reinterpretations of several Japanese myths and has thereby furthered our understanding of early Japanese mythology. While it is clear that not all Japanese myths date from the Jōmon period,[68] it has been argued above that many do.

Moreover, if we consider more precisely *where* they emanated from, they clearly derive from the former land masses of Sundaland, Wallacea and/or northeastern Sahulland. Much of the Southeast Asian side of the evidence presented above for comparison with ancient Japanese culture refers to the region that includes eastern Indonesia, Sulawesi and the Moluccas—that is, former Wallacea. I therefore hypothesise that this region was a likely centre of Sunda–Sahul migration to Japan in Jōmon times and that it offers the greatest likelihood of yielding further corroborative evidence. Among other cultural attributes that they took with them was no doubt the concept and associated symbolism of orientation to the sun and east and to the mountains and sea.

As vestiges of myths like those including fish/squid and betel nut/spitting suggest, the bearers of these myths at some stage were probably Austronesian-language speakers. This point raises unresolved questions about the timing of transmission, unless we allow that early pre-Austronesian versions could have been overlain or reinforced by later Austronesian influences.

Furthermore, as is suggested by the transmission of myths such as The White Rabbit of Inaba, some of the refugees no doubt sailed more or less direct to Japan, without necessarily passing through southern China en route. This would also account for the relatively frequent appearance of *wani*, putatively crocodiles, in Japanese tales, in a land where they have never been endemic, as a collective memory transmitted through myth from a distant ancestral past in Sunda–Sahul.

Finally, one major implication of this analysis is that the 'Out of Taiwan' hypothesis *alone* is inadequate to explain the existence, let alone the *depth*, of 'Indonesian' influence on Japan's culture. Mythology is not one of the main determinants of the 'Out of Taiwan' theory for Austronesian expansion. However, as I suggest elsewhere (2007a), it is plausible that there was an early post-glacial migration 'Out of Sunda'—perhaps mainly from the region of present-day Sulawesi and the Moluccas Islands—10,000 years ago or more, as sea levels rose. It is not implausible that the aspects of 'Indonesian' mythology that we see in Japan could be the vestiges of the worldview transported to southern Japan from then on.

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[68] Elsewhere I have identified some that appear to be later in origin, dating from the Yayoi Period (400 BC–AD 300) (Palmer, 2001a, 2001b, 2007b); and the Kofun Period (AD 300–645) (Palmer, 1996, 2000).

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Table 1: COMPARISON OF MOTIFS IN SELECTED MYTHS FROM 'SUNDA–SAHUL' AND JAPAN

Motif	**Genesis**	**'Sunda–Sahul'**	**Japan**
(Dying and rising) Tree spirit/Female creatrix-cum-Deity of fertility. = Tree of Life	The Forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge (= Tree of Death)	(Moluccas, Papua New Guinea:) Especially banana tree: reproduces asexually = original first tree / phallic-shaped fruit	Ko-no-hana-no-saku-ya-hime 'Maiden/Goddess who makes the trees blossom'
Cause of human mortality	Eve eats fruit of forbidden tree = Tree of Death, in Garden of Eden	(e.g., Sulawesi:) Banana Maiden vs. Rock Maiden	'Maiden/Goddess who makes the trees blossom' vs. Iwanaga-hime 'Rock Long Maiden' *Kojiki* Chapter 41
First woman/tree spirit bears 2 (3) sons	Eve bears: (Cain, Abel, Seth)	(e.g., Sulawesi/PNG/ Moluccas): Manup Kulabob (+ brother in some versions)	Ho-deri-no-mikoto Ho-suseri-no-mikoto Ho-wori-no-mikoto
Kind–unkind/ warring brothers	Elder brother Cain vs Younger brother Abel	Elder brother = Manup vs. Younger brother = Kulabob	Elder brother = Ho-deri-no-mikoto = Umi-sachi-hiko = Luck of the Sea vs. Younger brother= Ho-wori-no-mikoto =Yama-sachi-hiko = Luck of the Mountain *Kojiki* Chapter 42
Livelihood differences	Farmer vs. pastoralist	Farmer/hunter vs. fisherman	Fisherman vs. hunter
Sibling rivalry	Sibling rivalry over means of subsistence: Cain kills Abel	Sibling rivalry over pretty girl / Manup's wife	Sibling rivalry over means of subsistence: Luck of the Mountain loses Luck of the Sea's fish hook

Mark	Mark of Cain [= tattoo?][69]	Kulabob tattoos Manup's wife's genitals	[cf *Ninuriya* 'the red-painted arrow' myth *Kojiki* Chapter 53]
Journey	Cain condemned to wander [7–10 generations to Noah, the Great Flood and Noah's *huge* ark, next story in *Genesis*]	Kulabob (aka Mala) makes canoe *under water*, which turns into *huge* outrigger sailing canoe. Sets off east on odyssey.	Sets off on *under-water* voyage to Sea King's Palace *Kojiki* Chapter 43
Concealment in a tree		(Papua:) lies in tree and drops petals to get girls' attention / (Umboi, Siassi slands:) Climbs tree over spring	Fo-wori hides in tree over well when maidservants come.
Spitting		Chews betel-nut (red) (= sexual overture) Spits it between the girls	Spits a jewel in the water pitcher
			Marries Sea King's daughter
Drowning/flood	God floods earth and drowns all living creatures except those in the Ark	Manup tries to follow Kulabob, but canoe(s) sink (and crews drown in some versions)	Revenge on elder brother by use of magical 'tide-raising jewel' to drown him and 'tide-ebbing jewel' to spare him

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[69] Metzger and Murphy (ed.), 1989, Genesis, 4.15, note OT p. 7.

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